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Race, Immigration and American Political Development

Professor: Girma Parris

Case Western University

Office Hours: Friday, 12:00 pm – 2:00 pm or by Zoom appointment

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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 intercurrentence) 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 snapshots 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 symbiotic relationship between the politics of race and immigration and American political development. Although scholars from the race and immigration camps have alluded 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 symbiotically throughout American political development.

Course Goals

The course will use open-ended class discussion and the conceptual tools of American Political Development scholars to investigate and assess these moments of change and periods of continuity in immigration and racial politics as well as to discuss how the 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 change.

Course Requirements: To attain a passing grade for the class, all students must attend class regularly; participate in class discussion; deliver a 5–10-minute presentation during the course of the semester; and complete three take home examinations covering a third of the course each. Take home exams will count for 70% of your grade (Exam no. 1 = 20%; Exam no. 2= 25%; Exam no. 3= 25%).

Attendance: All students are permitted 2 unexcused absences. Unexcused absences in excess of the two allotted will count against your class participation grade. The course is a seminar course and thus will focus around class discussion. Attendance, subsequently, is crucial to the functioning of the class. However, since we are in the midst of a pandemic, the university encourages anyone not feeling well to stay home and recuperate. In the event, you can't attend, I only ask that you let me know. Such absences will count as excused.

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 semester. Students should summarize the major arguments presented in the chosen reading and offer 3 discussion questions for the class. To receive full credit, students must either provide a Power Point presentation (or comparable visual accompaniment). **The presentation will count for 20% of your grade.**

Recap of Percentage Breakdown for Course Assignments:

- **Take Home Exams – 70% collectively**
 - Exam no. 1 – 20%
 - Exam no. 2 – 25%
 - Exam no. 3 – 25%
- **Article Presentation – 20%**
- **Class Participation – 10%**

Course Schedule – Reading Assignments and Exam dates

Week 1: Definition and Methodological Foundations of American Political Development

How to Study American Political Development and its Relation to Racial and Immigration Politics – Sustained Shifts in Authority, Institutional Structure and Coalition Building (viewed historically)

Wednesday, January 18 –
Introduction

Recommended:

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

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

Week 2: Looking at Immigration and Race Politics and Policy Historically

Monday, January 23 –
Smith, Rogers. “Beyond, Tocqueville, Myrdal and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (September 1993): 549-566.

Tichenor, Daniel. Dividing Lines (2004) Chapter 1

Wednesday, January 25 –
Tichenor, Daniel. Dividing Lines (2004) Chapter 2

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, January 30 –

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

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

Wednesday, February 1 –

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

Week 4:

Monday, February 6 –

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)

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

Wednesday, February 8 –

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

Week 5:

Monday, February 13 –

Valelly, Richard. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle of Black Enfranchisement*- Chapter 4

Valelly, Richard. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle of Black Enfranchisement* - Chapter 5

Wednesday, February 15 –

Valelly, Richard. *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle of Black Enfranchisement* - Chapter 6

*******Friday, February 17 – Take Home Exam no. 1 posted*******

Week 6:

Immigration and American Political Development: Immigration Racial Hierarchies, and Assimilation

Monday, February 20 –

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

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

Recommended:

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

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

Wednesday, February 22 –

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)

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

Recommended:

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

Week 7: The Great Migration, the GI Bill, Race and Problematic Assimilation in the North

Monday, February 27 –

Katznelson, Ira. “White Veterans Only” in When Affirmative Action was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America (2006): Chapter 5

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

Recommended:

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.

The Great Migration and Problematic Assimilation in the North

Wednesday, March 1 –

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

******Friday, February 25 – Take Home Exam no. 1 due at 11:59pm******

Week 8: The Foundations of the Second Reconstruction

Monday, March 6 –

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)

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

Wednesday, March 8 –

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

*******March 13-17 – No Class – Spring Break*******

Week 9 –

Monday, March 20 –

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)

Wednesday, March 22 –

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

Recommended:

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

Week 10 – Civil Rights and Immigration Reform

Monday, March 27 –

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)

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

Wednesday, March 29 –

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

Week 11:

Monday, April 3 –

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

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

Race and Immigration in the Post-Civil Rights Era

Wednesday, April 5 –

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

Recommended:

Astrid Galvin and Russell Conteras. “The Rise of White Nationalist Hispanics.” Axios; March 12, 2022: https://www.axios.com/2022/03/10/rise-white-nationalist-hispanics-latino?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter_axioslatino&stream=science

******Friday, April 7 – Take Home Exam No. 2 Posted******

Week 12:

Monday, April 10 –

Tichenor, Daniel. "Rebirth of American Immigration: The Rights Revolution, New Restrictionism, and Policy Deadlock" in Dividing Lines: The Politics of Immigration Control (2002): 219-241 (Chapter 8)

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

The Institutionalized Poverty of Blacks, Browns

Wednesday, April 12 –

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.

Week 13 –

Monday, April 17 –

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

Alexander, Michelle. The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness: Chapter 1

Recommended:

Cashin, Sheryll. "How Larry Hogan Kept Blacks in Baltimore Segregated and Poor," *Politico*; July 18, 2020: <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/07/18/how-larry-hogan-kept-black-baltimore-segregated-and-poor-367930>

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

Counterarguments 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>

Wednesday, April 19 –

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

*******Take Home Exam No. 2 due Friday, April 21 at 11:59 pm*******

Week 14 –

Race and Immigration in the Obama and Trump Eras

Monday, April 24 – White rural marginalization

Dyer, Joel “The New Harvest of Rage: Depression, Scapegoating, Trump, and the Coming Wave of Violence in Post Election America: <https://www.boulderweekly.com/news/the-new-harvest-of-rage/>

Gurley, Lauren Kaori “Why Isn’t the Left Talking About Rural American Poverty”: <https://inthesetimes.com/rural-america/entry/18526/why-the-left-isnt-talking-about-rural-american-poverty>

Gurley, Lauren Kaori ““I’m as Poor as Shit”: A Look at Downward Mobility in Lancaster, Ohio”: <https://inthesetimes.com/rural-america/entry/20185/brian-alexander-glass-house-working-class-income-inequality-poverty-heroin>

Recommended:

Frederick, Austin “To Revive Rural America, We Must Fix Our Broken Food System”: <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/to-revive-rural-america-we-must-fix-our-broken-food-system/>

*******Monday, April 24 – Take Home Exam No. 3 Posted*******

Wednesday, April 26 –

Morone, James. Republic of Wrath: How American Politics Turned Tribal from George Washington to Donald Trump: Introduction

Monday, May 1 –

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

Zepeda-Millan, Chris. “Forging an Immigrant Rights Movement.” Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism (2017): Chapter 1.

Recommended:

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

Gould, Elise, and Valerie Wilson. “Black Workers Face Two of the Most Lethal Pre-existing Conditions for Coronavirus: Racism and Economic Inequality,” Economic Policy Institution; June 1. 2020: <https://files.epi.org/pdf/193246.pdf>

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

*******Take Home Exam No. 3 Due, May 8 at 11:59 pm *******