

## **PS219: RACE, ETHNICITY AND GENDER POLITICS**

### **PURPOSE OF COURSE**

This course explores major theories and methodologies examining the manners through which race, ethnicity and gender shape contemporary U.S. politics. Particular attention will be paid to the ideologies, attitudes and behaviors that shape how African American, Asian American and Latino American people—as well as women of all races and ethnicities—interact with the institutions of the American political system, as well as with one another. Themes around which this course will revolve include:

- The social construction of race, ethnicity and gender, and the meaning attached to these categories
- Both internal cohesion and conflicts within social groups, and prospects for coalition or competition between these groups
- Roles of these identities in shaping political attitudes, behavior, and policy outcomes
- Incorporation of socially marginalized groups into the American political system, and potential impediments to substantive advancement of group interests

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course will be largely centered on large group discussion of the issues and insights raised by the assigned readings. I will begin most sessions with lecturettes to provide sufficient framing to facilitate conversations. All students are expected to be active and consistent participants in discussions. Class discussion will be focused in part on students' responses to the week's discussion questions (see below), and on any inquiries, critiques or applications students or I may have in response to the readings. I intend to structure the lecturettes and ensuing conversation to advance students' understanding of: (1) the present and future directions in race, ethnicity and gender research; (2) how study of socially marginalized groups illuminates our knowledge of American political behavior, policy and institutions; and (3) how students can make their own research contributions to the literature on social groups in U.S. politics.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Attendance and participation (20%)

Weekly reflection memos (25%)

Annotated project proposal, due at end of week 4 (25%)

Annotated project, due during exam week (30%)

#### *Weekly reflection memos*

Each week you will submit a 1-2 paged double spaced memo in which you either address one or more of the discussion questions listed for the week on the syllabus, OR raise and address questions that came to mind as you engaged the week's readings. The memo is intended to facilitate class discussion. So it do not carry specific expectations. You can format them in any manner you want, i.e. paragraph, outline, or even note/free association form. Regardless of format, make every effort to comment on at least 2 of the readings as you raise or address

questions each week. **Beginning week 2, these papers are due via Canvass each day of class (Monday), by noon.**

*Research paper proposal*

You will submit a short (3-4 page, double spaced) proposal for the annotated project that you will submit at the end of the term. The components parts of the proposal will vary based upon the specific project you will submit, but proposals will generally include some combination of the following: suggested research question, methodology, a rough sketch of your hypotheses/expectations, summary of your past work on the project, and an abbreviated bibliography identifying some of the literature serving as the foundation for your project. You have considerable flexibility regarding the project you choose to advance through this course. It need only have a clear connection to race, ethnicity and/or gender. This means that you are welcome to continue a relevant project that was begun outside of this class, as long as you make substantial progress that builds on what you've begun. More details on what to include in the proposals will be provided both in-class and from direct conversation with me about your specific ideas. **Research proposals are due via Canvass by Friday Oct 23 at 5:00pm**

*Annotated project*

At the end of the term you will submit a project containing some or all elements of a completed manuscript, meaning the following: (1) tightly defined research question; (2) concise review of relevant literature; (3) testable hypotheses or general expectations; (4) research design; (5) purposeful test of the hypotheses using an appropriate methodology; and/or (6) discussion of the findings generated by the tests. Again, this can be a brand new undertaking, or a continuation of work you've begun prior to this course.

Throughout the submission, you must provide annotations (either via track changes/comments, bracketed passages, etc.) that identify specific ways in which your thinking about this project has been influenced by the readings and discussions from class.

Final projects are due **via Canvass by Monday Dec 10 (exam week) at 5:00pm.**

**READINGS**

All readings will be made available to you on the course Canvass site no later than a week prior to the scheduled class session.

Each week, you should be able to address the following questions from each reading:

- What are the main themes of the work?
- What are the main contributions of this work to our understanding of politics?
- What are the limitations of or areas for improvement for this work (focusing on its theoretical argument, hypotheses, evidence, analysis, interpretation of results, etc.)?
- What did you not understand about this work?
- What next steps can you envision to effectively build on the major contributions of this work?

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If warranted, this syllabus is subject to change.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### **Week 1 (Oct 1): Interrogating approaches to studying race and gender**

Barreto, Matt A., Lorrie Frasure-Yokley, Edward D. Vargas, and Janelle Wong. "Best practices in collecting online data with Asian, Black, Latino, and White respondents: evidence from the 2016 Collaborative Multiracial Post-election Survey." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6, no. 1 (2018): 171-180.

Figart, Deborah M. "Gender as more than a dummy variable: Feminist approaches to discrimination." *Review of Social Economy* 55, no. 1 (1997): 1-32.

Garcia, John A. "The race project: researching race in the social sciences researchers, measures, and scope of studies." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 2, no. 2 (2017): 300-346.

Junn, Jane. "Square pegs and round holes: Challenges of fitting individual-level analysis to a theory of politicized context of gender." *Politics & Gender* 3, no. 1 (2007): 124-134.

### QUESTIONS

What methods for exploring race and gender would you envision using, and why?

What does a race or gender control variable actually tell us?

- What do we presume this variable is actually indicating?
- Given that, is this marker an appropriate proxy/stand-in, or not? Why?

How mutable/flexible will race and gender categories be over the next 20 years? What policies, norms, and demographic changes influence your answer?

### **Week 2 (Oct 8): Defining, refining, and re-defining key concepts**

Crenshaw, K. W. (1995) "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color," in *Critical Race Theory: Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. Crenshaw, Peller, Thomas (editors) Free Press: pp. 357-383.

Hochschild, J and Vesla Mae Weaver. (2010). "'There's No One as Irish as Barack O'Bama': The Policy and Politics of American Multiracialism." *Perspectives on Politics*: 8: 737-759.

McClain, P. D., Johnson Carew, J. D., Walton Jr, E., & Watts, C. S. (2009). "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12: 471-485.

Murib, Zein. "Transgender: Examining an emerging political identity using three political processes." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3, no. 3 (2015): 381-397.

Tajfel, H. (1982). "Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations." *Annual review of psychology* 33.1: 1-39. [CLOSE SKIM]

### QUESTIONS

What personal factors might stimulate or inhibit group identity and/or consciousness? What factors in one's environment might shape group identity and/or consciousness?

To what extent is identity driven/shaped by a group's elites? By the social construction of identity? By the individual?

What would you say are the most important means through which group messages/meanings/norms/stereotypes are transmitted to individuals?

### **Week 3 (Oct 15): Assessing the social (and political) construction of race and gender categories**

Clemens, Elisabeth S. "Organizational repertoires and institutional change: Women's groups and the transformation of US politics, 1890-1920." *American Journal of Sociology* 98, no. 4 (1993): 755-798.

Feagin, Joe R. "The continuing significance of race: Antiracist discrimination in public places." *American Sociological Review* (1991): 101-116.

Bedolla, Lisa Garcia. "Intersections of inequality: Understanding marginalization and privilege in the post-civil rights era." *Politics & Gender* 3, no. 2 (2007): 232-248.

Kim, Claire Jean. "The racial triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics & Society* 27, no. 1 (1999): 105-138.

Molina, Natalia. "The power of racial scripts: What the history of Mexican immigration to the United States teaches us about relational notions of race." *Latino Studies* 8, no. 2 (2010): 156-175.

Sekhon, Vijay. "Civil Rights of Others: Antiterrorism, the Patriot Act, and Arab and South Asian American Rights in Post-9/11 American Society" *The Texas Journal on Civil Rights and Liberties* 8 (2003): 117. [SKIM]

### **QUESTIONS**

Can a credible empirical case be made that race or gender are *not* constructed categories carrying significant sociopolitical consequences?

How would you incorporate race and gender into your teaching of an American politics course?

What are the most productive theoretical frameworks for studying race and gender? How well equipped is political science to be conversant with those frameworks?

### **Week 4 (Oct 22): Constructing and deconstructing identity & ideology across race & gender**

Bejarano, C. (2014). "Latino Gender and Generation Gaps in Political Ideology." *Politics and Gender* 10: 62-88.

Beltrán, C. (2010). *The Trouble With Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press. [selected chapters]

Chong, D., and Dukhong Kim. (2006). "The Experiences and Effects of Economic Status Among Racial and Ethnic Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 100 (3) (August): 335-351.

Dawson, Michael C. *Black visions: The roots of contemporary African-American political ideologies*. University of Chicago Press, 2003. [Selected chapters]

Harris, F. C. "The Rise of Respectability Politics." *Dissent* 61.1 (2014): 33-37.

Jordan-Zachery, Julia S. "Am I a black woman or a woman who is black? A few thoughts on the meaning of intersectionality." *Politics & Gender* 3, no. 2 (2007): 254-263.

Junn, J, and Natalie Masuoka. (2008). "Asian American Identity: Shared Racial Status and Political Context." *Perspectives on Politics* (December): 729-740.

Lien, P. T., Margaret Conway, M., & Wong, J. (2003). "The contours and sources of ethnic identity choices among Asian Americans." *Social Science Quarterly*, 84(2), 461-481.

#### QUESTIONS

How does racial identity comport with, depart from, or disrupt conventional ideas about American (or national) identity?

Is racial group identification a stable predisposition, or is it dynamic, becoming activated when salient but dormant at other times?

#### **Week 5 (Oct 29): Group consciousness—solidarity, linked fate & politicized identity**

Dawson, M. (1994). *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press [selected chapters]

Gurin, P. (1985). "Women's Gender Consciousness." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 49, 2: 143-163.

Harnois, Catherine E. "Race, ethnicity, sexuality, and women's political consciousness of gender." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (2015): 365-386.

Masuoka, N. (2006). "Together They Become One: Examining Predictors of Panethnic Group Consciousness Among Asian Americans and Latinos." *Social Science Quarterly* 87 (5): 993-1011.

Miller, Arthur H., Patricia Gurin, Gerald Gurin, and Oksana Malanchuk. "Group consciousness and political participation." *American journal of political science* (1981): 494-511.

Parenti, M. (1967). "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification." *American Political Science Review* 61 (3) (September): 717-726. [SKIM]

Simien, E. M. (2005). "Race, gender, and linked fate." *Journal of Black Studies*, 35(5), 529-550.

#### QUESTIONS

Can the same paradigmatic approaches to race consciousness and solidarity be taken to examine gender conscious and solidarity?

What is revealed by exploring the intersection of class-based experiences and linked fate among Black Americans?

How do the ideas of acculturation and assimilation raised by this and previous weeks' readings inform your understanding of the matrix of womanhood?

Can existing frameworks of racial solidarity and group consciousness be applied to understand such dynamics among White Americans? Why or why not?

**Week 6 (Nov 5): An insurmountable divide? Race, gender & public opinion**

Branton, R. (2007). "Latino Attitudes toward Various Areas of Public Policy: The Importance of Acculturation." *Political Research Quarterly* 60.2: 293-303. [SKIM]

Frasure-Yokley, Lorrie. "Choosing the Velvet Glove: Women Voters, Ambivalent Sexism, and Vote Choice in 2016." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 3, no. 1 (2018): 3-25.

Hutchings, V. (2009) "Change or More of the Same: Evaluating Racial Attitudes in the Era of Obama" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 73, No 5. [SKIM]

Jennings, M. K. (2006). "The Gender Gap in Attitudes and Beliefs about the Place of Women in American Political Life: A Longitudinal, Cross-Generation Analysis." *Politics and Gender* 2: 193-219.

Junn, Jane. "The Trump majority: white womanhood and the making of female voters in the US." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 5, no. 2 (2017): 343-352.

Kinder, D. R., and Cindy D. Kam. (2010). *Us against Them: Ethnocentric Foundations of American Opinion*. University of Chicago Press. [selected chapters]

Lien, P. et al. "Asian Pacific-American public opinion and political participation." *Political Science & Politics* 34.03 (2001): 625-630. [SKIM]

Lien, Pei-Te. "Does the gender gap in political attitudes and behavior vary across racial groups?." *Political Research Quarterly* 51, no. 4 (1998): 869-894.

Masuoka, N. "Political Attitudes and Ideologies of Multiracial Americans: The Implications of Mixed Race in the United States." *Political Research Quarterly* 61.2 (2008): 253-267. [SKIM]

QUESTIONS

Are there any policy domains about which individuals can form opinions about absent of group considerations?

What is the utility of viewing racial/ethnic groups along one continuum? What is lost by doing this?

How do the influences of race and/or gender on public opinion and political preferences compare to the influences of ideology? Class?

**Week 7 (Nov 12): A seat at the table—Mobilization & political incorporation**

Barreto, M.; Gary M. Segura; and Nathan D. Woods. (2004). "The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 98 (1) (February): 65-75.

Bobo, L. D. & Franklin D. Gilliam, Jr. (1990). "Race, Sociopolitical Participation and Black Empowerment" *American Political Science Review*, Vol 84, No. 2.

Browning, R. P.; Dale Rogers Marshall and David H. Tabb. (1984). *Protest is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics* Ch. 2

DeSipio, L. (2011). "Immigrant Incorporation in an Era of Weak Civic Institutions: Immigrant Civic and Political Participation in the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist* 55 [9] [September]: 1189-1213.

Pantoja, A. D., Ramirez, R., & Segura, G. M. (2001). Citizens by choice, voters by necessity: Patterns in political mobilization by naturalized Latinos. *Political Research Quarterly*, 54(4), 729-750.

Group attitudes & opinion—An insurmountable divide?

Stevens, D. and Benjamin G. Bishin. (2011). "Getting Out the Vote: Minority Mobilization in a Presidential Election." *Political Behavior* 33: 113-138. [SKIM]

#### QUESTIONS

How is incorporation being defined by the readings that discuss it? Should incorporation be a goal toward which minority groups strive? Why or why not?

Do any of these readings address intersectional forces that shape the mobilization of minority groups? How would an intersectional approach alter scholastic thinking about mobilization?

How should we distinguish attempts at mobilization of minority groups that come from party elites opposed to attempts that come from community leaders from those groups?

#### **Week 8 (Nov 19): Political behavior**

Brown, Nadia E. "Political participation of women of color: An intersectional analysis." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 35, no. 4 (2014): 315-348.

Chong, D., & Rogers, R. (2005). "Racial solidarity and political participation." *Political Behavior*, 27(4), 347-374.

Cohen, Cathy J., Bulldaggers Punks, and Welfare Queens. "The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?!" *GLQ: Gay and Lesbian Quarterly* 3.

Leighley, J. E., and Arnold Vedlitz. (1999). "Race, ethnicity, and political participation: Competing models and contrasting explanations." *The Journal of Politics* 61.04: 1092-1114. [SKIM]

Junn, J. (2009). "Making Room for Women of Color: Race and Gender Categories in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election." *Politics and Gender* 5: 105-110.

Junn, J. (1999). "Participation in Liberal Democracy: The Political Assimilation of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist* 42.9: 1417-1438.

#### QUESTIONS

What ideas should guide our theoretical expectations regarding how group consciousness relates to various forms of political behavior?

Do standard SES models explain minority participation as effectively as white participation? Why or why not?

What would be the most important variables in predicting the political behavior of each racial/ethnic group—Blacks, Whites, Latinx, Asians, Indigenous? Should any variable that is common across multiple groups be expected to work differently from one group to the next? Would your answers for any of these groups differ if I specified a specific gender within each group? Why or why not?

How do race and gender shape the various stages of political behavior, below?  
Socialization→ ideological formation→ opinion and policy preference formation→  
mobilization→vote choice→additional political activity

### **Week 9 (Nov 26): Advancing, representing and responding to group interests**

Brown, Nadia E. *Sisters in the statehouse: black women and legislative decision making*. Oxford University Press, 2014. [selected chapters]

Grose, C. R. "Disentangling Constituency and Legislator Effects in Legislative Representation: Black Legislators or Black Districts?\*" *Social Science Quarterly* 86.2 (2005): 427-443.

Harris, F. C. (2012). *The Price of the Ticket: Barack Obama and the Rise and Decline of Black Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. [selected chapters]

Mansbridge, J. (1999). Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent "yes". *The Journal of politics*, 61(03), 628-657. [SKIM]

Orey, Byron D'Andrá, Wendy Smooth, Kimberly S. Adams, and Kisha Harris-Clark. "Race and gender matter: Refining models of legislative policy making in state legislatures." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28, no. 3-4 (2007): 97-119.

Smooth, W. (2011). "Standing for Women? Which Women? The Substantive Representation of Women's Interests and the Research Imperative of Intersectionality." *Politics and Gender* 7: 436-441.

Strolovitch, Dara Z. "Do interest groups represent the disadvantaged? Advocacy at the intersections of race, class, and gender." *The Journal of Politics* 68, no. 4 (2006): 894-910.

### QUESTIONS

Do the potential benefits of descriptive representation outweigh the potential costs? Is this a fair question to ask, or is this an oversimplification?

How do the decision making processes of people of color and/or women in elective office differ from those of white men?

Do people of color or women in elective office bring substantive benefits to their descriptively represented constituencies that differ from those brought about by white men? What are the best (and potentially worse) ways to assess the substantive effects of people of color and/or women in positions of institutional power?



**Week 10 (Dec 3): Coalition or conflict—intergroup relations**

Bobo, L., 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*: 951-972.

Kim, C. J., and Taeku Lee. (2001). "Interracial politics: Asian Americans and other communities of color." *Political Science & Politics* 34.03: 631-637.

Sonenshein, R. "The Dynamics of Biracial Coalitions: Crossover Politics in Los Angeles" *Western Political Quarterly* Vol 42, No 2.

Wilkinson, B. C. (2014). "Perceptions of Commonality and Latino-Black, Latino-White Relations in a Multiethnic United States." *Political Research Quarterly*: 1065912914540217.

**QUESTIONS**

What do these readings imply is the end-goal of intergroup coalitions? Thoughts on this?

Of the varying paradigmatic approaches to examining intergroup relations here, which do you find most promising? Which are most lacking?