

**Department of Sociology
Dartmouth College
Winter 2022**

Race, Power, and Politics

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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 with 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 important 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 (13%): 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.

Reading Responses (27%): Students should read assigned readings before they attend lectures. They should submit a reading response in Canvas each Sunday by 8 PM EST. The responses should feature critical analysis of the readings (300-400 words). Each response will be graded as pass or fail, and a pass will equal 3% of the overall grade. The content of your responses may be addressed in my lectures. Inadequate responses will be sent back for a re-write.

Quiz (10%): See the disclaimer below.

Midterm (25%): There will be a take-home midterm consisting of four 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 February 9th and answers are due by the midnight February 11th.

Final Exam (25%): There will be a take-home final consisting of four questions. Unlike the midterm, the questions will push you to think outside of the materials covered in the course. The answers will be graded as pass or fail. If you show a clear indication that you have thought seriously about these topics and write a legible answer, you will get full points. You are encouraged to discuss the questions with your classmates. Here are a few examples for the questions:

- Will the demographic shift transform American politics? How? If not, why not?
- Why do minorities participate in politics less?
- Will the police violence against black people ever stop? Under what conditions?
- Which matters more for politics—race or class?
- Is inter-racial organizing possible? How? If not, why not?
- What is white supremacy, and how is it sustained?

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 2 PM to 3 PM. My office is located at 301D Blunt. You should sign up in advance using the following link:

<https://www.wejoinin.com/sunmin.kim@dartmouth.edu>

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 required to register with Student Accessibility Services (SAS; [Getting Started with SAS webpage](#); student.accessibility.services@dartmouth.edu; 1-603-646-9900) and to request that an accommodation email be sent to me in advance of the need for an accommodation. Then,

students should schedule a follow-up meeting with me to determine relevant details such as what role SAS or its Testing Center may play in accommodation implementation. This process works best for everyone when completed as early in the quarter as possible. If students have questions about whether they are eligible for accommodations or have concerns about the implementation of their accommodations, they should contact the SAS office. All inquiries and discussions will remain confidential.

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 https://dartgo.org/titleix_resources).

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: <https://sexual-respect.dartmouth.edu>.

Religious Observances:

Some students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations.

Honor Principle:

Assignments will be conducted in accord with the principles of academic honor detailed in the Dartmouth Organization, Regulations and Courses. I encourage you to discuss ideas from class with your classmates. However, unless otherwise noted, assignments should be completed independently and all work turned in should be your own. You may study with classmates, but

(as noted above) you should not discuss the exam or your answers with classmates or anyone else while completing it. If your paper topic for a project is one that you're exploring in another class, independent study, or other academic work, you must let me and the other professor(s) know. If you have questions about what is permissible, I urge you to consult the academic honor principle (<https://students.dartmouth.edu/judicial-affairs/policy/academic-honor-principle>), the statement on sources and citations (<http://writing-speech.dartmouth.edu/learning/materials/sources-and-citations-dartmouth>), and talk with me.

Disclaimer

READING. READING. READING. This course focuses on reading assigned books and articles. You will not get much out of it if you do not read. I will administer short quizzes throughout the term without notice to examine whether you have done the readings or not.

I do not necessarily 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:

Week 1

1/5 Course Introduction

1/7 Individual Introduction

I. Power

Week 2

1/9 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

1/10 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”).

1/12 Racial Formation and the Racial State

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

1/14 Census and the Politics of Diversity

Alba, Richard. 2016. "The Likely Persistence of a White Majority: How Census Bureau Statistics Have Mised 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.

II. The History

Week 3

1/16 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

1/17 Reconstruction

Du Bois, W.E.B. 1910. “Reconstruction and Its Benefits” *American Historical Review* 15(4): 781-799.

Foner, Eric. 2014. *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877* (Updated Edition). HarperCollins: 281-333 (“Blueprints for a Republican South”).

1/19 Voting, Citizenship, and Linked Fate

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”).

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”).

1/21 Marginalization and Indigenous Institutions

Cohen, Cathy. 1999. *The Boundary of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. The University of Chicago Press: 1-77 (“The Boundaries of Black Politics” and “Marginalization: Power, Identity, and Membership”).

Week 4

1/23 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

1/24 Mass Incarceration and Power

Alexander, Michelle. 2010. *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. The New Press: 1-19 and 59-96 (“Introduction” and “The Lockdown”).
Muller, Christopher. 2012. “Northward Migration and the Rise of Racial Disparity in American Incarceration, 1880-1950.” *American Journal of Sociology* 118(2): 281-326.

1/26 The Politics of Loyalty

Muller, Eric. 2007. *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War II*. The University of North Carolina Press: 15-38 (“Presumed Loyal, Presumed Disloyal,” “Pressures on the Presumption of Disloyalty,” and “The Loyalty Questionnaires of 1943”).
Ichioka, Yuji. 2006. *Before Internment: Essays in Prewar Japanese American History*. Edited by Gordon H. Chang and Eiichiro Azuma. Stanford University Press: 153-179 (“The Meaning of Loyalty: The Case of Kazumaro Buddy Uno”).
Robinson, Greg. 2012. *After Camp: Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics*. University of California Press: 195-216 (“From *Korematsu* to *Brown*: Nisei and the Postwar Struggle for Civil Rights”).

1/28 The Politics of Scapegoating

Chavez, Leo. 2013. *The Latino Threat: Constructing Immigrants, Citizens, and the Nation* (second edition). Stanford University Press: 1-47 (“Introduction” and “The Latino Threat Narrative”).
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”).

III. The Movement

Week 5

1/30 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

1/31 The Sword and the Shield

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

Morris, Aldon. 1984. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. Free Press: 1-75 (“Domination, Church and the NAACP,” “Beginnings and Confrontations,” and “Movement Centers: MIA, ICC, and ACMHR”).

Joseph, Peniel. 2020. *The Sword and the Shield: The Revolutionary Lives of Malcom X and Martin Luther King Jr.* Basic Books: 267-306 (“The Revolutionary King”).

2/2 Black Power

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

Ture, Kawame, and Charles Hamilton. 1992. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. Vintage: 34-85 (“Black Power: Its Need and Substance” and “The Myths of Coalition”).

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”).

2/4 The Emergence of Panethnicity

Mora, Cristina. 2014. *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats and Media Constructed a New American*. The University of Chicago Press: 1-14 and 17-49 (“Introduction” and “Civil Rights, Brown Power, and the “Spanish-Speaking” Vote: The Development of the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities of Spanish Speaking People”).

Wei, William. 1993. *The Asian American Movement*. Temple University Press: 11-43 (“Origins of the Movement”).

Week 6

2/6 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

2/7 Red Power

Nagel, Joane. 1995. "American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and Resurgence of Identity." *American Sociological Review* 60(6): 947-965.

Estes, 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")

- Only available through the library website

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

2/9 Chicanos and the Brown Berets

Special Guest Presentation by Jackeline Rodriguez '23.

Jacky was a student for this class in 2021. After having heard about the Brown Berets in the class, she conducted independent research on the role of Chicana women in the movement and studied how their self-understanding transformed as a result of their participation in the movement. Her presentation will draw on rare archival evidence from several archives in Los Angeles. Her project was supported by the Office of Undergraduate Advising & Research (UGAR).

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

Chávez, Ernesto. 2002. "Birth of a New Symbol: The Brown Berets." "*Mi raza primero!*" (*My people first!*): *Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978*. University of California Press: 42-60.

Correa, Jennifer G. 2011. "The Targeting of the East Los Angeles Brown Berets by a Racial Patriarchal Capitalist State: Merging Intersectionality and Social Movement Research." *Critical Sociology* 37, no. 1: 83-101.

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

2/11 No class; midterm answers due by 12PM this day.

Week 7

2/13 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

2/14 Asian Americans

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: <https://voices.revealdigital.org/?a=d&d=GIDRA19691001-01>; see page 8).

2/16 (Poor) Whites

Painter, Nell Irvin. 2010. *The History of White People*. W.W. Norton: 343-382 (“A New White Race Politics,” “The Third Enlargement of American Whiteness,” and “Black Nationalism and White Ethnics”).

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”).

2/18 The Aftermath of Radicalism

Hinton, Elizabeth. 2021. *America on Fire: The Untold History of Police Violence and Black Rebellion Since the 1960s*. W.W. Norton and Company: 1-120 (“Introduction” and “Part I: Origins”)

IV. The Legacies

Week 8

2/20 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

2/21 The Revolt of the Black Athlete

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

Dr. Shaonta’ Allen is a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Sociology. 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 an assistant professor in 2023. See her [personal website](#) for more information.

- Edwards, Harry. 2018[1969]. *The Revolt of the Black Athlete (50th 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.

2/23 Black Lives Matter

- Garza, Alicia. 2020. *The Purpose of Power: How We Come Together When We Fall Apart*. One World Press: 95-122 and 241-267 (“Trayvon, Obama, and the Birth of Black Lives Matter” and “Platforms, Pedestals, and Profiles”).
- Ransby, Barbara. 2018. *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the 21st Century*. University of California Press: 96-122 (“Themes, Dilemmas, and Challenges”).

2/25 Undocumented Youth

Recommended viewing: *Change the Subject*

(available at: <https://www.library.dartmouth.edu/digital/digital-collections/change-the-subject>)

- 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”).

Week 9

2/27 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

2/28 The Debate around Asian American Identity

- Lee, Jennifer, and Min Zhou. 2020. “The Reigning Misperception About Culture and Asian American Achievement.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43(3): 508-515.
- 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/>).

Coleman, Madeline Leung. 2021. "Fear and Loathing in 'Asian America'" *Vulture* Oct. 15th.
(<https://www.vulture.com/2021/10/jay-caspian-kang-loneliest-americans-review.html>)

3/2 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

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/08/us/rocky-mount-capitol-riot-black-lives-matter.html>).

3/4 Beyond Diversity

Berrey, Ellen. 2015. *The Enigma of Diversity: The Language of Race and the Limits of Racial Justice*. The University of Chicago Press: 25-78 ("The Symbolic Politics of Racial Progress" and "Academically Excellent and Diverse").

Leong, Nancy. 2021. *Identity Capitalists: The Powerful Insiders Who Exploit Diversity to Maintain Inequality*. Stanford University Press: 1-40 ("Introduction" and "Fake Diversity").

Week 10

3/6 Reading response due by 8 PM EST

3/7 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").

Jung, Moon-kie. 2006. *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement*. Columbia University Press: 144-182 ("The Making of Working-Class Interracialism").

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").

