

1/15/18

Harvard University
“Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration: From Obama to Trump”

U. S. in the World 15
Govt E-1555

Crosslisted in Government Department and
Department of African and African American Studies

<https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/39208>

Professor Jennifer Hochschild
Spring 2018
Tuesday and Thursday, 11:05 a.m. to 12 p.m.
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INTRODUCTION

Why did Barack Obama win the presidency twice, and what do his elections reveal about racial and ethnic politics in the United States? Why did Donald Trump succeed Obama as president – and what does *his* election reveal about racial and ethnic politics in the United States? Why is immigration such a politically contentious and complicated issue in the United States (which is, after all, a “settler society”)? Will genomic science change how Americans engage with group identity, medical treatment, and the criminal justice system? Are young adults leading the way toward a new racial order? Will incarceration, wealth disparities, poverty, or hostility to Muslims block or distort desirable changes in the American racial order? How deep is racism, and can it be alleviated or blunted?

Most important, what does the past decade of American racial politics reveal about the likely or possible futures for race and ethnicity in the United States – and how can academic analysis and political action help to shape the future that you think best?

This course addresses these questions, and suggests an array of possible answers (though never *the* correct answer!). We focus on current racial and ethnic dynamics in the United States, aiming to provide illuminating concepts, research findings, and moral arguments to help us understand the complexities of “race” in America. We will frequently place the material in a historical context to help us understand long-term trajectories and identify what is genuinely new about the Obama-Trump era. The starting premise is that the United States is balanced between movement toward greater equality and justice within and across groups, and the persistence or even expansion of the old, racially hierarchical order. We will explore that premise and the forces that promote both desirable and undesirable change—while recognizing that participants may define “desirable” and “undesirable” differently.

Course objectives include:

- Substantively: bring what are often siloed or politicized analyses of particular racial or ethnic groups into direct conversation with each other, using analytic categories, values, and evidence that call for comparison over time, across groups, and through different policy arenas;
- Pedagogically: analyze, discuss, and—yes—disagree on these highly fraught issues with mutual respect and willingness to tolerate uncomfortable arguments – trusting that we have enough good will, shared ground, concepts and categories for fruitful engagement;
- Behaviorally: take the label “U.S. in the World” seriously, by engaging in group-based research projects that move us out of the classroom into activity in the public arena—with the ultimate goal of helping students engage with these issues and political dynamics long after the class has ended.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

USW 15/Govt E-1555 has four graded requirements, each worth 25 percent of the final grade: participation in classes and discussion section, short analytic paper, group project and report, and take-home final examination. You must pass each section of the course to pass the course as a whole. *Please see the separate assignment description and rubric handout for more details on each.*

Your first (individual) paper (due February 16) will explain what your group project is, why this topic and its particular focus is important to others beside yourself, and how it fits within or responds to themes and readings in the course. It is, in short, a *research* paper about the *group project*. Your second (collective) paper will be the group project report, analyzing the results of your shared work in terms of the relevant themes, issues, and readings in the course. All members of your group will receive the same grade. (Each student will also write a brief reflection memo on the group project, referring back to your individual paper to examine what did and did not transpire as you anticipated – and whether that produced a good or bad result.) The final exam is again an individual grade, as is class participation.

For the group project, three or four students in the same discussion section will engage in their choice of one of four research endeavors:

- *Interview* several people for whom aspects of racial or ethnic dynamics are a central part of their lives. These might be immigrants or the children of immigrants, people who identify as multiracial, people whose work centrally involves issues of race, ethnicity, or immigration – or others whom you suggest. Your task will be, among other

things, to see how they experience race or ethnicity, how they work to improve some aspect of American racial or ethnic dynamics, and what political or policy goals they have.

- Run a *field experiment*, in which you will put people in relevantly different situations, controlling for other factors, and then ask questions designed to see if the difference in situation is associated with variation in important views or behaviors. For example, you might work with a partner of another race or ethnicity, and see whether people on the street respond differently to a questionnaire, or you might seek views from a random set of people about political candidates who are similar except for their racial background or type of political activism.
- Engage in *disciplined observation* of community events or other activities. You will design a codesheet with specific questions and categories of answers, and then collect data on those questions. For example, do political candidates of different races or ethnicities talk to voters differently, and are those differences associated with the race or ethnicity of the voter? Or do school board or PTA meetings in immigrant communities differ systematically from school board or PTA meetings in communities of the native-born?
- Design and implement a *survey*, in which you will present a written questionnaire to a sample population. You will identify a proposition to be tested operationalize it through questions that people can answer and response categories that make sense to them, determine an appropriate sample from a defined population and deliver the survey to them, and analyze the results. For example: do people with family members who are immigrants (or Muslim, or multiracial) hold different views about immigration, religious difference, or definitions of race than do people without those types of family members?

We offer here only examples of the types of project entailed by interviews, field experiments, observations, and surveys. Take these examples for what they are worth; much of the creativity and learning for the course occurs while working with a few classmates to come up with your own project. We will spend time in an early class period exploring these research options, and you will devote some section time throughout the course to discussing your progress.

Each group will present its findings to the whole class (or to other online sections) near the end of the semester. The final group paper is due on April 25; your reflection memo is due on April 30. The final exam will be sometime between May 3 and May 12, depending on the registrar's schedule.

Finally, attendance in section (in person for USW 15 students and via web-conference for Govt E-1555 students) is mandatory, as the discussions taking place in section will be a critical part of the course. Section attendance will contribute significantly to the final participation score.

Harvard College USW-15 policies and expectations

COLLABORATION IN WRITTEN WORK

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential to academic work. For assignments in this course, you will consult with classmates on the choice of research projects and share sources

and evidence. However, any written work you submit for individual evaluation must be the result of your own research and writing and must reflect your own approach to the topic. You must also adhere to standard citation practices in the social sciences and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have helped you with your work. If you received any help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc), you must also acknowledge this assistance.

WRITING RESOURCES

Students will be expected to write papers according to college-level social science conventions. Since we know that students will have a variety of writing backgrounds, we *encourage* participants in the course to take advantage of the wide variety of resources that Harvard offers. First, some introductory lessons are available to students GovWrites (govwrites.fas.harvard.edu) that may help you with basics like writing a thesis statement or avoiding plagiarism. Additionally, peer tutors are available for appointments and walk-in hours at the Harvard College Writing Center (<https://writingcenter.fas.harvard.edu/>). While we strongly recommend these resources, you must make a note of any such assistance you receive when you submit individual or group papers.

COURSE ACCESSIBILITY

Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability must present their Faculty Letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the professor by the end of the second week of the term. Failure to do so may result in the Course Head's inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although faculty are invited to contact AEO to discuss appropriate implementation.

Harvard Extension School Govt E-1555 policies and expectations

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

You are responsible for understanding Harvard Extension School policies on academic integrity (www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/studentconduct/academic-integrity) and how to use sources responsibly. Not knowing the rules, misunderstanding the rules, running out of time, submitting the wrong draft, or being overwhelmed with multiple demands are not acceptable excuses. There are no excuses for failure to uphold academic integrity. To support your learning about academic citation rules, please visit the Harvard Extension School Tips to Avoid Plagiarism (www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/tips-avoidplagiarism), where you'll find links to the *Harvard Guide to Using Sources* and two free online 15-minute tutorials to test your knowledge of academic citation policy. The tutorials are anonymous open-learning tools.

Writing resources

Students will be expected to write papers according to college-level social science conventions. Since we know that students will have a variety of writing backgrounds, we *encourage* participants in the course to take advantage of the wide variety of resources that Harvard offers. First, some introductory lessons are available to students GovWrites

(govwrites.fas.harvard.edu) that may help you with basics like writing a thesis statement or avoiding plagiarism. Additionally, Writing Center tutorials are available in-person and via Skype, and can be booked through DCE online services (see <https://www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/writing-center> for more information). While we strongly recommend these resources, you must make a note of any such assistance you receive when you submit individual or group papers.

Course ACCESSIBILITY

The Extension School is committed to providing an accessible academic community. The Accessibility Office offers a variety of accommodations and services to students with documented disabilities. Please visit www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/disability-services-accessibility for more information.

Online meeting expectations

Students are expected to treat web-conference class meetings as if attending class on campus. Students are also required to have their camera and microphone turned on when participating in web-conference meetings.

COURSE MATERIALS

We will be reading parts of various books. Many can be found in used bookstores or in online used bookstores, or online at Hollis. Digital versions of articles and book chapters will be in the Readings folder on the CANVAS website.

WEEKLY TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

NOTE: Readings are in rough order within each topic so you should complete about the first half of the topic's reading for the first session on that topic. However, lectures and discussions may range across all the readings.

I. *Setting the scene*

January 23: Puzzles and paradoxes of race and ethnicity in the United States

January 25: Stepping back: American racial orders

Lawrence Bobo and Camille Charles, "Race in the American Mind: From the Moynihan Report to the Obama Candidacy." *Annals*, Jan 2009

Peter Schuck, "Immigration," chap. 3 of *One Nation Undecided*. Princeton University Press, 2017

January 30: What is a race or ethnicity, anyway?

American Anthropological Association, *Statement on Race*, May 17, 1998
<http://www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=2583>

Sally Satel, "I Am a Racially Profiling Doctor," *New York Times Magazine*, May 5, 2002
<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/05/magazine/i-am-a-racially-profiling-doctor.html>

Ann Morning, "Learning Race: Students on Human Difference," chap. 5 of *The Nature of Race*, University of California Press, 2011

II. Themes

February 1: Multiple dimensions of diversity

Gary Gerstle, "The Contradictory Character of American Nationality," in *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity*, edited by Nancy Foner and Patrick Simon. Russell Sage Foundation (2015): 33-58

William Frey, *Diversity Explosion*, chaps. 2, 3, 8, 9

February 6: Small group projects

February 8 and 13: Us and them

Katherine Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment*, chaps. 3, 5, 6

Bozena Welborne, et al., *The Politics of the Headscarf in the United States*, Chapter 3: "Visibly Different"

Waters, Mary C., and Philip Kasinitz. "The war on crime and the war on immigrants: racial and legal exclusion in the twenty-first-century United States." In *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity*, edited by Nancy Foner and Patrick Simon (2015): 115-142

Christina Greer, *Black Ethnics: Race, Immigration, and the Pursuit of the American Dream*, Oxford University Press, 2013: chap. 4

February 15 and 20: Race, class, and politics

Eugene Robinson, *Disintegration*, chaps. 4, 5, 7

Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou, *The Asian American Achievement Paradox*, Russell Sage Foundation, 2015, chap. 1

Tomas Jimenez, *Replenished Ethnicity*, University of California Press, 2009, chap. 5

Shannon Monnat, "Deaths of Despair and Support for Trump in the 2016 Presidential Election," Pennsylvania State University, Dec. 4, 2016
http://aese.psu.edu/directory/smm67/Election16.pdf?wpisrc=nl_daily202&wpmm=1

February 16: First paper due, in Word or PDF, to Professor Hochschild and your TF, by 4:30 p.m.

February 22 and 27: Obama and Trump

Seth K. Goldman and Diana C. Mutz, *The Obama Effect: How the 2008 Campaign Changed White Racial Attitudes*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2014, chaps. 3, 6.

Fred Harris, *The Price of the Ticket Barack Obama and the Rise and Decline of Black Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2014, chaps. 4, 6

E.J. Dionne et al. *One Nation after Trump*, St. Martin's Press, 2017, chap. 6.

Publius Decius Mus, "The Flight 93 Election" *Claremont Review*, Sept. 5, 2016
<http://www.claremont.org/crb/basicpage/the-flight-93-election/>

III. Issues

March 1 and 6: Policing and incarceration

Michael Fortner, "The Carceral State and the Crucible of Black Politics: An Urban History of the Rockefeller Drug Laws," *Studies in American Political Development*, April 2013

Bruce Western and Becky Pettit, "Incarceration and Social Inequality," *Daedalus*, v. 139 Iss. 3, Summer 2010, pp. 8-19

Amy Lerman and Vesla Weaver, *Arresting Citizenship*. University of Chicago Press, 2014. Chaps. 6 and 7.

David Dagan, Steven M. Teles, "Locked In? Conservative Reform and the Future of Mass Incarceration," *Annals*, 2013

March 8 and 20: Immigration and Migrants

Helen Marrow, "The Difference a Decade of Enforcement Makes: Hispanic Racial Incorporation and Changing Intergroup Relations in the American South's Black Belt (2003-16)." in *The Politics of New Immigrant Destinations: Transatlantic Perspectives*, edited by Stefanie Chambers, et al. : Temple University Press, 2017: 102-20

Roberto Gonzales,. "Learning to be illegal: Undocumented youth and shifting legal contexts in the transition to adulthood." *American Sociological Review*, 2011: 602-619

George Borjas, “ The Immigration Debate We Need,” *New York Times*, Feb.. 27, 2017

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/27/opinion/the-immigration-debate-we-need.html?action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=opinion-c-col-right-region®ion=opinion-c-col-right-region&WT.nav=opinion-c-col-right-region&_r=0

Tomás Jiménez and Adam Horowitz, “When White Is Just Alright: How Immigrants Redefine Achievement and Reconfigure the Ethnoracial Hierarchy,” *American Sociological Review* 2013: 849-871

March 22 and 27: Using genomic science in medicine, law, and identity

Neil Risch et al. (2002). “Categorization of Humans in Biomedical Research: Genes, Race, and Disease.” *Genome Biology* 3 (7): 1-12.

Mike Bamshad, “Genetic Influences on Health: Does Race Matter?” *JAMA*, August 24/31, 2005

Henry Louis Gates, *Finding Your Roots*, University of North Carolina Press, 2014: Forward by David Altshuler, Introduction and Chapter 7

Dorothy Roberts, *Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-first Century*, 2012: chaps. 10, 12.

March 20 and April 3: Poverty and schooling

Alex Kotlowitz, *There Are No Children Here*, Doubleday 1992: chapters 7-12

Philip Kasinitz et al. *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2010: chap. 10

The Equality of Opportunity Project: Read at least 2 of the 3

1). Raj Chetty et al., “Mobility Report Cards: The Role of Colleges in Intergenerational Mobility”

http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/assets/documents/coll_mrc_summary.pdf

2) Raj Chetty et al., “The Fading American Dream: Trends In Absolute Income Mobility Since 1940”

http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/assets/documents/abs_mobility_summary.pdf

3) Raj Chetty et al. , “The Effects of Exposure to Better Neighborhoods on Children”

http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/assets/documents/mto_exec_summary.pdf

For more detailed versions of these papers, including video and pptx slides, see <http://www.equality-of-opportunity.org/documents/>

April 4: Affirmative action

Tom Price “Affirmative Action and College Admissions.” *CQ Researcher*, vol. 27 (November 17,2017), pp. 969-992. Retrieved from <http://library.cqpress.com/>

Julie Peterson and Lisa Rudgers, “The Attack on Affirmative Action is Simple and Powerful—and Wrong.” *Inside Higher Ed*, August 15, 2015

<https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2017/08/15/why-colleges-and-universities-need-affirmative-action-programs-essay>

Richard Sander and Stuart Taylor Jr., “The Painful Truth about Affirmative Action.” *The Atlantic*. October 2012. <https://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/10/the-painful-truth-about-affirmative-action/263122/>

April 10: Speech, safety, and diversity

Greg Lukianoff and Jonathan Haidt, “The Coddling of the American Mind,” *Atlantic Magazine*, 2015

<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/09/the-coddling-of-the-american-mind/399356/>

John Villasenor, “Views among College Students regarding the First Amendment: Results from a New Survey,” Brookings Institution, Sept. 18, 2017

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/fixgov/2017/09/18/views-among-college-students-regarding-the-first-amendment-results-from-a-new-survey/>

April 12: Protest and elections

Jelani Cobb, “The Matter of Black Lives,” *The New Yorker*, March 14, 2016

“Growth and Opportunity Project Report.” Republican National Committee. December 2012. <https://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/documents/politics/republican-national-committees-growth-and-opportunity-project-report/380/>

Griffin, John D. "When and why minority legislators matter." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (2014): 327-336

IV. The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration

April 17 and 19: Group project presentations

April 24: Where do we go from here?

"Barack Obama's Speech on Race," *New York Times*, March 18, 2008
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/18/us/politics/18text-obama.html>

Donald Trump, Inaugural Address, January 20, 2017
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/inaugural-address>

Mitch Landrieu's Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans,
New York Times, May 23, 2017
<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieus-speech-transcript.html>

Mark Lilla, "The End of Identity Liberalism," *New York Times*, November 18, 2016
<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html>

April 25: Group project due

April 30: Reflection memo due

Final take-home, exam due during exam period, exact date TBD