# Department of Sociology Dartmouth College Spring 2021

# Race and Ethnicity in the United States: Ethnic and Minority Politics (SOCY 47) Professor: Sunmin Kim Office: 301D Blunt E-mail: Sunmin.Kim@dartmouth.edu

#### **Course Description:**

This course sets out to understand race and ethnicity as the product of, as well as a basis for, political struggles. The conventional sociological understanding of race and ethnicity focuses on difference. That is, although sociologists take pains to argue that racial and ethnic differences are socially constructed, the vast, long-standing inequality among racial and ethnic groups make it very tempting to perceive the status quo as inevitable, if not natural. In order to counter this trend, we have to center the concept of power and trace how racial and ethnic divisions came to emerge from the political struggles of the past. And in doing so, it is crucial to understand not only successes but also failures of white supremacy—namely that non-whites have always disrupted workings of the dominant system, sometimes through electoral politics and other times through direct action.

In order to understand these dynamics, we will engage with four different themes. First, we will start off by discussing the theory of race and power and establish why it is crucial to understand racial and ethnic categories as inherently intertwined with political struggles in society. Second, we will review how non-whites have participated in the electoral system of the United States, which often barred them from full participation. Third, we will study how they challenged and changed the system from the outside. We will focus extensively on the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power activists in the 1960s and 1970s and analyze how the black struggles for freedom had fundamentally altered politics for all. Lastly, using the insights gleaned from our studies of the theory and history, we will engage with the contemporary issues in minority politics including Black Lives Matter, the Undocumented immigrant movement, and the rise of white identity politics.

By taking this course, students should be able to understand: A) how minorities engage with political system in the United States; B) how those engagements are shaped by the past historical experiences, especially those of the 1960s and 1970s; and C) the fact that racial and ethnic categories are products of past and present political struggles, and therefore bound to change in the future.

# **Course Requirements and Grading:**

*Attendance* (20%): Missing a class session will result in reduction of 1% of the overall course grade. If you miss more than five classes without notice, you will fail the class.

*Leading class discussion* (20%): Every student should assume the role of discussion leader at least once throughout the term. Discussion leaders should thoroughly read the assigned readings and prepare at least three discussion questions for class discussion sessions. There are two types of discussion sessions.

First one is Friday sessions. For the first six weeks, we will have lectures on Monday and Wednesday and meet on Friday to discuss the material. The leaders for these sessions should begin by giving a quick, 5-10 minutes summary of the lectures and follow up with three questions.

Second one is the sessions for the "IV. Present" module of the class. Instead of having Friday sessions, each lecture will be followed by 20-30 minutes of discussion. Leaders should provide three questions without a summary of the lecture. This may look easier than Friday sessions, but remember that we are covering contemporary social movements in these sessions. The discussion can easily get more volatile and therefore become more difficult to lead.

Discussion leaders will be graded on pass/fail basis. That is, if a student present three relevant questions and successfully facilitate class discussion, she will receive 20 points ("pass"). I will send out the discussion leader sign-up sheet after the first day of the class.

*Midterm* (30%): There will be a take-home midterm consisting of five questions. Students will be asked to write 500 words to answer each question. The questions will touch broadly on the themes covered in the first half of the course. Here are a few examples:

- What is the relationship between power and race?
- How do African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos compare to whites in their patterns of political participation?
- What is linked fate? Why is it important?
- What is the key difference between the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Power activism?

The midterm questions will be revealed on May 5<sup>th</sup> and answers are due by 11:59 PM on May 7<sup>th</sup>. In the class session on May 5<sup>th</sup>, after the questions have been revealed, students will get a chance to discuss the questions among themselves.

*Student Presentation* (30%): In lieu of the fnals, students will be asked to conduct independent research and present the outcome to the entire class at the end of the course. The topics consist of important issues in contemporary minority politics including, but not limited to:

- Black Lives Matter (BLM)
- The undocumented immigrant movement
- Asian and Latino voters in new swing states (i.e., Georgia, Texas, Arizona, North Carolina...)
- White supremacist movements
- Contemporary black celebrity activism
- Violence against Asian/Asian Americans and the response

<u>If you would like to present on another topic, please consult with me in advance.</u> Presentation teams will be assigned based on topics of your choice. The presentations are open in terms of format, but they should clearly answer the following questions about the topic of your choice.

- 1. What is the movement? Who participates in it? What is its most notable action so far?
- 2. How does the general public perceive the movement?
- 3. What has it achieved so far? What is its future potential?
- 4. What are some of the challenges ahead of the movement?
- 5. How does the movement build on the past experiences we studied in the course?

Grade breakdown:

A 94-100 A- 90-93.99 B+ 87-89.99 B 83-86.99 B- 80-82.99 C+ 77-79.99 C 73-76.99 C- 70-72.99 D 60-69.99 F <60

I follow Dartmouth's Scholarship Ratings: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~reg/transcript/grade\_descriptions.html

Earning an "A" entails the following: Excellent mastery of course material Student performance indicates a very high degree of originality, creativity, or both. Excellent performance in analysis, synthesis, and critical expression, oral or written Student works independently with unusual effectiveness.

Please note that the grade cut-offs are firm. Scores are not rounded up (or down) to the nearest grade just because a student is close to another grade. Thus, for instance, a 79.99% is a C+ and not a B-.

# **Office Hour Meeting:**

I will hold weekly office hour meetings via Zoom every Tuesday from 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM, using the same link as the class sessions. You should sign up in advance at the following link: <u>https://www.wejoinin.com/sunmin.kim@dartmouth.edu</u>

You should sign up for a meeting with at least once throughout the term. If you sign up early in the term in the first couple of weeks, I can get to know you and help you learn better as we move forward.

# Accessibility:

Students requesting disability-related accommodations and services for this course are encouraged to schedule a phone/video meeting with me as early in the term as possible. This conversation will help to establish what supports are built into my online course. In order for accommodations to be authorized, students are required to consult with Student Accessibility Services (SAS; <u>student.accessibility.services@dartmouth.edu</u>; SAS website; 603-646-9900) and to email me their SAS accommodation form. We will then work together with SAS if accommodations need to be modified based on the online learning environment. If students have questions about whether they are eligible for accommodations, they should contact the SAS office. All inquiries and discussions will remain confidential.

# **Notification Regarding Recording**

(1) Consent to recording of course meetings and office hours that are open to multiple students. By enrolling in this course,

a) I affirm my understanding that the instructor may record meetings of this course and any associated meetings open to multiple students and the instructor, including but not limited to scheduled and ad hoc office hours and other consultations, within any digital platform, including those used to offer remote instruction for this course.

b) I further affirm that the instructor owns the copyright to their instructional materials, of which these recordings constitute a part, and my distribution of any of these recordings in whole or in part to any person or entity other than other members of the class without prior written consent of the instructor may be subject to discipline by Dartmouth up to and including separation from Dartmouth.

(2) Requirement of consent to one-on-one recordings

By enrolling in this course, I hereby affirm that I will not make a recording in any medium of any *one-on-one meeting with the instructor or another member of the class or group of members of the class* without obtaining the prior written consent of all those participating, and I understand that if I violate this prohibition, I will be subject to discipline by Dartmouth up to and including separation from Dartmouth, as well as any other civil or criminal penalties under applicable law. I understand that an exception to this consent applies to accommodations approved by SAS for a student's disability, and that one or more students in a class may record class lectures, discussions, lab sessions, and review sessions and take pictures of essential information, and/or be provided class notes for personal study use only.

If you have questions, please contact the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

# **Title IX Reporting Requirement:**

At Dartmouth, we value integrity, responsibility, and respect for the rights and interests of others, all central to our Principles of Community. We are dedicated to establishing and maintaining a safe and inclusive campus where all have equal access to the educational and employment opportunities Dartmouth offers. We strive to promote an environment of sexual respect, safety, and well-being. In its policies and standards, Dartmouth demonstrates unequivocally that sexual assault, gender-based harassment, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking are not tolerated in our community.

The Sexual Respect Website (*https://sexual-respect.dartmouth.edu*) at Dartmouth provides a wealth of information on your rights with regard to sexual respect and resources that are available to all in our community.

Please note that, as a faculty member, I am obligated to share disclosures regarding conduct under Title IX with Dartmouth's Title IX Coordinator. Confidential resources are also available, and include licensed medical or counseling professionals (e.g., a licensed psychologist), staff members of organizations recognized as rape crisis centers under state law (such as WISE), and ordained clergy (see <u>https://dartgo.org/titleix resources</u>).

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact Dartmouth's Title IX Coordinator or the Deputy Title IX Coordinator for the Guarini School. Their contact information can be found on the sexual respect website at: <u>https://sexual-respect.dartmouth.edu</u>.

## **Disclaimer**

READING. READING. READING. This course focuses on reading more than any other course. You will not get much out of it if you do not read the assigned articles and book chapters. I will not administer quizzes or implement other disciplinary mechanisms to ensure compliance, but you should read everything. Otherwise, you are missing out.

I do not agree with all the points made in the assigned readings. I assembled them not to put forward an argument but to provide an academic review of the field. If you are interested in my opinion, I am happy to share them with you, but my opinion should be distinguished from the content of this course.

I ask you to maintain civility in all class discussions. This means that, most importantly, you are entitled to your own opinion and you can share it with others. At the same time, however, you should think *really hard* about how your opinion will affect others, and whether your sharing of the opinion furthers our learning goals. We are here to help each other learn, not to win an argument or profess our political standpoint.

# **Course Schedule and Assigned Readings:**

3/29 Introduction

## I. Power

## 3/31 The Road to Power

- Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2017. We were Eight Years in Power: An American Tragedy. One World Publishing: 291-340 ("My President was Black").
- Blow, Charles. 2021. *The Devil You Know: A Black Power Manifesto*. HarperCollins Publishers: 1-7; 31-63 ("Introduction" and "The Proposition").

4/2 Discussion Session (individual introduction)

4/5 Racial Formation and the Racial State

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant 2015. *Racial Formation in the United States* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition). Routledge: 1-18; 103-158 ("Introduction" and "Racial Formation").

#### 4/7 Census and the Politics of Numbers

- Alba, Richard. 2016. "The Likely Persistence of a White Majority: How Census Bureau Statistics Have Misled Thinking About the American Future" *American Prospect* (January 11, 2016).
- Abascal, Maria. 2020. "Contraction as a Response to Group Threat: Demographic Decline and Whites' Classification of People Who Are Ambiguously White." *American Sociological Review* 85(2): 298-322.
- Gest, Justin. 2020. "Majority Minority: A Comparative Historical Analysis of Political Responses to Demographic Transformation." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1774113</u>

## 4/9 Discussion Session [decide on presentation groups]

## **II. Institutions and Individuals**

#### 4/12 Voting, Incarceration, and Citizenship

- Keyssar, Alexander. 2000. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*. Basic Books: 81-116 ("Know-Nothings, Radicals, and Redeemers").
- Muller, Christopher. 2012. "Northward Migration and the Rise of Racial Disparity in American Incarceration, 1880-1950." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(2): 281-326.

## 4/14 Linked Fate and Diverging Political Sensibilities

- Dawson, Michael. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics. Princeton University Press*: 45-68 ("The Politicization of African-American Racial Group Interests").
- Cohen, Cathy. 2010. *Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of American Politics*. Oxford University Press: 156-200 ("Fight the Power: From Jena to the White House").

## 4/16 Discussion Session

## 4/19 Threat and Response

- HoSang, Daniel Martinez. 2010. Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California. University of California Press: 130-159 ("How Can you Help California? English Only and the Politics of Exclusion, 1982-1990).
- Brown, Hana. 2013. "Race, Legality, and the Social Policy Consequences of Anti-Immigrant Mobilization." *American Sociological Review* 78(2): 290-314.
- Lee, Jennifer, and Tiffany Huang. 2021. "Reimagining Safety, Belonging, and Justice in the Wake of Anti-Asian Violence." Brookings Institution Website

(https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2021/03/01/re-imagining-safety-belonging-and-justice-in-the-wake-of-anti-asian-violence/).

## 4/21 Politics of Difference and Indifference

- Kim, Clare Jean. 1999. "The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics and Society* 27(1): 153-138.
- Lee, Taeku. 2008. "Race, Immigration, and the Identities-to-Politics link" *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 457-78.
- Cadava, Geraldo. 2020. *The Hispanic Republican: The Shaping of an American Political Identity, From Nixon to Trump.* HarperCollins Publishers: IX-XXVII ("Introduction").

4/23 Discussion Session

# **III. The History**

# 4/26 The Civil Rights Debate

Recommended viewing: Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Movement (available in Kanopy and Youtube)

- Morris, Aldon. 2021. "From Civil Rights to Black Lives Matter." *Scientific American*. February 3 (https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/from-civil-rights-to-black-lives-matter1/).
- Joseph, Peniel. 2020. *The Sword and the Shield: The Revolutionary Lives of Malcom X and Martin Luther King Jr.* Basic Books: 1-24; 267-306 ("Introduction" and "The Revolutionary King").

4/28 Black Power

Recommended viewing: The Black Power Mixtape 1967-1975 (available in Youtube)

- Bloom, Joshua, and Waldo Martin Jr. 2013. *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. University of California Press: 45-62; 179-198 ("Policing the Police" and "Breakfast").
- Nelson, Alondra. 2011. *Body and Soul: The Black Panther Party and the Fight Against Medical Discrimination*. The University of Minnesota Press: 75-114 ("The People's Free Medical Clinics").

## 4/30 Discussion Session

#### 5/3 The Young Lords and Radical Puerto Rican Nationalism

Special Guest Lecture by Professor Jorell Meléndez-Badillo (History, Dartmouth)

Professor Jorell Meléndez-Badillo is a historian of Puerto Rico, the Caribbean, and Latin America. His scholarship uses a hemispheric lens to explore the global circulation of radical ideas from the standpoint of working-class intellectual communities. See his <u>personal website</u> for more information.

Fernández, Johanna. 2020. *The Young Lords: A Radical History*. University of North Carolina Press: 193-232 ("The Politics and Culture of the Young Lords Party").

Enck-Wanzer, Darrel. 2010. *The Young Lords: A Reader*. NYU Press: 9-15 ("Young Lords Platform and Rules").

Petri, Pedro. "Puerto Rican Obituary"

(available at: <u>https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/58396/puerto-rican-obituary;</u> audio recording available at: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jOqBj09Pz-</u> <u>k&ab\_channel=PedroPietri-Topic</u>)

#### 5/5 Black Power on the Global Stage

Bloom, Joshua, and Waldo Martin Jr. 2013. *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*. University of California Press: 309-339 ("International Alliance").

The Midterm questions will be revealed at the end of this session.

5/7 No class; midterm answers due by 11:59 PM this day.

#### 5/10 The Aftermath of Black Radicalism: Chicanos and Red Power

Lòpez, Ian Haney. 2001. "Protest, Repression, and Race: Legal Violence and the Chicano Movement." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 150: 205-244.

Esters, Nick. 2019. Out History is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance. Verso: 169-200 ("Red Power").

Estes, Nick. 2016. "Fight for Our Lives: #NoDAPL in Historical Context." *The Red Nation*. September 16 (<u>http://therednation.org/fighting-for-our-lives-nodapl-in-context/</u>).

#### 5/12 The Aftermath of Black Radicalism: Asian Americans and Whites

Ishizuka, Karen. 2018. *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties*. Verso: 59-96 ("Yellow Power" and "Spontaneous Arisings").

Uyematsu, Amy. 2007[1969]. "The Emergence of Yellow Power in America." *Asian America: A Primary Source Reader* (eds.) Cathy J. Schlund-Vials, K. Scott Wong, and Jason Oliver Chang. Yale University Press: 262-270

(also available at: <u>https://voices.revealdigital.org/?a=d&d=GIDRA19691001-01</u>; see page 8). Sonnie, Amy, and James Tracy. 2011. *Hillbilly Nationalists, Urban Race Rebels, and Black Power: Community Organizing in Radical Times. Melville House*:13-65 ("The Common

Cause is Freedom: JOIN Community Union and the Transformation of Peggy Terry").

5/14 Discussion Session

## **IV. The Present**

#### 5/17 The Revolt of the Black Athlete

Recommended viewing: High Flying Bird (available in Netflix)

Special Guest Lecture by Shaonta' Allen (incoming assistant professor in sociology, Dartmouth)

Dr. Shaonta' Allen is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Sociology at the University of Cincinnati. Her research examines the various ways Black Americans perceive and respond to racial inequality. She is particularly interested in how Black resistance to racial inequality varies across social and institutional spaces. Specifically, she explores Black resistive practices within Religion, Higher Education, and Pop-Culture & Sport to theorize contemporary strategies for navigating racial and gendered hierarchies. Dr. Allen will join the department of sociology at Dartmouth as a Mellon Faculty Fellow in 2021 and then as an assistant professor in 2023. See her <u>personal website</u> for more information.

- Edwards, Harry. 2018[1969]. *The Revolt of the Black Athlete (50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition)*. The University of Illinois Press: 11-37; 94-97 ("The Emergence of the Black Athlete in America," "Sports and the Mass Media," and "The Future Direction of the Revolt").
- Kaufman, Peter. 2008. "Boos, Bans, and Other Backlash: The Consequences of Being an Activist Athlete." *Humanity and Society* 32: 215-237.
- Cooper, Joseph, Charles Macaulay, and Saturnino Rodriguez. 2019. "Race and Resistance: A Typology of African American Sport Activism." *International Review for the Sociology* of Sport 54(2): 151-181.

5/19 Black Lives Matter

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. 2016. *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*. Haymarket Books: 153-190 ("Black Lives Matter: A Movement, Not a Moment").

Ransby, Barbara. 2018. *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the 21st Century*. University of California Press: 96-122 ("Themes, Dilemmas, and Challenges").

5/21 Discussion Session

#### 5/24 Undocumented Youth

Recommended viewing: *Change the Subject* (available at: <u>https://www.library.dartmouth.edu/digital/digital-collections/change-the-subject</u>)

Escudero, Kevin. 2020. Organizing while Undocumented: Immigrant Youth's Political Activism under the Law. New York University Press: 49-104 ("Asian and Undocumented: Illuminating a Silenced Past Embedded within Contemporary Narratives" and "Undocuqueer Activism: The Use of Shared Tactics across Social Movement Contexts").

#### 5/26 White Grievances and Extremism

Belew, Kathleen. 2018. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America.* Harvard University Press:1-32; 103-134 ("Introduction," "The Vietnam War Story," and "The Revolutionary Turn").

"The Officers Danced at a Black Lives Matter Rally. Then They Stormed the Capitol." New York Times, published March 8, 2021 (<u>https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/08/us/rocky-mount-capitol-riot-black-lives-matter.html</u>).

#### 5/28 The New Electoral Map and Interracial Organizing

- Marable, Manning. 2009. *Beyond Black and White: From Civil Rights to Barrack Obama*. Verso: 185-202 ("Beyond Racial Identity Politics: Toward a Liberation Theory for Multicultural Democracy").
- García-Bedolla, Lisa, and Melissa Michelson. 2012. *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns*. Yale University Press: 128-172 ("Notes for the Field: Running an Effective Mobilization Campaign").
- McGhee, Heather. 2021. *The Sum of Us: What Racism Costs Everyone and How We Can Prosper Together*. One World: 17-40; 255-290 ("Racism Drained the Pool" and "The Solidarity Dividend").

## 5/30 Student Presentations

#### 6/2 Student Presentations