

## **POLS 670. Special Topics in Comparative Politics: Politics of Marginalization**

CRN 31105

Spring 2017

Wednesdays, 1:25-4:25pm

Howard Baker Center 207/208

### **Professor Jana Morgan**

Department of Political Science

Office: 1015 McClung Tower

Email: [janamorgan@utk.edu](mailto:janamorgan@utk.edu)

Course Website available through Online@UT

Office Hours: Thursdays, 9am-noon, or by appointment

### **Course Description**

All political systems and constructions of the state are based upon the inclusion of some people and the exclusion of others. Power – the capacity to accomplish one’s goals and shape the fate of others – is distributed unequally in all political systems. And while some are more egalitarian in their logic than others, all political societies are fundamentally centered around contestation over the distribution of power. This advanced research seminar in comparative politics will prepare students to conduct independent research examining how the economic, social and/or political marginalization of certain groups within society shapes political dynamics and how this marginalization is perpetuated or reversed through politicized processes of exclusion and representation that operate within autocratic and democratic regimes alike. Throughout the course, you will become familiar with an extensive body of scholarship that explores research questions pertaining to the politics of marginalization using a diverse set of theoretical lenses and analytical tools. With this substantive knowledge as foundation, you will be able to identify theoretically grounded and empirically significant research questions within this general area of scholarship in order to develop and execute an independent research project related to this theme. While comparative in its orientation, the course will draw upon work conducted within the traditional political science fields of both comparative and American politics.

### **University/College/Departmental Curricular Requirements Met**

This class supports the MA and PhD programs in Political Science.

### **Program-level Learning Objectives Supported** (for SACS purposes)

PhD students are able to demonstrate a high degree of knowledge of the breadth of comparative politics and the ability to undertake related independent research.

### **Learning Objectives Met**

This course will help students develop a broad understanding of an important body of scholarship within comparative politics and provide an in-depth understanding of important research tools, which are essential for conducting independent research in political science.

## Course Materials

### Required Books

Claire L. Adida. 2014. *Immigrant Exclusion and Insecurity in Africa: Coethnic Strangers*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **(Adida)**

Jóhanna Kristín Birnir. 2007. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **(Birnir)**

Mala Htun. 2016. *Inclusion without Representation in Latin America: Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **(Htun)**

Amy E. Lerman and Vesla M. Weaver. 2014. *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **(Lerman & Weaver)**

Tali Mendelberg. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. **(Mendelberg)**

Tianna S. Paschel. 2016. *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. **(Paschel)**

Efrén O. Pérez. 2016. *Unspoken Politics: Implicit Attitudes and Political Thinking*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **(Pérez)**

Joe Soss, Richard C. Fording, and Sanford F. Schram. 2011. *Disciplining the Poor: Neoliberal Paternalism and the Persistent Power of Race*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **(SFS)**

Guillermo Trejo. 2012. *Popular Movements in Autocracies: Religion, Repression, and Indigenous Collective Action in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **(Trejo)**

Denise M. Walsh. 2011. *Women's Rights in Democratizing States: Just Debate and Gender Justice in the Public Sphere*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **(Walsh)**

### Additional Articles and Book Chapters

Many assigned articles and book chapters will be available through the library's collection of e-journals and e-books or the course website.

## Course Requirements

Because this is a reading seminar, your learning and performance will be highly contingent upon your weekly preparation for and participation in class. You are required to finish all assigned readings before each class period. The completion of reading materials is crucial for your success in the class. Also, your familiarity with the reading materials facilitates your participation in class discussions, which is expected of all students in the class and will be a significant part in the evaluation of overall class performance.

<b>Course Elements</b>	<b>Contribution to final grade</b>
Regular attendance and participation	30%
Discussion leading	20%
Research paper	50%

### **Attendance and Participation**

You are expected to attend each class meeting and participate actively. Absence from just one weekly meeting entails missing nearly 10 percent of the course material; therefore, absences will only be allowed in the most extreme circumstances. You must also participate actively in class discussions. This means that each week you will be prepared to respond thoughtfully to questions that your fellow classmates or I may pose. To prepare for class discussions, I encourage all students to take notes on the assigned readings or to write brief summaries of each reading to help you participate actively in the discussion. Noting your reactions and criticisms of the theories advanced and the methods employed in the assigned readings is also encouraged. Attendance and participation will count for 30 percent of your course grade.

### **Helping Lead Discussion**

During each class period, students selected in advance will begin our discussion by offering a critical assessment of the materials read before the class. In a succinct and precise presentation the student will summarize the assigned readings, review their strengths and weaknesses and identify potential inter-connections between the them. The students presenting will also submit to me and their fellow classmates (via Blackboard) discussion questions based on the assigned readings by Tuesday at 4pm. Further details will be outlined at our first class meeting. Helping lead discussion will count for 20 percent of your course grade.

### **Research Paper**

Students will also write a research paper over the course of the semester. Students have considerable latitude in identifying a topic, but the paper must connect to the theme of the course and the research question must be approved by me. **Research questions are due to me in writing no later than March 8.** Late topic submissions will result in deductions from the final paper grade.

In the research paper, students are expected to specify a research question, review relevant literature and propose hypotheses, discuss the theoretical foundations behind the hypotheses, define concepts, operationalize concepts, and specify a research strategy, data and methods for assessing the proposed hypotheses and answering the research question. Ideally, students will also submit preliminary analysis that begins to execute the research strategy. The goal for this paper is that it form the foundation for a journal article, book chapter or part of the dissertation. The paper should be approximately 25-30 double-spaced pages, use proper citations, and include a works cited list.

The class period on **April 19** will be devoted to student presentations of their research. Presentations should be professional in format and style; fellow students will provide feedback and ask questions about their classmates' research based on the presentations. Following the in-class presentations, students will have two weeks to make final revisions to their work before

submitting the research paper by **May 3. Late papers will be penalized 10 percentage points for every 24 hours late.** The research paper and presentation will count for 50 percent of your course grade.

### **Regarding Grades**

It is my desire that all students learn and perform well in this course. As the professor and the student, we each share part of the responsibility for achieving this goal. I will present relevant and helpful material both in class and in assigned readings. If you have any questions or concerns about a grade you receive in this course, do not hesitate to ask. However, be aware that re-grading may result in a grade that is higher OR lower than the original grade.

Adequately satisfying course requirements in graduate seminars constitutes “B” work. Only exceeding expectations and exceptional performance constitutes “A” work. Failure to meet expectations will result in a grade below “B.” Final grades in the course will be assigned according to the scale below.

A	92 – 100%
B +	87 – 92%
B	80 – 87%
C +	75 – 80%
C	69 – 75%
D	60 – 69%
F	Less than 60%

## COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS

**January 11**                      **Course Introduction and Overview**

**January 18**                      **Theorizing Representation and Marginalization**

**Readings**

†Hanna Pitkin. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 10

†Charles Tilly. 1998. *Durable Inequality*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 1-40, 74-116

†Iris Marion Young. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2.

†Charles Mills. 1999. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1.

\*Ange-Marie Hancock. 2007. “When Multiplication Doesn’t Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm” *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63-79.

**Also Recommended**

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2003. *Racism without Racists*. Rowman and Littlefield.

Patricia Hill Collins. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought*. New York: Routledge.

Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw. 1989. “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139-67.

Ange-Marie Hancock. 2006. *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press. especially pp. 8-36, 72-123.

Juliet Hooker. 2009. *Race and the Politics of Solidarity*. New York: Oxford.

Leslie McCall. 2005. “The Complexity of Intersectionality” *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society* 30 (3): 1771-1800.

Nancy Fraser. 2003. *Mapping the Radical Imagination: Between Redistribution and Recognition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Carole Pateman. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Anne Philips. 1995. *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer and William Misler. 2005. "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation" *Journal of Politics* 67(2): 407-28.

**January 25                      Identity and Social Movement Formation**

**Readings**

†Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner. 1986. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior" In Stephen Worechel and William G. Austin, eds. *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

†Deborah Yashar. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 54-82, 240-50.

Paschel, Chapters 1, 3-6 and Methodological Appendix

**February 1                      Political Context and Social Movement Strategies**

**Readings**

†David D. Laitin. 1985. "Hegemony and Religious Conflict: British Imperial Control and Political Cleavages in Yorubaland," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, pp. 285-316.

\*Daniel Posner. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi" *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 529-45.

Trejo, Introduction, Chapters 2-3, 5, 7-8

**February 8                      Parties and Ethnicity**

**Readings**

\*Kanchan Chandra. 2005. "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability" *Perspectives on Politics* 32(2): 235-52.

Birnir, Chapters 1-3, 5-7

\*Raúl Madrid. 2008. "The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America" *World Politics* 60(3): 475-508.

**Also Recommended**

Steven I. Wilkinson. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, esp. Ch. 1.

**February 15                      Political Mechanisms of Inclusion**

**Readings**

Htun, Chapters 1, 3-5, and skim 7

\*Melanie M. Hughes. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide" *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 604-20.

\*Charles Cameron, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 794-812.

***Also Recommended***

Tiffany D. Barnes and Stephanie M. Burchard. 2013. "'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa" *Comparative Political Studies* 46(7): 767-90.

Mona Lena Krook. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jane Mansbridge. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'" *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-57.

Andrew Reynolds. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective" *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 259-74.

Aili Mari Tripp and Alice Kang. 2008. "The Global Impact of Quotas: On the Fast Track to Increased Female Legislative Representation" *Comparative Political Studies* 42(1): 56-81.

**February 22                      Political Rights and Democracy**

***Readings***

\*Lisa Baldez. 2003. "Women's Movements and Democratic Transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany and Poland" *Comparative Politics* 35(3): 253-72.

Walsh, Chapters 1, 3, 5, 7

\*Mala Htun and Laurel Weldon. 2012. "The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combatting Violence against Women in Global Perspective" *American Political Science Review* 106 (3): 548-69.

***Also Recommended***

†Alice Kang. 2015. *Bargaining for Women's Rights: Activism in an Aspiring Muslim Democracy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, Introduction.

**March 1                              Inter- and Intra-Group Relations**

***Readings***

†Rafaela M. Dancygier. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-61.

Adida, Chapters 1-3, 5

***Also Recommended***

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation" *American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 715-35.

**March 8                      Psychology of Marginalization**  
**Research Topics Due**

***Readings***

†Gordon Allport. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, Chapter 3.

Pérez, Chapters 1, 3-5, 7

\*Nicholas A. Valentino, Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues that Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes during Campaigns" *American Political Science Review* 96 (1): 75-90.

***Also Recommended***

Jennifer Merolla, S. Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Chris Haynes. 2013. "'Illegal,' 'Undocumented,' or 'Unauthorized': Equivalency Frames, Issues Frames, and Public Opinion on Immigration" *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (3): 789-807.

**March 15                      -- Spring Break --**

**March 22                      Consequences of Bias**

***Readings***

Mendelberg, Chapters 1, 3, 5-7

Cecilia H. Mo. 2015. "The Consequences of Explicit and Implicit Gender Attitudes and Candidate Quality in the Calculations of Voters" *Political Behavior* 37: 357-95.

†Martin Gilens. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapters 6 & 8.

**March 29                      Persistent Marginalization and its Effects**

***Readings***

SFS, Chapters 1, 3-6, 10-11

\*Jana Morgan and Nathan J. Kelly. 2017. "Social Patterns of Inequality, Partisan Competition and Latin American Support for Redistribution" *Journal of Politics* 79 (1): 193-209.

**April 5                        -- MPSA --**

**April 12                      Politicized Strategies of Exclusion**

***Readings***

Lerman and Weaver, Chapters 1, 3-6 & 8

†Joe Soss and Vesla Weaver. 2017. “Learning from Ferguson: Policing, Race, and Class in American Politics” *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 20. (Forthcoming)

\*Christina Ewig. 2006. “Hijacking Global Feminism: Feminists, the Catholic Church and the Family Planning Debacle in Peru” *Feminist Studies* 32 (3): 632-59.

**April 19**                      **Research Presentations**

**April 26**                      **-- Latin American Studies Association --**

**May 3**                         **Research Papers Due**

†Readings noted with † can be found on the course Blackboard site.

\*Readings noted with an asterisk can be found on-line through the library’s electronic journals or its collection of E-books.

## Course Policies

Incompletes: No incompletes will be given.

### Course Communications:

Announcements will be sent via e-mail to students' official UTK e-mail addresses and/or posted on Blackboard. If you do not access your UT email account regularly, please be sure to set up forwarding. If you have questions about this, please contact the OIT help desk.

### Key Resources for Students

- Political Science Department Website: <http://web.utk.edu/~polisci/>
- Academic Planning: <http://www.utk.edu/advising>
- Arts and Sciences Advising Services: <http://artsci.utk.edu/advising/>
- Student Success Center: <http://studentsuccess.utk.edu>
- Undergraduate and Graduate Catalogs: <http://catalog.utk.edu>
- Hilltopics: <http://dos.utk.edu>
- Course Timetable: [https://bannersb.utk.edu/kbanpr/bwckschd.p\\_disp\\_dyn\\_sched](https://bannersb.utk.edu/kbanpr/bwckschd.p_disp_dyn_sched)
- Library: <http://www.lib.utk.edu>
- Career Services: <http://career.utk.edu>

Tutoring: The **Writing Center** provides individual assistance to any student needing help with writing. The Writing Center is located at 212 HSS and the Hodges Library Commons. They can be reached at 974-2611 or on the web at <http://web.utk.edu/~english/writing/writing.shtml> or via email at [writingcenter@utk.edu](mailto:writingcenter@utk.edu)

**Educational Advancement Program** is designed for students with demonstrated academic need who are also first-generation college students, from low income families, or who have physical or learning disabilities. Contact the Educational Advancement Program, 201 Aconda Court, 974-7900.

The **Student Success Center** designs and implements programs that support undergraduate success and provides a comprehensive service for students who need a place to turn for academic assistance. The center provides programs that focus on student success and serves as a single source of support to help students sort through the many campus resources and programs available, connecting students with those that will best meet their needs and academic goals. The Student Success Center website is available at (<http://studentsuccess.utk.edu>). The Student Success Center is housed in two convenient locations, Hodges Library Commons and 812 Volunteer Blvd. Phone 974-6641, e-mail [studentsuccess@utk.edu](mailto:studentsuccess@utk.edu). Consult the website for hours and more details.

Disabilities: Students with disabilities should feel welcome in this course. Any student who feels he or she may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS) at 865-974-6087 or [ods@utk.edu](mailto:ods@utk.edu) in 2227 Dunford Hall to document their eligibility for services. ODS will work with students and faculty to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities.

Academic Integrity: All rules concerning academic honesty as set out in the current edition of *Hilltopics* will be enforced. Particular attention should be paid to the section on plagiarism. Students are reminded of their obligation to abide by the UTK Honor Code:

“An essential feature of the University of Tennessee-Knoxville is a commitment to maintaining an atmosphere of intellectual integrity and academic honesty. As a student of the University, I pledge that I will neither knowingly give nor receive any inappropriate assistance in academic work, thus affirming my own personal commitment to honor and integrity.”

Cheating of any kind will not be tolerated, including plagiarism. Plagiarism is using the intellectual property of someone else without giving proper credit. The undocumented use of someone else’s words or ideas in any medium of communication (unless such information is recognized as common knowledge) is a serious offense, subject to disciplinary action that may include failure in the course and/or dismissal from the university. The University of Tennessee’s policies regarding plagiarism state:

“Students shall not plagiarize. Plagiarism is using the intellectual property or product of someone else without giving proper credit. The undocumented use of someone else’s words or ideas in any medium of communication (unless such information is recognized as common knowledge) is a serious offense, subject to disciplinary action that may include failure in a course and/or dismissal from the University.

Specific examples of plagiarism are:

1. Using without proper documentation (quotation marks and a citation) written or spoken words, phrases, or sentences from any source;
2. Summarizing without proper documentation (usually a citation) ideas from another source (unless such information is recognized as common knowledge);
3. Borrowing facts, statistics, graphs, pictorial representations, or phrases without acknowledging the source (unless such information is recognized as common knowledge);
4. Collaborating on a graded assignment without the instructor’s approval;
5. Submitting work, either in whole or in part, created by a professional service and used without attribution (e.g., paper, speech, bibliography, or photograph).”

University Civility Statement:

Civility is genuine respect and regard for others: politeness, consideration, tact, good manners, graciousness, cordiality, affability, amiability and courteousness. Civility enhances academic freedom and integrity, and is a prerequisite to the free exchange of ideas and knowledge in the learning community. Our community consists of students, faculty, staff, alumni, and campus visitors. Community members affect each other’s well-being and have a shared interest in creating and sustaining an environment where all community members and their points of view are valued and respected. Affirming the value of each member of the university community, the campus asks that all its members adhere to the principles of civility and community adopted by the campus: <http://civility.utk.edu/>.

Confronting Sexual Harassment and Violence: Title IX makes it clear that violence and harassment based on sex and gender are Civil Rights offenses subject to the same kinds of accountability and the same kinds of support applied to offenses against other protected categories such as race, national origin, etc. Approximately 20-25% of college women and 6% of college men will be the victims of sexual assault during their college career. If you or someone you know has been harassed or assaulted, you can find appropriate resources here:

In an emergency call 911 or UT Police at 865-974-3111

Sexual assault resources on campus: <http://sexualassault.utk.edu/>

UTK Title IX coordinator: Jennifer L. Richter, 865-974-2498 or [jrichter@utk.edu](mailto:jrichter@utk.edu)

Sexual Assault Center of East Tennessee (community): 865-522-7273 or

<http://mcnabbcenter.org/sacet>

Other resources: <http://knowyourix.org/> <http://endrapeoncampus.org/> <http://clerycenter.org/>

Student Role in Improving Teaching and Learning through Course Assessment:

At UT, it is our collective responsibility to improve the state of teaching and learning. During the semester, you may be requested to assess aspects of this course either during class or at the completion of the class. You are encouraged to respond to these various forms of assessment as a means of continuing to improve the quality of the UT learning experience.

Alteration of this Syllabus

**The instructor reserves the right to revise, alter and/or amend this syllabus, as necessary. Students will be notified by email and/or course website of any such revisions, alterations and/or amendments.**