

GOV 371L: Latino/a/x Politics

Professor Marcel F. Roman

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Course Description

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Latino/a/xs and/or Hispanics are the second largest ethno-racial group in the United States at a population of 61 million as of 2019. The population is highly diverse and oftentimes difficult to define. Within the group, there are significant differences by class, national origin, partisanship, religion, gender, sexuality, race, indigeneity, immigration status and other relevant characteristics.

This class begins by interrogating the construction of the Latinx group category, the commonalities that bind the group together, and relevant intragroup dissimilarities. After, we touch on a number of topics related to Latinx political behavior. Why do Latinxs identify with the group? What kinds of political attitudes do Latinxs hold? Are Latinxs naturally beholden to a particular political party? What explains intragroup differences in Latinx political attitudes and/or behaviors? What are the sources of intragroup conflict? What are the sources of political conflict with other ethno-racial groups in the United States? How do Latinxs, particularly immigrant Latinxs, understand and begin to participate in U.S. politics?

Although this course is by no means exhaustive, and the readings will not be sufficient to cover the wide array of preexisting literature on the subject of Latinx political behavior, we will be able to learn some answers to these questions from the assigned readings.

Learning Goals

Throughout the class, students will:

- Learn how to read and evaluate academic texts

- Learn how to synthesize arguments based on threads of ideas across multiple texts
- Get a stronger sense of how academic research is conducted on the subject of Latinx political behavior
- Garner a stronger substantive expertise on Latinx political behavior and identity

A note of encouragement: This class primarily focuses on reading academic articles or texts that are typically discussed in graduate-level seminars. Some of the reading may be relatively dense, but I do not want this to scare you off from the course or the material writ large. Please come to class, discussion, or office hours with questions, comments, or concerns over the course material. Both the TA and I will gladly walk through concepts or ideas that may seem unclear. Moreover, although many of the articles you will be reading use various forms of quantitative analysis, *this is not a course on how well you can interpret data and regression models*. Instead, focus on the main ideas in the texts and the conclusions they draw from their analyses. How do the theories and ideas the readings draw on implicate the ways we might think Latinxs would behave politically? How do the conclusions of the piece along with the evidence presented comport with expectations we may have about Latinx political behavior? Stay focused on the big picture questions/ideas, and you will be well prepared for the assignments.

Class Structure

For the first two weeks we will meet on zoom for lecture and discussion (see canvas zoom links). After, lecture will be held in person. Attendance will be taken at discussion sections and will count toward your course grade. Given we are in the middle of a pandemic, I arranged with UT technical services to record in-person lectures so that you may watch/listen to lectures after out-of-class. I strongly encourage coming to lecture or watching/listening to the lectures. The lectures will provide background information, additional sources, and answers to the questions that may be posed on the short exams, reading response prompts, and final paper prompt.

Readings

You are expected to have read all the assigned reading prior to class for each week. All readings are posted on canvas in .pdf format. You will not need to purchase reading materials in this class. If there are any issues with the posted pdfs, please let myself or the TA know immediately so we can quickly resolve potential problems.

Grading

Your final grade is composed of the following components:

- Discussion Participation (10%)
- Short Exam 1 (10%)
- Short Exam 2 (10%)
- Reading Response 1 (15%)

- Reading Response 2 (15%)
- Reading Response 3 (15%)
- Final Paper (25%)

The following scale will be used to determine your overall grade in the course: A: ≥94%, A-: 90-93%, B+: 87-89%, B: 84-86%, B-: 80-83%, C+: 77-79%, C: 74-76%; C-: 70-73%; D+: 67-69%; D: 64-66%; D-: 60-63%; F: ≤60%.

Assignment Details

Reading Responses are meant to prepare you for the final paper by encouraging you to synthesize arguments based on the readings and lecture. The prompts are on the syllabus in the “course outline” section. Rubrics are also provided in the “reading response rubric” sections. No more than 2 pages for each reading response, so you may need to be concise in your writing.

Short Exams will quiz you on core concepts and ideas that we will be learning throughout the class. Short Exam 1 will be on weeks 1-6. Short Exam 2 will be on weeks 7-14. Study guides will be provided the week prior to the short exams to help you prepare for them.

The Final Paper will require you synthesize a number of core ideas across the full class. A big theme of this class is heterogeneity within the group. The final paper will test your ability to explain how heterogeneities within the Latinx group category explain Latinx political behavior.

Course Policies

Attendance

Given that we are in the middle of a pandemic, lecture attendance is not required and lectures will be recorded and posted online. However, discussion attendance is critical to your participation score.

You may make up for these course requirements ONLY in the case of sickness (requiring a doctor’s note), family emergency (requiring a Dean’s note), or religious observance (requiring prior approval from the instructor). There are no exceptions.

Note that class recordings are reserved only for students in this class for educational purposes and are protected under FERPA. The recordings should not be shared outside the class in any form. Violation of this restriction by a student could lead to Student Misconduct proceedings.

Late Assignments

Late reading responses will not be accepted. You are required to submit three readings responses, and they should be turned in by the class meeting for which the reading is assigned. You can choose which day/week you want to complete this assignment.

Late submission of the paper assignment will be accepted but you will lose 1/3 of a letter grade for each 24-hour period that you have not turned it in after the due date and time. Late assignments will be accepted for no penalty if a valid excuse is communicated to the instructor before the deadline.

Appeals

If you believe a grade you are given does not reflect your performance, you may dispute the grade in writing, explaining why you should receive a higher grade. This should be done within a week after the grade is announced and submitted after class or in office hours. I reserve the right to raise or lower your grade.

Email and Office Hours

For administrative questions and clarifications, the best way to contact me is via email. For substantive issues related to course materials, please attend my office hours. I aim to answer e-mails within 24 hours during the week. If you have not received a response in 24 hours, feel free to remind me.

I have regular office hours on Tuesdays and Thursdays. They will be on Zoom (check calendly link). If you are unable to attend at the regular time, email me so that we can find a time that works for you.

Administrative Issues

Plagiarism and Cheating

Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and are treated as such by the university. There is a zero-tolerance policy for plagiarism/cheating. If a verified case of plagiarism/cheating occurs, the student will be imposed with severe penalties, including but not limited to an automatic grade of 0 for the course. The university's policies surrounding cheating and plagiarism can be found here: <https://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/academicintegrity.php>

Students with Disabilities

This class respects and welcomes students of all backgrounds, identities, and abilities. If there are circumstances that make our learning environment and activities difficult, if you have medical information that you need to share with me, or if you need specific arrangements in case the building needs to be evacuated, please let me know. I am committed to creating an effective learning environment for all students. Any student with a documented disability who requires academic accommodations should contact Services for Students with Disabilities at 512-471-6259 (voice) or 512-410-6644 (Video Phone) as soon as possible to request an official letter outlining authorized accommodations. For more information, visit <http://ddce.utexas.edu/disability/about/>.

Preferred Name and Pronouns (She/He/They/Ze/Etc)

Class rosters are provided to the instructor with the student's legal name, unless they have added a "preferred name" with the Gender and Sexuality Center (<http://diversity.utexas.edu/genderandsexuality/publications-and-resources/>). If you prefer to be addressed by a name that is different from what appears on the official roster, or have pronoun preferences of which you would like me to be aware, please advise me early in the semester so I can adjust accordingly.

Safety and Class Participation/Masks

This class is an in-person course. When in the classroom, we will observe the following practices: we will wear masks, we will maintain distance from one another. Masks are defined as cloth coverings that cover both one's nose and mouth. One should not come to class if one is showing symptoms. All students are required to follow these rules established and enforced by the university:

- Every student must wear a cloth face-covering properly in class and in all campus buildings at all times. If a student is not wearing a cloth face-covering properly in the classroom (or any UT building), that student must leave the classroom (and building). If the student refuses to wear a cloth face covering, class will be dismissed for the remainder of the period, and the student will be subject to disciplinary action as set forth in the university's Institutional Rules/General Conduct 11-404(a)(3). Students who have a condition that precludes the wearing of a cloth face covering must follow the procedures for obtaining an accommodation working with Services for Students with Disabilities, detailed here: <https://orientation.utexas.edu/students-with-disabilities>
- Students are encouraged to participate in documented daily symptom screening. This means that each class day in which on-campus activities occur, students must upload certification from the symptom tracking app and confirm that they completed their symptom screening for that day to Canvas. Students should not upload the results of that screening, just the certificate that they completed it. If the symptom tracking app recommends that the student isolate rather than coming to class, then students must not return to class until cleared by a medical professional.
- Information regarding safety protocols with and without symptoms can be found here: https://healthyhorns.utexas.edu/coronavirus_exposure_action_chart.html

FERPA and Class Recordings

Class lectures may be recorded and posted for others to view remotely. In the event that class discussions held via Zoom are recorded, they are reserved only for students in this class for educational purposes and are protected under FERPA. The recordings should not be shared outside the class in any form. Violation of this restriction by a student could lead to Student Misconduct proceedings.

Course Outline

Week 1, Defining the Group (Jan 17-21, No Class Jan 17, MLK)

This week will touch on the complexities inherent to defining what "Latino/a/e/x" and/or "Hispanic" means. We will touch on how the group category "Latino/a/e/x" and/or "Hispanic" came to be in addition to constructions of *Latinidad*. We will touch on how these constructions may undercut an interrogation of the heterogeneities and complexities of the people and subgroups that constitute the larger category.

1. Mora, G. Cristina. *Making Hispanics*. University of Chicago Press, 2021, Introduction and Chapter. 3
2. Flores, Tatiana. "'Latinidad Is Cancelled' Confronting an Anti-Black Construct." *Latin American and Latinx Visual Culture* 3, no. 3 (2021): 58-79.

Week 2, Identity: Jan 24-28

This week will touch on why individuals may choose to identify or disidentify with the “Latino/a/e/x.” and/or “Hispanic” category, with particular attention to socializing contexts and intra-group discrimination.

1. Jiménez, Tomás R. ”Mexican immigrant replenishment and the continuing significance of ethnicity and race.” *American journal of sociology* 113, no. 6 (2008): 1527-1567.
2. Haywood, Jasmine M. ”‘Latino spaces have always been the most violent’: Afro-Latino collegians’ perceptions of colorism and Latino intragroup marginalization.” *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 30, no. 8 (2017): 759-782.

Week 3, Partisanship: Jan 31-Feb 4

This week will touch on the roots of the adoption of partisan identities (e.g. Republican, Democrat) among self-identified Latinxs. **Reading Response 1 Due Feb 4 9AM: What are some reasons from the readings and lecture that explain why individuals choose to self-identify themselves as Latino/a/x? What are some motivations from the readings and lecture that may explain why individuals would choose to dissociate from the Latino/a/x category and perhaps choose different ways of identifying themselves?**

1. Alvarez, R. Michael, and Lisa Garcia Bedolla. ”The foundations of Latino voter partisanship: Evidence from the 2000 election.” *The Journal of Politics* 65, no. 1 (2003): 31-49.
2. Bowler, Shaun, Stephen P. Nicholson, and Gary M. Segura. ”Earthquakes and aftershocks: Race, direct democracy, and partisan change.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 1 (2006): 146-159.

Week 4, Political Participation: Feb 7-11

This week will explore the motivations that compel Latinxs to participate politically (e.g. protest, vote, donate to campaigns, etc.), with a specific focus on the immigrant experience and the role of a politicized ethnic identity.

1. Ramakrishnan, S. Karthick, and Thomas J. Espenshade. ”Immigrant incorporation and political participation in the United States.” *International Migration Review* 35, no. 3 (2001): 870-909.
2. Barreto, Matt A. ”Si Se Puede! Latino candidates and the mobilization of Latino voters.” *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 3 (2007): 425-441.

Week 5, Immigration pt 1: Feb 14-18

This week will focus on the roots of “illegality,” that is the palpable feeling of deportability, in light of the post-1965 Immigration and Nationality Act context during a time of heightened immigration from Latin American countries.

1. Massey, Douglas S., and Karen A. Pren. ”Origins of the new Latino underclass.” *Race and Social Problems* 4, no. 1 (2012): 5-17.
2. Flores, René D., and Ariela Schachter. ”Who are the “illegals”? The social construction of illegality in the United States.” *American Sociological Review* 83, no. 5 (2018): 839-868.

Week 6, Immigration pt 2: Feb 21-25

This week will focus on the factors that determine whether Latinxs defend the political interests of their immigrant and undocumented immigrant co-ethnics. **Reading Response 2 Due Feb 25 9AM: On average, Latinxs tend to support the Democratic party more relative to the Republican party. Is Latinx support for Democrats an inherent feature of Latinx political behavior? Or, could Latinx support in a particular partisan direction be subject to change over time? Draw on information from the readings and lectures to substantiate your answers.**

1. Pérez, Efrén O. "Xenophobic rhetoric and its political effects on immigrants and their co-ethnics." *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 3 (2015): 549-564.
2. Cortez, David. "Latinxs in La Migra: Why they join and why it matters." *Political Research Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2021): 688-702.

Week 7, Race and *Latinidad*: Feb 28-Mar 4

This week will focus on the politics of racial heterogeneity within the Latinx category, drawing heavily from research in Afro-Latinx and Black studies. **Disbursing Short Exam Study Guide Mar 2.**

1. Hernández, Tanya Katerí. "'Too Black to be Latino/a': Blackness and Blacks as Foreigners in Latino Studies." *Latino Studies* 1, no. 1 (2003): 152-152.
2. Hooker, Juliet. "Hybrid subjectivities, Latin American mestizaje, and Latino political thought on race." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2, no. 2 (2014): 188-201.
3. López Oro, Paul Joseph. "'Ni de aquí, ni de allá': Garífuna Subjectivities and the Politics of Diasporic Belonging." (2016).
4. Lavariega Monforti, Jessica, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. "The politics of perception: An investigation of the presence and sources of perceptions of internal discrimination among Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 91, no. 1 (2010): 245-265.

Week 8, The Politics of Skin Color and *Latinidad*: Mar 7-11

This week will focus on the politics of skin color among Latinxs. We will cover research on how skin color determines one's sense of identity in addition to whether perceptions of skin color are a function of political commitments. **Short Exam Mar. 11**

1. "For many Latinos, skin color shapes their daily life and affects opportunity in America," Pew Research Center. 2021. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2021/11/04/for-many-latinos-skin-color-shapes-their-daily-life-and-affects-opportunity-in-america/>
2. Ostfeld, Mara C., and Nicole D. Yadon. "¿ Mejorando La Raza?: The Political Undertones of Latinos' Skin Color in the United States." *Social Forces* (2021).
3. Golash-Boza, Tanya, and William Darity Jr. "Latino racial choices: the effects of skin colour and discrimination on Latinos' and Latinas' racial self-identifications." *Ethnic and racial studies* 31, no. 5 (2008): 899-934.

Mar 14-18 (No Class, Spring Break)

Week 9, Inter-group politics: Mar 21-25

This week will focus on how Latinxs relate to other groups, with specific attention to the political relationship between Latinxs (Black and non-Black) and “Anglo” Black Americans.

1. Rochmes, Daniel A., and GA Elmer Griffin. ”The cactus that must not be mistaken for a pillow: White racial formation among Latinos.” In *Racializing Justice, Disenfranchising Lives*, pp. 197-213. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007.
2. McClain, Paula D., Niambi M. Carter, Victoria M. DeFrancesco Soto, Monique L. Lyle, Jeffrey D. Grynaviski, Shayla C. Nunnally, Thomas J. Scotto, J. Alan Kendrick, Gerald F. Lackey, and Kendra Davenport Cotton. ”Racial distancing in a southern city: Latino immigrants’ views of black Americans.” *The Journal of Politics* 68, no. 3 (2006): 571-584.
3. Corral, Álvaro J. ”Allies, Antagonists, or Ambivalent? Exploring Latino Attitudes about the Black Lives Matter Movement.” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 42, no. 4 (2020): 431-454.

Week 10, Hows Others Perceive “Latinxs”: Mar 28-Apr 1

This week will focus on how other groups perceive Latinxs, with specific attention to Asian and Black perceptions of Latinxs in addition to how demographic decline may shift perceptions of Latinxs among Anglo whites.

1. Abascal, Maria. ”Contraction as a response to group threat: Demographic decline and Whites’ classification of people who are ambiguously White.” *American Sociological Review* 85, no. 2 (2020): 298-322.
2. Carter, Niambi, Janelle Wong, and Lissette Gallarzo Guerrero. ”Reconsidering Group Interests: Why Black Americans Exhibit More Progressive Attitudes Toward Immigration than Asian Americans.” *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* (2021): 1-18.

Week 11, Gender: Apr 4-Apr 8

This week focuses on gendered differences in public opinion over political issues that relate to gender among Latinxs. **Critical Response 3 Due Apr 6 9AM: Historic immigrant groups to the United States that were once discriminated against have been incorporated into U.S. notions of “whiteness.” Will Latinxs “become white?” What does it mean to “become white?” What are different ways Latinxs might “become white?” What kinds of political behaviors and attitudes would we expect from the types of Latinxs that would seek to assimilate into whiteness. What types of Latinxs might “become white?”**

1. Bejarano, Christina E., Sylvia Manzano, and Celeste Montoya. ”Tracking the Latino gender gap: Gender attitudes across sex, borders, and generations.” *Politics & Gender* 7, no. 4 (2011): 521-549.
2. Holman, Mirya, Erica Podrazik, and Heather Silber Mohamed. ”Choosing choice: how gender and religiosity shape abortion attitudes among Latinos.” *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 5, no. 2 (2020): 384-411.

Week 12, Sexuality: Apr 11-Apr 15

This week focuses on how the politics of sexuality informs Latinx political behavior and attitudes, with specific attention to the term “Latinx.”

1. Vicuña, Bianca V., and Efrén O. Pérez. "New label, different identity? Three experiments on the uniqueness of Latinx." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* (2021): 1-8.
2. Mora, G. Cristina, Reuben Perez, and Nicholas Vargas. "Who Identifies as "Latinx"? The Generational Politics of Ethnoracial Labels." *Social Forces* 100, no. 3 (2022): 1170-1194.

Week 13 Religion: Apr 18-Apr 22

This week focuses on how religious heterogeneity within the Latinx group category informs Latinx political behavior

1. Kelly, Nathan J., and Jana Morgan Kelly. "Religion and Latino partisanship in the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2005): 87-95.
2. Wong, Janelle. "The evangelical vote and race in the 2016 presidential election." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 3, no. 1 (2018): 81-106.

Week 14, The Latinx Vote in 2016-2020, Apr 25-Apr 29

This week focuses on how Latinxs voted during the 2016 and 2020 election. **Disbursing Short Exam Study Guide Apr 27.**

1. Corral, Álvaro J., and David L. Leal. "Latinos por Trump? Latinos and the 2016 Presidential Election." *Social Science Quarterly* 101, no. 3 (2020): 1115-1131.
2. "New data helps explain Trump's gains among Latino voters in 2020" by Nicole Narea, Vox.com. URL: <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/22436307/catalist-equis-2020-latino-vote-trump-biden-florida-texas>
3. Haywood, Jasmine M. "Anti-Black Latino racism in an era of Trumpismo." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 30, no. 10 (2017): 957-964.

Week 15: May 1-May 6

- Short Exam 2 Review (May 1)
- Final Paper Review and Questions (May 3)
- Short Exam 2 (May 6)
- **Final paper due May 9**

Reading Response Rubric

Reading Response 1

Objective	0 Point	1 Point	2 Points	3 Points	4 Points	5 Points
Student provides 2-3 reasons ostensible Latinxs would identify with the group	Student provides no reasons	Only 1 Reason	2 reasons but unsubstantiated	2 reasons but weak substantiation (e.g. limited reference to evidence, readings, lecture, examples)	2 reasons but moderate substantiation (e.g. limited reference to evidence, readings, lecture, examples)	2 reasons but superior substantiation, with strong reference to evidence, readings, lecture, and examples.
Student provides 2-3 reasons ostensible Latinxs would <i>not</i> identify with the group	Student provides no reasons	Only 1 Reason	2 reasons but unsubstantiated	2 reasons but weak substantiation (e.g. limited reference to evidence, readings, lecture, examples)	2 reasons but moderate substantiation (e.g. limited reference to evidence, readings, lecture, examples)	2 reasons but superior substantiation, with strong reference to evidence, readings, lecture, and examples.
Student cites at least 2 readings	Student cites nothing			Student cites one reading		Student cites two readings

Reading Response 2

Objective	0 Point	1 Point	2 Points	3 Points	4 Points	5 Points
Student writes strong introduction summarizing their position (are Latinxs inherently more supportive of Democrats or not?)	No introduction		Introduction but lack of clear position and summarization of argument(s)	Introduction with a position, but lack of summarization/foreshadowing of argument(s)	Introduction with a position, summarization of argument(s)	Exceptionally well written introduction with a position, summarization of argument(s)
Student provides 2-3 reasons Latinxs are or are not inclined to support Democrats. Student provides 2-3 conditions by which Latinxs may shift partisan loyalties	No reasons	1 reason/condition on each question or less, unsubstantiated	1-2 reasons/conditions but unsubstantiated on both questions	2 reasons/conditions on both questions but weak substantiation (e.g. limited reference to evidence, readings, lecture, examples)	2 reasons/conditions on both questions but moderate substantiation (e.g. limited reference to evidence, readings, lecture, examples)	2-3 reasons/conditions on both questions but superior substantiation, with strong reference to evidence, readings, lecture, and examples.
Student cites at least 3 readings	Student cites nothing	Student cites one reading		Student cites two readings		Student cites three readings

Reading Response 3

Objective	0 Point	1 Point	2 Points	3 Points	4 Points	5 Points
Student writes strong introduction summarizing their position (will Latinxs become “white?”)	No introduction		Introduction but lack of clear position and summarization of argument(s)	Introduction with a position, but lack of summarization/foreshadowing of argument(s)	Introduction with a position, summarization of argument(s)	Exceptionally well written introduction with a position, summarization of argument(s)
Student forwards a clear, substantiated, definition of “whiteness”	Student provides no definition or an unclear one in light of lecture and readings	Student provides a clear and substantiated definition of whiteness				
Student forwards a clear characterization of how Latinxs “become white”	Student provides no or weak characterization of how Latinxs “become white”	Student provides a strong explanation of how Latinxs could “become white”				
Student forwards 2-3 kinds of political behaviors/attitudes of Latinxs that may “become white.”	Student provides no description of behaviors/attitudes of Latinxs that may “become white”	Student provides weak description of behaviors/attitudes of Latinxs that may “become white”	Student provides substantiated description of behaviors/attitudes of Latinxs that may “become white”			
Student characterizes the types of Latinxs that might “become white”	Student provides no example of Latinxs that may “become white”	Student provides weak description of types of Latinxs that may “become white”	Student provides substantiated description of types of Latinxs that may “become white”			
Student cites at least 3 readings	Student cites nothing	Student cites one reading		Student cites two readings	Student cites three readings	