In the Public Interest: Civil Rights, Security, Finance, and Immigration in 20th Century U. S. Public Policy History

Instructor: Dr. Mark Hendrickson

Office: HS&S 4008

E-Mail: ghendrickson@ucsd.edu

Office Hours: Friday 11:00 to 1:00, and by appointment

Meeting time: 12:00 to 3:00 on Wednesday

Throughout twentieth century U.S. history, policymakers and citizens struggled to define and redefine which issues were best settled between private individuals or local interests and which issues were so invested in the public and national interest that the federal government should intervene. In this seminar, we will examine the shifting boundary between what constitutes a public and a private concern in twentieth century U.S. history. We will consider how social movements, policy regimes, and new ways of thinking about American society helped to reconstitute notions of the public interest. For instance, in the early twentieth century, issues of civil rights as they pertained to African Americans were generally considered matters of private, local and state concern, but by mid-century the federal government took an increasingly active role in defending the civil rights of African Americans and other groups. In this course, we will consider what brought this shift, its durability, and its consequences. Along with civil rights, we will also consider similar shifts in other policy domains, among them health care, immigration, finance, and the rise and fall of organized labor. Course requirements include weekly readings, active participation in seminar discussions, and a research paper.

Required Texts

Mary Dudziak, Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy Jennifer Klein, For All These Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America's Public-Private Welfare State

Bethany McLean and Joe Nocera, All the Devils are Here: The Hidden History of the Financial Crisis

Lisa McGirr, Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right Roger Daniels and Otis Graham, Debating Immigration, 1882-Present

Course Requirements

- 1) **Reading and Preparation:** Students should come to the weekly seminar meeting, having read all required reading and ready to discuss the reading in depth. In order to ensure effective learning, *students are required to bring all readings to class, along with notes*.
- 2) **Reading Response Papers (30%):** (5 short papers) each paper should be a THREE page, typed, and double-spaced response to the readings assigned for the week. Follow instructions for Reading Response Papers below (page five) for guidance on writing the paper. I will also distribute a list of questions that can guide your reading of the texts.

Please email a copy of your paper to me no later than 5 p.m. on the Tuesday night before class. Bring a hard copy of the paper to class to refer to during class discussion. The papers represent 30% of your grade. The purpose of this paper is to prepare you for discussion; late papers will not be accepted.

- 2) General Statement and Proposal of Research Project (5%)—See page six for guidance and note that this is a two-part assignment (I and II)
- 3) **Participation in peer review session of rough drafts (5%)**—we will talk more about this as we get closer to the Week #8 meeting
- 4) **Research Paper (40%)**: (Wednesday of Week #10) See details on pages 6 and 7
- 5) **Participation (20%):** Careful reading of <u>all</u> the assigned reading and informed and active participation in the discussion is crucial for the success of this seminar. Therefore, the quality of your class performance, including your final presentation of your research, is an important element of your overall evaluation.

The themes addressed in this course are clearly of significance for current policy debates. For weeks 3, 4, 5, and 6, groups of 3-4 students will be responsible for selecting 10-15 pages (approximately 20-30 minutes worth) of additional readings from journalistic coverage. These readings should be selected, scanned, and, sent to me as an attachment by the Friday preceding our discussion. You should be prepared to lead the class in a discussion after making a short—8-10 minute—presentation concerning the readings you have selected. You should focus on important questions raised in materials, connections to the week's assignments, and the broader course themes. I will, of course, be available for consultation about the presentation and the reading selections.

The LEXIS/NEXIS database, accessible through the UCSD library website, is a superb place to find the kind of precisely targeted, high quality journalism that the assignment seeks. (Even *low-quality* journalism can be useful as a component of this assignment, if it is carefully and deliberately chosen and recognized as such. Bad journalism with

inaccurate information and heavy bias can be, obviously, very influential. But proceed with caution! Every item should be selected with an eye to what it will teach the class about the issues under discussion that week.)

Course Schedule

Week #1: Introduction (1/8)

Week #2: Civil Rights and Foreign Policy (1/15)

Mary Dudziak, Cold War, Civil Rights (entire book)

Optional Readings

Thomas Sugrue, "Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights, and Reaction Against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1960," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995), 551-78

Week #3: Finance, Regulation, and the Present Crisis (1/22)

Bethany McLean and Joe Nocera, *All the Devils are Here: The Hidden History of the Financial Crisis* (skip chapters 19-21)

MOVIE: "Inside Job"

Optional Readings

Alex F. Schwartz, "Housing Finance" in *Housing Policy in the United States*, **Second Edition**, 51-87.

Carmen M. Reinhart and Kenneth Rogoff, "The U. S. Subprime Crisis: An International and Historical Comparison," in *This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly*, 203-222.

Joseph Stiglitz, "Mortgage Scam" from Freefall, pages 77-97.

David Harvey, "The Disruption" in *The Enigma of Capital and the Crisis of Capitalism*, 1-39

Week #4: Immigration Policy (1/29)

Roger Daniels and Otis Graham, Debating Immigration, 1882-Present

Optional Readings

Erica Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924" *The Journal of American Ethnic History* 21 (Spring 2002) 36-62

Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *The World Comes to America*Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*

Week #5: Economic Citizenship, Organized Labor, and Security (2/5)

Klein, For All these rights, Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America's Public-Private

Welfare State chapters Introduction, 1, 2, 3, 6 and Epilogue

Optional Readings

Paul Krugman, "The Great Compression" in *The Conscience of a Liberal*, 37-56. Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor*

Scheduling Notes:

- --By Thursday, January 30th, please e-mail me your general statement.
- -- Meet with Duffy Tweedy during the second half of class

Week #6: The Rise of the American Right (2/12)

Lisa McGirr, Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right (entire book)

Optional Readings

Jill Lepore, The Whites of their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle Over American History

Weeks #7: (2/19)

Research and individual meetings

Please e-mail me a copy of your proposal by Sunday, February 16th so that I can read it before our meeting.

Week #8: (2/26) Class Meeting and Peer Review of Rough Drafts (At this stage, your draft should be at least 5 pages)

Week #9: (3/5)

Research and writing week—No Class Meeting

Week #10: (3/12) Presentations and Paper Due

Instructions for Reading Response Papers

Objective: Writing a response paper allows you to organize your notes and thoughts about the reading you do each week, and it makes our discussion much more substantial. Here are some questions to ask when you are doing the reading and figuring out how to identify historical problems, questions, and issues:

Big Picture: The problem and the question for historical analysis

- 1) What are the problems or questions the author confronts?
- 2) What is the dilemma or paradox about social change or explanation of politics, society, culture, and/or the economy that the author tells the reader is significant?
- 3) In relationship to the reading, what question or problem are you passionate about? What concerned you? Infuriated you? What did you want to learn more about?

Argument: The use of evidence and interpretative strategy

- 1) How is this topic or case study significant to our understanding of the problem, or how did addressing the problem grow out of the specifics of the case study?
- 2) What evidence does the author use memoirs, letters, government proceedings, legal records, oral history, newspapers, other visual or written media? Why is the kind of evidence significant for her/his argument?
- 3) How would you characterize how the author goes about proving the argument and how does s/he interpret evidence?
- 4) What remained perplexing? What remained unresolved, or unsubstantiated?

Intellectual Community: Whom does the author think with?

- 1) Who does s/he quote or cite? Who does s/he agree with and disagree with?
- ❖ Don't use the response paper to summarize the entire book or the article it's impossible and not really helpful.
- Use the above questions to stimulate your thinking and focus your responses.
- Feel free to share your ideas with your peers before or after class.
- **This exercise is intended to stimulate discussion and engagement with the material** *not to prove mastery.*

RESEARCH PAPER ASSIGNMENT

This assignment has four parts—completion of all is necessary to passing the course.

I. General Statement

- a. A general statement of your research interests should be e-mailed to me by Thursday, January 30th.
- b. Statements need only be a two to three sentences long. I will use it to inform Duffy Tweedy of your interests, so the more specific you can be the better guidance he might be able to provide you during our meeting in week 5.

General Statement deadline Thursday, January 30th

II. Proposal

- **a.** 2-page statement should include the following elements
 - a) Research paper topic,
 - b) The research problem and specific questions you want to explore,
 - c) A preliminary list of pertinent scholarly articles or books

E-mail me a copy of your proposal by Sunday, February 16th

III. PAPER

- a. Develop a coherent interpretive paper on a topic that develops from additional reading and research you have conducted of scholarly books and articles and/or historical documents.
- b. This paper is required to follow Chicago Manual of Style or MLA guidelines for proper footnotes and bibliographic citations.
- c. The required length of this paper is 12-15 typed double-spaced pages of interpretive text in 12-point Times font.

IV. PRESENTATION

- a. Presentation to the class of your project during our March 12th (week 10) seminar
- b. Details TBD

Research Paper: The Basics (40% of your course grade)

Arguments and the thesis

The best papers are not surveys of historical data, but *arguments*. That is, they stake out a *thesis* (a conclusion or historical argument) and try to support it. Arguing a point provides focus for your paper; it engages you as the author and challenges you to think critically.

Developing your topic into a thesis

The best way to devise a thesis to argue is to pose yourself questions about subjects that interest you. Here are some examples of questions that you might approach from the perspective of policy history:

To what degree are the current policies concerning immigration, labor, finance, and health care a departure from past policy regimes?

Did the civil rights movement in the West/California/southern California/San Diego/UCSD develop in distinct ways from that of the movement in the South and North?

Why was southern California such a fertile ground for the rise of what Lisa McGirr called the "new American right"?

How do we explain the rise and fall of organized labor in the twentieth century? Does the relative weakness of the union movement today matter?

How has the face of organized labor changed over the twentieth century?

How do panics and busts alter Americans expectations of capitalism?

How did the home mortgage market get to be such a mess?

What role has religion played in American politics and policymaking in the twentieth century? Has it changed?

How has immigration as a public and policy concern changed over the course of the twentieth century? What caused this change?

These are examples of questions or problems that can lead you into a thesis. Begin your process by looking into the question you set for yourself. As you learn more, you refine your question until you develop the problem that will guide you through your paper writing. Ideally, your question will be interesting enough to let you do a sophisticated paper, yet narrow enough to be manageable. I can help you develop a problem and narrow your topic once you have expressed an interest in a particular time or subject.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to complete the course in compliance with the instructor's standards. No student shall engage in any activity that involves attempting to receive a grade by means other than honest effort; for example:

- No student shall knowingly procure, provide, or accept any unauthorized material that contains questions or answers to any examination or assignment to be given at a subsequent time.
- No student shall complete, in part or in total, any examination or assignment for another person.
- No student shall knowingly allow any examination or assignment to be completed, in part or in total, for himself or herself by another person.
- No student shall plagiarize or copy the work of another person and submit it as his or her own work.
- No student shall employ aids excluded by the instructor in undertaking course work or in completing any exam or assignment.
- No student shall alter graded class assignments or examinations and then resubmit them for regrading.
- No student shall submit substantially the same material in more than one course without prior authorization.

For more information, please consult the UCSD Policy on Integrity of Scholarship (http://www-senate.ucsd.edu/manual/Appendices/app2.htm).

UCSD Principles of Community

To foster the best possible working and learning environment, UCSD strives to maintain a climate of fairness, cooperation, and professionalism. These principles of community are vital to the success of the university and the well being of its constituents. UCSD faculty, staff, and students are expected to practice these basic principles as individuals and in groups.

- We reject acts of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, disability, sexual orientation, religion, and political beliefs, and we will confront and appropriately respond to such acts.
- We affirm the right to freedom of expression at UCSD. We promote open expression of our individuality and our diversity within the bounds of courtesy, sensitivity, confidentiality, and respect.
- We are committed to the highest standards of civility and decency toward all. We are committed to promoting and supporting a community where all people can work and learn together in an atmosphere free of abusive or demeaning treatment.

For more the full list of UCSD Principles of Community, please visit http://www.ucsd.edu/principles/. Students should also review the UCSD Student