

POLA 302, Special Projects: The Politics of the American South, Spring 2008

Section 1: MWF 12:00–12:50 p.m., 200A Norman Mayer Building
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Office: 309 Norman Mayer Building
Hours: MWF 1:00–2:00 p.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:

Bass, Jack and Walter de Vries. 1995 (1976). *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequence Since 1945*. Athens, Ga.: U of Georgia Press. ISBN 0-8203-1728-4.
(Recommended; required readings available on reserve)

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

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

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.

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 de Vries, and various editions of Bullock and Rozell's *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics* on reserve at the library.

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

Research Presentation and Essay	20%
Book Review	25%
Midterm Exam	20%
Final Exam	20%
Participation and Quizzes	15%

Research Presentations and Essays: Groups of four students will be assigned responsibility for making a classroom presentation of 20–25 minutes on one of the following topics:

Disenfranchisement in the South Black disenfranchisement efforts by the states from the end of the Civil War to 1900.

The Populist Strain in “Old” Southern Politics Agrarian movements, the Longs, the Talmadges, Boss Crump, etc., 1880–1950.

Cracks in the Solid South: Harding, Hoover, and the Dixiecrats How and why one-party dominance was broken in presidential elections, 1920–1948.

Racist Rhetoric in Campaign Strategies in the Deep South Bilbo, Eastland, Wallace, Tillman, Thurmond, etc., 1880–present.

Standing in the School House Door Desegregation confrontations and crises in the South: including, but not limited to, Little Rock, 1957; Ole Miss, 1962; Alabama, 1963; the school closure movements in Virginia and Georgia.

Integrating the Southern Democratic Parties How blacks gained power within state Democratic organizations during the 1960s and beyond, the most visible manifestation being the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party movement.

Race, Redistricting, and the Supreme Court Implementing “one man, one vote” and the Voting Rights Act in the courts, 1962–present.

Gambling Fever The debates over casinos and state lotteries in the Bible Belt.

Same-Sex Marriage The New Symbolic Issue in the South?

Each group will make a 20-to-25-minute presentation to the class and turn in a research paper approximately six to eight pages in length on the assigned topic. 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. A good guideline is to have four to eight separate sources, and to go into greater depth on your assigned topic than the readings presented in class.

Useful sources for these papers may include, but are not limited to, Key’s *Southern Politics in State and Nation*; Bass and de Vries’ *The Transformation of Southern Politics*; various editions of Bullock and Rozell’s *New Politics of the Old South*; the various edited volumes from the biennial Citadel conference on Southern politics; and Alexander Lamis’ *Southern Politics in the 1990s*. Some of the books listed below as potential book review subjects may also be helpful.

The paper is due at the beginning of class on the date of the presentation; the dates are indicated on the syllabus below. 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 paper of approximately 6–8 pages,¹ 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.

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.

Bass, Jack and Marilyn W. Thompson. 2006. *Strom: The Complicated Personal and Political Life of Strom Thurmond*. New York: PublicAffairs. ISBN 978-15864-8392-0.

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.

Carter, Dan T. 2000. *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*, 2nd. ed. LSU Press. ISBN 0-80712-597-7.

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.

Cohodas, Nadine. 1993. *Strom Thurmond and the Politics of Southern Change*. New York: Simon and Schuster. ISBN 978-0865-54446-8.

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.

¹Students fulfilling the Newcomb-Tulane College writing intensive requirement in this course by petition should write a book review of at least ten pages; this review will be revised and resubmitted following consultation with the instructor, as required by the core curriculum guidelines.

- 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.
- Klarman, Michael J. 2004. *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality*. Oxford UP. ISBN 0-195-31018-7.
- 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, April 25th** at the beginning of class.²

Examinations: There will be two, take-home examinations which will be “open book.” Each exam will consist of a number of questions which call for short answer and/or longer essay responses.³ You may not consult with other individuals in your preparation of the answers to these questions; you may make use of non-interactive resources on the Internet, although all of the materials you should need to answer the examination questions will be included in the textbooks, reserve readings, student presentations, or your lecture notes.

Requirements For All Papers, Including Examinations: 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).⁴ 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.

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.

²Students electing the writing intensive option must turn in their draft papers on or before Wednesday, April 2nd; the revised paper will be due on Friday, April 25th.

³Students taking the course to fulfill the writing intensive requirement will be required to write as part of each exam a single response essay of at least five pages in length; the question for which this essay should be written will be indicated on the exam.

⁴Proportional typefaces include Times New Roman, Arial, Calibri, Garamond, etc. “Typewriter” (constant-width) typefaces such as Courier New are not acceptable.

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.

Jan 14, 16 Introduction

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)

Jan 18, 23 The Antebellum South

No class on Jan 21 (Martin Luther King Day)
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.

- Jan 25, 28** 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
 Key, pp. 3–12, 509–554 (R)
 Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 3-22, 75-97
- Jan 30; Feb 1** Jim Crow, Race Riots, and “Redemption”
 Wilmington Race Riot (1898)
 New Orleans (1866, 1874, 1900)
 Selected readings from *Democracy Betrayed* by Prather, Kantrowitz, and Gavins (R)
- Feb 4** No class: Mardi Gras Break
- Feb 6** 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
- Feb 8, 11** Republicans, Democrats, and Dixiecrats
 Party competition in the Old South
 Black and Black, *The Vital South*, pp. 79-94, 116-127 (R)
 Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, pp. 1–71.
 Feb 11: Group Presentation: Disenfranchisement in the South.
- Feb 13, 15** The Civil Rights Movement
 Attacking the outer and intermediate color lines
 The politics of civil rights
 Key, pp. 644–675 (R)
 Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 98–171
 Bass and de Vries, pp. 41–56. (R)
 Davidson and Grofman: chapter 12.
 Lassiter, pp. 1–43.
 Feb 15: Group Presentation: The Populist Strain in “Old” Southern Politics.
- Feb 18** Realignment: Theoretical Background
 Realignment Theory and Realignments
 Key, “A Theory of Critical Elections.” (R)
 Converse, “On the Possibility of Major Political Realignment in the South.” (R)
- Feb 20, 22, 25** No Class: APSA Teaching and Learning Conference
- Feb 27, 29** Realignment, Dealignment, and Split-Level Partisanship
 Dealignment and the rise of independent Southerners
 Dual Partisanship?
 Beck, “Partisan Dealignment in the Postwar South.” (R)
 Stanley, “Southern Partisan Changes: Dealignment, Realignment, or Both?” (R)
 Cochran (from *Democracy Heading South*). pp. 116–143 (R)
 Feb 29: Group Presentation: Cracks in the Solid South.

Mar 3, 5, 7 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. 175–94, 232–56.

Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, pp. 72–137.

Bass and de Vries, pp. 3–40, 369–391 (R).

Mar 7: Group Presentation: Racist Rhetoric in Campaign Strategies

Midterm Exam Assigned

Mar 10, 12 Evolving Attitudes Towards the Race Question

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 195–212

Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens, "Racial Attitudes and the New South" (R)

Carmines and Stimson, "On the Structure and Sequence of Issue Evolution" (R)

Abramowitz, "Issue Evolution Reconsidered" (R)

Mar 14 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

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 213–231, 260–291

Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, pp. 205–267.

Mar 14: Midterm Exam due at Beginning of Class

Mar 17, 19, 21, 24 No Class: Spring Break and Easter

Mar 26, 28 Representation of African Americans and the VRA

The election of black officials

Structural and socio-economic factors

The impact of the Voting Rights Act

Davidson and Grofman: chapters 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, 13.

Mar 31 Group Presentations

Integrating the Southern Democratic Parties

Race, Redistricting, and the Supreme Court

Apr 2 Desegregating Public Schools: desegregation crises and the Atlanta experience.

Group Presentation: Standing in the School House Door.

Lassiter (Part I, pp. 44–118)

Apr 4 No Class: Midwest Political Science Association Conference

Apr 7 Desegregating Public Schools: the Charlotte experience

Lassiter (Part II)

Apr 9, 11 GOP Success after the Reagan Revolution

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

Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, pp. 268–327.

Apr 14, 16 The Republican Revolution and the South

National competitiveness or a new regional party system?

Traditional and revisionist theories of the GOP realignment

Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, pp. 328–406.

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

Lassiter, Part III.

Apr 16: Group Presentation: Gambling Fever.

Apr 18, 21 Descriptive vs. Substantive Representation

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 Districts.” (R)

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

Apr 23, 25 The Race Question in Contemporary Southern Politics

“Old-style” versus “symbolic” racism

Racial threat in the contemporary South?

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)

Apr 25: Group Presentation: Same-Sex Marriage.

Apr 28 Confederate Symbols in the Modern South

Clark, “Explaining Elite Attitudes on the Georgia Flag” (R)

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

Cooper and Knotts, “Religion, Race, and Support for the South Carolina Confederate Flag.” (R)

Final Exam Assigned, due on Tuesday, May 6 at noon.