

17.S918 COURSE SYLLABUS

Race, Class, Violence, Faith, and Power: Southern Politics since 1863

Spring 2016

Professor: Devin Caughey

Wednesday 1–3pm, 5-231

<https://stellar.mit.edu/S/course/17/sp16/17.S918>

Professor Caughey’s Contact Information:

Email: caughey@mit.edu
Office: E53-463
Office Hours: Wednesdays 3:00–4:00, or by appointment

Course Description

This course examines the political history and development of the American South between the Civil War and the present. During this period, the South underwent a series of major transformations:

- military defeat, followed by Union-imposed emancipation and Reconstruction (1860s–70s)
- regional “Redemption” by conservative white Democrats (1870s–90s)
- the creation of exclusionary one-party Democratic regimes and of a new system of racial hierarchy (1890–1910)
- economic development and the decline of plantation agriculture (1930s–70s)
- the emergence of an indigenous civil rights movement and a “Second Reconstruction” of the South by the federal government (1940s–60s)
- the dismantlement of legal segregation, the demise of one-party Democratic hegemony, and the rise of Southern Republicans (1950s–present).

We will analyze the South’s turbulent and fascinating story from multiple disciplinary perspectives, including history as well as political science and other social sciences. Our emphasis will be on careful reading, rigorous written analysis, and vibrant discussion in weekly two-hour seminars. The course has no prerequisites other than permission of the instructor.

Intended Learning Outcomes

Students will be able to:

- Characterize the major political, economic, and social trends in the South over the past century and a half, and analyze the influence of the past on present conditions in the region.
- Describe the changing relationship between the South and the United States as a whole and the influence that each has had on the other.

- Characterize the goals, resources, and strategies of different societal actors, and empathize with and explain their choices during important episodes in Southern history.
- Explain how scholars from different disciplines might analyze a given episode or phenomenon.

Expectations

- Students are expected to **treat each other with respect**, listen attentively when others are speaking, and avoid personal attacks. At the same time, all students should feel comfortable expressing their opinions, political or otherwise, as long as they do so in an appropriate manner.
- **Laptops, phones, and other electronic devices should be turned off and put away** during class unless I ask you to take them out. This requirement may seem onerous or old-fashioned, but in my experience it is the best way to foster discussion and mutual engagement. If you have a particular need to use electronics, please come talk to me outside of class.
- **Plagiarism will not be tolerated** in this course. As a general rule, you should never take credit for words or ideas that are not your own, and you should give your readers enough information to evaluate the source and quality of your evidence. Self-plagiarism (reusing material you have written in another context) is also not allowed. For more information on plagiarism and academic integrity, consult <http://web.mit.edu/academicintegrity/index.html>.

Assessment

1. Participation (35%)

Students' participation grade will be based primarily on their preparation for and contributions to in-class discussion, as well as the occasional reading-based assignment or quiz.

2. Papers (65%)

Students will write five essays over the course of the term, whose lengths and grading weights are as follows:

- (i) Three 750-word papers ($3 \times 10\% = 30\%$)
- (ii) One 1,000-word paper (15%)
- (iii) One 1,250-word paper (20%)

Major Assignment Dates

- February 16: 750-word paper #1 due
- March 1: 750-word paper #2 due
- March 15: 750-word paper #3 due
- April 12: 1,000-word paper due
- May 10: 1,250-word paper due

Written assignments must be uploaded as PDFs to the Homework section of the course Stellar site. **Assignments must be uploaded by 11:59PM** on the day that they are due. Assignments submitted after midnight will be immediately penalized one-third of a grade (e.g., A to A-), and every 12 hours the penalty increases by a third of a grade (e.g., an A paper turned in at 12:01PM the following day will be marked down to a B+).

Books for Purchase

- Eric Foner. 2015. *A Short History of Reconstruction*. Updated edition. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- C. Vann Woodward. 2002. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative version of the 1974 third revised edition. New York: Oxford UP
- James C. Cobb. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP.
- Gavin Wright. 2013. *Sharing the Prize: The Economics of the Civil Rights Revolution in the American South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Course Schedule

Readings posted on the course Stellar site are indicated with an asterisk (*).

1 Course Introduction (February 3, 2016)

2 Union Victory and Emancipation (February 10, 2016)

Themes:

- The opportunities and the challenges created by Union victory and the abolition of slavery

Readings (126 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: **pages 1–7 and 117–26**.
- Eric Foner. 2015. *A Short History of Reconstruction*. Updated edition. New York: Harper Perennial: **preface and chapters 1–5**.

3 Reconstruction (February 17, 2016)

Themes:

- Goals, resources, and strategies of different political actors during Reconstruction

Readings (148 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, **pages 127–41**.
- Eric Foner. 2015. *A Short History of Reconstruction*. Updated edition. New York: Harper Perennial, **chapters 6–11**.

4 Redemption and the Origins of Jim Crow (February 24, 2016)

Themes:

- Why did Reconstruction fail?
- The origins of Jim Crow

Readings (126 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: **pages 142–81**.
- Eric Foner. 2015. *A Short History of Reconstruction*. Updated edition. New York: Harper Perennial: **chapter 12 and epilogue (pp. 238–60)**.
- C. Vann Woodward. 2002. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative version of the 1974 third revised edition. New York: Oxford UP, **Introduction and chapters 1–2 (pp. 3–66)**.

5 Jim Crow and Black Response (March 2, 2016)

Themes:

- Jim Crow in full flower
- The Great Migration
- Moral and strategic dilemmas blacks faced in an unjust system

Readings (about 162 pages):

- C. Vann Woodward. 2002. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative version of the 1974 third revised edition. New York: Oxford UP, **chapter 3 (pp. 67–110)**.
- * Isabel Wilkerson. 2010. *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*. New York: Vintage, **pages 3–46, 95–106, 125–7, 148–9, 160–70, 176–84, 189–92, 197–8, 213–4, 216–21**.
- * W. E. B. Du Bois. 2006[1903]. "Of Booker T. Washington and Others." In *The Souls of Black Folk*, 35–47. Pennsylvania State University.
- * Robert J. Norrell. 2011. "'The Uplift of Humanity': Booker T. Washington in Context." *Alabama Heritage*, no. 100: 10–19.

6 The One-Party System (March 9, 2016)

Themes:

- Populism and class conflict
- Politics without parties
- The economics of Jim Crow

Readings (about 145 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, **pages 185–224**.
- * V. O. Key Jr. 1984[1949]. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, **pages 3–12, 15–18, and 298–311, plus two individually assigned state chapters**.
- Gavin Wright. 2013. *Sharing the Prize: The Economics of the Civil Rights Revolution in the American South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP: **chapter 2 (pp. 32–56)**.

7 The South and the Nation in Depression and War (March 16, 2016)

Themes:

- The South in national politics
- How (and how much) did the New Deal and WWII change the South?

Readings (162 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: **pages 225–62**.
- James C. Cobb. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP, **chapter 1 (pages 1–21)**.
- Gavin Wright. 2013. *Sharing the Prize: The Economics of the Civil Rights Revolution in the American South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP: **pages 56–73**.
- * Ira Katznelson. 2013. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. New York: Liveright, **Introduction and chapters 4 and 5 (pages 3–25 and 133–94)**.

March 23, 2016: NO CLASS (Spring Break)

8 External Challenges to Jim Crow (March 30, 2016)

Themes:

- Causes of national re-engagement with Southern race relations
- Limitations of judicial action and legal guarantees
- Segregationist counter-reaction

Readings (163 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, **pages 263–306**.
- C. Vann Woodward. 2002. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative version of the 1974 third revised edition. New York: Oxford UP, **chapter 4 (pages 111–48)**.
- James C. Cobb. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP, **chapter 2 (pages 22–51)**.

- * Robert W. Mickey. 2008. “The Beginning of the End for Authoritarian Rule in America: *Smith v. Allwright* and the Abolition of the White Primary in the Deep South, 1944–1948.” *Studies in American Political Development* 22 (2): 143–182. **Read pages 143–54 and 179–82; skim the rest.**
- * Michael J. Klarman. 1994. “How *Brown* Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis.” *Journal of American History* 81 (1): 81–118.

9 The Civil Rights Movement (April 6, 2016)

Themes:

- The strategic logic of the civil rights movement
- The role of external and internal factors in the movement
- What motivated the segregationist resistance?
- Why did change finally come?

Readings (149 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: **pages 307–33**.
- C. Vann Woodward. 2002. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative version of the 1974 third revised edition. New York: Oxford UP, **chapter 5 (pages 149–88)**.
- James C. Cobb. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP: **chapter 4 (75–109)**.
- * Doug McAdam. 2009. “The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Power from Below and Above, 1945–1970.” In *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, 58–74. New York: Oxford UP.
- *Eyes on the Prize*

10 Consequences of the Second Reconstruction (April 13, 2016)

Themes:

- How (and how much) did the Second Reconstruction change the South?

Readings (143 pages):

- James C. Cobb. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP: **chapter 5 (110–143)**.
- Gavin Wright. 2013. *Sharing the Prize: The Economics of the Civil Rights Revolution in the American South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP: **chapters 1, 3, and 7–8 (pp. 1–31, 74–104, and 223–68)**.
- * SKIM: Elizabeth U. Cascio and Ebonya Washington. 2014. “Valuing the Vote: the Redistribution of Voting Rights and State Funds Following the Voting Rights Act of 1965.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129 (1): 379–433.

11 Honor, Violence, and War (April 20, 2016)

Themes:

- The South’s “culture of honor” and its connection to homicide, war, and other forms of violence

Readings (66 pages):

- * John Hope Franklin. 1970. *The Militant South, 1800–1861*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, **chapter 1 (pages 1–13)**.
- * Richard E. Nisbett. 1993. “Violence and U.S. Regional Culture.” *American Psychologist* 48 (4): 441–449.
- * Dov Cohen et al. 1996. “Insult, Aggression, and the Southern Culture of Honor: An ‘Experimental Ethnography’.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (5): 945–960.
- * Allan Dafoe and Devin Caughey. Forthcoming. “Honor and War: Southern U.S. Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation.” *World Politics* 68 (2).

12 Sunbelt Conservatism (April 27, 2016)

Themes:

- The economic development of the South and the rise of the Sunbelt
- The intertwining of racial, economic, and social conservatism

Readings (116 pages):

- * Earl Black and Merle Black. 1987. *Politics and Society in the South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, **chapter 10 (pages 213–31)**.
- James C. Cobb. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP: **chapters 8–9 (pages 202–241)**.
- * Matthew D. Lassiter. 2004. “The Suburban Origins of ‘Color-Blind’ Conservatism: Middle-Class Consciousness in the Charlotte Busing Crisis.” *Journal of Urban History* 30 (4): 549–582.
- * Daniel K. Williams. 2010. “Jerry Falwell’s Sunbelt Politics: The Regional Origins of the Moral Majority.” *Journal of Policy History* 22 (2): 125–147.

13 Republican Ascendancy (May 4, 2016)

Themes:

- The disintegration of the one-party South and the emergence of a new Republican majority
- Race versus economics in explaining partisan realignment in the South
- Political convergence between North and South

Readings (85 pages):

- Michael Perman. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: **pages 334–358**.
- * Earl Black. 1998. “The Newest Southern Politics.” *Journal of Politics* 60 (3): 591–612.

- * Nicholas A. Valentino and David O. Sears. 2005. “Old Times There Are Not Forgotten: Race and Partisan Realignment in the Contemporary South.” *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 672–688.
- * Byron E. Shafer and Richard Johnston. 2011. “Partisan Change in the Post-Key South.” In *Unlocking V.O. Key Jr.: “Southern Politics” for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Angie Maxwell and Todd G. Shields, 161–184. Little Rock: University of Arkansas Press.

14 Southern Politics in the Age of Obama (May 11, 2016)

Themes:

- Does the South still exist?: The Americanization of the South and the Southernization of America
- Does Obama’s signify that American politics is post-racial or chronically racialized?

Readings (109 pages):

- James C. Cobb. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP: pages 266–318.
- * Charles S. Bullock III. 2010. “Barack Obama and the South.” *American Review of Politics* 31 (Summer): 3–24.
- * Seth Stephens-Davidowitz. 2014. “The Cost of Racial Animus on a Black Candidate: Evidence Using Google Search Data.” *Journal of Public Economics* 118 (C): 26–40.
- * Michelle Alexander. 2011–2012. “The New Jim Crow.” *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 9 (1): 7–26.

This syllabus was last modified on February 25, 2016.

References

- Alexander, Michelle. 2011–2012. “The New Jim Crow.” *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law* 9 (1): 7–26.
- Black, Earl. 1998. “The Newest Southern Politics.” *Journal of Politics* 60 (3): 591–612.
- Black, Earl, and Merle Black. 1987. *Politics and Society in the South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bullock, Charles S., III. 2010. “Barack Obama and the South.” *American Review of Politics* 31 (Summer): 3–24.
- Cascio, Elizabeth U., and Ebonya Washington. 2014. “Valuing the Vote: the Redistribution of Voting Rights and State Funds Following the Voting Rights Act of 1965.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129 (1): 379–433.
- Cobb, James C. 2010. *The South and America since World War II*. New York: Oxford UP.
- Cohen, Dov, Brian F. Bowdle, Richard E. Nisbett, and Norbert Schwartz. 1996. “Insult, Aggression, and the Southern Culture of Honor: An ‘Experimental Ethnography’.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70 (5): 945–960.
- Dafoe, Allan, and Devin Caughey. Forthcoming. “Honor and War: Southern U.S. Presidents and the Effects of Concern for Reputation.” *World Politics* 68 (2).
- Du Bois, W. E. B. 2006[1903]. “Of Booker T. Washington and Others.” In *The Souls of Black Folk*, 35–47. Pennsylvania State University.
- Foner, Eric. 2015. *A Short History of Reconstruction*. Updated edition. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Franklin, John Hope. 1970. *The Militant South, 1800–1861*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard UP.
- Katznelson, Ira. 2013. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. New York: Liveright.
- Key, V. O., Jr. 1984[1949]. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Klarman, Michael J. 1994. “How *Brown* Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis.” *Journal of American History* 81 (1): 81–118.
- Lassiter, Matthew D. 2004. “The Suburban Origins of ‘Color-Blind’ Conservatism: Middle-Class Consciousness in the Charlotte Busing Crisis.” *Journal of Urban History* 30 (4): 549–582.
- McAdam, Doug. 2009. “The U.S. Civil Rights Movement: Power from Below and Above, 1945–1970.” In *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*, 58–74. New York: Oxford UP.
- Mickey, Robert W. 2008. “The Beginning of the End for Authoritarian Rule in America: *Smith v. Allwright* and the Abolition of the White Primary in the Deep South, 1944–1948.” *Studies in American Political Development* 22 (2): 143–182.
- Nisbett, Richard E. 1993. “Violence and U.S. Regional Culture.” *American Psychologist* 48 (4): 441–449.
- Norrell, Robert J. 2011. “‘The Uplift of Humanity’: Booker T. Washington in Context.” *Alabama Heritage*, no. 100: 10–19.
- Perman, Michael. 2009. *Pursuit of Unity: A Political History of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Shafer, Byron E., and Richard Johnston. 2011. "Partisan Change in the Post-Key South." In *Unlocking V.O. Key Jr.: "Southern Politics" for the Twenty-First Century*, edited by Angie Maxwell and Todd G. Shields, 161–184. Little Rock: University of Arkansas Press.
- Stephens-Davidowitz, Seth. 2014. "The Cost of Racial Animus on a Black Candidate: Evidence Using Google Search Data." *Journal of Public Economics* 118 (C): 26–40.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., and David O. Sears. 2005. "Old Times There Are Not Forgotten: Race and Partisan Realignment in the Contemporary South." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 672–688.
- Wilkerson, Isabel. 2010. *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*. New York: Vintage.
- Williams, Daniel K. 2010. "Jerry Falwell's Sunbelt Politics: The Regional Origins of the Moral Majority." *Journal of Policy History* 22 (2): 125–147.
- Woodward, C. Vann. 2002. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Commemorative version of the 1974 third revised edition. New York: Oxford UP.
- Wright, Gavin. 2013. *Sharing the Prize: The Economics of the Civil Rights Revolution in the American South*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.