

# GOV 1560: Latinx Politics\*

Professor Marcel F. Roman

Fall 2024

**Professor:** Dr. Marcel F. Roman

**Class Time:** Tuesday and Thursday, 1:30-2:45pm

**Classroom:** CGIS-Knafel K050

**Office:** CGIS-Knafel K422

**Email:** [mroman@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:mroman@fas.harvard.edu)

**Office Hours:** Thursdays, 9-11:30AM (use calendly link to make appointment)

**Calendly Link:** <https://calendly.com/mfr-marcel/latinx-politics-office-hours>

**Teaching Fellow:** Julius Wilson

**Office:** CGIS-Knafel K415

**TF Office Hours:** Wednesdays, 2:30-3:30PM, Thursdays, 3-4PM

**TF Email:** [juliuswilson@g.harvard.edu](mailto:juliuswilson@g.harvard.edu)

**Section 1 Location:** Northwest Bldg B106

**Section 1 Time:** Thursdays, 4:30-5:30PM

**Section 2 Location:** CGIS-South S040

**Section 2 Time:** Mondays, 4:30-5:30PM

**Calendly Link:** <https://calendly.com/juliuswilson-g/office-hours>

## 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 62 million as of 2020. 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?

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\*This syllabus is preliminary and subject to slight changes.

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, and, as a class, we may begin to generate our own answers to relevant questions posed by 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
- Learn how to use data to support arguments based on insights from readings
- 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

## Class Structure

Lecture will be held in person. Attendance will be taken and will count toward your course grade. I strongly encourage coming to lecture. The lectures will provide background information on the readings, 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 will be 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 TF know immediately so we can quickly resolve potential problems.

## Requirements and Assignment Details

Beyond presence and participation, there are 6 assignments for the course. Two reading exams, three reading responses, and a final paper that will require analysis of political public opinion data on the Latino population in the United States.<sup>1</sup>

**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 will be provided and posted on Canvas at the start of the class. No more than 3 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.

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<sup>1</sup>Although you may choose to analyze data that is not necessarily public opinion/survey data, but this decision should be done in consultation with myself and the TF.

**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 Latinx group category. The final paper will test your ability to explain how heterogeneities within the Latinx group category explain Latinx political behavior. You will supplement your argument about how dimensions of heterogeneity may affect Latinx political behavior with an analysis of Latino public opinion data. There are several sources of “off-the-shelf” data you can use to execute this project. For instance, the Pew Hispanic Surveys,<sup>2</sup> the 2006 Latino National Survey,<sup>3</sup> the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-Election Survey,<sup>4</sup> and the 2016 Latino Immigrant National Election Survey.<sup>5</sup> You may use other datasets other than the ones explicated here, but be sure to communicate to myself and the TF about the feasibility of using the dataset you may want to use for the purposes of the final project. Rubric and prompt will be posted on Canvas on Week 7. Myself and the TF will hold a session on how to conduct basic data analysis for the purposes of completing the final paper. This is a flexible final project that will allow students to explore their own questions of interest regarding Latinx political behavior.

## Grading

Your final grade is composed of the following components:

- Participation and attendance (10%)
- Reading Exam 1 (10%)
- Reading 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:  $\geq 94\%$ , 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:  $< 60\%$ .

The responsibility for missed materials is yours to make up; I'll help as I am able to and as is appropriate. **You have one unexcused absence.** More than one unexcused absence will affect your course grade. *Participation grades entail active and respectful talking and listening.*

## Rights and Responsibilities

GOV 1560 will flourish only if our rights and responsibilities are transparent, understood, respected, and adhered to. The instructor should be prepared for class, professional in attitude, constructive about feedback, and accessible and responsive to course-related issues. Students in turn are expected to be prepared for class, professional in attitude, attentive to course

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<sup>2</sup><https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/datasets/>

<sup>3</sup><https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/RCMD/studies/20862>

<sup>4</sup><https://cmpsurvey.org/2016-survey/>

<sup>5</sup><https://www.icpsr.umich.edu/web/RCMD/studies/38129>

requirements and deadlines, willing to share their views with others, open to being challenged, and active and serious about your own learning.

Generally, everyone is expected to act with honesty, integrity, and respect for others and no one should tolerate harassment, disrespect, or an environment unconducive to learning. Please also follow a few "house rules" critical to an equitable and effective learning environment:

- Deadlines: Incomplete grades, changes or extensions on written assignments need to be approved. The best way to avoid scheduling conflicts, heavy workloads, and last-minute deadlines is to plan ahead!
- Plagiarism and cheating: Representing someone else's work as your own or borrowing someone else's insights and arguments without proper acknowledgment and citation, or having your work done by someone else (or AI), or other form of plagiarism and cheating will not be tolerated. Avoid an automatic "F" for the class and further disciplinary action. Honor your name and take pride in the work that you associate with it.
- Accommodations: All necessary and reasonable requests for accommodations will be addressed; every student should have the fullest access and opportunity to participate and thrive in this class regardless of visible or invisible disability. If you require accommodations, please notify me as soon as possible and no later than the third week of class.
- Names and Pronouns: Let me know your preferred name, pronunciation, and what pronoun you go by or prefer (e.g., he/she/they/ze).

## Artificial Intelligence

This course encourages students to explore the use of generative artificial intelligence (GAI) tools such as ChatGPT for all assignments and assessments. Any such use **must be appropriately acknowledged and cited**. It is each student's responsibility to assess the validity and applicability of any GAI output that is submitted; you bear the final responsibility. Violations of this policy will be considered academic misconduct. We draw your attention to the fact that different classes at Harvard could implement different AI policies, and it is the student's responsibility to conform to expectations for each course.

- If you use AI, cite it and report that pieces of your writing/assignments are Chat-GPT output. If you do not cite the usage of AI, it may be grounds for academic misconduct. Be as cautious as you can, when in doubt, cite the use of AI.
- If you rely entirely on AI without generating original ideas, it may be difficult to get an A in the writing assignments, which are meant to encourage critical thinking and the development of new arguments influenced by text yet simultaneously divorced from what you have already read and saw in lecture. Getting an A requires more than rote regurgitation of text material.
- If you rely on AI for coding, be very careful, it can make mistakes.

## 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 and send another email.

I have regular office hours on Thursdays 9-11:30AM unless otherwise communicated via e-mail or in-class. Meetings are 15 minutes, so make sure to be prepared to focus on key questions you may have. If these times do not work for you, for whatever reason, send me (or Julius) an email and we may be able to figure out an alternative solution.

## Lecture Topics and Reading Assignments

### Week 1, Defining the Group: Sept. 2-6

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: Sept. 9-13

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: Sept. 16-20

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 Sept. 19 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.
3. Carlos, Roberto F. "Late to the party: on the prolonged partisan socialization process of second-generation Americans." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 3, no. 2 (2018): 381-408.

#### **Week 4, Political Participation: Sept. 23-27**

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.
3. Fraga, Bernard L. "Candidates or districts? Reevaluating the role of race in voter turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 60, no. 1 (2016): 97-122.
4. Zárate, Marques G., Enrique Quezada-Llanes, and Angel D. Armenta. "Se Habla Español: Spanish-language appeals and candidate evaluations in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 118, no. 1 (2024): 363-379.

#### **Week 5, Immigration: Sept. 30-Oct. 4**

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. This week will also focus on the factors that determine whether Latinxs defend the political interests of their immigrant and undocumented immigrant co-ethnics.

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.
3. 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.
4. Cortez, David. "Latinxs in La Migra: Why they join and why it matters." *Political Research Quarterly* 74, no. 3 (2021): 688-702.

5. Roman, Marcel F. "Living in the Shadow of Deportation: How Immigration Enforcement Forestalls Political Assimilation." *Political Research Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2023): 1460-1474.

### **Week 6, Race and *Latinidad*: Oct. 7-11**

This week will focus on the politics of racial heterogeneity within the Latinx category, drawing heavily from research in Afro-Latinx and Black studies. **Reading Response 2 Due Oct. 10 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. Disbursing Short Exam Study Guide Oct 8.**

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 7, The Politics of Skin Color and *Latinidad*: Oct. 14-18**

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 Oct. 15**

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.

## **Week 8, Inter-group politics: Oct. 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. Gynaviski, 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 9, Hows Others Perceive “Latinxs”: Oct 28-Nov. 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 Lisette 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 10, Gender: Nov 4-8**

This week focuses on gendered differences in public opinion over political issues that relate to gender among Latinxs. **Reading Response 3 Due Nov 7 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 11, More Gender and Sexuality: Nov 11-15**

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.
3. d'Urso, Amanda, and Marcel Roman. The X Factor: How Expanding Identity Categories Generates Political Backlash. *Working paper* (2024)

## **Week 12 Religion: Nov 18-22**

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 13, The Latinx Vote in 2016-2020, Nov. 25-29**

This week focuses on how Latinxs voted during the 2016 and 2020 election. **Disbursing Short Exam Study Guide Nov 26.**

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.
4. Fraga, Bernard L., Yamil R. Velez, and Emily A. West. "Reversion to the Mean, or Their Version of the Dream? Latino Voting in an Age of Populism." *American Political Science Review* (2024): 1-9.

## **Week 14: Dec. 2-6**

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