

POLI 100I:
Inequalities in Participation and Representation

Winter 2020
MWF 10:00a-10:50a
Sequoia Hall, Room 147

Professor: LaGina Gause
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Office: Social Sciences Building, Room 393
Office Hours: Thursdays 11am – 12pm, and by appointment

Course Description: In this course, students will explore inequalities in political participation and representation in the United States. Special attention will be paid to African Americans, as well as to ethnicity, class, and gender inequalities. As you engage the course materials each week, consider the implications of your own contributions to the equal and adequate participation and representation of groups in American politics. In particular, consider what ought to be the role of participation in democracy? How might your identity influence your ability to participate? How do you influence the participation of others? More broadly, how can the information you learn in this course be applied to other settings, including social, religious, and other political institutions.

This course is not intended to force students to reach specific conclusions but rather to present a set of facts that enable you to ask new questions and consider old ones through a different lens. With that in mind, participation during class time is vital to the educational value of the course. Not only will students learn from the course materials and instruction, but also from the diverse perspectives and experiences with which each student enters the classroom.

By the end of the course, students should know facts about inequalities in participation and representation in American Politics. They should be able to use the information acquired in the course to make sense of political phenomena. Finally, you should be able to apply the knowledge and skills learned in the course to your own behavior and communities.

Required Materials

Most course materials are accessible online via an Internet search or on the campus online library website. Readings that are not easily accessible are available on this course's Canvas site. Off-campus access to readings may require UCSD's virtual private network connection (<https://library.ucsd.edu/computing-and-technology/connect-from-off-campus/>).

Course Assessment

- Weekly Assignments 15%
 - Syllabus Quiz (2%, due by January 15)
 - Think Pieces (4 total, 2% each)
 - At least 2 submitted before Midterm
 - Discussion Questions (5 total, 1% each)
- Participation 20%
- Midterm Exam 30%
- Final Exam 35%

Assignments

- Weekly Assignments: There are 10 weekly assignments to be completed during the course. The weekly assignments are meant to prepare you for class discussions so the weekly assignments must be completed the night before class. **Only one weekly assignment can be submitted each week.**
 - Syllabus Quiz – Take the syllabus quiz to test your understanding of the course requirements, expectations, and assignments. The syllabus quiz is due by 10am on January 15th.
 - Think Pieces – You are required to submit 4 short papers (250-500) during the quarter. You may only submit one think piece per week. **Think Piece #1 and #2 must be submitted before the midterm exam.** These short assignments should not be a summary of the readings, but it should be clear from the paper that the course materials were read. Each 250-500 word short paper should: (1) include a thesis statement in the first paragraph, (2) analyze the argument, evidence, methods or implications of **at least one reading that has yet to be discussed in class**, and (3) connect the reading with at least one other reading, a current event, or political phenomenon. I recommend that you write these think pieces to help you think about the questions in the course description. Submit each think piece by clicking on the assignment in the Weekly Assignments content folder in Canvas. The think pieces are due to Canvas by 9pm the night before the reading is discussed during class.
 - Discussion Questions – Submit a question to Canvas on weeks that you do not submit a think piece. The question can be a clarification question, or it can be a discussion question regarding a topic you would like to be addressed during class. The questions must be submitted by 9pm the night before class. Submit each discussion or clarification question by clicking on the assignment in the Weekly Assignments content folder in Canvas.
- Participation – Participation by every student is integral for the success of the course. We will learn not only from the course material, but also from our diverse perspectives and experiences. Throughout the course, I will give you in-class assignments that will contribute to your participation grade. I may also randomly call on students throughout the course to ensure that everyone has the opportunity to participate during class. Active participation will increase your engagement, reinforce learning, and allow you to learn

from each other. Missing class frequently will hurt your participation grade. In most cases you cannot make up in-class participation assignments.

- **Midterm Exam** – The midterm will assess your understanding of course concepts. Questions for the exam will be drawn from the readings and information presented during class. The midterm will consist of multiple choice, short answer, and identification questions. It is intended to gauge your understanding of all material from lectures, discussions, and readings.
- **Final Exam** – The final exam will be given on Friday, March 20 from 8:00am to 10:59am. Bring a blue book. In the final exam, you will be asked to apply what you have learned in the course concerning inequalities in participation and representation in the United States. The final is cumulative. Your course readings, discussions, and assignments will help you prepare for the final.

Late Assignments and Make-Up Exams: Think pieces and questions will not receive credit if late. There are three days most weeks to submit these assignments. So, plan accordingly. A make-up exam will only be granted under extraordinary circumstances and only with proper written documentation (e.g., doctors note). Please contact me as soon as possible so that we can make arrangements.

Grade Grievances: Any requests for a grade change must be submitted to me within 72 hours of your receiving the graded assignment. The written request must be typed and no longer than one page long. Your request for grade reconsideration should include a detailed explanation with evidence from course materials. I will review the entire assignment to determine whether the grade should be increased, decreased, or remain the same.

Accommodations: Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (<https://osd.ucsd.edu/>). Students are required to discuss accommodation arrangements with instructors and OSD liaisons in the department **well in advance** of any exams or assignments. The OSD Liaison for the Department of Political Science is Joanna Peralta; please connect with her via [in-person advising](#) (SSB 301) or the [Virtual Advising Center](#) as soon as possible.

Academic Integrity: Any violation of UCSD's academic integrity policy will result in failing this class. The policy can be consulted here: <http://senate.ucsd.edu/Operating-Procedures/Senate-Manual/Appendices/2>.

Sexual Misconduct/Title IX Statement: UC San Diego prohibits sexual violence and sexual harassment and will respond promptly to reports of misconduct. If you wish to speak confidentially about an incident of sexual misconduct, please contact CARE at the Sexual Assault Resources Center at (858) 534-5793. Students should be aware that faculty members are considered responsible employees and are not a confidential resource; as such, if you disclose an incident of sexual misconduct to a faculty member, they have an obligation to report it to UC San Diego's Title IX office, the Office for the Prevention of Harassment & Discrimination (OPHD).

To learn more about sexual misconduct, visit: <https://students.ucsd.edu/sponsor/sarc/index.html>.
To report an incident to the University, please contact OPHD at ophd@ucsd.edu

Course Readings

Part I: Citizens and Democratic Representation

January 6 – Introductions

- Parlapiano, Alicia and Adam Pearce “For Every 10 U.S. Adults, Six Vote and Four Don’t. What Separates Them?” *New York Times*. September 13, 2016. (skim)

January 8 – Nonvoters and Voters

Discussion Question: Do voters and nonvoters vary in their political preferences?

- Enten, Harry. “Registered Voters who Stayed Home Probably Cost Clinton the Election” *FiveThirtyEight* January 5, 2017.
- Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler. 2014. Chapter 6 “On the Representativeness of Voters” in *Who Votes Now? Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

January 10 – Immigrants and Noncitizens

Discussion Question: How does participation vary for immigrants and noncitizens?

- Barreto, Matt and José Muñoz. 2003. “Reexamining the “Politics of In-between: Political Participation among Mexican Immigrants in the United States” *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 25(4): 427-447.
- Barreto, Matt. 2005. “Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election” *Political Research Quarterly* 58(1): 79-86.

Part II: Participation in Theory and Practice

January 13 – Foundations of Participation in American Democracy

Discussion Question: How democratic is American democracy in principle and practice?

- Madison, *Federalist Papers 10*
- Dahl (1961 and 1956) Excerpts from *Who Governs* and *A Preface to Democratic Theory*
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1960. *The Semisovereign People: A Realist’s View of Democracy in America*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Chapter 2

January 15 – Citizen Competency

Discussion Question: Can ordinary citizens promote a healthy democracy?

- Bartels, Larry M. 2005. “Homer Gets a Tax Cut: Inequality and Public Policy in the American Mind.” *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1):15–31.
- Excerpt from Caplan, Bryan. 2007. *The Myth of the Rational Voter*. Princeton University Press. OR <https://object.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa594.pdf>

January 17 – Heuristics and Attentiveness

Discussion Question: How do ordinary citizens know how to participate?

- Excerpt from Lupia, Arthur and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1998. *The Democratic Dilemma*. New York City: Cambridge University Press.

- Johnson, Theodore R. “Can the Democratic Party Retain its Hold on Black Voters?” *The Atlantic*. September 7, 2015
- Excerpt from Zaller, John. 1992 *Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York City: Cambridge University Press.

January 20 – No Class: Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday

Part III: Determinants of Participation

January 22 – Participatory Orientations

Discussion Question: How does group identity influence participation?

- Excerpt from Burns, Nancy, Kay Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *Private Roots of Public Action* p. 369-385.
- Walsh, Katherine Cramer, M. Kent Jennings and Laura Stoker. 2004. “The Effects of Social Class Identification on Participatory Orientations Toward Government.” *British Journal of Political Science* 34:469-495.

January 24 – Race, Gender, and Participation

Discussion Question: How do race and gender influence candidate evaluations? participation?

- Phillips, Christian. 2018. “Wanting, and Weighting: White Women and Descriptive Representation in the 2016 Presidential Election.” *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 3, (1): 29–51.
- Gay, Claudine (2002) “Spirals of Trust? The Effect of Descriptive Representation on the Relationship between Citizens and their Government” *American Journal of Political Science* 46(4): 717-733.

January 27 – Social Networks

Discussion Question: How do social networks influence participation rates?

- McClurg, Scott. 2003. “Social Networks and Political Participation: The Role of Social Interaction in Explaining Political Participation.” *Political Research Quarterly* 56(4): 449-464.

January 29 – Political Socialization

Discussion Question: How do social networks and political socialization influence differences in political participation?

- Rosenthal, Cindy Simon, Jocelyn Jones, and James A. Rosenthal. 2003. “Gendered discourse in the political behavior of adolescents” *Political Research Quarterly* 56 (97): 97 -104
- Burch, Traci; 2014; “The Effects of Imprisonment and Community Supervision on Political Participation”; *Detaining Democracy Special Issue; The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*

January 31 – Institutional Barriers to Participation

Discussion Question: How do institutions influence who participates?

- Davenport, Christian, Sarah Soule, and David Armstrong. 2011. “Protesting while Black? The Differential Policing of American Activism, 1960 to 1990” *American Sociological Review* 76(1): 152-178.

- Zoltan Hajnal, Nazita Lajevardi, Lindsay Nielson. (2017). “Voter ID Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes” *Journal of Politics* 79(2): 363-379.

February 3 – Voter Disenfranchisement

Discussion Question: What are the effects of voter disenfranchisement on participation?

- Uggen, Christopher and Jeff Manza. 2002. “Democratic Contraction? Political Consequences of Felon Disenfranchisement in the United States” *American Sociological Review* 67(6): 777-803.
- Uggen, Christopher, Ryan Larsan, and Sarah Shannon. October 16, 2016. “6 Million Lost Voters: State-level Estimates of Felony Disenfranchisement, 2016” *The Sentencing Project*.

February 5 – Costs to Participation and Mobilization

Discussion Question: How do costs explain variations in political participation?

- Excerpt from Rosenstone and Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America* (American Politics Reader pp. 351-368)

February 7 – Midterm

Part IV: Mobilization

February 10 – Party Mobilization

Discussion Question: How do political parties influence voter turnout?

- Philpot, Tasha S., Daron R. Shaw, and Ernest B. McGowen. 2009. “Winning the Race: Black Voter Turnout in the 2008 Presidential Election.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73(5): 995-1022.

February 12 – Political Mobilization

Discussion Question: What other methods influence turnout?

- Whitby, Kenny J. 2015. “Impact of Organizational Vitality on Black Voter Turnout in the South” *Party Politics* 21(2): 234-245.
- Gerber, A.S. and D.P. Green. 2000. “The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment.” *American Political Science Review* 94(3):653–663.

February 14 - Political Communication

Discussion Question: How does framing and campaign ads influence whether and how people vote?

- Piliawsky, Monte (1989) “Racial Politics in the 1988 Presidential Election” *The Black Scholar*, 20:1, 30-37

February 17 – No Class: Presidents’ Day Holiday

February 19 – Negative Campaigning

Discussion Question: What are the effects of negative campaigns?

- Lau, Sigelman, and Rovner. 2007. “The Effects of Negative Political Campaigns: A Meta-Analytic Reassessment.” *Journal of Politics* 69 : 1176-1209.
- Krupnikov, Yanna. 2011. “When Does Negativity Demobilize? Tracing the Conditional Effect of Negative Campaigning on Voter Turnout.” *American Journal of Political Science* (55)4: 797-813.

Part V: Representation

February 21 – Constituency Contact and Representation

Discussion Question: How do legislators choose who to represent?

- Miler, Kristina C. 2007. “The View from the Hill: Legislative Perceptions of the District.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32(4):597–628.

February 24 – Unequal Representation

Discussion Question: How does who is in office influence whose interests are represented?

- Butler, Daniel M and David E Broockman. 2011. “Do Politicians Racially Discriminate Against Constituents? A Field Experiment on State Legislators.” *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3):463–477.

February 26 – Class Differences

Discussion Question: How does the social class of legislators matter for the equal representation of the public?

- Carnes, Nicholas. 2012. “Does the Numerical Underrepresentation of the Working Class in Congress Matter?” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37(1):5–34.
- Carnes, Nicholas. 2015. “Does the descriptive representation of the working class “crowd out” women and minorities (and vice versa)? Evidence from the Local Elections in America Project.” *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3(2): 350-365.

Part VI: Towards Better Representation

February 28 – The Case for Descriptive Representation

Discussion Question: Should black people represent black people and women represent women?

- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent ‘yes’. *Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628 – 657

March 2 – Race and Gender

Discussion Question: Are minorities able to better represent minorities?

- Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. “Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates.” *American Political Science Review* 88(3):560–576.

- Broockman, David E. 2013. “Black Politicians are More Intrinsically Motivated to Advance Blacks’ Interests: A Field Experiment Manipulating Political Incentives.” *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3): 521-536.

March 4 – Organized Interests

Discussion Question: Can interest groups improve representation?

- Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2005. “Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender.” *Journal of Politics* 68(4):894–910.

March 6 – Protest and Representation

Discussion Question: How does protest improve the participation and representation of marginalized groups?

- Gause, LaGina. “Resources, Protest, and Legislative Behavior”

March 9 – Social Movement Outcomes

Discussion Question: What are the effects of social movements?

- Soule, Sarah A., and Susan Olzak. “When Do Movements Matter? The Politics of Contingency and the Equal Rights Amendment.” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 69, no. 4, 2004, pp. 473–497.

March 11 – Electoral Reforms

Discussion Question: Are election reforms effective?

- Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler. 2014. Chapter 4 “The Legal Context of Turnout: Voter Registration and Voting Innovations” in *Who Votes Now? Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

March 13 – The Internet as the Great Equalizer?

Discussion Question: Do digital technologies improve pathways to participation?

- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba and Henry Brady. 2010. “Weapon of the Strong? Participatory Inequality and the Internet.” *Perspectives on Politics* 8(2): 487-509.

Final Exam: Friday, March 20, 2020 8:00am-10:59am

Think Piece Assignment

You are required to submit 4 short papers (250-500) during the quarter. You may only submit one think piece per week. Think Piece #1 and #2 must be submitted before the midterm exam (by February 7 at 10am). These short assignments should not be a summary of the readings, but it should be clear from the paper that the course materials were read. Each 250-500 word short paper should: (1) include a thesis statement in the first paragraph, (2) analyze the argument, evidence, methods or implications of at least one reading that has yet to be discussed in class, and (3) connect the reading with at least one other reading, a current event, or political phenomenon. I recommend that you write these think pieces to help you think about the questions in the course description. Submit each think piece by clicking on the assignment in the Weekly Assignments content folder in Canvas. The think pieces are due to Canvas by 9pm the night before the reading is discussed during class.

Grading Rubric for Think Piece (Worth 2 points total)

- ½ point deducted if there's no thesis statement
- ½ point deducted if they don't analyze the argument, evidence, methods or implications of at least one reading that has yet to be discussed in class
- ½ point deducted if did not connect the reading with at least one other reading, a current event, or political phenomenon