

Political Science 206
Race and the Right to Vote in the United States
Sonja Haynes Stone Center for Black Culture and History 103¹

Instructors:

Andreas Jozwiak (he/him) (ajozwiak@unc.edu) and Lucy Britt (she/her) (lcbritt@unc.edu)

Meeting Times:

Tuesday and Thursday 6:30-7:45 in Stone 103

Office Hours: Tuesday 12-3; Thursday 12-3. Both of us are also available by appointment (we mean it, just send us an email!)

Slack Channel

We will be using a Slack channel to communicate with you. Course readings, announcements, and reminders will be on Slack. If you don't already have one, please make an account via Slack using your UNC email. Slack is accessible via smartphone apps, computer apps, and web browsers.

Course Description:

This course surveys scholarly literature on electoral institutions, racial politics, and access to the ballot in the United States. In consultation with the instructors, students will design their own research topic and choose an appropriate research method to analyze one aspect of race and the politics of voting. In addition, students will perform 20 hours of community service with a partner organization.

Service-Learning

This a service-learning class in fulfillment of the Experiential Education requirement. What is Service-Learning? "Service-learning is a form of experiential education where learning occurs through a cycle of action and reflection as students work with others through a process of applying what they are learning to community problems, and at the same time, reflecting upon their experience as they seek to achieve real objectives for the community and deeper understanding for themselves." Eyler and Giles, (1999).

It is important to us that students not only fulfill their community service requirement, but also reflect critically on their own position within the service activities and work to link class readings and discussions to their experiences in the community.

Learning Objectives:

By the end of the semester, students will:

1. Understand the American electoral system and the history of race in the Southern United States
 - a. Examine the relationship between race, political institutions and political outcomes: representation, voting behavior, turnout
2. Connect social science theories and scholarship to contemporary racial politics and current events
3. Engage in 20 hours of service in partnership with a community organization

¹ We acknowledge that we're holding class on Eno, Catabwa, and Shakori land occupied by UNC. For more, see, for example: <https://antiracistgradcollectiveunc.org/land-acknowledgement/>.

- a. Make connections between the service project and course material
- 4. Develop research skills through a variety of research and data collection methods/techniques
 - a. Create an original research project on the right to vote in North Carolina
 - b. Develop presentation skills
 - c. Develop data visualization/organization skills
- 5. Develop oral and written communication skills through class discussion, short writing assignments, and the final research project

This course meets the following general education requirements:

- Experiential Education
- U.S. Diversity
- Social Sciences

Grading Scale:

This course will follow the UNC grade definitions (<http://registrar.unc.edu/academic-services/grades/explanation-of-grading-system/>) and the following grading scale:

A	94-100	C	73-76.99
A-	90-93.99	C-	70-72.99
B+	87-89.99	D+	67-69.99
B	83-86.99	D	60-66.99
B-	80-82.99	F	0-59.99
C+	77-79.99		

Course Requirements:

1. Final Project: **50%**. Students will choose 1) a topic of their choice to research and 2) a mode of inquiry with which to pursue this topic.
 - a. Possible modes of inquiry include:
 - i. Working with the Jackson Center on an oral history project, including compiling pre-recorded oral histories from their archive into a podcast episode or other presentation and/or interviewing local public officials about race in the community
 - ii. Using mapping technology to answer a question about race and voting
 - iii. Writing a research report on the history of the franchise and its restriction in North Carolina, the Southern United States, or the United States
 - iv. Writing a research report on redistricting and/or contemporary legal and political battles over racial gerrymandering

- v. Conducting a quantitative research project around an original research question. Students interested in this research track must have taken POLI 208 or 285 or an equivalent social science statistics class
 - 1. Survey research project
 - 2. Use of publicly available survey or non-survey data sets
 - 3. Media analysis, including coding media or campaign ads or using existing media data sets
- vi. Writing a qualitative media analysis
- b. Students who choose to complete an oral history or interview project or a mapping project will also write a 10-page written explanation and analysis to accompany their work. Students completing any other type of project will turn in a 15-page paper.
- c. This is an “iterative assignment,” meaning that students complete it over the course of the semester, over many stages, with chances to receive feedback on, improve, and correct their work throughout the process. The components are as follows:
 - i. Topic Meeting: **5% (of course grade)**. Graded for completion. Meet with either Andreas or Lucy **August 26-28th** with your topic idea for approval. If the instructor assigns significant changes to the topic or methods proposed, you must have a second meeting with their new topic or method.
 - ii. Outline: **5%**. Graded A-F. The outline should include the topic or question, mode of inquiry or method, tentative thesis statement, sections or arguments outlining the structure of the project, and a works cited section with at least four scholarly or journalistic sources.
 - 1. Due **October 1st**; grades of 75 and below require a second submission **October 13th**
 - iii. Rough Draft: **5%**. Graded for completion and length. Due **November 10th**.
 - iv. Peer Editing Worksheet and Reflection: **5%**. During class, students will participate in a peer editing workshop. 2.5% points will be awarded for completion for students’ assessment of a peer’s work; 2.5% points will be awarded for completion of a paragraph reflecting on how students will use the experience to improve their own work. Worksheet completed in class **November 10th**; reflection due **November 12**.
 - v. Quality and Completion of Research: **25%**. The final project must have at least 10 scholarly or journalistic sources cited properly. Final paper due **final exam period**.
 - vi. Final Presentation: **5%**. During the exam period, students will present their final project to the class in a formal, graded presentation lasting three to four minutes. Slides and visuals are optional. Final presentation due **at beginning of final exam period**.
- 2. Short Reading Responses: **30%**. Students will write 10 short responses to one **academic** course reading for weeks of their selection (ie. not NYT or Atlantic articles). We’ll drop your response with the lowest grade.
 - a. Responses should consist of:
 - i. *One sentence* summarizing the reading. We know this is hard!
 - ii. The rest of the response should provide some analysis of the reading. This should be an original thought that you had about the reading. It could include putting the reading in conversation with another course reading, criticizing the reading, or applying it to current events or contemporary politics (while going beyond simple summary).

1. The first sentence of this section (the second sentence of the response) should be a thesis statement summarizing your argument.
2. The rest of the response should make this argument using evidence from the text.
 - b. Responses should be 250-300 words total, not including the heading
3. Community Service Reflection: **10%**. Students should write a two-page double-spaced reflection on their experience working with community partners and connecting their service experience to course themes and readings. **Due November 17th**.
4. Several short assignments assigned to particular lessons. Details will be given the lesson prior.
 - a. State voting procedures activity: **3%**. Completed in class **October 8th**.
 - b. Crenshaw Worksheet: **3%**. Due **September 1st**.
 - c. Alexander Worksheet: **2%**. Due **September 3rd**.
 - d. Redistricting Game: **2%**. Due **October 1st**.
5. Service to Organization:
 - a. Obtaining experiential education (EE) credit for this class is contingent upon your completion of 20 hours of community service, to be done partially with a partner organization. If you do not complete these 20 hours, you will automatically fail the class. Hours must be completed by the **beginning of the final exam period**.

Class Discourse

While this course deals with many politically charged topics, our task as social scientists is to analyze these from a politically neutral perspective. Moreover, this course is not intended to facilitate and will not take part in any political organizing. Civil discourse, mutual respect, and respect for community partners are expected from all participants in the course. This course covers contentious issues, and while we may not always agree on the topics we are discussing, students are expected to assume their classmates have good intent when engaging in discussion. We will aim to make sound arguments for our judgments based on evidence, which can include empirical phenomena, passages from course texts, and lived experience. We will outline these expectations for each other as a class on the first day of the semester in a classroom contract.

Title IX Policy

Any student who is impacted by discrimination, harassment, interpersonal (relationship) violence, sexual violence, sexual exploitation, or stalking is encouraged to seek resources on campus or in the community. Please contact the Director of Title IX Compliance (Adrienne Allison – Adrienne.allison@unc.edu), Report and Response Coordinators in the Equal Opportunity and Compliance Office (reportandresponse@unc.edu), Counseling and Psychological Services (confidential), or the Gender Violence Services Coordinators (gvsc@unc.edu; confidential) to discuss your specific needs. Additional resources are available at <http://safe.unc.edu>.

Honor Code

All of your work in this class must comply with the UNC Honor Code, which can be accessed at <http://honor.unc.edu>. It is each student's responsibility to understand the Honor Code and how it applies to this course. *Any suspected cases of plagiarism or other academic dishonesty will be immediately reported to the honor court, and the grade penalty recommended will be an F for the course.* Two specific things to note are 1) when you quote or paraphrase someone else's specific idea you must include a page number citation and 2) that when you use someone else's words you should always use quotation marks – even in your own note-taking.

COVID-19 and Masks

This fall semester, while we are in the midst of a global pandemic, all enrolled students are required to wear a mask covering your mouth and nose at all times in our classroom. This requirement is to protect our educational community — your classmates and us – as we learn together. If you choose not to wear a mask, or wear it improperly, we will ask you to leave immediately, and we will submit a report to the [Office of Student Conduct](#). At that point you will be disenrolled from this course for the protection of our educational community. Students who have an authorized accommodation from Accessibility Resources and Service have an exception. For additional information, see [Carolina Together](#).

Communication

We are reachable at ajozwiak@unc.edu or lbritt@unc.edu. Please email *both* of us when contacting us. We are generally responsive to email, but are slower on weekends and outside of the working day. If you have a longer question or many different questions, please visit our office hours or email us to meet outside of them. We enjoy talking about politics, so visit us if you have questions about the materials or an assignment. We may not be able to answer last-minute questions about papers, so take this as an incentive to write well in advance of due dates!

Accessibility

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill facilitates the implementation of reasonable accommodations, including resources and services, for students with disabilities, chronic medical conditions, a temporary disability or pregnancy complications resulting in difficulties with accessing learning opportunities. All accommodations are coordinated through the Accessibility Resources and Service Office. See the [ARS Website for contact information: accessibility.unc.edu](#). Relevant policy documents as they relate to registration and accommodations determinations and the student registration form are available on the website. As always but especially during a global pandemic, we will be understanding of any family or health-related concerns that demand your attention and care. That said, the more communicative you are with us about your needs, and the earlier you tell us something is wrong, the better we can work with you to find accommodations.

Course Schedule:

August 11: Syllabus Review and Introduction to our Questions

August 13: Introduction to Our Questions Continued

- DiAngelo, Robin. 2018. “Racism after the Civil Rights Movement,” in *White Fragility*, Boston: Beacon Press. 39-50. eBook available through UNC:
<http://libproxy.lib.unc.edu/login?url=https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/UNC/detail.action?docID=6048775>.
- Berman, Ari. 2015. “Prologue,” in *Give us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1-10. On library e-Reserve.
- Choose one of these readings about discourse in the classroom:
 - DiAngelo, Robin. “Where Do We Go from Here?” in *White Fragility*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2018. 139-154. eBook available through UNC:
<http://libproxy.lib.unc.edu/login?url=https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/UNC/detail.action?docID=6048775>

- Jewell, Tiffany. 2020. “When to Call Someone Out or Call them In Over Racist Behavior.” *KQED*.

- Start thinking about paper topics in preparation for topic meetings August 26th-28th

August 18: Service Partner Orientation 1: Marian Cheek Jackson Center Orientation with Ms. YV

- Listen to a short oral history clip from the Jackson Center archive. See Oral Histories Document in readings Slack channel.
- By today, complete the soundwalk through the Northside neighborhood (~45 minutes). Begin at the Marian Cheek Jackson Center, 512 W Rosemary. Dress for the weather and bring water. You’ll need a phone and a pair of headphones to listen to the guided walking tour on a smartphone: <https://jacksoncenter.info/northside-stories/soundwalk-of-northside>.

August 20: You Can Vote Orientation with Rachel Spring, In-Class Writing Workshop

- Final Paper Topic Meeting Sign-Up opens in Sakai (Sign-up tool) 9am

August 25: No Class – COVID-19 Evacuation

August 27: The Historical Construction of Race, Implicit Associations, and Social Identity Theory

- “Race: Can we see it in our DNA?” Science vs Podcast: <https://gimletmedia.com/shows/science-vs/6nhgk/race-can-we-see-it-in-our-dna>
- Podcast: Mind Changers: Henry Tajfel’s Minimal Groups <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b00yw6km>
- Take an Implicit Associations Test at <http://implicit.harvard.edu>
 - It will ask you to make an account; you can skip this and continue as a guest. It will ask you to fill out a demographics survey; you can skip this.
 - Please choose from the Arab-Muslim, Native, Skin-tone, Asian, or Race IAT

August 26th-28th: paper topic meetings with instructors.

September 1: Intersectionality

- **Crenshaw Worksheet due at beginning of class**
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1995. “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color.” In *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that formed the Movement*. Kimberley Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (eds.). New York: The New Press. Pp. 357-383.
- Eby, John W. 1998. “Why Service-Learning is Bad.”

September 3: The New Jim Crow

- **Alexander Worksheet due at beginning of class**
- Alexander, Michelle. 2020 (2010). “The Rebirth of Caste.” In *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*. New York: The New Press. Pp. 25-73. Ebook through UNC: <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/lib/UNC/detail.action?docID=5651869>.
- Johnson, Theodore. 2019. “How Conservatives Turned the ‘Color-Blind Constitution’ Against Racial Progress.” *The Atlantic*.

September 8: Slavery, Race, and Politics and Attitudes Today

- Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. “The Political Legacy of American Slavery.” *The Journal of Politics*, 2016. volume 78, number 3.
- Explore *A Red Record* (2015) – database of lynchings in North Carolina: https://public.tableau.com/profile/seth.kotch#!/vizhome/ARedRecord_LynchingintheSouth/Overview
- Explore the Equal Justice Initiative’s interactive Racial Terror lynchings map: <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/explore>
- **Make sure you’ve finished 5 service hours by September 15**

September 10: Black Lives Matter and Democratic Participation

- Hooker, J. 2016. “Black Lives Matter and the Paradoxes of U.S. Black Politics: From Democratic Sacrifice to Democratic Repair.” *Political Theory* 44(4): 448-469.

September 15: The Politics of Race and Racial Attitudes

- Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Ch. 2, Skim Ch. 5 (Pp. 12-34; 92-127).

September 17: White Identity Politics

- Jardina, Ashley. 2019. “The New American Minority.” In *White Identity Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-20.
- Choose one of these readings about white identity politics in practice:
 - Corwin, Emily. 2020. “Why Do Some Vermonters Display The Confederate Flag?” *Vermont Public Radio*.
 - Edsall, Thomas. 2020. “How Racist is Trump’s Republican Party: And How do You Determine That in the First Place?” *The New York Times*.

September 22: Minority Representation

- Read Intro, Theory section, and Conclusion of: Juenke, Eric Gonzalez and Robert Preuhs. 2012. “Irreplaceable Legislators? Rethinking Minority Representatives in the New Century.” *AJPS* 56 (3):705-715.
- Excerpt from Dovi, Suzanne. 2018. “Political Representation.” *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

September 24: Minority Candidates and their Voters

- Herndon, Astead. 2019. “The Districts Are Mostly White. The Candidates Are Not.” *The New York Times*.
- Boschma, Janie. 2015. “What It’s Like to Be a Nonwhite Lawmaker Representing a White-Majority District (And Vice Versa).” *The Atlantic*.

September 29: *Shelby vs Holder*

- **Due at beginning of class: Outline (via Sakai)**
- Introduction to Carol Anderson, “One Person, No Vote.” On library e-reserve.
- Oyez.com summary of *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013) decision: <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2012/12-96>

- Brandeisky, Kara, ProPublica and Mike Tigas. 2013. “Which States Have Enacted Restrictions Since the Voting Rights Act Ruling?” *The Atlantic*.

October 1: Post-*Shelby* Gerrymandering

- **Due at beginning of class: final paper outline**
- **Due at beginning of class: a screenshot showing you beat at least one of the levels of the Redistricting Game (<http://redistrictinggame.org/>)**
- Bazelon, Emily. 2017. “The New Front in the Gerrymandering Wars: Democracy vs. Math.” *The New York Times*.
- Play around with the Atlas of Redistricting at <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-maps/>
- Read the abstract of Fraga, Bernard L. 2016. "Redistricting and the causal impact of race on voter turnout." *The Journal of Politics* 78(1): 19-34.

October 6: Voter ID Laws and Effects

- Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson. 2017. "Voter identification laws and the suppression of minority votes." *The Journal of Politics* 79(2): 363-379.
- Valentino, Nicholas and Fabian Neuner. 2017. “Why the Sky Didn’t Fall: Mobilizing Anger in Reaction to Voter ID Laws.” *Political Psychology* 38(2): 331-351.

October 8: Other Forms of Disenfranchisement. In-class graded state voting procedures activity

October 9: **Voter Registration Deadline for North Carolina**

October 13: COVID-19 and Elections

- **Due at beginning of class: final paper outline rewrite (if you received a grade of 75 or below)**
- Drutman, Lee. 2020. “How Democracy Dies at the Ballot Box.” *The New Republic*.
- Hill, Charlotte, Jacob Grumbach, Adam Bonica and Hakeem Jefferson. 2020. “We Should Never Have to Vote in Person Again.” *The New York Times*.
- Thompson, D. et al. 2020. “Universal vote-by-mail has no impact on partisan turnout or vote share.” *PNAS* 117(25): 14052-14056.

October 15: Realignment; Black and Latinx/Hispanic Voting Behavior

Early Voting Begins in North Carolina (through Halloween)

- White, A. and Laird, C. 2020. “Why Black Voters Stick with Democrats.” In *The Atlantic*.
- Bacon, Jr., Perry. 2018. “Why Latino Voters Haven’t Completely Abandoned The GOP.” *FiveThirtyEight*.
- And these (short!) videos on Partisan Realignment:
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z6R0NvVr164>
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s8VOM8ET1WU>

October 20: Public Support for Disenfranchisement and its Effects

- Judis, John B. and Ruy Teixeira. 2002. “Majority Rules: The Coming Democratic Dominance.” *The New Republic*. August 5 & 12, pp. 18-23.

- Bentele, Keith and Erin O'Brien. 2013. "Jim Crow 2.0? Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Policies." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(4): 1088-1116.
- Skim Wilson, David, et al. 2014. "Racial Imagery and Support for Voter ID Laws." *Race and Social Problems* 6: 365-371.

October 22: Institutions

- Htun, M. 2004. "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3): 439-58.
- Hill, Steven. 2013. "How the Voting Rights Act Hurts Democrats and Minorities." *The Atlantic*.
- Sturgis, Sue. 2017. "Challenging the racism of at-large elections." *Institute for the Changing South* (a Durham non-profit). <https://www.facingsouth.org/2017/02/challenging-racism-large-elections>

October 27: Hispanic (and Latino/a/x) Voting Rights

The last day to request an absentee ballot for North Carolina

- Valenzuela, Ali A., and Melissa R. Michelson. 2016. "Turnout, Status, and Identity: Mobilizing Latinos to Vote with Group Appeals." *American Political Science Review*, 110(4): 615-630.
- Fallon, Benjamin Francis. 2019. "Where the 'Latino' Vote Was Born." *The Washington Post*.

October 29: Native Voting Rights

- McCool, Daniel, Susan Olson, and Jennifer Robinson. 2007. "An Equal Opportunity: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act." In *Native Vote: American Indians, the Voting Rights Act, and the Right to Vote*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 155-175.
- Ferguson-Bohnee, Patty. 2020. "How the Native American Vote Continues to be Suppressed." American Bar Association.

November 3: **No Class – Election Day / Return Absentee Ballot Deadline for North Carolina**

November 5: Election Debriefing Day

November 10: Peer Editing Workshop and Worksheet

- **Due at beginning of class: a complete draft of your paper ready for peer edits.**

November 12: Panel Discussion with Community Leaders AND Urban Politics and Ethnic Coalitions. Speakers TBA

- **Due at beginning of class: peer review reflection**
- Benjamin, Andrea. 2019. "Revisiting Political Incorporation: Black Electoral and Policy Inclusion in the Bull City. The Two Dimensions of Political Incorporation: Black Politics in a Majority-Minority City." In *Black Politics in Transition: Immigration, Suburbanization, and Gentrification*, Candis Watts Smith and Christina Greer, Eds. Routledge, pp. 110-137. Full text available through UNC library: <https://www-taylorfrancis-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/books/e/9781315164236>

November 17: Conclusions and Makeup Day

- **Due at beginning of class: community service reflection**

Final Exam Time: Saturday, November 21st, 4-7pm.

- The final exam for this course will be presentations of final projects. You will also turn in your final paper at this time to Sakai.

