

Modern American Political Realignment

COURSE INFORMATION	<i>Term:</i> Spring 2020 <i>Level:</i> Advanced Seminar <i>Meet:</i> Tuesdays 2:30-5:20 <i>Room:</i> CHL 221 <i>Syllabus Revision:</i> February 13, 2020	<i>Instructor:</i> Jack Reilly <i>Office:</i> Social Sciences 205 <i>E-mail:</i> jreilly@ncf.edu <i>Office Hours:</i> Tues 11-12 AM and by appt <i>Appointments:</i> jackreilly.com/appointments
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 and the Democratic Party take over the coasts? Why do we see such different politics in urban, suburban, and rural America? What trends in party alignment have we seen in the last 70 years, and what trends might we expect to see in the next 30? In particular, we will focus on the last 20 years of American politics, and will touch on a number of topics, including realignment theory, elections, political liberalism, the rise of modern conservatism, the politics of the south, polarization, extremism, partisanship, race, class, gender, religion, and others. <i>Course Cap: 14</i>	
PREREQUISITE	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.	

Materials

BOOKS	Required <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mayhew, <i>Electoral Realignments</i>• Phillips, <i>The Emerging Republican Majority</i>• Judis and Teixeira, <i>The Emerging Democratic Majority</i>• Trende, <i>The Lost Majority</i>• Abramowitz, <i>The Great Alignment</i>• Hopkins, <i>The Increasingly United States</i>• Norris and Inglehart, <i>Cultural Backlash</i>
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Course Requirements

OVERVIEW	Satisfactory completion of the course requires completion of the following: <ol style="list-style-type: none">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.
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3. Reaction Papers. Each student will write a 3-5 page reaction paper three times during the semester. 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 lead class discussion. Each day there will be between two and three papers, so each day will have multiple discussion leaders.
5. Realigning Election Report. Research and report on a theoretical realigning election in America's past (realigning elections to choose from include 1800, 1828, 1860, 1896, 1932, 1968, 1980, 1994, and 2008.) Reports include both a paper, identifying the strengths and weaknesses of that election's claim to be realigning, as well as a presentation to the class on the election itself.
6. 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.
7. Prognostication. A brief assignment at the end of class with predictions of party alignment in the forthcoming 2020 election, 2022, 2024, and 2036, as well as predictions on the 2020 primary season throughout the semester.

Course Expectations

COURSE POLICIES **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.

Computation and Technology: Laptops are required to be closed and left out of sight. Alternate accommodations, if necessary, can be made in the case of documented necessity through New College's Student Disability Services office (SDS).¹

Office Hours: I encourage you to stop by my 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-door policy: if the door is open, you are welcome to come in. If you want to be sure you can speak with me, setting up an appointment beforehand at jacklreilly.com/appointments is always a good idea.

¹Tablets are acceptable to use to reference readings so long as they will not distract you from seminar discussion. Generally, this means that, *at minimum*, any network connectivity is turned off, notifications are muted/silenced/paused, and you commit to utilizing apps solely dedicated to reading. If you would like to use a tablet for this purpose in class, see me at the end of the first class period.

E-mail: Students can generally expect a response to all e-mails within 48 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.

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. You can schedule an appointment through the writing center here: <https://ncf.mywconline.com>

NEW COLLEGE POLICY STATEMENTS

Students with Disabilities: Any student who, because of a documented disability, may require special arrangements and/or accommodations, should contact the instructor as soon as possible to make necessary arrangements. Students must present appropriate verification from Student Disability Services during the instructor's office hours. Please note that instructors are NOT permitted to provide classroom accommodations to a student until appropriate verification from Student Disability Services has been provided. For additional information, please visit Student Disability Services in HCL 3 and/or email disabilityservices@ncf.edu.

Religious Observance: 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: Any suspected instance of plagiarism will be handled in accordance with the College's policy on academic dishonesty.

Class Schedule

W	Topic	Main Authors
1	Parties & Party Systems	Aldrich, UCLA School
2	Realignment Theory	Sundquist, Burham, Key
3	Critique of Realignment	Mayhew
4	Theory: Demise of Liberalism	Lowi, Hartz
5	The Emerging Republican Majority	Phillips
6	The Emerging Democratic Majority	Judis & Teixeira
7	The Lost Majority	Trende
B	BREAK	
8	The Great Alignment	Abramowitz
9	The Increasingly United States	Hopkins
10	Cultural Backlash	Norris & Inglehart, Cramer, Hochschild
11	Public Policy & Voting	Mettler, Frank, Grossman
12	BACC WEEK	
13	<i>Presentations</i>	
14	<i>Presentations</i>	
F	FINALS WEEK	

WEEK 1

Political Parties in Review

- 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]
- Aldrich, J H. Chapter 1 of *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago.

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 Realignment. Entire book.
- Sundquist, 1983. 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 Obamas Election and the Looming Crisis of Liberalism <http://www.forbes.com/sites/charleskadlec/2012/11/12/barack-obamas-election-and-the-1>
 - 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 Americas 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, Whats 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

The Emerging Republican Majority

- Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority*. Read prefaces as well as all sections that start with roman numerals; scan lettered and numbered sections.
- Phillips-Fein, 2011. Conservatism: A State of the Field. *Journal of American History*, 98(3): 723-743.
- *Optional History Background:*
 - Micklethwait & Wooldridge, *The Right Nation*: intro, chapters 1-4, conclusion, afterward)
 - *Journal of American History Roundtable on Conservatism*, December 2011
 - 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 6

The Emerging Democratic Majority

- Judis and Teixeira, *The Emerging Democratic Majority*. Entire book.
- *Optional Geography, Suburbanization, and Engagement Background:*
 - Putnam, 1995. Bowling Alone: Americas 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 7

The Lost Majority

- Trende, 2012. *The Lost Majority* Entire book. (focus: ch 1, 5-conclusion; skim 2-4)
- *Optional Background:*
 - Micklethwaite & Wooldridge, ch 9-11

WEEK 8

The Great Alignment

- Abramowitz, entire book.
- *Optional*
 - Drutman, Williamson, and Wong. 2019. “On the Money: How Americans Economic Views Define—and Defy—Party Lines”
 - Bartels. 2018. “Partisanship in the Trump Era”
 - Smidt. 2017. “Polarization and the Decline of the American Floating Voter”.

WEEK 9

The Increasingly United States

- Hopkins, entire book. Focus chapters TBD.

WEEK 10

Cultural Backlash

- Norris & Inglehart, ch 1-3, 7, 10, 12-13. Scan others.
- Cramer Walsh, “Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective”. *The American Political Science Review*, 106(3): 517-532.
- Hochschild, *Strangers in their Own Land: ch 9, The Deep Story*. [drive]
 - Optional: Luker, Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood. chs. 1, 7, 8 [drive]

WEEK 11

Public Policy & Voting

- Mettler, 2011. *The Submerged State*. chs 1-2, 6.
- “Symposium on Whats 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
 - Shapiro, 2005. *Whats the Matter with Central Park West?* <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/the-matter-with-central-park-west/303735/>
 - Bartels, 2006. *Whats the Matter with Whats 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>
 - Bartels, *Whos Bitter Now?* <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/17/opinion/17bartels.html>
 - Optional: *Will the Real White Working Class Please Stand Up?* http://www.thedemocraticstrategy.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*.
- Grossman, 2019. *Red State Blues: How the Conservative Revolution Stalled in the States*. ch 1, 6. [drive]
 - *Optional: See also, Grossman and Hopkins, Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats.*

- WEEK 12 Baccalaureate Week (No class)
- WEEK 13 Book Reviews (Presentations)
- WEEK 14 Book Reviews (Presentations) & Final Prognostication
- Sabato, ed. *The Blue Wave*. Ch 14: Trende, “Was 2018 a Blue Wave?” [drive]
 - TBD.