PLAP 4500—The Political Psychology of White Supremacy Spring 2021

Wednesday 3:00–5:30pm (online)

Professor Nicholas Winter

nwinter@virginia.edu

Office hours:

Monday 1–2:30 and by appointment Zoom office: https://virginia.zoom.us/my/nwinter

Zoom class meeting:

https://virginia.zoom.us/j/91974647295?pwd=cGZDN3NMNWlKaVZhN1pkYVAvYmk2UT09 Password = "614046"

This course explores White supremacy in the contemporary United States using the lens of political psychology. We will covers research on group identity, prejudice and stereotyping, and implicit bias. In addition, we will examine the production of White supremacy in politics, society, culture, and history, with focus on interactions between macro-level structural and individual-level psychological forces and the role of power. Throughout the course we will consider ways that White identity and racialized politics intersect with gender and sexuality, and will consider the ways that using a purely individual-level psychological approach to understand race and racism can render White supremacy invisible.

Syllabus change log

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V2I.0.0-03FEB202I	Initial syllabus—beta release
V21.1.0-04FEB2021	Fixed typos, updated readings
V2I.I.I-04FEB202I	Added Amazon and library links and ISBNs for required books
V21.1.2-05FEB2021	Corrected book availability information
V21.2.0-24FEB2021	Updated readings for March 3
V21.2.I-26FEB202I	Added supplemental material for March 3
V21.2.2-15MAR2021	Updated required book information
V21.3.0-26MAR2021	Updated readings for March 31
V21.4.0-29MAR2021	Updates on final research paper
V21.5.0-08APR2021	Updated reading for 4/14
V21.6.0-23APR2021	Updated reading for 4/28

Online Course Structure

This class will be primarily synchronous, but will include some asynchronous activities.

Asynchronous

Reading: Every week. In advance of each synchronous class meeting, you are expected to read and be prepared to discuss the material on the syllabus for that date.

Online discussion: Prior to most synchronous discussions, we will begin with an asynchronous discussion:

- Each week, several assigned students will each post a "QQC" (Quotation, Question, or Comment) about that day's reading on Collab Discussions. These are due by 5pm on Monday afternoon.
- All students will then read and reply to each of the day's QQCs by 11:59pm Tuesday
 night before class, and read the other replies before class on Wednesday. This will lay the
 groundwork for our in-class discussions.

Midterm exam: you will complete an open-book, open-note, essay-based midterm exam. You can work on the exam for up to eight hours total (broken into two or three sessions if you like). The exam will be posted by 9am on Thursday, March 25 and is due by 11:59pm on Monday, March 29. You may work on it for up to eight hours (in two or three sessions if you wish).

Final research project: You will write a final paper that connects course material with research you conduct on a topic of your choice. As the term progresses, you will submit and receive feedback on a research proposal and an annotated bibliography/research sources document. I will provide additional information about this project as the term progresses.

Synchronous

Class discussion: We will hold class meetings through Zoom. Most synchronous classes will involve a combination of whole-class discussion, mini-lecture, and small-group discussion.

During synchronous class time my expectation is that we're all here with cameras on, paying attention, and participating as we would during an in-person class.

I do not distinguish "excused" and "unexcused" absences. If something comes up that you cannot attend class, my expectation is that you will contact me in advance if possible, and that you will consult with your peers about what you miss.

Local Tours: As discussed below, during two of our class meetings we will tour UVa Grounds and downtown Charlottesville. We will meet in person; if you are not on Grounds this semester you can attend via live-stream.

Grading

Grading is back to the standard (letter grade) system. Course grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Asynchronous discussion

Synchronous discussion

Midterm exam

Final paper

Proposal (April 12)

Annotated bibliography/sources list (April 19)

Final paper (May 10)

15 percent

20 percent

40 percent

5 percent

10 percent

25 percent

I do not accept late assignments without prior arrangement. That said, if something comes up that prevents you from completing an assignment on time, I am happy to work with you if you get in touch in advance.

Readings

The required books are listed below. All are on order at the UVa bookstore and are of course available from the usual online sellers. Two of them are available electronically through the library as well. All other materials are on Collab and/or linked from the syllabus.

Hagerman, Margaret A. 2018. White Kids: Growing Up with Privilege in a Racially Divided America. New York: New York University Press. ISBN-13: 978-1479802456.

Amazon: https://amzn.com/147980245X

Lipsitz, George. 2018. *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics*. Twentieth anniversary edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. ISBN-13: 978-1439916391.

Amazon: https://amzn.com/143991639X

Also available electronically through the UVa Library:

https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uva/detail.action?docID=5425334

MacLean, Nancy. 1995. Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0195098365.

Amazon: https://amzn.com/0195098366

UVa Library: https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uva/detail.action?docID=271059

Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0691070711.

Amazon: https://amzn.com/0691070717

Phoenix, Davin L. 2019. *The Anger Gap: How Race Shapes Emotion in Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Amazon: https://amzn.com/1108725333/

UVa Library: https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva-library/items/u8645357

Important note on online resources: Many linked resources on the syllabus are available because the UVa Library subscribes. If you are not on Grounds, they may not be automatically available when you go to the relevant website. This page has instructions for using EZProxy or either of two UVa VPNs to access these materials: https://www.library.virginia.edu/services/off-grounds-access/.

Quotation, Question, Comment

Most synchronous class meetings will include a prior asynchronous reading based discussion in advance of our class meeting. (We also have one movie-based asynchronous discussion that is handled separately.) The reading-based asynchronous discussion will be structured as follows:

- Three or four students will be assigned to submit a Quotation, Question, or Comment (QQC) through the Collab "Discussion" tool by 5pm Monday before class.
- Your QQC should begin with a quotation from the reading, a question you would like to
 discuss, or a comment about the reading. Then you should, in 2-4 paragraphs, explain why you
 chose it: what did you find interesting, confusing, thought-provoking, etc.
- All students will read the three or four QQCs and reply to each (or reply to the replies) by 11:59pm Tuesday night.
- All students will read the other replies before synchronous class begins at 3pm on Wednesday.
- Important: Please be sure to click "Mark as Read" for each QQC and reply that you read so you get participation credit!



The syllabus reading schedule indicates which days will have QQC; we may adjust this somewhat as the semester progresses. I will randomly assign students to the classes for which they will complete their QQCs.

Other Policies

I respect and uphold University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to students with physical, visual, hearing, and other disabilities or impairments; plagiarism; racial, ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, or religious discrimination; and all forms of harassment.

If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you must contact the Student Disability Access Center (https://www.studenthealth.virginia.edu/sdac) as soon as possible, at least two to three weeks before any assignments are due. I take learning disabilities very seriously and I will make whatever accommodations you need to be successful in this class. However, they must be properly documented by the SDAC and I must have enough notice to make appropriate arrangements. 123

Plagiarism, or academic theft, is passing off someone else's words or ideas as your own without giving proper credit to the source. You are responsible for not plagiarizing and are expected to abide by the University of Virginia Honor Code (see https://honor.virginia.edu/academic-fraud).

Note on Course Content

At times this semester we will read and discuss work the touches on a number of sensitive, controversial, and difficult topics that may be disturbing to some students. If you suspect that specific material is likely to be emotionally challenging for you, I'd be happy to discuss any concerns you may have before the subject comes up in class. Likewise, if you ever wish to discuss your personal reactions to course material with the class or with me individually afterwards, I welcome such discussions as an appropriate part of our classwork.

If you ever feel the need to step away during a class discussion you may always do so without academic penalty. You will, however, be responsible for any material you miss. If you do leave the class for a significant time, please make arrangements to get notes from another student or see me individually to discuss the situation.

February 3: Welcome	
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30	

February 10: The invention of "race" and its role in American history	
QQC: due Monday 5pm	Salter, Phia S., Glenn Adams, and Michael J. Perez. 2018. "Racism in the Structure of Everyday Worlds: A Cultural-Psychological Perspective." <i>Current Directions in Psychological Science</i> 27(3): 150–55.
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	Smedley, Audrey. 2007. "The History of the Idea of Race And Why It Matters." Presented at the Conference, "Race, Human Variation and Disease: Consensus and Frontiers," Warrenton, VA. https://www.understandingrace.org/resources/pdf/disease/smedley.pdf .
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm	Brodkin, Karen. 2004. "How Did Jews Become White Folks?" In <i>Off White:</i> *Readings on Race, Power, and Society, eds. Michelle Fine, Lois Weis, Linda *Powell Pruitt, and April Burns. New York: Routledge, 17–34.
	King, Desmond S., and Rogers M. Smith. 2005. "Racial Orders in American Political Development." <i>The American Political Science Review</i> 99(1): 75–92.
	Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2017. "The First White President." <i>The Atlantic</i> (October). (Reprinted in <i>We Were Eight Years in Power: An American Tragedy.</i> New York: Random House, 341–68.)

February 17: No class—UVa "spring break" day	

February 24: White racial socialization and "colorblindness"	
QQC: due Monday 5pm	Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo, and Tyrone A. Forman. 2000. "I Am Not a Racist But': Mapping White College Students' Racial Ideology in the USA." <i>Discourse & Society</i> 11(1): 50–85.
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	Hagerman, Margaret A. 2018. White Kids: Growing Up with Privilege in a Racially Divided America. New York: New York University Press.
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm	

March 3: The University of Virginia: How built space shapes \mathcal{E} is shaped by ideas about race \mathcal{E} power

Tour 3:30-5:30pm

We will meet on the south steps of the Rotunda at 3:30pm

Walking tour of Grounds, led by special guest Kirt von Daacke, Associate Professor of History and Assistant Dean.

Please take the Enslaved African Americans Walking Tour of UVa Grounds, using the smartphone app: https://www.library.virginia.edu/map/walking-tours. (Once you install the app on your device, you can select the Enslaved African American Tour. I encourage you actually to walk the tour if you can; if you cannot, you can read the material about each stop on the tour. If you do not have a device you can use to install the app, let me know and we will work out an alternative.)

Nelson, Louis P., and Maurie D. McInnis. 2019. "Landscape of Slavery." In *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's University*, eds. Maurie D. McInnis and Louis P. Nelson. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 42–74.

Reynolds, P. Preston. 2018. "Eugenics at the University of Virginia and Its Legacy in Health Disparities." In *Charlottesville 2017: The Legacy of Race and Inequity*, eds. Claudrena N. Harold and Louis P. Nelson. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Schmidt, Ashley, and Kirt von Daacke. 2019. "UVA and the History of Race: Blackface and the Rise of a Segregated Society." *UVA Today*. https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-and-history-race-blackface-and-rise-segregated-society.

Optional supplementary material on eugenics at UVa:

This UVa Today article by Preston Reynolds covers the same basic ground as the chapter above, but includes a number of historical images:

https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-and-history-race-eugenics-racial-integrity-act-health-disparities

This UVa Health System online exhibit goes into more depth on eugenics, and includes many historical photos and other materials: http://exhibits.hsl.virginia.edu/eugenics/

March 10: The produ	March 10: The production and measurement of modern White racism	
QQC: due Monday 5pm	Trawalter, Sophie, D-J Bart-Plange, and Kelly M Hoffman. 2020. "A Socioecological Psychology of Racism: Making Structures and History More Visible." <i>Current Opinion in Psychology</i> 32: 47–51.	
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. "Subtle Prejudice for Modern Times." In <i>Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals</i> , Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 92–127.	
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm	Pierce, Jennifer L. 2003. "Racing for Innocence': Whiteness, Corporate Culture, and the Backlash Against Affirmative Action." <i>Qualitative Sociology</i> 26(1): 53–70.	
	Banda, Kevin K., and Erin C. Cassese. 2021. "Hostile Sexism, Racial Resentment, and Political Mobilization." <i>Political Behavior</i> . https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-020-09674-7 .	

March 17: The (changing) uses of race in electoral campaigns	
QQC:	Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and
due Monday	the Norm of Equality. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
5pm QQC response: by Tuesday	Valentino, Nicholas A., Fabian G. Neuner, and L. Matthew Vandenbroek. 2018. "The Changing Norms of Racial Political Rhetoric and the End of Racial Priming." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 80(3): 757–71.
midnight	Newman, Benjamin et al. 2020. "The Trump Effect: An Experimental Investigation of the Emboldening Effect of Racially Inflammatory Elite Communication."
Synchronous:	British Journal of Political Science: 1–22.
3:00-5:30pm	

March 24: Anger in Black and White	
QQC: due Monday 5pm	Phoenix, Davin L. 2019. <i>The Anger Gap: How Race Shapes Emotion in Politics</i> . Cambridge University Press. (Available electronically from the UVa Library: https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva-library/items/u8645357).
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	Banks, Antoine J., and Nicholas A. Valentino. 2012. "Emotional Substrates of White Racial Attitudes." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 56(2): 286–97.
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm	

March 25–29: Asynchronous Midterm	
Asynchronous	Exam will be posted by 9am on Thursday, March 25 and is due by 5:00pm on
Online midterm	Wednesday, March 31. You may work on it for up to eight hours (in two or
via Collab	three sessions if you wish).

Tuesday March 30: Charlottesville: Monuments & the construction of historical memory

Tour 11am-1pm

We will meet in front of the Country Courthouse, at the corner of Jefferson and Park Streets)

If you cannot attend in-person, you can watch the live-stream here: https://www.twitch .tv/njgwinter

We will take a walking tour of Charlottesville's monuments, led by special guest Jalane Schmidt, Associate Professor of Religious Studies.

Browse "The Illusion of Progress: Charlottesville's Roots in White Supremacy" https://www.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=a31f53ca6a544390870 85d6c313758a5

Rosenblith, Sophie Abramowitz, Eva Latterner, Gillet. 2017. "How Charlottesville's Confederate Statues Helped Decimate the City's Historically Successful Black Communities." Slate Magazine. https://slate.com/news-andpolitics/2017/06/how-charlottesvilles-confederate-statues-helped-decimate-thecitys-historically-successful-black-communities.html

Britt, Lucy, Emily Wager, and Tyler Steelman. 2020. "Meanings and Impacts of Confederate Monuments in the U.S. South." Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race: 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X2000020X

Strother, Logan, Spencer Piston, and Thomas Ogorzalek. 2017. "Pride or Prejudice?: Racial Prejudice, Southern Heritage, and White Support for the Confederate Battle Flag." Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race 14(1): 295–323. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X17000017

OPTIONAL/SUPPLEMENTAL:

Schmidt, Jalane. 2019. "Charlottesville's Courthouse Confederate Soldier Statue" https://medium.com/@JalaneSchmidt/what-you-need-to-know-aboutcharlottesvilles-courthouse-confederate-soldier-f6f5e2cee5d4

The Confederate Monument at the University of North Carolina https://silentsam.online/

Jalane Schmidt, Religion, Race & Democracy Lab webinar on the Johnny Reb statue and the area residents it commemorates. https://vimeo.com/445656703

General Robert E. Lee statue (installed 1924): https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-and-history-race-lost-cause-throughjudge-dukes-eyes

https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/08/10/charlottesvilles-confederatestatues-still-stand-still-symbolize-racist-past/

General Stonewall Jackson statue was an early gentrification project (installed 1921): https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/06/how-charlottesvilles-confederatestatues-helped-decimate-the-citys-historically-successful-black-communities.html

What should happen to statues after they're removed?

https://richmond.com/opinion/columnists/jalane-schmidt-column-seller-bewarethe-moral-risks-of-hazardous-statue-disposal/article 73b6464a-2abb-5f4a-91c1a2c9abde1092.html

April 7: Whiteness as investment	
QQC: due Monday 5pm	Lipsitz, George. 2018. <i>The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics</i> . Twentieth anniversary edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	Strolovitch, Dara Z., Janelle S. Wong, and Andrew Proctor. 2017. "A Possessive Investment in White Heteropatriarchy? The 2016 Election and the Politics of Race, Gender, and Sexuality." <i>Politics, Groups, and Identities</i> 5(2): 353–63.
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm	

April 14: Building and defending White identity

QQC: due Monday 5pm

QQC response: by Tuesday midnight

Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm

Reicher, Stephen, and S. Alexander Haslam. 2016. "The Politics of Hope: Donald Trump as an Entrepreneur of Identity." *Scientific American*.

Phillips, L. Taylor, and Brian S. Lowery. 2018. "Herd Invisibility: The Psychology of Racial Privilege." *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 27(3): 156–62.

We will divide and conquer the following studies:

Goff, Phillip Atiba, Jennifer L. Eberhardt, Melissa J. Williams, and Matthew Christian Jackson. 2008. "Not yet Human: Implicit Knowledge, Historical Dehumanization, and Contemporary Consequences." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94(2): 292–306.

Makala, Olivia, Rosalie

Branscombe, Nyla R., Michael T. Schmitt, and Kristin Schiffhauer. 2007. "Racial Attitudes in Response to Thoughts of White Privilege." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37(2): 203–15.

Chad, Fatima, Shelby

Craig, Maureen A., and Jennifer A. Richeson. 2014. "More Diverse Yet Less Tolerant? How the Increasingly Diverse Racial Landscape Affects White Americans' Racial Attitudes." *Personality And Social Psychology Bulletin* 40(6): 750–61.

Justine, Katie, Gabriela

Phillips, L. Taylor, and Brian S. Lowery. 2015. "The Hard-Knock Life? Whites Claim Hardships in Response to Racial Inequity." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 61: 12–18.

Hibah, Michelle, Frances

Onyeador, Ivuoma N. et al. 2020. "Disrupting Beliefs in Racial Progress: Reminders of Persistent Racism Alter Perceptions of Past, But Not Current, Racial Economic Equality." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*: 014616722094262.

Jenna, Ty'Leik, Jayla

April 21: The KKK: race, gender, sexuality, ಆ violence	
QQC: due Monday	MacLean, Nancy. 1995. Behind the Mask of Chivalry: The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan. New York: Oxford University Press.
5pm	Ruby, Robert A. Pape, Keven. 2021. "The Capitol Rioters Aren't Like Other Extremists." <i>The Atlantic</i> .
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/02/the-capitol-rioters-arent-like-other-extremists/617895/.
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm	Serwer, Adam. 2021. "The Capitol Rioters Weren't 'Low Class." <i>The Atlantic</i> . https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/01/thoroughly-respectable-rioters/617644/ .

April 28: (White) Masculinity and (White) feminine protection	
QQC: due Monday 5pm	Bederman, Gail. 1995. "Remaking Manhood through Race and 'Civilization.'" In Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapter 1 (1-44).
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	Driver, Justin. 2018. "Of Big Black Bucks and Golden-Haired Little Girls: How Fear of Interracial Sex Informed Brown v. Board of Education and Its Resistance." In <i>The Empire of Disgust</i> , eds. Zoya Hasan, Aziz Z. Huq, Martha C. Nussbaum, and Vidhu Verma. New York: Oxford University Press, 41–61.
Synchronous: 3:00–5:30pm	McMahon, Jean M., and Kimberly Barsamian Kahn. 2018. "When Sexism Leads to Racism: Threat, Protecting Women, and Racial Bias." <i>Sex Roles</i> 78(9): 591–605.
	Optional/supplemental
	Romano, Aja. 2016. "How the Alt-Right's Sexism Lures Men into White Supremacy." <i>Vox.</i> https://www.vox.com/culture/2016/12/14/13576192/alt-right-sexism-recruitment.
	Kimmel, Michael, and Abby L. Ferber. 2000. "'White Men Are This Nation:' Right-Wing Militias and the Restoration of Rural American Masculinity." <i>Rural Sociology</i> 65(4): 582–604.

May 5: White Supremacy and "the Family"	
QQC: due Monday 5pm	Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2017. "The Black Family in the Age of Mass Incarceration." In We Were Eight Years in Power: An American Tragedy, New York: Random House, 223–84.
QQC response: by Tuesday midnight	Ortner, Sherry B. 2020. "Racialized Patriarchy: Lessons from Police Brutality." In <i>Gender, Considered: Feminist Reflections Across the US Social Sciences</i> , eds. Sarah Fenstermaker and Abigail J. Stewart. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 137–64.
Synchronous:	Balmer, Randall. 2021. "The Real Origins of the Religious Right." <i>POLITICO Magazine</i> . https://politi.co/2JsQoNr .
3:00–5:30pm	Frank, Gillian. 2013. "'The Civil Rights of Parents': Race and Conservative Politics in Anita Bryant's Campaign against Gay Rights in 1970s Florida." <i>Journal of the History of Sexuality</i> 22(1): 126–60.