

**POLS XXXX**  
**Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Politics in the United States**  
**FALL 2022**

**Instructor Information**

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**Course Information**

Time

Location

**Learning Outcomes**

With the election of President Barack Obama in 2008, many observers claimed that the United States had become post-racial, arguing that the election of the nation's first non-White president demonstrated that race was no longer a central orienting principle in American society. Most race and ethnicity scholars, however, contested this claim, warning that American politics would enter instead a "most-racial" era in which race and ethnicity became even more important forces structuring political institutions and elections. While race and ethnicity have always been a, if not *the*, central orienting principle in American politics, Americans have been reminded of this in the post-Obama era. With the rise of large White supremacist groups across the United States as well as the rise of movements such as Black Lives Matter calling for racial justice and reconciliation, it is increasingly apparent that race and ethnicity remain deeply important to understanding American politics and the future of American democracy.

This course will examine the role that race and ethnicity play and have played in American politics primarily through the lens of research in political science, but also borrowing from history, sociology, economics, and psychology. The course begins with the historical issues at the American founding and a discussion of racial and ethnic identity and group identity and competition. We then turn to studying how race-ethnicity interacts with linkage institutions (elections, parties, and social movements) and governing institutions (Congress, Presidency, and the Courts). The course then explores the political psychology of racism and how race-ethnicity influences political behavior. Finally, the course discusses race and policy-making.

After successfully completing this course, you will be able to:

- Understand and debate how race and ethnicity are connected to and structure American political institutions and behavior.
- Synthesize historical, sociological, economic, psychological, and political scientific theories and data on the role of race, ethnicity, and immigration on American politics.
- Demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of contemporary theoretical and methodological approaches to the social scientific study of race and ethnicity and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of these different approaches.
- Develop critical thinking, reading, and writing skills. In particular, developing the ability to integrate both theoretical arguments and empirical evidence.

## Course Readings

Haney López, Ian. 2015. *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McClain, Paula D. and Jessica D. Johnson Carew. 2018. *Can We All Just Get Along? Racial and Ethnic Minorities in American Politics, Seventh Edition*. New York: Westview Press/Routledge.

Wolbrecht, Christina, Alvin Tillery, Peri Arnold, and Rodney Hero. 2005. *The Politics of Democratic Inclusion*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Miscellaneous readings posted on the course's Sakai page and listed in the course outline below.

### Recommended (not required) texts:

Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2018. *Deep Roots: How Slavery Still Shapes Southern Politics*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Brown, Nadia. 2014. *Sisters in the Statehouse: Black Women and Legislative Decision Making*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dawson, Michael C. 1995. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Jardina, Ashley. 2019. *White Identity Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Klinker, Philip A. and Rogers M. Smith. *The Unsteady March: The Rise and Decline of Racial Equality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Masuoka, Natalie and Jane Junn. 2013. *The Politics of Belonging: Race, Public Opinion, and Immigration*. Chicago University of Chicago Press.

Wong, Janelle. 2018. *Immigrants, Evangelicals, and Politics in an Era of Demographic Change*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

## Course Requirements and Grade Distribution

(1) Seminar Participation (30% total): This course is a seminar class, meaning that instead of the instructor lecturing, we will spend class time discussing the readings. In particular, their strengths and weaknesses, how they relate to each other, and what they mean for American politics and democracy. You must all be active participants in these discussions, and that entails careful and thoughtful reading of each week's assignment. As you prepare for each class, you should think about three things:

(a) Criticisms of particular readings: are there weaknesses in the types of data or methods the authors used to test their hypotheses, in the theoretical assumptions or development of the study, or in the conclusions that the authors reach based on the evidence?

(b) How the readings relate to each other and what they tell us about American politics: How do the readings for a given week fit together (or not) and how are they related to earlier readings or current events? Taken together, what do the readings tell us about the role of race, ethnicity, and immigration in American politics and democracy?

(c) Lines of future research: What questions do these readings leave unanswered? Do they point to new directions for future research? What theories, data, or methods are needed to address these new directions/questions?

You should come to class prepared to discuss all three of these things about the readings for the week—about both the reading in general and particular articles/chapters.

(2) Outreach Project (20% total): Race and ethnicity are deeply important topics in American politics and society, but Americans are often unequipped to engage deeply with such topics. As social scientists, we must think of creative and effective ways to fill this need. This project requires you to work in groups of 2-4 to communicate an important theory/policy/finding to a wider audience outside academia. This could be a twitter thread, a TikTok, a YouTube video, a poster, a cartoon, an op-ed in a campus or local newspaper, or other similar endeavor. The point of the assignment is to critically engage with a way that race and ethnicity impact American politics and inform a broader audience about this and why it matters for democracy. I will pass out an assignment sheet with more details and a grading rubric in the coming weeks.

(3) Research Paper (50%): You will write a paper of approximately 20-25 double-spaced pages containing original research on a topic of relevance to the seminar. I expect that all of your papers will involve some sort of original data analysis. When data for your topic are not readily available, a detailed research design may fulfill the requirements, but you need to get my approval for such a paper before embarking on it. There are several pieces of this assignment:

(a) A paper proposal (approximately four pages, double-spaced) should lay out the topic of the papers, its theoretical importance, and the types of data you plan to use.

(b) Serving as a discussant for a classmate's research paper.

(c) A paper "preview" (about six to eight pages) that includes a (very) brief literature review, key hypotheses, and some initial tests of those hypotheses.

(d) A brief five to ten minute presentation of your paper to the class.

(e) The final draft of your research paper.

Grading is based on the following distribution:

Participation	30%
Outreach Project	20%
Research Paper Proposal	5%
Research Paper Discussant	5%
Research Paper Preview	10%
Research Paper Presentation	10%
Research Paper Final Draft	20%

The following scale will determine your final grade:

93% +	A
90-92%	A-
87-89%	B+
83-86%	B
80-82%	B-
77-79%	C+
73-76%	C
70-72%	C-
60-69%	D

### **Course Policies**

(1) No extensions or make-ups: There will be no extensions on papers or make-up exams except in the cases of serious illness (with a doctor's letter), deaths in the family, or university-sponsored activities (with a note from the particular university organization). Without such an excuse, anyone not taking an exam during the specified class time or not turning in a paper by the specified due date will receive a grade of zero on the exam or paper. If you need an extension, please contact me 24 hours before the due date so we can talk about an alternative timeline.

If you are having trouble managing your time and worry you will not complete assignments on time, please come talk to me or seek resources from your academic advisor and the McDonald Center, which has resources to develop better time management skills.

(2) Academic honesty: As members of the academic community, we each have a responsibility to uphold rigorous standards of integrity. Every student is thus expected to abide by Notre Dame's Undergraduate Academic Code of Honor. Among other things, that means that all of the work you do (whether on exams or in the essays) is your own and solely your own, and that when you obtain any ideas or information from other sources, you provide full citation to those sources. Students should be thoroughly familiar with the Code of Honor, located at <http://honorcode.nd.edu>. If you have any questions about the Code of Honor or academic honesty, please contact me.

(3) Be a good class citizen: Good citizenship in the classroom calls for everyone to devote their full attention to the lectures and ensuing discussion. That means silencing your cell phones, no texting, and no surfing the web. I understand that many students use their laptops or tablets for taking notes, but many also use them to tweet, snapchat, surf the web, etc. This is both sort of rude and distracting to other students. If you are using a laptop or tablet, you must sit in the first two rows of the room and you are only to use it for note-taking and review of course materials

(4) Inclusiveness: “The University of Notre Dame is committed to social justice. I share that commitment and strive to maintain a positive learning environment based on open communication, mutual respect, and non-discrimination. In this class we will not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, age, economic class, disability, veteran status, religion, sexual orientation, color or national origin. Any suggestions as to how to further such a positive and open environment will be appreciated and given serious consideration” (Statement borrowed from the Kaneb Center for Teaching and Learning).

(5) Respect: We do not know what anyone else’s experience is or has been, listen and be kind.

(6) Be prepared: Read the material and be prepared to discuss beyond the surface-level meaning. Before class, begin analyzing the material in context.

(7) Privacy Statement: Course materials (videos, assignments, readings, etc.) are for use in this course only. You may not upload them to external sites, share with another person, or post them for public commentary without my written permission.

We may record class meetings to support remote students. These recordings will be available for review upon request. The University strictly prohibits anyone from duplicating, downloading, or sharing live class recordings with anyone outside of this course, for any reason. If you need to join the class remotely via Zoom, please check surroundings first and use headphones to maintain the privacy of the course.

## Course Outline

Date	Topic	Readings (before Class)
<b>Theme 1: Foundations in Race-Ethnicity and Immigration</b>		
<b>WEEK 1</b>		
	Course Introduction and Group Identity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Cornell, Steven and Douglas Hartmann. 2005. “Conceptual Confusions and Divides: Race, Ethnicity, and the Study of Immigration.” In <i>Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States</i> (pp. 23-41). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.</li> <li>2. Merolla, Jennifer, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Chris Haynes. 2013. “ ‘Illegaly,’ ‘Undocumented,’ or ‘unauthorized’: Equivalency Frames, Issue Frames, and Public Opinion on Immigration.” <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 11(3): 789-807.</li> <li>3. Hutchings, Vincent L. and Nicholas A. Valentino. 2004. “The Centrality of Race in American Politics.” <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i>.</li> <li>4. Graves Jr., Joseph L. 2006. “What We Know and What We Don’t Know: Human Genetic Variation and</li> </ol>



		<p>One that you are proud of and one that you believe you could improve upon.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gerring, John. "<a href="#">General Advice on Social Science Writing</a>."</li> <li>Büthe, Tim. "<a href="#">Planning and writing an Analytical Empirical Paper in Political Science</a>."</li> </ol>
<b>WEEK 4</b>		
	Intergroup Competition	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>McClain, chapter 6</li> <li>Wolbrecht, chapters 2, 4.</li> </ol>
	Group Consciousness	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Multiple Authors. 2019. "Dialogue: Linked Fate and the Politics of Groups and Identities" <i>Politics, Groups, and Identities</i> 7(3): 610-694.</li> <li>Gay, Claudine, Jennifer Hochschild, and Ariel White. 2016. "Americans' Belief in Linked Fate: Does the Measure Capture the Concept?" <i>Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics</i> 1(1): 117-144.</li> </ol>
<b>Theme 2: Linkage Institutions</b>		
<b>WEEK 5</b>		
	Elections	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>McClain, chapter 3</li> <li>Wilson, David C. and Darren W. Davis. 2018. "The Racial Double Standard: Attributing Racial Motivations in Voting Behavior." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 82: 63-86.</li> <li>Fraga, Bernard L. 2016. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in voter Turnout." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 60(1): 97-122.</li> </ol>
	Group Mobilization	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nelsen, Matthew D. 2021. "Cultivating Youth Engagement: Race and the Behavioral Effects of Critical Pedagogy." <i>Political Behavior</i> (43): 751-784.</li> <li>Ramírez, Ricardo, Romelia Solano, and Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta. 2018. "Selective Recruitment or Voter Neglect? Race, Place, and Voter Mobilization in 2016." <i>Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics</i> 3(1): 156-184.</li> <li>Fraga, Bernard L., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, and Paru Shah. 2020. "One Run Leads to Another: Minority Incumbents and the emergence of Lower Ticket Minority Candidates." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 82(2): 771-775.</li> </ol>
<b>WEEK 6</b>		
	Social Movements	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wolbrecht, chapters 5, 9</li> </ol>

	Parties and Race	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Wong, Janelle. <i>Democracy's Promise: Immigrants &amp; American Civic Institutions</i>. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan press, chapters 4-7.</li> <li>3. Tillery Jr., Alvin B. 2019. "What Kind of Movement is Black Lives Matter? The View from Twitter." <i>Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics</i> 4(2): 297-323.</li> </ol> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wolbrecht, chapters 6-8</li> <li>2. Hajnal, Zoltan L. and Taeku Lee. 2011. <i>Why Americans Don't Join the Party: Race, Immigration, and the Failure (of Political Parties) to Engage the Electorate</i>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, chapters 1, 4, and 6.</li> <li>3. Fraga, Bernard and Hans J.G. Hassell. 2021. "Are Minority Candidates Penalized by Party Politics? Race, Gender, and Access to Party Support." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i>.</li> </ol>
<b>Theme 3: Governing Institutions</b>		
<b>WEEK 7</b>		
	Race and the Congress	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wolbrecht, Chapter 13</li> <li>2. Branton, Regina P. 2009. "The Importance of Race and Ethnicity in Congressional primary Elections." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 62(3): 459-473.</li> <li>3. Reingold, Beth, Kirsten Widner, and Rachel Harmon. 2020. "Legislative at the Intersections: Race, Gender, and Representation." <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 73(4): 819-833.</li> <li>4. Bratton, Kathleen A. and Kerry L Haynie. 1999. "Agenda Setting and Legislative Success in State Legislatures: The Effects of Gender and Race." <i>Journal of Politics</i> 61(3): 658-679.</li> </ol>
	Race and the Courts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wolbrecht, Chapter 11-12</li> <li>2. Peffley, Mark and Jon Hurwitz. 2010. <i>Justice in America: The Separate Realities of Blacks and Whites</i>. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 2 and 5.</li> <li>3. Abrams, David S., Marianne Bertrand, and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2012. "Do Judges Vary in Their Treatment of Race?" <i>The Journal of Legal Studies</i> 41(2): 347-383.</li> </ol>
<b>WEEK 8</b>		
	Race-Ethnicity, Immigration, and	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wolbrecht, Chapter 14</li> <li>2. Wilson, David C. and Darren W. Davis. 2018. "Appraisals of President Obama's Economic</li> </ol>

	the American Presidency	<p>Performance: Racial Resentment and Attributional Responsibility.” <i>Electoral Studies</i> 55: 62-72.</p> <p>3. Ford, Pearl K., Tekla A. Johnson, and Angie Maxwell. 2010. “ ‘Yes We Can’ or ‘Yes We Did’?: Prospective and Retrospective Change in the Obama Presidency.” <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> 40(3): 462-483.</p>
<b>Theme 4: Political Behavior</b>		
<b>WEEK 9</b>		
	Psychology of Racism	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Wilson, David C. and Darren W. Davis. 2011. “Reexamining Racial Resentment: Conceptualization and Content.” <i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science</i> 634: 117-133.</li> <li>2. Lajevardi, Nazita and Kassra A.R. Oskooi. 2018. “Old-Fashioned Racism, Contemporary Islamophobia, and the Isolation of Muslim Americans in the Age of Trump.” <i>Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics</i> 3(1): 112-152.</li> <li>3. Kam, Cindy D. and Donald R. Kinder. 2012. “Ethnocentrism as a Short-Term Force in the 2008 American Presidential Election.” <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 56(2): 326-340.</li> </ol>
	Dog-Whistle Politics	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Haney López, Ian. 2015. <i>Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class</i>. New York: Oxford University Press.</li> </ol>
<b>WEEK 10</b>		
	The Identity—Behavior Link	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Brown, Nadia E. 2014. “Political Participation of Women of Color: An Intersectional Analysis.” <i>Journal of Women, Politics &amp; Policy</i> 35(4): 315-348.</li> <li>2. Brown, Nadia. 2014. “ ‘It’s more than hair...that’s why you should care’: The Politics of Appearance for Black Women State Legislators.” <i>Politics, Groups, and Identities</i> 2(3): 295-312.</li> <li>3. Nelson, Matthew D. and Christopher D. Petsko. 2021. “Race and White Rural Consciousness.” <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>.</li> <li>4. Lien, Pei-te. 1994. “Ethnicity and Political Participation: A Comparison Between Asian and Mexican Americans.” <i>Political Behavior</i> 16: 237-264.</li> <li>5. Roman, Marcel, Hannah Walker, and Matt Barreto. 2021. “How Social Ties with Undocumented Immigrants motivate latinx Political Participation.” <i>Political Research Quarterly</i>.</li> </ol>
<b>Theme 5: Race-Ethnicity and Policymaking</b>		
<b>WEEK 11</b>		

	Voting Rights and Citizenship	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. McClain, Chapter 2</li> <li>2. Wolbrecht, Chapter 10</li> <li>3. Schuit, Sophia and Jon C. Rogowski. 2016. “Race, Representation, and the Voting Rights Act. <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 61(3): 513-526.</li> <li>4. Fraga, Bernard L. and Michael G. Miller. 2021. “Who Does Voter ID Keep from Voting?” <i>Journal of Politics</i>.</li> </ol>
<b>WEEK 12</b>		
	Representation in Policymaking	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. McClain, Chapter 4</li> <li>2. Wolbrecht, Chapter 11</li> <li>3. Hooijer, Gerda and Desmond King. 2021. “The Racialized Pandemic: Wave one of COVID-19 and the Reproduction of Global North Inequalities.” <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>.</li> <li>4. Minta, Michael D. and Nadia E. brown. 2014. “Intersecting Interests: Gender, Race, and Congressional Attention to Women’s Issues.” <i>Du Bois Review</i> 11(2): 253-272.</li> </ol>
<b>Presentations</b>		
<b>WEEK 13</b>		
	Final Research Paper Presentations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Prepare feedback for the paper you are discussing</li> <li>2. Prepare your slides and 8-12 minute presentation</li> </ol>
<b>WEEK 14</b>		
	Final Research Paper Presentations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Prepare feedback for the paper you are discussing</li> <li>2. Prepare your slides and 8-12 minute presentation</li> </ol>
<b>**FINAL PAPERS DUE—EXAM WEEK**</b>		