POLS 5317 Fall 2023

Race and Ethnicity in Politics Room: University Hall 455 Wednesday, 7:00-9:50pm

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Race and Ethnicity in Politics (in the U.S.)

In this graduate level seminar, students will explore the contemporary influence of race on political institutions, salient public policy debates, and the political behavior and public opinion of different groups in the U.S. We will begin the course by critically examining the meaning of race and why the study of race still matters even in the presence of a scholarly consensus that rejects essentialist notions of race and posits that "old-fashion" racism is largely obsolete. While scholars of race and ethnic politics argue that expressions of overt racism based on biological determinism no longer dominate the public sphere, they contend that more subtle forms of racial hostilities have emerged in the place of traditional racism. Therefore, in this course, students will learn about these newer forms of racial antipathies (e.g. racial resentment and colorism) and the conditions under which they may be primed or activated. In addition, we will look at the political behavior and attitudes of different racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. Other topics include, but are not limited to, how institutions shape the social, political, and economic outcomes for racial minorities and therefore contribute to the racial disparities that arise from public policies. Readings will cover a variety of methodological approaches to studying race, and students will be expected to critically evaluate how scholars of race and ethnic politics define concepts and how they operationalize such concepts.

Prerequisites of the Course

While this course is primarily intended for graduate students in political science, students in related disciplines are welcome. Some of the readings may be dense and technical, especially the empirical articles that refer to statistical, quantitative, and experimental methodologies. A background in statistical methods is NOT required. I will provide you with a basic background on these concepts, but it is your responsibility to understand the arguments and conclusions of the author(s). Thus, give yourself plenty of time to digest and comprehend the material.

Student Learning Outcomes: At the end of the course:

- Students should be able to define and summarize key features of important class concepts, such as race, ethnicity, racism, prejudice, and politics.
- Students should be able to explain how different groups develop their political identities
 and attitudes to engage in political participation and manage their conflicts with other
 groups.
- Students should be able to summarize and discuss how race and ethnicity affect crucial socio-political domains, such as political institutions, socioeconomic outcomes, and the criminal justice system.
- Students should be able to evaluate the validity of the theoretical foundations and key measurements of concepts such as racial resentment and implicit racial appeals and identify how these concepts relate to one another.
- Students should be able to assess the strength of and critique, if necessary, the author's main position and the justification for that position.
- Students should understand and be able to explain the methods that scholars employ to study the impact of race/ethnicity on various political phenomena.
- By completing writing assignments, such as the essay and policy memo, students should be able to develop and formulate clear, concise arguments or positions and assemble credible evidence to defend these arguments.

Canvas

We will make extensive use of our course page in Canvas, available at: https://www.uta.edu/provost/Canvas/uta-canvas-login.php

Required Readings

All assigned readings will be available electronically on Canvas or through the library journal databases.

Description of Requirements

Attendance and Participation: Attending seminar every week is mandatory. Each student will deliver a power point presentation on one of the weekly articles and serve as a discussant(s), posing to the class two questions about that particular reading. Student presenters should not merely summarize the readings but also provide critical analyses of them. For students who are not serving as a presenter/discussant that week, active participation in discussion is required. Thus, students should come to class prepared, having read and carefully thought about the material and ready to answer questions presented by the presenter/discussant and instructor.

Essay: Students are required to write one essay. The essay should be approximately 5-6 pages in length (double-spaced with one-inch margins). The paper topics and questions will be distributed several weeks before the paper is due. Students may also formulate their own question(s) and thesis as long as they consult with me. Essay is due via Canvas by October 6 (Friday) 11:59pm.

Book Review: Students are also required to complete a review of a recently published book on race and politics (published no earlier than 2016). The review should be 1,200 words or less.

General guidelines for the review and a list of recommended books will be given later in the semester. You may also select a book that is not on the list, but please consult with me to ensure that the book is appropriate to review. **Book Review is due via Canvas on December 6, 2023** (Wednesday) by 11:59pm.

Final Exam Essay: Students will complete a final exam essay (8-10 pages) that is modeled after the MA comprehensive exam. The question and instructions will be distributed one week before the exam is due. **Final Exam is due via Canvas on December 13, 2023 (Wednesday) by 11:59pm.**

Late Assignments: The assignments are due on the date specified. *For each day the assignment is late, I will impose a half-grade deduction.* If you have a special circumstance that prevents you from submitting your assignment on time, please consult with me in advance (meaning a reasonable time before the deadline) to avoid a penalty.

Incompletes: Incompletes will be given only in extraordinary circumstances and at the discretion of the instructor.

Policy on the Use of Generative Artificial Intelligence in Class:

While I do not forbid the use of Generative AI programs to help students learn some of the material in class, I will NOT allow students to use such programs and other software tools to complete writing assignments. Use of programs, such as ChatGPT, Grammarly, etc., constitutes a form of plagiarism since the work is not originally produced by the student. Such academic misconduct will be reported to the Office of Community Standards.

Grading Breakdown:

Student grades will be calculated as follows:

Essay:		20% (40 points)
Book Review:		20% (40 points)
Final Exam	:	30% (60 points)
Class Presentation:		15% (30 points)
Class Participation:		15% (30 points)

Letter grades will be assigned as follows:

180-200 points: A (90-100%) 160-179 points: B (80-89%) 140-159 points: C (70-79%) 120-139 points: D (60-69%) Below 120 points: F (below 60%)

Grade Grievances: Any appeal of a grade in this course must follow the procedures and deadlines for grade-related grievances as published in the current University Catalog.

Office Hours: I highly encourage students to meet with me during my office hours with questions related to the course material and/or assessments. If you cannot meet with me during

my scheduled office hours, please contact me over email so that we can set up a time that works for the both of us during university business hours.

Electronic Devices: Laptops and tablets are permitted in class. However, I expect you to use these devices solely for the purposes of taking notes or participating in class activities. Therefore, please refrain from using your devices to engage in activities that are unrelated to class (emailing, checking Facebook, purchasing items online, playing games, etc.). Additionally, please keep all cell phones on silent for the duration of the class.

Bad Weather: Any class cancellations issued by the University as a result of bad weather will result in the scheduled topic or exam being held on the next class day.

Drop Policy: Students may drop or swap (adding and dropping a class concurrently) classes through self-service in MyMav from the beginning of the registration period through the late registration period. After the late registration period, students must see their academic advisor to drop a class or withdraw. Undeclared students must see an advisor in the University Advising Center. Drops can continue through a point two-thirds of the way through the term or session. It is the student's responsibility to officially withdraw if they do not plan to attend after registering. **Students will not be automatically dropped for non-attendance**. Repayment of certain types of financial aid administered through the University may be required as the result of dropping classes or withdrawing. For more information, contact the Office of Financial Aid and Scholarships (http://wwweb.uta.edu/aao/fao/).

Disability Accommodations: UT Arlington is on record as being committed to both the spirit and letter of all federal equal opportunity legislation, including *The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADAA)*, *The Americans with Disabilities Amendments Act (ADAAA)*, and *Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act*. All instructors at UT Arlington are required by law to provide "reasonable accommodations" to students with disabilities, so as not to discriminate on the basis of disability. Students are responsible for providing the instructor with official notification in the form of a letter certified by the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD). Only those students who have officially documented a need for an accommodation will have their request honored. Students experiencing a range of conditions (Physical, Learning, Chronic Health, Mental Health, and Sensory) that may cause diminished academic performance or other barriers to learning may seek services and/or accommodations by contacting: **The Office for Students with Disabilities, (OSD)** www.uta.edu/disability or calling 817-272-3364. Information regarding diagnostic criteria and policies for obtaining disability-based academic accommodations can be found at www.uta.edu/disability.

Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) <u>www.uta.edu/caps/</u> or calling 817-272-3671 is also available to all students to help increase their understanding of personal issues, address mental and behavioral health problems and make positive changes in their lives.

Non-Discrimination Policy: The University of Texas at Arlington does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, age, gender, sexual orientation, disabilities, genetic information, and/or veteran status in its educational programs or activities it operates. For more information, visit <u>uta.edu/eos</u>.

Title IX Policy: The University of Texas at Arlington ("University") is committed to maintaining a learning and working environment that is free from discrimination based on sex in accordance with Title IX of the Higher Education Amendments of 1972 (Title IX), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in educational programs or activities; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII), which prohibits sex discrimination in employment; and the Campus Sexual Violence Elimination Act (SaVE Act). Sexual misconduct is a form of sex discrimination and will not be tolerated. *For information regarding Title IX, visit* www.uta.edu/titleIX or contact Ms. Jean Hood, Vice President and Title IX Coordinator at (817) 272-7091 or imhood@uta.edu.

Academic Integrity: Students enrolled all UT Arlington courses are expected to adhere to the UT Arlington Honor Code:

I pledge, on my honor, to uphold UT Arlington's tradition of academic integrity, a tradition that values hard work and honest effort in the pursuit of academic excellence.

I promise that I will submit only work that I personally create or contribute to group collaborations, and I will appropriately reference any work from other sources. I will follow the highest standards of integrity and uphold the spirit of the Honor Code.

UT Arlington faculty members may employ the Honor Code in their courses by having students acknowledge the honor code as part of an examination or requiring students to incorporate the honor code into any work submitted. Per UT System *Regents' Rule* 50101, §2.2, suspected violations of university's standards for academic integrity (including the Honor Code) will be referred to the Office of Student Conduct. **Violators will be disciplined in accordance with University policy, which may result in the student's suspension or expulsion from the University**. Additional information is available at https://www.uta.edu/conduct/. Students are encouraged to review these guides on plagiarism

http://libguides.uta.edu/researchprocess/plagiarism http://libguides.uta.edu/copyright/plagiarism

Electronic Communication: UT Arlington has adopted MavMail as its official means to communicate with students about important deadlines and events, as well as to transact university-related business regarding financial aid, tuition, grades, graduation, etc. All students are assigned a MavMail account and are responsible for checking the inbox regularly. There is no additional charge to students for using this account, which remains active even after graduation. Information about activating and using MavMail is available at http://www.uta.edu/oit/cs/email/mavmail.php.

Communicating with the Instructor:

I can only read emails from students using their MavMail accounts. Therefore, do not send me emails using non-university accounts, such as Gmail, Yahoo, or Hotmail. I will try to respond to emails as quickly as possible during normal business hours (Monday-Friday 9am – 5pm), usually within 24 hours. However, please note that emails sent after hours, on weekends, and over University holidays may have a longer response time. Every email you send should have "Race"

and Ethnicity in Politics" and the specific question/concern within the subject line. If I think your question or concern cannot be adequately addressed over email, I will ask you to meet with me during my office hours.

Campus Carry: Effective August 1, 2016, the Campus Carry law (Senate Bill 11) allows those licensed individuals to carry a concealed handgun in buildings on public university campuses, except in locations the University establishes as prohibited. Under the new law, openly carrying handguns is not allowed on college campuses. For more information, visit http://www.uta.edu/news/info/campus-carry/

Student Feedback Survey: At the end of each term, students enrolled in face-to-face and online classes categorized as "lecture," "seminar," or "laboratory" are directed to complete an online Student Feedback Survey (SFS). Instructions on how to access the SFS for this course will be sent directly to each student through MavMail approximately 10 days before the end of the term. Each student's feedback via the SFS database is aggregated with that of other students enrolled in the course. Students' anonymity will be protected to the extent that the law allows. UT Arlington's effort to solicit, gather, tabulate, and publish student feedback is required by state law and aggregate results are posted online. Data from SFS is also used for faculty and program evaluations. For more information, visit http://www.uta.edu/sfs.

Final Review Week: for semester-long courses, a period of five class days prior to the first day of final examinations in the long sessions shall be designated as Final Review Week. The purpose of this week is to allow students sufficient time to prepare for final examinations. During this week, there shall be no scheduled activities such as required field trips or performances; and no instructor shall assign any themes, research problems or exercises of similar scope that have a completion date during or following this week *unless specified in the class syllabus*. During Final Review Week, an instructor shall not give any examinations constituting 10% or more of the final grade, except makeup tests and laboratory examinations. In addition, no instructor shall give any portion of the final examination during Final Review Week. During this week, classes are held as scheduled. In addition, instructors are not required to limit content to topics that have been previously covered; they may introduce new concepts as appropriate.

Emergency Exit Procedures: Should we experience an emergency event that requires us to vacate the building, students should exit the room and move toward the nearest exit. When exiting the building during an emergency, one should never take an elevator but should use the stairwells. Faculty members and instructional staff will assist students in selecting the safest route for evacuation and will make arrangements to assist individuals with disabilities.

Student Support Services: UT Arlington provides a variety of resources and programs designed to help students develop academic skills, deal with personal situations, and better understand concepts and information related to their courses. Resources include <u>tutoring</u>, <u>major-based learning centers</u>, developmental education, <u>advising and mentoring</u>, personal counseling, and <u>federally funded programs</u>. For individualized referrals, students may visit the reception desk at University College (Ransom Hall), call the Maverick Resource Hotline at 817-272-6107, send a message to <u>resources@uta.edu</u>, or view the information at http://www.uta.edu/universitycollege/resources/index.php.

Schedule of Topics

Syllabus Changes: As the instructor for this course, I reserve the right to adjust this schedule in any way that serves the educational needs of the students enrolled in this course.

Week 1: August 23, 2023

Introduction and course expectations

Week 2: August 30

What is Race and Why It Still Matters

- 1. Andreasen, R. O. (2000). Race: Biological reality or social construct? *Philosophy of Science*, 67, S653-S666.
- 2. Hirschman, Charles, Richard Alba, and Reynolds Farley. 2000. "The Meaning and Measurement of Race in the U.S. Census: Glimpses into the Future." *Demography* 37:3:381-93.
- 3. Tuvel, R. (2017). In Defense of Transracialism. *Hypatia*, 32(2), 263-278.

Optional Readings:

4. Hutchings, Vincent and Nicholas Valentino. 2004. "The Centrality of Race in American Politics". *Annual Review of Political Science* 7:383-408.

Week 3: September 6, 2023

Political Attitudes and Identity

- 1. Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chs. 3 & 4
- 2. Masuoka, N. (2006). Together they become one: Examining the predictors of panethnic group consciousness among Asian Americans and Latinos. *Social Science Quarterly*, 87(5), 993-1011.
- 3. Gay, C., Hochschild, J., & White, A. (2016). Americans' Belief in Linked Fate: Does the Measure Capture the Concept? *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*, *1*(1), 117-144.

Optional Readings:

- 4. Sanchez, G. R., & Masuoka, N. (2010). Brown-utility heuristic? The presence and contributing factors of Latino linked fate. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 32(4), 519-531.
- 5. McClain, Paula D., et al. "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (2009): 471-485.

Week 4: September 13, 2023

Political Participation/Voting

- 1. Bobo, Lawrence and Franklin Gilliam, Jr. 1990. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation and Black Empowerment." *American Political Science Review*. (June, 1990). Pp. 377-394.
- 2. Wong, J. S. (2005). "Mobilizing Asian American voters: A field experiment." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 601(1), 102-114.
- 3. Hajnal, Z., Lajevardi, N., & Nielson, L. (2017). "Voter Identification laws and the suppression of minority votes." *The Journal of Politics*, 79(2), 363-379.
- 4. Grimmer, Justin, Hersh, Eitan, Eitan, Meredith, Eitan, Mummolo, Jonathan and Clayton Nall. "Obstacles to Estimating Voter ID Laws' Effect on Turnout." *Journal of Politics*. 80(3), 1045 1051

Week 5: September 20, 2023

Intergroup Competition and Coalition

- 1. Bobo, L., & Hutchings, V. L. (1996). Perceptions of racial group competition: Extending Blumer's theory of group position to a multiracial social context. *American Sociological Review*, 951-972.
- 2. Eric Oliver, J., & Wong, J. (2003). Intergroup prejudice in multiethnic settings. *American journal of political science*, 47(4), 567-582.
- 3. Merseth, J. L. (2018). Race-ing solidarity: Asian Americans and support for Black Lives Matter. Politics, Groups & Identities, 6 (3), 337-356.

Optional Readings:

4. Benjamin, A. (2016). Coethnic Endorsements, Out-Group Candidate Preferences, and Perceptions in Local Elections. *Urban Affairs Review*, 1078087416644840.

Week 6: September 27, 2023

A New Kind of Racism?

- 1. Kinder, D. R., & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism versus racial threats to the good life. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 40(3), 414.
- 2. Sniderman, Paul M., and Philip E. Tetlock. "Symbolic Racism: Problems of Motive Attribution in Political Analysis." *Journal of Social Issues* 42.2 (1986): 173-187.
- 3. Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. University of Chicago Press. Ch. 5 (pgs. 93-127)

Week 7: October 4, 2023

Race, Campaigns, and the Media

1. Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Ch. 1 & 6

- 2. Huber, G. A., & Lapinski, J. S. (2006). The "race card" revisited: Assessing racial priming in policy contests. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 421-440.
- 3. Stephens-Dougan, L. (2016). Priming Racial Resentment without Stereotypic Cues. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(3), 687-704.
- 4. Essay Due via Canvas by October 6 (Friday) 11:59pm

Week 8: October 11, 2023

Race, Legislative Institutions, and Political Representation

- 1. Swain, Carol Miller. *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress.* Harvard University Press, 1995. Chapters 3 & 9
- 2. Tate, Katherine. Black Faces in the Mirror, Chapters 1 & 4
- 3. Butler, Daniel and David E. Broockman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators". *American Journal of Political Science*. 55(3):463-477.

Week 9: October 18, 2023

Immigration

- 1. Huntington, Samuel P. "The Hispanic Challenge." Foreign Policy 141.2 (2004): 30-45.
- 2. Citrin, Jack, et al. "Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity?" *Perspectives on Politics* 5.01 (2007): 31-48.
- 3. Brader, Ted, Nicholas A. Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 959-978.

Optional Readings:

- 4. Pérez, E. O. (2015). Xenophobic Rhetoric and Its Political Effects on Immigrants and Their Co-Ethnics. *American Journal of Political Science*, *59*(3), 549-564.
- 5. Aarøe, L., Petersen, M. B., & Arceneaux, K. (2017). The Behavioral Immune System Shapes Political Intuitions: Why and How Individual Differences in Disgust Sensitivity Underlie Opposition to Immigration. *American Political Science Review*, 111(2), 277-294.

Week 10: October 25, 2023

Race, Welfare, and Economic Policy

- 1. Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 3.
- 2. van Doorn, Bas W. "Pre-and Post-Welfare Reform Media Portrayals of Poverty in the United States: The Continuing Importance of Race and Ethnicity." *Politics & Policy* 43.1 (2015): 142-162.
- 3. Shapiro, Thomas M. 2004. *The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 2 (p. 42-59), Ch. 4 (p. 87-104).

Week 11: November 1, 2023

Race and the Criminal Justice System

- 1. Gilliam Jr. Franklin D., Iyengar Shanto. 2000. "Prime suspects: the influence of local television news on the viewing public." *American Journal of Political Science* 44: 560-73.
- 2. Peffley, Mark and Jon Hurwitz. 2007. "Persuasion and Resistance: Race and the Death Penalty in America." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 996-1012.
- 3. Burch, T. R. (2014). Effects of imprisonment and community supervision on neighborhood political participation in North Carolina. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 651(1), 184-201.

Optional Readings

- 4. Alexander, Michelle. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. The New Press, 2012. Chapter 3 (pgs. 97-139)
- 5. Forman Jr, James. "Racial critiques of mass incarceration: Beyond the new Jim Crow." *NYUL Rev.* 87 (2012): 21. (pgs. 102-146)

Week 12: November 8, 2023

The Intersection of Race and Other Social/Political Identities

- 1. Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. University of Chicago Press. Ch. 1 & 2 (pgs. 1-77).
- 2. Crenshaw, K. (1993). Beyond racism and misogyny: Black feminism and 2 Live Crew. *Feminist social thought: A reader*, 245-263.
- 3. Strolovitch, D. Z. (2006). Do interest groups represent the disadvantaged? Advocacy at the intersections of race, class, and gender. *Journal of Politics*, 68(4), 894-910.

Optional Readings:

4. Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. University of Chicago Press, Ch. 7 (pgs. 220-249).

Week 13: November 15, 2023 *Colorism*

- 1. Hochschild, Jennifer L., and Vesla Weaver. 2007. "The Skin-Color Paradox and the American Racial Order." *Social Forces* 86(2): 643-670.
- 2. Golash-Boza, Tanya and Darity, William. 2008. "Latino racial choices: the effects of skin colour and discrimination on Latinos' and Latinas' racial self-identifications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(5): 899-934.
- 3. Ostfeld, M. C., & Yadon, N. D. (2022). ¿ Mejorando La Raza?: The political undertones of Latinos' skin color in the United States. *Social Forces*, 100(4), 1806-1832.

Optional Readings:

- 4. Jones, Trina. "The Significance of Skin Color in Asian and Asian-American Communities: Initial Reflections" *UC Irvine L. Rev.* 3 (2013): 1105-1123
- 5. Burch, T. (2015). Skin Color and the Criminal Justice System: Beyond Black-White Disparities in Sentencing. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 12(3), 395-420

Week 15: November 29, 2023 (Last Day of Class) *Are We in a Post-Racial Era?*

- 1. Hutchings, Vincent L. 2009. "Change or More of the Same? Evaluating Racial Attitudes in the Obama Era." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73(5): 917-942.
- 2. Danbold, Felix, and Yuen J. Huo. "No longer "All-American"? Whites' defensive reactions to their numerical decline." *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 6.2 (2015): 210-218.
- 3. Chudy, J. (2021). Racial sympathy and its political consequences. *The Journal of Politics*, 83(1), 122-136.

Optional Readings:

4. Luttig, M. D., Federico, C. M., & Lavine, H. (2017). Supporters and opponents of Donald Trump respond differently to racial cues: An experimental analysis. *Research & Politics*, 4(4), 2053168017737411.

Week 16 and Beyond

- 1. Book Review Due via Canvas on December 6, 2023 (Wednesday) by 11:59pm
- 2. Final Exam due via Canvas on December 13, 2023 (Wednesday) by 11:59pm

Emergency Phone Numbers: In case of an on-campus emergency, call the UT Arlington Police Department at **817-272-3003** (non-campus phone), **2-3003** (campus phone). You may also dial 911. Non-emergency number 817-272-3381