

**Government 319**  
**Racial and Ethnic Politics in the United States**  
**Spring 2007**

TTH 11:40am-12:55pm  
Baker Labs 135

**Professor**

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Office Hours: T 2-4pm or by appt.

**Teaching Assistants**

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**Course Web Page available through**  
<http://blackboard.cornell.edu>

This course will provide a general survey of constraints and opportunities in minority politics, focusing on tensions between separatism and assimilation, electoral politics and protest politics, immigrants and minorities, and cooperation and competition within and among minority groups. The purpose of the course is not only to pinpoint the similarities and differences of the agendas and strategies adopted by minority groups, but to indicate the interaction between “minority” politics and American politics as a whole.

**Requirements**

Students are required to write three short (*5-7 pages*) papers through the semester. The first will be due **February 23rd**, the second **March 16th**, and a third will be due **April 13<sup>th</sup>**. Each paper will allow students to focus in more depth on one of the issues raised in lecture or discussion, and should be responsive to the substantive and theoretical issues raised in class. Students are encouraged to consult with the TAs and/or professor about their ideas for the papers. In addition, there will be a scheduled *final exam* at the end of the semester during the exam period (**May 16th**).

Each paper will be worth 20% of your final grade and the final exam will count for an additional 30% of your grade. 10% of your grade will be based on your attendance and participation in class. There will be no sections. Participation in class is taken seriously-- come prepared for discussion. Do the reading!

Papers should be typed, and follow an accepted social science footnote and bibliographic style. Be careful—cite *all* your sources! Suggested page length does not include title page and bibliography. Papers will be due electronically—*by email*-- by **5:00 p.m.** of the date specified. Thereafter, papers will be considered late, and your grade will be penalized for every day they are not turned in. **Extensions may be granted only after consulting and receiving confirmation from the professor and/or TA.**

**Readings**

Some major readings are available to buy at Cornell's bookstore. These include:

Michael Dawson, Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics  
Melissa Harris-Lacewell, Barbershops, Bibles and BET (Princeton: Princeton University Press)  
Doug McAdam, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency  
C. Van Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow

All other required readings for the course are available on the course Blackboard site and hard copies of the books are on reserve at Uris Library. These readings are marked below as (e). Any reserve readings should be listed under the professor's last name (Jones-Correa) or the course name

**Sections**

There will be no sections for this course. Discussions of the material will take place during the class times.

## University Policies

### *Holidays*

We respect and uphold University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to the physically handicapped, visually, and/or hearing impaired students; plagiarism; racial, ethnic, gender, sexual preference, or religious discrimination; and all forms of harassment.

### *Disabilities*

In compliance with the Cornell University policy and equal access laws, your TA is available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that may be required for students with disabilities. *Requests for academic accommodations are to be made during the first three weeks of the semester, except in unusual circumstances, so that arrangements can be made.* Requests made just before papers or exams are due are unlikely to be honored. Students are encouraged to register with the Office of Student Disability Services to verify their eligibility for appropriate accommodations.

### *Plagiarism*

Plagiarism, or academic theft, is passing off someone else's work as your own. You are responsible for not plagiarizing, and are expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity (available at <http://www.cornell.edu/UniversityFaculty/docs/main.html>). Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student's own work. Participation in this class implies permission from students to submit their written work to services that check for plagiarism.

Please-- don't even *think* about plagiarizing. When in doubt, *always* cite the source material. If you have any questions, talk to the TAs and/or professor. Any confirmed case of plagiarism will receive an 'F' for the course, and students may be brought before the Academic Review Committee.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding course policies or other matters, ask the course TAs and/or professor.

## Course Outline and Reading Assignments

### 1/23: Introduction: Two Acts

*The 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1965 Immigration Act*

### 1/25: Thinking about 'Race'

Kenneth Prewitt, "Demography, Diversity and Democracy: The 2000 Census Story" Brookings Review, Winter 2002, 20:1 pp. 6-9. (BB)

Pew Hispanic Center, "From 200 Million to 300 Million: The Numbers Behind Population Growth" October 10, 2006. (BB)

Urban Institute, Immigration Studies Program, Brief n.2 "The Dispersal of Immigrants in the 1990s" November 2002 pp. 1-2. (BB)

Jeffrey Passel, "Estimates of the Size and Characteristics of the Undocumented Population" Pew Hispanic Center, 2005. (BB)

### 1/30 and 2/1: Racial, Ethnic Identities and Politics

*What is a 'race' or 'ethnicity'? What makes 'race' or 'ethnicity' politically relevant? What are racial/ethnic minorities? Where do ethnic categories come from and what do they mean? Are immigrants minorities?*

Howard Winant, "Race and Race Theory," Annual Review of Sociology v. 26, 2000, pp. 169-185. (BB)

Pamela Johnston Conover, "The Influence of Group Identification on Political Perception and Evaluation" Journal of Politics, 46:3 (August 1984), pp. 760-785. (BB)

Reynolds Farley, "Presentation to the President's Initiative on Race," 1998 (BB)

Lawrence Wright, "One Drop of Blood" The New Yorker, July 25, 1994 v. 70 n.. 22 (BB)

Amy Harmon, "Love You, K2a2a, Whoever You Are," January 22, 2006. (BB)

Miri Song, "Comparing Minorities' Ethnic Options" Ethnicities 1:1 pp. 57-82. (BB)

### 2/6 and 2/8: Slavery and the Constitution

*Is racism built into the fabric of the American republic? What, if anything, do is owed to populations which suffered harm?*

Pauli Murray, "The Historical Development of Race Laws in the United States," Journal of Negro Education, 22:1 (Winter 1953) pp. 4-15. (BB)

Charles Ogletree, "Repairing the Past: New Efforts in the Reparations Debate in America," 38 Harvard Civil Rights Civil Liberties Law Review 279, 317- (2003). (BB)

"Mexican Migrants Who Worked in the U.S. Push for Old Savings" New York Times, February 15, 2004 (BB)

Daryl Fears, "In Tulsa, Keeping Alive 1921s Painful Memory; Recognition, Reparations Sought for Race Riot" Washington Post, May 31, 2005. (BB)

Gregg Jones, "Apology Sought for Latino 'Repatriation' Drive in 1930s" Los Angeles Times, July 15, 2003. (BB)

**2/13 2/15: Immigration and Race**

*Does it make a difference how people came? Does it make a difference when they came?*

- Jorge Durand, Douglas Massey and Emilio Parrado, "The New Era of Mexican Migration to the United States," Journal of American History 86:2 September 1999 pp. 518-536. **(BB)**
- John Logan, "How Race Counts for Hispanic Americans" Lewis Mumford Center, State University at Albany, July 2003. **(BB)**
- Sonya Tafoya, "Shades of Belonging," Pew Hispanic Center Report, December 2004. **(BB)**
- Mary Waters, "Ethnic and Racial Identities of Second-Generation Black Immigrants in New York City" International Migration Review 28:4 Winter 1994 pp. 795-820. **(BB)**
- Aristide Zolberg, "A Century of Informality on United States-Mexico Border," Social Science Research Council, "Border Battles: The US Immigration Debates" August 2006. **(BB)**
- Wayne Cornelius, "Impacts of Border Enforcement on Unauthorized Mexican Migration to the United States," Social Science Research Council, "Border Battles: The US Immigration Debates" September 2006. **(BB)**
- Elisabeth Bumiller, "Bush Would Give Illegal Workers Broad New Rights," New York Times, January 7, 2004. **(BB)**
- Dan Balz, "Political Splits on Immigration Reflect Voters' Ambivalence" Washington Post, January 3, 2006. **(BB)**
- "Debate Over Immigration Reform" New York Times, May 25, 2006. **(BB)**

**2/20 2/22: Membership and Citizenship**

*How have the boundaries and contents of citizenship fluctuated over time?*

- C. Van Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press [1955] 2002). pp. 1-109.
- William Tuttle, "Contested Neighborhoods and Racial Violence: Prelude to the Chicago Riot of 1919," Journal of Negro History 55:4 October 1970 pp. 266-288. **(BB)**
- Aristide Zolberg, "Guarding the Gates in a World on the Move" Social Science Research Council "After September 11<sup>th</sup>" 2001. **(BB)**
- Samuel Huntington, "Why Mexico is a Problem," American Enterprise Online v. 11 December 2000. **(BB)**
- Jeanne Batalova, "Spotlight on Naturalization Trends," Migration Policy Institute, September 2006. **(BB)**
- Michele Wucker, "Civics Lessons From Immigrants" American Prospect 14:7 July 3, 2003. **(BB)**
- Jamin Raskin "Time to Give Aliens the Vote (Again)," The Nation 256:13 April 5 1993 pp. 1, 451-2. **(BB)**

*\* First Paper Due Friday 2/23 5pm \**

**2/27 3/1: Protest: Organizing From Below**

*What makes collective grassroots mobilization possible? How effective is it?*

Doug McAdam, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1982) pp. 94-145, 181-229

Melissa Harris-Lacewell, Barbershops, Bibles and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2004), ch 6, pp. 204-249.

Taeku Lee, "Black Insurgency and the Dynamics of Racial Attitudes in the United States, 1956-1964" John F. Kennedy School of Government, 1998. **(BB)**

Robert C. Smith, "Black Power and the Transformation from Protest to Policies," Political Science Quarterly 96:3 Autumn 1981, pp. 431-443. **(BB)**

"Organized Labor Has a Latino Face" Gannett News Service, January 24, 2004. **(BB)**

Ruth Milkman, "Labor and the New Immigrant Rights Movement: Lessons from California" Social Science Research Council, "Border Battles: The US Immigration Debates" September 2006. **(BB)**

**3/6 3/8: Is Minority Politics Gendered?**

*How do the politics of gender fit in with the politics of race?*

Melissa Harris-Lacewell, "Policing Conservatives, Believing Feminists: Reactions to Unpopular Ideologies in Everyday Black Talk" pp. 110-135, Chapter 4 in Barbershops, Bibles and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2004).

Jane Gruenebaum, "Women in Politics," Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science 34:2 1981, pp. 104-120. **(BB)**

Jewel Prestage, "In Quest of the African American Political Woman" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science v. 515 May 1991, pp. 88-103. **(BB)**

Deborah King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," Signs 14:1 Autumn 1988, pp. 42-72. **(BB)**

**3/13 3/15: Voting Rights**

*What was the purpose of the VRA? Has it been effective? Is it consistent with democratic principles? What are the alternatives?*

Chandler Davidson, "The Voting Rights Act: A Brief History" in Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson eds. Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective (WDC: Brookings Institution 1992) pp. 7-51. **(BB)**

Lisa Handley and Bernard Grofman, "The Impact of the Voting Rights Act on Minority Representation: Black Officeholding in Southern State Legislatures and Congressional Delegations" in Chandler Davidson and Bernard Grofman eds. Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1994) pp. 335-350 **(BB)**

Timothy O'Rourke, "The 1982 Amendments and the Voting Rights Paradox" in Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson eds. Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective (WDC: Brookings Institution 1992) pp. 85-113. **(BB)**

- Bruce Cain, "Voting Rights and Democratic Theory: Toward a Color Blind Society?" in Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson eds. Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective (WDC: Brookings Institution 1992) pp. 261-277. **(BB)**
- Lani Guinier, "Comments" in Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson eds. Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective (WDC: Brookings Institution 1992) pp. 293-292. **(BB)**
- Carol Swain, "Some Consequences of the Voting Rights Act" in Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson eds. Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective (WDC: Brookings Institution 1992) pp. 292-296. **(BB)**
- Robert C. Smith, "Black Power and the Transformation from Protest to Politics" *Political Science Quarterly* 96:3 Autumn 1983, pp. 431-443. **(BB)**
- Edward Carmines and Robert Huckfeldt, "Party Politics in the Wake of the Voting Rights Act," in Bernard Grofman and Chandler Davidson eds. Controversies in Minority Voting: The Voting Rights Act in Perspective (WDC: Brookings Institution 1992) pp. 117-134. **(BB)**
- Thomas Edsall and Mary Edsall, Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights and Taxes on American Politics (New York: WW Norton 1992) pp. 215-255. **(BB)**

*\* Second Paper Due Friday 3/16 5pm \**

**3/20 3/22: \*\* Spring Break \*\***

**3/27 3/29: Electoral Mobilization: Who Votes and Why**

*How effective has electoral mobilization been? Are there still advantages to other avenues of mobilization? When and why?*

- Melissa Harris-Lacewell, Barbershops, Bibles and BET: Everyday Talk and Black Political Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2004) pp. 1-34.
- Pei-te Lien, "Who Votes in Multiracial America? An Analysis of Voting Registration and Turnout by Race and Ethnicity, 1990-1996," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, 1998. **(BB)**
- Benjamin Highton, "Easy Registration and Voter Turnout" Journal of Politics 59:2 May 1997 pp. 565-575. **(BB)**
- Melissa Michelson, "Meeting the Challenge of Latino Voter Mobilization," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science v. 601 September 2005 pp. 85-101. **(BB)**
- Tova Wang, "African Americans, Voting Machines and Spoiled Ballots: A Challenge to Election Reform" Issue Brief, The Century Foundation, 2004. **(BB)**
- Christopher Uggen and Jeff Manza, "Democratic Contraction? Political Consequences of Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States," American Sociological Review 67:6 December 2002 pp. 777-803. **(BB)**

**4/3 4/5: The Limits of Electoral Politics: Representation**

*Does descriptive representation really help? How and what do minority representatives represent?*

- David T. Canon, "Electoral Systems and the Representation of Minority Interests in Legislatures," Legislative Studies Quarterly 24:3 August 1999, pp. 331-385. **(BB)**
- Jane Mansbridge, "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'" Journal of Politics, 61:3 August 1999 pp. 628-657. **(BB)**
- Lawrence Bobo, Franklin Gilliam, "Race, Sociopolitical Participation and Black Empowerment," American Political Science Review 84:2 June 1990 pp. 377-393. **(BB)**
- Claudine Gay, "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation" American Political Science Review 95:3 September 2001 pp. 589-602. **(BB)**
- Christine Leveaux Sharpe and James Garand, "Race, Roll Calls and Redistricting: The Impact of Race-Based Redistricting on Congressional Roll-Call" Political Research Quarterly 54:1 (March 2001) pp. 31-51. **(BB)**

#### **4/10 4/12: Coalitions and Competition**

*America's minorities are becoming more ethnically diverse. What are the implications for minority politics? Will there be one minority politics or many?*

- Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation (New York: Random House 1992) pp. 59-84. **(BB)**
- Reuel Rogers, "Black Like Who? Afro-Caribbean Immigrants, African Americans and the Politics of Group Identity," Campbell Public Affairs Institute, Syracuse University, Immigrant Incorporation Workshop, April 9, 2004. **(BB)**
- James Johnson, Walter Farrell and Chandra Guinn, "Immigration Reform and the Browning of America: Tensions, Conflicts and Community Instability in Metropolitan Los Angeles" International Migration Review Winter 1997, pp. 1055-1095. **(BB)**
- Paula McClain et al. "Racial Distancing in a Southern City: Latino Immigrants' Views of Black Americans," **(BB)**
- Jennifer Hochschild and Reuel Rogers, "Race Relations in a Diversifying Nation," Working Paper, Center for Migration and Development, Princeton University, June 1999. **(BB)**

**\*\* Third paper due Friday April 13, 5pm \*\***

#### **4/17 4/19: The Limits of Electoral Politics: Segregation and Racial Discrimination**

- Douglas Massey, "Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Conditions in U.S. Metropolitan Areas" in N. Smelser, W.J. Wilson and F. Mitchell eds. America Becoming v. 1 (Washington D.C.: National Academy Press 2001) pp. 391-434. **(BB)**
- Maria Krysan, "The Residential Preference of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?" Social Forces 80:3 March 2002 pp. 937-980. **(BB)**
- Kirstin Downey, "Disparities Found in Sub-Prime Lending" Washington Post, April 11, 2005. **(BB)**
- Vincent Hutchings and Nicholas Valentino, "The Centrality of Race in American Politics," Annual Review of Political Science 2004 v.7 pp. 383-408. **(BB)**
- Rodney Hero, "A Racial/Ethnic Diversity Interpretation of Politics and Policy in the States of the US" American Journal of Political Science 40:3 August 1996 pp. 851-871. **(BB)**
- Maria Krysan, "Prejudice, Politics and Public Opinion: Understanding the Sources of Racial Policy Attitudes" Annual Review of Sociology 2000 v. 26 pp. 135-168. **(BB)**



**4/24 4/26: Inequality**

*Is the issue in American politics class or race? Does class play a role in minority politics? Do class differences become political differences? If not, why not?*

Sarah Staveteig and Alyssa Wigton, "Racial and Ethnic Disparities : Key Findings from the National Survey of America's Families," Urban Institute, Washington DC, 2000. **(BB)**

Jennifer Hochschild, "Equality, Integration and the Lack Thereof in the United States" m.s. October 2001. **(BB)**

Nathan Glazer, "Why Americans Don't Care About Income Inequality" m.s. **(BB)**

Michael Dawson, Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1994) ch. 1, 2, 3 and 8

**5/1 5/3: Affirmative Action/Preferences**

*What is Affirmative Action? Should we support preferences and if so, on what basis?*

Linda Lopez and Adrian Pantoja, "Beyond Black and White: General Support for Race Conscious Policies among African Americans, Latinos, Asians and Whites" Political Research Quarterly 57:4 December 2004 pp. 633-642. **(BB)**

David Hollinger, "The One Drop Rule and the One Hate Rule" Daedalus Winter 2005 pp. 18-28. **(BB)**

Jonathan Glater, "College Minority Aid to All Comers" New York Times March 14, 2006. **(BB)**

Timothy Egan, "Little Asia on the Hill", New York Times, January 7, 2007. **(BB)**

Shankar Vdantam, "In Boardrooms and in Courtrooms, Diversity Makes a Difference," January 15, 2007 **(BB)**

Catherine Horn and Stella Flores, "Percent Plans in College Admissions: A Comparative Analysis of Three States' Experiences" The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University, 2003. **(BB)** *only 1-24* (skim the rest).

Marta Tienda et al. "College Attendance and the Texas Top 10 Percent Law: Permanent Contagion or Transitory Promise?" Policy Brief, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, November 2003. **(BB)**

**5/16: Final Exam 2:00pm MG165**