

Gov 2362. Racial and Ethnic Politics Seminar

Monday 12:45-2:45pm / CGIS K105

Professor Taeku Lee

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Office hours: Wednesday 9-11 / CGIS Knafel 420

Course Description

This course is designed to provide an overview of major theories and empirical approaches to the study of race/ethnicity identities and their relation to all things political. Drawing across the social sciences, the course primarily but not exclusively considers the United States as national context. Covered topics include: how to think about race/ethnicity as concept and measurement; why and when race/ethnicity identities are mobilized and contested; whether and how identities are represented politically; whether and how race/ethnicity identities intersect with other identities; how race/ethnicity mediate relations between citizen/state and citizen/civil society; whether and how race/ethnicity mediate the integration of immigrants; whether varieties of democracy enable or inhibit the flourishing of plural identities. Course goals are to provide a deep understanding of the current state of knowledge as well as the intellectual resources needed to undertake original research.

Course Requirements

The course is a graduate-level seminar organized around intensive weekly readings. Work for the course consists of the following three elements:

- Reaction briefs, response essays, and seminar participation (50 percent). Over the twelve sessions that we meet, you will submit seven reaction briefs and one slightly longer response essay to a session's readings and topics. The reaction briefs should be 1 or 2 pages long and the response essay should be 3 to 5 pages. Examples of approaches to these briefs and essays include:
 - A critique of the core arguments or central premises.
 - A critique of the research design or methodology used.
 - A discussion of alternative approaches or explanations.
 - An elaboration on the implications of a reading's findings or arguments.
 - A reflection on the implications of a reading for your own work.

On the two weeks for which you prepare a response essay, you will also lead (or co-lead, depending on class size) our discussion for the day. All written work should be uploaded to the Canvas course page by **6 pm** each **Sunday** before our Monday seminar.

- Research paper (50 percent). There is also a longer paper (roughly 20 pages or so) due for the seminar. The output can be many things: a normative exposition on a topic, a paper based on qualitative or quantitative data analysis (including an early dissertation chapter or draft conference paper), a detailed research design (including a dissertation prospectus), or in select cases, things like a full grant proposal, detailed research design or analytical literature review. The research paper can be something you are also working on simultaneously for another class, so long as the topic fits with this seminar. A précis of your proposed topic is due mid-semester, on Sunday, March 19th. We will collectively discuss and refine your topics in class and during office hours throughout the semester. These longer papers are due by **Friday, May 12th**.

Course Readings

All readings are available online on the Canvas course page or via library.harvard.edu.

Course Schedule

Week 1. January 23. Identity as Concept

- Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. 2006. "Identity as a Variable." *on Pol.* 4(4): 695-711.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. "The Politics of Identity." *Daedalus* 135(4): 15-22.
- Brubaker, Rogers and Fred Cooper. 2000. "Beyond 'Identity.'" *Theory Soc.* 29,1-47.
- Gleason, Philip. 1983. "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History." *Am. Hist.* 69(4): 910-931.

Recommended

- Brewer, Marilynn B. 2001. "The Many Faces of Social Identity." *Psy.* 22(1): 115-125.
- Roccas, Sonia and Marilynn Brewer. 2002. "Social Identity Complexity." *Soc. Psy. Rev.* 6(2): 88-106.
- Smith, Rogers. 2004. "Identities, Interests, and the Future of Political Science." *on Pol.* 2(2): 301-12.
- Amartya Sen. "Other People." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 111.

Week 2. January 30. Race/Ethnicity as Concept

- Fields, Karen and Barbara Fields. 2012. Verso. Read 1-24; 25-74 extra.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Rev. Pol Sci* 9: 397-424.
- Lee, Taeku. 2008. "Race, Immigration, and the Identity-to-Politics Link." *Rev Pol Sci* 11: 457-78.
- Sen, Maya and Omar Wasow. 2015. "Race as a Bundle of Sticks." *Rev Pol Sci* 19: 499-522.

Recommended

- Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory." *J. Soc.* 113(4): 970-1022.
- Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. 2014. *Racial Formation in the United States*, Part I. Routledge.
- Hutchings Vincent L, Valentino Nicholas A. 2004. The Centrality of Race in American Politics. *Rev. Pol. Sci.* 7:383-408.
- Jennifer Lynn Eberhardt and Jennifer Lynn Randall. 1997. "The Essential Notion of Race." *Psy Sci* 8, 198-203.

Week 3. February 6. The Black Politics Paradigm

- Cohen, Cathy. 1999. *Boundaries of Blackness*. Chicago. Chapter 2.
- Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 2 and 3.
- Shelby, Tommie. Foundations of Black Solidarity: Collective Identity or Common Oppression? *Ethics* 112 (January): 231-66.
- White, Ismail, Chryl Laird, and Troy Allen. 2014. "Selling Out?" *Pol Sci Rev.* 108 (4).

Recommended

- Davenport, Lauren. 2016. "Beyond Black and White: Biracial Attitudes in Contemporary US Politics." *Pol Sci Review* 110(1): 22-67.
- Jefferson, Hakeem. 2022. "The Politics of Respectability and Black Americans' Punitive Attitudes." Conditionally accepted at *Pol. Sci. Rev.*
- Telles, Edward and Tianna Paschel. 2014. "Who Is Black, White, or Mixed Race? How Skin Color, Status, and Nation Shape Racial Classification in Latin America." *J. Soc* 120(3): 864-907.

Week 4. February 13. Beyond the Black-White Paradigm

- Jardina, Ashley. 2021. "In-Group Love and Out-Group Hate." *Pol. Behav.* 43: 1535-1559.
- Kim, Claire Jean. 1999. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Soc.* 27 (1): 105-138.
- Maghbouleh, Neda, Ariela Schachter, and Rene Flores. 2022. "Middle Eastern and North African Americans May Not Be Perceived, Nor Perceive Themselves, to Be White." *PNAS* 119(7).
- Mora, Cristina. 2014. "Cross-Field Effects and Ethnic Classification." *Soc. Rev.* 79(2): 182-210.
- Rivera-Burgos, Viviana. 2022. "Language, Skin Tone, and Attitudes toward Puerto Rico in the Aftermath of Hurricane Maria." *Pol. Sci. Rev.*

Recommended

- Beltr  n, Christina. 2010. *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Unity*.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining

- Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm." *Pol.* 5(1): 63-79.
- Jiménez, Tomás R. and Adam Horowitz. 2013. "When White is Just Alright." *Am Soc Rev* 78: 849-871.
- Knowles, Eric, Brian Lowery, Rosalind Chow, and Miguel Unzueta. 2014. "Deny, Distance, or Dismantle? How White Americans Manage a Privileged Identity." *Persp. Psy. Sci.* 9(6): 594-609.
- Okamoto, Dina and Cristina Mora. 2014. "Panethnicity." *Rev. Sociology* 40: 219-239.
- Rogers, Reuel and Jae Yeon Kim. 2021. "Rewiring Linked Fate: Bringing Back History, Agency, and Power." *Pol.*
- Zou, Linda X. and Sapna Cheryan. 2017. "Two Axes of Subordination: A New Model of Racial Position." *Soc. Pers. Psych* 112(5): 696-717.

Week 5. February 27. The Individual-Level Sources of Racial Inequality

- Carmines, Edward G., Paul M. Sniderman, and Beth C. Easter. 2011. "On the Meaning, Measurement and Implications of Racial Resentment." *ANNALS, AAPSS* 634: 98-116
- Devos, Thierry and Mahzarin Banaji. 2005. "American = White?" *Pers. Soc. Psych.* 88(3): 447-66.
- Pager, Devah. 2002. "The Mark of a Criminal Record." *J. Soc.* 108(5): 937-75.
- Sears, David, and P.J. Henry. 2003. "The Origins of Symbolic Racism." *Pers. Soc. Psych.* 85(2): 259-275.

Recommended

- Blank, Rebecca, Marilyn Dabady, and Constance F. Citro. 2004. *Measuring Discrimination*. National Research Council.
- Davis, Darren and David Wilson. 2022. "The Prospect of Antiracism: Racial Resentment and Resistance to Change." *Pub. Op. Q.* 86(Special Issue): 445-472.
- Hal Arkes and Philip Tetlock. 2004. "Attributions of Implicit Prejudice, or 'Would Jesse Jackson 'Fail' the Implicit Association Test?' " *Inquiry.* 15(4): 257-78.
- Jennifer Eberhardt, et al. 2004. "Seeing Black." *J Pers. Soc. Psy.* 87 (6): 876-893.
- Jennifer Eberhardt, et al. 2006. "Looking Deathworthy." *Sci.* 17(5): 383-386.

Week 6. March 6. The Historical and Institutional Roots of Racial Inequality

- Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2016. "The Political Legacy of American Slavery." *Pol.* 78(3): 621-41.
- Frymer, Paul. 2005. "Racism Revised: Courts, Labor Law, and the Institutional Construction of Racial Animus." *Pol Sci Rev* 99: 373-387.
- King, Desmond and Rogers Smith. 2005. "Racial Orders in American Political Development." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 99(1): 75-92.
- Pengl, Yannick I., Philip Roessler, and Valeria Rueda. 2022. "Cash Crops, Print Technologies, and the Politicization of Ethnicity in Africa." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 116(1): 181-199.

Recommended

- Nunn, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. "The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa." *Econ. Rev.* 101: 3221-3252.
- Frymer, Paul and Jacob Grumbach. 2022. "Labor Unions and White Racial Politics." *J. Pol. Sci.* 65(1): 225-240.
- Victor Ray. 2019. "A Theory of Racialized Organizations." *Soc. Review* 84(1): 26-53.
- Daria Roithmayer. 2014. *Reproducing Racism*. NYU Press. Chapters 1, 2, 5.

Week 7. March 20. Statecraft and Racecraft

- Frymer, Paul. 2014. "'A Rush and a Push and the Land Is Ours': Territorial Expansion, Land Policy, and U.S. State Formation." *Pol.* 12(1): 119-114.
- Hochschild, Jennifer and Brenna Powell. 2008. "Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930." *Studies in Am Pol. Dev.* 22 (Spring): 59-96.
- Lieberman, Evan S., and Prerna Singh. 2017. "Census Enumeration and Group Conflict: A Global Analysis of the Consequences of Counting." *World Politics* 69(1): 1-53.
- Prowse, Gwen, Vesla Weaver, and Tracey Meares. 2019. "The State from Below: Distorted Responsiveness in Policed Communities." *Urban Affairs Rev.*

- Soss, Joe and Vesla Weaver. 2017. "Police Are Our Government: Politics, Political Science, and the Policing of Race-Class Subjugated Communities." *Rev. Pol. Sci.* 20: 565-591.

Recommended

- Mayya Komisarchik, Maya Sen, and Yamil Velez. 2022. "The Political Consequences of Ethnically Targeted Incarceration: Evidence from Japanese-American Internment During World War II." *Am J. Pol. Sci.* 84(3): 1497-1514.
- Hanchard, Michael. 2018. *The Spectre of Race: How Discrimination Haunts Western Democracy*. Princeton. Chapter 3. "Society and Polity, Difference and Inequality," pp. 65-111.
- Vesla Weaver and Amy Lerman. 2010. "Political Consequences of the Carceral State." *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.* 104 (4): 817-833.
- Murakawa, Naomi. 2008. "The Origins of the Carceral Crisis: Racial Order as 'Law and Order' in Postwar American Politics." In *Race and American Political Development*,
- Thachil, Tariq. 2020. "Does Police Repression Spur Everyday Cooperation? Evidence from Urban India." *J. Pol. Sci.* 82(4): 1474-1489.

Week 8. March 27. Race/Ethnicity and Representation

- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Pol.* 81(1): 33-48.
- Butler, Daniel and David Broockman. 2011. "Do Politicians Racially Discriminate Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators." *J. Pol. Sci.* 55(3): 463-477.
- Grumbach, Jacob and Alexander Sahn. 2019. "Race and Representation in Campaign Finance." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 114(1): 206-221.
- Dancygier, Rafaela, Karl-Oskar Lindgren, and Pär Nyman. 2021. "Candidate Supply is Not a Barrier to Immigrant Representation: A Case-Control Study." *J. Pol. Sci.* 65(3): 683-698.

Recommended

- Allie, Feyaad. 2022. "The Representation Trap: How and Why Muslims Struggle to Maintain Power in India." Unpublished manuscript.
- Broockman, David. 2013. "Black Politicians Are More Intrinsically Motivated to Advance Blacks' Interests: A Field Experiment Manipulating Political Incentives." *J. Pol. Sci.* 57(3): 521-536.
- Gay, Claudine. 2002. "Spirals of Trust? The Effect of Descriptive Representation on the Relationship between Citizens and their Government." *J. Pol. Sci.* 46: 717-33.
- Lowande, Kenneth, Melinda Ritchie, Erinn Lauterbach. 2019. "Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress: Evidence from 80,000 Congressional Inquiries." *J. Pol. Sci.* 63(3): 644-659.

Week 9. April 3. Race/Ethnicity and Voting

- Egan, Patrick. 2019. "Identity as Dependent Variable: How Americans Shift Their Identities to Align with Their Politics." *Am J. Pol. Sci.* 64(3): 699-716.
- Fraga, Bernard. 2015. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." *J. Pol. Sci.* 60(1): 97-122.
- Fraga, Bernard and Michael Miller. 2021. "Who Does Voter ID Keep from Voting?" *JOP*.
- Frymer, Paul. 2010. *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America*. Chapter 2 ("Competitive Parties and the 'Invisibility' of Captured Groups") and 4 ("Capture inside the Democratic Party").
- Valenzuela, Ali and Melissa Michelson. 2016. "Turnout, Status, and Identity: Mobilizing Latinos to Vote with Group Appeals." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 110(4): 615-30.

Recommended

- Yamil Velez and Benjamin Newman. 2019. "Tuning In, Not Turning Out: Evaluating the Impact of Ethnic Television on Political Participation." *J. Pol. Sci.* 63(4): 808-823.
- Zoltan Hajnal. 2002. "White Residents, Black Incumbents, and a Declining Racial Divide." *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.* 95 (3): 603-617.
- Barreto, Matt A. 2007. "¡Si Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 101 (3): 425-41.

Week 10. April 10. Race/Ethnicity and Immigrant Integration

- Carlos, Roberto F. 2021. "The Politics of the Mundane." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 115(3): 775-789.
- Enos, Ryan. 2014. "The Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes." *PNAS* 111(10): 3699-3704.
- Fouka, Vasiliki and Marco Tabellini. 2022. "Changing In-Group Boundaries: The Effect of Immigration on Race Relations in the United States." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 116(3): 968-984.
- Harder, Niklas, et al. 2018. "Multidimensional Measure of Immigrant Integration." *PNAS* 115(45): 11483-88.
- Pérez, Efrén O. 2015. "Xenophobic Rhetoric and Its Political Effects on Immigrants and Their Co-Ethnics." *Am. J. of Pol. Sci.* 59(3): 549-564.

Recommended

- Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2015. "The Hidden American Immigration Consensus: A Conjoint Analysis of Attitudes toward Immigrants." *J. of Poli Sci.* 59(3): 529-548.
- Marcel Roman. 2022. "Living in the Shadow of Deportation: How Immigration Enforcement Forestalls Political Assimilation." Unpublished manuscript.
- Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2019. "Cosmopolitan Immigration Attitudes in Large European Cities: Contextual or Compositional Effects?" *Am Pol. Sci. Rev.* 113(2): 456-474.
- Putnam, Robert. 2007. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century." *Pol. Stud.* 30(2): 137-174.
- Vasiliki Fouka. 2019. "How Do Immigrants Respond to Discrimination? The Case of Germans in the US During World War I." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 113(2): 405-22.

Week 11. April 17. Race/Ethnicity and the Politics of Place

- Abascal, Maria. 2020. "Contraction as a Response to Group Threat: Demographic Decline and Whites' Classification of People Who Are Ambiguously White." *Soc. Rev.* 85(2): 298-322.
- Anoll, Allison. 2018. "What Makes a Good Neighbor? Race, Place, and Norms of Political Participation." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 112(3): 494-508.
- Hangartner, Dominik, et al. 2019. "Does Exposure to the Refugee Crisis Make Natives More Hostile?" *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 113(2): 442-455.
- Hopkins, Daniel. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Opposition." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 104(1): 40-60.

Recommended

- Reny, Tyler T. and Benjamin Newman. 2018. "Protecting the Right to Discriminate: The Second Great Migration and Racial Threat in the American West." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 112(4): 1104-1110.
- Cramer, Katherine. 2012. "Putting Inequality in Its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective." *Pol Sci Review* 106(3): 517-32.
- Thachil, Tariq. 2017. "Do Rural Migrants Divide Ethnically in the City? Evidence from an Ethnographic Experiment in India." *Am. J. Pol. Sci.*
- Wong, Cara, et al. 2012. "Bringing the Person Back In: Boundaries, Perceptions, and the Measurement of Racial Context." *Pol.* 74(4): 1153-1170.

Week 12. April 24. Race/Ethnicity, Social Activism, and Social Change

- Calderon, Alvaro, Vasiliki Fouka, and Marco Tabellini. 2022. "Racial Diversity and Racial Policy Preferences: The Great Migration and Civil Rights." *Econ. Studies*
- Enos, Ryan, Aaron Kaufman, and Melissa Sands. 2019. "Can Violent Protest Change Local Policy Support? Evidence from the Aftermath of the 1992 Los Angeles Riot." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 113(4): 1012-1028.
- Manekin, Davorah and Tamar Mitts. 2022. "Effective for Whom? Ethnic Identity and Nonviolent Resistance." *Pol. Sci. Rev.* 116(1): 161-180.
- Wasow, Omar. 2021. "Agenda-Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion, and Voting." *Po. Sci. Rev.* 114(3): 638-59.

Recommended

- Eidgahy, Kaumron, and Efrén O. Pérez. Forthcoming. "How Wide is the Arc of Racial Solidarity? People of Color and Middle Easterners and North Africans (MENAs)." *Political Research*

Quarterly.

- PÃ©rez, EfrÃ©n O., Crystal Robertson, and Bianca V. VicuÃ±a. Forthcoming. â€œPrejudiced When Climbing Up or When Falling Down? Why Some People of Color Express Anti-Black Prejudice.â€ *Am Pol. Sci. Rev.* .
- Paluck, Elizabeth L. 2009. â€œReducing Intergroup Prejudice and Conflict Using the Media: A Field Experiment in Rwanda.â€ *Pers. Soc. Psy.* 96(3): 574-587.
- Chudy, Jennifer. 2020. â€œRacial Sympathy and its Political Consequences.â€ *Journal of Politics*.