

CLASS SCHEDULE

PART 0 - Introduction

January 16 - First Class, Introductions & Syllabus

- Wines, Michael. 2022. "Does the Constitution Guarantee a Right to Vote? The Answer May Surprise You." The New York Times. Read Online

PART I - Voting Rights in America

The first part of the class will be dedicated to voting rights. I will lecture from Keyssar's classic work on the history of voting rights in the United States. An appreciation for history can allow us to better understand our current context. Graduate students are asked to read the book. Undergraduate students will read supplemental reading material during this part of class.

January 18 - Voting Rights, an introduction

- Briffault, Richard. Book Review: Review of The Contested Right to Vote, by Alexander Keyssar. Michigan Law Review 100, no. 6 (2002): 1506–31. Read Online
- [Introduction, pages XVIII-XXVI] Alexander Keyssar, The Right To Vote: The Contested History Of Democracy In The United States (Basic Books) (2009), [Read on Canvas]
- (optional) Kousser, J. Morgan. 2001. Book Review: "Review of The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States; Why America Stopped Voting: The Decline of Participatory Democracy and the Emergence of Modern American Politics." The Journal of American History 88(3): 1044–1046. Read Online

January 23 - Voting in the Colonies, Democracy on ascend, and Backsliding before the Civil War

- Gaughan, Anthony J. (forthcoming). "Voting in Colonial and Revolutionary America." Oxford Handbook of American Election Law. Read Online
- Francis Newton Thorpe, Democracy in America, The Atlantic, Dec. 1, 1893, Read Online
- (optional) Kate Masur, Winning the Right to Ride, Slate, Dec. 26, 2017, Read Online
- (optional) The Citizen In De Tocqueville's America Constitutional Rights Foundations, Read Online
- (optional) Dirda, Michael. 2020. "Perspective | Tocqueville's 'Democracy in America,' read anew in 2020, feels prophetic — and in some ways, hopeful." Washington Post. Read Online

January 25 - Reconstruction and Jim Crow America

- Ratcliffe, Donald. 2013. "The Right to Vote and the Rise of Democracy, 1787—1828." Journal of the Early Republic 33(2): 219–254. Read Online

- Reconstruction In America: Racial Violence After The Civil War, 1865–1876 (Equal Justice Initiative), Read Online
- Lina Mann. 2021. “The Election of 1876.” The White House Historical Association. Read Online

January 30 - World Wars and civil rights

- Richard Rothstein, *Brown v. Board At 60: Why Have We Been So Disappointed? What Have We Learned?* (Economic Policy Institute) (2014), Read Online
- Montoya, Celeste. 2020. “Intersectionality and Voting Rights.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 53(3): 484–89. Read Online
- Lucia McMahon. 2011. Book Review: “McMahon on Zboray and Zboray, ‘Voices without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England.’” *H-SHEAR*. Read Online
- (optional) *An Assessment Of Minority Voting Rights Access* (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights) (2018), Read Online Chapter 1, pages 15–41

February 1 - Democracy in the 21st century

- Danyelle Soloman et al., *Systematic Inequality And American Democracy* (2019), Read Online
- Dawood, Yasmin. 2022. “The Right to Vote: Baselines and Defaults.” *Stanford Law Review Online* 74: 37–54. Read Online
- Pildes, Richard H. 2022. “Election Law in an Age of Distrust.” *Stanford Law Review Online* 74: 100–114. Read Online
- (optional) *Voting Rights: A Short History* Carnegie Corporation of New York, Read Online
- (optional) *The ‘Stolen’ Election That Poisoned American Politics. It Happened in 1984.*, Read Online

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PART II - Representation

The second part of the class we will deal with representation more broadly. Much of the reading will be from Streb’s book, but I will introduce other topics during lecture/discussion.

February 6 - Overview

- Streb, Chapter 1 (Creating a Model Electoral Democracy)
- Kuttner, Robert. 2020. Review: *The Upswing: How America Came Together a Century Ago and How We Can Do It Again*. By Robert D. Putnam with Shaylyn Romney Garrett. 480 pp. Simon & Schuster. \$32.50. “The D.I.Y. Way to Heal the Social Fabric: Don’t Do It Yourself.” *The New York Times*. Read Online

- Gay, Claudine. 2024. "Opinion | Claudine Gay: What Just Happened at Harvard Is Bigger Than Me." The New York Times. Read Online
- (optional) Carnegie Mellon Univ. as Amicus Curiae. *Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President And Fellows of Harvard College*. 600 U.S. 181 (2023). Read Online
 - (optional) Farnam Jahanian. June 29, 2023. "Supreme Court Ruling on Race-Conscious Admissions." Read Online

February 8 - Turnout/The offices we elect/direct democracy

- Streb, Chapter 2 (Factors that Influence Voter Turnout)
- Streb, Chapter 3 (The Offices We Elect)
- Streb, Chapter 4 (Direct Democracy)
- (optional) Rodrigo Dominguez-Villegas & Michael Rios, From Eligibility To The Ballot Box: Examining The Racial And Ethnic Voter Turnout Gaps In The U.S. And California (UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Institute) (2022), Read Online

February 13 - The Electoral College

- Streb, Chapter 9 (The Electoral College)
- Tim Lau, The Electoral College, Explained, Brennan Center For Justice, Feb. 17, 2021, Read Online
- Kremp, Andrew Gelman and Pierre-Antoine. 2016. "The Electoral College Magnifies the Power of White Voters." Vox. Read Online
- Ill, Wilfred Codrington. 2019. "The Electoral College's Racist Origins." The Atlantic. Read Online

February 15 - Campaign Finance

- Streb, Chapter 10 (Campaign Finance)
- Streb, Chapter 11 (Conclusion)
- Total Cost Of 2022 State And Federal Elections Projected To Exceed \$16.7 Billion OpenSecrets News, Read Online

February 20 - Electoral Integrity and claims of election Fraud

- Grofman, Bernard, and Jonathan Cervas. "Statistical Fallacies in Claims about 'Massive and Widespread Fraud' in the 2020 Presidential Election: Examining Claims Based on Aggregate Election Results." Statistics and Public Policy. Read Online
- Issacharoff, Samuel. 2022. "Weaponizing the Electoral System." Stanford Law Review 74: 28–36. Read Online
- Podcast: Brennan Center for Justice. "Election Meltdown." Read Online

February 22 - FLEX DAY (TBD)

- *Book Review presentations I (grad students)*

February 27 - MIDTERM EXAM

February 29 - Presidential Primaries

- Streb, Chapter 8 (Presidential Primaries)
- Jeff Greenfield, Iowa and New Hampshire Are Getting the Boot. So What?, Politico, Dec. 6, 2022, Read Online
- Paul E. Peterson, How to stop Trump from becoming the GOP nominee again, CNN, Jan. 5, 2023, Read Online
- "The urgent need for peer review in the presidential nominating process." Brookings. Read Online
- (optional) "When is Super Tuesday? Here's what to know about the day that could shape the 2024 election." Sudiksha Kochi. USA Today. December 29, 2023. Read Online

Spring Break March 5 and March 7

March 12 - Immigration and Diversity

- Clarke, George R.G. 2021. "Diversity Explosion: How New Racial Demographics Are Remaking America." The International Trade Journal 35(6): 587–89. Read Online
- Budiman, Ruth Igielnik and Abby. 2020. "The Changing Racial and Ethnic Composition of the U.S. Electorate." Pew Research Center. Read Online
- Igielnik, Kim Parker and Ruth. 2020. "On the Cusp of Adulthood and Facing an Uncertain Future: What We Know About Gen Z So Far." Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project. Read Online
- Cohn, Nate. 2021. "Why Rising Diversity Might Not Help Democrats as Much as They Hope." The New York Times. Read Online
- (optional) Geoffrey Skelley & Anna Wiederkehr, How The Frost Belt And Sun Belt Illustrate The Complexity Of America's Urban-Rural Divide, FiveThirtyEight, Jan. 27, 2021, Read Online

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PART III - Redistricting

The third and final part of the class, approximately one month, will be devoted to the topic of legislative redistricting. This is my major area of specialty, and I intend this to be the most interesting part of the course.

March 14 – Geographic Sorting

- Schafft, Kai A. 2019. Book Review: “Why Cities Lose: The Deep Roots of the Urban–Rural Political Divide, by Jonathan A. Rodden, New York, NY: Basic Books, 2019. 313 Pp. \$30.00 (Hardback). ISBN: 978-1-5416-4427-4. For Profit Democracy: Why the Government Is Losing the Trust of Rural America, by LokaAshwood, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018. 306 Pp. \$25.00 (Hardback). ISBN: 978-0-300-21535-9.” Rural Sociology 84(4): 859–65. Read Online
- Abramowitz, Alan I. 2019. Book Review: “Hopkins, David A. Red Fighting Blue: How Geography and Electoral Rules Polarize American Politics.” Congress & the Presidency 46(1): 173–174. Read Online
- (optional) Greg Martin & Steven Webster, Why Are Americans So Geographically Polarized? – The Atlantic, Nov. 26, 2018, Read Online
- (optional) Emily Badger et al., A Close-Up Picture of Partisan Segregation, Among 180 Million Voters, The New York Times, Mar. 17, 2021, Read Online

March 19 – The U.S. Census/ Malapportionment

- NCSL Chapter 1 – (Census)
- NCSL Chapter 2 – (Equal Population)
- Momentum Gathers to Improve 2030 Census, Read Online

March 21 – Intro to DRA, Criteria for districting

- Getting Started in DRA 2020, DRA 2020, Read Online
- Building Your District Map, DRA 2020, Read Online
- NCSL Chapter 4 – (Redistricting Principles and Criteria)
- (optional) Richard J. Meislin, Computers to Redistrict State in a Beep and a Flash; “An Expensive Pencil” Computers to Redraw the Districts In New York in a Beep and a Flash Graphics in Seconds, The New York Times, Jul. 10, 1980, Read Online

March 26 – Partisan Gerrymandering

- NCSL Chapter 6 – (Partisan Redistricting)
- Opinion of the Court, pages 1–34 *Rucho v. Common Cause*, 139 S.Ct. Read Online
- Kagan, Dissenting, pages 1–33 Read Online
- (optional) Glass, Ira. “Mapmaker, Mapmaker, Make Me a Map.” Read Online

March 28 – Racial Gerrymandering

- NCSL Chapter 3 – (Racial and Language Minorities)

- Former Attorney General Eric Holder, Read Online
- Cadava, Geraldo. 2023. "Should Latinos Be Considered a Race?" The New Yorker. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/daily-comment/should-latinos-be-considered-a-race>
- K.K. Rebecca Lai and Jennifer Medina. Oct. 16, 2023. "An American Puzzle: Fitting Race In a Box." The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2023/10/16/us/census-race-ethnicity.html>

April 2 - The Voting Rights Act

- Carrie Johnson, How The Voting Rights Act Came To Be And How It's Changed, NPR, Aug. 26, 2021, Read Online
- (optional) Nicholas Casey, Voting Rights Battle in a School Board 'Coup,' The New York Times, Oct. 26, 2020, at 1, Read Online
- (optional) Nina Totenberg, The Supreme Court Deals A New Blow To Voting Rights, Upholding Arizona Restrictions, NPR, Jul. 1, 2021, Read Online
- (optional) Eyder Peralta et al., Supreme Court Strikes Down Key Provision Of Voting Rights Law, NPR, Jun. 25, 2013, Read Online

April 4 - Election Reform

- NCSL Chapter 5 - (Redistricting Commissions)
- Lee Drutman, How Democracies Revive, Niskanen Center 15 (2022), Read Online
- Thompson, Marilyn W. 2024. "The Failed Promise of Independent Election Mapmaking." ProPublica. Read Online

April 9 - FLEX DAY (TBD)

- *Book Review presentations II (grad students)*

No Class April 11 - Carnival

April 16 - Automated Redistricting

- Redistricting Algorithms, Read Online

April 18 - Ballot Laws/Voting Machines (Eugene Mazo Guest lecture)

- Streb, Chapter 5 (Ballot Laws)
- Streb, Chapter 6 (Voting Machines)
- (optional) Mark Scolforo, Majority of 16k canceled Pa. mail-in ballots were from Dems, AP News, Jan. 6, 2023, Read Online

April 23 - The Future of American Democracy

- Audie Cornish et al., How the U.S. became a “backsliding democracy,” according to a European think tank, NPR, Nov. 25, 2021, [Read Online](#)
- Stop Projecting America’s Democratic Decline onto the World Foreign Policy, [Read Online](#)
- Serwer, Adam. 2020. “The Next Reconstruction.” The Atlantic. [Read Online](#)

April 25 - FINAL EXAM (cumulative)