

POLA 301, Special Projects: The Politics of the American South, Fall 2007

Section 1: MWF 11:00–11:50 a.m., 126A Gibson Hall

Section 2: MWF 12:00–12:50 p.m., 126A Gibson Hall

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Hours: MWF 10:00–11:00 a.m., or by appointment

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This course focuses on the politics of the American South in the 20th and 21st centuries. In attempting to make sense of this region's unique, fascinating, and often frustrating politics, we will explore a series of related topics all relating to a central theme of race relations. After placing the region's politics in theoretical context, we will explore the economic and historical factors that shaped the "old" South and led to revolutionary transformations in the region during the middle decades of this century.

In the second half of the course, we will turn our attention to more contemporary matters, examining presidential and sub-presidential level politics in the South, surveying the political landscapes in selected deep and rim South states, and considering several contemporary topics in greater depth, including the theoretical concept of partisan realignment and the dynamics of racial representation. We will also consider the relationship between Southern politics and conservatism in the South and the United States more generally, in terms of both ideology and party identification.

Finally, this course is a *seminar*. While I, as the instructor, will often lecture and lead the discussion in the course, your participation and reading is key to the success of the class. You are expected to complete the readings *prior to class* and to be prepared to discuss their content with your fellow students.

Texts: Readings will be taken from the following books:

Black, Earl, and Merle Black. 1987. *Politics and Society in the South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. ISBN 0-674-68959-3.

Bullock, Charles S. III, and Mark J. Rozell, eds. 2006. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, 3rd ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. ISBN 0-7425-5344-2.

Davidson, Chandler, and Bernard Grofman, eds. 1994. *Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act, 1965–1990*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. ISBN 0-691-02108-2.

Key, V.O. 1949 (1984). *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press. ISBN 0-87049-435-X. (*Recommended; required readings available on reserve*)

Lassiter, Matthew D. 2007. *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. ISBN 978-0-691-13389-8.

Woodard, J. David. 2006. *The New Southern Politics*. Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner Publishers. ISBN 1-58826-397-5.

Additional readings, as noted on the syllabus by (R), will be made available online via BlackBoard or on reserve at the library. In addition, I will place complete copies of Key, Bass and

DeVries, and earlier editions of Bullock and Rozell (which include different essays than those included in the current edition) on reserve at the library.

Assignments and Grading: Your grade in this course will be based on the following elements, weighted as indicated:

First Research Presentation and Essay	15%
Second Research Presentation and Essay	20%
Book Review	25%
Final Exam	20%
Reading Quizzes	10%
Participation	10%

Research Presentations and Essays: In each section, groups including 3–5 students (depending on class sizes) will be assigned responsibility for one of the following states or pairs of states:

- ★ Arkansas and Texas
- ★ Louisiana
- ★ Alabama and Mississippi
- ★ Florida and Georgia
- ★ North Carolina and South Carolina
- ★ Kentucky and Tennessee
- ★ Virginia and West Virginia

Each group will make two 8–12 minute presentations to the class and turn in two 5–7 page papers on the politics and party competition of their assigned state(s) for two periods: the first period, from 1865 until 1950, and the second period from 1951 until the present. Each paper should include a historical overview of the important political developments in your group’s assigned state(s), and should relate those developments to the general themes of the course. You should rely primarily on scholarly books and journals in your essays; sources from the Internet that did not initially appear in print (including content from online encyclopedias or personal websites) should not be used as a source.

Useful sources for these papers include, but are not limited to, Key’s *Southern Politics in State and Nation*; Bass and DeVries’ *The Transformation of Southern Politics*; various editions of Bullock and Rozell’s book; and Alexander Lamis’ *Southern Politics in the 1990s*. Some of the books listed below as potential book review subjects may also be helpful.

The first paper will be due on **Friday, September 28** at the beginning of class. Presentations will begin Monday, October 1, and continue until all groups have made their presentation; anticipate 2–3 group presentations per class period, which will allow time for discussion involving the professor and your fellow students.

The second paper will be due **Friday, November 9** at the beginning of class. Presentations will begin Monday, November 12 and continue until all groups have presented, in reverse order from the first group of presentations.

You should submit a printed copy of the paper and an electronic copy; the latter will be circulated to the class. As such, your presentations should focus on the most important aspects of your state’s politics, relegating many of the details to your paper.

Critical Book Review: In a 5–7 page paper, you will write a review of one of the books listed below. Rather than merely summarizing the work in question (although a good review will give a

“big picture” summary of the book’s major themes and the author’s approach to studying those themes), you should analyze the author’s arguments and place them in the broader context of the course; in other words, the goal of your essay is to explain how the book in question will help us better understand Southern politics. You should also evaluate how successful the work is in marshaling evidence in support of its arguments—do the authors do a good job convincing others, including you, that their arguments are correct?

Good examples of scholarly book reviews may typically be found in recent editions of scholarly journals such as *Perspectives on Politics*, *The Journal of Politics*, and *The American Journal of Political Science*, typically towards the back of the journal after the research articles.

You should be able to find copies of these books at the Howard-Tilton Memorial Library; additional copies of some books may be found at the Amistad Research Center in Tilton Memorial Hall or the Monroe Library at Loyola University.

Aistrup, Joseph A. 1995. *The Southern Strategy Revisited: Republican Top-Down Advancement in the South*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky. ISBN 978-0-8131-1904-5.

Black, Earl and Merle Black. 2003. *The Rise of Southern Republicans*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press. ISBN 978-0-674-01248-6.

Bridges, Tyler. 2001. *Bad Bet on the Bayou: The Rise of Gambling in Louisiana and the Fall of Governor Edwin Edwards*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux. ISBN 0-374-10830-7.

Canon, David T. 1999. *Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts*. U of Chicago Press. ISBN 978-0-226-09271-3.

Cobb, James C. 2006. *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-195-31581-2.

Cochran, Augustus B. III. 2001. *Democracy Heading South: National Politics in the Shadow of Dixie*. Lawrence: UP of Kansas. ISBN 978-0-700-61089-1.

Crespino, Joseph. 2007. *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution*. Princeton UP. ISBN 978-0-691-12209-0.

Dowdy, G. Wayne. 2006. *Mayor Crump Don't Like It: Machine Politics in Memphis*. Jackson: UP of Mississippi. ISBN 1-57806-859-2.

Fauntroy, Michael K. 2007. *Republicans and the Black Vote*. Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner. ISBN 978-1-58826-470-1.

Fenno, Richard F., Jr. 2000. *Congress at the Grassroots: Representational Change in the South, 1974–1998*. UNC Press. ISBN 978-0-8078-4855-5.

Frederickson, Kari. 2002. *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932–1968*. UNC Press. ISBN 978-0-8078-4910-1.

Frymer, Paul. 1999. *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America*. Princeton UP. ISBN 978-0-691-00464-8.

Glaser, James M. 1998. *Race, Campaign Politics, and the Realignment in the South*. New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press. ISBN 0-300-07723-8.

Glaser, James M. 2005. *The Hand of the Past in Contemporary Southern Politics*. New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press. ISBN 0-300-10656-4.

Grantham, Dewey W. 1988 (1992). *The Life and Death of the Solid South: A Political History*. Lexington: UP of Kentucky. ISBN 978-0-8131-0813-1.

- Gregory, James N. 2007. *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America*. UNC Press. ISBN 978-0-8078-5651-2
- Hadley, Charles D., and Lewis Bowman, eds. 1998. *Party Activists in Southern Politics: Mirrors and Makers of Change*. Knoxville: UT Press.
- Kantrowitz, Stephen. 2000. *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*. UNC Press. ISBN 978-0-8078-4839-5.
- Kruse, Kevin M. 2007. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. Princeton UP. ISBN 978-0-691-13386-7.
- Lublin, David. 2007. *The Republican South: Democratization and Partisan Change*. Princeton UP. ISBN 978-0-691-13047-7.
- Martinez, J. Michael et al. 2001. *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*. UP of Florida. ISBN 0-978-0-813-02100-3.
- Menifield, Charles E. and Stephen D. Shaffer, eds. 2006. *Politics in the New South: Representation of African Americans in Southern State Legislatures*. SUNY Press. ISBN 978-0-7914-6532-5.
- Moye, J. Todd. 2004. *Let The People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945-1986*. UNC Press. ISBN 978-0-8078-5561-4.
- Nash, Jere and Andy Taggart. *Mississippi Politics: The Struggle for Power, 1976-2006*. Jackson: UP of Mississippi. ISBN 978-1-57806-907-1.
- Parker, Frank R. 1990. *Black Votes Count: Political Empowerment in Mississippi after 1965*. UNC Press. ISBN 978-0-8078-4274-4.
- Pohlmann, Marcus D. and Michael P. Kirby. 1996. *Racial Politics at the Crossroads: Memphis Elects Dr. W.W. Herenton*. Knoxville: UT Press. ISBN 0-87049-927-0.
- Shafer, Byron E. and Richard Johnston. 2006. *The End of Southern Exceptionalism: Class, Race, and Partisan Change in the Postwar South*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP. ISBN 978-0-674-01934-8.
- Sokol, Jason. 2006. *There Goes My Everything: White Southerners in the Age of Civil Rights*. New York: Knopf.
- Steed, Robert P., John A. Clark, Lewis Bowman, and Charles D. Hadley, eds. 1998. *Party Organization and Activism in the American South*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Steed, Robert P. and Laurence W. Morehead, eds. 2006. *Writing Southern Politics: Contemporary Interpretations and Future Directions*. UP of Kentucky. ISBN 978-0-8131-2382-0.
- Wilson, Charles Reagan and Mark Silk. 2005. *Religion and Public Life in the South: In the Evangelical Mode*. AltaMira Press. ISBN 978-0-7591-0635-2.

The review essay will be due on **Friday, November 30** at the beginning of class.

Requirements For All Papers: All papers written for this course must be word-processed or electronically typeset. The body of your paper should be double-spaced and written using a proportional typeface (either 11 point or 12 point).¹ Your paper must be an individual effort; you may consult with me, the Writing Studio, other faculty members, or other students, but the writing and research must be substantially your own work.

¹Proportional typefaces include Times New Roman, Arial, Calibri, Garamond, etc. "Typewriter" (constant-width) typefaces such as Courier New are not acceptable.

The paper must consistently utilize an “author-year” citation style, such as that of the [American Political Science Association](#) (or, if you prefer, one of the Modern Language Association or American Psychological Association styles), include appropriate figures and tables and a full bibliography listing the works cited in your paper, and be written using coherent prose and acceptable grammar. You should also include a title page with the date, title, and appropriate identifying information.

General Policies: Attendance at class is required. Please discuss any planned absences with me at least two weeks in advance. Absences, repeated tardiness, cell phone disruptions, and abuse of Internet technologies (e.g., web browsing/IMing during class) will adversely affect your grade in the course.

Please arrive at class *on time* and mute (or switch off) all pagers, cell phones, and alarms during class.

Please note that appointments are *not required* for my regular office hours listed above. If those times are not convenient for you, I am happy to make arrangements to meet at alternative times; you can make appointments via email or by seeing me immediately before or after class.

Late assignments will lose 5 percentage points per calendar day they are late.

Students with disabilities are encouraged to contact me to discuss their individual needs for accommodations.

This syllabus is subject to revision by the professor.

Grade Appeals: If you wish to dispute a grade for any reason other than an obvious arithmetic error on my part, you will need to type a one-page explanation of your position and turn it in, along with the original graded assignment, at least one week after the assignment is returned to you. I will then consider your appeal and make a determination. Appeals must be submitted in hard copy format; no appeals submitted via email will be considered.

Academic Integrity and Honesty: All students in this course are expected to comply with the Code of Academic Integrity of the Newcomb-Tulane College, which can be found online at <http://college.tulane.edu/code.htm>. An excerpt from the honor code appears below:

The integrity of the Newcomb-Tulane College is based on the absolute honesty of the entire community in all academic endeavors. As part of the Tulane University community, students have certain responsibilities regarding work that forms the basis for the evaluation of their academic achievement. Students are expected to be familiar with these responsibilities at all times. No member of the university community should tolerate any form of academic dishonesty because the scholarly community of the university depends on the willingness of both instructors and students to uphold the Code of Academic Conduct. When a violation of the Code of Academic Conduct is observed it is the duty of every member of the academic community who has evidence of the violation to take action. Students should take steps to uphold the code by reporting any suspected offense to the instructor or the associate dean of the college. Students should under no circumstances tolerate any form of academic dishonesty.

In all work submitted for academic credit, students are expected to represent themselves honestly. The presence of a student’s name on any work submitted in completion of an academic assignment is considered to be an assurance that the work and ideas are the result of the student’s own intellectual effort, stated in his or her own words, and produced independently, unless clear and explicit acknowledgment of the sources for the work and ideas is included (with the use of quotation marks when quoting someone else’s words). This principle applies to papers, tests, homework assignments, artistic productions, laboratory reports, computer programs, and other assignments.

Course Roadmap: An approximate schedule of topics to be covered in the course follows. Revisions to this roadmap may be made, and additional readings may be assigned, throughout the semester as circumstances warrant. Readings marked with (R) will be made available online via BlackBoard and/or JSTOR, or as library reserves.

Aug 29, Sep 5 Introduction

No class on Aug 31 (APSA conference) or Sep 3 (Labor Day)

What is the South?

Why study Southern politics?

An Introduction to Southern economic history

Applebome (from *Dixie Rising*), pp. 4–22 (R)

Cochran (from *Democracy Heading South*). pp. 17–24 (R)

Wright (from *Old South, New South*), pp. 1–16 (R)

“The end of the blues” from *The Economist*, March 3, 2007. (R)

Woodard, pp. 1–22.

Sep 7, 10 The Antebellum South

The South as a colonial economy

Race relations on the plantation

Why the South really seceded and what it meant

Plantations, textiles, and early industry

Wright (from *Old South, New South*), pp. 17–80 (R)

Wright (from *The Political Economy of the Cotton South*), pp. 10–42 (R)

Woodard, pp. 23–31.

Sep 12, 14, 17 The Emergence of the One-Party South

“Black-Belt” Politics

Color Lines

Foundations of Segregation

The “Democracy” and one-party politics

The old South in presidential politics

Woodard, pp. 31–44, 125–139.

Key, pp. 3–12, 509–554 (R)

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 3–22, 75–97

Black and Black, *The Vital South*, pp. 79–94, 116–127 (R)

Sep 19 Race Riots and “Redemption”

Wilmington Race Riot (1898)

New Orleans (1866, 1874, 1900)

Selected readings from *Democracy Betrayed* by Prather, Kantrowitz, and Gavins (R)

Selections from Hogue, *Uncivil War* and Hair, *Carnival of Fury* (R)

Sep 21 The “New South” Economy

Industrialization and Urbanization

Rise of the Southern Middle Class

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 23–72

Sep 24, 26, 28 The Emergence of the Civil Rights Movement

The outer and intermediate color lines

The politics of civil rights

Southern identity

Key, pp. 644–675 (R)

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 98–171

Woodard, pp. 44–62, 139–172.

Cobb (from *Away Down South*), pp. 1–8, 288–309, 318–339. (R)

Selections from Carter, *The Past as Prelude* (R)

- Oct 1, 3, 5** Presentations: The South before the Civil Rights Movement
- Oct 8, 10** Realignment, Dealignment, and Split-Level Partisanship
 Realignments
 Dealignment and the rise of independent Southerners
 Dual Partisanship?
 Key, “A Theory of Critical Elections.” (R)
 Converse, “On the Possibility of Major Political Realignment in the South.” (R)
 Beck, “Partisan Dealignment in the Postwar South.” (R)
 Cochran (from *Democracy Heading South*). pp. 116–143 (R)
 Stanley, “Southern Partisan Changes: Dealignment, Realignment, or Both” (R)
 Woodard, pp. 215–248.
- Oct 12, 15** Southern Realignment in the 1960s and 1970s
 Changes in the Southern electorate
 Democrats and Dixiecrats
 GOP Growth in the Rim South
 Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 175–194
 Woodard, pp. 63–124.
- Oct 17, 19, 22** Realignment in the 1980s and Beyond
 The contemporary Southern electorate
 Public opinion in the modern South
 Two-party politics in the 1980s and beyond
 Continuing Democratic strength; emerging Republican presence
 1994—GOP Breakthrough?
 Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 195–256, 276–291
 Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens, “Racial Attitudes and the New South” (R)
 Woodard, pp. 249–386.
- Oct 24, 26, 29** Explaining the Southern Realignment
 “Southern Strategy” or Suburbanization (or both)?
 Lassiter (Part I: Oct 24; Part II, Oct 26; Part III, Oct 29)
- Oct 31** Religion and Southern Politics
 From Bullock and Rozell: “Soul of the South” by Kellstedt et al.
 Woodard, pp. 173–214.
- Nov 2, 5, 7** Representation of African Americans and the VRA
 The election of black officials
 Structural and socio-economic factors
 The impact of the Voting Rights Act
 Farrell (from *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*), ch. 1. (R)
 Davidson and Grofman: chapters 1, 6, 7, 10–13.
- Nov 9** Comparing the Deep South and Rim South: Perspectives from the 1970s and Today
 From Bass and DeVries (R): “Virginia: Out of the Byrd Cage”;
 “Louisiana: Legacy of the Longs”; “Mississippi: Out of the Past.”
 From Bullock and Rozell: Introduction.
 The Deep South: “South Carolina”: Steed and Moreland; “Mississippi”: Breaux, Shaffer, and
 Gresham; “Louisiana”: Parent and Perry.
 The Rim South: “North Carolina”: Prysby; “Tennessee”: Nelson.
- Nov 12, 14, 16** Presentations: Contemporary Southern Politics

Nov 19, 26 Descriptive vs. Substantive Representation

No classes due to Thanksgiving: Nov. 21, 23

Representation of black interests

Whites representing blacks

Blacks representing blacks

Redistricting and Representation

Open versus closed primaries

Overby and Cosgrove, "Unintended Consequences" (R)

Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran, "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" (R)

Voss and Lublin, "Black Incumbents, White Distracts." (R)

Nossiter, "In Mississippi, Ruling Is Seen as Racial Split," *New York Times*, July 18, 2007. (R)

Nov 28, 30 Racial Threat

Giles and Buckner, "David Duke and Black Threat: An Old Hypothesis Revisited." (R)

Voss, "Beyond Racial Threat: Failure of an Old Hypothesis in the New South" (R)

Giles and Buckner, comment (R)

Voss, "Familiarity Doesn't Breed Contempt" (R)

Liu, "Racial Contexts and White Interests: Beyond Black Threat and Racial Tolerance." (R)

Orey, "White Racial Attitudes and Support for the Mississippi State Flag." (R)

Dec 3, 5, 7 Conclusions

Southern Politics in National Perspective

Conservatism, Southern Politics, and National Politics

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 259–275; 292–316.

Woodard, pp. 387–426.