

## **Seminar: Modern American Political Realignment**

**Class:** Tuesdays 2:30-5:20, ACE 201

**Professor:** Jack Reilly

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**Office:** ACE 235

**Office Hours:** Mondays, 2:30-4:30 (and [jacklreilly.youcanbook.me](http://jacklreilly.youcanbook.me))

**Description:** This advanced seminar will examine the ways that governing coalitions in American politics have aligned and re-aligned since the New Deal. How did the Republican Party take over the south? Why do the Democrats dominate in the Northeast and West coast? What trends in party alignment have we seen in the last 60 years, and what trends might we expect to see in the next 20? We will touch on a number of topics, including realignment theory, elections, political liberalism, the rise of modern conservatism, the politics of the south, civil rights legislation, race and class, polarization, religion, extremism, and others.

**Prerequisites:** an introductory course in political science (preferably Introduction to American Politics), and intermediate work in political science or American history, or permission of the instructor.

### **Books**

- Sundquist, 1983. *Dynamics of the Party System*. Brookings. [\*]
- Mayhew, 2002. *Electoral Realignments*. Yale.
- Lowi, 1979. *The End of Liberalism*. Norton. [\*]
- Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2004. *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America*. Penguin.
- Black and Black, 2002. *Rise of Southern Republicans*.
- Rapoport and Stone, 2011. *Three's A Crowd: The Dynamic of Third Parties, Ross Perot, and Republican Resurgence*. Michigan.
- Mettler, 2011. *The Submerged State*. Chicago.
- Trende, 2012. *The Lost Majority*. Palgrave.
- Sabato, [editor], 2015. *The Surge*. Roman & Littlefield.

### **Course Requirements**

- 1. Daily Participation and Reading.** This is an advanced seminar taught at a graduate level. Informed class participation is required each week.
- 2. Discussion Questions.** Submit discussion questions or points (broadly construed) to the class by 9 AM on the day of class. Please respond to the first e-mail sent out, so all responses appear in a thread, and if you are the first questioner, title your e-mail "[MAR] Questions: Week X."
- 3. Reaction Papers.** Each student will write a 3-5 page "reaction" paper two three times during the semester (depending on enrollment). This paper will be submitted to the

whole class by noon the Monday before class, and should be read by other students in the class. As you are writing your reaction papers, you may wish to think of some of the following questions:

- *What is the primary argument of the readings for this week?*
- *How do these readings fit together? Do they agree? Disagree?*
- *How do these readings fit in with other readings from this class, or from other coursework you've taken?*
- *Do you buy what the author is selling? Why or why not?*

- 4. Paper Presentation and Discussion Leadership.** On the weeks you write a reaction paper, you will briefly present the argument of your paper to the class and lead discussion. Each day there will be between two and three papers/presenters, so each day will have multiple discussion leaders.
- 5. Academic Book Review and Presentation.** Read and analyze a scholarly book on modern American politics and/or partisanship. Present the argument of the book and critique the author's position. What does this book add to our understanding of the contemporary political alignment in the United States? What does it suggest the future holds for the Democrats, Republicans, liberalism, and conservatism? Should we have read this book in class? Books need to be selected from a list provided by the professor or approved by the professor as having appropriate academic merit.<sup>1</sup>
- 6. Prognostication.** A brief assignment at the end of class with predictions of party alignment in the forthcoming election, 2016, 2020, and 2032, as well as predictions on the 2016 primary season throughout the semester.

### **Course Expectations**

**Etiquette:** Course participants must be courteous to the professor and fellow students. Attend class on time, listen to fellow students when they talk, and disagree (or agree) with others' arguments professionally. Keep cell phones silenced and out of sight.

**Laptops:** You will not need them in class. Do not bring them. Exceptions are made only in the case of documented medical necessity.

**Office Hours, etc:** I encourage you to stop by our office hours at any point if you have questions about the course, the readings, school, etc. In addition to formal office hours, I have an "open-blind" policy: if the blinds to my office are open, you are welcome to come in. (Just knock.) If you want to be sure you can speak with me, setting up an appointment beforehand is always a good idea.

**E-mail:** Students can generally expect a response to all e-mails within 24 hours, excepting weekends. I'm happy to answer any questions over e-mail that require less than a paragraph in response. Questions that require more than a short paragraph in response should be addressed in person.

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<sup>1</sup> In other words, Ann Coulter and Al Franken books don't count.

**A Note on Writing:** Clear writing and argumentation is a critical element to success in this class. I strongly recommend exploring the options for writing (and revising!) assistance at the Writing Resource Center.

**Students with Disabilities:** (NCF Policy) A student claiming a need for special accommodations because of a disability must work with the Counseling and Wellness Center, which will establish the need for specific accommodations and communicate them to the instructor.

**Religious Observance:** (NCF Policy) No student shall be compelled to attend class or sit for an examination at a day or time when s/he would normally be engaged in religious observance or on a day or time prohibited by his or her religious belief. Students are expected to notify their instructors if they intend to be absent for a class or announced examination, in accordance with the policy, prior to the scheduled meeting.

**Academic Integrity:** (NCF Policy) Any suspected instance of plagiarism will be handled in accordance with the College’s policy on academic dishonesty. (More information is available through the NCF portal.)

**Class Schedule**

	Week	Topic	Main Reading
<b>Parties &amp; Realignment</b>	1	Parties & Party Systems	<i>Aldrich, UCLA School</i>
	2	Realignment Theory	<i>Sundquist, Burnham, Key</i>
	3	Critique of Realignment Theory	Mayhew
<b>Recent Political History</b>	4	Demise of Liberalism	<i>Lowi, Hartz</i>
	5	Rise of Conservatism	Micklethwait & Wooldridge
	6	Southern Realignment	Black & Black
	7	Geography & Engagement	<i>Putnam, Patterson</i>
	<b>B</b>	<b>BREAK</b>	
<b>Features and Explanations of the Modern Party System</b>	8	Factions & Majorities	Trende
	9	Public Policy & Voting	Mettler
	10	The Dynamic of Third Parties	Rapoport & Stone
	11	Elections 2014 & 2016	Sabato
<b>Break</b>	12	<i>Baccalaureate Exam Break</i>	<i>Baccalaureate Exam Break</i>

	Week	Topic	Main Reading
<b>Presentations</b>	13	Presentations & Prognostication	Various
	14	Presentations & Prognostication	Various

Readings available in the google drive are in *italics*

## **Readings**

### **Week 1: Why Political Parties?**

Aldrich, J H, and J D Griffin. "The One Thing You Need to Know About Political Parties." Conference Paper (University of Rochester, November 2007). [drive]

Bawn, Kathleen et al. 2012. "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands and Nominations in American Politics." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(03): 571–97. [drive]

### **Week 2: Realignment Theory**

Sundquist, *Dynamics of the Party System*. chapters 1-3, 7, 13-14 [drive]

Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics*. chapters 1, 2, and 7. [drive]

Key, 1955. "A Theory of Critical Elections." *Journal of Politics* 17: 3-18.

*Optional:* Silbey, 2010. "American Political Parties: History, Voters, Critical Elections, and Party Systems." *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*. [drive]

*Optional:* Abramowitz and Saunders, 1998. "Ideological Realignment in the US Electorate." *Journal of Politics*, 60(3): 634-652.

### **Week 3: Political Realignments: A Myth?**

Mayhew, *Electoral Realignments*. Entire book.

Sundquist, 1973. "Whither the American Party System?" *Political Science Quarterly*, 88(4): 559-581.

Bewer, 2010. "The Evolution and Alternation of American Party Coalitions." *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Parties and Interest Groups*. [drive]

### **Week 4: Theory: What are Parties Aligning Around? Liberalism and the Role of the State**

Lowi, *End of Liberalism*, chapters 1-3, 10-11 [drive]

Hartz, chapters 1, 8 [optional], 9. [drive]

Gaus and Courtland. "Liberalism" *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/liberalism/>

Vallentyne. "Libertarianism" *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/libertarianism/>

*Optional:* Smith, 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review*, 87(3):549-566.

Articles to scan:

Kadlec, 2012. "Barack Obama's Election and the Looming Crisis of Liberalism" <http://www.forbes.com/sites/charleskadlec/2012/11/12/barack-obamas-election-and-the-looming-crisis-of-liberalism/>

APSA Task Force, "American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality" <http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/taskforcereport.pdf>

Lukacs, "The Triumph and Collapse of Liberalism" <http://chronicle.com/article/The-TriumphCollapse-of/9203/>

McGovern, "The Case for Liberalism: A Defense of the Future Against the Past" <http://humanities.psydeshow.org/political/mcgovern.htm>

Dilulio, "Are Conservative Republicans Now America's Permanent Ruling Class?" <http://chronicle.com/article/Are-Conservative-Republicans/26468>

Krugman, "The Populist Imperative" <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/24/opinion/krugman-the-populist-imperative.html>

Dionne, "The Liberal Moment" <http://chronicle.com/article/The-Liberal-Moment/18579/>

Hunter, "What's a Neoconservative?" <http://www.theamericanconservative.com/whats-a-neoconservative/>

Wolfe, "Nobody Here but Us Liberals" <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/03/books/review/03WOLFEL.html>

### **Week 5: History: The Rise of Conservatism**

Micklethwait & Wooldridge, *Right Nation*, entire book. (focus: intro, chapters 1-8; skim: 12-14, conclusion, afterward)

Phillips-Fein, 2011. "Conservatism: A State of the Field." *Journal of American History*, 98(3): 723-743.

*Optional:* Journal of American History Roundtable on Conservatism, December 2011

### **Week 6: What's happened in the South?**

Black & Black, 2002. *Rise of Southern Republicans*. Entire book. (focus: ch. 1, 5-8, 11-12, skim 2-4, 9-10)

Black, 2004. "The Transformation of the Southern Democratic Party." *Journal of Politics* 66(4): 1001-1017.

### **Week 7: Geography, Suburbanization, and the Death of Political Engagement**

Putnam, 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1): 65-78.

McGirr, Lisa. 2001. *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right*. chapters 1-3. [drive]

Kruse, 2005. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. intro, chapter 9, epilogue. [drive]

Patterson, 2003. *The Vanishing Voter*, chapter 2. [drive]

Woodard, "Running For President on a Divided Continent" <http://chronicle.com/article/Running-for-President-on-a/132389/>

### **Week 8: Factions & Majorities**

Trende, 2012. Entire book. (focus: ch 1, 5-conclusion; skim 2-4)

Micklethwaite & Wooldridge, ch 9-11

### **Week 9: Public Policy, Income, and Voting**

Mettler, 2011. *The Submerged State*. Entire book.

"Symposium" on *What's the Matter with Kansas?*

Frank, 2004. *Whats the Matter with Kansas?* chapter 1, epilogue [drive]

Leo, 2004. "Pain in the Heartland" [http://townhall.com/columnists/johnleo/2004/08/30/pain\\_in\\_the\\_heartland](http://townhall.com/columnists/johnleo/2004/08/30/pain_in_the_heartland)

Shapiro, 2005. "What's the Matter with Central Park West?" <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/03/whats-the-matter-with-central-park-west/303735/>

Bartels, 2006. "What's the Matter with What's the Matter with Kansas?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1: 206-226.

Frank, "Class is Dismissed" <http://web.archive.org/web/20080309095606/http://www.tcfrank.com/dismissd.pdf>

Bartels, "Who's Bitter Now?" <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/17/opinion/17bartels.html>

Optional: "Will the Real White Working Class Please Stand Up?" [http://www.thedemocraticstrategist.org/donkeyrising/2005/10/will\\_the\\_real\\_white\\_working\\_cl.html](http://www.thedemocraticstrategist.org/donkeyrising/2005/10/will_the_real_white_working_cl.html)

Optional: Gelman, Andrew, Boris Shor, Joseph Bafumi, and David Park. 2005. "Rich State, Poor State, Red State, Blue State: What's the Matter with Connecticut?." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.

### **Week 10: Third Party Dynamics**

Rapoport and Stone, 2007. *Three's a Crowd*. Entire book.

Rapoport, Dost, Lovell, and Stone. 2014. *Republican Factionalism and Tea Party Activists*. [drive]

### **Week 11: Understanding 2014 and Prognosticating 2016**

Sabato [editor], 2015. *The Surge: 2014's Big GOP Win and What it Means for the Next Presidential Election*. Entire book. (focus: chapters 1, 3-4, 8-13; skim: rest)

TBD.

### **Week 12: Baccalaureate Week (No class)**

### **Weeks 13 & 14: Book Presentations & Prognostication**