

## **Race, Immigration and American Political Development**

Visiting Assistant Professor: Girma Parris

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### **Course Description**

American Political Development involves employing history as an active and independent variable (through the use of concepts such as timing and sequence, path dependence, critical junctures, political orders, and intercurrency) to address fundamental questions of political science and political institutional development. Its primary aim is the revelation of factors behind periods of continuity and moments of institutional change through focusing on political phenomena over long stretches of time as opposed to momentary snap shots of history.

Race and immigration policy have been intrinsic aspects of American political development. Building on the contributions of Rogers Smith and Desmond King's 2008 article [Racial Orders in American Political Development](#) and Daniel Tichenor's 2002 book [Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control in America](#), this class will show the central role played by race and immigration in American Political Development. Although scholars from the race and immigration camps have eluded to the overlap in the politics of each, this class will aim to make those interconnections more explicit. Specifically, the class will show how historical trajectories in immigration politics and racial politics have — at times — reinforced each other and/or interacted, and how the presence or timing of particular events has had direct and indirect influence on the historical trajectories of the other. Ultimately, both have manifested in particular moments in American political development.

### **Course Goals**

The course will use open-ended class discussion (the Socrates Method) to treat these moments of continuity and change in immigration and racial politics and to discuss how the two historical trajectories of race and immigration interacted, reinforced or were intrinsic to the other. Students will acquire the skills necessary to assess political history and isolate the factors involved in periods of continuity and periods of change.

**Course Requirements:** In order to attain a passing grade for the class, all students must attend class regularly participate in class discussion and make a 5-

## *Syllabus for Race, Immigration and American Political Development*

10 minute presentation during the course of the semester and complete three take home examinations covering a third of the course each.

**Attendance:** All students are permitted 2 unexcused absences. Unexcused absences in excess of the two allotted will result in failure of the course. The course is a seminar course and thus will focus around class discussion. Attendance subsequently is crucial to the functioning of the class.

**Class Participation:** Students are expected to come to class prepared and ready to discuss the assigned readings. Students will not be docked for their lack of participation but will be rewarded for their thoughtful and active contributions to class discussion. Class participation will make up 10% of your grade.

**Presentation:** All students are expected to make a presentation of 5-10 minutes during the course of the semester. Details concerning requirements for the presentation will be forthcoming.

### **Course Schedule**

#### **Week 1: What is American Political Development?**

**Monday, August 28 –**  
Introduction

#### **Definition and Methodological Foundations of American Political Development**

**Wednesday, August 30 –**  
Orren, Karen and Steven Skowronek. The Search for American Political Development (2004): 1-32 (Chapter 1)

**Recommended:**

Kersh , Rogan. “Rethinking Periodization? APD and Macro History of the United States” *Polity*, 37 (4) (October 2005): 513-522

Pierson, Paul. “Not Just What But When: Timing and Sequence in Political Processes” *Studies in American Political Development*, 14 (1) (April 2000): 72-92

**Friday, September 1 – Class Canceled – Attending Conference**

**Week 2: Methodological Foundations (continued)**

**Monday, September 4- No Class – Labor Day**

**Wednesday, September 6**

Lieberman, Robert C. “Ideas, Institutions, and Political Order: Explaining Political Change” *American Political Science Review*, 96 (4) (December 2002): 697-712

**How to Study American Political Development – Sustained Shifts in Authority, Institutional Structure and Coalition Building (viewed historically)**

**Friday, September 8 –**

King, Desmond and Rogers Smith. “Racial Orders in American Political Development” in Race and American Political Development eds. Lowndes, Novkov, and Warren (2008): 80-105

**Week 3:**

**Race and Ethnicity – Definitions and Historical Origins**

**Monday, September 11 –**

Tichenor, Daniel. Dividing Lines (2004) Chapter 1 and 2

**Wednesday, September 13 –**

Takaki, Ronald. “The Tempest in the Wilderness: Racialization of Savagery” *The Journal of American History*, 79 (3) (December 1992): 892-912

**Friday, September 15 –**

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. “Racial Formations” in *Racial Formation in the United States* eds. Michael Omi and Howard Winant; Routledge 1994.

**Week 4:**

**Monday, September 18 –**

Fields, Barbara Jeanne. “Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America.” *New Left Review*, 181 (1990): 95-118

**Wednesday, September 20**

Lieberman, Robert “Legacies of Slavery? Race and Historical Causation in American Political Development” in Race and American Political Development eds. Lowndes, Novkov, and Warren (2008): 206-234 (Chapter 10)

### **Immigration Racial Hierarchies, and Assimilation**

#### **Friday, September 22**

Valelly, Richard. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle of Black Enfranchisement*- Chapter 2 and 3

#### **Week 5:**

#### **Monday, September 25 –**

King, Desmond. Making Americans: Immigration, Race and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy (2000): Introductory Chapter and Chapter 2

#### **Wednesday, September 27**

Frederickson, George M. “Models of American Ethnic Relations: Hierarchy, Assimilation, and Pluralism” in Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century eds. Marcus and Moya,(2010): 32 – 62

#### **Recommended:**

Vilna, Bashi. “Racial Categories Matter Because Racial Hierarchies Matter - A Commentary” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21 (5) (1998): 959-968

### **Immigration and American Political Development**

#### **Friday, September 29 –**

Daniel Tichenor. “Progressivism, War, and Scientific Policymaking” in Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control (2002): 114-149 (Chapter 5)

#### **Week 6:**

#### **Monday, October 2 –**

Ngai, Mae. M. “The Architecture of Race in American Immigration Law: A Re-examination of the Immigration Act of 1924” *Journal of American History*, 86 (1) (June 1999): 59-86

**Wednesday, October 4 -**

Daniel Tichenor. "Chinese Exclusion and Precocious State Building in the Nineteenth Century American Polity" in Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control (2002): 87-113 (Chapter 4)

**Friday, October 6 –**

Hattam, Victoria. "Fixing Race, Unfixing Ethnicity" in In the Shadow of Race: Jews, Latinos, and Immigrant Politics in the United States (2007): Chapter 3

**Week 7: The GI Bill, Race and the American Dream**

**Monday, October 9 –**

Katznelson, Ira and Suzanne Mettler. "On Race and Policy History: A Dialogue about the G.I. Bill." *Perspectives on Politics*; Vol. 6; No. 3; September 2008: 519-537.

**Wednesday, October 11 –**

Kersch, Kenneth. "The New Deal Triumph as the End of History? The Judicial Negotiation of Labor Rights and Civil Rights" in The Supreme Court & American Political Development eds. Kahn and Kersch (2006): 169-228

**Friday, October 13 –**

Tichenor, Daniel. "Jewish Refugees, Mexican Guestworkers, and Administrative Politics" in Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control (2002): 150-175 (Chapter 6)

**Week 8: The Great Migration and Problematic Assimilation in the North**

**Monday, October 16 -**

Richard Rothstein, "The Making of Ferguson: Public Policies at the Root of its Problems."

**Wednesday, October 18**

Katznelson, Ira. Black Men, White Cities: Race, Politics, and Migration in the United States, 1900-30 and Britain, 1948-68 (1973): Chapters 4 and 7

## **Civil Rights and the Second Reconstruction**

### **Friday, October 20 –**

Valelly, Richard. “Heralding the Second Reconstruction: The Coalition of 1948” in The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement (2004): Chapter 7

### **Week: 9**

#### **Monday, October 23 – No Class – Fall Break**

#### **Wednesday, October 25 –**

Feinstein, Brian D. and Eric Schickler. "Platforms and Partners: The Civil Rights Realignment Reconsidered" *Studies in American Political Development*, 22 (1) (2008): 1-31

#### **Friday, October 27 –**

McAdam, Doug. “The Historical Context of Black Insurgency, 1876- 1954” in Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970 (1982): 65-116 (Chapter 5)

### **Week 10:**

#### **Monday, October 30 –**

Milkis, Sidney “The Modern Presidency, Social Movements, and the Administrative State: Lyndon Johnson and the Civil Rights Movement” in Race and American Political Development eds. Lowndes, Novkov, and Warren (2008)

## **Civil Rights and Immigration Reform**

### **Wednesday, November 1 –**

McAdam, Doug. "The Generation of Black Insurgency, 1955- 60" in Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970 (1982): 117-145 (Chapter 6)

**Friday, November 3 -**

Valley, Richard. "The Coalition of 1960 -1965" in The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement (2004): Chapter 8

**Week 11:**

**Monday, November 6 -**

Valley, Richard "Institutions and Enfranchisement" in The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement (2004): Chapter 10

**Wednesday, November 8 –**

Daniel Tichenor. "Strangers in the Cold War: The Modern Presidency, Committee Barrons, and Postwar Immigration Politics." in Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control (2002): Chapter 7

**Race and Immigration in the Post-Civil Rights Era**

**Friday, November 10 -**

Christian Joppke. "Race Attacks the Melting Pot" in Immigration and the Nation State: Germany, Britain and the United States (1999): Chapter 5

**Week 12:**

**Monday, November 13-**

Tichenor, Daniel. "Two Faces of Expansion: The Contemporary Politics of Immigration Reform" in Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control: Chapter 9

**Wednesday, November 15 –**

HoSang, Daniel Martinez “The Triumph of Racial Liberalism, the Demise of Racial Justice” in Race and American Political Development eds. Lowndes, Novkov, and Warren (2008): 288-312 (Chapter 12)

**Friday, November 17 –**

Tichenor, Daniel. “Rebirth of American Immigration: The Rights Revolution, New Restrictionism, and Policy Deadlock” in Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control (2002): 242-288 (Chapter 8)

**Week 13: The Institutionalized Poverty of Blacks and the Browns**

**Monday, November 20 –**

Hannah-Jones “Living Apart: How the Government Betrayed a Landmark Civil Rights Law.” Segregation Now: Investigating America’s Racial Divide; Pro Publica, June 25, 2015.

**Wednesday, November 22 –**

Linda Darling-Hammond. “Structured for Failure for Failure: Race, Resources, and Student Achievement” in Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century eds. Markus and Moya, (2010): 295-31

**Friday, November 24 – No Class – Thanksgiving Holiday Observed**

**Week 14:**

**Monday, November 27 –**

Lawrence D. Bobo and Victor Thompson. “Racialized Mass Incarceration: Poverty, Prejudice, and Imprisonment” in Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century eds. Markus and Moya, (2010): 322-355



**Recommended** (counter-arguments to the anti-black racist theory of mass incarceration):

Murch, Donna "Who's to Blame for Mass Incarceration?" (a review of Michael Javen Fortner's *Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment*) *Boston Review*; October 16, 2015: <http://bostonreview.net/books-ideas/donna-murch-michael-javen-fortner-black-silent-majority>

Fortner, Michael Javen "Historical Method and the Noble Lie" (A Reply to Donna Murch) *Boston Review*; October 23, 2015: <http://bostonreview.net/books-ideas/response-michael-javen-fortner-donna-murch-black-silent-majority>

### **Race, Immigration Politics in Scarce Economic Times**

#### **Wednesday, November 29 –**

Huber, Gregory A. and Thomas J. Espenshade. "Neo-isolationism, Balanced-budget Conservatism, and the Fiscal Impacts of Immigrants" *International Migration Review*, 31 (4) (1997): 1031-1054

#### **Friday, December 1 –**

Sanchez, George. "Face the Nation: Race, Immigration and the Rise of Nativism in Late Twentieth Century America. *IMR*, 13 (4) (Winter, 1997): 1009 – 1030.

### **The Politics of Immigration in the Post 9/11 Era**

#### **Week 15:**

#### **Monday, December 4 –**

Beinin, Joel. "Knowing the "Other": Arabs, Islam and the West" in *Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century* eds. Markus and Moya (2010): 199-215

Winders, Jamie. "Bringing Back the (B) order: Post-9/11 Politics of Immigration, Borders, and Belonging in the Contemporary US South." *Antipode* 39 (5) (2007): 920-942.

**Race and Immigration in the Obama Era**

**Wednesday, December 6 –**

Kevin R. Johnson & Bernard Trujillo, Immigration Reform, National Security After September 11, and the Future of North American Integration, 91 Minn. L. Rev. 1369 (2007)

**Friday, December 8 –**

Junn, Jane and Kerry L. Haynie. New Race Politics in America: Understanding Minority and Immigrant Politics (2008): Chapters 2 and 3

Coates, Ta-Nehisi “The Case for Reparations.” The Atlantic (June 2014): <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>

**Recommended:**

Evolving Concepts of Race and Ethnicity:

Marcus, Hazel Rose. “Who am I? Race, Ethnicity and Identity.” in Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century eds. Markus and Moya (2010): 359-389

Jansen, Robert. The Heart of Whiteness: Confronting Race, Racism, and White Privilege (2005): Chapters 1 and Conclusion