

PSCI 20721: Latinx Politics Spring 2021

Location: online

Time: T*Th 3:45-5:05pm

Professor: Dr. Avram Muñoz

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Office: Kauke Hall 128

Office Hours: MW 1:30-2:30pm, or by appointment

Course Overview

As one of the fastest growing demographic groups in the U.S., Latinxs are becoming increasingly important in American politics. Politicians talk about winning the Latinx vote, largely by appealing to Latinxs' preferences on key policy issues. But what are those Latinx preferences? Do attempts by politicians to appeal to Latinxs actually work? How well do legislators represent Latinx interests once they are elected? Do all Latinxs even think about policy issues the same, or are there differences within the Latinx community? This course offers some answers to these questions by examining the historical foundations of Latinxs' social and political experiences in the US, as well as the various ways Latinxs have engaged, and continue to engage, in American politics today.

We begin with discussions about what precisely it means to identify as Latinx, both socially and politically, and how that decision varies across Latinxs of different national origins. We then turn to discussions that center on Latinxs and their experiences within American politics, considering the nature of Latinx public opinion, partisanship, voting behavior, and representation. We also examine recent developments in immigration policy and politics, often seen as the quintessential Latinx issue in American politics today. We conclude with a return to *Latinidad*, and reconsider Latinx identity in light of our previous discussions.

On Terminology

My decision to use the term “Latinx”, both in speech and in writing, should not be taken as an indication that I expect you to do the same. As we will discuss in the course, the decision on how to identify—whether you are Latinx or not—is not simple and is in some cases highly personal. Other identifiers such as “Latino/a”, “Latin@”, or “Hispanic” (and others not listed here) are no less acceptable than “Latinx”. However, terms that are derogatory and/or discriminatory in nature will not be tolerated in any way.

The Remote Structure

For the entirety of the semester, this class will meet **remotely** via Microsoft Teams. These meetings will be **synchronous** (at the same time for everybody), from **3:45-5:05pm Eastern Time**. In addition to regular lectures and in-class discussions, we will use a variety of online tools to substitute for the activities that would often take place in the classroom. If you anticipate any issues with access to Teams, or the internet in general, please discuss this with me as soon as possible – consistent access to both the internet and Teams is essential to this class.

Expectations

I will keep track of attendance for each class session, and you are expected to attend every class, but this *will not* be a part of your final grade. However, regular attendance will help ensure that you do not fall behind and will provide you with a regular time and place to discuss any questions you may have about the course readings and lecture material. Consistent with the Community of Care Agreement and College Health and Safety Protocols (see more below), students unable to attend class due to COVID-19 policy or another serious illness will:

- Notify their instructor in advance of class absences and follow campus guidelines regarding a safe return to campus;
- Not be penalized for class absences related to illness, assuming they make up missed assignments in a timely manner be provided reasonable accommodations to access all course materials and will be given the opportunity to complete missed assignments online as is practicable.

While in class, you are expected to be an active participant. This means you are also expected to have completed the readings for the day before class starts. Cell phone use is strictly prohibited – texting (and the like) in class is disruptive to the entire class and inhibits your ability to participate in the discussion (at the very least, silence your notifications). Please strive to only use your computers for class-related purposes; I will not require that you always have your camera on and your microphone unmuted, but I do expect you to respect the classroom environment, such as it is.

Assignments must be turned in at the beginning of the class period in which they are due. Late assignments will be penalized one (1) point for each day beyond the due date. The only exceptions to this policy are health and family-related emergencies.

Required Books

There are two required books for this course, available at the bookstore or online. All other readings will be made available in Teams.

- 1) Lisa García Bedolla. 2014. *Latino Politics (2nd Edition)*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- 2) Tony Affigne, Evelyn Hu-DeHart, and Marion Orr (editors). *Latino Politics en Ciencia Política: The Search for Latino Identity and Racial Consciousness*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Course Requirements & Graded Assignments

The following will make up your course grade:

- Participation – 25%
 - In-class activities
 - TQEs
 - Lecture Leader
- Critical Response Papers (2) – 15%
- Paper (1st draft) – 15%
- Paper (final draft) – 30%
- Final Paper Presentation – 15%

Thoughts, Questions, and Epiphanies (TQEs): Please see the instructions and example on Moodle for further details of this assignment. Please limit yourself to filling the one page template – these are one page minimum/one page maximum assignments. You should fill up one page, single-spaced but it should not extend over more than one page. There will be 5 TQEs to complete throughout the semester.

Lecture Leader: Throughout the semester, there will be 6 opportunities for 2 students (or a group of 3) to serve as lecture leaders for a particular class session. Lecture leaders must 1) provide a brief summary of each reading, 2) formulate original questions to be posed to the class, and 3) lead discussion amongst your peers. **Everyone must be a lecture leader at least one time over the course of the semester.**

Critical Response Papers (CRPs): The critical response paper assignments allow students to forward their original thoughts inspired by course readings. Students should select a series of readings (within topics or across topics) and attempt to “connect the dots” between them. Successful papers should integrate information presented in the readings, lectures, and discussions into an original synthesis. CRP #1 should be 3 double-spaced, typed pages (worth 5%). CRP #2 should be 4 double-spaced, typed pages (worth 10%).

Final Paper: Students will be expected to complete an 8-10 page (double-spaced) literature review that identifies a question or issue in Latinx politics for further research. Your primary goal is to analyze existing, relevant literature and articulate how your question addresses a gap or shortcoming in the literature and thus contributes to our understanding of Latinx politics. Paper topics (research questions) must be approved by me **no later than Thursday, March 11.** Prior to submitting the final draft of your paper, you must submit a first draft on which I will offer extensive comments and feedback; this first draft is **due on April 15,** and I will send my feedback by April 22. The final draft of your paper is due at the beginning of our assigned final exam period – **4pm Eastern on Wednesday, May 5.**

Final Paper Presentation: In lieu of a final exam, students will present their papers to the rest of the class. More information on the presentation will come later in the semester.

Course Schedule

GB = García Bedolla, *Latino Politics*

CP = Affigne, Hu-DeHart, & Orr, *Latino Politics en Ciencia Política*

Week 1: Why Latinx Politics? Who is Latinx?

- Tuesday 1/19
 - o Fraga, Luis R., et al. 2006. “*Su Casa Es Nuestra Casa: Latino Politics Research and the Development of American Political Science.*” *American Political Science Review* 100(4): 515-521.
 - o CP – Foreword & Chapter 1
- Thursday 1/21
 - o GB – Chapter 1
 - o Schmidt, Ronald, Edwina Barvosa-Carter, and Rodolfo D. Torres. 2000. “Latina/o identities: Social diversity and US politics.” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 33(3): 563-567.

- de León, Concepción. 2018. “Another Hot Take on the Term ‘Latinx.’” *The New York Times*. November 21.
- Agrelo, Justin. 2017. “I don’t speak Spanish. Does that make me less Latinx?” *The Washington Post*.
- Hatzipanagos, Rachel. 2018. “‘Latinx’: An offense to the Spanish language or a nod to inclusion?” *The Washington Post*. September 14.
- Sopo. Giancarlo. 2019. “Progressives, Hispanics are not ‘Latinx.’ Stop trying to Anglicize our Spanish language.” *USA Today*. October 25.
- Noe-Bustamante, Luis, Lauren Mora, and Mark Hugo Lopez. 2020. “About One-in-Four U.S. Hispanics Have Heard of Latinx, but Just 3% Use It.” Pew Research Center. August 11. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2020/08/11/about-one-in-four-u-s-hispanics-have-heard-of-latinx-but-just-3-use-it/>

Week 2: Race, Ethnicity, & Identity

- Tuesday 1/26
 - LECTURE LEADER
 - Michael Omi & Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formations in the United States*. New York, NY: Routledge – pp. 53-91
 - Anzaldúa, Gloria. 2012. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco, CA: aunt lute books – Chapter 1
 - Gonzalez-Barrera, Ana, and Mark Hugo Lopez. 2015. “Is being Hispanic a matter of race, ethnicity, or both?” Pew Research Center. June 15. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/06/15/is-being-hispanic-a-matter-of-race-ethnicity-or-both/>
- Thursday 1/28
 - Alba, Richard. 2016. “The Likely Persistence of a White Majority.” *The American Prospect*. January 11. <https://prospect.org/civil-rights/likely-persistence-white-majority/>
 - Mora, G. Cristina, and Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz. 2017. “Latinos, Race, and the American Future: A Response to Richard Alba’s ‘The Likely Persistence of a White Majority.’” *New Labor Forum* 26(2): 40-46.

Week 3: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Chicano Movement

- Tuesday 2/2
 - **TQE #1 DUE**
 - GB – Chapter 3, pp. 45-71
 - Carrigan, William D., and Clive Webb. 2015. “When Americans Lynched Mexicans.” *The New York Times*, February 20.
 - Romero, Simon. 2019. “Lynch Mobs Killed Latinos Across the West. The Fight to Remember These Atrocities is Just Starting.” *The New York Times*. March 2. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/02/us/porvenir-massacre-texas-mexicans.html>
 - Hancy López, Ian. 2003. *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*. Belknap Press – Chapter 9
- Thursday 2/4
 - GB – Chapter 3, pp. 71-103
 - Film – “Latino Americans: Prejudice & Pride” (PBS)
 - Guest Lecture: Dr. Corral

Week 4: Feminism & Gender in el Movimiento and Latinx Politics

- Tuesday 2/9
 - o LECTURE LEADER
 - o Blackwell, Maylei. 2011. *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* – Chapter 2
 - o Beltrán, Cristina. 2010. *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*. Oxford University Press – Chapter 1
- Thursday 2/11
 - o **CRP #1 DUE**
 - o Fraga, Luis R., and Sharon A. Navarro. 2007. “Latinas in Latino Politics.” In *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation*, ed. Rodolfo Espino, David L. Leal, and Kenneth J. Meier, pp. 177-196.
 - o Bejarano, Christina E. 2014. “Latino Gender and Generation Gaps in Ideology,” *Politics & Gender* 10(1): 62-88.

Week 5: Puerto Rican & Cuban Politics

- Tuesday 2/16
 - o GB – Chapter 4
- Thursday 2/18
 - o GB – Chapter 5

Week 6: Dominicans, Central Americans, and Transnationalism

- Tuesday 2/23
 - o LECTURE LEADER
 - o GB – Chapter 6
 - o GB – Chapter 7
- Thursday 2/25
 - o CP – Chapter 3 (Sarah Allen Gershon and Adrian D. Pantoja, “Latino Immigrant Transnational Ties: Who Has Them, and Why Do They Matter?”)
 - o Film – “Latino Americans: The New Latinos” (PBS)

Week 7: The Effects of Assimilation & Acculturation

- Tuesday 3/2
 - o CP – Chapter 6 (Heather Silber Mohamed, “The Boundaries of Americanness: Perceived Barriers among Latino Subgroups”)
 - o Fraga, Luis R. et al. 2012. *Latinos in the New Millennium: An Almanac of Opinion, Behavior, and Policy Preferences*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press – Chapter 3
- Thursday 3/4
 - o **TQE #2 DUE**
 - o Branton, Regina. 2007. “Latino Attitudes toward Various Areas of Public Policy: The Importance of Acculturation.” *Political Research Quarterly* 60(2): 293-303.
 - o Michelson, Melissa. 2007. “All Roads Lead to Rust: How Acculturation Erodes Latino Immigrant Trust in Government.” *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 2: 21-46.

Week 8: Public Opinion

- Tuesday 3/9: NO CLASS
- Thursday 3/11

- LECTURE LEADER
- Sanchez, Gabriel R. 2006. “The Role of Group Consciousness in Latino Public Opinion,” *Political Research Quarterly* 59(3): 435-46.
- Leal, David L. 2007. “Latino Public Opinion: Does It Exist?” In *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation*, ed. Rodolfo Espino, David L. Leal, and Kenneth J. Meier. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press – pp. 27-43.

Week 9: Partisanship & Ideology

- Tuesday 3/16
 - Fraga, Luis R. et al. 2012. *Latinos in the New Millennium* – Chapter 10
 - Alvarez, R. Michael, and Lisa García Bedolla. 2003. “The Foundations of Latino Voter Partisanship: Evidence from the 2000 Election,” *The Journal of Politics* 65(1): 31-49.
 - Lopez, Mark Hugo et al. 2016. “Latinos and the political parties.” Pew Research Center, October 11.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2016/10/11/latinos-and-the-political-parties/>
- Thursday 3/18
 - Manzano, Sylvia. 2010. “Latinos are less welcomed by both Democratic and Republican Parties.” *Latino Decisions*, February 22.
<https://latinodecisions.com/blog/latinos-are-less-welcomed/>
 - Manzano, Sylvia. 2010. “Are Latinos Loyal Partisans?” *Latino Decisions*, March 2. <https://latinodecisions.com/blog/are-latinos-loyal-partisans/>
 - Segura, Gary, and Shaun Bowler. 2011. “It’s True: Latinos are Liberals, and Other Important Matters.” *Latino Decisions*, August 16.
<https://latinodecisions.com/blog/its-true-latinos-are-liberals-and-other-important-matters/>

Week 10: Immigration Policy & Politics

- Tuesday 3/23
 - Center for Immigration Studies – “Historical Overview of Immigration Policy.”
<https://cis.org/Historical-Overview-Immigration-Policy>
 - Lopez, Mark Hugo, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, & Jens Manuel Krogstad. 2018. “Views of immigration policy.” Pew Research Center, October 25.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2018/10/25/views-of-immigration-policy/>
 - Cortez, David. 2020. “Latinxs in La Migra: Why They Join and Why It Matters.” *Political Research Quarterly*. June. doi:10.1177/1065912920933674
- Thursday 3/25
 - Beltrán, Cristina. 2020. *Cruelty as Citizenship: How Migrant Suffering Sustains White Democracy*. University of Minnesota Press.
<https://manifold.umn.edu/projects/cruelty-as-citizenship>

Week 11: Representation

- Tuesday 3/30
 - LECTURE LEADER

- Wallace, Sophia Jordán. 2014. “Examining Latino Support for Descriptive Representation: The Role of Identity and Discrimination.” *Social Science Quarterly* 95(2): 311-327.
- Wilson, Walter Clark. 2017. *From Inclusion to Influence: Latino Representation in Congress and Latino Political Incorporation in America*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press – Chapter 6
- Thursday 4/1
 - **TQE #3 DUE**
 - Hero, Rodney E. and Robert R. Preuhs. 2013. *Black-Latino Relations in U.S. National Politics: Beyond Conflict or Cooperation*. Cambridge University Press – Chapter 8
 - Corral, Álvaro J. 2020. “Allies, Antagonists, or Ambivalent? Exploring Latino Attitudes About the Black Lives Matter Movement.” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 42(4): 431-454.

Week 12 (April 6 & 8): NO CLASS

Week 13: Latinx Political Mobilization & Participation

- Tuesday 4/13
 - GB – Chapter 2
 - Barreto, Matt. 2007. “‘Si Se Puede’: Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters”, *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 425-441.
- Thursday 4/15
 - **LIT REVIEW DRAFT DUE**
 - LECTURE LEADER
 - Barreto, Matt A., and Stephen A. Nuño. 2011. “The Effectiveness of Coethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment.” *Political Research Quarterly* 64(2): 448-459.
 - MacGillis, Alec. 2016. “How Republicans Lost Their Best Shot at the Hispanic Vote.” *The New York Times Magazine*, September 15.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/18/magazine/how-republicans-lost-their-best-shot-at-the-hispanic-vote.html>
 - Del Real, Jose A. 2018. “Who Are We Talking About When We Talk About Latino Voters?” *New York Times*, October 24.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/24/us/latino-vote-midterm-elections.html>

Week 14: Latinxs & Presidential Elections

- Tuesday 4/20
 - **TQE #4 DUE**
 - Barreto, Matt et al. 2008. “Should They Dance with the One Who Brung ‘Em: Latinos and the 2008 Presidential Election”, *PS: Political Science and Politics* October: 753-760.
 - Corral, Álvaro J., and David L. Leal. 2020. “Latinos por Trump? Latinos and the 2016 Presidential Election.” *Social Science Quarterly* 101(3): 1115-1131.
- Thursday 4/22
 - Ramos, Jorge. 2020. “Latino Voters Will Decide the 2020 Election.” *New York Times*, January 10. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/10/opinion/latinos-2020.html>

- Paz, Christian. 2020. “Democrats Should Be Worried About the Latino Vote.” *The Atlantic*, January 14.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2020/01/democrats-should-be-worried-about-latino-vote/604882/>
- Narea, Nicole. 2020. “Most Latinos voted for Biden – but 2020 revealed fault lines for Democrats.” Vox. November 12.
<https://www.vox.com/21551025/latino-national-vote-biden-trump-2020-florida-texas>

Week 15: Reconsidering *Latinidad*: Intersectionality & Panethnicity

- Tuesday 4/27

- **CRP #2 DUE**
- Mora, G. Cristina. 2014. *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, & Media Constructed a New American*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press – Introduction & Conclusion
- Beltrán, Cristina. 2010. *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press – Conclusion
- Miguel Salazar. 2019. “The Problem with Latinidad.” *The Nation*, September 16.
<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/hispanic-heritage-month-latinidad/>

FINAL PAPERS DUE: Wednesday May 5, 4pm EASTERN

FINAL PRESENTATIONS: Wednesday May 5, 4-6:30pm EASTERN

COVID-19: Community of Care & Health and Safety Protocols

The College of Wooster is concerned for the health and well-being of the entire community. The nature of COVID-19 is such that each of our individual actions affects not only our personal well-being but also those of every other person with whom we interact or share a space. Given the fluidity of the current situation, students and faculty alike will need to be adaptable and flexible as events may occur that necessitate a change in the course schedule or mode of delivery. To minimize the disruption that might occur if a student falls ill or is unable to attend classes for some other legitimate reason, class materials and communications are available electronically.

This class will operate consistent with Wooster’s Community of Care Agreement, part of broader Health and Safety Protocols (<https://www.wooster.edu/info/fall-2020-guide/health-safety/>).

Among the key points from the agreement that you signed before returning to campus are:

- Maintaining social distancing;
- Wearing a face mask: All students and instructors must arrive to class wearing a mask over their mouth and nose. If a student does not have a mask, the student must pick up a disposable mask (available throughout campus) before joining the class session.
- Taking part in germ prevention strategies, including sanitizing our workspaces for the next students;
- Participating in regular COVID-19 testing provided by the College;
- Participating in the daily symptom screening program;
- Abiding by any additional expectations for campus life that the College will provide over time, based on evolving public health guidance.

- Regularly monitoring your email and course Moodle sites to receive timely information from faculty and staff, who may need to make quick adjustments to classes and college programming.
- Treating one another with kindness and respect, understanding that the COVID-19 pandemic is difficult for everyone, but it impacts each person differently.

Academic Honesty & Code of Academic Integrity

The academic program at the College seeks to promote the intellectual development of each student and the realization of that individual's potential for creative thinking, learning, and understanding. In achieving this, each student must learn to act rigorously, independently, and imaginatively.

The College's understanding and expectations in regard to issues of academic honesty are fully articulated in the Code of Academic Integrity as published in [The Scot's Key](#) and form an essential part of the implicit contract between the student and the College. The Code provides framework at Wooster to help students develop and exhibit honesty in their academic work. You are expected to know and abide by these rules.

Dishonesty in any of your academic work is a serious breach of the Code of Academic Integrity and is ground for serious penalties. Such violations include turning in another person's work as your own, copying from any source without proper citation, violating expectations for a group project, submitting an assignment produced for a course to a second course without the authorization of all the instructors, and dishonesty in connection with your academic work. You will be held responsible for your actions. Particular attention should be directed to the appropriate use of materials available online. Whether intentional or not, improper use of materials is a violation of academic honesty. If you are unsure as to what is permissible, please contact your course instructor.

The Learning Center: Academic Support & Disabilities

The Learning Center, which is in APEX (Gault library) offers a variety of academic support services, programs and 1:1 meetings available to all students. Popular areas of support include time management techniques, class preparation tips and test taking strategies. In addition, the Learning Center coordinates peer-tutoring for several academic departments. Students are encouraged to schedule an appointment.

The Learning Center also coordinates accommodations for students with diagnosed disabilities. At the beginning of the semester, students should contact the Learning Center to make arrangements for securing appropriate accommodations. Although the Learning Center will notify professors of students with documented disabilities and the approved accommodations, students are encouraged to speak with professors during the first week of each semester. If a student does not request accommodations or does not provide documentation to the Learning Center, faculty are under no obligation to provide accommodations.

For more information or to schedule an appointment, please visit the Learning Center's webpage: <https://www.wooster.edu/offices/learning/>.

Preferred Gender Pronoun

This course affirms people of all gender expressions and gender identities. If you prefer to be called a different name than what is on the class roster, please let me know. Feel free to correct me on your

preferred gender pronoun. If you have any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me.

If you are interested in changing your chosen name and/or including your pronoun(s) in The College of Wooster system, [you can find additional information here](#). What appears in The College of Wooster system is what will display in all platforms across Microsoft Teams and Zoom. There is no alternative way to change your name or to add pronouns in Teams, but you can add a background that includes these to both Teams and Zoom. For instructions on designing a personalized background, see <https://www.wooster.edu/offices/sgi/pronouns/pronouns-virtually/>.

Mental Health & Well-Being at Wooster

I greatly value your experience in this class, and it is my duty to facilitate a safe, caring, and productive learning environment. I recognize that you may experience a range of emotional, physical, and/or psychological issues, both in and out of the classroom, that may distract you from your learning. If you are experiencing such issues, please do not hesitate to contact me—I am here to listen. We can also discuss what further resources might be available to you.

The College of Wooster as a whole is committed to supporting the well-being of our students. During the course of their academic careers, students experience challenges that contribute to barriers in learning and can interfere with daily life, including but not limited to: strained relationships, adjusting to a new environment, chronic worrying, persistent sadness or loss of interest in enjoyable activities, family conflict, grief and loss, domestic violence, unwanted sexual experiences, difficulty concentrating, drug/alcohol problems, significant changes in eating and sleeping patterns, microaggressions, challenges with organization, procrastination and/or lack of motivation. Counseling Services at the Longbrake Student Wellness Center is a free and confidential resource providing short-term counseling and connections to community agencies for students needing longer term or specialized resources. You can make an appointment by calling 330.263.2319 between 8:30am-4:30pm during weekdays or by emailing Lori Stine (lstine@wooster.edu). You can also find helpful resources on the Counseling Services website at <https://www.wooster.edu/offices/health/counseling/>.

If you or a friend is in crisis, please call Security and Protective Services at 330-287-3333 or the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline (1-800-273-TALK) or connect with the Crisis Text Line by Texting “4HOPE” to 741-741.

For financial concerns: Dean of Students Office, dos@wooster.edu (330) 263-2545, [DoS website](#)

For safety concerns: Campus Security and Protective Services (330)263-2590 or cow-security@wooster.edu, [SPS website](#). **In the case of an emergency, call: 330-287-3333.**