Introduction
This course is something of an experiment. It brings together several disciplines – history, sociology, political science, philosophy, and perhaps others. It spans several centuries and several nations. The topics range through individual attitudes, political behavior, demographic stratification, historical development, contemporary institutions, public policy, and normative goals. Most importantly, the course brings into direct contact with one another several robust academic literatures that have largely developed independently of one another—studies of American racial dynamics, American ethnic and immigration politics, and some comparative ethnic and immigration politics. The experiment consists of discovering whether we can find enough common themes and sufficiently comparable evidence to keep all of this complexity from flying apart by sheer centrifugal force, while respecting the distinctive features of each research tradition and substantive focus.

We have developed the course in this manner rather than through a more conventional focus on one or several groups, nations, academic literatures, or analytic questions for several reasons. First, each topic or literature is frequently too self-referential. Scholars of American racial politics, for example, tend to distinguish simply between blacks and everyone else or between whites and all “people of color,” while scholars of ethnic politics tend to focus only on a particular group. Yet all of these groups, and more, coexist in the political arena, and a large share of political contestation consists in the jockeying among them.

Second, each literature can be atheoretical. By focusing on a particular group, nation, or political dynamic, scholars find it difficult to avoid either a narrow and perhaps misleading causal analysis or a descriptive or overly broad conclusion. In addition, scholars tend to be defensive about the particular group whom they study, and to see its circumstances and behaviors as unusual if not unique. Comparison forces us to be more analytically sophisticated and more precise in our claims about causal forces, particular conditions, and breadth of conclusion.
Finally, we hope to enable the class to move up one level of abstraction – that is, to focus on the political dynamic(s) that explain or grow out of the detailed cases and evidence in a given set of readings. To switch metaphors, in order not to be lost in the trees we will have to raise our sights to the forest: What is the overall historical trajectory here? How do small minorities operate in a majoritarian political system? What institutions shape, maintain, constrain, or destroy racial hierarchy? Why do some observers see increasing equality among groups while others see persistent stratification? Where are the crucial political dividing lines? And so on. Our ultimate goal is to connect the study of race, ethnicity, and immigration to the rest of the realm of politics and of political science, and the experiment consists in seeing if we can do that by moving quickly through great complexity of material.

Logistics

Readings: The following books are available for purchase at the Coop, and are on reserve at Lamont Library.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Richard Alba</td>
<td>Blurring the Color Line</td>
<td>Harvard U Press</td>
<td>2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fredrick Hoxie</td>
<td>A Final Promise</td>
<td>U of Nebraska Press</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew F. Jacobson</td>
<td>Whiteness of a Different Color</td>
<td>Harvard U Press</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Morgan</td>
<td>American Slavery, American Freedom</td>
<td>Norton</td>
<td>2003</td>
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Note that we will use only sections of some of these books; unless you are developing a library, you may want to check the syllabus before buying all of them. Many are also available in used copies on the internet, but please get the most up-to-date edition. A few of the books are available in a digital version; check the course website.

We will also be reading 1 or 2 chapters of several other books. These books are on reserve at Lamont Library, or the excerpts are available as PDFs on the course website.

The articles from professional journals are available electronically, through Hollis or other on-line sources indicated on the syllabus.

Assignments: Each student will be responsible for leading the search for common themes and points of comparison within one or more sessions (how many will depend on course enrollment). Your task will be to bring the readings for that week into conversation with each other, and with material from previous weeks. You will have about 5 minutes at the
beginning of your assigned week to raise a few crucial questions, and 5 minutes at the end to draw a few sharp conclusions. We reserve the right to be ruthless about time limits!

You will be aided by the fact that each student will have submitted a 1-page statement about the readings for that week for 10 of the 13 sessions. The statement should focus on identifying common themes, finding points of comparison, making links to previous weeks, and/or drawing larger inferences out of the material – but only in one page. It will be submitted to the course website by 6 p.m. on the Sunday evening before the class meets.

Final papers will be a research proposal growing out of the topics and materials in the course, but developing beyond them – to consider a different group, nation, institution, analytic theme, type of evidence, period of history, and so on. The proposal should identify why a given issue is important, articulate your central hypotheses or arguments, review the most salient academic literature, describe the type of evidence to be explored, suggest methods for its exploration, and speculate about likely findings and conclusions. It is due on the last day of reading period.
I. THE HISTORY AND THEORY OF THE AMERICAN RACIAL ORDER

George Fredrickson, _Racism: A Short History_, Introduction, chapters 2, 3, Epilogue

Donald Horowitz, _Ethnic Groups in Conflict_, chapters 1, 2, pp. 83-92.

http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/108.5/hollinger.html

January 30: NO CLASS

February 6: Origins and the American Racial Order
Edmund Morgan, _American Slavery, American Freedom_, chapters 1, 15-18


Rogers Smith, “Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America,” _American Political Science Review_, September 1993, pp. 549-566

February 13: Immigration and Whiteness
Daniel Tichenor, _Dividing Lines_, chapter 5 and pg. 207-218

Aristide Zolberg, _A Nation by Design_, chapter 1

Matthew Frye Jacobson, _Whiteness of a Different Color_, chapters 3, 8

February 20 (PRESIDENT’S DAY; MAKE-UP CLASS): Bringing Indians, Asians, and Latinos into the American Picture
Fredrick Hoxie, _A Final Promise_, chapters 1, 5, 7

Bill Ong Hing or R. Takaki chapters TBD

David Montejano, _Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Modern Texas, 1836-1986_, chapters 8, 10, 13
II. CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN RACIAL AND ETHNIC POLITICS

February 27: Identity and Interests
Michael Dawson, *Behind the Mule*, pp. 45-63, 75-95

Zoltan Hajnal and Taeku Lee, *Why Americans Don’t Join the Party*, chapter 4


Each student will do 2 (or more) IAT’s before coming to class:
https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/

March 5: Representation and Empowerment

Michael Jones, "The Priority of Racial Constituency over Descriptive Representation" *Journal Of Politics*, July 2011, 73 (3): 899-914


March 12: Spring Break

March 19: Obama: Cause and Effect


March 26: Responses to Ethnic and Racial Change


Karthick Ramakrishnan and Tom Wong, “Partisanship, Not Spanish: Explaining Municipal Ordinances Affecting Undocumented Immigrants,” in *Taking Local Control: Immigration Policy Activism in U.S. Cities and States* ed. Monica Varsanyi (Stanford University Press, 2010), pg.73-93


Rafaela Dancygier, “Two Faces of Immigrant Conflict in Two Midlands Cities,” *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*, Chapter 6


April 2: How Institutions Shape Race and Ethnicity, and Vice Versa


John Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution*, chapter 4
III. COMPARATIVE POLITICS OF RACE, ETHNICITY, AND IMMIGRATION

April 9: Comparing National Dynamics of Race and Immigration
Anthony Marx, *Making Race and Nation*, chapters 5, 6, 7

Nancy Foner and Richard Alba, “Immigrant Religion in the U.S. and Western Europe: Bridge or Barrier to Inclusion?” *International Migration Review*, 42 (2), 2008: 360-392


April 16: Political Structures and Racial Contestation


Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, *Polarized America*, chapter 4

April 23: (EVENING CLASS: 6:30-8:30) Coming Constructions of Race and Ethnicity
Jennifer Hochschild and Vesla Weaver. “‘There’s No One as Irish as Barack O’Bama’: The Politics and Policy of Multiracialism in the United States,” *Perspective on Politics*, 2010


May 3: End of Reading Period. Final Papers Due