

## **Political Science 323 Spring Semester – 2018**

### **Jerry Brown's California in Donald Trump's America: How Did We Get Here 1968 – 2018?**



**Legislator in Residence David Hadley**

**Class Schedule: Wednesdays, 3:30 – 6:20pm**

**Classroom: VKC 101**

**Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:00 – 3:00pm or as scheduled**

**(Office hours held in VKC 318)**

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#### **Course Description and Goals**

If you are an American living in California in 2018 (or if you are a politically minded observer), you are experiencing American Federalism at its most extreme. At a national level, the Republican Party (or GOP) is arguably at its greatest level of political prominence since the 1920's or since the founding of the GOP in the 1850's. Republicans control:

- the Presidency, the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives; and
- 32 of 50 governorships and 66 of 98 partisan state legislative chambers.

In stark contrast, the Democratic Party has never been stronger in California. Democrats control:

- all eight California statewide constitutional offices;
- two-thirds super-majorities in both chambers of the state legislature (or did until recent resignations from the Assembly);
- both California U.S. Senate seats;
- 74% of California's Congressional delegation

Democrats also dominate politics in the state's main urban centers: Los Angeles County and the nine counties that surround the San Francisco Bay.

Beyond the numbers, California politics diverges dramatically from the rest of the country. The U.S. seems to be swept up in a populist wave, most starkly demonstrated by the bitter presidential primaries both parties experienced in 2016. Meanwhile in California, populism takes a back seat to resistance to the Trump administration.

The very foundations of California's role in the United States are being questioned by some. State nullification of Federal law, CalExit (California leaving the Union and establishing an independent republic), and splitting California into two, or three, or six states all have supporters.

This course will seek to answer the following questions:

- How true is the general characterization that California has diverged from national political trends?
- What are the main drivers of California divergence?
- To what degree can California's political development be explained by exogenous events and factors that are similarly affecting other states, and to what degree are endogenous forces driving California politics?
- What are the prospects for continuing divergence or possible convergence between California and national politics?
- What might the future hold – Federal/state cooperation, conflict, compromise, secession?

This course is designed to foster an ability to think critically and to apply what you have learned. This course will draw on a wide range of material: theoretical, demographic, economic, historical, polling, legislative and Constitutional. It will sometimes seek to include information about other

states and regions to distinguish between California and national forces, but the focus will be on California.

This is a social science course. One of the specific goals of the course will be to encourage students to **formulate testable hypotheses** to explain California's political evolution in comparison with other jurisdictions, and to **determine the explanatory power of such hypotheses by marshalling evidence for and against**. I don't write this to scare you – you are not going to be asked to perform regressions or statistical analyses. This course will encourage you to ask the big questions about California politics, and to ask them in such a way that you can draw on evidence from California and the other 49 states (and possibly international experience) to answer them.

New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan was known to say, "Everyone is entitled to their own opinions, but they are not entitled to their own facts." If your opinion is stated in such a way that no evidence could ever refute it, I would advise you to re-state your opinion as a testable hypothesis whenever possible and then go test it.

I will be bringing to bear my time in office as a State Assemblyman in Sacramento, as well as my experience having run high-profile legislative campaigns two election cycles in a row (2014 and 2016). My hope is that a mix of study, real world experience and classroom discussion will create an intense learning experience. I also hope to include a few guest lecturers who can share with you their unique perspectives on these issues.

### **Grading**

Students will be asked to write a 5-to-6 page analytical paper ("Paper #1," see below) worth 15% of your grade which is due at the start of class on February 21.

Students will take a closed-book, in-class midterm exam on March 7. The exam will be 90 minutes. It will be worth 20% of your total grade.

Students will be asked to write a 10-to-12 page research paper ("Paper #2," see below) worth 30% of your grade which is due at the start of class on April 25.

Students will take a closed-book, in-class final exam on a date in May to be determined. The exam will be worth 35% of your total grade.

Your grade may be raised or lowered up to one-third of a grade based on your class participation and attendance. I will be recording attendance in each class to help make sure that any such adjustment is fair to all students.

Note: Review your finals schedule at the beginning of the semester to avoid conflicts. Early finals will not be given unless the university policy allows for such an exception (review university policy) or a documented emergency occurs. In other words, the date/time of the final will not be altered to accommodate airline flights.

### **Paper #1**

Students will be asked to write a 5-to-6 page paper which is due at the end of class on February 21. You may write on any of the following topics:

- Argue in favor of, or in opposition to, the following statement: “California voter registration trends 1968-2000 are a significant factor in explaining California political outcomes during this period.”
- Select one action or initiative by a political leader in California 1966-2000 that you believe had a significant impact on California’s political evolution, and explain its significance.
- Select one event originating outside the realm of California politics 1968-2000 that you believe had a significant impact on California’s political evolution, describe it and explain its significance.
- Did the national brand of the Democratic Party help or hurt Democratic prospects in California prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union? Explain.
- Did the national brand of the Republican Party help or hurt Republican prospects in California prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union? Explain.

Please submit Paper #1 typed, double-spaced, on paper no later than the end of the course period on February 21.

### **Paper #2**

Students will be asked to write a 10-to-12 page research paper which is due at the end of class on April 25. Your research paper will be run through TurnItIn. You may write on any of the following topics:

- Was it inevitable that California would become dominated by the Democratic Party once the Cold War ended, or do strengths/weaknesses/initiatives of specific leaders explain this evolution? Explain.
- California is a Democratic-dominated state because of (a) Democratic political and policy successes that have attracted voters to the party, (b) Democratic policy failures that have driven voters out of the state who were mostly Republican, (c) Federal immigration policies that have transformed California’s demographics, or (d) Republican failures of leadership. Pick the answer you believe is the most true, and defend your answer.

- If you believe that the syllabus for this course has omitted a significant factor explaining California's political evolution 1968-2018, identify the factor, explain it and argue for its significance.
- If you would like to request a different topic, please come visit me during office hours. Please check with me early, approval will not be easily granted. I don't want to discourage creativity, but I also want you focused on the major themes of California politics during this time period.

A portion of your grade on this paper will be evidence (including citations) that you have gone beyond the readings assigned for the class.

Please submit Paper #2 (i) typed, double-spaced, on paper, and (ii) on Blackboard using TurnItIn, no later than the end of the course period on April 25.

### **Assignment Submission Policy**

You may turn in your papers to me in person or you may bring to the POSC Department, VKC 327, when the office is open.

### **Required Texts**

Edited by F. Douzet, T. Kousser and K. Miller, *The New Political Geography of California* (Berkeley Public Policy Press, 2008). Abbreviated as *NPGofCA*.

C. McFadden, *Trailblazer: A Biography of Jerry Brown* (University of California Press, 2013). Abbreviated as *Trailblazer*.

Course Reader – A course reader is also required for this class. The reader is available for purchase in the university bookstore, and a copy will be also available at the reserve desk in Leavey Library.

### **Free Speech and Respectful Discussion**

I cherish the extensive protection that the U.S. Constitution provides for free speech, and I believe that students' learning and the mission of this university are advanced by robust discussion. As noted above, a portion of your grade in this course may be based on your active participation in the classroom. I hope we all benefit in this course from a "frank exchange of views" (as the diplomat famously said).

It is also incumbent on each of us to be respectful of others. We are all part of the USC family. It is possible to say controversial or disagreeable things without being disagreeable. Please review

the university's free speech policy or contact me if you are uncomfortable with the behavior of anybody in the classroom.

## **Statement on Academic and Personal Conduct and Support Systems**

### **Academic and Personal Conduct**

Plagiarism – presenting someone else's ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, *Behavior Violating University Standards and Appropriate Sanctions* <https://policy.usc.edu/student/scampus>.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the *Office of Equity and Diversity* <http://equity.usc.edu> or to the *Department of Public Safety* <http://adminopsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety>. This is important for the safety of the whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person.

The *Sexual Assault Resource Center* webpage describes reporting options and other resources. <http://sarc.usc.edu>

### **Support Systems**

A number of USC's schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more.

Students whose primary language is not English should check with the *American Language Institute*, which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international students. <http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>

The Office of Disability Services and Programs provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange relevant accommodations. [http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home\\_index.html](http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html)

If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, USC Emergency Information will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will continue by means of blackboard, teleconferencing and other technology. <http://emergency.usc.edu>

## Course Outline & Schedule

General format. Unless specified otherwise, courses will take place on Wednesdays from 3:30pm to 6:20pm in VKC 101. **We will start promptly.** We will take a 15-ish-minute break starting at approximately 5:00pm (exact break time to be dictated by a logical break in the material being covered).

I understand we all think we are entirely dependent on our smartphones, but I will ask that you **refrain from phone calls in class and limit your browsing and texting.** Who knows, you might actually learn something from a classmate or from me! If this approach does not yield satisfactory results, I reserve the right to ban electronic devices in my classroom.

<p>January 10</p>	<p><b>Part I – Class Introduction.</b> During this first week, you need to review the syllabus closely, evaluate your interest and the amount of work required for this class, and decide if you are in for the duration.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Instructor Introduction</li> <li>• Summary of course’s main topics and themes</li> <li>• Class discussion: exogenous and endogenous factors affecting California’s political evolution</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – California Politics in the 1960’s.</b> A broad overview of the history, institutions and political leaders in California as we start our study.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• K. Starr, <i>Golden Dreams: California in an Age of Abundance 1950-1963</i> (Oxford University Press, 2009), Chapter 7 (“Warren, Nixon, Knight, Knowland: The Demise of Republican Centrism”)</li> <li>• B. Janiskee &amp; K. Masugi, <i>Democracy in California: Politics and Government in the Golden State, Fourth Edition</i> (Rowman &amp; Littlefield, 2015), Chapter 2 (“A Progressive Constitution”)</li> <li>• E. Rarick, <i>California Rising: The Life and Times of Pat Brown</i>, (University of California Press, 2005), Chapter 16 (“Tired Old Governor”)</li> <li>• W. Bean &amp; J. Rawls, <i>California: An Interpretive History</i>, (McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1988), pp. 358 – 361 (“The Governorship of Edmund G. Brown”)</li> </ul>
<p>January 17</p>	<p><b>Part I – Just the Facts.</b> Because this course is going to explore numerous subjects and themes in an interconnected way, we will</p>

	<p>benefit from starting with some common facts about voter registration, voter participation and election results.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POSC 323 Hadley Spring 2018 Data Packet – Election &amp; Voter Registration Information Version 1.0 (posted in Blackboard)</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – Just the Facts Continued.</b> We will also cover many of the most significant changes in California’s political system since 1950, as well as some of their implications.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POSC 323 Hadley Spring 2018 Data Packet – Electoral &amp; Campaign Finance Changes Version 1.0 (coming)</li> </ul>
January 24	<p><b>Part I – The Governorship of Ronald Reagan 1967-1975.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• L. Cannon, <i>Governor Reagan: His Rise to Power</i> (Public Affairs, 2003), Chapters 11 (“Candidate”) and 12 (“Winner”)</li> <li>• J. Tygiel, “Ronald Reagan and the Triumph of Conservatism,” in M. Eymann and C. Wollenberg (eds.), <i>What’s Going On? California and the Vietnam Era</i> (University of California Press, 2004)</li> <li>• B. Boyarsky, <i>Big Daddy: Jesse Unruh and the Art of Power Politics</i> (University of California Press, 2008), Chapter 11 (“A Full-Time Legislature”) and Chapter 13 (“Unruh versus Reagan”)</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – The Nationalization and Polarization of American Politics Since World War II</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J. Micklethwait &amp; A. Woolridge, <i>The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America</i> (Penguin Press, 2004), pp. 54-60, pp. 87-93 and pp. 264-267.</li> <li>• A. Nagourney, “‘Cultural War’ of 1992 Moves In From the Fringe,” <i>New York Times</i>, August 29, 2012</li> </ul>
January 31	<p><b>Part I – The Son Also Rises: The Governorship of Jerry Brown 1975-1983.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Trailblazer</i>, Chapters 2, 3 and 4, and Appendix I</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – Constitutional Changes, Tax Revolt and the Transformation of Government Finances.</b></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• D. Doerr, <i>California's Tax Machine: A History of Taxing and Spending in the Golden State</i> (California Taxpayers' Association, 2000), Part VII, Chapter Four ("The Passage of Proposition 13").</li> <li>• TBA – Serrano v. Priest and changes to California education funding</li> </ul>
February 7	<p><b>Part I – The Governorship of George Deukmejian 1983-1991.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J. Richardson, <i>Willie Brown: A Biography</i> (University of California Press, 1996), Chapter 21 ("Deukmejian") and 22 ("Willie Brown Inc.")</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – California Politics Before and After the Collapse of the Soviet Union</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• M.J. Gilbert, "Next Stop – Silicon Valley: The Cold War, Vietnam, and the Making of the California Economy," in M. Eymann and C. Wollenberg (eds.), <i>What's Going On? California and the Vietnam Era</i> (University of California Press, 2004)</li> <li>• D. Walters, "How the New Los Angeles has Reshaped California Politics," in <i>NPGofCA</i></li> </ul>
February 14	<p><b>Part I – The Governorship of Pete Wilson 1991-1999.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J. Richardson, <i>Willie Brown: A Biography</i> (University of California Press, 1996), pp. 357-387</li> <li>• P. Schrager, <i>Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future</i> (The New Press, 1998), pp. 52-56</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – Rapid Demographic Change and Its Political Implications</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <a href="http://www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/">www.pewhispanic.org/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/</a> (not in the reader, but a helpful reference site)</li> <li>• K. Starr, <i>California: A History</i> (2005) – Chapter 12 ("Ecumenopolis: Forging a World Society")</li> <li>• J.M. Kousser, "Has California Really Gone Colorblind?" in <i>NPGofCA</i></li> <li>• M. Fiorina and S. Abrams, "Is California Really a Blue State?" in <i>NPGofCA</i></li> </ul>

<p>February 21</p>	<p><b>First paper due at beginning of class.</b></p> <p><b>Part I – Davis Gets Terminated: Governor Gray Davis, the 2003 Recall and Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger 1999-2011.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TBA – reading on Gray Davis 1998 election</li> <li>• J. Mathews, <i>The People’s Machine</i> (Public Affairs, 2006), Selected excerpts</li> <li>• K. Starr, <i>California: A History</i> (2005) – Chapter 13 (“Arnold! Stewardship or Squandered Legacy?”)</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – What Might Have Been – What a Competitive Los Angeles GOP Might Look Like</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Edited by M. Magnet, <i>The Millennial City: A New Urban Paradigm for 21<sup>st</sup>-Century America</i> (2000), by J. Kotkin, “Why Los Angeles is Bouncing Back”</li> <li>• Also in M. Magnet 2000, by H. MacDonald, “Why Koreans Succeed”</li> </ul>
<p>February 28</p>	<p><b>Part I – The Second Coming: The Governorship of Jerry Brown 2011 – present.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Trailblazer</i>, Chapters 7 and 8, and Afterword</li> <li>• <i>The Economist</i>, March 17, 2011, “California reelin”</li> <li>• M. Winkler, “California Makes America’s Economy Great,” in <i>Bloomberg View</i>, June 6, 2016</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – California from Earth Day to the Paris Climate Accord: Sound Stewardship or Limousine Liberalism?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• L. Cannon, Governor Reagan – Chapter 21 (“Conservationist”)</li> <li>• More readings to be announced and posted</li> </ul>
<p>March 7</p>	<p><b>Part I – Midterm Exam</b> (90 minutes).</p> <p><b>Part II – Guest Speaker</b> expected (to be announced).</p>
<p>March 14</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SPRING BREAK – NO CLASS</p>
<p>March 21</p>	<p><b>Part I – Economic Dynamism: The Rise of California’s Intellectual Property Economy</b></p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• See page of excerpts from D. Walters, <i>The New California: Facing the Twenty-first Century</i></li> <li>• By F. Douzet and K. Miller, “California’s East-West Divide,” in <i>NPGofCA</i>.</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – Poverty and Out-Migration: The Decline of Aerospace, Manufacturing and the Middle Class</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Readings to be announced and posted</li> </ul>
<p>March 28</p>	<p><b>Part I – Urban Politics, Multiculturalism and California’s Political Geography</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• R. Browning et al, “Blacks and Hispanics in California City Politics: Changes in Representation,” in <i>Emerging Issues in Public Policy: Politics, Government and Related Policy Issues 1977-1982</i> (Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California Berkeley, 1984)</li> <li>• R. Sonenshein and M. Drayse, “The Political Geography of Coalitions in an Age of Immigration: The Case of Los Angeles,” in <i>NPGofCA</i>.</li> <li>• R. Putnam, “E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century”</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – California on the Front Lines of America’s Culture Wars</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• R. Teixeira, “The Emerging Democratic Majority Turns 10,” in <i>The Atlantic</i>, November 9, 2012</li> <li>• More readings to be announced and posted</li> </ul>
<p>April 4</p>	<p><b>Part I – The Unionization of Public Employees and the Impact on California Public Policy &amp; Politics</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J. Dolan, “The Pension Gap,” in the <i>Los Angeles Times</i>, September 18, 2016 (<a href="http://www.latimes.com/projects/la-me-pension-crisis-davis-deal/">http://www.latimes.com/projects/la-me-pension-crisis-davis-deal/</a>)</li> <li>• <i>The Economist</i>, July 27, 2013, “Who pays the bill? Pensioners are pushing many cities and states towards financial crisis”</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – Investing in Political Outcomes: Special Interest Money in California Politics</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Readings to be announced and posted</li> </ul>

<p>April 11</p>	<p><b>Part I – How the National Parties and Presidents Have – and Have Not – Invested in California</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TBA</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – Guest Speaker</b> (to be announced).</p>
<p>April 18</p>	<p><b>Part I – What the 2018 Elections Might Say about California’s Future</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TBA</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – The Depth of the Republican Hole in California</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TBA</li> </ul>
<p>April 25</p>	<p><b>Second paper due at beginning of class.</b></p> <p><b>Part I – Prospects for Political Balance in California: Democratic Vulnerabilities and Republican Opportunities &amp; Challenges</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• K. Murphy, “Republicans vying for California governor’s office likely to face skeptical donors,” <i>The Mercury News</i>, September 2, 2017</li> <li>• P. Willon and S. Mehta, “California Democrats worry that infighting will distract party leaders from taking on Trump,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i>, June 8, 2017</li> <li>• A. Nagourney, “Democratic Fight in California Is a Warning for the National Party,” <i>New York Times</i>, August 9, 2017</li> <li>• D. Savage, “Supreme Court poised to deal a sharp blow to unions for teachers and public employees,” <i>Los Angeles Times</i>, September 28, 2017</li> </ul> <p><b>Part II – Whither California and Washington, D.C. – Conflict, Cooperation, Coexistence, Convergence, More States or Secession?</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• F. Vergniolle de Chantal, “The Antifederalist Moment in California Politics,” in <i>NPGofCA</i>.</li> <li>• N. Sganga, “Cal-exit? Meet the movement for Californian secession,” <i>CBS News</i>, February 20, 2017</li> </ul>
<p>May __</p>	<p>FINAL EXAM – DATE/TIME TO BE DETERMINED</p>