# GOV 390L: Comparative Race and Ethnic Politics

University of Texas at Austin Wednesday 9:00-12:00 – Batts Hall 5.102 Fall 2021

Unique #: 39235

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and Tuesday 10:00-11:30 (Virtual)

# Course Description

This graduate-level course introduces students to the principal concepts, questions, and answers in the subfield of ethnic politics. The readings and discussions will draw from both the American and comparative literatures. In this course, we will study the following four sets of topics:

- 1. Concept and Measurement
- 2. Political Behavior
- 3. Political Institutions
- 4. Group Interactions and Intersectionality

The objective of this course is fourfold. The first is to acquaint students with the theoretical literatures on race and ethnic politics. The second is to familiarize students with the process of dataset construction. The third is to train students to carry out various types of writing assignments that political scientists – or social scientists more broadly – are frequently required to perform. And the fourth is to enable students to move towards a working paper – if not a dissertation project.

## Course Requirement

Your final grade is composed of the following items. Note that we will not accept any late items.

# 0. Attendance

This is a discussion seminar. As such, you are expected to participate regularly in class discussions. For some weeks, a couple students will be responsible for helping facilitate the

discussion of that week's readings. During class, we will critique each reading assigned for that week. If you are absent for **whatever** reason, you will receive an 'F' grade for attendance that day. If you incur too many 'F's for the semester, you will fail the course.

# 1. Concept and Measurement (25%)

Political science research requires the use of dataset – even in qualitative research. There are two (legit) sources for any dataset: we either use an existing dataset or create a new one. While using an existing dataset is much easier, it is imperative that you do not just take it off the lot without looking under the hood first. You need to understand how the creators coded the data – i.e., taking a set of information (usually in words) and turning it into numbers. Likewise, when you create your own dataset, it is vital that you also document every choice decision. This ensures there is transparency for others who use your dataset in the future.

To help you appreciate the nuts and bolts that go into every dataset construction, you will be tasked with a coding assignment for the Studies in Comparative Anti-Racism (SCAR) – the anchoring project for the Politics of Race and Ethnicity (REP) Lab. The coding assignment are due on Canvas by **September 7 at 11:59pm.** This assignment is worth 15% of your grade.

As you will learn from the coding assignment, the articles available for web scraping and text analysis depends on the search terms used (i.e., the dictionary) and the newspaper sources. To this end, you will be tasked to create your own dictionary and identify the newspaper sources for a country and/or group – subject to our approval. The dictionary and news sources are due on Canvas by **September 15 at 9:15am.** 

#### 2. Political Behavior (25%)

In political science, we frequently engage in human subject research – whether it is in surveys or interviews. Such data collection methods require Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval. Here, you will be asked to practice submitting a proposal through the UT IRB system. The IRB proposal is due on Canvas by **September 29 at 9:15am.** 

You will also be asked to write a 5-7 page paper that includes a clearly defined research question about political behavior in race and ethnic politics – broadly defined; an adequate review of the relevant literature – inclusive of outside sources beyond this assigned in the class; an argument that improves of the literature – with a clear, testable hypothesis; and an appropriate research design to test the aforementioned hypothesis. This paper – due on Canvas by **October 13 at 9:15am** – is worth 15% of your grade.

# 3. Political Institutions (25%)

In political science, we submit journal articles for review, and we review for journals regularly. This peer-review process is fundamental to the research enterprise. To this end, you will be given two working papers – one by each of the Provost Early Career Fellows, Jangai Jap and Marcel Roman. One is an American; the other is in comparative – but both involve race and ethnic politics. You will be asked to review one of the two working papers (your choice). The review should (1) evaluate the importance of the theoretical and empirical contribution; (2) assess the soundness of the methodology; and (3) determine the persuasiveness of the empirical evidence. Article reviews should be approximately 750-1000 words. The review is due on Canvas October 27 at 9:15am. The review is worth 10% of your grade.

You will also be asked to write a second 5-7 page paper that includes a clearly defined research question about political institutions in race and ethnic politics – broadly defined; an adequate review of the relevant literature – inclusive of outside sources beyond this assigned in the class; an argument that improves of the literature – with a clear, testable hypothesis; and an appropriate research design to test the aforementioned hypothesis. This paper – due on Canvas by **November 10 at 9:15am** – is worth 15% of your grade.

# 4. Group Interactions and Intersectionality (25%)

In addition to journal reviews, in political science we sometimes write book manuscripts. One of the first steps for submitting a manuscript for consideration involves a book prospectus. The prospectus – and the eventual manuscript – are subject to peer review as well. Here, you will be given two book prospectuses – one by each one of us. You will be asked to review one of the two prospectuses (your choice – one American and one comparative). The review should (1) evaluate the importance of the theoretical and empirical contribution; (2) assess the soundness of the methodology; and (3) determine the persuasiveness of the empirical evidence. Reviews should be approximately 750-1000 words. The review is due on Canvas the week of Thanksgiving – we will give you flexibility on when you submit it. The review is worth 10% of your grade.

You will also be asked to write a third 5-7 page paper that includes a clearly defined research question about group interactions or intersectionality in race and ethnic politics – broadly defined; an adequate review of the relevant literature – inclusive of outside sources beyond this assigned in the class; an argument that improves of the literature – with a clear, testable hypothesis; and an appropriate research design to test the aforementioned hypothesis. This paper – due on Canvas by **December 6 at 9:15am** – is worth 15% of your grade.

#### Course Policies

#### Students with Disabilities

Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities: 512.471.6259 or http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/

#### Academic Dishonesty

"Scholastic dishonesty... includes, but is not limited to, cheating, plagiarism, collusion, falsifying academic records, and any act designed to give unfair academic advantage to the student (such as, but not limited to, submission of essentially the same written assignment for two courses without prior permission of the instructor, providing false or misleading information in an effort to receive a postponement or an extension on a test, quiz, or other assignment), or the attempt to commit such an act" (Section 11-802 (b), Institutional Rules on Student Services and Activities).

If you have any questions about what constitutes scholastic dishonesty, you should consult with me and http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs/academicintegrity.html. Any student that violates this policy will fail this course and have the details of the violation reported to Student Judicial Services.

#### Emergency Evacuation Policy

In the event of a fire or other emergency, it may be necessary to evacuate a building rapidly. Upon the activation of a fire alarm or the announcement of an emergency in a university building, all occupants of the building are required to evacuate and assemble outside. Once evacuated, no one may re-enter the building without instruction to do so from the Austin Fire Department, University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office.

Students should familiarize themselves with all the exit doors of each room and building they occupy at the university and should remember that the nearest exit routes may not be the same as the way they typically enter buildings.

Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructors in writing during the first week of class. Faculty members must then provide this information to the Fire Prevention Services office by fax (512-232-2759), with "Attn. Mr. Roosevelt Easley" written in the subject line.

Information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at http://www.utexas.edu/emergency

## Title IX Reporting

Title IX is a federal law that protects against sex and gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, sexual assault, sexual misconduct, dating/domestic violence and stalking at federally funded educational institutions. UT Austin is committed to fostering a learning and working environment free from discrimination in all its forms. When sexual misconduct occurs in our community, the university can:

- 1. Intervene to prevent harmful behavior from continuing or escalating.
- 2. Provide support and remedies to students and employees who have experienced harm or have become involved in a Title IX investigation.
- 3. Investigate and discipline violations of the university's relevant policies.

Faculty members and certain staff members are considered "Responsible Employees" or "Mandatory Reporters," which means that they are required to report violations of Title IX to the Title IX Coordinator. We are Responsible Employees and must report any Title IX related incidents that are disclosed in writing, discussion, or one-on-one. Before talking with us, or with any faculty or staff member about a Title IX related incident, be sure to ask whether they are a responsible employee. If you want to speak with someone for support or remedies without making an official report to the university, email advocate@austin.utexas.edu. For more information about reporting options and resources, visit http://titleix.utexas.edu or contact the Title IX Office at titleix@austin.utexas.edu.

#### Course Schedule

# August 25 – Defining Race and Ethnicity

What is ethnicity and race? Are the same concept or different? How do they differ from other markers of identities?

- Keita, S.O.Y., et al. 2004. "Conceptualizing human variation." *Nature Genetics* 36: S17-S20.
- Hollinger, David. 2003. "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States." *American Historical Review* 108(5): 1363-1390.
- Smedley, Audrey. 1999. Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a World View. Boulder: Westview. Chapters 1-2.
- Hutchings, Vincent L., and Nicholas A. Valentino. 2004. "The Centrality of Race in American Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 383-408.
- DaCosta, Chrissie, Steven Dixon-Smith, and Gurnam Singh. 2021. "Beyond BAME: Rethinking the politics, construction, application, and efficacy of ethnic categorization." *Stimulus Paper* Coventry University.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" Annual Review of Political Science 9: 397-424.

#### September 1 – Measurement

What is the best way to identify an individual's ethnicity and the overall ethnic composition of societies? How should we measure the effect of ethnicity or ethnic diversity on various outcomes?

- Adida, Claire L, Karen E Ferree, Daniel N Posner, and Amanda Lea Robinson.
   2016. "Who's asking? Interviewer coethnicity effects in African survey data."
   Comparative Political Studies 49(12):1630-60.
- Csata, Zsombor, Roman Hlatky, and Amy H Liu. 2020. "How to head count ethnic minorities: validity of census surveys versus other identification strategies." East European Politics:1-21.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics* 62(1): **98-103**.
- Birnir, Jóhanna K, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, James D Fearon, David D Laitin, Ted Robert Gurr, Dawn Brancati, Stephen M Saideman, Amy Pate, and Agatha S Hultquist. 2015. "Socially relevant ethnic groups, ethnic structure, and AMAR." Journal of Peace Research 52(1): 110-115.

# September 8 – Construction of Group Identification

What shapes group identification and consciousness – and how fluid is it? How are ethnic boundaries maintained – and how do they change? Does group boundary correspond to primordialist or constructivist assumptions – or are both of these approaches problematic?

[Guest Speaker: Marcel Roman]

- Tajfel, Henri, John C. Turner, William G. Austin, and Stephen Worchel. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict." *Organizational Identity* 56(65).
- Leach, Colin Wayne, Martijn Van Zomeren, Sven Zebel, Michael LW Vliek, Sjoerd
   F. Pennekamp, Bertjan Doosje, Jaap W. Ouwerkerk, and Russell Spears. 2008.
   "Group-level self-definition and self-investment." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 95(1).
- McDaniel, Eric L. 2019. "The Prophetic and the Prosperous: Religious Ideologies and the Maintenance of Group Consciousness." *Political Research Quarterly* 72: 488-503.
- Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics. *APSA-CP* 12(1): 7-22.
- Posner, Daniel. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1-3).

# September 15 – Majority Attitudes (i.e., Minority as Objects)

What explains majority attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities?

- Tesler, Michael. 2013. "The Return of Old-Fashioned Racism to White Americans' Partisan Preferences in the Early Obama Era. *Journal of Politics* 75 (01): 110-123.
- Tesler, Michael. 2012. The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Racial Attitudes and Race. *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (3): 690-704.
- Hopkins, Daniel. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition." *American Political Science Review* 104(1):40-60.
- Hopkins, Daniel J. 2014. "One language, two meanings: partisanship and responses to Spanish." *Political Communication* 31(3):421-45.
- Stephens-Dougan, LaFleur. 2016. Priming Racial Resentment without Stereotypic Cues. *Journal of Politics* 78 (3): 687-704.
- Bustikova, Lenka. 2014. "Revenge of the radical right." Comparative Political Studies 47(12):1738-1765.

# September 22 – Minority Attitudes (i.e., Minority as Subjects)

What explains minority attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities?

[Guest Speaker: Jangai Jap]

- McKenzie, Brian D., and Stella M. Rouse. 2013. "Shades of Faith: Religious Foundations of Political Attitudes among African Americans, Latinos, and Whites." *American Journal of Political Science* 57: 218-35.
- Dawson, Michael C. 2001. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Chapters 1-2).
- Harris-Lacewell, Melissa V. 2003. "The Heart of the Politics of Race: Centering Black People in the Study of White Racial Attitudes." *Journal of Black Studies* 34 (2):222-249.
- Braun, Robert. 2016. "Religious Minorities and Resistance to Genocide: The Collective Rescue of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust." *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 127-147.
- Green, Elliott. 2020. "Ethnicity, National Identity and the State: Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa." British Journal of Political Science 50(2): 757-779.

# September 29 – Participation, Mobilization, and Social Movements

What explains the salience of an ethnic marker? What leads racial and ethnic groups to mobilize politically? What are the consequences of this mobilization – for those in the minority and in the majority?

- Harris, Fredrick C., Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, and Brian D. McKenzie. 2005.
   "Macrodynamics of Black Political Participation in the Post-Civil Rights Era."
   The Journal of Politics 67: 1143-63.
- Valenzuela, Ali A., and Melissa R. Michelson. 2016. "Turnout, Status, and Identity: Mobilizing Latinos to Vote with Group Appeals." *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 615-630.
- McDaniel, Eric L. 2008. *Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (Chapters 1-2).
- Trejo, Guillermo. 2009. "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico." American Political Science Review 103(3): 323-342.
- Fox, Colm. 2018. "Candidate-centric systems and the politicization of ethnicity: evidence from Indonesia." *Democratization*.

## October 6 - Parties

How do political parties appeal to racial and ethnic groups? What explains the partisanship of racial and ethnic groups? How do we identify a party as 'racial' or 'ethnic'? Why do such parties emerge?

- Philpot, Tasha S. 2007. Race, Republicans, and the Return of the Party of Lincoln. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (Introduction and Chapter 1).
- White, Ismail K., and Chryl Nicole Laird. 2020. Steadfast Democrats: How Social Forces Shape Black Political Behavior, Princeton Studies in Political Behavior. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press (Chapter 1).
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1-2).
- Madrid, Raúl. 2009. "The Rise of Ethnopopulism in Latin America." World Politics 60(3): 475-508.

#### October 13 – Institutions

Can political institutions reduce racial and ethnic tensions? Why are certain institutions 'gentler and kinder' to minorities?

- Guinier, Lani. 1994. The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy. New York: The Free Press (Chapter 1).
- Horowitz, Donald L. 2003. "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers." Journal of Democracy 14(4): 115-126.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 96-109.
- Elkins, Zachary, and John Sides. 2007. "Can Institutions Build Unity in Multiethnic States?" American Political Science Review, Vol. 101(4): 693-708.
- Selway, Joel. 2015. "Ethnic Accommodation and Electoral Rules in Ethno-Geographically Segregated Societies: PR Outcomes under FPTP in Myanmar Elections." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 15(3): 321-360.

#### October 20 - Elections

What is racial and ethnic voting, and how widespread is it? What causes it and what are the consequences?

- Cho, Wendy Tam. 1995. "Asian A Monolithic Voting Bloc?" Political Behavior 17:223-249
- Stephens-Dougan, LaFleur. 2020. Race to the Bottom: How Racial Appeals Work in American Politics, Chicago Studies in American Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Chapter 2).

- Kam, Cindy D., and Donald R. Kinder. 2012. Ethnocentrism as a Short-Term Force in the 2008 American Presidential Election. *American Journal of Political Science* 56 (2): 326-340.
- Dunning, Thad and Lauren Harrison. 2010. "Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali." American Political Science Review 104(1): 21-39.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why
  Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi."

  American Political Science Review 98(4): 529-545.
- Carlson, Elizabeth. 2016. "Identifying and Interpreting the Sensitivity of Ethnic Voting in Africa." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(4): 837-857.

# October 27 – Descriptive Representation

What explains the representation of racial and ethnic minorities in government? Under what conditions are minorities included in executive cabinets?

- Preuhs, R. R. 2005. Descriptive Representation, Legislative Leadership, and Direct Democracy: Latino Influence on English Only Laws in the States, 1984-2002. State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 5(3), 203-224.
- Foxworth, Raymond, Amy H. Liu, and Anand Edward Sokhey. 2015. "Incorporating Native American History into the Curriculum: Descriptive Representation or Campaign Contributions?" Social Science Quarterly 96:955-69.
- Minta, Michael D. 2011. Oversight: Representing the Interests of Blacks and Latinos in Congress. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press (Chapters 1-2).
- Krook, Mona Lena and Diana Z O'Brien. 2010. "The politics of group representation: Quotas for women and minorities worldwide." *Comparative Politics* 42(3): 253-272.
- Arriola, Leonardo R and Martha C Johnson. 2014. "Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets." American Journal of Political Science 58(2): 495-510.
- Htun, Mala. 2016. Inclusion without representation in Latin America: Gender quotas and ethnic reservations. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1).

#### November 3 – Substantive Representation

Are certain political institutions more likely to recognize minority demands? Are democracies more minority-friendly than their authoritarian counterparts?

- Smith, Robert C. 1996. We Have No Leaders: African Americans in the Post-Civil Rights Era. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press (Chapter 1).
- Hero, Rodney E., and Caroline J. Tolbert. 1995. "Latinos and Substantive Representation in the U.S. House of Representatives: Direct, Indirect, or Nonexistent." *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (3):640-652.
- Liu, Amy H. 2011. "The Linguistic Effects of Political Institutions." *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 125-139.
- Liu, Amy H. 2017. "Democracy and Minority Language Recognition: Tyranny of the Majority and the Conditional Effects of Group Size" *Democratization* 24(3): 544-565.

# November 10 - Inter-Group Cooperation and Conflict

What explains when minority groups cooperate together versus when they see each other as competition in a zero-sum game?

- Benjamin, Andrea. 2017. "Coethnic endorsements, out-group candidate preferences, and perceptions in local elections." *Urban Affairs Review* 53(4):631-57.
- Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2008. "Latino Group Consciousness and Perceptions of Commonality with African Americans\*." Social Science Quarterly 89: 428-44.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond."
   World Politics 53: 362-398.
- Bracic, Ana. 2016. "Reaching the Individual: EU Accession, NGOs, and Human Rights." *American Political Science Review* 110(3):530-46.
- Adida, Claire L. 2011. "Too Close for Comfort? Immigrant Exclusion in Africa." Comparative Political Studies 44(10): 1370-1396.

## November 17 – Effects of Diversity

How dos ethnic identity affect political trust, economic development, and social trust? Under what conditions are group cleavages more salient – and how can they be muted?

- Howard, Christopher. 2007. The Welfare State Nobody Knows: Debunking Myths About U.S. Social Policy. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press (Chapter 9).
- Oliver, J. Eric, and Janelle Wong. 2003. "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 567-582.
- Easterly, William, and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112: 1203-1250.
- Habyarimana, James et al. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" American Political Science Review 101(4): 709-725.
- Liu, Amy H. 2015. Standardizing Diversity: Political Economy of Language Regimes.

• Liu, Amy H. and Elise Pizzi. 2018. "The Language of Economic Growth: A New Measure of Linguistic Heterogeneity." *British Journal of Political Science*.

# November 24 - No Class

# December 1 – Multidimensionality and Intersectionality

- Metzl, Jonathan. 2019. Dying of Whiteness: How the Politics of Racial Resentment Is Killing America's Heartland. New York: Basic Books.
- Perceptions of Threat to White Masculinity and Covid-19 in Texas (https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/blog/perceptions-threat-white-masculinity-and-covid-19-texas).
- Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Chapters 1-2).
- Selway, Joel Sawat. 2011. "The measurement of cross-cutting cleavages and other multidimensional cleavage structures." *Political Analysis* 19(1): 48-65.
- Liu, Amy H. and Jake I. Ricks. 2021. Ethnicity and Politics in Southeast Asia. Cambridge University Press.