

# POLI 328 - Latino Politics in the United States

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 10:50 am - 12:05 pm

Room: Herzstein 210

Spring 2023

Last updated: December 28, 2022

## Instructor Information

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Office hours: TBD

## Course Overview

This course will provide an overview of how Latinos interact with, relate to, and find representation in the American political system. We will begin by discussing Latino/x identity, identifying and describing the demographics of this population, and analyzing the extent to which Latinos have politicized identities. We will then analyze historical and demographic trends, including immigration patterns and policies as well as Chicano social and labor movements. After that, we will discuss Latino political behavior, where we will cover Latino public opinion, partisan affiliations, voting patterns, and representation. We will finish the course by discussing the role of Latinos in the last two elections, reflecting on both the narratives of the Latino vote in academia and the media.

## Learning Outcomes

- Develop an understanding of the complexity of Latino/x identity in the United States
- Situate Latino politics in the United States in historical and sociopolitical context
- Think critically about the interactions between Latino political behavior and American political institutions
- Apply the theories and concepts from research on Latino politics to current events

## Work and Assessment

**Course expectations:** Students are expected to attend class and participate during class discussions. This course has both a lecture and a discussion component. The lectures will incorporate the readings assigned for that day/week. I expected you will have completed all readings prior to class and will come prepared with comments and questions. Unless noted otherwise, all readings will be made available on Canvas.

Final course grades will be assigned as follows:

|     |          |     |         |
|-----|----------|-----|---------|
| A   | (93-100) | C   | (73-76) |
| A - | (90-92)  | C - | (70-72) |
| B+  | (87-89)  | D+  | (67-69) |
| B   | (83-86)  | D   | (63-66) |
| B - | (80-82)  | D - | (60-62) |
| C+  | (77-79)  | F   | (0-59)  |

Final grades will be calculated based on the following components:

**Participation (20%):** All students are expected to be active participants in class discussions. Our learning experience will be enhanced if you come prepared and ready to share your comments, insights, and/or questions from the material covered in the lectures and readings with the rest of the class.

- Attendance policy: Attendance is part of your participation grade, and while there is no separate grade for attendance it is a prerequisite for in-class participation. That said, to accommodate unforeseeable circumstances, you have two *unexcused* absences that will not affect your participation grade. Please let the instructor know about any excused absences you anticipate during the semester. Note that students who are absent, whether excused or not, are still expected to submit the weekly summary corresponding to that week.

**Weekly summaries (15%):** Each week for 9 weeks, you will choose one (1) article from the week's readings to summarize. It is up to you which weeks you decide to skip. The summary must be no longer than three-quarters of a page (single-spaced, 12-point font). These summaries must be submitted via Canvas by **10:50 am** on Thursdays. No credit will be given for submissions after class has started.

**Two Papers (30%; 15% each):** You will be writing two short papers (4-6 pages each) throughout the course. These assignments will require you to think about how what we learn in class relates to what you can observe in your political environment (what some call the "real world"). The assignment will also provide you with an opportunity to practice writing in different two genres for two different audiences. You can find a short description of each paper below (detailed instructions will be provided on Canvas):

1. Literature Review (4-6 pages): students will select a topic of interest and discuss how the existing literature address that topic. Students will identify what kinds of data political scientists have analyzed and will identify a gap in the literature that they would be interested in addressing in their final paper. The audience for this paper is an academic audience interested in Latino politics.
2. Campaign memo (4-6 pages): students will write a campaign memo on the political attitudes and behaviors of Latinos/as. Students must provide sufficient background, provide clear takeaways, and propose strategies for a political campaign to appeal to Latino voters. The audience for this paper is a political campaign staff.

Papers must be submitted via Canvas. Late submissions will be penalized: half a point (out of 10) if turned in late but on the same day and one point for each 24-hour period after the due date.

**Oral Presentation (15%):** Students will give an oral presentation based on their idea for the final paper. This will take the form of a conference presentation. Further instructions will be provided on Canvas and the instructor will model how to do such a presentation.

**Final Paper (20%):** In the final paper for this class, students will propose a research design to answer a question of interest. The question may be the same as the one that motivated the literature review from earlier in the course, but it may also be a different one. This paper must include an introduction, a literature review that situates the present question in the broader field, an answer to the question (the argument/theory), and a proposed design to answer the question. Students should meet with the instructor to discuss the paper and think about how one might design a study to answer the question of interest.

## Course Conduct

In this class, we will discuss politics *and* the people who participate (or not) in politics, and we will do so in a respectful environment. As is bound to be the case when we talk about politics, we may discuss topics that might be controversial or of a sensitive nature for some or all in our group. Our goal in this class is to have constructive discussions about the politics of Latinos in the United States. Derogatory comments toward other students will not be tolerated.

## Communication Policy

If you have questions about class in general or about a specific assignment, you can email me. You can expect a response within 24 hours (unless you email me on Friday). Students are also more than welcome to attend office hours, as this is time set aside specifically for you. Please note that I will not be “pre-grading” assignments, but I am happy to answer clarifying questions about them either via email or, preferably, during office hours.

## Revision Policy

You will have the opportunity to revise the campaign memo. If you wish to do so, you must meet with me during office hours within one week of receiving the graded assignment. During that meeting, we will discuss the feedback and the revisions you think are needed. Please submit the revised draft as an attachment in the original Canvas assignment no later than one week after our meeting.

## Chosen Names and Personal Pronouns

Everyone has the right to be addressed by the name and pronouns that correspond to their gender identity. Rosters do not list gender or pronouns, so you may indicate the pronouns you use so that I don't make assumptions based on your name and/or appearance/self-presentation (*you are not obligated to do so*). If you use a chosen name, please let me know. Chosen names and pronouns are to be respected at all times in the classroom. Mistakes in addressing one another may happen, so I encourage an environment of openness to correction and learning. I will not however, tolerate repeated comments which disrespect or antagonize students who have indicated pronouns or a chosen name.

## Honor Code

Students are expected to do their own work and to cite sources appropriately. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. In other words, students will be held to the standards of the Rice Honor Code to which they agreed when enrolling at this institution. You can read more about the Honor Code and the Honor System at <http://honor.rice.edu/>.

## Disability Resource Center

If you have a documented disability or other condition that may affect academic performance you should: 1) make sure this documentation is on file with the Disability Resource Center (Allen Center, Room 111 / [adarice@rice.edu](mailto:adarice@rice.edu) / x5841) to determine the accommodations you need; and 2) talk with me to discuss your accommodation needs.

## Wellbeing and Mental Health

The wellbeing and mental health of students is important; if you are having trouble completing your coursework, please reach out to the Wellbeing and Counseling Center. Rice University provides cost-free mental health services through the Wellbeing and Counseling Center to help you manage personal challenges that threaten your personal or academic well-being. If you believe you are experiencing unusual amounts of stress, sadness, or anxiety, the Student Wellbeing Office or the Rice Counseling Center may be able to assist you. 713-348-3311 24/7.

## Center for Academic and Professional Communication

The Center for Academic and Professional Communication offers one-on-one appointments with peer consultants who can help you improve your written, oral, and visual communication skills. You are encouraged to use this resource when working on your class assignments to make your arguments more compelling, your sentences clearer, and persistent grammatical errors nonexistent. You can schedule an appointment at <https://pwc.rice.edu/center-academic-and-professional-communication>.

## Syllabus Change Policy

This syllabus is only a guide for the course and is subject to change with advanced notice.

## Course Schedule

### Week 1 - Introduction and Latino Demographics

January 10

- Krogstad, Jens Manuel, Jeffrey S. Passel, and Luis Noe-Bustamante. 2022. “Key facts about U.S. Latinos for National Hispanic Heritage Month.” <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2022/09/23/key-facts-about-u-s-latinos-for-national-hispanic-heritage-month/>

January 12

- Burke, Timothy. “How to Read in College.” Blog post. <https://blogs.swarthmore.edu/burke/permanent-features-advice-on-academia/how-to-read-in-college/>
- Hoover Green, Amelia. 2013. “How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps.”

### Week 2 - Latina/o/x Identity

January 17

- Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Natalie Masuoka. 2010. “Brown-Utility Heuristic? The Presence and Contributing Factors of Latino Linked Fate.” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32(4): 519–31.
- Noe-Bustamante, Luis, Lauren Mora, and Mark Hugo Lopez. 2020. “About One-in-Four U.S. Hispanics Have Heard of Latinx, but Just 3% Use It.” Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/11/about-one-in-four-u-s-hispanics-have-heard-of-latinx-but-just-3-use-it/>

January 19

- Zepeda-Millán, Chris, and Sophia J. Wallace. 2013. “Racialization in Times of Contention: How Social Movements Influence Latino Racial Identity.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 1(4): 510–27.

### **Week 3 - Politicized Identities: Group Consciousness and Linked Fate Among Latinos**

January 24

- Lavariega Monforti, Jessica, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2010. "The Politics of Perception: An Investigation of the Presence and Sources of Perceptions of Internal Discrimination Among Latinos\*." *Social Science Quarterly* 91(1): 245–65.
- **Sanchez, Gabriel, Natalie Masuoka, and Brooke Abrams. 2019. "Revisiting the Brown-Utility Heuristic: A Comparison of Latino Linked Fate in 2006 and 2016." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7(3): 673–83.**

January 26

- Sanchez, Gabriel R., and Edward D. Vargas. 2016. "Taking a Closer Look at Group Identity: The Link between Theory and Measurement of Group Consciousness and Linked Fate." *Political Research Quarterly* 69(1): 160–74.

### **Week 4 - Historical Analysis and Changing Demographics**

January 31

- Gutierrez, David. 1995. *Walls and Mirrors*. University of California Press. Berkeley: CA. (Chapter 1: "Legacies of Conquest.")

February 2

- **Fraga, Luis R. et al. 2010. *Latino Lives in America: Making It Home*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press. (Chapter 1: "The Growing Presence of Latinos in the U.S.")**

**Topic proposal due February 3rd at 5 pm on Canvas.**

### **Week 5 - Latino Political Behavior**

February 7

- **Alvarez, R. Michael, and Lisa García Bedolla. 2003. "The Foundations of Latino Voter Partisanship: Evidence from the 2000 Election." *The Journal of Politics* 65(1): 31–49.**

February 9 - NO CLASS. Spring Recess.

## Week 6 - Latino Partisanship, Ideology, and Public Opinion

February 14

- de la Garza, Rodolfo O., and Jeronimo Cortina. 2007. "Are Latinos Republicans But Just Don't Know It?: The Latino Vote in the 2000 and 2004 Presidential Elections." *American Politics Research* 35(2): 202–23.
- Gonzalez Juenke, Eric. 2016. "Viable Republicans or Fool's Gold? The Consequences of Confusing Latino Respondents with Latino Voters." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4(4): 598–617.

February 16

- Bejarano, Christina E. 2014. "Latino Gender and Generation Gaps in Political Ideology." *Politics & Gender* 10(1): 62–88.
- Michelson, Melissa R. 2016. "Healthy Skepticism or Corrosive Cynicism? New Insights into the Roots and Results of Latino Political Cynicism." *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 2(3): 60–77.

**List of literature due February 17th at 5 pm on Canvas.**

## Week 7 - Latino/Chicano Activism

February 21

- Zepeda-Millán, Chris. 2017. *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2: "Weapons of the Not So Weak")

February 23

- Márquez, Benjamin, and Rodolfo Espino. 2010. "Mexican American Support for Third Parties: The Case of La Raza Unida." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(2): 290–312.
- Nicholls, Walter. 2013. *The DREAMers: How the Undocumented Youth Movement Transformed the Immigrant Rights Debate*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. (Chapter 5: "Undocumented, Unafraid, and Unapologetic")

## Week 8 - Contemporary Trends and Determinants of Political Participation

February 28

- Barreto, Matt A. 2010. *Ethnic Cues: The Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Participation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. (Chapter 1: "Assessing the Role of Shared Ethnicity in Latino Political Behavior.")

- Gutierrez, Angela, Angela X. Ocampo, Matt A. Barreto, and Gary Segura. 2019. “Somos Más: How Racial Threat and Anger Mobilized Latino Voters in the Trump Era.” *Political Research Quarterly* 72(4): 960–75.

March 2

- Gershon, Sarah Allen, Adrian D. Pantoja, and J. Benjamin Taylor. 2016. “God in the Barrio?: The Determinants of Religiosity and Civic Engagement among Latinos in the United States.” *Politics and Religion* 9(1): 84–110.
- **Marschall, Melissa J., and Amanda Rutherford. 2016. “Voting Rights for Whom? Examining the Effects of the Voting Rights Act on Latino Political Incorporation.” *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3): 590–606.**

Literature review due March 3rd at 5 pm on Canvas.

## Week 9 - The Politics of Latino Catholics and Protestants

March 7

- Leal, David L. 2010. “Religion and the Political and Civic Lives of Latinos.” In *Religion and Democracy in the United States: Danger or Opportunity?* Alan Wolfe and Ira Katznelson (eds). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 10: pp. 308-352).

March 9

- Valenzuela, Ali Adam. 2014. “Tending the Flock: Latino Religious Commitments and Political Preferences.” *Political Research Quarterly* 67(4): 930–42.
- **Taylor, J. Benjamin, Sarah Allen Gershon, and Adrian D. Pantoja. 2014. “Christian America? Understanding the Link between Churches, Attitudes, and ‘Being American’ among Latino Immigrants.” *Politics and Religion* 7(2): 339–65.**

**SPRING BREAK: September 11-19**

## Week 10 - Politics of Immigration

March 21

- Barreto, Matt A., Sylvia Manzano, Ricardo Ramírez, and Kathy Rim. 2009. “Mobilization, Participation, and Solidaridad: Latino Participation in the 2006 Immigration Protest Rallies.” *Urban Affairs Review* 44(5): 736–64.



March 23

- Pérez, Efrén O. 2015. “Xenophobic Rhetoric and Its Political Effects on Immigrants and Their Co-Ethnics.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 549–64.
- Garcia-Rios, Sergio I., and Matt A. Barreto. 2016. “Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012.” *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 2(3): 78–96.

Campaign memo due February 3rd at 5 pm on Canvas.

## Week 11 - Representation

March 28

- Preuhs, Robert R. 2007. “Descriptive Representation as a Mechanism to Mitigate Policy Backlash: Latino Incorporation and Welfare Policy in the American States.” *Political Research Quarterly* 60(2): 277–92.

March 30

- Casellas, Jason P. 2009. “The Institutional and Demographic Determinants of Latino Representation.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34(3): 399–426.
- Gonzalez Juenke, Eric. 2014. “Ignorance Is Bias: The Effect of Latino Losers on Models of Latino Representation.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3): 593–603.

## Week 12 - Contemporary Voting Behavior: The Elections of 2016 and 2020

April 4

- Corral, Álvaro J., and David L. Leal. 2020. “Latinos Por Trump? Latinos and the 2016 Presidential Election.” *Social Science Quarterly* 101(3): 1115–31.
- Barreto, Matt, Albert Morales and Gary Segura. 2019. “The Brown Tide and the Blue Wave in 2018.” In Larry Sabato, Kyle Kondik, Geoffrey Skelley (eds.) *The Blue Wave*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

April 6

- Ocampo, Angela X., Sergio I. Garcia-Rios, and Angela E. Gutierrez. 2021. “Háblame de Tí: Latino Mobilization, Group Dynamics and Issue Prioritization in the 2020 Election.” *The Forum* 18(4): 531–58.

Theory and research design due April 7th at 5 pm on Canvas.

## Week 13 - How Latinos Are Perceived

April 11

- McConnaughey, Corrine M., Ismail K. White, David L. Leal, and Jason P. Casellas. 2010. "A Latino on the Ballot: Explaining Coethnic Voting Among Latinos and the Response of White Americans." *The Journal of Politics* 72(4): 1199–1211.

April 13

- Gay, Claudine. 2006. "Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 982–97.
- Ostfeld, Mara Cecilia. 2019. "The New White Flight?: The Effects of Political Appeals to Latinos on White Democrats." *Political Behavior* 41(3): 561–82.

## Week 14 - Presentations

April 18

April 20

## Final Paper - Date TBD

Due sometime between April 26th and May 2nd.