

GOV 381L: Comparative Groups and Nations

Monday 12:00-3:00 – Batts Hall 5.102

Fall 2025

Unique #: 39725

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Office: Batts Hall 4.122
Office Hours: Wednesday 9:30-12:00

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 threefold. The first is to acquaint students with the theoretical literatures on race and ethnic politics – both in American politics and comparative politics. The second 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 third is to enable students to move towards a working paper – if not a dissertation project.

Course Requirements

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

1. Attendance

This is a discussion seminar. As such, you are expected to participate regularly in class discussions. Make sure that when you speak you are making meaningful contributions. Do not speak just to speak. 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, or do not contribute to the class discussion, 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.

2. Preliminary Examination Essays (4 × 20%)

To prepare students for preliminary exams – whether it in American politics or comparative politics – we will administer a series of preliminary exam essays. There will be four essays in total – one corresponding to each set of topics. The essay prompt will be posted on Canvas at the end of class on **September 15, October 6, November 3, and December 8**. You have three

hours to answer the essay. To mimic the actual exam, the essay is in principle closed notes. Of course, we cannot enforce it, and thus, this is on the honor system. You have one week after the prompt is posted to submit the essay.

3. Final Paper (20%)

A final paper – inclusive of literature review, theory, research design, and empirical analysis – is required in this course. Our objective is not to make you write a new paper for the sole purpose of writing a paper for this course. Instead, it is to help further an ongoing project – whether solo-authored or co-authored – towards publication in a political science journal. If you are a first year, you may work on the project that you are working on in Scope and Methods. If you are a second year, you may work on your second year paper or another project. All we ask is that the paper must have some relevance to race and/or ethnicity. The final paper is due **December 8** by the start of class.

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 and Studying Race and Ethnicity

What is race versus ethnicity? Are they the same concept or different? How do they differ from other markers of identities? How have we failed and succeeded in studying race and ethnicity?

1. Keita, S.O.Y., et al. 2004. "Conceptualizing human variation." *Nature Genetics* 36: S17-S20.
2. 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.
3. Smedley, Audrey. 1999. *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a World View*. Boulder: Westview. Chapters 1-2.
4. Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424.
5. Walton, Hanes Jr. 1985. *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior*. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press. Chapter 1.
6. Shilliam, Robbie and Lester Spence. 2025. "Race, Racism, and the Crisis of Democracy in Political Science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 28: 195-211.

September 1 – No Class

September 8 – 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?

1. Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics* 62(1): 98-103.
2. 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.
3. 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.
4. Yadon, Nicole, and Mara C Ostfeld. 2020. "Shades of privilege: The relationship between skin color and political attitudes among White Americans." *Political Behavior* 42(4):1369-92.
5. Kayyali, Randa. 2013. "US Census classifications and Arab Americans: contestations and definitions of identity markers." *Journal of Ethnic and*

Migration Studies 39(8):1299-318.

6. Leslie, Gregory John, and David O. Sears. 2022. "The Heaviest Drop of Blood: Black Exceptionalism Among Multiracials." *Political Psychology* 43 (6): 1123–45.

September 15 – 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 approaches problematic?

1. Tajfel, Henri, John C. Turner, William G. Austin, and Stephen Worchel. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict." *Organizational Identity* 56(65).
2. McDaniel, Eric L. 2019. "The Prophetic and the Prosperous: Religious Ideologies and the Maintenance of Group Consciousness." *Political Research Quarterly* 72: 488-503.
3. Vicuña, Bianca V, and Efrén O Pérez. 2023. "New label, different identity? Three experiments on the uniqueness of Latinx." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 11(3):677-84.
4. Junn, Jane, and Natalie Masuoka. 2008. "Asian American identity: Shared racial status and political context." *Perspectives on Politics* 6(4):729-40.
5. Sediqe, Nura A. 2020. "Stigma Consciousness and American Identity: The case of Muslims in the United States." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 53(4):674-78.
6. Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics. *APSA-CP* 12(1): 7-22.

September 22 – Majority Attitudes (i.e., Minority as Objects)

What explains majority attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities? Is the fear of immigrants driven more by a cultural threat or a social one?

1. 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.
2. Banks, Antoine J. 2016. "Are group cues necessary? How anger makes ethnocentrism among whites a stronger predictor of racial and immigration policy opinions." *Political Behavior* 38:635-57.
3. Bustikova, Lenka. 2014. "Revenge of the radical right." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12):1738-1765.
4. Hainmueller, Jens, and Daniel J Hopkins. 2014. "Public attitudes toward immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17.
5. Lajevardi, Nazita. 2020. *Outsiders at home: The politics of American Islamophobia*: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1-3).
6. Adida, Claire L., David D. Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2010. "Identifying barriers to Muslim integration in France." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107(52):22384-90.
7. Kim, Jae Yeon, and Taeku Lee. 2023. "Contested Identity and Prejudice Against Co-ethnic Refugees: Evidence from South Korea." *Political Research Quarterly* 76(3): 1433-1444.

September 29 – Minority Attitudes (i.e., Minority as Agents)

What explains minority attitudes towards racial and ethnic minorities?

1. Dawson, Michael C. 2001. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Chapters 1-2).
2. Philpot, Tasha S. 2017. *Conservative but not Republican*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapters – TBD).
3. 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.
4. Jerfferson, Hakeem. 2023. "The Politics of Respectability and Black Americans' Punitive Attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 117 (4), 1448-1464.
5. Goodwin, Alexander and Tony E. Carey Jr. 2025. "With All Due Respect: Respectability Politics and Black Support for Police Defunding and Abolition." *Political Behavior*
6. Phoenix, D, and M Arora. 2018. "From emotion to action among Asian Americans: Assessing the roles of threat and identity in the age of Trump. *Politics, Groups & Identities*, 6, 357-372." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6(3):357-72.
7. Maxwell, Rahsaan. 2013. "The geographic context of political attitudes among

migrant-origin individuals in Europe." *World Politics* 65(1):116-55.

8. Jap, Jangai. 2024. "Can Encounters with the State Improve Minority-State Relations? Evidence From Myanmar." *Comparative Political Studies*, 57(13): 2225-2258.

October 6 – 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?

1. Phoenix, Davin L. 2019. *The Anger Gap: How Race Shapes Emotion in Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1-2 and Chapter 4).
2. Walker, Hannah L. 2020. "Targeted: The mobilizing effect of perceptions of unfair policing practices." *The Journal of Politics* 82(1):119-34.
3. Roman, Marcel, Hannah Walker, and Matt Barreto. 2022. "How social ties with undocumented immigrants motivate Latinx political participation." *Political Research Quarterly* 75(3):661-75.
4. Carlos, Roberto F. 2021. "The Politics of the Mundane." *American Political Science Review* 115(3):775-89.
5. 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.

October 13 – 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?

1. Philpot, Tasha S. 2007. *Race, Republicans, and the Return of the Party of Lincoln*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press (Introduction and Chapter 1).
2. 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).
3. Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1-2).
4. Fox, Colm A. 2018. "Is all politics local? Determinants of local and national election campaigns." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(14):1899-934.
5. Madrid, Raúl. 2009. "The Rise of Ethnopolitics in Latin America." *World Politics* 60(3): 475-508.
6. Lieberman, Robert C. and Daniel Scholzman. 2024. "Democratic Backsliding and Ethnic Politics: The Republican Party in the United States." *Comparative Political Studies*.

October 20 – Institutions

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

1. Guinier, Lani. 1994. *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy*. New York: The Free Press (Chapter 1).
2. Horowitz, Donald L. 2003. "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers." *Journal of Democracy* 14(4): 115-126.
3. Lijphart, Arend. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 96-109.
4. Elkins, Zachary, and John Sides. 2007. "Can Institutions Build Unity in Multiethnic States?" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101(4): 693-708.
5. 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.
6. Liu, Amy H. 2011. "The Linguistic Effects of Political Institutions." *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 125-139.
7. Jap Jangai. 2024. "Can Encounters with the State Improve Minority-State Relations?" *Comparative Political Studies* 57 (13): 2225–2258.

October 27 – Elections

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

1. Cho, Wendy Tam. 1995. "Asian - A Monolithic Voting Bloc?" *Political Behavior* 17:223-249
2. 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).
3. Banks, Antoine J., and Ismail K. White. 2024. *The Anger Rule: Racial Inequality and Constraints on Black Politicians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters TBD)
4. Wamble, Julian J. 2025. *We Choose You: How Black Voters Decide Which Candidates to Support*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters TBD)
5. 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.
6. 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.
7. Carlson, Elizabeth. 2016. "Identifying and Interpreting the Sensitivity of Ethnic Voting in Africa." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(4): 837-857.

November 3 –Representation

What explains the representation of racial and ethnic minorities in government? Under what conditions are minorities included in cabinets? Is there a tradeoff between racial/ethnic representation and representation of other minoritized identities? What is the difference between descriptive versus substantive representation?

1. Ocampo, Angela X. 2018. "The wielding influence of political networks: representation in majority-Latino districts." *Political Research Quarterly* 71(1):184-98.
2. Minta, Michael D. 2011. *Oversight: Representing the Interests of Blacks and Latinos in Congress*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press (Chapters 1-2).
3. Burge, Camille D., Julian J. Wamble, and Rachel R. Cuomo. 2020. "A Certain Type of Descriptive Representative? Understanding How the Skin Tone and Gender of Candidates Influences Black Politics." *Journal of Politics* 82 (4): 1596–1601.
4. 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.
5. 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.
6. 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.
7. Htun, Mala. 2016. *Inclusion without representation in Latin America: Gender quotas and ethnic reservations*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1).
8. Chew, Keith Padraic and Amy H. Liu. (forthcoming). "Gender, Ethnicity, and Intersectionality: Double-Minorities in Asian Cabinets." *Journal of Politics*.

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?

1. Benjamin, Andrea. 2017. "Coethnic endorsements, out-group candidate preferences, and perceptions in local elections." *Urban Affairs Review* 53(4):631-57.
2. Pérez, Efrén, Bianca Vicuña, and Alisson Ramos. 2023. "Shared Status, Shared Politics? Evaluating a New Pathway to Black Solidarity with Other People of Color." *Political Behavior*:1-20.
3. Bracic, Ana. 2016. "Reaching the Individual: EU Accession, NGOs, and Human Rights." *American Political Science Review* 110(3):530-46.
4. Charnysh, Volha, Christopher Lucas, and Prerna Singh. 2015. "The ties that bind: National identity salience and pro-social behavior toward the ethnic other." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(3):267-300.
5. Adida, Claire L. 2011. "Too Close for Comfort? Immigrant Exclusion in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(10): 1370-1396.
6. Williamson, Scott, Claire L Adida, Adeline Lo, Melina R Platas, Lauren Prather, and Seth H Werfel. 2021. "Family matters: How immigrant histories can promote inclusion." *American Political Science Review* 115(2):686-93.

November 17 – Effects of Diversity

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

1. Trounstein, Jessica. 2016. "Segregation and inequality in public goods." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3):709-25.
2. Easterly, William, and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112: 1203-1250.
3. Habyarimana, James et al. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 709-725.
4. Tajima, Yuhki, Krislert Samphantharak, and Kai Ostwald. 2018. "Ethnic Segregation and Public Goods: Evidence from Indonesia." *American Political Science Review* 112(3):637-53.
5. Liu, Amy H. 2015. *Standardizing Diversity: Political Economy of Language Regimes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (Chapter 1).
6. Selway, Joel Sawat. 2015. *Coalitions of the Well-Being: How Electoral Rules and Ethnic Politics Shape Health Policy in Developing Countries*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 1).

November 24 – No Class

December 1 – Race, Ethnicity, and Language

*What is language? Why is language such a common marker of a distinct race/ethnicity?
How can language facilitate racial and ethnic differences?*

1. Hopkins, Daniel J. 2014. "One language, two meanings: partisanship and responses to Spanish." *Political Communication* 31(3):421-45.
2. Ricks, Jacob I. 2020. "The Effect of Language on Political Appeal: Results from a Survey Experiment in Thailand." *Political Behavior* 42(1):83-104.
3. Kao, J. C., & Liu, A. H. (2025). Racial Identities, Linguistic Proficiency, and Public Attitudes Towards Immigrants: Evidence from Two Surveys in Taiwan. *Political Research Quarterly*, 78(2), 701-719.
4. Marquardt, Kyle L. 2021. "Language, Ethnicity, and Separatism: Survey Results from Two Post-Soviet Regions." *British Journal of Political Science*:1-21.
5. Liu, Amy H., and Elise Pizzi. 2018. "Language of Economic Growth: A New Measure of Linguistic Heterogeneity." *British Journal of Political Science* 48(4):953-80.
6. Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2005. *Press "ONE" for English: Language Policy, Public Opinion, and American Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Chapters 1 and 6).
7. Pérez, Efrén, and Margit Tavits. 2023. *Voicing Politics: How Language Shapes Public Opinion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (Chapters 1 and 5).
8. Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah and Amy H. Liu. 2023. "To Marry or Not to Marry: Gender and Interethnic Trust." *Journal of Race and Ethnic Politics*.

December 8 – Race, Ethnicity, and Religion

What is religion? When does religion manifest as a racial/ethnic marker? How can religion be politicized to create racial and ethnic differences – and vice versa?

1. Fox, Jonathan. 2021. What is religious freedom and who has it? *Social Compass*, 68(3), 321-341.
2. McDaniel, Eric L, Irfan Nooruddin, and Allyson F Shortle. 2022. *The Everyday Crusade: Christian Nationalism in American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Introduction, Chapter 1, and Chapter 3).
3. Gorski, Philip S, and Samuel L Perry. 2022. *The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press (Chapters – Introduction and Chapter 1).
4. Aziz, Sahar F. 2021. *The Racial Muslim: When Racism Quashes Religious Freedom*. Berkeley: University of California Press (Chapters – Introduction, Chapters 1-2).
5. McDaniel, Eric L. "Bibles, Bullets, & Ballots: The role of sovereign religious freedom and civic freedom in American public opinion" working paper.