

**Historisches Seminar der Universität Heidelberg  
Heidelberg Center for American Studies**

**Prof. Dr. Manfred Berg, Curt Engelhorn Professor of American History**

**Graduate Seminar (Oberseminar): America Divided: The Polarization of American Politics and Society since the 1960s**

Wintersemester 2019/20

Raum: Historisches Seminar, ÜR I

Zeit: Montag, 16.00 - 18.00 Uhr

Beginn: 15. 10. 2018

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Office Hours: Tuesday, 11.a.m.-1.p.m. Historisches Seminar Office 041

**Credit Point Requirements:**

Regular Attendance (no more than two absences after the first session)

Oral Presentation (25%)

Classroom Participation (25%)

A Term Paper of 20 pages (roughly 5000 words, including notes and bibliography; 50%)

**Syllabus**

**1<sup>st</sup> Session: 14 October 2019: General Introduction - Polarization and the Decline of Political Trust**

Required Reading:

Robin Wright, "Is America Headed for a New Kind of Civil War?" *The New Yorker*, August 2017, online; Paul Krugman, "Why It Can Happen Here: We Are Very Close to Becoming Another Poland or Hungary." *New York Times*, 27. 8. 2018, online.

## **2nd Session: 21 October 2019: The Unraveling of the Liberal Consensus in the 1960s**

### Required Reading:

Alexander Bloom, Wini Breines, eds., *"Takin' It to the Streets": A Sixties' Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003, 195-203; 258-60; 278-82; 294-317; 366-69; Bruce J. Schulman, *Lyndon B. Johnson and American Liberalism: A Brief Biography with Documents*. Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 2007, 192-196; 267-271.

## **3rd Session: 28 October 2019: The Rise of Partisanship and the Polarization of American Politics, 1964-2000**

### Required Reading:

Earl Black, Merle Black, *Divided America: The Ferocious Power Struggle in American Politics*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007, 1-30; Gregory Schneider, ed., *Conservatism in America since 1930*. New York: New York University Press, 2003, 424-27; Meg Jacobs, Julian E. Zelizer, *Conservatives in Power: The Reagan Years, 1981-1989: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010, 83-85; Robert Griffith, Paula Baker, eds., *Major Problems in American History since 1945*. 3 ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007, 220-223; 484; Bloom/Breines, *"Takin' It to the Streets"*, 290-94.

## **4th Session: 4 November 2019: Economic Inequality in the Age of Neoliberalism**

### Required Reading:

Schneider, ed., *Conservatism in America since 1930*, 68-90; Ronald Story, Bruce Laurie, eds., *The Rise of Conservatism in America, 1945-2000: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008, 100-103; 158-160; Griffith, Baker, *Major Problems in American History since 1945*, 480-482; Matthew Stewart, "The Birth of a New Aristocracy: The Gilded Future of the Top 10 Percent - and the End of Opportunity for Everyone Else." *The Atlantic*, June 2018, 48-63.

## **5th Session: 11 November 2019: Racial Polarization in the Post-Civil Rights Era**

### Required Reading:

Michael T. Martin, Marilyn Yaquinto, eds., *Redress for Historical Injustices in the United States: On Reparations for Slavery, Jim Crow, and Their Legacies*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007, 625-628; Griffith, Baker, *Major Problems in American History since 1945*, 439-442; Story, Laurie, *The Rise of Conservatism in America*, 97-100; Carol M. Swain, Russ Nieli, eds., *Contemporary Voices of White Nationalism in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 166-183; Nikole Hannah-Jones, "Segregation Now," *The Atlantic*, May 2014, 68-81.

### **6th Session: 25 November 2019: Immigration and the Demographic Transformation of America**

#### Required Reading:

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson 1965 II, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966, 1037-1040; Griffith, Baker, *Major Problems in American History since 1945*, 437-439; Jon Gjerde, ed., *Major Problems in American Immigration and Ethnic History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998, 440-448; Pew Research Center, U.S. Population Projections: 2005–2050. Washington, D.C., 2008; David Frum, “How Much Immigration Is Too Much?” *The Atlantic*, April 2019, 64-74.

### **7th Session: 2 December 2019: Crime, Violence, and Fear**

#### Required Reading:

Manfred Berg, “Race, Crime, and the Rise of the Carceral State since the 1960s,” in: William E. Leuchtenburg, ed., *American Mosaic. Festschrift in Honor of Cornelis van Minnen*. Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2017, 53-62; Adam Lankford, “Are America’s Public Mass Shooters Unique? A Comparative Analysis of Offenders in the United States and Other Countries,” *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 40, no. 2 (2016), 171-83; Story, Laurie, *The Rise of Conservatism in America*, 82-84; 94-96.

### **8th Session: 9 December 2019: Feminism, Gender Relations, and Sexuality**

#### Required Reading:

Bloom/Breines, “*Takin’ It to the Streets*”, 428-429; 499-502; 506-508; Griffith, Baker, *Major Problems in American History since 1945*, 280-297, 475-478; Matthew A. Sutton, ed., *Jerry Falwell and the Rise of the Religious Right: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2013, 92-118.

### **9th Session: 16 December 2019: The Culture Wars**

#### Required Reading:

Lawrence W. Levine, *The Opening of the American Mind: Canons, Culture, and History*. Boston: Beacon Press 1996, 3-33; Jonathan Zimmerman, *Campus Politics: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016, 90-108; Sutton, *Jerry Falwell and the Rise of the Religious Right*, 82-91.

### **10th Session: 13 January 2020: The Media Revolution, Alternative Facts, and the Decline of Expert Authority**

#### Required Reading:

Nathaniel Persily, "Can Democracy Survive the Internet?" *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 2 (2017), 63-76; Yascha Mounk, *The People vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017, 137-151; Morgan Marietta, David C. Barker. *One Nation, Two Realities. Dueling Facts in American Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019, Introduction.

### **11th Session: 20 January 2020: At the Water's Edge? Disputes over Foreign Policy and National Interest from the Cold War to the War on Terror**

#### Required Reading:

Andrew J. Bacevich, ed., *Ideas and American Foreign Policy: A Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, 377-381; 404-409; 449-450; 461-463; 477-492; Story, Laurie, *The Rise of Conservatism in America*, 107-110; Schneider, ed., *Conservatism in America since 1930*, 401-413.

### **12th Session: 27 January 2020: Barack Obama, Donald Trump, and the Crisis of American Democracy**

#### Required Reading:

Barack Obama, "A More Perfect Union," Philadelphia, PA, March 18, 2008, online; "Black Lives Matter Guiding Principles" (2013), online; Todd Gitlin, *Occupy Nation. The Roots, the Spirit and the Promise of Occupy Wall Street*. New York 2012, 222-229; Edward Ashbee, "Bewitched-the Tea Party Movement: Ideas, Interests and Institutions." *Political Quarterly* 82, no. 2 (2011), 157-164; Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*. New York: The New Press, 2016, 221-230; Pew Research Center, *The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider*. Washington, D.C.: October 2017, 1-5; 65-71; Francis Fukuyama, "American Political Decay or Renewal? The Meaning of the 2016 Election." *Foreign Affairs*, July/August (2016), online.

### **13th Session: 3 February 2020: Final Discussion**

#### Required Reading:

Jonathan Rauch, "How American Politics Went Insane," *The Atlantic*, July/August 2016, online; Charles Duhigg, "Why Are We So Angry?" *The Atlantic*, January/February 2019, 62-75.

## Selected Bibliography

### Reference Works, Surveys:

Agnew, Jean-Christophe, Roy Rosenzweig, eds. *A Companion to Post-1945 America, Blackwell Companions To American History*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.

Berg, Manfred. *Geschichte der USA. Oldenbourg Grundriss Der Geschichte*. München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013.

Boyer, Paul S., et al. *The Enduring Vision. A History of the American People*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning, 2014.

Cain, Louis P., Price V. Fishback, and Paul W. Rhode, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of American Economic History*. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Cayton, Mary Kupiec, Peter W. Williams, eds. *Encyclopedia of American Cultural & Intellectual History*. III vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2001.

Chafe, William H. *The Unfinished Journey. America Since World War II*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford - New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Chapman, Roger ed. *Culture Wars. An Encyclopedia of Issues, Voices, and Viewpoints*. 2 vols. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2010.

Depkat, Volker. *Geschichte der USA*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2016.

Dubofsky, Melvyn, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Business, Labor, and Economic History*. 2 vols New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Farber, David, Beth Bailey, eds. *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.

Finkelman, Paul, ed. *The Encyclopedia of American Civil Liberties*. 4 vols. London: Routledge, 2006.

Finkelman, Paul, ed. *Encyclopedia of African American History, 1896 to the Present : From the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First Century*. 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Griffith, Robert, Paula Baker, eds. *Major Problems in American History since 1945*. 3 ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007.

Kazin, Michael, Rebecca Edwards, Adam Rothman, eds. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of American Political History*. 2 vols Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Mauch, Christof, Rüdiger B. Wersich, eds. *USA Lexikon. Schlüsselbegriffe zu Politik, Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Geschichte und zu den deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen*. 2. Aufl. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2013.

- Nash, Gary B., ed. *Encyclopedia of American History*. 11 vols. New York: Facts on File, 2003.
- Ness, Immanuel, ed. *Encyclopedia of American Social Movements*. 4 vols. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2004.
- Sutch, Richard, Susan B. Carter, eds. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*. 6 vols. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Whitfield, Stephen J., ed. *A Companion to 20th-Century America. Blackwell Companions to American History*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Zmerli, Sonja , Tom W. G. van der Meer, eds. *Handbook on Political Trust*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2017.

### **Works on U.S. History, 1960s to the Present**

- Abrams, Richard M. *America Transformed: Sixty Years of Revolutionary Change, 1941-2001*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Anderson, Terry H. *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee*. New York, 1995.
- Bailey, Beth L., ed. *America in the Seventies*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004.
- Baker, Carrie. *The Women's Movement against Sexual Harassment*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Belew, Kathleen. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018.
- Berkowitz, Edward D. *Something Happened: A Political and Cultural Overview of the Seventies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Berman, William. *America's Right Turn: From Nixon to Bush*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.
- Bloom, Alexander, Wini Breines, eds. *"Takin' It to the Streets": A Sixties' Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Borstelmann, Thomas. *1970s. A New Global History from Civil Rights to Economic Inequality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 2011.
- Carter, Dan T. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.
- Collins, Gail. *When Everything Changed: The Amazing Journey of American Women from 1960 to the Present*. New York: Little, Brown and Co, 2009.
- Collins, Robert M. *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Collins, Robert M. *Transforming America: Politics and Culture in the Reagan Years*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Critchlow, Donald T. *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Critchlow, Donald T. *The Conservative Ascendancy: How the GOP Right Made Political History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Dionne, E.J., William Kristol, eds. *Bush v. Gore. The Court Cases and the Commentary*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press, 2001.
- Eckes, Alfred E., Thomas W. Zeiler. *Globalization and the American Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
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- Evans, Sara M. *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century's End*. New York: Free Press, 2003.
- Ferguson, Niall, Charles Maier, Erez Manela, Daniel Sargent, eds. *The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective*. Cambridge, Mass. - London: Belknap Press 2010.
- Flamm, Michael W. *Law and Order: Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Foley, Michael Stewart. *Front Porch Politics. The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2014.
- Formisano, Ronald P. *The Tea Party: A Brief History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012.
- Formisano, Ronald P. *American Oligarchy: The Permanent Political Class*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2017.
- Fraser, Steve, and Gary Gerstle, eds. *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Garrow, David. *Liberty and Sexuality: The Right to Privacy and the Making of "Roe v. Wade"*. New York, 1994.
- Gifford, Laura Jane, and Daniel K. Williams. *The Right Side of the Sixties : Reexamining Conservatism's Decade of Transformation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Gillon, Steven. *The American Paradox: A History of the United States since 1960*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003.
- Gore, Dayo F., Jeanne Theoharis, Komozi Woodard, eds. *Want to Start a Revolution? : Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle*. New York: New York University Press, 2009.
- Hartman, Andrew. *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture Wars*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

- Haugeberg, Karissa. *Women against Abortion: Inside the Largest Moral Reform Movement of the Twentieth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017.
- Hodgson, Godfrey. *More Equal Than Others: America from Nixon to the New Century*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Isserman, Maurice, Michael Kazin. *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s*. New York - Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Jacobs, Meg, Julian E. Zelizer. *Conservatives in Power : The Reagan Years, 1981-1989 : A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010.
- Jacobs, Meg. *Panic at the Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s*. New York: Hill & Wang, 2016.
- Katz, Michael B., and Mark Stern. *One Nation Divisible: What America Was and What It Is Becoming*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006.
- Kazin, Michael. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. New York: Basic Books, 1995.
- Klarman, Michael J. *From the Closet to the Altar: Courts, Backlash, and the Struggle for Same-Sex Marriage*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
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- Martin, Isaac William. *Rich People's Movements: Grassroots Campaigns to Untax the One Percent*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
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- Zaretsky, Natasha. *No Direction Home: The American Family and the Fear of National Decline, 1968-1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

### **Works on Contemporary U.S. Society and Politics**

- Abramowitz, Alan I.: *The Great Alignment. Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump*. New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2018.
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- Hayes, Christopher. *Twilight of the Elites: America after Meritocracy*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2012.
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- Hetherington, Marc. *Why Trust Matters: Declining Political Trust and the Demise of American Liberalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.
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- Levitsky, Steven, Daniel Ziblatt. *How Democracies Die: What History Reveals About Our Future*. New York: Penguin Random House, 2018.

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- Rosenfeld, Sam. *The Polarizers. Postwar Architects of Our Partisan Era*. Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press, 2018.
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Stiglitz, Joseph R. *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company 2012.

Sunstein, Cass R. *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Zelizer, Julian E., ed. *The Presidency of Barack Obama*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018.

## Useful Links

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>

The Library of Congress website “American Memory” offers various collections dedicated to U.S. History that provide documents, images, research tools, information about the Library's holdings.

<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/>

The Avalon Project at Yale University is a major collection of treaties, legal documents, and other sources spanning pre 18<sup>th</sup> century resources up to the modern day.

<http://www.nara.gov>

The National Archives and Records Administration is the federal agency that oversees the management of federal records. This site contains, among other things, a Digital Classroom for students, an Online Exhibit Hall containing historical documents and images and research information about the National Archives holdings.

<https://www.census.gov/>

The Bureau of Census is a division of the federal government of the United States Department of Commerce that is responsible for conducting the national census at least once every 10 years, in which the population of the United States is counted. The Bureau is responsible for collecting data on the people, economy and country of the United States. The website is a gateway to innumerable data on population, economics, etc.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/>

The Pew Research Center is nonpartisan think tank and research institution based in Washington, D.C. It conducts research on public opinion, demographic trends, social issues, media reporting, religion, etc.