

Jan 25, 2022

**Harvard University**  
**“Race in a Polarized America”**  
**GenEd 1052; GOVT E-1555**

**Cross-listed in Government Department, and  
Department of African and African American Studies**

<https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/99210> (GENED)  
<https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/96155/> (GOVT)

Professor Jennifer Hochschild  
Spring 2022  
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*Teaching Fellows for Gen Ed 1052:*

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## INTRODUCTION

How can Americans manage issues of race, ethnicity, and immigration in a polarized political era? What role did race play in the elections of Presidents Obama, then Trump, then Biden? How can we be good citizens of the world when Americans' views and activities regarding racial and ethnic inequality, identity, and policy choices are so disparate and contested?

"Race in a Polarized America" begins to address these questions through two core disputes: Is the United States fundamentally a white supremacist society with aspirations to liberal democracy, or an aspirational liberal democracy that remains flawed by race-based hierarchy? Is the United States a relatively successful settler society with episodes of xenophobia, or a society structured by initial genocide and shaped by persistent ethnic hierarchy? We then consider the meaning of race and racism, electoral politics, protest and social movements, and intersections of class and gender with race or ethnicity. Finally, we examine hot-button policy issues: incarceration and policing, affirmative action, use of DNA in the criminal justice system, and undocumented migration. Throughout the semester, we seek to clarify our views while reducing unproductive polarization, and how you -- the next citizens of the world -- can promote a better America even, or especially, when we disagree on just what "better" entails.

Course readings range from public speeches and judicial decisions to works in political science, sociology, economics, and a bit of genomic science. Our goal for you is deeper understanding of how racial or ethnic injustice and progress are mixed in a country purportedly dedicated to democracy and justice-- and development of tools to challenge the failures and promote the successes of the United States.

Course objectives include:

*Substantively:* bring siloed or politicized analyses of particular groups into direct conversation, and engage with fraught issues of political power, social activism, racial hierarchy and equality, and group dynamics.

*Pedagogically:* analyze views and—yes—disagree with each other, with respect and willingness to engage, trusting that we have enough good will, shared ground, facts, and ideas for fruitful interaction;

*Behaviorally:* take seriously the mission of becoming better "citizens in the world," through group projects that move us out of the classroom into the public arena, to give you new strategies for civic activity long after the class ends.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

*Logistics:*

Students will attend bi-weekly lectures and a weekly discussion section. Lectures and sections will be in-class for Gen Ed 1052, and online for GOVT E-1555 (GOVT E-1555 students are welcome to in-class lectures if their schedule permits). In the first week of class, we will determine section times that accommodate the most students.

All students will meet with their TF for ~20 minutes once early in the semester, and again later in the semester. Students will also meet with Professor Hochschild at least once, whether to discuss course material, broader intellectual issues, plans for the future, or

whatever. Covid permitting, these meetings will be in person for Gen Ed students, and online for GOVT students (unless you are available in person).

We expect full attendance and participation in lectures and sections. Students must pass each component of the course to pass the course as a whole. We will provide handouts as we go through the weeks with more detailed descriptions of assignments, examples as warranted, and evaluation rubrics.

*Grades:*

Gen Ed 1052/GOVT E-1555 has three<sup>1</sup> graded components, worth equal amounts for computing the final grade. You will

- engage with the assigned readings, and actively participate in classes and section (individual grade);
- work with 2 or 3 other students in a group research project, with all segments combined for the project grade (same for all group participants);
- write several short essays (individual grade).

*Preview of the written components:*

By February 10, you will submit an essay of up to 1000 words, explaining which of the four initial propositions, or some combination, is the most persuasive – and why (individually graded).

By March 7, you will submit a memo of three paragraphs, each with an idea for a small group project. Each paragraph will identify a research question, link it to course readings and concepts, and outline how a group might investigate it. The three paragraphs should be on separate topics, perhaps with different research strategies (part of participation grade).

During sections in the week of March 14, you will join small groups, based on the proposals in your March 7 memos, and begin to specify your project. (We will continue to include time in class and sections for brainstorming, strategizing about conduct of research, and ways to address [the inevitable!] problems that emerge in research.)

By March 25, your group will submit a description (up to 2500 words) of your project, connecting it with course materials and showing plans for conducting the research (part of group grade for research project).

In sections in the weeks of April 18 or 25, each group will present the results of their research, with appropriate visual display (power point graphics, video, skit...) (part of group grade for research project).

By May 7, each group will submit its final written report, with appropriate graphics or other components (part of group grade for research project). In addition, each student will submit a memo of up to 750 words, reflecting on their group project in light of the goals of the course-- discussing what went well and less than well, and how you revise it if the project were to be repeated (individually graded).

By May 10 (or final date of exams), you will revisit your essay of February 10, analyzing how your views have changed or otherwise developed through the course. This essay will

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<sup>1</sup> Students taking GOVT E-1555 for graduate credit will have additional assignments, with a slightly different grading distribution. See *Note to GOVT E-1555 graduate students*, below.

include use of course materials, showing how they have affected your understanding of the initial four propositions.

*Note to GOVT E-1555 graduate students:* In order for the course to enable mastery of graduate-level material and ideas, students have two additional writing requirements. They are:

Three one-page memos, distributed as you wish across the semester, each reflecting on the readings and lectures for a given week (part of participation grade).

A literature review, due on April 4, aimed at enriching the research and analysis in your group project. It will specify the most interesting and important question(s) that your group is examining, and evaluate academic writings that further your ability to consider those questions. (individual grade).

### **POSSIBLE MODELS FOR GROUP RESEARCH PROJECTS**

To whet your appetite and get you started thinking, here are several modes of research among which your group might want to choose. We will work with you to design projects, including any modifications necessary to a Covid context:

*Interviews:* Conduct systematic conversations with a small group of people for whom aspects of racial or ethnic dynamics are a central part of their lives. These might be immigrants or their children, people who identify as multiracial, people whose work centrally involves issues of race, ethnicity, or immigration, and so on. Your task will include analyzing their experiences of race or ethnicity, their activities to improve some aspect of American racial or ethnic dynamics, and their political or policy viewpoints or goals.

*Field experiment:* Your group places people in relevantly different situations, and then determines if the differences are associated with variation in important views or behaviors. For example, you might work with a partner of another race or ethnicity and see whether people respond differently to a set of questions, or you might seek views from a random set of people about political candidates who are similar except for their racial background or type of political activism.

*Disciplined observation:* Your group attends community events or other activities, after designing a coding scheme to enable precise measurement of how the event unfolds or what might explain changes or differences across events. For example, do political candidates of different races or ethnicities talk to voters differently, and are those differences associated with the race or ethnicity of the voter? Or do school board or PTA meetings in immigrant communities differ systematically from meetings in communities of the native-born?

*Survey:* Design and implement a poll that you present to a sample population. You will identify an expectation to be tested, operationalize it through questions that people can answer and response categories that make sense to them, determine an appropriate sample from a defined population, deliver the survey, and analyze the results. For example, do people with family members who are immigrants (or Muslim, or multiracial) hold different views about immigration, religious difference, or definitions of race than do people without those types of family members? Do conservatives define “racism” or

“incorporation” differently from liberals? (Please note that Harvard students have a surfeit of surveys, to which response rates are getting lower -- so that is generally *not* a good sample.

We offer here only *examples* of project design; after all, much of the fun of the course occurs in working with a few classmates to specify your own research question and investigative strategy. We will help you to connect with experts in your chosen method and topic, to help with the research project as needed.

*Possible modification of group project for Govt E-1555 students:* The TA will help to form groups among people in different time zones. However, if the logistics of group work are untenable for particular students, your TA may enable you to work on a course project alone. Projects will be held to the same substantive and grading standards regardless of group size.

*Collaboration in written work:* Exchanges of ideas and information are essential to academic work, and a group project is necessarily a collective act. However, written work submitted for individual evaluation must result from your own efforts, without collaboration. You should adhere to standard citation practices and properly cite any material that you use. If you receive help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc), please acknowledge this assistance.

#### **GEN ED 1052 POLICIES AND RESOURCES**

*Academic Integrity:* Regarding the Honor Code: Harvard College community members commit themselves to producing academic work that adheres to scholarly and intellectual standards of accurate attribution of sources, appropriate collection and use of data, and transparent acknowledgement of the contribution of others to our ideas, discoveries, interpretations, and conclusions. Cheating on exams or projects, plagiarizing or misrepresenting the ideas or language of someone else as one’s own, falsifying data, or any other instance of academic dishonesty violates the standards of our community, as well as the standards of the wider world of learning and affairs.

*Writing Resources:* Students are expected to write papers according to college-level social science conventions. We encourage you to take advantage of Harvard’s resources, such as GovWrites ([govwrites.fas.harvard.edu](http://govwrites.fas.harvard.edu)). Peer tutors are available for appointments at the Harvard College Writing Center (<https://writingcenter.fas.harvard.edu/>). Please note such assistance when you submit individual or group papers.

*Course Accessibility:* Students needing academic adjustments or accommodations because of a documented disability must present their Faculty Letter from the Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with Professor Hochschild by the end of the second week of the term. Discussions will remain confidential although I may contact AEO to discuss appropriate implementation.

#### **GOVT E-1555 POLICIES AND RESOURCES**

*Academic Integrity:* You are responsible for understanding Harvard DCE policies on academic integrity ([www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/studentconduct/academic-integrity](http://www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/studentconduct/academic-integrity)) and on using sources responsibly. Regarding academic citation rules, please visit the Harvard Extension School Tips to Avoid Plagiarism ([www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/tips-avoidplagiarism](http://www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/tips-avoidplagiarism)). That website includes links to the *Harvard Guide to Using Sources* and two tutorials to test your knowledge of academic citation policy. The tutorials are anonymous open- learning tools.

*Writing Resources:* Students are expected to write papers according to college- or graduate-school-level social science conventions. We encourage you to take advantage of Harvard's resources, such as GovWrites ([govwrites.fas.harvard.edu](http://govwrites.fas.harvard.edu)). Writing Center tutorials can be booked through DCE online services (see <https://www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/writing-center> for more information). Please note such assistance when you submit individual or group papers.

*Course Accessibility:* DCE is committed to providing an accessible academic community. The Accessibility Office offers accommodations and services to students with documented disabilities. Please visit [www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/disability-services-accessibility](http://www.extension.harvard.edu/resources-policies/resources/disability-services-accessibility) for more information.

## **COURSE MATERIALS**

We will be reading parts of various books; I recommend that you buy and mark up those of greatest interest to you. Many can be found in used bookstores and online. Digital versions of all required readings will be in the Readings folder on the CANVAS websites; for some, we also include direct urls in the syllabus.

## **TOPICS AND READINGS**

After the first two weeks, we list readings roughly in the order in which they will be discussed in class; the first half will generally correspond to the first session on that topic if there are two sessions. However, lectures and discussion sections may range across the relevant reading, so please prepare all of a given topic's readings ahead of the weekly discussion sections.

### **I. Setting the scene**

*Jan 24: A window into race in a polarized America: Making sense of the 2020 presidential election*

### **II. The American racial and ethnic order**

*Jan 27: Proposition: The US is a liberal democracy, albeit flawed by residual racial inequality and injustice*

*Feb 1: Proposition: The US is a white supremacist polity, albeit with aspirations toward liberal democracy*

*Readings for Jan. 27 and Feb 1:*

Declaration of Independence, 1776

<https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript>

Frederick Douglass, "What to the slave is your Fourth of July?"

<https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/what-to-the-slave-is-the-fourth-of-july/>

Frederick Douglass, letter to Gerrit Smith, Esqr, January 21, 1851 OR Change of Opinion Announced, *The North Star*, May 15, 1851.

pp.171-74, in *Frederick Douglass: Selected Speeches and Letters*, ed. E Foner

Eric Foner, *The Second Founding*, chapter 2

Barack Obama's speech on race, *New York Times*, March 18, 2008

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/18/us/politics/18text-obama.html>

Donald Trump, Inaugural Address, January 20, 2017

*Feb 3: Proposition: The US is a successful settler society, with lapses into xenophobia*

*Feb 8: Proposition: The US is a genocidal and colonialist society, albeit with aspirations toward inclusion and diversity*

*Readings for Feb. 3 and Feb. 8:*

Native Americans:

Red Jacket (Sgoyewatha), 1805: "You have got our country, but are not satisfied"

Tecumseh, 1811: "Sleep not longer, O Choctaws and Chickasaws"

Petalesharo, 1822: "We have plenty of land"

Sitting Bull (Tatanka Yotanka), c. 1882: "The life my people want is a life of freedom"

Joint Resolution, "Native American Indian Heritage Month," 1990

[https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/JR\\_Indian\\_Heritage\\_Month.pdf](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/JR_Indian_Heritage_Month.pdf)

U.S. Congress, "Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration," July 6, 1876, Introduction (pp. III to VIII)

[https://www.google.com/books/edition/Report\\_of\\_the\\_Joint\\_Special\\_Committee\\_to/g](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Report_of_the_Joint_Special_Committee_to/g)

[oYxnQAA\\_CAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1](https://www.oYxnQAA_CAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1)

Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus," 1883  
<https://www.nps.gov/stli/learn/historyculture/colossus.htm>

Francis Walker, "Restriction of Immigration," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1896, (v. 77, no. 464, 822-29)  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1896/06/restriction-of-immigration/306011/>

Lyndon Johnson, Remarks at the signing of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1865  
<https://www.bunkhistory.org/resources/160>

Governor Cuomo's open letter in the *New York Daily News*, November 13, 2016  
<https://www.governor.ny.gov/news/governor-cuomos-open-letter-new-york-daily-news>

Remarks by President Trump on Modernizing Our Immigration System for a Stronger America, May 16, 2019

*February 10: Initial essay, on Canvas website, in Word or pdf, by 11:59 p.m. EST*

### III. Core concepts

*Feb. 10: What is a race?*

Jennifer Hochschild and Brenna Powell, "Racial Reorganization and the United States Census, 1850-1930: Mulattoes, Half-Breeds, Mixed Parentage, Hindoos, and the Mexican Race," *Studies in American Political Development*, spring 2008.

American Anthropological Association, *Statement on Race*, May 17, 1998  
<https://www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=2583>

Sally Satel, "I Am a Racially Profiling Doctor," *New York Times Magazine*, May 5, 2002  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/05/magazine/i-am-a-rationally-profiling-doctor.html>

*Feb 15: What is racism?*

Meredith Dost et al. "Is President Trump's rhetoric racist? It depends on whom you ask." Monkey Cage, *Washington Post*, August 12, 2019  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/08/12/is-president-trumps-rhetoric-racist-it-depends-whom-you-ask/>

Pew Research Center, "How the U.S. general public views Muslims and Islam," July 26, 2017.

<https://www.pewforum.org/2017/07/26/how-the-u-s-general-public-views-muslims-and-islam/>

*Feb 17: What is polarization?*

Ezra Klein, *Why We're Polarized*, ch. 8

David Brooks, "I Remember Conservatism", in *Atlantic Magazine*, Jan.-Feb. 2022, pp. 94-103

*Feb 22: How do race or ethnicity and polarization combine?*

Arlie Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land*, chs. 9, 14

T Reny and B Newman, "The Opinion-Mobilizing Effect of Social Protest against Police Violence: Evidence from the 2020 George Floyd Protests," *American Political Science Review*, (2021): 1499-1507. Focus on Introduction and Conclusion, and spend some time examining graphs.

*Feb. 24: Demography and diversity*

William Frey, *Diversity Explosion*, 2018 ed., chaps. 2, 3, 8, 11

William Frey, "America's shrinking white population needs to value youthful diversity." Sept. 9, 2021.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2021/09/09/americas-shrinking-white-population-needs-to-value-youthful-diversity/>

*March 1: Conducting social science research*

Irene Bloemraad, 2012. "What the Textbooks Don't Tell You: Moving from a Research Puzzle to Publishing Findings"

#### **IV. How are race and ethnicity practiced in the United States?**

*March 3: Threat and contact*

Bruce Western, *Homeward*, chs. 10, 11

Tomás Jiménez, *The Other Side of Assimilation*, ch. 3 or 4, and also ch. 5

*March 7: three-paragraph memo, on Canvas website, in Word or pdf, by 11:59 p.m. EST*

*March 8: Race and class*

Jennifer Hochschild, *Facing Up to the American Dream*, chs. 6, 7, 8, 12

Raj Chetty et al, "Race and Economic Opportunity in the United States: An Intergenerational Perspective,"

<https://opportunityinsights.org/paper/race/>

Start with the Non-technical Summary, then read Slides in PDF or Slides in Powerpoint. For optional detailed analysis, see the Full Paper.

*March 10: Intersectionality: Race, gender, SES, and context*

Cecelia Menjivar, et al., *Immigrant Families*, 2014, ch. 4.

Cristina Bares, "Adolescent Opioid Use: Examining the Intersection of Multiple Inequalities," *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community* (2019): 295-309.

*March 22 and 24: Immigration: legal status and generations*

Leo Chavez, *Shadowed Lives: Undocumented Immigrants in American Society*, 3rd. ed., chs. 8, 9, 10

Philip Kasinitz et al., *Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age*, chs. 5, 6, 11

*March 25: Group memo on project and research plans, in Word or pdf, on Canvas website, by 11:59 p.m. EST*

*March 29: Race and electoral politics*

Leila Fadel, "Majority of Muslims Voted for Biden, but Trump Got More Support than He Did in 2016," *NPR*, December 4, 2020.

Robert Pape, "Opinion: What an analysis of 377 Americans arrested or charged in the Capitol insurrection tells us," *Washington Post*, April 6, 2021

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/04/06/capitol-insurrection-arrests-cpost-analysis/>

Todd Frankel, "A majority of the people arrested for Capitol riot had a history of financial trouble," *Washington Post*, February 10, 2021.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2021/02/10/capitol-insurrectionists-jenna-ryan-financial-problems/>

*March 31: Race and social movements*

Daniel Gillion, *The Loud Minority*, ch. 5 and Conclusion

Chris Zepeda-Millan, *Latino Mass Mobilization*, ch. 6

*April 4: Govt E-1555 graduate-credit students: Literature review, in Word or pdf, on the Canvas website, by 11:59 p.m. EST.*

*April 5: Race and religion*

Karam Dana et al., 2017. "The Political Incorporation of Muslims in the United States: The Mobilizing Role of Religiosity in Islam," *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics*: 170-200.

John Fea et al., 2018. "Evangelicalism and Politics," *The American Historian*  
<https://www.oah.org/tah/issues/2018/november/evangelicalism-and-politics/>

## V. POLICY ISSUES

*April 7: Affirmative action*

*Students for Fair Admissions Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College*, On Petition for a Writ of Certiorari. . .

Focus on Introduction, Statement of the Case, The Court should grant certiorari. . .  
[https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/20/20-1199/169941/20210225095525027\\_Harvard%20Cert%20Petn%20Feb%2025.pdf](https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/20/20-1199/169941/20210225095525027_Harvard%20Cert%20Petn%20Feb%2025.pdf)

*Students for Fair Admissions Inc. v. President and Fellows of Harvard College*, On Petition for a Writ of Certiorari . . . .Brief in Opposition.

[https://admissionscase.harvard.edu/files/adm-case/files/legal\\_-\\_filing\\_-\\_210517\\_-\\_harvard\\_-\\_20-1199\\_brief\\_in\\_opposition\\_002.pdf](https://admissionscase.harvard.edu/files/adm-case/files/legal_-_filing_-_210517_-_harvard_-_20-1199_brief_in_opposition_002.pdf)

*April 12 and 14: Policing and incarceration*

Danielle Allen, *Cuz: The Life and Times of Michael A*

Rebecca Goldstein, "Senior Citizens as a Pro-Police Interest Group," *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, 2021.

Focus on Introduction, Results through p. 11, Discussion and Conclusion

*April 19 and 21: Genomic science in law and medicine*

Neil Risch et al. "Categorization of Humans in Biomedical Research: Genes, Race, and Disease." *Genome Biology* 3 (7), 2002: 1-12.

Jonathan Kahn, "Race in a Bottle," *Scientific American*, August 2007, pp. 40-45

Dorothy Roberts, *Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-first Century*, The New Press, 2012, chs. 10 and 12.

D. H. Kaye, "Bioethical Objections to DNA Databases for Law Enforcement: Questions and Answers," *Seton Hall Law Review*, 2001

*April 26: Intersectionality, Genetics, and Covid-19*

Tamara Rushovich et al, 2021. "Sex Disparities in COVID-19 Mortality Vary Across US Racial Groups" *Journal of General Internal Medicine* : 1696-1701)

<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11606-021-06699-4>

NOTE: be sure to expand and examine tables 1 and 2.

Jocelyn Kaiser, "Found: genes that sway the course of the coronavirus," *Science*, Oct. 13, 2020

<https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2020/10/found-genes-sway-course-coronavirus>

*April 18-22 or 25-29: Group project presentations in sections*

*May 4: Group project due, in Word or PDF, on Canvas website, by 11.59 p.m EST.*

*May 10: Final essay, revisiting essay of Feb. 10. In Word or PDF on Canvas website.*