

UNIT 1

1/10/24

- Race as a social construct – is race “real”?
- Modern idea, no genetic basis – ancient societies did not divide people by physical differences – more so based on class / religion / language
- Arguably an American concept
 - No such thing as human subspecies – is human variation however
 - Most variation is within “races”, not between
- So why do some think of races as “different”?
 - Consistencies in attempts to classify humans according to innate racial categories
 - Jefferson – Conclusion (white superiority) already made, science will confirm
 - e.g. differences in skull sizes, eye shape, brain color
 - Hoffman’s extinction thesis – statistical data comparing rates of death and disease between races, finding enormous disparities
 - Conclusion: Whites were inherently superior, natural selection is occurring, in essence, pseudoscience
 - Biological difference justifies social difference
- Eugenics – improvement of human species through selective breeding – encouragement of reproduction of people with desirable traits, preventing people with undesirable traits from reproducing
 - Prohibition of interracial marriage, eugenic education (teaching principles of eugenics), racial superiority / inferiority, forced sterilization
 - Targeted disabled, marginalized populations
 - American eugenics provides blueprint for Nazi policies
- Rule of Hypodescent – if any African ancestry at all = Black
 - White and Black are completely different – no possible mixing
- Race – macro-categories society assigns and the significance it attaches to perceived groupings of human physical distinction as well as sometimes cultural differences
 - Racial essentialism fallacy – one racial essence is obvious from outer appearance
 - Racialization – making assumptions about a person / group using macro-categories
- Meaning of race is defined and contested throughout society in *both collective action and personal practice*, categories are formed, transformed, destroyed, and reformed
- **Racial Formation** – process by which social, economic, and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meaning
 - Race as “common sense” – learn rules of racial classification and identity
 - Use race as clues for who someone is – e.g. sexuality, intelligence, trustworthiness, etc.
- White belief in superiority justified government actions like segregation, slavery, driving out of Indian lands, and other systemic racism
- Paradox of racial identity – simultaneously an utter illusion and obvious truth

- U.S. considered a **herrenvolk** democracy(de facto racial dictatorship)
 - Majority ethnic group participates in government, minority is disenfranchised
 - “Common sense” belief in white superiority
- Institutional Racialization
 - Intermingling of race and class
 - Working class identity racialized
 - *herrenvolk* democracy was confined to the Deep South
 - Political Consequences
 - Eliminated ability of racial others to mobilize within society
 - Denied existence of commonalities between races
 - Homogenized those within group
 - Racialization of working class identity, separating black people to working class, poor white people to prevent mobilization together

1/17/24

- Racial Measurement – no single way to measure race, no measuring device
 - Does going by skin tone really work?
- Evolution of U.S. Census(since 1790) – need to know population to determine representation in government
 - Early Census(1790-1840) – limited racial data, slaves not as people
 - Racial Categories Expanded(1850-1930s) – more racial and ethnic group – immigration from China, tracking of native americans and blacks
 - Racial Data for Policy(Mid 20th century) – how to address systemic discrimination – beginning of census by mail, self-identification
 - Ethnicity Added(1970s) – inclusion of hispanic origin question, seen to protect rights of Hispanic people
 - Changes in Racial Categories(Late 20th) – expansion of more groups
- What is the distinction that the modern Census makes between race and ethnicity? Does this distinction make sense to you?
 - ethnicity is more cultural, race is more ancestry
- Measuring race on the census has been described as a “rat’s nest”. Why do you think it is so challenging?
 - What one might self-identify as a race would be different than another person identifying their race. One could see their race differently, leading to subjective views on their own race.
- Ethnicity – broader concept focusing on cultural factors including a shared language, religion, customs, traditions, and a sense of shared history
 - Cultural identity and the group to which they feel they belong
 - Unlike race – not based on physical characteristics, and individuals from the same ethnic group may have different racial backgrounds
 - The lines between race and ethnicity are **blurred**
- Census 2020 – despite accurate overall estimation, suffered from significant undercounts of racial and ethnic minorities
 - Consequences for undercounting for government representation and funding

- Increasing diversity – driven by two factors – immigration from Asia and Latin America, and Generational succession
- Racial / Ethnic Identification
 - **Ancestry** – the countries or regions of birth of a respondent's parents, grandparents, great grandparents, and so on
 - On average, Blacks and to a lesser extent Whites, tend to identify with their race, not ancestry
 - Little acknowledge of multiracial heritage
 - Underlying process of increasing ethnic entropy – a generalized American identity with diminishing acknowledgement of ancestral complexity
- American Pan-ethnicity
 - While national origins remain the primary mode of identification, tentative signs of emerging Americanized identities among Hispanics and Asians – terms which are unique to the U.S.
 - Categories also reflect aims of pan-ethnic coalitions and political advocacy groups
 - “Asian American” encompasses 45+ Asian-origin groups
- Trends
 - Most Americans identified with one race, but 8% identified as Some Other Race(SOR), mostly of which were Hispanic
 - “An artifact of a data collection system that does not allow persons of Hispanic origin to be listed as a race”
- Common measurement options – Identity, self-reported and open-ended; Self-classification, self-reported and close-ended; Observed, person is classified by someone else
- Street Race
 - Self-identified race vs street race
 - Street Race – provides a framing for how people are perceived and treated in our society, regardless of who they are, how they feel, and how they self-identify
 - What race do you think strangers would assume you are based on what you look like?

1/22/24

- U.S. becoming more diverse – although race / racial hierarchy to nation's founding
- Hoschild reading – more optimistic than Bonilla reading
- **Racial Order** – widely understood and accepted system of beliefs, laws, and practices that organize relationships among groups defined as races or ethnicities
 - HWB published this after Obama was elected president – conversations if U.S. was a post-racial society
 - Americans are creating a new racial order as consequence of increasing heterogeneity
- Components of racial order
 - Typology of society's racial categories
 - Classification of individuals with categories

- Relative positions of racial and ethnic groups
- Permissions / prohibitions created and controlled by the state – race and ethnic identity are measured by state
- Social relations within and among groups
- Transformative Forces – Immigration, Multiracialism, Genomics, Cohort Change
- Blockages to transformation:
 - Continuing injustice or harm to particular groups
 - Laws and policies that disproportionately harm one group
 - Wealth disparities
- HWB – proportion of Americans with genuine freedom of choice will expand considerably – very optimistic
- Bonilla Silva & Dietrich
 - Latin Americanization of Race-Relations
 - What does “race” look like in much of Latin America?
 - Triracial stratification system – whites, honorary whites, others
 - Miscegenation / Mestizaje – interracial blending does not challenge white supremacy, mixing which follows racial hierarchical system – “whitening”
 - Pigmentocracy – rank ordering of groups by skin tone
 - Whitening Ideology / Blanqueamiento – using pan-ethnic ideologies, refusing to identify with racial terms
 - “We are all Latinoamericanos”
 - Little discussion of racism – does not mean its not there
 - Demography of U.S. is changing(darkening) – less white
 - Race relations have globalized – international ideologies coming to the U.S.
 - Signaling of race based social policy – see Affirmative Action
 - New racism / Colorblind racism(“I don’t see color”) – post-civil rights movement – MLK “I have a dream” – content of character not color of skin
 - Racial Order justified by
 - Objective standing – income, education, occupations
 - Subjective – racial views, racial self-classification
 - Whites regard asians highly, less likely to hold Latinos in high regard – attitudes follow racial order
 - Social Interactions – interracial marriage, residential segregation
 - Internal stratification among racial minorities
- Colorism / Pigmentocracy
 - Preference for lighter skin tones to darker skin tones
 - Emerged from European colonialism
 - Darker skin times and crime – Police more likely to judge boys with darker as much as several years older – likely to presume guilt
 - Employment – those with lighter skin tones were regarded more highly
 - Can affect other dimensions – education, housing, spousal status, justice, self-esteem
- Silva Predictions
 - “Us” versus “Them” racial dynamic will lessen

- Ideology of colorblind racism will become even more salient
- If state decides to stop gathering racial statistics – will be challenges to measure inequality
- Black identity will not dissipate
- New racial stratification system will be more effective in maintaining white supremacy

1/24/24

- **Racial Attitudes** – attitudes towards racial / ethnic minorities are component of political system
- Several different types of racism, implications for peoples' political views
- Racism – prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against a person or people on the basis of their membership of a particular racial or ethnic group
 - Many argue that **racism can only exist when one group has power and influence over another**
 - Racism only exists within a power structure that systematically and institutionally rewards whiteness
- **Critical Race Theory** – racism is ordinary, the normal way that society does business
 - Serves interest of both white people and power and working class white, neither group has much incentive to fight
 - Races are social political constructs that society invents and manipulates when convenient
 - Society assigns characteristics to whole groups of people to advance idea of race and superiority of whiteness
- **Discrimination and Prejudice** – inequality experienced by minority groups are common globally
 - **Discrimination** – denial of equal treatment to individuals based on group membership
 - **Legal Discrimination** is held up by law
 - **Institutionalized discrimination** – outgrowth of the structure of society
 - **Prejudice** – unsupported generalization about a category of people
 - **Stereotype** – oversimplified generalizations about a group
 - **Self-fulfilling prophecy** – prediction resulting in behavior that fulfills the prophecy
 - **Sources of Discrimination and Prejudice**
 - Sociological Explanation: prejudices are embedded in social norms
 - Psychological Explanations:
 - Prejudiced people have authoritarian personality type
 - Prejudice may be result of frustration and anger
 - Prejudice can result of unconscious bias
 - Economic Explanations:
 - Prejudice arises from competition for resources
 - Dominant group may encourage competition between minority groups to maintain dominant status
- Ingroup vs Outgroup

- In-group – social group to which a person psychologically identifies as being a member
 - Out-group is a social group with which an individual does not identify
- Early Theories on Racial Attitudes
 - Allport – **Least Effort Principle** – prejudice may be rooted in **faulty generalizations** where individuals hold **stereotypes** of other groups
 - Stereotypes exist among all groups, a part of an ingrained blueprint in our minds
 - Negative Stereotypes – lead to prejudice which leads to discrimination
 - Blumer – **Group Position Theory** – criticized theories of prejudice that focused narrowly on individual feelings of like / dislike and perceptions of group differences
 - Development of prejudice towards a racial group is a “collective process” by which members of an in-group come to conceive of their own status in relation to the status of an out-group
- Whites attitudes towards blacks
 - Old fashioned racism – “biological racism”
 - Use of inherent racial differences to justify social hierarchies
 - Traits of groups such as violent, aggressive, unintelligent
 - Old fashioned racism declined post Civil Rights, policy changes that shape egalitarian societal norms
 - Attitude change – more white people agree that blacks were intellectual equals
 - White attitudes after Civil Rights
 - Drastic shift in white opinion
 - Many whites believe government successfully swept away all barriers
 - In view of many white Americans, “the problem of race” is solved
 - Egalitarian norms
 - **Norm of racial equality** – myths of colorblindness
 - Norm discourages whites from expressing explicitly racist signals for fear of being perceived as racist
 - Norm encourages whites to be universally committed to **abstract** principles of racial equality, but far less likely to support policies that ensure such outcomes
 - Symbolic racism / Racial Resentment
 - Widespread racial prejudice began to take different form
 - More subtle form of racism – racial resentment
 - Grounded in beliefs that Black people are unwilling to work hard – do not face much discrimination
 - Racial resentment is of strongest predictors of whites’ attitudes towards policies that target racial inequality
- Myths about Racism
 - The South is the most racist place in the U.S.

- It's quite obvious who the racists are
 - Racism will die off with the oldest generations of Americans
- FIRE Battery
 - **F**ear, **A**cknowledgment of Institutional **R**acism, and **E**mpathy
 - Both cognitive and affective components
 - Takes into account racism not focused on specific groups
 - How to measure?
 - I am fearful of people of other races – affective
 - White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin – cognitive
 - Racial problems in the US are rare, isolated situations – cognitive
 - I am angry that racism exists – affective
- Asian Americans –
 - Model Minority Myth – effective foil to other myths
 - Immigrants are hardworking, self-sufficient, committed to education
 - Yellow Peril – perceived threat to Americans posed by Asian immigrants
 - Perpetual Foreigner – certain ethnic backgrounds are outsiders – even if American citizens
- Latinos –
 - Criminalized as “Illegal”
 - Unassimilated and Language – also a “perpetual foreigner”
- Manifestation of racism
 - Colorblind – “I don’t see color”
 - Bootstrap theory – America is the land of opportunity, pull self up by bootstraps
 - Blame the Victim – claiming victim uses racism as an excuse
 - Innocent by Association – “I have black friends”
 - White Knight – Paternalistic assumption that white people know what’s best
 - White On White, and Righteously So – “What is wrong with those white people?”
 - Deflection technique
 - Reverse Racism – “People of color are just as racist as white people”
- Who can be racist?
 - Non-whites can be prejudiced, insult, or hurt white people
 - Difference between being hurt vs being oppressed – POC do not have the power to oppress
 - **Racism can only exist when one group has power and influence over another**
 - Everyone can be biased and engage in bigoted and belittling behavior that is intolerant. Racism is by definition a form of oppression exercised by the dominant racial group
- Implicit Bias – variety of attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and stereotypes that we all carry to some degree
 - Tends to be automatically triggered, hard to control
 - People who consciously value racial equality can have it
 - Soft-wired for meaning assigned to in-group vs out-group

- Cognitive psychologists explain that schemas, such as black/white, are cognitive structures that help us make decisions quickly
 - Unconscious learned connections
 - Implicit bias is a collective phenomenon

1/29/24

- Racial minorities on average identify with Democratic party
- Whites are slightly more likely with Republican party
 - Movement towards Democratic party after Civil Rights Movement
 - Minority voting share of presidential vote rises for Democrats
- Parties offer divergent positions on race and immigration
 - Democrats moved left, Republicans moved right – Democrats embrace Civil Rights movement
- Republicans employed “Southern Strategy” to bring white Southern voters into party – racist appeals
- Independents
 - Michigan School View
 - Party ID as a psychological attachment
 - Socialization – we’re likely to be in the party of our parents
 - Non-partisans – non-ideologues because they’re uninvolved, uninformed, or uninterested
 - Downs View
 - Ideological point is right in between Democrats and Republicans
 - Hajnal and Lee – views only focus on white people
 - Most Latinos and Asian Americans say they don’t fit into a party at all
 - Theory
 - Informational Uncertainty – groups have limited exposure to politics for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd generation immigrants
 - Lack of opportunities to learn about system
 - Ideological Ambivalence – ideological structure of two-party system does not fit into their political views
 - Don’t see their views reflected in either party ideologically
 - Identity Formation – Don’t see themselves advocated for in either party
- Political Incorporation
 - Process through which immigrants come to think of themselves as Americans with political rights and with a voice in politics, should they choose to exercise
 - Multiple dimensions – legal, cultural, institutional
- Whites in the electorate
 - Still $\frac{2}{3}$ of eligible voters
 - Republicans are primarily white
 - College educated identify more with Democratic party
- White Identity
 - Whites do not have to think about race – operate in a world of white supremacy
 - White Identity – whites who feel a sense of solidarity with their racial group

- Solidarity matters for how they perceive the political world
 - Measuring white identity – “How important is being white to your identity?”
 - 30-40% of white Americans say racial identity is very important
 - What is “white”?
 - Ethnic identities have faded
 - See the contrast, what they aren’t
 - Little regional difference – not *just* white working class
 - Feel themselves, family, communities are white
 - Whiteness – mainstream American, Christian, Baseball, apple pie
 - Typically don’t identify as white supremacist, alt-right
- White Consciousness
 - When talking about identity politics, talk about marginalized groups who are trying to level the playing field
 - Jardina – Whites perceive themselves as new minority
 - **Group Consciousness** – individuals awareness of belonging to a certain group, having a psychological attachment to that group based on perceptions of shared beliefs, feelings, interests, and ideas as well as perceptions of discrimination with other group members
 - Black Americans – score highest on group consciousness – *linked fate* – feeling that one’s fate is linked to the fate of other members of their group
 - Concern whites are losing status and privilege that they have had as dominant group
 - Demographic change – whites losing numerical majority
 - Election of U.S. first Black president
 - White racial consciousness
 - 20% of Americans feel a dissatisfaction over status of group
 - Believe whites should work together
 - Trying to preserve whiteness – they benefit from it
 - Among those with strong white identity
 - Restrictive immigration policies
 - Perceive that nonwhite representatives will do more for non-white
 - Less supportive of welfare programs, perceived as benefiting mostly POC

1/31/24

- 1965 – Voting Rights Act – about 97% of legislators were white men
 - Recognized that simply ensuring that minority communities had access to registration and voting **was insufficient to guarantee that they would become active and equal members of the polity**
 - Minorities may be able to vote – but outside factors(threats of violence, poll taxes, grandfather clauses) essentially disenfranchised them
 - Aimed to address racial discrimination in voting and ensure equal access to the voting process
 - Introduces Preclearance
- Preclearance – key provision in VRA designated to prevent discriminatory electoral rule changes in historically discriminatory states

- Purpose – ensure thorough review of electoral rule changes, preventing local political pressures and biases from influencing the process
 - Assumption – Federal oversight was deemed more impartial in safeguarding the voting rights of minority communities
- Shelby County vs Holder – ruling ended preclearance review for states and local jurisdictions with history of racial/ethnic discrimination
 - Critics argued that weakened the VRA's ability to prevent discriminatory changes in electoral rules – allowing for measures that could disenfranchise minority voters
 - Racial disparities in voting are not as big of a problem anymore – not needed anymore
- Impact of VRA
 - Immediate and positive effect on minority voter registration and participation
 - States and localities adapted to these changes by employing strategies like at-large elections to reduce political influence of racial and ethnic minority communities
 - Did not ensure **descriptive representation** – representation by a person of the same racial or ethnic group
- Majority-Minority Districts
 - Congress introduced amendments to the VRA in 1982
 - Majority-Minority Districts – amendments required redistricting bodies to create districts with a majority of minority voters where the concentration allowed
 - 2010 – numerous majority-minority districts were established
 - Black and Latino members of Congress have been elected from these districts – some represented by White or Asian American officeholders
 - Congress documented long history not just of denial of minority voting rights, but also of majorities that diminished the power of minority votes by limiting minority communities' ability to elect the candidates of their choice
 - Congress' goal – ensure that minority groups could vote on candidates that best represented them – substantive representation
- VRA – dramatic increase of minority representation, although still underrepresented
- Minority Representation
 - Presidency
 - Obama first minority to be elected president
 - Presidential Appointments – send signals about commitment to particular constituencies through appointments
 - Clinton Administration –
 - Cabinet: 4 African Americans, 2 Latinos, first Asian American member
 - Largest number of Blacks / Latinos in any administration cabinet at the time
 - Federal court judges – lifetime positions
 - “Revolutionary” increase in minority group representation
 - Bush followed suit

- Obama administration – black, Latino/a, Asian, and Indians in cabinet appointments
 - Trump administration – less diverse than Obama’s
 - Appointed larger share of female judges than any other GOP president
- Minority Representation – Bureaucracy
 - Bureaucrats all hired by government
 - Federal civilian workplace – Blacks, American Indians, and Asian Americans are overrepresented, Latinos underrepresented
 - Even minority groups that are relatively well-represented may not be distributed uniformly – in lower status jobs
- Supreme Court
 - Strong impact on public policy
 - 4 Non White Judges
- Minority Representation – State Legislature Today
 - Diversity concentration varies by state / region today
 - Most African-American legislators are in Deep South
 - Half of non-Southern states have 1 chamber w/o Black legislatures
 - 5 States claim half of all Latino state legislators – minorities are clustered
- Do Minority candidates necessarily represent minority interests
 - Mansbridge – Descriptive Representation can often be necessary for a deliberative democracy
 - Normative – “What should be?”
 - Substantive, descriptive, and symbolic representation of underrepresented groups
- Descriptive Representation(DR)
 - Representatives live in some sense typical of the large class of persons whom they represent
 - Reflect *salient* ascriptive identity traits(visible or experiences)
 - DR generally seen as independent of policy actions
 - Who a representative is
- Substantive Representation(SR)
 - Having one’s policy views expressed by an elected representative
 - “Policy congruence”
 - What a representative does
 - Representatives who share racial / ethnic traits offer greater substantive representation to members of the same group
- Symbolic Representation
 - “Power to evoke feelings or attitudes”
 - Considers the meaning the representative has for the represented, irrespective of policy views
 - Symbolic representation affects voters
 - Can involve higher levels of trust in government, perceptions of legitimacy, greater interest

- More likely to contact their representative
- Surrogate Representation
 - Interests represented by legislators elected from other districts

UNIT 2

2/7/24

- Public Policy – what public officials within government (and by extension citizens they represent), choose to do / not do about public problems
 - Public Problem - Something public sees unacceptable and needs change – needs wide agreement
 - Course of government / inaction in response to public problems – associated with formally approved policy goals and means, as well as the regulations and practices of agencies that implement programs
 - Any level of government
 - Policy aimed at serving “public good”
 - Policy outputs (formal actions that governments take) vs Policy outcomes (effects such actions actually have on society)
 - Reflect not only society’s most important values but also conflicts among values
- Politics of Public Policy – not made in vacuum
 - Politics concerns exercise of power in society or in specific decisions over public policy
 - Processes by which policies are formulated and adopted, especially to the roles played by
 - Elected officials
 - Organized interest groups
 - Public Opinion
 - Political Parties
 - Implementation agencies also subject to politics – e.g. ICE
 - Constituents may have opportunity to get more directly involved through referendums, initiatives, or participation in public hearings and meetings
- Policy Analysis
 - Encourages deliberate critical thinking about
 - Cause of public problems
 - Various ways governments and/or private sector might act on them
 - Which policy choices make the most sense
 - Policy Contexts Matter – social, economic, political, governing structure, cultural
- Government and Policy Actors
 - Government is much bigger than the past, growing complexity
 - Shifting attitudes, government should be more involved
 - Unique public policy problems – need for new agency / subcommittee
- Government Spending
 - Monetary / Direct Spending – mandated by existing laws
 - Discretionary Spending – formally approved by congress and president during appropriations process

- Supplemental Spending – appropriates enacted after annual appropriations, funds that are too urgent to wait
- Other Influences on Policy
 - Public Opinion
 - Interest Groups / Non-Profits
 - Influence policy through lobbying, grassroots, mobilization, public education campaigns and litigation
 - Media
 - Policy Subgovernments / Issue Network
- Federalism
 - National Government AND autonomous or semi-autonomous sub-national governments
 - Power is shared – some overlap, but also distinct powers
 - Each has own elected officials, own powers of taxation for provision of public services
 - Relative power of federal vs state government has shifted over time, from dual federalism(“Layer Cake Federalism”) -> Cooperative Federalism(“Marble Cake Federalism”) – programs and authority are mixed among national, state, and local governments
 - Block Grants vs Categorical Grants
 - Block grants provided by federal government for broadly defined purposes
 - Categorical Grants – provided for specific purpose and come with restrictions
 - Matching grants and incentives
 - Funder will match recipients contribution – incentivizes investment
 - Unfunded mandates
 - Requirements / regulations imposed by higher level of government without necessary funding to implement them
- Advantages to Federalism
 - Keeps government closer to the people
 - Disperses authority
 - Allows for local preferences
 - “Laboratories of Democracy” – policy diffusion, experimenting with public policy which can spread
- Disadvantages to Federalism
 - Complexity and Confusion
 - Conflict between levels of government
 - Makes accountability less transparent
 - Spillover effects
 - **Inequalities** – e.g. different regulations of drinking water can enhance inequality
- Devolution
 - **First-order devolution** – involves delegation of powers and responsibilities from the federal government to state governments

- **Second-order devolution** – further decentralization of authority from states to local governments or non-governmental organizations(NGOs)
- 1996 – Temporary Assistance for Needy Families(TANF) – welfare to work act
 - States encouraged to structure their TANF programs according to own priorities
 - Some states transferred policy authority to local jurisdiction, others did not
 - Law included
 - Teen parents required to live with parents or in adult-supervised setting
 - States required to ensure people are moving off the welfare rolls and into work
 - Adult recipients are limited to a total of five years of receiving federal TANF funds, states can either impose additional limits or use own money to fund recipients beyond five year period
- New Paternalism
 - Neoliberalism – ideology emphasizing limited government and meritocracy
 - Work requirements were part of effort to combat narrative of lazy people receiving welfare checks(“welfare queens”) – stereotypes that was highly racialized
 - **New paternalism** policies involves social policies aimed at poor that attempt to reduce poverty and other social problems by directive and supervisory means
 - Paternalistic welfare programs premised on idea that service users lack certain capacities and require “supervisory” programs to guide them toward self-sufficiency
- Welfare and Devolution
 - Soss, Fording, and Schram argue that devolution facilitated dramatic racial disparities in state welfare regimes Black and White Americans encounter
 - Black TANF families are more likely than white TANF families to live in states that have more paternalistic and stringent welfare programs, more likely to use second order devolution
- Racialized social control
 - Ways in which societal systems, institutions, and practices are structured to disproportionately target and exert control over certain racial and ethnic groups
 - Devolution not racist, but outcome has resulted in racial disparities

2/12/24

- Characteristics of public policy
 - Purposive and goal oriented
 - Made up by public authorities / government
 - Consists of patterns of action taken over time
 - Product of demand
 - Government directed courses of actions
- Agenda Setting - problem definition and framing
 - Policy cycle starts when government pays serious attention to an issue
 - Always will be more problems than capacity to address, need to prioritize

- For opponents of death penalty – must articulate why the death penalty is a public problem
- How to frame the issue?
 - Economic
 - Moral – Is it right to kill someone who is guilty? Is it ethical?
 - Racial / Economic disparities
 - Deterrence and public safety
 - Innocence – What if we execute the wrong person?, most convincing frame
- Pluralist vs Elite Models
 - Pluralist – people set existing agenda
 - Elite – elite set existing agenda
- Two Agendas
 - Institutional / governmental / official agenda – one which government acts on
 - Systemic or non institutional agenda – legislatures / public feel obliged to take measures on
- Aided by “focusing events” – events which bring attention to a thing(Sandy Hook, George Floyd, etc.)
- Policy entrepreneurs
- Cost vs benefits
 - Costs and benefits: diffuse or specific?
 - Diffuse Cost / Diffuse Benefits → Education Reform
 - Diffuse Cost / Specific Benefits → Pork Barrel Projects – specific government spending on a specific group or constituency
 - Specific Cost / Specific Benefits → New Airports
 - Specific Cost / Diffuse Benefits → Gun Control
 - Typology
 - What are the public issues that are on the national agenda today?
 - Immigration, Foreign / Defense Policy(Israel, Ukraine), Artificial Intelligence
 - What factors do you think lead them to be on the top of the agenda?
 - Public importance on matter
- Estimation / Policy Formulation
 - Once agenda attains institutional status – specific policies must be formulated
 - Involves setting goals, creating specific plans, and selecting the means to accomplish the goals
 - To formulate policy – must assess complex potential outcomes
 - Predetermining risks, cost and benefits associated with each possible option
 - Goal is how to reduce complexity
- Policy Legitimation
 - Approval / Support from government

- Legitimation may require more than a majority vote or legal sanction by recognized authority
- Implementation
 - Connection between expression of governmental intention and the achievement of results in the world of action
 - Not until this stage that the world changes or is altered in some way as a result of a policy
 - Formal and informal coalitions or “advocacy coalitions” that shape the institutional agendas are still present and try to shape and influence implementation decisions and the policy changes that occur during the stage of the process
 - Policies are frequently changed during implementation process
- Evaluation
 - What policies and programs were successful or unsuccessful on several levels
 - Outputs of government program
 - Performance evaluations that gauge the impact or outcomes on specific target groups
 - Look at feedback and other measures of program’s processes
- Policy Change
 - Once a policy is implemented, there are 3 options
 - Termination
 - Continuation(justification)
 - Adjustment(policy change)
 - Policy adjustment and change continues beyond policy implementation
 - Life of a single policy it is constantly shaped and reshaped by a number of factors
 - Patterns of policy change
 - Linear Policy Change – Replacement of one policy to another
 - Consolidated – combination of policies
 - Split – splitting of policies for two different goals
 - Nonlinear – dramatic change in policy
- Punctuated Equilibrium Model
 - Dramatic policy change when the conditions are right
 - **Bounded Rationality:** since policymakers cannot consider all issues at all times, they ignore most and promote relatively few to the top of their agenda
 - Lack of attention to most issues helps explain why most policies may not change, while intense periods of attention to some issues prompts new ways to frame and solve policy problems

2/14/24

- Law and Public Policy
 - Law – Constitution and legislation passed by legislature
 - Policy – Administrative and executive actions that execute the law
- Types of Policy
 - **Regulatory** – impose restrictions or limitations on the behavior of individuals and groups – DUI law

- **Distributive** – involve distribution of services or benefits to particular segments of the population(individuals, groups, corporations, or communities) – social welfare, infrastructure and agricultural subsidies
 - **Redistributive** – deliberate efforts by government to shift the allocation of resources – reduce disparities or increase equality
- Policy can involve provision of public(e.g. environment, defense) and private(e.g. social services) goods
- Can also be characterized as material or symbolic
 - **Material** – provide tangible benefits in form of resources of substantive action for their beneficiaries or impose real disadvantages to those who are adversely affected
 - **Symbolic** – distribute advantages and disadvantages that have very little real impact on the people affected
 - Material policies can be reduced to symbolic policies by lack of administrative action or support
- Distinction between Substantive(what government intends to do) or procedural(how something will be done and who will do it)
- Policy Analysis – focus on substantive policy analysis – answers questions like what effects did policy body cameras have on use of force
- Policy Process Cycle Framework
 - Advantages
 - Make policy process more comprehensible
 - Stages are logical, not empirical
 - Stages help in orienting research
 - Disadvantages
 - Ideal type – gives somewhat unrealistic ideas of the policy process
 - In real world, policy making is not an ordered sequence of actions, not as clean cut
 - Policy making is not always a rational problem-solving activity
- Advocacy Coalition Framework
 - Tries to be replacement for policy process model
 - How do people mobilize within the larger system and within **subsystems** (that are dedicated to single issues)?
 - ACF recognizes the policy making arena is complicated
 - Includes different theories – addresses the differing levels of government, times of stasis(no change) and times of change
 - Themes of coalitions, learning, policy-change
- Policy Subsystems
 - Major actors contributing to policy formulations – politicians, bureaucrats, experts, lobbies
 - Policy legacies(status quo), policy diffusion(states replicating policies of other states), epistemic communities(knowledge-based experts) generate policy ideas
- General Premise of ACF
 - Policy subsystem is primary unit of analysis

- Long term perspective is needed for understanding subsystem affairs
- Expansive set of actors involved in policy systems may be aggregated into coalitions
- Policy designs are interpreted as translations of coalition beliefs
- Policy subsystems are highly important to policy making
- Policy making is a cycle of learning
- Instruments of Public Policy
 - Regulation
 - Government Management – Implementation of services or management of resources directly to citizens
 - Education, Information, Persuasion – Education of citizens in attempt to persuade them to behave in a certain way
 - Taxing and Spending – Collection or expense of money to achieve policy goals
 - Market Mechanisms – use of market to provide public with incentives to make choices or correct problems
- Why Policy Analysis?
 - Collecting and interpreting information that clarifies the causes and effects of public problems and the likely consequences of using one policy option or another to address them
 - Legitimizing Policies
 - Inform process of public deliberation and debate about those decisions
 - Can help to clarify the problem, policy choices available, and how each choice stands up against the different standards of judgment that might be used
- Define and Analyze the Problem
 - Who is affected by the problem, and how seriously?
 - How long has the situation existed and how might it change over the next several years?
 - How amenable is it to intervention through one means or another?
- Establish Evaluation Criteria
 - What are the important policy goals, and how will they be measured?
 - Identify criteria central to the problem and relevant to the stakeholders
 - Clarify goals, values, and objectives
 - Identify desirable and undesirable outcomes
 - Is there rank order of importance among the criteria? What will be the rules of comparing alternatives
 - Administrative Ease
 - Efficiency
 - Effectiveness
 - Equity
 - Legality
 - Ethics
 - Political Feasibility
- Identifying Alternative Policies
 - Construct set of policy options for further study

- Consider a wide range of options
 - Consider the status quo or no-action
 - Consult with experts
 - Redefine problem if necessary
- Assess Policy Alternatives
 - Which of the several alternatives might be considered seriously is most likely to produce the outcome sought?
 - Estimate expected outcomes, effects, and impacts of each policy alternative
- Drawing Conclusion
 - Summarize Results
 - Bias is inevitable in policy analysis. To mitigate the effects of bias an analyst can:
 - Identify all underlying assumptions
 - Keep accurate records
 - Use multiple sources of information
 - Use replicable methods and models
 - Identify clients' goals and values – depends on considerations of client
 - Identify the formal and informal actors and institution
 - Address relevant professional and ethical considerations
- Types of Policy Analysis
 - Comes from government agencies, independent think tanks, interest groups
 - Scientific, Professional, or Political
- Policy Analysis
 - Involves collecting and interpreting information that clarifies the causes and effects of public problems and assesses of policy alternatives
- Racial Equity and Policy(REAP) Framework
 - Structural Racism – racial inequity that is produced and reproduced by laws, rules, and practices, sanctioned and even implemented by various levels of government
 - REAP examines policy as a process, not just an output
 - Process oriented perspective on racial equity
 - Disproportionately – who is affected by policy
 - Decentralization – level of government in which a policy is designed and implemented
 - Voice – how has a voice in this process
 - Policy as a process, not just outputs
- What are examples of racism through medicare policy that the author describes?
 - Perceptions of Medicaid may be less positive in states with high levels of racial resentment – idea that Medicaid disproportionately helps minorities
 - Street level bureaucrats treat Medicaid beneficiaries less respectfully
 - Decentralization of medicare – states with more racial resentment are less likely to adopt
 - 2018 – work as a requirement for Medicaid
- What other policy issue areas could be analyzed through REAP?
 - Welfare / Marijuana Use

2/19/24

- Models of Policy Formulation
 - Policy Formulation – act of developing alternatives for managing public problems on the policy agenda
 - **Rational Comprehensive Model** – decisions are made after an individual rationally considers all options while estimating the trade-offs between costs and benefits
 - **Incrementalism** – policies are formulated to continue previous policies or make gradual changes to existing policies over time rather than developing new policies from scratch
 - Pro-Life movement – introduces legislation that chips away at Roe v Wade
 - Planned Parenthood v Casey – can rule conditions over abortion
 - Outlawing of partial birth abortions, requiring guardian approval, 24 hour waiting period, required to view ultrasound
 - **Garbage Can Model** – decision making is irrational and uncertain, therefore resulting in conflict over goals and ambitions
 - “Policymaking becomes expressive forum where policymakers ‘act out’ social and political agendas that are largely unrelated”
- Policy Implementation
 - “Set of activities directed toward putting a program into effect”
 - Organization
 - Interpretation
 - Application
 - Executives are responsible for executing policy by way of bureaucratic agencies
 - Public policy is a “machine” – complex and has many moving parts that must work together to produce the desired output
- Who Implements Policy?
 - **Managers** – assemble policy machine and direct doers on how to implement the policy
 - Directed by agency officials
 - Important managers favor policy
 - Must coordinate with other agencies if horizontal coordination is required
 - Horizontal Coordination – reliance on multiple agencies on the same level of government
 - **Doers / Street-level bureaucrats** – directly responsible for service delivery
 - Doers rely on resources provided by managers, including staff, time, and money
 - Directly implement policy – police, teachers, DMV workers
 - **Implementation Problems**
 - Incompetence – inability of perfectly compliant bureaucrats to successfully implement policies, even if directive is clear
 - Variability

- Stems from systematic approach to policymaking that is not equipped to handle various societal issues that affect parties responsible for executing the policy
 - Particularly true when **vertical coordination** is required
 - Coordination
 - Arise when individuals who are responsible for carrying out policy may interpret policy differently
 - **Fixers** – work within policy arena to alleviate tension between managers and doers or to alleviate tensions that develop when coordination problems arise
- Factors Influencing Policy Implementation
 - Policy Source
 - Clarity and Support of policy
 - Complexity of administration
 - Incentives for implementers
 - Resource Allocation
- Policy Analysis
 - Defining the problem
 - Providing operational measures(quantitative indicators)
 - Politics of problem definition
 - Framing
 - Finding Information
- Constructing Alternatives
 - **Regulate** – licensing, inspection, enforcement of standards, application of sanctions
 - **Subsidize** – loans, direct payments or benefits, tax credits, price supports
 - **Ration** – limit access to scarce resources
 - **Tax and Spend** –
 - Tax an activity at level that encourages or discourages it
 - Spend money on preferred program
 - **Contract Out** – Contract for government services from private sector or buy products for government agencies
 - **Use Market Incentives** – special category of taxation or imposition of fees that creates incentives to change behavior and achieve goals and objectives
 - **Charge Fees** – fees for select services
 - **Educate** – provide information to public through formal programs
 - **Create Public trusts** – holding public property in trusts for citizens indefinitely
 - **Conduct Research** – Support research or development
 - **Privatize** – transferring public services from government to private sector
 - Private Prisons

2/21/24

- Administrative Burdens
 - Administrative burdens – constructs / rules / processes that give rise to experience of a burden – an individual's experience of a policy's implementation as onerous

- Red Tape vs Administrative Burden
 - Administrative burdens may serve legitimate purposes
 - Red Tape does not advance a legitimate purpose, focus more on private organizations than individuals
 - Includes compliance costs as well as other costs
- Policy design can create burdens – little burdens have big effects
- Policy nudges – structures choices which lead to certain behaviors
 - Social Security – forces people to save for retirement
- Programs targeted at poor people tend to have the greatest administrative burdens
- 3 Types of Costs
 - Learning Costs – time / effort to learn about program
 - Compliance Costs – provision of information and documentation to demonstrate standing; financial costs to access services
 - Psychological Costs – Stigma arising from applying for and participating in an unpopular program; loss of autonomy; frustration
- Policy implementation can shape how people experience burden
 - Information technology
- Perceptions of deservingness – who is seen as deserving?
- Psychological Factors
 - Perceptions of deservingness
 - Stigma
 - Power differentials
- Political Participation
 - Citizen experiences of policies – and by extension the experience of burdensome processes that come with those policies – affects political efficacy and civic participation
 - Social Security played a crucial role in converting older Americans from being the last to the most politically active demographic
- Human Capital and Inequality
 - Burdens are not equally distributed
 - Human capital as a moderator
 - Human capital – education, money, social networks, intelligence, psychological resources, health
 - Cycles of inequality
- Administrative Capacity
 - Financial Resources – shifting burdens away from citizens
 - Administrative Expertise – how competent are the administrators
 - Organizational Capacity
 - Bureaucratic Discretion
- Partisan Politics
 - Administrative burdens play central role in determining when, how, and where goods, services, and rights are distributed and, in practice, who is likely to receive them

- Burdens are product of politics and values
 - When partisans oppose a policy, they apply burdens as tactic to limit access, rights or benefits
 - Partisans use burdens as a non-legislative way to shape policy
- Third Parties
 - Political stakeholders that act as lobbyists – can impose or reduce burdens
 - Shape learning costs
 - Reduce compliance costs
 - Alter psychological costs
 - Can alter costs in roles as service providers
 - Can be object of burdens
- Personal interactions with government entities
 - DMV – Driver's License
 - Costs: long ass wait time, money, studying for exam
 - Benefits: being able to drive, photo ID
- Racialized Burdens
 - Administrative burdens framework through explicitly racialized lens
 - Focuses on meso-level policy implementation - administrative practices in organizational settings
 - Macro – government institutions and policies
 - Micro – individual actions / discretion
- Racial Organization Theory
 - Assumes that
 - State relies on organizations to govern
 - Organizations are not race-neutral
 - Racialized organizations treat administrative practices as mechanisms for explaining persistent patterns of racial inequality
 - Organizations pair ideas about race with material and psychological resources
 - Four basic tenants
- Racialized Burden Framework
 - Racialized Burdens combine access to resources and ideas about racial groups in ways that typically disadvantage racially marginalized groups
 - Policymakers and organizations launder racially disproportionate burdens through facially neutral rules and via claims that burdens are necessary for reasons unrelated to race
 - Racialized Burdens emerge as more explicit forms of bias become illegal, untenable, or culturally unacceptable

2/26/24

- Intersectionality
 - White supremacy – creation of racial hierarchies
 - Treatment of group members as *all the same*
 - From unidimensional perspective to intersectional
 - **Intersectional** - salient identity dimensions are inextricably linked, development of distinctive identity groups that have their own unique experiences, influence

how members of those groups connect to and work both within and outside of the American political system

- Devised by scholars in feminist and racial and ethnic studies
 - Can't address a problem without naming a problem
 - Used to study interlocking structures of disadvantages and advantages
 - Race, ethnicity, gender, physical ability, sexuality, class, and religion
- Intersectional Identity
 - Sameness perspective strips people of humanity and individuality
 - Life experience not determined by one dimension of identity
 - Do all men share similar experiences? All Asian Americans?
 - Bell Hooks: "blacks" or "women"
 - Black feminist scholar – talk about people about "blacks" or "women", creates invisible group of both, "black women"
 - Women's issues being seen as white women's issues
 - Invisibility of those with marginalized identities
- Black Feminist Movement
 - "White feminism" depicts the way white women face gender inequality as the way all women experience gender inequality
 - The Black Feminist Movement grew out of, and in response to, the Black Liberation Movement and the Women's Movement
 - Intersectional Feminism
 - Idea that people experience discrimination differently depending on their overlapping identities
- Intersectional Identity(2)
 - Move away from essentialization of race, ethnicity, and gender
 - Hierarchies within identity groups: sexism, classism, ableism, colorism
 - Our various salient identities are inextricably linked, operate together to form hierarchies that create systems of domination and marginalization
 - "Othering" those with marginalized identities can lead to higher levels of group consciousness
- Violence Against Women of Color(Crenshaw)
 - Focusing on intragroup differences
 - Violence against women as an example
 - Structural intersectionality – location of women of color at intersection of race and gender makes experiences of domestic violence different than white women
 - Political intersectionality – women of color are situated between two subordinate groups that have supported two conflicting agendas
 - WOC suffer from effects of multiple forms of subordinate – poverty, childcare, employment
 - Marriage Fraud Amendment to the 1986 Immigration Act
 - Immigration Act of 1990 provision: allow for explicit waiver for hardship caused by domestic violence
 - Language barriers to access to support services
 - WOC less likely to have their cases pursued in criminal justice system

- WOC more reluctant to call police
- Violence Against Women Act
 - Domestic Violence Lobby – strategies to increase awareness, say battering isn't just a poor minority problem, it is universal
 - Happens to everyone
- Black and Trans: Statistics
 - 41% of Black trans have been homeless
 - 34% of Black trans people have household income less than \$10000
 - Nearly half of Black trans people have attempted suicide
- Violence against Trans Women
 - Most violent hate crimes against transgender people are toward Black transgender women
 - Transgender people, particularly POC were more likely to experience extreme police violence
- Intersectional Identities
 - High level of stigma against LGBTQ
 - 87% of murders of trans people were racial minorities
 - Non-white women comprise 64% of women in prison
- Intersectional Lens: Employment
 - White men with criminal records have more positive responses to their employment searches than black men without criminal records
 - Anglo-sounding vs Black sounding names
 - Muslim women wearing hijabs - less likely to receive interview callbacks
 - Lack of protections for undocumented workers
 - Women's experience of violence
- Intersectional Identities: Sex and Gender
 - White and non-white women are not given the same protections
 - Socioeconomic Status(SES)
 - Race and Gender pay gap
 - Black women have had highest labor force participation among all women
 - Occupational segregation
- Policy
 - Policy is vital to producing and reducing inequality
 - But policy can be change
 - Policy matters for democracy
 - Michener and Brower assesses how social and economic state policies shape economic outcomes

2/28/24

- Assessing Policy Alternatives
 - Evaluation criteria – specific dimensions of policy objects that can be used to weigh policy merits – justifications or rationales for government action
 - **Government Performance and Results Act of 1993** – evaluations of existing programs and demonstrations of achievements – mandates annual performance plans and reports

- Policy Alternatives
 - Effectiveness – extent to which policy achieves goals
 - Efficiency – achieving goals in relation to cost(costs vs benefits, hard to measure)
 - Equity / Fairness – how cost is distributed among different populations
 - Process Equity – equity in the process of the policy(i.e. blanket tax for everyone, no matter income)
 - Outcomes Equity – outcomes of policy
 - Liberty / Freedom – examines extent to which policy expands or restricts individual rights or freedoms
 - Political Feasibility – support for policy
 - Social Acceptability – degree to which public will accept and support a policy proposal
 - Administrative feasibility – examines likelihood that agency can effectively implement policy
 - Technical feasibility – concerns availability and reliability of technology necessary for policy implementation
 - Ethics – potential to violate human rights / dignity

3/6/24

- Power-mapping
 - Goal is to advocate for evidence-based policy-making but to be mindful of the political dynamics that might constrain or facilitate a given policy from being enacted
 - Tool to analyze power relationships and help develop strategy for creating change
 - Helps answer
 - Who are some key potential allies in your community
 - Who might oppose your plan and who is in the middle
 - Are there potential coalitions to be build between actors or groups of actors
 - What are effective ways to communicate with your community
 - Illustrated Power-mapping like a quadrant
 - Position is at center of a 2-D map
 - Horizontal Axis: Policy Position
 - Vertical Axis: Power
 - Map 5-10 potential actors / stakeholders
- Breaking It Down:
 - Determine goal or policy objective
 - Identifying potential stakeholders that may be important to your goal
 - Identify power / influence of stakeholders

UNIT 3

3/18/24

- Racial Segregation
 - Unanimous agreement that U.S. is historically and continues to be racially segregated

- Chief Justice Kennedy's Argument(pg. 14) – if segregation is a problem because of the government, we must remedy, if based on private domain, then no obligation to fix
- De jure vs De facto segregation
 - *De Facto* – something that exists in practice but is not necessarily ordered by law
 - Racial segregation exists, product of local preferences(people wanting to live with similar people)
 - *De Jure* – practices that are legally recognized, regardless of whether the practice exists in reality
 - Myth of self-segregation – residential isolation of black families is de facto
 - Rothstein argues that government is basis of residential isolation
- Rothstein's Argument
 - Most segregation **does** fall into the category of open and explicit government sponsored segregation
 - Through Public Housing, Racial Zoning, and Redlining
- Public Housing
 - Housing shortage led federal government to build public housing – starts post WWI
 - New Deal public housing
 - Public Works Administration(1933-1943)
 - Neighborhood(racial) composition rule – projects must match the racial composition of the neighborhoods – projects in white dominated areas can only house white
 - Federal policy sometimes imposed racial segregation where it hadn't previously existed – did not want an intermixed generation
 - 1949 Housing Act – permitted local authorities to continue to design separate housing projects for blacks and whites or segregate within projects
 - By this time, public housing rapidly becomes a program exclusively for African Americans
 - Public housing becomes both separate and unequal – housing for blacks becomes noticeably worse
 - Real estate lobby – pushes against middle income public housing
- Public Housing / Affordable Housing Today
 - Public housing is fading out of favor
 - **Section 8**: housing vouchers to low-income tenants in private properties
 - **Section 42**: landlord-focused where properties that house a % of low-income tenants get tax credits
- Racial Zoning
 - Jim Crow laws and practices not restricted to the South
 - Local areas adopted **zoning rules** to separate living areas of whites and blacks
 - *Buchanan v. Warley(1917)* – overturned racial zoning
 - Many cities ignored the Supreme Court decision, circumvented it – creating zoning practices that did not explicitly mention race
 - Areas zoned "first residential"

- Exclusionary zone ordinances prevent low-income families from residing in their midst
 - Predominantly white areas could not have factories, nightclubs, liquor stores – instead zoned to black areas
- Zoning: Houston
 - Only major American city held citywide referendum on zoning which has failed
 - Houston often criticized for lack of zoning
- Redlining
 - To combat threats of communism, nationwide effort to encourage homeownership
 - Early 1930s: Home Owners Loan Corporation(HOLC) created color coded maps to assess mortgage lending risk – insured banks for mortgages
 - Banks needed Federal Housing Administration insured bank mortgages
 - Integrated and minority communities were deemed a financial risk and made ineligible for low-cost home loans
 - 1934 - 1962: Federal government backed \$120 billion of home loans
 - More than 98% went to white homebuyers
 - VA loans only given to white borrowers
 - All white suburbs
 - Further helped by government subsidies
 - Property values soared
 - Restrictive covenants – racial restrictions on properties
 - Blacks confined to urban areas
 - Neighborhoods declined
 - Destruction of housing
 - Freeways split communities
 - Denied home loans: not able to accumulate wealth
 - As whites left, so did other things – grocery stores
- Wealth and Race Today
 - Fair Housing Act of 1968 – prohibited future discrimination
 - Racist policies have been outlawed but past discrimination affects families today substantially

3/20/24

- Structural Racism encompasses:
 - History – lies underneath the surface, providing the foundation for white supremacy in this country
 - Culture – exists all around our everyday lives, providing the normalization and replication of racism
 - Interconnected Institutions and policies – keep relationships and rules across society providing the legitimacy and reinforcements to maintain and perpetuate racism
- Labor
 - Similar to housing, legacy of slavery and Jim Crow profoundly shaped labor policies

- Post Civil War
 - Beginning of Reconstruction in the South
 - Confederate officers swiftly enacted “black codes” to restrict the rights of newly freed slaves in 1865 - 1866
 - Murder of freed people who resisted or attempted to leave plantations - highlighted the struggle for freedom – not technically a slave but still indebted
- Emancipation & Radical Reconstruction
 - 10-year Radical Reconstruction era followed
 - Several civil rights acts
 - Freedmen's Bureau
 - Louisiana had a black governor at one point
 - Coalition building between Blacks and White Republicans – particularly laborers – threat to ruling class, white plantation owners
 - Increase of economic and political power of Blacks
- White Supremacist Backlash
 - Progress was met with extreme violence and oppression
 - White paramilitary groups(KKK) – violent white mobs killed and threatened thousands of Black people, including those who aimed to participate politically
 - 1877 – Federal government detracts resources from the South
 - White supremacists took control yet again – Black Codes, vagrancy law, chain gangs
 - Plantation owners use sharecropping and debt peonage to maintain control over black labor
 - By 1910, South had solidified its influence as a conservative voting bloc in Congress
- Industrialization
 - Post-Civil War: rapid industrialization
 - Unregulated capitalism allows for exploitation of workers
 - Immigrant laborers faced harsh working conditions, often clustered together in urban areas, set ground for union organizing
 - Unions leveraged negotiating power
 - **Great Migration** – employers aimed to recruit Black workers from the South as strikebreakers and replacement workers
- Labor Related Racial Violence
 - Red Summer of 1919 – white violence infringed on black people, most violence was not initiated by fringe white supremacist terrorist groups, but by white civilians and veterans
- Post-Great Depression
 - 1933: Wagner Act guaranteed workers’ right to unionize and bargain collectively
 - Roosevelt banned racial discrimination in defense jobs
 - Great migration exploded
- New Deal Programs

- Could not pass without support from white Southern Democrats, who wanted to retain economic and political power
 - Fair Labor Standards Act
 - Certain jobs (agricultural workers, who were mostly black) excluded from benefits, such as maximum hours and minimum wages
 - Social Security Act / National Industrial Recovery Act
- Labor and Civil Rights
 - Integrated labor movements
 - Civil rights movement gained momentum, included demands to ban discrimination in employment
 - AFL-CIO merger (1955) integrated labor movement, with black trade unionists playing key roles in supporting civil rights actions and organizations
- Amendments to FLSA
 - 1966 – Amendment to address racist exclusions
 - Impact – reduced income gap, poverty declined
 - Limitations – did not extend overtime pay or maximum hours
 - 1974 – Amendments to protect domestic workers, with limits
- Labor Today
 - Black, Latino, and other workers of color are significantly overrepresented in low-wage sectors, perpetuated by structural racism by the FLSA
- Unions
 - About 12% of private and public workforces belong to a union
 - Union membership has drastically declined due to changing demographics
 - Latino immigrants are in rapidly expanding workforce that are hard to unionize because many work in sectors that discourage unionization
- Forms of Discrimination
 - How much does employer (private) discrimination affect hiring decisions
 - Labor market discrimination typically studied by comparing the wages of whites and minorities, with statistical controls in models
 - Field experiment conducted in 2004: randomize applicants of different races to real jobs
 - Benefits: external validity, less concern about social desirability
 - White and Latino applicants fare better than Black applicants overall
 - White applicants with a criminal record fare just as well compared to minority counterparts with no criminal record
- Racial Discrimination in the Workforce
 - Racial discrimination in hiring remains an issue
 - Civil Rights Act 1964 (Title VII)
 - Affirmative Action and DEI initiatives
 - Supreme Court ruling on Affirmative Action creates an opening for potential that there will be challenges to promoting diversity in workplaces
- Race and the Workplace
 - Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's guidelines on voluntary affirmative action

- Employers encouraged to take voluntary steps to “correct effects of past discrimination and to prevent present and future discrimination”

3/25/24

- Social Safety Net
 - Entitlement Programs – rights granted to citizens and non-citizens by federal law
 - Non-Contributory(benefits are available to participants regardless if they’ve contributed) vs Contributory
 - Contributory: Social Security, Medicare, Unemployment Insurance
 - Non-contributory: TANF, SNAP
 - All welfare programs are entitlement programs and are “means tested”(you must qualify)
- Welfare – Aid to Dependent Children – enacted as part of Social Security Act of 1935
 - Outgrowth of mother’s pensions for widows at the state level
- Welfare Racism
 - Media framing of welfare
 - Welfare reform – exclusion of those affected from participating
 - Devolution of welfare to states / localities
 - Racial composition of welfare recipients
 - Caseworker discretion
- Evidence of Welfare Racism
 - Welfare regimes uphold a racial hierarchy
 - Subject to local / state pressures from interest groups, businesses
 - In the south, Black people are less likely to get aid, aid they did receive was small and restrictive
 - “Employable mothers rule” adopted in the 1940s among Southern states – refusing of welfare when possibilities of employment were available
 - White women had husbands who could support, black women could not accept welfare
 - “Man in the House” Laws – cut aid if mothers cohabitated with man who was not children’s father
 - Home searches, midnight raids, especially towards black women
 - Moral criteria for benefits
- Evolution of Welfare Policy
 - 1960s/70s – more federal regulations / oversight over local welfare administration
 - LBJ’s Great Society – ending poverty, reducing crime, abolishing inequality
 - 1996 – Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation ACT – established Temporary Assistance for Needy Families(TANF) – restoration of old welfare regime pre-Great Society
 - Block grants to states(devolution)
 - 5-year lifetime limit on aid
 - Recipients must work
 - States incentivized to be restrictive – leftover welfare money can be used for other things
 - Results in collapse of a rule-bound welfare system

- Tax Credits and Poverty
 - 2017, Republicans double the Child Tax Credit
 - 2021, American Rescue Plan(2021) helped cut child poverty in half
 - CTC
 - Earned income tax credit
 - Expanded SNAP benefits
 - Unemployment coverage
 - Investment in childcare
- Homelessness – racial disparities
 - Homelessness is primarily a housing problem
 - Zoning laws and local opposition make it hard to build housing for low-income renters
 - Other factors – unemployment, mental illness, substance
- In Houston
 - People living on the streets often do not have identification documents, email, phone, making it difficult to apply for government benefits
 - Coalition for the Homeless - an independent, outside agency to coordinate 100 nonprofits
 - How was Houston able to address Homelessness?
 - Housing first policy, coordinating among nonprofits – able to track homeless people

3/27/24

- Reparations
 - Making amends for a wrong one has done, often by paying money or otherwise helping those who have been wronged
 - Form of monetary payment, job programs, resettlement funds, reinvestment in the harmed community
 - UN has 5 formal categories of reparations
 - Restitution
 - Damages Compensation
 - Rehabilitation
 - Satisfaction
 - Guarantees of non-repetition
- Outside of the U.S.
 - Apartheid in South Africa(1400's - 1990s)
 - Truth and Reconciliation Commission
 - Tiny fraction received payment
 - Holocaust
 - West Germany gave Israel(then a young state) 7 billion dollars
 - 1952 - 1963: Israel's GNP tripled, along with 45,000 jobs, to investments made with reparations money
 - 2005 – Israel estimated cost of Holocaust at around \$240 - 320 billion
 - So far about 100 billion in damages paid
- Not an idea in the U.S.

- 1980: SCOTUS ordered federal government to pay 8 Sioux Indian tribes \$122 million to compensate for the illegal seizure of tribal lands
- Japanese Internment Camp Reparations
 - 100,000 people in camps, \$3.1 billion property loss, \$6.4 billion in income loss
 - Japanese-American Claims Act of 1948
 - Civil Liberties Act of 1988
 - Formal apology, \$20k for 80,000 survivors
 - Total Payout by 1998 – \$1.6 billion
- Eugenics 20th century
 - Forced sterilization of “unfit” people
 - Black women, mentally / developmentally disabled, criminals, homosexuals
 - Between 1900-1970s: 65,000 people sterilized in 33 states
 - Oregon had a Board of Eugenics until early 1980s
 - Governor John Kitzhaber apologized in 2002 – no mention of reparations
 - North Carolina only state to have reparations program
 - State sterilized over 7,000 people, victims and families receive 50k each
 - Compensation law says, to be eligible, operations have to have occurred under state’s Eugenics Board
 - Some eugenics victims and families don’t qualify
 - Board very likely wasn’t aware of all the sterilizations taking place
- Reparations for Slavery
 - Bills for reparations have been introduced and died in Congress since 19th century
 - 1866: Radical Republicans law provide 40 acres and mule to ex-slaves(vetoed)
 - 1984: direct payments of up to \$500 to all ex-slaves plus monthly pensions ranging from \$4 to \$15
 - Mid-20th century: Black Panther Party demanded reparations
 - 1989: Conyer’s Bill(HR40): Commission to Study and Develop reparation proposals for African-Americans Act
- Reparations for Slavery Debate in Politics Today
 - Internment Camp reparations(1980s) – injustice began / ended on known dates, most victims could be readily identified through official records, and more than half were still alive when compensation was awarded
 - Some argue that African–American claimants seeking reparations over slavery would be too expensive
 - California recently releases 2023 report on reparations
 - Quantifies (in dollars) costs of structural racism on health, wealth, etc.; provides a range of recommendations
 - Addresses:

- Political Disenfranchisement
- Housing Segregation & Unjust Property Takings
- Stolen Labor & Hindered Opportunity
- Unequal Education

4/10/24

- 13th
 - Slavery abolished in 1865
 - Clause in 13th amendment legally allows a form of slavery in our institutions
 - Loophole: slave labor – continuation of enslavement of black people through arrests of petty crimes
 - Vagrancy Laws criminalizing minor crimes
 - Civil Rights Movement – racially coded rhetoric starts with Nixon – “dog whistle politics”
 - Nixon as “Law and Order” candidate
- Southern Strategy
 - Thinly veiled effort to decimate blacks and appeal to white voters
 - War on Drugs
 - Targeted communities of color
 - Sentence disparities between crack(located in majority black neighborhoods) and powder cocaine(located in majority white)
 - Being tough on crime as a political strategy
 - Racially based fears of Blacks motivates white voters
 - Both Democrats and Republicans are responsible
- Prison Industrial Complex
 - Financially motivated ties between corporations and lawmakers
 - Critical Resistance defines PIC as – **overlapping interests of government and industry that use surveillance, policing, and imprisonment** as solutions to economic, social and political problems
 - Every element of the prison system has been monetized
- Racism Transformed
 - Racial Formation – sociohistorical process by which racial categories change
 - Racial oppression is similar – still exists – just transforms and changes shape
 - Policies on their face are “race-neutral”
- Policing: Stop and Frisk
 - Police may stop people on “reasonable suspicion” of criminal activity – what is “reasonable suspicion”
 - NY: 700k SF searches
 - 11% of suspects actually considered violent
 - 90% were black or Latino
 - Black people more likely to be perceived as suspicious – often there is no crime
- “Broken Windows” Policing
 - BW theory: focus on low-level offenses prevents or reduces crime
 - But in practice, theory has most often led to harassment of minorities, in particular African Americans, and done little to reduce overall crime

- Crime happens wherever you look for it - the greater the police presence, typically the more “crime” you’ll find
- Laws and Health
 - De Jure residential segregation
 - Employment / working conditions
 - Segregated Healthcare
 - Violated Civil Rights Act Title IV antidiscrimination provisions
 - Alexander v, Sandoval(2001)
 - Plaintiffs can only challenge intentional discrimination
 - Racial bias fuels health disparities
 - Implicit Bias / Algorithm Bias
- Obamacare / Spillover of racialization
 - Racialization of policies
 - Source / elite cues can shape policy attitudes and can racialize them
 - **Spillover of racialization hypothesis** – Obama’s race led to polarizing public opinion on healthcare by racial considerations
- Addressing Disparities: Drug Decriminalization in Oregon
 - Measure 110: Oregon decriminalizes hard drugs
 - Increase of drug use openly, overdoses

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- Immigration Policy is rooted in Racism
 - Immigration policy has been rooted in notions of racial otherness
 - Race based quotes from early policies informed by belief in potential degradation of white race
 - Chinese exclusion act, Immigration Act of 1924
 - Fear of immigrants being “public charges” – leech on economy, putting burden on taxpayer
 - What were examples of biological racism in US immigration practices
- Immigrant Policing within the U.S.
 - One’s experience with immigration system varies based on race, ethnicity, nationality, class, gender, age, and so forth
 - Criminal otherness has become primarily conflated with race
 - “Illegality” – making illegality itself a racialized category
 - Justified punitive measures

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