

POLS 3118: Politics of the American South, Spring 2020

CRN 26880: Mondays and Wednesdays 11:00 a.m.–12:15 p.m., TEB 345 (Macon Campus)

Dr. Christopher N. Lawrence <christopher.lawrence@mga.edu>

Associate Professor of Political Science, Middle Georgia State University

Website: <http://www.cnlawrence.com/teaching> Twitter: @DrLawrenceMGA Phone: (478) 471-5748.

Office Hours: Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays 3:30–5:30 p.m., Teacher Education Building 316 (Macon)

Tuesdays 3:30–5:30 p.m., Wiggs 14 (Cochran).

Also available by appointment.

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.

Content Advisory: Please note that many of the readings that are assigned use either language that was widely accepted at the time of writing but is considered inappropriate or offensive today, and/or quote individuals who used racially inflammatory rhetoric. In addition, some of the topics of this course delve into sensitive aspects of American political history that are unsavory at best, including—but not limited to—slavery and extreme, virulent racism. Please be mindful of this context as you are reading for the course and as you engage in discussions in class with your fellow students and the professor.

Required Materials: Two textbooks will be required for this course, listed below.

- Bullock, Charles S. III, and Mark J. Rozell, eds. 2006. *The New Politics of the Old South: An Introduction to Southern Politics*, 6th ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. ISBN 978-1-5381-0015-8.
- Cooper, Christopher A. and H. Gibbs Knotts. 2017. *The Resilience of Southern Identity: Why the South Still Matters in the Minds of Its People*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press. ISBN 978-1-4696-5216-0.

Additional readings, as noted on the syllabus by (R), will be made available online via BlackBoard or on reserve at the library.

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

“Black Belts” Paper	20%	Reaction Paper	15%
Critical Book Review Essay	20%	Book Review Presentation	10%
Final Exam	25%	Participation	10%

Your final grade in the course will be assigned based on this scale:

Final Average	≥ 90.0	≥ 80.0	≥ 70.0	≥ 60.0	< 60.0
Grade	A	B	C	D	F
Grade Points	4.0	3.0	2.0	1.0	0.0

► **“Black Belts” Paper:** In a short paper of approximately 7–10 pages, you will write an essay responding to political scientist V.O. Key’s observation that “if the politics of the South revolves around any single theme, it is that of the role of the black belts.”

More details on this assignment will be provided in mid-January; it will be due in Brightspace on **Sunday, February 23rd at 11:59 p.m.** Your midterm grade will primarily be based on your performance on this assignment and your participation to that point in class.

► **Reaction Paper:** In a short paper of approximately 4–5 pages, you will write a reaction paper based on Cooper and Knotts’ *The Resilience of Southern Identity* and Huffmon, Lawrence, and Briggs’ “Describing Ourselves: How Southerners Would Describe the South to Non-Southerners.”

More details on this assignment will be provided in mid-February; it will be due in Brightspace on **Sunday, March 29th at 11:59 p.m.**

► **Critical Book Review:** In a paper of approximately 7–10 pages, you will write a critical book review on a book assigned by the professor. 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?

More details on this assignment will be provided in early March. The review essay will be due in Brightspace on **Sunday, April 26th at 11:59 p.m.**

You will be expected to make a 10–15 minute in-class presentation based on your book review; the presentations will be scheduled on April 27th and 29th.

► **Final Exam:** There will be a cumulative final examination that will include a number of questions, some calling for short answers and others requiring essay-length responses. More details on the final exam will be provided in late March or early April.

Requirements for Written Work: The body of your paper should be double-spaced and written using a proportional typeface (either 11 point or 12 point), with one-inch margins and including page numbers.¹ The first page of your paper should include your name, the date, and an appropriate title for the assignment; a separate title page is acceptable, but not necessary.

Papers must consistently use a widely-accepted citation style in the social and behavioral sciences; examples of acceptable styles include those included in the style manuals of the American Political Science Association (APSA), the American Sociological Association (ASA), the American Psychological Association (APA), or the Modern Language Association (MLA); “Chicago” or “Turabian” style is also acceptable. All papers that make use of sources must include a list of works cited and include properly cited quotations or paraphrases of the material used. Papers should also be written in standard English with coherent use of prose and grammar.

Copies of all out-of-class written assignments must be submitted to the appropriate “drop box” on the Brightspace website. In the event that the timeliness of an assignment is in question, the time submitted to Brightspace will be used as the definitive record of when the assignment was received.

Contacting the Professor: My regularly-scheduled office hours are listed at the beginning of the syllabus. During those times, I generally do not schedule appointments; rather, meetings are “first come, first serve.” When I am not busy with a student in-person, I will also be available “virtually” at these times by phone or web chat. If you wish to make a confirmed appointment to see me *outside* my scheduled hours, please do so at least two business days in advance.

If you do contact me outside my office hours, please bear in mind that my other work and personal

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

obligations may be on a different schedule than what is convenient for you; for example, I may be in class, in the midst of research, or at a meeting. Except under extraordinary circumstances, if your email includes a question or otherwise requires a response, I will always get back to you within one business day, and frequently sooner; messages that merely inform me of a class absence may not be acknowledged.

If you call my office outside my office hours, please avoid leaving voice mail or messages with university staff; it is an incredibly unproductive and inefficient means of communication. You will usually receive a much quicker response by email.

To protect the privacy of your educational records, all discussion regarding grades or other confidential information must be conducted in person, via Brightspace, or via your official *mga.edu* email address; I will not discuss confidential information over the phone or via any non-school email address. If you have not yet activated your official university email address, please see <https://www.mga.edu/technology/services/email.php>.

When contacting me outside of class, please be sure to specify both the course and section you are in, as it will allow me to respond more quickly to you.

Class Policies: The primary expectations of all Middle Georgia State University students are integrity and civility. Each student should approach his/her academic endeavors, relationships and personal responsibilities with a strong commitment to personal integrity and interpersonal civility.

I believe that for our class to be successful, we must establish a supportive and respectful environment in the classroom and related settings (such as the class website on Brightspace). Accordingly, disruptive behaviors such as repeated tardiness, side conversations, reading materials unrelated to the course (such as the student newspaper), or use of communication technologies (e.g., web browsing/IMing/texting during class) will adversely affect your grade; repeated or egregious disruptive behavior may result in you being asked to leave class for the day, which will reduce your participation grade by one letter grade.

► **Electronic devices:** In the past I have found that while a few students are able to use laptops and tablets effectively as note-taking aids in the classroom, the vast majority find it difficult to avoid distractions from email, Facebook, and other sources online. Ordinarily this wouldn't cause much of a problem, but in the classroom setting this creates what social scientists refer to as "negative externalities"; specifically, when you're watching that funny YouTube video of the monkey washing a cat, everyone around you is also going to see it and be distracted too. Accordingly, you should mute or switch off your cell phones and any alarms during class, and refrain completely from using laptops, tablets, e-readers, "smart" or "dumb" phones, and other portable electronic devices during class.

There may be times in class when I *specifically* ask you to use your cell phone or a laptop or tablet (for example, to participate in a web-based activity); on these occasions, of course, it would be OK to do so.

► **Extra credit:** To be fair to all students, I do not offer individualized extra-credit opportunities. If you believe you might benefit from extra credit, I strongly advise you take advantage of any opportunities offered to the whole class as they are announced over the term.

► **Notes:** I do not provide lecture notes for students under any circumstances. If you miss class, you will have to rely on the generosity of a classmate or make use of any materials provided on the textbook website or its study guide, if applicable. (Students with disabilities who require notes or other learning environment accommodations should consult with me and the MGA Disability Services Office to arrange notetaking assistance.)

You may make audio recordings of in-class lectures; recordings are for your own, personal use, and may not be shared with students who are not enrolled in this course.

► **Revisions to the syllabus:** While I will make every effort to follow the syllabus as-written, if unforeseen circumstances arise during the semester I reserve the right to amend any policy in this syllabus.

► **Attendance and absence policy:** To encourage regular attendance and participation in class, I will take daily attendance. Your attendance an important factor considered when evaluating your participation grades; however, perfect attendance does not guarantee a perfect participation grade, and it is possible, but perhaps

unlikely, that you could receive a perfect participation grade if you have missed a class meeting. Unlike in some of your other courses, “attendance” is not directly computed in your grade and there is no grade penalty for an absence.

Arriving late, leaving early, or unexplained/frequent trips outside of the room during class time for non-medical reasons will adversely affect your participation grade.

► **Make-ups:** Make-up examinations must be scheduled in advance in the case of an unavoidable planned or reasonably-foreseeable absence; otherwise, make-ups will be given only in the case of an illness or other emergency that is properly documented, after the fact. To be fair to all students, make-up exams must be completed within two weeks of the originally scheduled exam date; also, make-up exams may be administered in a different format than the original exam offered to the rest of the class, at my sole discretion.

Make-up quizzes will not be arranged under any circumstances. There are also no make-ups for missed classes; however, students with an excused absence will receive credit for attending any classes missed with a valid excuse (such as student illness or participation in class-related or sponsored activities), and any missed in-class quiz will be dropped from the grade.

To be fair to all students in the class, students are responsible for *all assignments*, regardless of their date of initial enrollment in the course.

Late Assignments: A late penalty of 10 percentage points per day will apply to work turned in after the deadline for the assignment to be completed. Notwithstanding this policy, any work received more than 48 hours after the scheduled final examination may not be graded, resulting in a zero (0) on any assignments outstanding at that point in the semester. (Please refer to the university policy on incomplete grades, discussed below, for exceptions.)

► **Grade Appeals:** Like everyone else, I am fallible and sometimes make mistakes. If I simply misrecorded a grade (for example, if I enter “70” in the gradebook when you earned an “80”) or made an arithmetic error, please bring me the returned assignment, and I will immediately correct the error.

If you believe you received an *unjust* grade, I am happy to discuss the grading of the assignment with you, in-person during regular office hours or at a scheduled appointment; please bring the graded assignment with you so we can have a productive conversation. If you remain unsatisfied with my explanation of the grade, to give us both ample time to consider the dispute, you will need to type a brief (one-page) explanation of your position and turn it in, along with the original graded assignment, *at least one week after* the assignment was originally 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. Please refer to the Student Handbook and Catalog for policies regarding appeals of *final letter grades*.

► **Academic Misconduct:** You are responsible for reading, understanding, and abiding by the Student Code of Conduct; this is included in the current edition of the Student Handbook, which is available online at http://www.mga.edu/student-affairs/docs/MGA_Student_Handbook.pdf.

I take academic misconduct (including, but not limited to, cheating on exams and plagiarism of written work) very seriously. So does Middle Georgia State University. In this course the *minimum* penalty for academic misconduct is a grade of zero (0) on the assignment in question, with no opportunity to repeat the assignment, along with referral to the testing center to complete an examination on plagiarism, cheating, and the Student Code of Conduct. Second or subsequent violations, or egregious misconduct (for example, an organized effort to cheat involving multiple students, or academic misconduct that causes harm to other students), will automatically be referred to the Office of Student Affairs for a university-level resolution which may include a failing grade in the course, disciplinary probation, and/or academic suspension.

I offer some free advice, drawn from past experience as both a student and a professor: do not turn in plagiarized work because you have run out of time and feel as if you need to turn in *something*—taking the late penalty is better than the sanctions for academic misconduct. Similarly, if you forgot to study, it’s better to get a low grade on the exam than the zero you’ll get if you cheat.

One of the early computer programmers, Admiral Grace Hopper, is reported to have said that “[i]t’s easier to ask forgiveness than it is to get permission.” That advice *does not* apply in this situation. If you have the slightest doubt about whether something is academic misconduct, *ask me before handing in the assignment for grading.*

A plagiarism prevention service is used in evaluation of written work submitted for this course. As directed by the professor, students are expected to submit or have their assignments submitted through the service in order to meet requirements for this course. The papers will be retained by the service for the sole purpose of checking for plagiarized content in future student submissions.

▸ **Tutoring:** Middle Georgia State University provides free tutoring services for political science courses at the Student Success Center on each campus. Hours when political science tutors are available are posted at the SSC website, <http://www.mga.edu/ssc>. Tutoring services are not a substitute for regular class attendance. All students are encouraged to take advantage of these *free* services.

▸ **Disability Accommodations:** While you are welcome to discuss any special needs with me in private, to be fair to all students, accommodations are only provided when supported by appropriate documentation from MGA Disability Services (478-471-2985 or 478-934-3023; Student Life Building, Room 266 (Macon) or Sanford Hall (Cochran); <http://www.mga.edu/ds>).

▸ **Campus Emergencies:** In the event of a closure or delayed opening of the university due to inclement weather or other emergency, you should monitor the Knight Alert system for updates; sign up for these alerts at <http://www.mga.edu/police/alert.aspx>. You should expect communication via email and/or Brightspace regarding any assignments to be completed or revisions to the schedule while we are unable to meet.

▸ **End of Course Evaluations:** Student evaluations of faculty are administered online at the end of each term for all courses with five or more students. Students will receive an email containing a unique link to a survey for each course in which they are enrolled. All responses are anonymous and completion of evaluations are voluntary.

Withdrawal Deadlines: The last day to drop the course without it appearing on your transcript is Monday, January 13th. Students may withdraw from the course and earn a grade of “W” up to and including the midterm date, on Wednesday, March 11th. After this point, students who withdraw will receive a grade of “WF,” which is calculated in the GPA as an “F.” The MGA Withdrawal Form is available online or from the Office of the Registrar.

“No-Shows” and Informal Withdrawals: Students who have not attended any classes as of the reporting period (generally, during the second week of classes) may be reported as a “no-show” and may lose financial aid as a result. In addition, if you stop coming to class without withdrawing, it may jeopardize your eligibility for financial aid in future terms.

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 Brightspace, or as library reserves.

Jan. 8 No Class: SPSA conference.

Jan. 13, 15 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)

Bullock and Rozell, ch. 1

Jan. 20 No Class: Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

Jan. 22, 27 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)

Kantrowitz (from *Ben Tillman*), pp. 10–39 (R)

Jan. 29; Feb. 3, 5 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

Race Riots and “Redemption”

Key, pp. 3–12, 509–554 (R)

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 3–22, 75–82 (R)

Prather (from *Democracy Betrayed*), pp. 15–41 (R)

Kantrowitz (from *Democracy Betrayed*), pp. 95–111 (R)

Gavins (from *Democracy Betrayed*), pp. 185–206 (R)

Feb. 10, 12 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 (R)

Hanchett (from *Sorting out the New South City*), pp. 13–88 (R)

Feb. 17, 19 Republicans, Democrats, and Dixiecrats

Party competition in the Old South

Black and Black, *The Vital South*, pp. 79–94, 116–27 (R)

Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, pp. 1–71 (R)

Feb. 24, 26; Mar. 2 The Civil Rights Movement

Attacking the outer and intermediate color lines

The politics of civil rights

Key, pp. 644–75 (R)

Black and Black, *Politics and Society in the South*, pp. 82–171 (R)

Bass and de Vries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, pp. 41–56 (R)

Davidson and Grofman, *Quiet Revolution in the South*, ch. 12 (R)

Lassiter, pp. 1–43 (R)

Mar. 4 Realignment: Theoretical Background

Realignment Theory and Realignment

Key, “A Theory of Critical Elections.” (R)

Converse, “On the Possibility of Major Political Realignment in the South.” (R)

Mar. 9, 11 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. 116–43 (R)

Mar. 16, 18 No Class: Spring Break

Mar. 23, 25 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. (R)

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

Bass and de Vries, pp. 3–40, 369–91 (R).

Mar. 30; Apr. 1 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. 195–231, 260–91 (R).

Black and Black, *The Rise of Southern Republicans*, pp. 205–67 (R).

Apr. 6, 8 Representation of African Americans and the VRA

The election of black officials

Structural and socio-economic factors

The impact of the Voting Rights Act

Descriptive vs. Substantive Representation

Bullock and Rozell, ch. 2

Farrell, *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*, ch. 2–3.

Davidson and Grofman, ch. 1, 11, 13 (R)

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. 13, 15 (part) GOP Success after the Reagan Revolution

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

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

Apr. 15 (part), 20, 22 The Republican Revolution and the South Today

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 (R).

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

Bullock and Rozell, ch. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9.

Friday, May 1: 10:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m. Final Exam