

# Democracy & Debate

University of Michigan Press



Reading the 2020 Presidential Election

# Democracy and Debate

Founded in 1930, University of Michigan Press publishes award-winning books that advance humanities and social science, as well as English language teaching and regional resources. As a part of Michigan Publishing, UMP supports the broadest possible access to scholarship by promoting faculty public engagement and expert connections; diversity, equity, and inclusion through the selection and distribution of its content; and academic innovation by publishing work that leverages digital technology.

While it has evolved over the last 90 years to publish works by scholars from all over the world, the Press remains strongly aligned with the university's mission and subject areas of excellence. University faculty members edit series, review manuscripts, provide strategic guidance, and ensure editorial integrity through their service on the Executive Committee. The Press also works closely with leading centers on campus to manage their own publications.

Equitable access to trusted information is essential to democracy. The University of Michigan Press is proud to open its scholarly works, educational materials, and digital assets to the campus and alumni communities and the broader public as a forum to explore and discuss a range of issues at play during the 2020 election season and beyond.

We hope you are inspired to work with us and support our efforts by the academic innovation and faculty public engagement shared in these pages.

**Please visit [publishing.umich.edu/features/reading-the-2020-presidential-election](https://publishing.umich.edu/features/reading-the-2020-presidential-election) to learn more and access multimedia resources for this collection.**

Thank you to Dr. Angela Dillard and the Presidential Debate Academic Advisory Committee and the Presidential Debate Library Committee at the University of Michigan for their support.



Selected by Dr. Elizabeth Demers, University of Michigan Press Editorial Director and Political Science Acquiring Editor, the Press presents an interdisciplinary collection of 25 books that explore the core tensions in American political culture—tensions that erupt every four years during the presidential election. The reading list offers an opportunity for students and others to experience the richest, most comprehensive scholarship available today. Readers will find books that contextualize their own experiences of voting in America, along with big picture analyses of leadership, activism, and international pressures, as well as critiques of the democratic processes that control who gets to sit in the chair, and who gets to pull the lever.

## The Essentials

Classic texts and new voices pull back the curtain on electing a president

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- 4** The Politics of American Jews
- 4** The Remarkable Rise of Transgender Rights
- 4** The American Voter Revisited
- 4** The Primary Rules: Parties, Voters, and Presidential Nominations
- 5** Gendered Vulnerability: How Women Work Harder to Stay in Office
- 6** #Identity: Hashtagging Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Nation

## Recommended

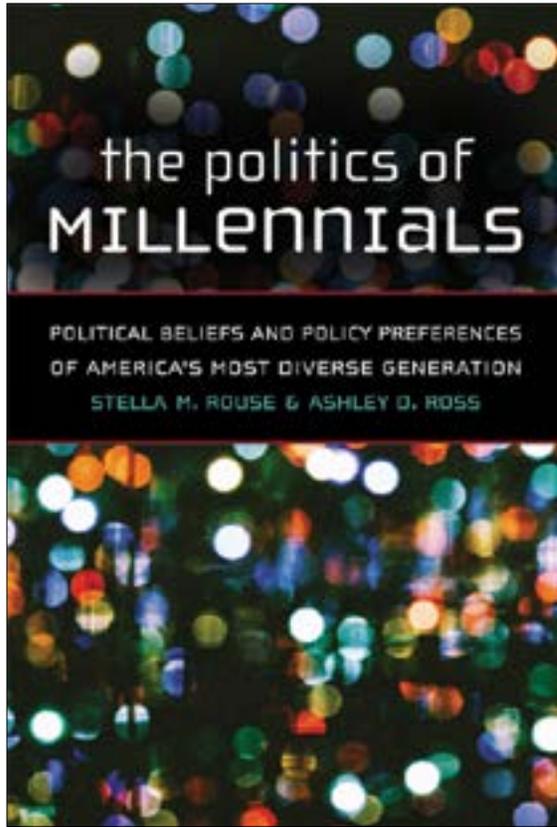
A deeper dive into the issues that divide us

- 7** Black America in the Shadow of the Sixties: Notes on the Civil Rights Movement, Neoliberalism, and Politics
- 8** Initiatives Without Engagement: A Realistic Appraisal of Direct Democracy's Secondary Effects
- 8** Zombie History: Lies About Our Past that Refuse to Die
- 8** Democracy and Imperialism: Irving Babbitt and Warlike Democracies
- 8** Warped Narratives: Distortion in the Framing of Gun Policy
- 9** Muslims in a Post 9/11 America
- 10** Imagining Politics: Interpretations in Political Science and Political Television
- 10** The Presidential Expectations Gap: Public Attitudes Concerning the Presidency
- 10** Liberalism and Leadership: The Irony of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
- 10** Campaign Finance and Political Polarization: When Purists Prevail

## Deep Cuts

Become an expert on the issues, policies, and processes of American Politics

- 11** State of Empowerment: Low-Income Families and the New Welfare State
- 12** Vitality Politics: Health, Debility, and the Limits of Black Emancipation
- 12** Decency and Difference: Humanity and the Global Challenge of Identity Politics
- 12** Alignment, Alliance, and American Grand Strategy
- 13** Thucydides' Trap: Historical Interpretation, Logic of Inquiry, and the Future of Sino-American Relations
- 14** Czars in the White House: The Rise of Policy Czars as Presidential Management Tools
- 14** Performance, Transparency, and the Cultures of Surveillance
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## *The Politics of Millennials: Political Beliefs and Policy Preferences of America's Most Diverse Generation*

The Millennial generation, the cohort born from the early 1980s to the late 1990s, is the largest generation in the United States. *The Politics of Millennials* explores the factors that shape the Millennial generation's unique political identity, how this identity makes political choices, and how Millennials' diversity informs their political attitudes and beliefs. This book explores politics from a generational perspective first, and combines this with race, gender, ethnicity, and other group identities to bring a new perspective on how we examine identity politics.

**Stella M. Rouse** is Associate Professor of Government and Politics and Director of the Center for American Politics and Citizenship at the University of Maryland.

**Ashley D. Ross** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Marine Sciences and a Fellow with the Center for Texas Beaches & Shores at Texas A&M University at Galveston.



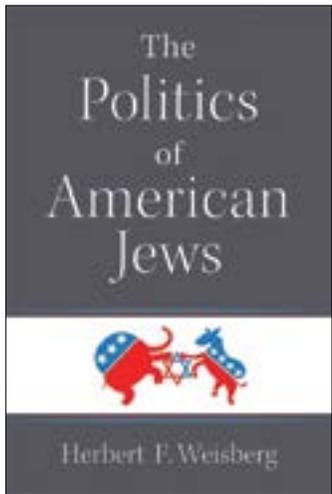
“ There is a lot of hope from younger generations in moving this country forward. It is really incumbent that they make their voices heard.”

Stella M. Rouse, Minnesota Public Radio, April 2020



**LISTEN ONLINE**

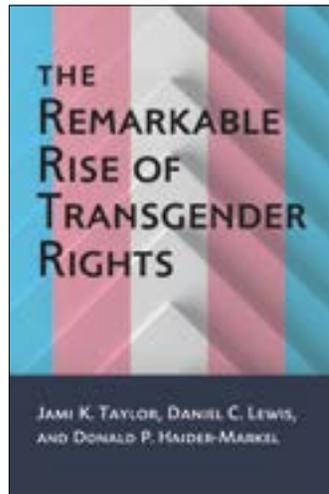
New Books Network  
October 22, 2018



### ***The Politics of American Jews***

*The Politics of American Jews* uncovers new perspectives on Jews' political choices by analyzing the unprecedented amount of survey data that is now available, including surveys that permit contrasting the voting of Jews with that of comparable non-Jews.

**Herbert F. Weisberg** is Emeritus Professor of Political Science at The Ohio State University.



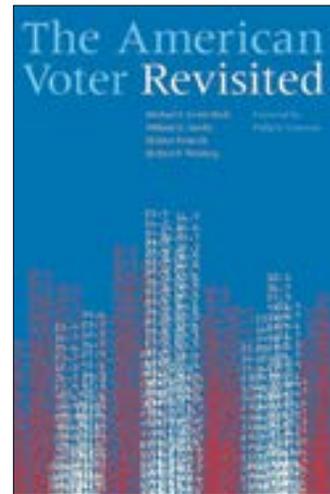
### ***The Remarkable Rise of Transgender Rights***

While medical identification and treatment of gender dysphoria have existed for decades, the development of transgender as a “collective political identity” is a recent construct. *The Remarkable Rise of Transgender Rights* explains the growth of the transgender rights movement despite its marginalized status.

**Jami K. Taylor** is Professor of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Toledo.

**Daniel C. Lewis** is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Political Science & International Relations, and Faculty Fellow for the Community Policy Institute at Siena College.

**Donald P. Haider-Markel** is Professor and Chair of the Political Science Department at the University of Kansas.



### ***The American Voter Revisited***

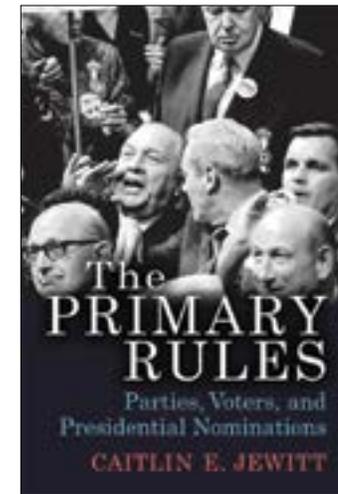
*The American Voter Revisited* re-creates the outstanding 1960 classic *The American Voter* following the same format, theory, and mode of analysis as the original. Surprisingly, the contemporary American voter is found to behave politically much like voters of the 1950s.

**Michael S. Lewis-Beck** is F. Wendell Miller Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the University of Iowa.

**William G. Jacoby** is Professor of Political Science at Michigan State University.

**Helmut Norpoth** is Professor of Political Science at Stony Brook University.

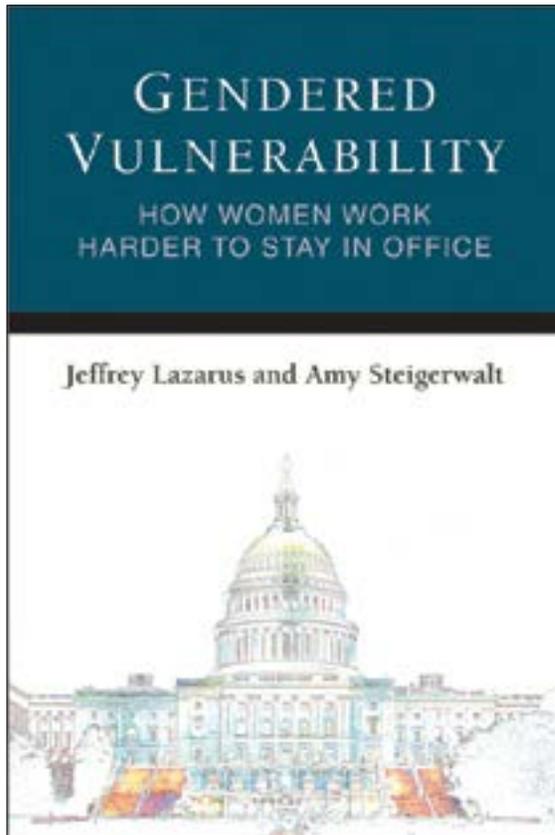
**Herbert F. Weisberg** is Professor of Political Science at The Ohio State University.



### ***The Primary Rules: Parties, Voters, and Presidential Nominations***

*The Primary Rules* illuminates the balance of power that the parties, states, and voters assert on the presidential nomination process. Caitlin E. Jewitt uncovers the effects of the rules on the competitiveness of the nomination, the number of voters who participate, and the nomination outcomes.

**Caitlin E. Jewitt** is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.



## *Gendered Vulnerability: How Women Work Harder to Stay in Office*

*Gendered Vulnerability* examines the factors that make women politicians more electorally vulnerable than their male counterparts. These factors combine to convince women that they must work harder to win elections—a phenomenon that Jeffrey Lazarus and Amy Steigerwalt term “gendered vulnerability.” Since women feel constant pressure to make sure they can win reelection, they devote more of their time and energy to winning their constituents’ favor. Lazarus and Steigerwalt examine different facets of legislative behavior, finding that female members do a better job of representing their constituents than male members.

**Jeffrey Lazarus** is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Georgia State University.

**Amy Steigerwalt** is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Georgia State University.



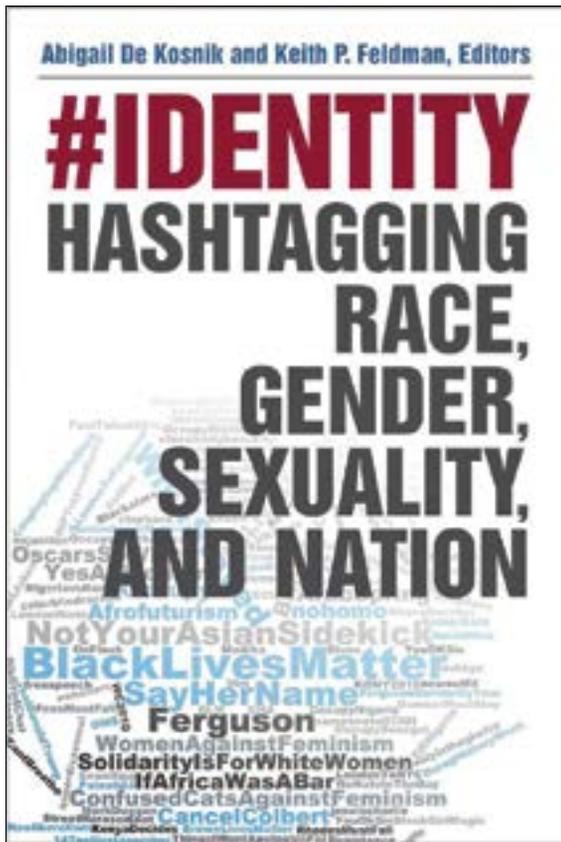
“It is generally the woman who is facing these primary election challengers in a way that their male counterparts simply are not. It does create [for female politicians] this need to be constantly prepared, to ensure that you are not looking as though you don’t know what’s going on.”

Amy Steigerwalt, New Book Network, May 2018



### LISTEN ONLINE

New Books Network  
May 17, 2018



## *#identity: Hashtagging Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Nation*

Since its launch in 2006, Twitter has served as a major platform for political performance, social justice activism, and large-scale public debates over race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and nationality. It has empowered minoritarian groups to organize protests, articulate often-underrepresented perspectives, and form community. It has also spread hashtags that have been used to bully and silence women, people of color, and LGBTQ people. *#identity* is among the first scholarly books to address the positive and negative effects of Twitter on our contemporary world.

**Abigail De Kosnik** is Associate Professor at the University of California, Berkeley in the Berkeley Center for New Media and the Department of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies.

**Keith P. Feldman** is Associate Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley



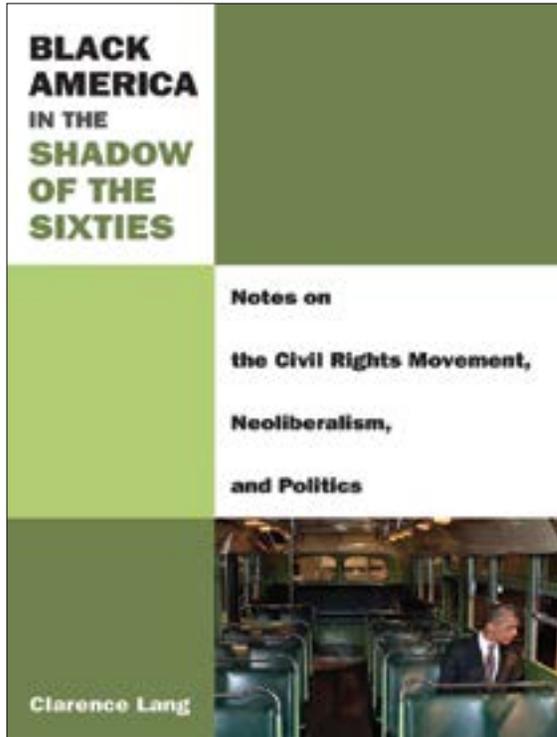
“ Prefiguring Twitter as a platform for presidential proclamation are the ways in which creative social movements have seized on Twitter and utilized it for different forms of social justice activism, forms of identity construction and circulation.”

Keith P. Feldman, New Books Network, June 2019



### LISTEN ONLINE

New Books Network  
June 5, 2019



*Black America in the Shadow of the Sixties:  
Notes on the Civil Rights Movement, Neoliberalism, and Politics*

The 1960s, including the black social movements of the period, are an obstacle to understanding the current conditions of African Americans. While Americans celebrate the anniversaries of various black freedom milestones and the election of the first black president, the effects of neoliberalism since the 1970s have been particularly devastating to African Americans. The book argues that a reassessment of the Sixties and its legacies is necessary to make better sense of black community, leadership, politics, and the prospects for social change today.

**Clarence Lang** is Associate Professor of African & African-American Studies, and American Studies, at the University of Kansas.



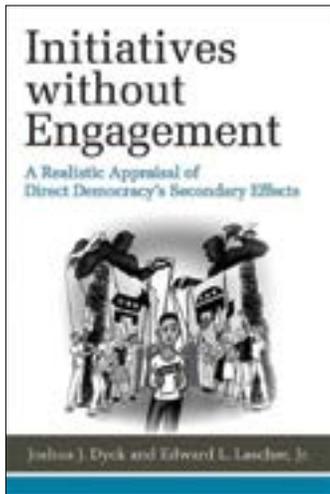
**LISTEN ONLINE**

Democracy Works  
June 8, 2020



“You cannot have a democracy without stability, you cannot have a democracy when you have gaping inequalities. To protect the idea of a republic or a democracy we have to resolve these issues that have led to where we are right now. Because at the point where people feel like they have to resolve issues in the streets, rightly or wrongly, that has to lead us to a bigger conversation about where we are as a society.”

Clarence Lang, Democracy Works,  
June 2020

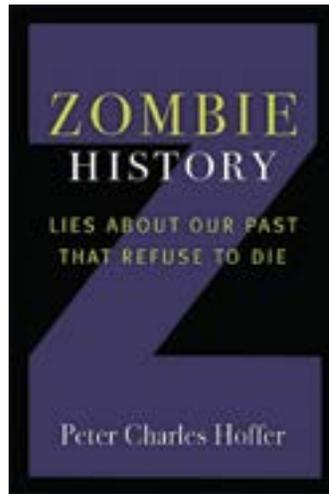


***Initiatives Without Engagement: A Realistic Appraisal of Direct Democracy's Secondary Effects***

In *Initiatives without Engagement*, Dyck and Lascher develop and test a theory that can explain the evidence that the ballot initiative process fails to provide the civic benefits commonly claimed for it, and the evidence that it increases political participation.

**Joshua J. Dyck** is Associate Professor of Political Science and Co-Director of the Center for Public Opinion at the University of Massachusetts Lowell.

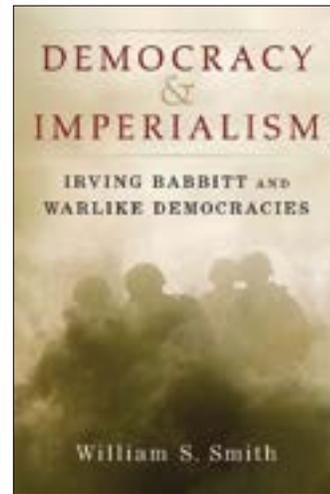
**Edward L. Lascher, Jr** is Professor of Public Policy and Administration at California State University, Sacramento.



***Zombie History: Lies About Our Past that Refuse to Die***

Fake history is not a harmless mistake of fact or interpretation. It is a mistake that conceals prejudice; a mistake that discriminates against certain kinds of people; a mistake held despite a preponderance of evidence; a mistake that harms us.

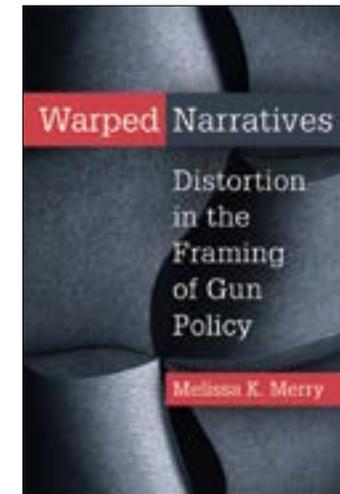
**Peter Charles Hoffer** is Distinguished Research Professor of History at the University of Georgia.



***Democracy and Imperialism: Irving Babbitt and Warlike Democracies***

Is an interventionist foreign policy compatible with the American constitutional tradition? This book examines critic Irving Babbitt's (1865–1933) unique contribution to understanding the quality of foreign policy leadership in a democracy.

**William S. Smith** is Research Fellow and Managing Director of the Center for the Study of Statesmanship at the Catholic University of America

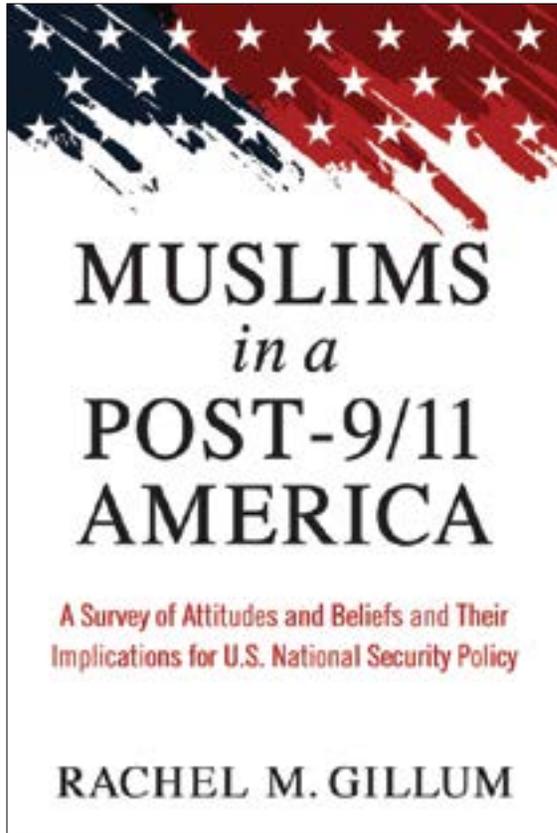


***Warped Narratives: Distortion in the Framing of Gun Policy***

*Warped Narratives* examines how and why interest groups frame the gun violence problem in particular ways, exploring the implication of groups' framing choices for policymaking and politics. This book is the first to systematically assess the role of race in gun policy groups' framing.

**Melissa K. Merry** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Louisville.

Recommended



*Muslims in a Post 9/11 America: A Survey of Attitudes and Beliefs and Their Implications for U.S. National Security Policy*

*Muslims in a Post-9/11 America* examines how public fears about Muslims in the United States compare with the reality of American Muslims' attitudes on a range of relevant issues. Using one of the largest nationwide surveys of Muslim Americans, Gillum's findings challenge perceptions of Muslims as a homogeneous, isolated, un-American, and potentially violent segment of the U.S. population. Gillum argues for policies and law enforcement tactics that bring nuanced understandings and build trust, rather than alienate Muslim communities.

**Rachel Gillum** is a Fellow at the Immigration Policy Lab at Stanford University.



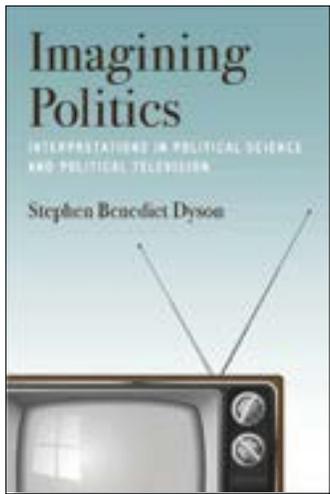
“Broad-brush policies of monitoring Muslims alienate our country’s biggest supporters and advocates of stopping these attacks. Muslims are just as concerned as most Americans about attacks on this country and have been incredibly helpful to police.”

Rachel M. Gillum, Scholars Strategy Network, August 2018



**LISTEN ONLINE**

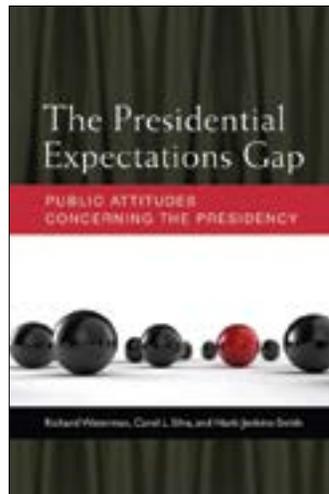
Scholars Strategy Network  
August 2, 2018



### *Imagining Politics: Interpretations in Political Science and Political Television*

*Imagining Politics* critically examines two interpretations of government: pop culture fictions about politics and academic political science. Stephen Benedict Dyson argues that televised political fictions and political science theories are attempts at meaning-making, reflecting and shaping how a society thinks about its politics.

**Stephen Benedict Dyson** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Connecticut.



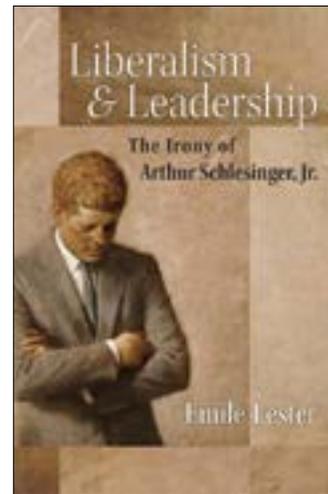
### *The Presidential Expectations Gap: Public Attitudes Concerning the Presidency*

For decades, public expectations of U.S. presidents have become increasingly excessive and unreasonable. The authors confirm that the expectations gap leads to lower approval ratings, lowers the chances of re-election, and even contributes to the success of the opposite political party.

**Richard Waterman** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Kentucky.

**Carol L. Silva** is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Risk and Crisis Management at the University of Oklahoma.

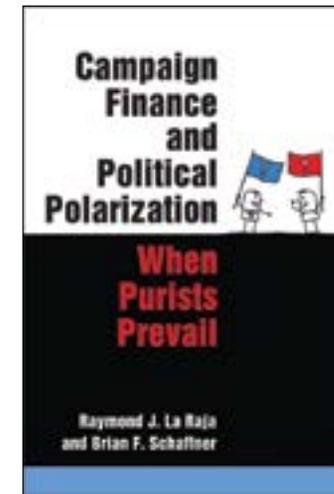
**Hank Jenkins-Smith** is Professor of Political Science and Associate Director of the Center for Risk and Crisis Management at the University of Oklahoma.



### *Liberalism and Leadership: The Irony of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.*

For Arthur Schlesinger, Roosevelt and Kennedy were liberal heroes and models as much because they respected the constraints on their power and ideals as because they tested traditional institutions and redefined the boundaries of Presidential power.

**Emile Lester** is Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at the University of Mary Washington.



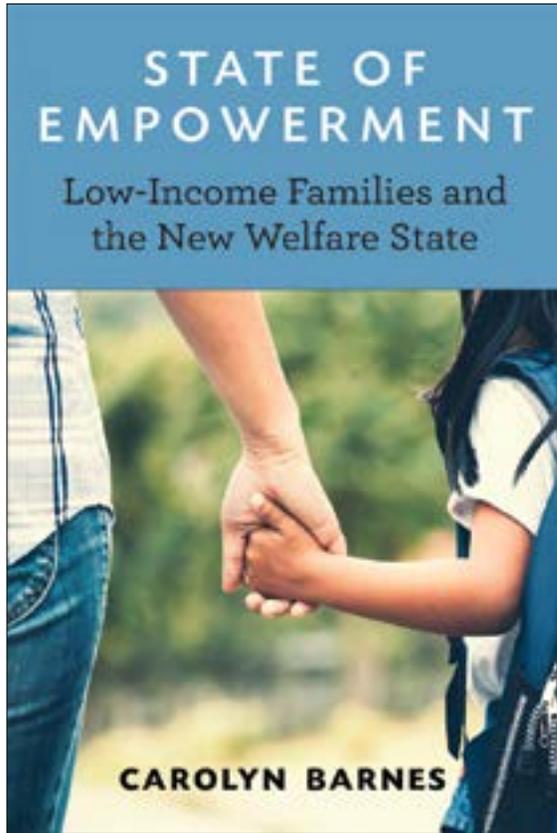
### *Campaign Finance and Political Polarization: When Purists Prevail*

Efforts to reform the U.S. campaign finance system typically focus on the corrupting influence of large contributions. Yet, as Raymond J. La Raja and Brian F. Schaffner argue, shifting campaign finance to parties would ease polarization by reducing the influence of “purist” donors.

**Raymond J. La Raja** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst, and Associate Director of the UMass Poll.

**Brian F. Schaffner** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst, Director of the UMass Poll, and a Co-Principal Investigator for the Cooperative Congressional Election Study.

Recommended



***State of Empowerment:  
Low-Income Families and the New Welfare State***

Federally funded after-school programs offer tutoring, homework help, and basic supervision to nearly one in four low-income families of American children. Government-funded after-school programs have become powerful forces for political and civic engagement by shifting power away from bureaucrats and putting it back into the hands of parents. In *State of Empowerment* Carolyn Barnes uses ethnographic accounts to reveal how interacting with government-funded after-school programs can enhance the civic and political lives of low-income citizens.

**Carolyn Barnes** is Assistant Professor of Public Policy and Political Science at Duke University.



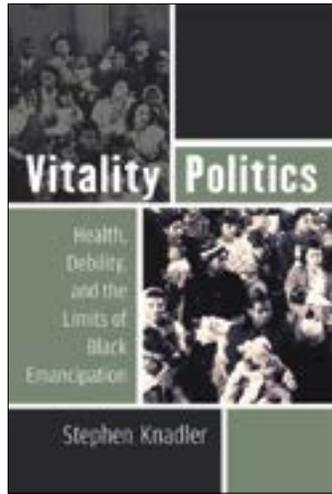
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Short Takes with Deondra Rose  
April 7, 2020



“ We know that the very wealthy are running this country and creating policies that are to the detriment of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged. And we also know that it’s in our country’s best interest to have equitable, democratic processes that generate policies that are helping the vulnerable, that are helping low-income families and low-income children.”

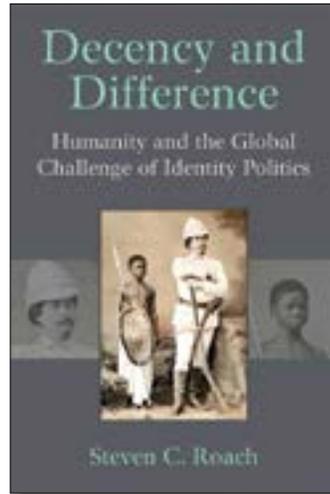
Carolyn Barnes, Short Takes with Deondra Rose, April 2020



### ***Vitality Politics: Health, Debility, and the Limits of Black Emancipation***

*Vitality Politics* focuses on a slow racial violence against African Americans through everyday, accumulative, contagious, and toxic attritions on health. The book takes on a multidisciplinary approach to highlight how Black lives are made not to matter in our supposedly race-neutral multicultural democracy.

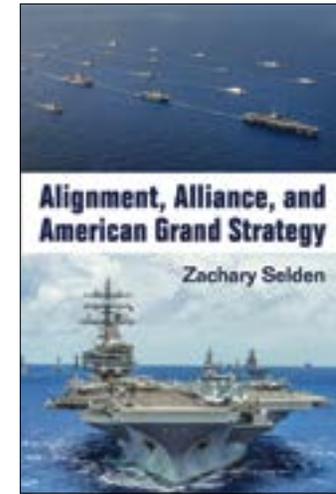
**Stephen Knadler** is Professor of English, Spelman College.



### ***Decency and Difference: Humanity and the Global Challenge of Identity Politics***

Decency remains one of the most prevalent yet least understood terms in today's political discourse. *Decency and Difference* argues that decency is a primary source of the political tension that has long shaped the struggles for power, identity, and justice in the global arena.

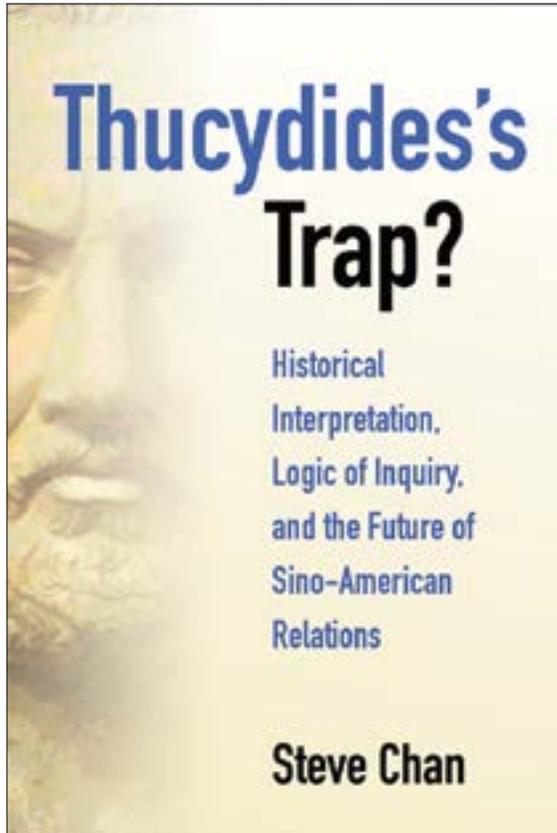
**Steven C. Roach** is Professor of International Relations and Graduate Director at the School of Interdisciplinary Global Studies at the University of South Florida.



### ***Alignment, Alliance, and American Grand Strategy***

Selden makes the case that a policy focused on maintaining American military preeminence and the demonstrated willingness to use force may be what sustains the cooperation of second-tier states, which in turn help to maintain US hegemony at a manageable cost.

**Zachary Selden** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida.



*Thucydides' Trap?: Historical Interpretation, Logic of Inquiry, and the Future of Sino-American Relations*

The idea of Thucydides' Trap warns that all rising powers threaten established powers. As China increases its power relative to the United States, the theory argues, the two nations are inevitably set on a collision course toward war. *Thucydides's Trap?: Historical Interpretation, Logic of Inquiry, and the Future of Sino-American Relations* offers a critique of the claims of Thucydides's Trap and power-transition theory. It examines past instances of peaceful accommodation to uncover lessons that can ease the frictions in ongoing Sino-American relations.

**Steve Chan** is College Professor of Distinction at the University of Colorado at Boulder, where he teaches political science.



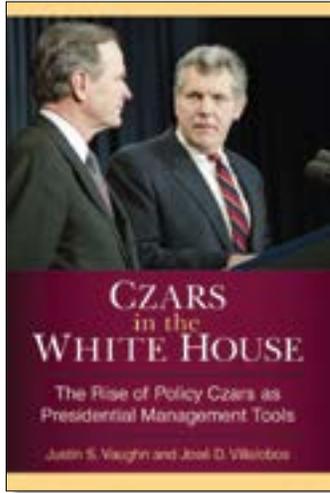
“ All countries are supposed to be ambitious and greedy. So the question is why would the dominant power, the established power, not want to utilize its power to throw its weight around, to increase its already considerable power? Why does ambition only apply to the rising power and not the ruling power? ”

Steve Chan, Australian National University, November 2019



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Australian National University  
November 14, 2019

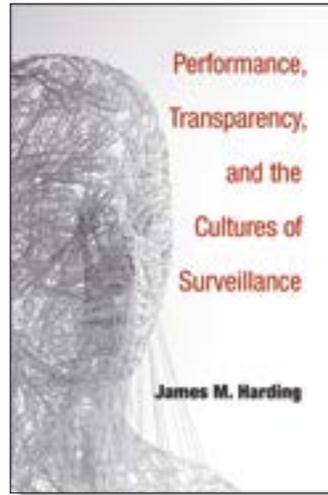


***Czars in the White House:  
The Rise of Policy Czars as Presidential  
Management Tools***

Demonstrating that the creation of policy czars is a strategy for combating partisan polarization and navigating the federal government's complexity, Vaughn and Villalobos offer a sober, empirical analysis of what precisely constitutes a czar and what role they have played in the modern presidency.

**Justin S. Vaughn** is Associate Professor of Political Science at Boise State University.

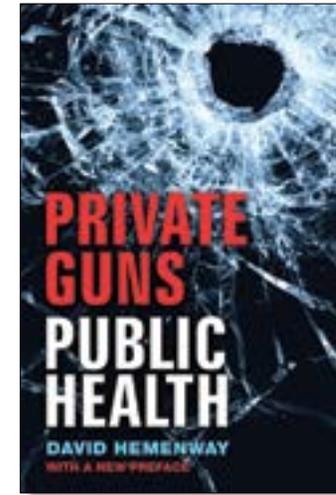
**José D. Villalobos** is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Texas at El Paso.



***Performance, Transparency, and the  
Cultures of Surveillance***

Placing the disciplines of performance studies and surveillance studies in a timely critical dialogue, *Performance, Transparency, and the Cultures of Surveillance* not only theorizes how surveillance performs but also how the technologies and corresponding cultures of surveillance alter the performance of everyday life.

**James M. Harding** is Professor of Theatre and Performance Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park.



***Private Guns, Public Health***

*Private Guns, Public Health* reveals the advantages of treating gun violence as a consumer safety and public health problem—an approach that emphasizes prevention over punishment and that has successfully reduced the rates of injury and death from infectious disease, car accidents, and tobacco consumption.

**David Hemenway** is Professor of Health Policy at the Harvard School of Public Health, and Director of Harvard's Injury Control Research Center. In 2012 he was recognized by the Centers for Disease Control as one of the twenty "most influential injury and violence professionals over the past twenty years."



#### **Regents of the University of Michigan**

Jordan B. Acker, Michael J. Behm, Mark J. Bernstein, Paul W. Brown, Shauna Ryder Diggs, Denise Ilitch, Ron Weiser, Katherine E. White, Mark S. Schlissel, *ex officio*

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