

PSCI 299: Latino/a/x Identity and Politics in the US
Spring 2020

Location: 224 Christiansen Hall of Music
Time: MWF 9:05am-10am

Professor: Avram Muñoz
munoz5@stolaf.edu

Office: 422 Holland Hall
Office Hours: MW 1pm-3pm, 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, as well as the question of how much Latinxs should try to acculturate or assimilate into American society. 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 in Congress. We also examine recent developments in immigration policy and politics, often seen as the quintessential Latinx issue in American politics today. We finish the term by examining the roots of social activism and movements within Latinx politics, especially the Chicano Movement, and reconsider them in light of our earlier discussions about the nature of Latinx identity and theories of intersectionality.

Classes will include some lecture but will be primarily discussion-oriented. Thus, it is important for students to keep up with the assigned readings so they are ready to actively participate in class 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.

Required Books

There are two required books for this course, available for purchase in the bookstore:

- 1) Lisa García Bedolla. 2014. *Latino Politics (2nd Edition)*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

- 2) Matt Barreto & Gary M. Segura. 2014. *Latino America: How America's Most Dynamic Population is Poised to Transform the Politics of the Nation*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs.

All other readings will be made available on Moodle.

Course Requirements & Graded Assignments

The following will make up your course grade:

- Attendance & Participation – 15%
- Discussion Questions – 25%
- Initial Paper – 10%
- Final Paper – 35%
- Final Presentation – 15%

Discussion Questions: Starting with the second class on February 10, all students will submit at least 1 thoughtful and thought-provoking discussion question drawn from the readings to the discussion forum on the course Moodle page. These questions may be about something interesting or controversial from one or more readings, how a reading fits in with theories or concepts previously discussed in class, or how a reading interacts with current events concerning Latino/a/x politics. Please feel free to engage in discussion with your classmates on this forum – we likely will not be able to address every question in a given class session (this may also count toward your participation grade for the course). Your question should be submitted by 10pm the night before class; I will use these questions to prompt and guide in-class discussions, so please do your best to ensure your question is submitted on time.

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 and proposes a way of studying that question or issue. **Your topic for this paper must be approved by me no later than Friday, March 13.** Papers are primarily expected to review the relevant literature, but also must lay out the student's expectations or hypotheses, explain the research design for the project, and discuss the expected results as well as the implications if these results are found. **An initial, full draft of your paper is due on April 13;** I will read and comment extensively on this draft of the paper and return it to you the following class session (April 20). As you complete the final draft of your paper, be sure to incorporate the feedback and comments provided on the initial draft. **The final draft of your paper is due at the beginning of class on May 13.**

Final Paper Presentation: In lieu of a final exam, students will present their papers to the rest of the class. These presentations should highlight the question asked by the paper and its significance to either political science or the study of Latino/a/x politics, how the paper fits within existing literature, your hypotheses and expectations, and the implications of your potential findings. More information on the presentation will come later in the semester.

Course Schedule

Week 1: Introductions; Why Study Latino/a/x Politics?

- February 7
 - o García Bedolla – Chapter 1
 - o Luis R. Fraga, 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.

- William H. Frey. 2018. “The US will become ‘minority white’ in 2045, Census projects.” The Brookings Institution, March 14.
<http://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2018/03/14/the-us-will-become-minority-white-in-2045-census-projects/>
- Albert Morales. 2020. “To win Texas, mobilize Texas Latinos.” Latino Decisions, January 16. <https://latinodecisions.com/blog/to-win-texas-mobilize-texas-latinos/>

Week 2: Race, Ethnicity, & Identity

- February 10
 - Michael Omi & Howard Winant. 1994. *Racial Formations in the United States*. New York, NY: Routledge – pp. 53-91
 - Victoria Hattam. 2007. *In the Shadow of Race: Jews, Latinos, and Immigrant Politics in the United States*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press – Chapters 1 & 5
- February 12
 - Mark Hugo Lopez, Jens Manuel Krogstad, & Jeffrey S. Passel. 2019. “Who is Hispanic?” Pew Research Center, November 11.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/11/11/who-is-hispanic/>
 - García Bedolla: Chapter 3 (pp. 45-71), Chapter 4 (pp. 104-130), Chapter 5 (pp. 131-151)
- February 14
 - Yara Simón. 2018. “Hispanic vs. Latino vs. Latinx: A Brief History of How These Words Originated.” Remezcla, September 14.
<https://remezcla.com/features/culture/latino-vs-hispanic-vs-latinx-how-these-words-originated/>
 - Cristina Beltrán. 2010. *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press – Conclusion

Week 3: The Effects of Assimilation & Acculturation

- February 17
 - David G. Gutiérrez. 1995. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press – pp. 69-95, 152-168
- February 19
 - Luis R. Fraga, et al. 2012. *Latinos in the New Millennium: An Almanac of Opinion, Behavior, and Policy Preferences*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press – Chapter 3
 - Regina Branton. 2007. “Latino Attitudes toward Various Areas of Public Policy: The Importance of Acculturation.” *Political Research Quarterly* 60(2): 293-303.
- February 21
 - Melissa Michelson. 2007. “All Roads Lead to Rust: How Acculturation Erodes Latino Immigrant Trust in Government.” *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 2: 21-46.

Week 4: Public Opinion

- February 24
 - David L. Leal. 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.
- February 26

- Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2006. "The Role of Group Consciousness in Latino Public Opinion," *Political Research Quarterly* 59(3): 435-46.
- Nathan J. Kelly & Jana Morgan. 2008. "Religious Traditionalism and Latino Politics in the United States." *American Politics Research* 36(2): 236-263.
- February 28
 - Barreto & Segura – Chapters 11-12

Week 5: Partisanship & Ideology

- March 2
 - Luis R. Fraga, et al. 2012. *Latinos in the New Millennium* – Chapter 10
 - Sylvia Manzano. 2010. "Latinos are less welcomed by both Democratic and Republican Parties." Latino Decisions, February 22.
<https://latinodecisions.com/blog/latinos-are-less-welcomed/>
 - Sylvia Manzano. 2010. "Are Latinos Loyal Partisans?" Latino Decisions, March 2. <https://latinodecisions.com/blog/are-latinos-loyal-partisans/>
- March 4
 - R. Michael Alvarez and Lisa García Bedolla. 2003. "The Foundations of Latino Voter Partisanship: Evidence from the 2000 Election," *The Journal of Politics* 65(1): 31-49.
 - Mark Hugo Lopez, 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/>
- March 6
 - Gary Segura & 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/>
 - Christina E. Bejarano. 2014. "Latino Gender and Generation Gaps in Ideology," *Politics & Gender* 10(1): 62-88.

Week 6: Immigration Policy & Politics (March 9, 11, 13)

- March 9
 - García Bedolla – pp. 98-102, pp. 178-191, pp. 219-231, Chapter 8
 - Center for Immigration Studies – "Historical Overview of Immigration Policy."
<https://cis.org/Historical-Overview-Immigration-Policy>
- March 11
 - Barreto & Segura – Chapters 9 & 10
 - Mark Hugo Lopez, 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/>
- March 13 – PAPER TOPIC APPROVAL DEADLINE
 - Gloria Anzaldúa. 2012. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. San Francisco, CA: aunt lute books – Chapter 1
 - Alfonso Gonzales. 2014. *Reform Without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press – Introduction & Chapter 1

Week 7: Representation I – Latinxs in Legislatures

- March 16
 - o Jason P. Casellas. 2011. *Latino Representation in State Houses and Congress*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press – Chapter 5
 - o Stella M. Rouse. 2013. *Latinos in the Legislative Process: Interests and Influence*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press – Chapter 5
- March 18
 - o Sophia Jordán Wallace, 2014, “Examining Latino Support for Descriptive Representation: The Role of Identity and Discrimination,” *Social Science Quarterly* 95(2): 311-327.
- March 20
 - o Walter Clark Wilson. 2017. *From Inclusion to Influence: Latino Representation in Congress and Latino Political Incorporation in America*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press – Chapter 6

SPRING BREAK (March 21-29)

Week 8: Representation II – Intergroup Conflict or Cooperation?

- March 30
 - o Rodney E. Hero. 1992. *Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two-Tiered Pluralism*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press – Chapter 11
 - o Betina Cutaia Wilkinson. 2014. “Perceptions of Commonality and Latino-Black, Latino-White Relations in a Multiethnic United States.” *Political Research Quarterly* 67(4): 905-916.
- April 1
 - o Rodney E. Hero and Robert R. Preuhs. 2013. *Black-Latino Relations in U.S. National Politics: Beyond Conflict or Cooperation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press – Chapter 8
- April 3
 - o Vanessa C. Tyson. 2016. *Twists of Fate: Multiracial Coalitions and Minority Representation in the US House of Representatives*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press – Chapter 2

Week 9: Voting, Campaigns & Elections I (Campaigns)

- April 6
 - o Marisa A. Abrajano. 2010. *Campaigning to the New American Electorate: Advertising to Latino Voters*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press – Introduction, Chapter 5, Chapter 7
- April 8
 - o Alec MacGillis. 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>
 - o Matt A. Barreto and Stephen A. Nuño. 2009. “The Effectiveness of Coethnic Contact on Latino Political Recruitment.” *Political Research Quarterly* 64(2): 448-459.
- April 10 – NO CLASS

Week 10: Voting, Campaigns, & Elections II (Voting & Mobilization)

- April 13 – INITIAL PAPER DUE
 - o García Bedolla – Chapter 2
 - o Jose A. Del Real. 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>
- April 15
 - o Ricardo Ramírez, 2013, *Mobilizing Opportunities: The Evolving Latino Electorate and the Future of American Politics*: Chapter 1
 - o Matt Barreto, 2007, “‘Si Se Puede’: Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters”, *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 425-441.
- April 17
 - o Lisa García Bedolla. 2005. *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity and Politics in Los Angeles*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press – Chapter 4

Week 11: Voting, Campaigns, & Elections III (National Elections)

- April 20
 - o Barreto & Segura – Chapters 5-7
 - o Matt Barreto 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.
- April 22
 - o Barreto & Segura – Chapters 8 & 10
 - o Jens Manuel Krogstad, et al. 2016. “Looking Back to 2014: Latino Voter Turnout Rate Falls to Record Low.” Pew Research Center, January 19.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2016/01/19/looking-back-to-2014-latino-voter-turnout-rate-falls-to-record-low/>
- April 24
 - o Latino Decisions. 2016. “The Rundown on Latino Voter Election Eve Polling and Latino Exit Polls.” November 9. <https://latinodecisions.com/blog/the-rundown-on-latino-voter-election-eve-polling-and-latino-exit-polls/>
 - o Asma Khalid. 2016. “Latinos Will Never Vote For A Republican, And Other Myths About Hispanics From 2016.” NPR, December 22.
<https://www.npr.org/2016/12/22/506347254/latinos-will-never-vote-for-a-republican-and-other-myths-about-hispanics-from-20>
 - o Joel Rose. 2018. “Big Latino Turnout in Midterms Raises Stakes for 2020.” NPR, November 19. <https://www.npr.org/2018/11/19/668665372/big-latino-turnout-in-midterms-raises-stakes-for-2020>
 - o Jorge Ramos. 2020. “Latino Voters Will Decide the 2020 Election.” *New York Times*, January 10. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/10/opinion/latinos-2020.html>
 - o Christian Paz. 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/>

Week 12: Social Movements & Activism

- April 27
 - o Ian Haney López. 2003. *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press (of Harvard University Press) – Chapters 8 & 9, Epilogue
- April 29
 - o Victor Rodriguez. 1999. “Boricuas, African Americans, and Chicanos in the Far West: Notes on the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement in California, 1960s-1980.” In *Latino Social Movements*, eds. Rodolfo O. Torres and George Katsiaficas – pp. 79-110.
- May 1
 - o Laura Pulido. 1996. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press – Chapter 3

Week 13: Gender & *Latinidad*

- May 4
 - o Cristina Beltrán. 2010. *The Trouble with Unity* – Chapter 1
 - o Maylei Blackwell. 2011. *¡Chicana Power! Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* – Chapter 2
- May 6
 - o Luis R. Fraga & 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.
- May 8
 - o Christina E. Bejarano, 2013, *The Latina Advantage*. Introduction, Chapter 1, Conclusion

Week 14: Intersectionality & Panethnicity

- May 11
 - o Cristina Beltrán. 2010. *The Trouble with Unity* – Introduction, Chapter 2
 - o G. Cristina Mora. 2014. *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, & Media Constructed a New American*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press – Introduction & Conclusion
- May 13 – FINAL PAPER DUE
 - o Miguel Salazar. 2019. “The Problem with *Latinidad*.” *The Nation*, September 16. <https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/hispanic-heritage-month-latinidad/>

FINAL PRESENTATIONS: Saturday May 16, 9am-11am

Accommodations

I am committed to supporting the learning of all students in my class. If you have already registered with Disability and Access (DAC) and have your letter of accommodations, please meet with me as soon as possible to discuss, plan, and implement your accommodations in the course. If you have or think you have a disability (learning, sensory, physical, chronic health, mental health or attentional), please contact Disability and Access staff at 507-786-3288 or by visiting wp.stolaf.edu/academic-support/dac.

Mental Health

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 come see me—I am here to listen. We can also discuss what further resources might be available to you.

Plagiarism and Academic Integrity

Plagiarism, the unacknowledged appropriation of another person's words or ideas, is a serious academic offense. It is imperative that you hand in work that is your own, and that cites or gives credit to others whenever you draw from their work. Please see St. Olaf's statements on academic integrity and plagiarism at: <http://wp.stolaf.edu/thebook/academic/integrity/>. See also the description of St. Olaf's honor system at: <https://wp.stolaf.edu/honorcouncil/>.

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.

Statement of Inclusivity

In keeping with St. Olaf College's mission statement, this class strives to be an inclusive learning community, respecting those of differing backgrounds and beliefs. As a community, we aim to be respectful to all citizens in this class, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender or sexual orientation.

St. Olaf Pride Statement

As an Ole, I will practice: PASSION for learning and pursuit of vocation; RESPECT for the worth and dignity of all people; INTEGRITY at all times, in all circumstances; DEDICATION to a life of service; and ENGAGEMENT with my community and the world.