

Political Science 619
Racial and Ethnic Politics in the United States

Fall 2004: Tues 12-2
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Description

This course is a seminar on racial and ethnic politics in the U.S., focusing primarily on African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Whites. It is designed to explore conceptual and methodological issues, while focusing on how racial and ethnic groups shape and are shaped by the American political system. Among the topics to be covered include the meaning of race and ethnicity, the history of racial and immigration politics, prejudice, group participation and mobilization, political representation, and public opinion.

Requirements

The requirements for this seminar are: (1) Two 8 to 10 page papers critically analyzing readings from the parts of the course as set forth in the syllabus; (2) Rotating leadership of class discussions (e.g. presenting overviews of the readings as well as discussion questions); and (3) A final research proposal, 15 to 18 pages in length, outlining a research agenda on some topic related to the course. The research proposal should include a brief literature review and some set of hypotheses to be explored. In other words, it would include all the elements of a published article, except for the empirical section. Students should meet with me early in the semester to discuss the research proposal. Electronic versions of most of the reading materials are available from the library course reserves: www.lib.umich.edu/reserves/.

Books:

Required:

Carmines and Stimson: *Issue Evolution*
Dawson, Michael: *Black Visions*
Kinder and Sanders: *Divided by Color*
McAdam: *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*
Mendelberg: *The Race Card*

Recommended:

Cornell: *The Return of the Native*
Frymer: *Uneasy Alliances*
Jones-Correa: *Between Two Nations*
Kim: *Bitter Fruit*
Leighley: *Strength in Numbers*
Lieberman: *Shifting the Color Line*
Lublin: *The Paradox of Representation*
Sears, et al., eds.: *Racialized Politics*
Sonenshein: *Politics in Black and White*
Swain: *Black Faces, Black Interests*
Tate: *Black Faces in the Mirror*

Class Schedule & Readings

Sept 8 **Introduction**

Sept 16: **Race, the Law, and Social Science**

Readings:

Diamond, Jared. 1994. "Race Without Color." *Discover* 15: 82-89.

Haney-Lopez, Ian. 1996. *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*. Chapter 3 ("The Prerequisite Cases") and Chapter 5 ("The Legal Construction of Race"). New York: New York University Press.

Hirschman, Charles, Richard Alba, and Reynolds Farley. 2000. "The Meaning and Measurement of Race in the U.S. Census: Glimpses into the Future." *Demography* 37: 381-93.

Skerry, Peter. 2000. *Counting on the Census?: Race, Group Identity, and the Evasion of Politics*. Chapter 3 ("Creating Racial and Ethnic Categories"). Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Dawson, Michael, Ernest Wilson III. 1991. "Paradigms and Paradoxes: Political Science and African American Politics." In William Crotty, ed., *Political Science: Looking to the Future*. Vol. 1. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Walton, Hanes, Jr., Cheryl Miller, and Joseph P. McCormick. 1995. "Race and Political Science: The Dual Traditions of Race Relations and African American Politics." In John Dryzek, James Farr, and Stephen Leonard, eds., *Political Science in History*, ed.. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Sept 21 **Identity and Interest**

Readings:

Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Chapter 3 ("The Politicization of African-American Racial Group Interests") and Chapter 4 ("Models of African-American Racial and Economic Group Interests"). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lien, Pei-te, M. Margaret Conway, and Janelle Wong. 2004. *The Politics of Asian Americans*. Chapter 2 ("Who Am I? Mapping Ethnic Self-Identities"). New York: Routledge.

Waters, Mary C. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Chapter 2 ("Flux and Choice in American Ethnicity") and Chapter 3 ("Influences on Ancestry Choice"). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Waters, Mary C. 1999. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Chapter 3 ("Racial and Ethnic Identity Choices") and Chapter 8 ("Identities of the Second Generation"). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Citrin, Jack, Beth Reingold, and Donald P. Green. 1990. "American Identity and the Politics of Ethnic Change." *Journal of Politics* 52: 1124-54.

Sept 28

Drawing and Blurring Boundaries

Readings:

Dawson, Michael C. 2001. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. Chapter 1 (“Introduction”), Chapter 2 (Black Ideologies and Black Public Opinion), and Chapter 3 (“Visions of a Black Nation”). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ture, Kwame and Charles Hamilton. 1992 (1967). *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. Chapter 2 (“Black Power”) and Chapter 3 (“The Myths of Coalition”). NY: Vintage Books.

Alba, Richard and Victor Nee. 2003. *Remaking the American Mainstream*. Chapter 1 (“Rethinking Assimilation”) and Chapter 2 (“Assimilation Theory, Old and New”). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. *Who Are We?: The Challenges to America’s National Identity*. Chapter 8 (“Assimilation: Converts, Ampersands, and the Erosion of Citizenship”) and Chapter 9 (“Mexican Immigration and Hispanicization”). NY: Simon and Schuster.

Oct 5

Intergroup Competition & Cooperation

Readings:

LeVine, Robert A. and Donald T. Campbell. 1971. *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior*. Chapter 3 (“Realistic Group Conflict Theory”) and Chapter 8 (“Frustration-Aggression-Displacement Theory”). New York: Wiley.

Sonenshein, Raphael J. 1993. *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles*. Chapter 1 (“Overview”), Chapter 7 (“Biracial Victory”), and Chapter 14 (“Biracial Coalition Politics in Los Angeles and New York City”). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kim, Claire Jean. 2000. *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City*. Chapter 1 (“Exposing Racial Power”), Chapter 2 (“Racial Ordering”), and Chapter 4 (“The Red Apple Boycott”). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bobo, Lawrence and Vincent L. Hutchings. 1996. “Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context.” *American Sociological Review* 61:951-72.

Oct 12 **Stereotypes, Prejudice & Discrimination** (Paper 1 due)

Readings:

Jones, Edward E. and Harold Sigall. 1971. "The Bogus Pipeline: A New Paradigm for Measuring Affect and Attitude." *Psychological Bulletin* 76: 349-64.

Devine, Patricia G. 1989. "Stereotypes and Prejudice: Their Automatic and Controlled Components." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 56: 5-18.

Lapierre, Richard T. 1967. "Attitudes versus Actions." In *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement*, eds. Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. Chapter 5 ("The News Media and the Racialization of Poverty"). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Devos, Thierry and Mahzarin R. Banaji. 2004. "American = White?" Unpublished manuscript.

Sidanius, James and John R. Petrocik. 2001. "Communal and National Identity in a Multiethnic State: A Comparison of Three Perspectives." In *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*, eds. Richard D. Ashmore and Lee J. Jussim. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Rogers M. 1993. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." *American Political Science Review* 87:549-66.

Oct 26 **Racial Attitudes**

Readings:

Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chapter 2 ("The Racial Divide in Public Opinion"), Chapter 4 ("Threat and Advantage"), Chapter 5 ("Subtle Prejudice for Modern Times"), and Chapter 6 ("Matters of Principle"). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bobo, Lawrence D., James R. Kluegel, and R.A. Smith. 1997. Laissez-faire Racism: The Crystallization of a Kinder, Gentler, Antiblack Ideology. In *Racial Attitudes in the 1990's: Continuity and Change*. Edited by Steven A. Tuch and Jack K. Martin. NY: Praeger Press.

Bobo, Lawrence and James R. Kluegel. 1997. "Status, Ideology, and Dimensions of Whites' Racial Beliefs and Attitudes: Progress and Stagnation." In *Racial Attitudes in the 1990's: Continuity and Change*. Edited by Steven A. Tuch and Jack K. Martin. NY: Praeger Press.

Sidanius, James, Pam Singh, John J. Hetts, and Chris Federico. 2000. "It's Not Affirmative Action, It's the Blacks." In *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Racism in America*, eds. David O. Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sniderman, Paul M., Gretchen C. Crosby, and William G. Howell. 2000. "The Politics of Race." In *Racialized Politics: The Debate about Racism in America*, eds. David O. Sears, Jim Sidanius, and Lawrence Bobo. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nov 2 **Pressure Groups and Reparations**

Readings:

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chapter 3 (“The Political Process Model”), Chapter 7 (“The Heyday of Black Insurgency”), and Chapter 8 (“The Decline of Black Insurgency”). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lee, Taeku. 2002. *Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era*. Chapter 4 (Constituency Mail as Public Opinion) and Chapter 5 (“The Racial, Regional, and Organizational Bases of Mass Activation.”). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

X, Malcolm. 1965. *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. Pathfinder Press. “Not Just an American Problem but a World Problem.”151-181.

Hatamiya, Leslie T. 1993. *Righting a Wrong: Japanese Americans and the Passage of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988*. Chapter 1 (“The Wartime Experience”), Chapter 3 (“Chances for Success”), and Chapter 10 (“Strategy for Victory”). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Nov 9 **Campaigns, Elections, and Empowerment**

Readings:

Carmines, Edward G., and James A. Stimson. 1989. *Issue Evolution: Race And The Transformation Of American Politics*. Chapter 1 (“The Dynamics of Issue Evolution”), Chapter 2 (“The Politics of Race”), and Chapter 3 (“The Politics and Policy of Race in Congress”). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Chapter 1 (“A Theory of Racial Appeals”), Chapter 6 (“The Impact of Implicit Messages”), and Chapter 8 (“Psychological Mechanisms: The Norms Experiment”). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Valentino, Nicholas, Vincent Hutchings, and Ismail White. 2002. "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96: 75-90.

Browning, Rufus P., Dale Rogers Marshall, and David Tabb. 1984. *Protest is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics*. Chapter 2 (“Processes of Incorporation, Co-optation, and Exclusion”) and Chapter 3 (“Mobilization and Incorporation”). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bobo, Lawrence and Franklin Gilliam, Jr. 1990. “Race, Sociopolitical Participation and Black Empowerment.” *American Political Science Review*. (June, 1990). Pp. 377-394.

Nov 16

Institutional Development

Readings:

Frymer, Paul. 1999. *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America*. Chapter 1 (“Introduction”), Chapter 2 (“Competitive Parties and the ‘Invisibility’ of Captured Groups”), and Chapter 4 (“Capture Inside the Democratic Party”). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lieberman, Robert C. 1998. *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*. Chapter 1 (“Race, Institutions, and Welfare in American Political Development”), Chapter 2 (“Race, Class, and the Organization of Social Policy”), and Chapter 3 (“Old-Age Insurance”). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cornell, Stephen. 1988. *The Return of the Native*. Chapter 5 (“The Transformation of the Tribe”), Chapter 6 (“New Music, New Parties, A New Dance”), Chapter 7 (“Toward a Supratribal Consciousness”), and Chapter 8 (“The Politics of Indianness”). NY: Oxford University Press.

Nov 23

Political Participation (Paper 2 due)

Readings:

Cho, Wendy K. Tam. 1999. “Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-)Voting.” *Journal of Politics* 61:1140-55.

Jones-Correa, Michael. 1998. *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City*. Ithaca: Chapter 3 (“Explaining Participation”), Chapter 5 (“Resistance From Within”), and Chapter 9 (“Wanting In”). Cornell University Press.

Tate, Katherine. 1993. *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Elections*. Chapter 4 (“Group Resources and Black Electoral Participation”) and Chapter 5 (“Black Turnout in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Primaries and Elections”). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Leighley, Jan. 2001. *Strength in Numbers*. Chapter 1 (“Race, Class, and Political Participation”), Chapter 2 (“Mass and Minority Participation”), Chapter 6 (“Minority Political Mobilization”), and Chapter 7 (“Minority Political Participation”). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Nov 30

Representation & Redistricting

Readings:

Swain, Carol M. 1993. *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress*. Chapter 1 (“The Representation of Black Interests in Congress”), Chapter 3 (“Black Representatives in Historically Black Districts”), Chapter 8 (“White Representatives in Majority-Black Districts”), and Chapter 10 (“The Future of Black Congressional Representation”). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Katherine Tate. 2003. *Black Faces in the Mirror*. Chapter 6 (“Blacks’ Evaluations of House Members”), Chapter 7 (“Descriptive Representation and Black Political Empowerment”), and Chapter 8 (“Descriptive Representation and Trust in Government”). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lublin, David. 1997. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress*. Chapter 2 (“The History of Black and Latino Representation”), Chapter 3 (“The Election of Black and Latino Representatives”), and Chapter 6 (“Racial Redistricting and Public Policy”). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Whitby, Kenny J. 1998. *The Color of Representation: Congressional Behavior and Black Interests*. Chapter 3 (“The Quest for Equal Opportunity”) and Chapter 4 (“The Color of Congress”). University of Michigan Press.

Dec 7

Context

Readings:

Farley, Reynolds. 1999. “Racial Issues: Recent Trends in Residential Patterns and Intermarriage.” In *Diversity and Its Discontents: Cultural Conflict and Common Ground in Contemporary American Society*, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Jeffrey C. Alexander. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 85-128.

Oliver, J. Eric and Tali Mendelberg. 2000. “Reconsidering the Environmental Determinants of White Racial Attitudes.” *American Journal of Political Science* 44:574.

Glaser, James M. and Martin Gilens. 1997. “Interregional Migration and Political Resocialization: A Study of Racial Attitudes Under Pressure.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 61: 72-86.

Stein, Robert M., Stephanie Shirley Post, and Allison L. Rinden. 2000. “Reconciling Context and Contact Effects on Racial Attitudes.” *Political Research Quarterly* 53: 285-303.

Glaser, James M. 2002. “White Voters, Black Schools: Structuring Racial Choices with a Checklist Ballot.” *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 35-46.

Oliver, J. Eric. 2001. *Democracy in Suburbia*. Chapter 4 (“The Civic Paradox of Racial Segregation”). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Dec 14

Interactions with Gender & Sexuality

Readings:

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1995. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." In *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that formed the Movement*. Kimberle Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (eds.). New York: The New Press. Pp. 357-383.

Gay, Claudine and Katherine Tate. 1998. "Doubly Bound: The Impact of Gender and Race on the Politics of Black Women." *Political Psychology* 19: 169-84.

Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chapter 1 ("The Boundaries of Black Politics"), Chapter 2 ("Marginalization"), and Chapter 8 ("Willing to Serve, But Not to Lead"). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dawson, Michael C. 2001. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. Chapter 4 ("A Vision of Their Own"). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Harris-Lacewell, Melissa. 2003. *Barbershops, Bibles, and B.E.T.: Everyday Talk and Black Political Talk*. Chapter 4 ("Policing Conservatives, Believing Feminists") and Chapter 5 ("Truth and Soul"). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Research Proposal Due (Last Day of Class)