

Sociology/History 327
Fall 2009
11:00 AM - 12:15 PM
Classroom: SOC SCI 6101

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Office hours: TBA

CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM, AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA SINCE 1890

History is vital or dead ... according as it is or is not presented from the sociological standpoint. When treated simply as a record of what has passed and gone, ... there is no motive for attending to it. The ethical value of history teaching will be measured by the extent to which it is treated as a matter of analysis of existing social relations—that is to say as affording insight into what makes up the structure and working of society.... Only a mind trained to grasp social situations ... can get sufficient hold on the realities of this life to see what sort of action, critical and constructive, it really demands.

John Dewey

Overview

This course was previously taught by the great labor historian Selig Perlman and then the famous emigré sociologist Hans Gerth. Gerth's old syllabus is on file in the sociology department office, and Perlman's lectures have been published as *Selig Perlman's Lectures on Capitalism and Socialism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976).

The primary goal of the course is to examine the historical development of capitalism, socialism, and democracy in the United States, paying close attention to how the past shapes subsequent politics and policy outcomes. Throughout the semester, we will try to see what social and political theory have to say to American history and vice versa. The course is organized chronologically in several parts, including the Progressive era; the New Deal; postwar challenges to and criticisms of the New Deal, from the left and the right; the Great Society, the civil rights movement, and the New Left; and the rise of the New Right since the 1970s. As the course moves forward in time, we revisit some general questions that help to give the course thematic unity and coherence. These include questions about the changing and contested meanings of democracy, the relationship between capitalism and democracy, why there has been no significant socialist movement or labor party in the United States, and how the meaning and boundaries of American citizenship have changed over time.

Course Requirements

Reading: Students are required to read about 80 pages per week on average. **If you are unable or unwilling to do this much reading consistently, you should drop the course now.** Please read each assignment before class.

Attendance and participation: Class time will be devoted to a combination of lecturing and discussion. Students are expected to attend class regularly, arrive on time, and

participate in class discussions based on the readings. You do not need to explain or justify occasional absences, but frequent tardiness, absences, or lack of participation will affect your grade. You are encouraged to raise questions, which counts as participation.

Mid-term and final papers: You are required to write a mid-term paper and a final paper, 5-7 pages each. You may write on any course-related topic of your choice, but the paper must have a clear thesis, be well organized, engage at least two assigned authors, and be typed and double-spaced. Please see “Guidelines for Writing Papers” (hand-out) for further instructions. I encourage you to speak with me about your ideas before you write your papers.

Academic misconduct: Please consult <http://www.wisc.edu/students/saja/misconduct/UWS14.html> before proceeding in this course. Please also consult the hand-out “Quoting, Paraphrasing, and Acknowledging Sources,” available at the Writing Center (6171 Helen C. White Hall). You are expected to be familiar with these guidelines before you submit any written work in this course. All papers will be screened for plagiarism, and any instance of plagiarism or other misconduct will be dealt with strictly according to university policy.

Grading: Your overall grade for the semester will be calculated on a 100-point scale:

Attendance	20
Quality of contribution to class discussions	10
Mid-term paper (due Oct. 20)	35
Final paper (due Dec. 17)	35

A = 95-100, AB = 90-94, B = 85-89, and so forth.

There is no final exam during exam week.

If you are taking the course for honors or graduate credit, please see the instructor regarding special requirements.

Reading Assignments

The following books are available from the University Book Store and on reserve at College Library.

Steve Babson, *The Unfinished Struggle: Turning Points in American Labor, 1877-Present* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).

David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Jerome Himmelstein, *To the Right: The Transformation of American Conservatism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

All other required reading assignments are available in PDF format through Learn@UW <<https://learnuw.wisc.edu/>>.

Students who are unfamiliar with twentieth-century American history may wish to consult an introductory textbook such as *Inventing America* (New York: W. W. Norton).

I. HISTORICAL LEGACIES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Sep. 3 - Introduction to the course

Sep. 8 – The liberal tradition in America

Held, *Models of Democracy*, third edition, 56-60, 62-65 (Citizenship and the constitutional state), 70 (The idea of protective democracy), 70-75 (The problem of factions), 79-81 (Liberty and the development of democracy), 93-95 (Summary remarks). The rest of the chapter is recommended.

Rogers M. Smith, “Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America,” *American Political Science Review* 87 (1993): 549-66.

Recommended:

Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 9-17.

Clayton Sinyai, *Schools of Democracy: A Political History of the American Labor Movement* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1-16.

Alan Wolfe, “Nobody Here But Us Liberals,” *New York Times*, June 3, 2005.

Sep. 10 – The Knights of Labor and American exceptionalism

Babson, *Unfinished Struggle*, 1-18.

Kim Voss, *The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 231-249.

Recommended: Sinyai, *Schools of Democracy*, 17-49.

Sep. 15 – Why no socialism in America?

Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks, *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 261-294. Recommended: 15-41.

Recommended:

Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), chapters 1, 5.

Gary Marks et al., “Radicalism or Reformism? Socialist Parties before World War I,” *American Sociological Review* 74 (Aug. 2009): 615-35.

Sep. 17 – A “precocious social spending regime” in America?

Ann Shola Orloff and Theda Skocpol, “Why Not Equal Protection? Explaining the Politics of Social Spending in Britain, 1900-1911, and the United States, 1880s-1920,” *American Sociological Review* 49, no. 6 (Dec. 1984): 726-750.

Recommended:

Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 102-130, 261-285.

Chad Alan Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers: Relief, Rights, and Race, from the Freedmen's Bureau to Workfare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), chapters 2-3.

II. THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1890-1920

Sep. 22 – Labor in the Progressive era

Babson, *Unfinished Struggle*, 19-49.

Recommended: Sinyai, *Schools of Democracy*, 50-109.

Sep. 24 – Political influence without political participation?

Patrick Wilkinson, "The Selfless and the Helpless: Maternalist Origins of the U.S. Welfare State," *Feminist Studies* 25, no. 3 (Fall 1999): 571-97.

Sep. 29 – New modes of participation: interest group politics

Elisabeth S. Clemens, "Organizational Repertoires and Institutional Change: Women's Groups and the Transformation of U.S. Politics, 1890-1920," *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 4 (Jan. 1993):755-798.

Recommended: Elisabeth S. Clemens, *The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

Oct. 1 – New modes of participation: direct and deliberative democracy

Kevin Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public: The Struggle for Urban Participatory Democracy during the Progressive Era* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 48-67. Recommended: 1-13.

Thomas E. Cronin, "Direct Democracy," in *Direct Democracy: The Politics of Initiative, Referendum, and Recall* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 38-59.

Oct. 6 – Political mobilization on the right

Rory McVeigh, "Structural Incentives for Conservative Mobilization: Power Devaluation and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915-1925," *Social Forces* 77, no. 4 (Jun. 1999): 1461-1496.

Recommended: Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan: Right-Wing Movements and National Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

Oct. 8 – Participatory or elite democracy?

Mattson, *Creating a Democratic Public*, 105-127. Recommended: 129-135.

Held, *Models of Democracy*, third edition, 125-126, 129-138 (Bureaucracy, parliaments and nation-states), 141-144 (The last vestige of democracy?), 146-152 (Classical v. modern democracy). The rest of the chapter is recommended.

Recommended: Cronin, *Direct Democracy*, 207-222.

Oct. 13 – Restricting political participation

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Why Americans Don't Vote* (New York: Pantheon, 1989), 28-41, 54-63, 64-95.

III. THE NEW DEAL, 1932-1941

Oct. 15 – Great Depression and New Deal

Babson, *Unfinished Struggle*, 51-111.

Recommended: Sinyai, *Schools of Democracy*, 110-163.

Oct. 20 – Explaining the New Deal

MIDTERM PAPER DUE

Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*, updated edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 61-77, 84-117. Recommended: 45-61, 80-84.

Oct. 22 – Explaining the New Deal

Theda Skocpol, “Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal,” *Politics and Society* 10, no. 2 (1980): 155-201.

Oct. 27 – The New Deal as an expansion of citizenship rights

T. H. Marshall, “Citizenship and Social Class,” in *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), 65-122.

Oct. 29 – The New Deal and divided citizenship

Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1-27, 211-231.

Nov. 3 – Rights, race, and New Deal unemployment relief

Chad Alan Goldberg, “T. H. Marshall Meets Pierre Bourdieu: Citizens and Paupers in the Development of the U.S. Welfare State,” *Political Power and Social Theory* 19 (2008): 83-116.

Recommended: Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers*, chapters 4-5.

**IV. CONSOLIDATING, TRANSFORMING, AND CHALLENGING
THE NEW DEAL, 1941-1968**

Nov. 5 – Labor’s growth and accommodation

Babson, *Unfinished Struggle*, 113-153.

Recommended: Sinyai, *Schools of Democracy*, 164-223.

Nov. 10 – Class, state, and power in America

Bill Winders, “Maintaining the Coalition: Class Coalitions and Policy Trajectories,” *Politics & Society* 33, no. 3 (Sep. 2005): 387-423.

Nov. 12 – Pluralism or power elite?

Held, *Models of Democracy*, third edition, 158-160, 160-165 (Group politics, governments and power), 165-169 (Politics, consensus and the distribution of power), 169-172 (Democracy, corporate capitalism, and the state). The rest of the chapter is recommended.

C. Wright Mills, “The Structure of Power in American Society,” *British Journal of Sociology* 9, no. 1 (Mar. 1958): 29-41.

John H. Summers, “The Deciders,” *The New York Times*, May 14, 2006.

G. William Domhoff, “Mills’s *The Power Elite* 50 Years Later,” *Contemporary Sociology* 35, no. 6 (2006): 547-550.

Nov. 17 – The welfare state and its (conservative and radical) discontents

Friedrich A. von Hayek, chap. 3 in *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1944] 1994), 37-48. Recommended: chap. 5.

Claus Offe, “Competitive Party Democracy and the Keynesian Welfare State,” chap. 8 in *Contradictions of the Welfare State* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), 179-206.

Nov. 19 – The civil rights movement and the War on Poverty

Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 17-31, 33-59, 187-197.
Recommended: 61-87.

Nov. 24 – Postwar stability to political crisis

Held, *Models of Democracy*, third edition, 185-216.

***** THANKSGIVING RECESS NOV. 26-29 *****

V. THE RISE OF THE RIGHT

Dec. 1 – Cultural changes: Populism transformed

Michael Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 1-7, 222-25, 245-66.

Dec. 3 – Cultural changes: The religious right

Himmelstein, *To the Right*, 13-27, 97-128. Recommended: 1-10.

Dec. 8 – Economic changes: The transformation of American capitalism

Himmelstein, “The Mobilization of Corporate Conservatism,” *To the Right*, 129-164.

Dec. 10 – Political changes: De- and re-alignment of voters

Babson, *Unfinished Struggle*, 155-178.

Himmelstein, “The New Republican Edge,” *To the Right*, 165-181.

Recommended:

Sinyai, *Schools of Democracy*, 224-231.

Jill Quadagno and Debra Street, "Recent Trends in U.S. Social Welfare Policy: Minor Retrenchment or Major Transformation?" *Research on Aging* 28 (May 2006): 303-316.

Goldberg, *Citizens and Paupers*, chapters 6-7.

Dec. 15 – Health care reform revisited

Jill Quadagno, "Why the United States Has No National Health Insurance: Stakeholder Mobilization Against the Welfare State, 1945-1996," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 45 (2004): 25-44.

Jacob S. Hacker, "Yes We Can? The New Push for American Health Security," *Politics & Society* 37, no. 1 (Mar. 2009): 3-32.

FINAL PAPER DUE THURSDAY, DEC. 17, AT 12:05 P.M.