

How was Trump possible? Horizontal and Vertical Inequality in the United States

Teacher	Prof. Dr. Armin Schäfer
Dates	April 20, 10-12.00 (100.107) May 18, 10-17.00 (100.107) July 06, 10-18.00 (121.519) July 07, 09-13.00 (100.05)

In advance, very few commentators expected Donald Trump to win the U.S. presidential election in 2016. Opinion polls saw Clinton clearly ahead of Trump, who had offended not only his opponents but also women, Mexicans, journalists and many others. As a result, few people thought he would be able to win and, in fact, Clinton got more votes in absolute terms but Trump secured a clear majority in the electoral college. Since the surprising election outcome, we have heard numerous stories about his incompetency and even speculations about his mental health. In this seminar, we seek to understand how Trump could win the election. To do so, we will look at long-term trends, though, rather than at his personality traits or the latest tweets. To come to terms with the latest events, we have to look at structural changes that have unfolded over a long period of time. It is a particular mix of horizontal inequality (discrimination against African Americans) and vertical inequality (income, wealth) that explains why the Democrats have lost their once dominant position in Congress.

In the first short part of the course, we will look at the changing US party system and political science analyses of the election results. Which groups supported Trump most strongly, what were the patterns of abstention and which groups voted predominantly for Clinton? In the major second part of the seminar, we will discuss books that analyze long-term changes in the U.S. society. We will focus on economic inequality, welfare state attitudes, racism, the war on drugs and mass incarceration, polarization, resentment, and biased decision-making.

This course will be held as a block seminar. The introduction and course organization will take place on April 20 (10.00 to 12.00). The first block session is scheduled for May 18. In this introductory part of the seminar, we will discuss articles about voting behavior to gain a better understanding of the political sociology of the Trump vote. The main part of the seminar will be devoted to discussing books that focus on particular topics, which explain the current state of U.S. democracy. Each participant will present one important book on a specific topic, which means that everyone has to read and discuss one book for the seminar. A book presentation counts as a *Studienleistung*, while you have to write a term paper in addition for a *Prüfungsleistung*.

Articles about the US Presidential election in 2016

- Bartels, Larry M. 2016. "Failure to Converge: Presidential Candidates, Core Partisans, and the Missing Middle in American Electoral Politics." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 667 (1): 143–65.
- Sides, John, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2016. "The Electoral Landscape of 2016." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 667 (1): 50–71.
- Smith, David N., and Eric Hanley. 2018. "The Anger Games: Who Voted for Donald Trump in the 2016 Election, and Why?" *Critical Sociology* 44 (2): 195–212.

Reading List – alphabetically ordered

1. Alexander, Michelle, 2010: *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: New Press.
2. Bartels, Larry M., 2008: *Unequal Democracy. The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
3. Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, 2017: *Racism without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
4. Cramer, Katherine J., 2016: *The Politics of Resentment: Rural Consciousness in Wisconsin and the Rise of Scott Walker*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
5. Gest, Justin, 2016: *The New Minority. White Working Class Politics in an Age of Immigration and Inequality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
6. Gilens, Martin, 1999: *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. Chicago, Ill. u.a.: Univ. of Chicago Press.
7. Gilens, Martin, 2012: *Affluence and Influence. Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
8. Hacker, Jacob S. & Paul Pierson, 2010: *Winner-take-all Politics: How Washington made the rich richer - and turned its back on the middle class*. New York u.a.: Simon & Schuster.
9. Hacker, Jacob S. & Paul Pierson, 2016: *American Amnesia: How the War on Government Led us to Forget What Made America Prosper*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
10. Abrajano, Marisa & Zoltan L. Hajnal, 2015: *White Backlash: Immigration, Race, and American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
11. Hochschild, Arlie Russell, 2016: *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right*. New York: The New Press.
12. Johnston, David Cay, 2018: *It's Even Worse Than You Think: What the Trump Administration Is Doing to America*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
13. Katznelson, Ira, 2005: *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America*. New York / London: W.W. Norton.
14. Levendusky, Matthew, 2009: *The Partisan Sort: How Liberals Became Democrats and Conservatives Became Republicans*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
15. Lipset, Seymour Martin & Gary Marks, 2000: *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States*. New York: W.W. Norton.
16. Massey, Douglas S. & Nancy A. Denton, 2003: *American Apartheid. Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, Ms.: Harvard University Press.
17. Manza, Jeff & Christopher Uggen, 2006: *Locked Out: Felon Disenfranchisement and American Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
18. McCarty, Nolan, Keith T. Poole & Howard Rosenthal, 2016: *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*. Second Edition. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

19. Payne, Keith, 2017: *The Broken Ladder: How Inequality Affects the Way We Think, Live, and Die*. New York: Viking.
20. Quadagno, Jill, 1994: *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.
21. Rosenfeld, Jake, 2014: *What Unions No Longer Do*. Cambridge u.a.: Harvard Univ. Press.
22. Page, Benjamin I./Martin Gilens, 2017: *Democracy in America? What Has Gone Wrong and What We Can Do About It*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Reading List – Topics

May 18	Topic	Book 1	Book 2	Book 3
12.00-13.00	Inequality	Hacker & Pierson 10	Payne 17	
14.30-15.30	Weakness of the Left	Lipset & Marks 00	Rosenfeld 14	
16.00-17.00	Political Inequality	Bartels 08	Gilens 12	
July 6				
10.30-11.30	Racism	Massey & Denton 03	Bonilla-Silva 17	
12.00-13.00	Incarceration	Alexander 10	Manza-Uggen 06	
14.00-15.30	Social Policy	Katznelson 05	Quadagno 94	Gilens 99
16.30-18.00	Polarization	Levendusky 09	Abrajano & Hajnal 15	McCarty et al. 16
July 7				
09.00-10.30	White Resentment	Hochschild 16	Cramer 16	Gest 16
11.00-12.30	Democracy	Hacker & Pierson 16	Page/Gilens 17	Johnston 18