

POLS 4660  
Southern Politics  
Fall 2024

Dr. Charles S. Bullock, III  
111 Baldwin Hall  
Office hours: TU, TH 10-11, after  
class and by appointment  
[csbullock57@gmail.com](mailto:csbullock57@gmail.com)

This course in Southern Politics provides an overview of the politics of the eleven-state South over the last half century. The course examines both regional similarities and inter-state differences. Heavy emphasis is given to the factors that have contributed to the region's changing politics: first, the emergence of a Republican challenge in what had been the solidly Democratic South followed by GOP dominance in the region, along with the mobilization of a significant African-American political influence. More recently, the Democratic Party has shown signs of a new realignment in parts of the region experiencing growth. The personalities and event shaping the political decisions in individual states and the influence that the South has exercised in national politics are examined.

#### TEXTBOOKS:

Charles S. Bullock, III, and Mark Rozell, *New Politics of the Old South*, 7<sup>th</sup> edition  
Charles S. Bullock, III, et al. *African American Statewide Candidates in the New South*  
Melissa Faye Greene, *Praying for Sheetrock*  
M. V. Hood, Quentin Kidd and Irwin Morris, *The Rationale Southerner*  
Materials posted on ELC

Materials in V. O. Key's seminal *Southern Politics* other than pages 3 – 12 are NOT covered in quizzes or exams. However, you may find his historic coverage both interesting and useful.

#### Background

Aug. 15-20 The South as a Region and Its Politics: "Southern Shift," *The Economist*; Bill Staub, "Whatever Happened to the New South?" Key, pp. 3-12.

#### The Growth South

Aug. 22 Virginia: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 4; Bullock et al., *African American Statewide Candidates in the New South*, Chapter 4; Hood et al. pp. 71 – 83; (Key, 19-35).

Aug. 27 North Carolina: Bullock & Rozell, Ch 6; Hood et al., pp. 122 - 125; (Key, Ch 10)

Aug.29 Florida: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 7; *African American Statewide Candidates in the New South*, Chapter 3 (Key, 82-105). **QUIZ**

- Sept. 3 Texas: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 8; (Key, 254-276)
- Sept. 5 Increasing Partisan Competitiveness in Selected States  
**QUIZ on South Carolina materials**
- Sept.. 10 South Carolina: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 9; *African American Statewide Candidates in the New South*, Chapter 5 (Key, 130-155).

**Sept. 12 FIRST EXAM**

**The Stagnant South**

- Sept. 17 Louisiana: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 10; (Key, pp . 156-182).

**September 17 TERM PAPER TOPICS DUE (hard copies only)**

- Sept. 19 Mississippi: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 11; (Key, pp. 229-253). **QUIZ**
- Sept. 24 Tennessee: Bullock and Rozell, Ch.12; (Key, pp. 58- 81)
- Sept. 26 Alabama: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 13; (Key, pp. 36-57).
- Oct. 1 Arkansas: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 14; (Key, pp. 183-204).
- Oct. 3 - 15 Georgia: Bullock and Rozell, Ch 5; *African American Statewide Candidates in the New South*, Chapters 2 and 6; Hood et al., pp. 83 – 95; (Key, pp.106-129) .  
**QUIZ**

**Oct. 17 SECOND EXAM**

- Oct. 22 - 24 The South's Role in National Politics: J. David Woodard, “The South and the Nation;” H. Gibbs Knotts and Jordan M. Ragusa, “Why South Carolina;” Bullock, et al. “The Changing Partisanship of the South and Its Impact on National Politics;” (Key, 317-384).
- October 22 Last Day to Change Paper Topics
- Oct. 29 - 31 Reapportionment: Bullock, “The History of Redistricting in Georgia,” *Georgia Law Review* 2018: 1057 – 1104; “How Rep. James Clyburn Protected His District . . .” ProPublica; “House of Unrepresentatives,” *Economist*.

**October 29 TERM PAPERS DUE (hard copies only)**

- Nov. 5 - 7 Partisan Realignment: Bullock and Rozell, Chapters 1 and 2; Hood et al., Chapters 1 - 3, 5 - 7, and 9 (Key, pp. 227-314) **QUIZ**
- Nov.12 - 14 Voting Rights Law: Bullock and Rozell, Chapter 3; *African American Statewide Candidates in the New South*, Chapters 1, 7 and 8; Nick Corasaniti, “How the Voting Rights Act, Newly Challenged, Has Long Been Under Attack,” *New York Times*, (Nov. 23, 2023), A18. (Key, pp. 531 – 663) **QUIZ**
- Nov. 19 - 21 Voting Rights Implementation: Greene, all; Hood et al., PP 38 – 46 and Chapter 8. **QUIZ over Greene**

**Nov. 26**

**THIRD EXAM**

**December 10**

**12 – 3 PM**

**FINAL EXAM**

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

### **Grading**

Grades will be based on exams, quizzes, a term paper and classroom participation. Exams will draw from lectures, guest speakers, and the required reading assignments. Class participation and the quizzes will each be worth about 10 percent of the final grade. The exams and the term paper are weighted equally and account for the remaining 80 percent of the final grade.

Classroom participation counts for about 10% of the final grade for the course. Absences will pull down the class participation component of the grade. Simply sitting in class, while a necessary prerequisite for a good participation grade will, by itself, be insufficient. **To do well on the participation component, you must participate by responding to questions posed by the instructor, or asking questions of the instructor or guest speakers, or sharing insights.** Students with excessive absences may be dropped from the course by the instructor.

Save for exceptional circumstances and explicit permission of the instructor, late papers will be penalized. Paper topics not approved by the instructor will not be graded.

Should it be necessary for a student to make up either of the first two exams that will be done toward the end of the term.

Quizzes will cover materials from the reading assignments and will be administered **at the beginning** of the topic with which they are associated. That is, the quiz will come *before* any classroom discussion of the topic. Often quizzes will come at the beginning of the class period. Students who have read the assignment should do well on the quiz. **NO MAKEUPS WILL BE GIVEN FOR QUIZZES.** The five (5) best quiz grades will be used to calculate the grade for this portion of the class meaning that a student who takes all the quizzes can drop the two

lowest grades. The five quizzes will equal half an exam grade.

## Term Paper

There is neither a maximum nor minimum length for your paper. Past experience indicates that most papers are somewhere between 10 and 15 pages in length. Papers shorter than 10 pages usually receive poor grades because they have not been adequately researched or developed.

You are preparing a *research paper*, not an essay, not a summary of a book or articles and not a reaction to items you have read. As the term implies, you are expected to do research. Your research may involve interviews with political figures, newspaper reporters, lobbyists and others. Research efforts may lead you to collect and analyze political data like election returns or roll call votes taken in a collegial body. You may read books, articles, papers like those of political figures collected in the Russell Library on the UGA campus.

While I encourage original research, *do not attempt a survey*. Doing a survey well is not easy. Increasingly professional pollsters struggle to get reliable samples. Having your social media friends respond to a few questions does not generate useful information. The sample will not be representative of any larger population and therefore will not sustain any generalizations.

**All paper topics *must* be approved.** Any paper submitted that has not been approved will not be graded. The paper proposal should provide enough detail for me to determine *what* you are going to write about and *how* you propose to go about it. This will take at least a paragraph and perhaps a page to set forth. You may include a statement of one or more hypotheses to be tested. You will certainly indicate how you will go about gathering the information to be used. Do you plan to do interviews? Will you collect and analyze data or analyze data in existing data sets? Will you rely upon library sources? If you plan on relying on published sources, your proposal *must* include a partial list of sources you have located. If you plan to use published data, your proposal must indicate where these data are located. It is insufficient to say that you will use books and scholarly journals; you need to list some of the sources you have found. If you plan on doing interviews you need to indicate some of the individuals you hope to interview.

I will respond to your proposal. My comments on your proposal *must* be attached at the rear of your paper when it is submitted. Failure to include my comments when you submit your paper will result in at least a one-letter grade reduction. If I ask you to resubmit a proposal, then your paper has not been approved and you must make changes and turn in another proposal. At that time it might be wise for us to have a conversation so that I can help you develop an acceptable idea for a paper. You can reach me at 706.224.0484.

Virtually any topic relating to Southern Politics is potentially acceptable. This may

include but not be limited to state or local elections, diversification in the ranks of public officials; changes in partisan strength; the struggle to desegregate an institution such as a school system or other facility, consequences of partisan or racial change, the consequences of urbanization, efforts to adopt new public policies, and so forth.

Consider using the paper requirement as an opportunity to do original research. Many students have not previously attempted original research but those who have ventured into this area in the past have frequently found it very rewarding. In doing original research you may rely on interviews with political actors and observers (elected officials, lobbyists, political activists, or reporters), data such as election returns, or demographic data.

Those who do not carry out original research must explore sources that go well beyond the reading materials assigned for this class. While the texts and other reading assignments can be consulted, the purpose of a research paper is quite different than an assignment to react to or summarize a set of readings. Thus the readings assigned for the course should not be a major component of your sources.

My assumption is that you have prepared research papers in the past. If you have never written a term paper, it may be wise for us to have a conversation so that you not be disappointed with your grade. As the detailed instructions for paper preparation should indicate, I have high expectations and those expectations influence my grading.

The comments that follow are intended to help you succeed with your paper. Read these instructions carefully. If your paper has the kinds of problems that are specifically cautioned against below, that will lower the grade on the paper.

## **How to Prepare a Successful Research Paper**

The purpose of a term paper is to convey to others the results of the research you have conducted. Consequently the clearer the paper is in conveying information the more successful it will be. Below are some suggestions.

The first step for a successful paper is to have a title. The title should immediately give readers an idea as to what is likely to be encountered.

A second component is an introduction in which the author lays out the topics that will be covered in the course of the paper. The introduction should be concise and the objectives of the paper clearly articulated.

A third component is a conclusion that recapitulates the major points made in the body of the paper.

In the body of the paper, the author should be careful to lead the reader along. Often this can be done by using headings and subheadings to alert the reader that the author is moving on to

a new topic. If headings and subheadings are not used, then it is imperative to use transitions as new topics are introduced.

There is generally no place in a term paper for an encyclopedia. Researchers should be especially careful not to rely upon internet sources such as Wikipedia which can be accessed and modified by anyone as was revealed in late April of 2006 when gubernatorial candidate Cathy Cox fired her campaign manager for having posted negative information into the biography of her opponent Mark Taylor.

Remember the rule that you undoubtedly encountered in one or more high school English classes. Each major idea gets its own paragraph. A paragraph should consist of a topic sentence and then supporting sentences. Stringing together multiple ideas in a single paragraph causes confusion for the reader.

You may find it useful to include tables or graphs from sources that you come across. Tables and figures, whether reproduced from a source or your own creation need three elements: they should be numbered, have a title and indicate the source. When reproducing tables or graphs, be sure to renumber the items to fit in your presentation. Thus while the table may be number 5 in the source you take it from if it is the first table in your paper it should be numbered 1. Tables, figures and graphs should carry an indication of the source. If it comes from another source, that should be indicated. If you created the item, then type of following at the bottom of the table or figure. Source: Created by the author.

Graphs and maps can help you document the points you seek to make. Remember that if you create or find them in color, you will probably need to print these items out in color to have maximum effect. Something that looks fine in color may be too dark to interpret when printed out. Or a graph with multiple lines, each in color, or maps with variation in the degree to which an item is present shown in color losses a lot when reproduced in shades of gray.

The proposal and the paper should be typed using a 12-point font and double-paced. The pages in the paper should be numbered.

## **References**

Documentation plays a critical role when sharing the results of a research effort. Research papers must indicate the sources of the information on which the writer has relied. Since this is a research paper, there **must** be documentation for information that is not generally known. A paper without citations has serious flaws.

Any of several standard formats are acceptable for indicating references. You may use footnotes, endnotes or inBtext citations accompanied by a list of references. Each style requires

full information. That is, you should provide the name or names of the authors, the title of the work and the publication in which the work is found. If this is a journal or magazine article, then the dates of the publication and the pages should be included.

When referencing articles or chapters collected in anthologies, the proper approach is to reference the author of the article and the article title and then indicate the volume in which it appeared and the editors of the volume. For example, the in-text reference to the chapter on Alabama in the Bullock and Rozell text would be given as (Cotter 2007). Then in the Bibliography the citation would be:

Cotter, Patrick R. 2007. "Alabama: From One Party to Competition, and Maybe Back Again." In *The New Politics of the Old South*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., Charles S. Bullock, III, and Mark Rozell, eds. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield).

When citing a publication that has multiple authors, there are two acceptable approaches. One is to list the names of each author. Alternatively if there are three or more authors, the reference may be to Smith et al. rather than to Smith, Jones and White.

Newspapers, magazines and book titles should be *italicized*.

For a works cited page or bibliography, items should be arranged alphabetically by the first letter in the last name of the first author. For articles for which the identity of the author is not provided, these should be alphabetized by the first letter in the first major word in the title.

Interviews should be treated just as publications are. You may choose to include the text of an interview or interviews that you conduct, but simply providing a transcript or summary of the interview is **not** the way to use the valuable information you gained. Instead, extract relevant items from the interview – sometimes it will be a quote – and include that information along with a citation at the appropriate place in your paper. If using the in-text citation approach, then the last name of the interviewee and the year in which the interview was conducted will appear in parentheses. In the bibliography, the listing should be as follows:

Smith, Mark. 2006. In-person interview conducted by the author, April 16.

If you rely heavily upon newspaper articles, you may find that you are citing more than one article by the same author and published in the same year. The way in which to distinguish these for the in-text citations would be (Smith 2006a), (Smith 2006b), (Smith 2006c), and so forth. On the references pages these would be set up as follows:

Smith, John. 2006a. "Elections Resolve Zoning Dispute." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (March 14): p. A10.

Smith, John. 2006b. "General Public Up in Arms over Zoning Decision." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (March 1): p. B1.

Smith, John. 2006c. "Opponents Threaten to Sue." *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (April

1) pp. A1, 10.

Long quotes should be indented and indented quotes do not need to be set off with quotation marks. All quotations must be accompanied by an indication of their source.

### **Frequent Mechanical Pitfalls**

1. The pages in your paper should be numbered.
2. Remember the rule that you undoubtedly encountered in one or more high school English classes. Each major idea gets its own paragraph. A paragraph should consist of a topic sentence and then supporting sentences. Stringing together multiple ideas in a single paragraph simply causes confusion to the reader.
3. Learn the difference between percent and percentage point. If John Kerry won 40% of the vote and Barack Obama won 50% of the vote, Obama's margin is 10 percentage points or 25% more than Kerry's performance.
4. Nouns such as Democratic or Republican Party, public official, legislature, legislator, lobbyist, committee, Congress, General Assembly and organization are **singular**. Therefore these nouns should be accompanied by singular verbs and pronouns. Thus "it, he, or she" or "his or her" and not "they" or "their" should be used. If you are going to use the plural pronouns, then they should refer to plural nouns, e.g., lobbyists, legislators, members of the committee, etc.
5. Proper nouns should be capitalized. For example, names of political parties should be capitalized, e.g., Republican Party. Words that are not proper nouns, except the first word in a sentence, are lower case. These are the rules. What you should never do is be inconsistent in applying these rules. Do not, for example, capitalize a word only some of the time. When I see inconsistency is the application of rules concerning capitalization, I circle the inconsistencies in green and write "consistency?."
6. When referencing a chapter in an edited volume, cite the author of the chapter and not the editor of the volume. Consult a source on preparing references or look at citations in one of your texts to see how to list a chapter from an edited volume in your bibliography or in a footnote.
7. Data is plural; datum is singular therefore the verbs and pronouns used with data should be plural.
8. The pronoun when referring to a person or persons is "who" and not "that" or



“which.”

9. If you are referring to something that can be counted, use few or fewer not less or lesser.
10. Parallelism requires that if you begin a listing with “first” it should be followed by “second” and “third.” Do not begin with “first” then shift to “secondly.” Alternatively, you can use firstly, secondly, thirdly, etc.
11. Titles of court cases, books, magazines, newspapers and scholarly journals should be *italicized*. Articles within a journal, newspaper or edited volume are set off with quotation marks.
12. Long quotations should be indented. Indented quotes do not need quotation marks. The indentation indicates that it is a quotation.
13. If a publication has multiple authors, it is incorrect to cite only the lead author. For pieces with two authors, cite both. If there are three or more authors, you can list all of their last names or you can list the first name followed by et al.
14. Quotation marks usually come *after* the punctuation, such as periods and commas. If you are writing for a British publication, reverse the rule.
15. Footnote numbers come *after* and not before punctuation.
16. Reproducing tables and graphs produced by others can add to your presentation. Each table or graph, referred to as a figure, should have three components. Each should be numbered, have a title and there should be an indication as to the source. When reproducing tables or graphs, renumber them. Do not simply use the number on the original. That could result in your first table having a number like 12.7, which makes no sense. If you created the table or figure, then the source should be: Created by the author. If the table or figure is in color in the original, make sure that it is in color in your paper.
17. Unless the result is awkward, avoid split infinitives. Thus, a sentence should read: “The campaign decided to attack the opposition position on education aggressively.” Do not write: “The campaign decided to aggressively attack the opposition position on education.” Justice Sotomayor reportedly will not hire as a clerk any applicant who splits infinitives, so avoiding this writing problem can have a payoff. Even if you do not aspire to clerk for Justice Sotomayor, she is not alone in viewing split infinitives as a weakness that indicates sloppiness or lack of education.
18. The past tense of the verb to lead is led not lead. When lead is pronounced as led, it means the 82<sup>nd</sup> element of the periodic table with valences of 2 or 4 and the symbol Pb.

19. When shortening references to a decade such as the 1960s to '60s, an apostrophe is needed to show that two digits have been omitted. This is similar to the use of an apostrophe in contractions to show that one or more letters have been omitted.
20. Avoid the use of the ampersand in formal writing such as a term paper or report.
21. Single quotation marks are used for a quotation within a quotation. Otherwise, use double quotation marks.
22. When you see a word in your text underlined in red, your word processing program believes it is misspelled. Check to see whether you or your computer is correct.

### **Mental Health and Wellness Resources:**

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit <https://sco.uga.edu>. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.
- Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with differences of race, culture, religion, politics, sexual orientation, gender, gender variance, and nationalities. Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name. I am eager to address you by your preferred name and/or gender pronoun. Please advise me of this preference early in the semester so that I may make appropriate changes to my records.

- In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability Resource Center, students may not make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course. Students who have a recording accommodation agree in writing that they:
  - Will use the records only for personal academic use during the specific course.
  - Understand that faculty members have copyright interest in their class lectures and that they agree not to infringe on this right in any way.
  - Understand that the faculty member and students in the class have privacy rights and agree not to violate those rights by using recordings for any reason other than their own personal study.
  - Will not release, digitally upload, broadcast, transcribe, or otherwise share all or any part of the recordings. They also agree that they will not profit financially and will not allow others to benefit personally or financially from lecture recordings or other course materials.
  - Will erase/delete all recordings at the end of the semester.
  - Understand that violation of these terms may subject them to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct or subject them to liability under copyright laws.

## **Academic Honesty**

All academic work must meet the standards contained in *A Culture of Honesty*. Students are responsible for informing themselves about those standards before performing any academic work. The link to more detailed information about academic honesty can be found at <http://www.uga.edu/ovpi/honesty/acadhon.htm>.

In the absence of written authorization from the UGA Disability Resource Center, students may not make a visual or audio recording of any aspect of this course.