

**POLI 100I:**  
**Inequalities in Participation and Representation**

Winter 2018

MWF 10:00-10:50am

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**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 a republic? 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 expose you to 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 you 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, you should know facts about inequalities in participation and representation in American Politics. You should be able to use the information acquired in the course to make sense of political phenomena. And, you should be able to apply the knowledge and skills learned in the course to your own behavior and communities.

**Required Materials**

- Iclickers are required for this course to encourage your active learning and participation. Register your clicker in TritonEd to receive participation credit.
- Readings on course materials that are not easily accessible online will be available on TritonEd. Many reading materials are accessible online via [www.libraries.ucsd.edu](http://www.libraries.ucsd.edu).

## Course Assessment

- Weekly Assignments 15%
  - Syllabus Quiz (2%)
  - Think Pieces (4 total for 2% each)
  - Discussion or Clarification Questions (5 total for 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 assignments must be completed the night before class. Submit each weekly assignment by clicking on the assignment in the Weekly Assignments content folder in TritonEd. Only one weekly assignment can be submitted each week.
  - Syllabus Quiz – The first weekly assignment is a quiz on details in this syllabus. The quiz is to ensure that you have read and understand the syllabus. The quiz must be completed before class on January 17. You may attempt the quiz multiple times before January 17. The highest grade will be recorded.
  - Think Pieces – You are required to submit 4 short papers (250-500) during the quarter. **At least 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 improving the participation and representation of marginalized groups. You may select any reading for the think piece but you must submit the think pieces to TritonEd by 10pm the night before the reading is to be discussed during class.
  - Questions – For 5 different weeks, you are required to submit 1 discussion or clarification question to TritonEd. The clarification question can be on something you read or that we've discussed in class. The discussion question can be regarding a topic you would like to be addressed during class. The questions must be submitted to TritonEd by 10pm the night before class.
- Participation – 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.
- 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 23 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:** Weekly assignments 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 the graded assignment being returned (regardless of whether you were present the day the assignment was returned). 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.

**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](mailto:ophd@ucsd.edu)

## Course Readings

### I. Citizens and Democratic Representation

#### **January 8 – 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. (review)

#### **January 10 – Foundations of Participation in American Democracy**

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

- Madison, *Federalist Papers No. 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 12 – 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 Univ. Press.

#### **January 15 – No Class: Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday**

#### **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 19 – 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.

### II. Determinants of Participation

#### **January 22 – Costs to Participation**

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)

#### **January 24 – 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.

### **January 26 – 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*.

### **January 29 – 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.

### **January 31 – Political Efficacy and Trust**

Discussion Question: What internally motivates 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.

### **February 2 – Race, Political Efficacy and Trust**

Discussion Question: How does race influence individuals' levels of participation?

- Bobo, Lawrence and Jr Franklin Gilliam. 1990. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *American Political Science Review* pp. 377-394.
- 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.

### **February 5 – 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.

### **February 7 – Political Socialization**

Discussion Question: How does political socialization influence differences in political participation?

- 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*. P 184-201.
- 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

## **February 9 – Midterm**

### **III. Mobilization**

#### **February 12 – 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 14 – Political Mobilization**

Discussion Question: What other methods influence turnout?

- 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.
- Whitby, Kenny J. 2015. "Impact of Organizational Vitality on Black Voter Turnout in the South" *Party Politics* 21(2): 234-245.

#### **February 16 - Political Communication**

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

- Garcia-Rios, Sergio and Matt Barreto. 2016. "Politicized Immigrant Identity, Spanish-Language Media, and Political Mobilization in 2012" *Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 2(3): 78-96.
- Piliawsky, Monte (1989) "Racial Politics in the 1988 Presidential Election" *The Black Scholar*, 20:1, 30-37

## **February 19 – No Class: Presidents' Day Holiday**

#### **February 21 – 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.
- Brooks and Geer. 2007. "Beyond Negativity: The Effects of Incivility on the Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 1-16.

### **IV. Representation**

#### **February 23 – 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 26 – 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.

## **V. Mass Participation and Protest**

### **February 28 – Social Movement Outcomes**

Discussion Question: What are the effects of social movements?

- Cress, Daniel M and David A. Snow. 2000. "The Outcomes of Homeless Mobilization: The Influence of Organization, Disruption, Political Mediation, and Framing." *American Journal of Sociology* 105(1063-1104).

### **March 2 – Protest and Representation**

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

- Gause, LaGina. "Resources, Protest, and Legislative Behavior"

## **Descriptive Representation**

### **March 5 – 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 7 – Class**

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.

## **VI. Towards Better Representation**

### **March 9 - 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.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. “Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions.” *American Political Science Review* 97(4):529–550.

### **March 12 – 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 14 – 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 16 – 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.