PSC 228 (W)/AAS 207: Race and Ethnic Politics

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Course Description

This is an undergraduate class on the role of race and ethnicity in American politics. There are no official prerequisites, but a basic understanding of American political institutions (something like what you might get in PSC 105: Introduction to American Politics or AP U.S. Government/A.P. U.S. History) will be helpful, as will a willingness to engage with complex reading material. The focus will be on political science theories and research about race and politics, though we will also draw on work from sociology, history, and economics. We will ask big social science questions about race in America: what is race? How could we possibly measure it, and what makes race politically relevant? What does it mean to say that a policy is discriminatory, and how have social scientists and courts tried to measure racial discrimination? What do Americans think about race in the 21st century, and how do these opinions shape their political behavior?

Class Structure

This class is designed to balance lecture and discussion. I will open most of our meetings with 20-30 minutes of lecture, after which I will break you up into small caucus groups[1] to discuss the day's material and report on what you find. I'll end each lecture with discussion questions to keep in mind as you read for the next class.

Grading Policy

Final grades for the course will be based on:

> **Class participation** (10%): In-class discussion is an important part of this course, and I expect students to contribute regularly to the conversation. Participation can take a variety

[1] It's a political science class after all.

of forms, including (but not limited to): asking questions during lecture, participating actively in small group discussion, or serving as the presenter for your caucus group at the end of class. Quality is more important than quantity.

Reading quizzes (10%): It is important that you come to class having read all the assigned text carefully, so that you are prepared to discuss it. To incentivize reading, I will give short, unannounced (closed-book) quizzes at the start of some class sessions. The quizzes are designed to be very easy for those who have done the reading but difficult for those who have not. There are no makeup quizzes for late arrivals or absences. In calculating final grades, I will drop the single lowest quiz score for every member of the class.

Midterm (20%): We will have an in-class midterm on **Thursday, March 5**.

Papers (60%): Over the course of the semester, you will write two short (3-5 page) essays that will allow you to engage more deeply with the class readings, and to apply them to current events or historical examples. Each will be worth 30% of the class grade. Submit your papers online via Blackboard before class begins on the marked due date for each paper. **Note: If you are enrolled in 228W one of your two papers must be 10 pages. You may choose the prompt you would like to write in extended format.**

Submitting Assignments

Extensions

The Late Bank

Each of you will have a 48-hour bank of extension time to apply to assignment deadlines in any way you choose. This means that you may, **without penalty**: turn in one assignment 48 hours late, turn in two assignments - each 24 hours late, etc. You do not need to notify me in advance if they plan to use this policy; I will apply this automatically using the timestamps on assignments submitted through the course website. This grace period cannot be applied to quizzes or exams.

Additional Extensions

The late bank is designed to help you manage your schedule by giving everyone some flexibility over deadlines. You may not submit late assignments if you have already used your 48 hours of late time unless one of the following applies: (1) a death in the family (2) an unforeseen medical emergency (3) a public health risk. If any of these circumstances apply, please inform the College Center for Advising Services and request that they reach out to me. You may also contact me directly to discuss the length of your absence and arrange a modified schedule for assignments. I do not require you to provide notes from health care providers or to share other personal information.

If you do not have an approved extension, assignments turned in after the 48-hour grace period will not be evaluated. These will count as zeroes toward the final grade.

Academic Honesty

I encourage all students to discuss readings and assignments with classmates. However, you must do all of your written work independently; you may not collaboratively write papers. All written work submitted for this course requires citations and a "Works Cited" or "Bibliography" section. You may want to consult the Chicago Manual of Style or guidelines for other commonly used citation formats before submitting assignments. All course assignments and in-class activities must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy (**https://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty/**). Please note that the university requires me to report possible violations of this policy to the Board on Academic Honesty.

Resources

If there are accommodations of any sort that would make the class work better for you, please come talk to me about it.

If you think you may need to seek accommodations due to a disability, the Office of Disability Resources (**http://www.rochester.edu/college/disability/index.html**) can help you figure out your options. Speaking with faculty about disability-related accommodations is strictly confidential; I encourage you to come see me with concerns or requests.

Other resources that may prove helpful during your time at the University of Rochester:

- CARE (**https://www.rochester.edu/care/about.html**).
- The Writing & Speaking Center (**http://writing.rochester.edu/index.html**)
- Tutoring (**http://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/undergraduate/tutoring.html**)
- University Counseling Center (**http://www.rochester.edu/uhs/ucc/**)
- David T. Kearns Center (**https://www.rochester.edu/college/kearnscenter/**)
- Office of Minority Student Affairs (**http://www.rochester.edu/College/OMSA/**)

Readings

Most readings for this course will be made available in electronic form on the course website. We will be reading excerpts from the following books in class; these are available through the University's library and can be purchased online via Amazon.com and other online retailers.

- Dawson, Michael C. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton. 1995.
- Gilens, Martin. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. Chicago. 2009.
- Jardina, Ashley. *White Identity Politics*. Cambridge. 2019.

- Katznelson, Ira. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and The Origins of Our Time*. New York. 2013

- Kinder, Donald R. and Lynn M. Sanders. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago. 1996.

- Klinkner, Philip A. and Rogers M. Smith. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. Chicago. 1999.

- Mendelberg, Tali. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton. 2001.

- Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery, American Freedom*. New York. 1975.

- Rosenberg, Gerald N. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts bring About Social Change?* Chicago. 1991.

Class Schedule and Readings

This syllabus is tentative and subject to change. I will give students opportunities to provide feedback throughout the course; if there is a topic students want to explore further we can devote more of the syllabus to that topic. Readings marked with a * are optional.

I. What is Race?

Thursday, 01/16 Introduction

- Hutchings, Vincent L. and Nicholas A. Valentino. "The Centrality of Race in American Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2004.

Tuesday, 01/21 What is Race? Where do Modern Ideas about Race Come From?

- Fredrickson, George M. *Racism: A Short History*. Princeton. 2002. Chapters 1 - 2.
- Leroi, Armand Marie. "A Family Tree in Every Gene." *The New York Times*. 2005. **Linked here**
- Duster, Troy. "Race and Reification in Science." *Science*. 2005.
- Graves Jr., Joseph L. "What We Know and What We Don't Know: Human Genetic Variation and the Social Construction of Race." Social Science Research Council. **Linked here**
- * Sussman, Robert Wald. "There Is No Such Thing As Race." *Newsweek*. 2014. **Linked here**

Thursday, 01/23 Measuring Race

- American Sociological Association: The Importance of Collecting Data and Doing Social Scientific Research on Race **Linked here**
- Pew Research Center: Social & Demographic Trends: Multiracial in America **Linked here**
- Zimmer, Carl. "White? Black? A Murky Distinction Grows Still Murkier." *The New York Times*. 2014. **Linked here**
- * Egan, Patrick J. "Identity as the Dependent Variable: How Americans Shift their Identities to Align with their Politics." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2019.

Tuesday, 01/28 Studying Race

- Sen, Maya and Omar Wasow. Race as a Bundle of Sticks: Designs that Estimate Effects of Seemingly Immutable Characteristics. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2016.
- Harris-Lacewell, Melissa V. "The Heart of the Politics of Race: Centering Black People in the Study of White Racial Attitudes." *Journal of Black Studies*. 2003.

II. Race and the Formation of American Political Institutions

Thursday, 01/30 Slavery and its Legacy I

- Morgan, Edmund S. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia*. Norton. 1975. Chapters 1, 15-17.

Tuesday, 02/04 Slavery and its Legacy II

- Klinkner, Philip A. and Rogers M. Smith. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. University of Chicago Press. 1999. Introduction - Chapter 1.
- Ericson, David F. "The United States Military, State Development, and Slavery in the Early Republic." *Studies in American Political Development*. 2017.
- * Einhorn, Robin L. "Slavery and the Politics of Taxation in the Early United States." *Studies in American Political Development*. 2000.

Thursday, 02/06 Lynching and Political Violence in the US

- Wells-Barnett, Ida B. *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States.* 1895. (See Section 8: Miss Willard's Attitude) **Linked here**
- Epperly, Brad, Christopher Witko, Ryan Strickler, and Paul White. "Rule by Violence, Rule by Law: Lynching, Jim Crow, and the Continuing Evolution of Voter Suppression in the U.S." *Perspectives on Politics*. 2019.
- * Weaver, Michael. "'Judge Lynch' in the Court of Public Opinion: Publicity and the Delegitimation of Lynching." *American Political Science Review*. 2019.
- * Jones, Daniel B., Werner Troesken, and Randall Walsh. "Political Participation in a Violent Society: The Impact of Lynching on Voter Turnout in the post-Reconstruction South" *Journal of Development Economics*. 2017.

Tuesday, 02/11 Immigration History and Policy

- Bodvarsson, Örn and Hendrik Van den Berg. *The Economics of Immigration: Theory and Policy*. Springer. 2013. Chapter 14.
- Durand, Jorge, Douglas S. Massey, and Emilio A. Parrado. "The New Era of Mexican Migration to the United States." *The Journal of American History*. 1999.
- Watch this: **http://metrocosm.com/us-immigration-history-map.html/**
- * Swidey, Neil. "Trump's Anti-Immigration Playbook was Written 100 Years Ago. In Boston." *The Boston Globe*. **Linked here**
- * Cohn, D'Vera. "How U.S. Immigration Laws and Rules have Changed through History." *Pew Research Center*. 2015. **Linked here**

Thursday, 02/13 Citizenship and Belonging

- Bedolla, Lisa García. "Rethinking Citizenship: Noncitizen Voting and Immigrant Political Engagement in the United States." in *Transforming Politics, Transforming America: The Political and Civic Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States*, edited by Taeku Lee, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Ricardo Ramírez. University of Virginia Press. 2006.
- Haney López, Ian F. *White by Law: the Legal Construction of Race*. New York University Press. 1996. Chapter 4.
- * Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Harvard University Press. 1998. Chapter 7.

Tuesday, 02/18 Japanese Internment

- Burton, Jeffrey F., Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Kashima. *Confinement and Ethnicity*. University of Washington Press. 2002. Chapter 3.
- *Korematsu v. United States*. 323 U.S. 214. (1944). **Linked here**

Thursday, 02/20 Changing Tides? The New Deal and Civil Rights Eras

- Katznelson, Ira. *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time*. Norton. 2013. Chapters 4-5.
- Rosenberg, Gerald N. *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change*? University of Chicago Press. 1991. Chapter 2.

III. Representation

Tuesday, 02/25 Descriptive Representation: Theory and Practice

Paper 1 Distributed

- Banducci, Susan A., Todd Donovan, and Jeffrey A. Karp. "Minority Representation, Empowerment, and Participation." *Journal of Politics*. 2004.
- Fraga, Bernard and Stephen Ansolabehere. "Do Americans Prefer Coethnic Representation? The Impact of Race on House Incumbent Evaluations." *Stanford Law Review*. 2016.
- Broockman, David E. "Black Politicians are More Intrinsically Motivated to Advance Blacks' Interests: A Field Experiment Manipulating Political Incentives." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2013.
- * Gay, Claudine. "Spirals of Trust? The Effect of Descriptive Representation on the Relationship between Citizens and Their Government." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2002.

Thursday, 02/27 Majority-Minority Districts and Redistricting

- Canon, David T. "Electoral Systems and the Representation of Minority Interests in Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 1999.
- Lublin, David, Thomas L. Brunell, Bernard Grofman, and Lisa Handley. "Has the Voting Rights Act Outlived its Usefulness? In a Word, 'No."' *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 2009.
- Fraga, Bernard. "Redistricting and the Causal Impact of Race on Voter Turnout." *Journal of Politics*. 2015.
- * Segura, Gary and Shaun Bowler, editors. *Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*. University of Virginia Press. 2006. Chapter on "Race and Redistricting in the Twenty-First Century".

Tuesday, 03/03 Voting Rights and Electoral Districting

- Persily, Nathaniel, Stephen Ansolabehere, and Charles Stewart III. "Race, Religion, and Vote Choice in the 2008 Election: Implications for the Future of the Voting Rights Act." *Harvard Law Review*. 2010.
- *Shelby County v. Holder*. 570 U.S. 529 (2013).
  - **https://www.scotusblog.com/2013/06/future-of-voting-rights-up-in-the-air-in-plain-english/**
  - **https://www.scotusblog.com/2013/06/opinion-recap-voting-law-in-deep-peril/**
  - **https://www.scotusblog.com/2013/06/how-big-is-shelby-county/**
  - **Amicus brief from historians and social scientists**

Thursday, 03/05 Midterm Exam (In Class)

Tuesday, 03/10 Have a Great Spring Break!

Thursday, 03/12 Have a Great Spring Break!

IV. Political Attitudes

Tuesday, 03/17 Measuring Racial Attitudes

Paper 1 Due before Class Begins

- Take an Implicit Association Test (IAT) on the Project Implicit Site **Linked here**
- Kinder, Donald R. and Lynn M. Sanders. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. University of Chicago Press. 1996. Chapter 5.
- Huber, Gregory A. and Kyle Peyton. "Do Survey Measures of Racial Prejudice Predict Racial Discrimination? Experimental Evidence on Anti-Black Discrimination." Working Paper.

Thursday, 03/19 Linking Attitudes to Outcomes

Paper 2 Distributed

- Schaffner, Brian F., Matthew Macwilliams, and Tatishe Nteta. "Understanding White Polarization in the 2016 Vote for President: The Sobering Role of Racism and Sexism." *Political Science Quarterly*. 2018.

- Tesler, Michael and David O. Sears. *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America*. University of Chicago Press. 2010. Introduction and Chapter 3.

- * Jardina, Ashley, Sean McElwee, and Spencer Piston. "How Do Trump Supporters See Black People?" *Slate*. 2016. **Linked here**

Tuesday, 03/24 Majority Identity and the Threat Hypothesis

- Enos, Ryan D. "What the Demolition of Public Housing Teaches Us About the Impact of Racial Threat on Political Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2016.

- Jardina, Ashley. *White Identity Politics*. Cambridge University Press. 2019. Chapters 1 and 6.

- Badger, Emily. "Immigrant Shock: Can California Predict the Nation's Future?" *The Upshot (New York Times)* **Linked here**

Thursday, 03/26 Campaign Messages, Media, and Policy Views

- Gilens, Martin. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. University of Chicago Press. 2009. Chapters 1-3.

- Menderlberg, Tali. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton University Press. 2001. Chapters 1, 6, 7

- * Hopkins, Daniel J. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *American Political Science Review*. 2010.

- * Hussey, Laura S. and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. "The Changing Role of Race in Social Welfare Attitude Formation: Partisan Divides over Undocumented Immigrants in Social Welfare Policy." *Political Research Quarterly*. 2013.

Tuesday, 03/31 Linked Fate, Conflict, and Competition

- Dawson, Michael C. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton University Press. 1995. Chapters 3-4.

- Oliver, J. Eric and Janelle Wong. "Inter-group Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2003.

- * Gay, Claudine. "Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2006.

- * McConnaughy, Corrine, Ismail K. White, David L. Leal, and Jason P. Casellas. "A Latino on the Ballot: Explaining Coethnic Voting Among Latinos and the Response of White Americans." *Journal of Politics*. 2010.

Thursday, 04/02 Minority Political Attitudes and Partisan Alignments

- Wong, Janelle S., S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, Taeku Lee, and Jane Junn. *Asian American Political Participation: Emerging Constituents and their Political Identities*. Russel Sage Foundation. 2011. Chapter 4.

- Bowler, Shaun, Stephen P. Nicholson, and Gary M. Segura. "Earthquakes and Aftershocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2006.

- * Segura, Gary M. "Latino Public Opinion and Realigning the American Electorate." *Daedalus*. 2012.

Tuesday, 04/07 Mobilization, Participation, and Empowerment

- Gay, Claudine. "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 2001.

- Gutierrez, Angela, Angela X. Ocampo, Matt A. Barreto, and Gary Segura. "Somos Más: How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era." *Political Research Quarterly*. 2019.

- * Bobo, Lawrence, and Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *American Political Science Review*. 1990.

Thursday, 04/09 Protest

- Gillion, Daniel Q. "Protest and Congressional Behavior: Assessing Racial and Ethnic Minority Protests in the District." *The Journal of Politics*. 2012.

- Williamson, Vanessa, Kis-Stella Trump, and Katherine Levine Einstein. "Black Lives Matter: Evidence that Police-Caused Deaths Predict Protest Activity." *Perspectives on Politics*. 2018.

- * Wasow, Omar. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *American Political Science Review*. Forthcoming.

- * Wallace, Sophia J., Chris Cepeda-Millán, and Michael Jones-Correa. "Spatial and Temporal Proximity: Examining the Effects of Protests on Political Attitudes." *American Journal of Political Science*. 2014.

V. Discrimination and Bias

Tuesday, 04/14 Measuring Discrimination

- Arrow, Kenneth J. "What Has Economics to Say about Discrimination?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 1998.
- Greenwald, Anthony G. and Linda Hamilton Krieger. "Implicit Bias: Scientific Foundations." *California Law Review*. 2006.
- * Dabady, Marilyn, and Rebecca M. Blank. *Measuring Racial Discrimination*. 2004. Executive Summary.

Thursday, 04/16 No Class. MPSA Conference.

Tuesday, 04/21 Policing

- Gelman, Andrew, Jeffrey Fagan, and Alex Kiss. "An Analysis of the New York City Police Department's Stop-and-Frisk Policy in the Context of Claims of Racial Bias." *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. 2007.
- Mummolo, Jonathan. "Modern Police Tactics, Police-Citizen Interactions, and the Prospects for Reform." *The Journal of Politics*. 2017.

Thursday, 04/23 The Carceral State: Causes and Consequences

- Gottschalk, Marie. *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America*. Cambridge University Press. 2006. Chapters 1, 10.
- Weaver, Vesla M. and Amy E. Lerman. "Political Consequences of the Carceral State." *American Political Science Review*. 2010.
- * Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New Press. 2010. Pages 190-217.
- * White, Ariel. "Misdemeanor Disenfranchisement? The Demobilizing Effects of Brief Jail Spells on Potential Voters." *The American Political Science Review*. 2019.

Tuesday, 04/28 Implicit Bias in Politics

Paper 2 Due before Class Begins

- Broockman, David E. and Evan J. Soltas. "A Natural Experiment on Taste-Based Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Elections." Working Paper.
- Hopkins, Daniel J. "No More Wilder Effect, Never a Whitman Effect: When and Why Polls Mislead about Black and Female Candidates." *Journal of Politics*. 2009.
- White, Ariel, Noah Nathan, and Julie Faller. "New Evidence Shows Election Officials are Biased Against Latino Voters." *The Washington Post*. 2015. **Linked here**
- * Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings and Ismail K. White. "Cues that Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes during Campaigns." *American Political Science Review*. 2002.