

## PLAP 4500—The Political Psychology of White Supremacy Spring 2023

Tuesday 2:00–4:30pm  
Monroe Hall 114

**Professor Nicholas Winter**  
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Office hours:  
Wednesday 10–12 and by appointment  
Zoom office: <https://virginia.zoom.us/my/nwinter>

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

V23.0.0–24JAN2023	Initial syllabus—beta release
V23.1.0–26JAN2023	Myriad updates (rearranged topics, visit to the library, final presentations, etc.
V23.1.1–08FEB2023	Fixed typos and links
V23.2.0–12FEB2023	Updated details for 2/14 Grounds tour
V23.3.0–9MAR2023	Updated readings for 3/14 & 3/21

## Online Course Structure

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

### Asynchronous

**Reading:** Every week. In advance of each 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 class meetings, 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 Canvas. These are due by **5pm on Sunday afternoon**.
- **All students** will then read and reply to each of the day’s QQC’s by **11:59pm Monday night** before class, and read the other replies before class on Tuesday. This will lay the groundwork for our in-class discussions.
- You should read all of the comments on the week’s thread before class meeting on Tuesday.

**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).

**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 in person. Most synchronous classes will involve a combination of whole-class discussion, mini-lecture, and small-group discussion.

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. If something major comes up in your life, let me know!

**UVA Tour** (February 14): As detailed below, we will tour UVa Grounds with Prof. Kirt von Daake.

**Visit to UVa Library Special Collections** (April 4): As detailed below, we will meet at the Small Special Collections Library for an introduction to the collections.

**Discussion with Dr. Preston Reynolds** (April 11): We will be joined by Dr. Preston Reynolds, Professor of Medicine, UVa Medical School, who is an expert on the history of eugenics at UVa.

## Grading

Course grades will be based on the following breakdown:

Asynchronous discussion	15 percent
Synchronous discussion	25 percent
Midterm exam	20 percent
Final paper	40 percent
Proposal	5 percent
Annotated bibliography/sources list	10 percent
Final presentation	5 percent
Final paper	20 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. Some are available electronically through the library as well. All other materials are on Canvas and/or linked from the syllabus.

Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2018. *Deep Roots: How Slavery Still Shapes Southern Politics*. Princeton University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0691203720

Amazon: <https://www.amazon.com/dp/0691203725>

Catte, Elizabeth. 2021. *Pure America: Eugenics and the Making of Modern Virginia*. Belt Publishing. ISBN-13: 978-1953368195

Amazon: <https://www.amazon.com/dp/1953368190>

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://www.amazon.com/dp/147980245X>

Kendi, Ibram X. 2019. *How to Be an Antiracist*. New York: One World. ISBN-13: 978-0525509288 (hardback) or 978-0525509301 (paperback)

Amazon: <https://www.amazon.com/dp/0525509283>

UVa Library: [https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva\\_library/items/u8561233](https://search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/u8561233)

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://www.amazon.com/dp/143991639X>

UVa Library: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uva/detail.action?docID=5425334>

**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. 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 Canvas “Discussion” tool by **5pm Sunday 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 (and/or reply to the replies) by 11:59pm Monday night.
- All students will read the other replies before synchronous class begins at 2pm on Tuesday.

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 that 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.

January 24: Welcome	
<b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30	
January 31: The invention of “race” and its role in American history	
<b>QQC:</b> due Monday 5pm  <b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight  <b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Brodkin, Karen. 2004. “How Did Jews Become White Folks?” In <i>Off White: Readings on Race, Power, and Society</i>, eds. Michelle Fine, Lois Weis, Linda Powell Pruitt, and April Burns. New York: Routledge, 17–34.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.)</p>
February 7: White racial socialization	
<b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm  <b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight  <b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm	<p>Hagerman, Margaret A. 2018. <i>White Kids: Growing Up with Privilege in a Racially Divided America</i>. New York: New York University Press.</p>

February 14: The University of Virginia: How built space shapes & is shaped by ideas about race & power	
<p><b>Tour 2:00–4:30pm</b></p> <p><i>We will meet on the north side of the Rotunda, at the Jefferson Statue 2:00pm (We will NOT meet on the lawn side.)</i></p>	<p>Walking tour of Grounds, led by special guest Kirt von Daacke, Associate Professor of History and Assistant Dean.</p> <p>Please take the Enslaved African Americans Walking Tour of UVa Grounds, using the smartphone app: <a href="https://www.library.virginia.edu/map/walking-tours">https://www.library.virginia.edu/map/walking-tours</a>. (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.)</p> <p>Nelson, Louis P., and Maurie D. McInnis. 2019. "Landscape of Slavery." In <i>Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's University</i>, eds. Maurie D. McInnis and Louis P. Nelson. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 42–74.</p> <p>Schmidt, Ashley, and Kirt von Daacke. 2019. "UVA and the History of Race: Blackface and the Rise of a Segregated Society." <i>UVA Today</i>. <a href="https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-and-history-race-blackface-and-rise-segregated-society">https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-and-history-race-blackface-and-rise-segregated-society</a>.</p> <p><b>Optional/supplementary:</b> UVA Today has a series, "UVA and the History of Race": <a href="https://news.virginia.edu/news-category/uva-and-history-race">https://news.virginia.edu/news-category/uva-and-history-race</a></p>
February 21: The production and measurement of modern White racism	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Petrella, Christopher, and Justin Gomer. 2019. "'Not a Racist Bone in His Body': The Origins of the Default Defense against Racism." <i>Washington Post</i>. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/04/11/not-racist-bone-his-body-origins-default-defense-against-racism/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/04/11/not-racist-bone-his-body-origins-default-defense-against-racism/</a>.</p> <p>Pierce, Jennifer L. 2003. "'Racing for Innocence': Whiteness, Corporate Culture, and the Backlash Against Affirmative Action." <i>Qualitative Sociology</i> 26(1): 53–70.</p>

February 28: Modern White Racism: Not So New?	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2018. <i>Deep Roots: How Slavery Still Shapes Southern Politics</i>. Princeton University Press.</p>
March 7: No Class—Spring Break	



March 14: Building & defending White identity	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Reicher, Stephen, and Yasemin Ulusahin. 2020. "Resentment and Redemption: On the Mobilization of Dominant Group Victimhood." In <i>Resentment and Redemption: On the Mobilization of Dominant Group Victimhood</i>, ed. Johanna Ray Vollhardt. New York: Oxford University Press, 275–94.</p> <p>Phillips, L. Taylor, and Brian S. Lowery. 2018. "Herd Invisibility: The Psychology of Racial Privilege." <i>Current Directions in Psychological Science</i> 27(3): 156–62.</p> <p><b>Optional:</b> Reicher, Stephen, and S. Alexander Haslam. 2016. "The Politics of Hope: Donald Trump as an Entrepreneur of Identity." <i>Scientific American</i>.</p> <p><b><u>We will divide and conquer the following studies:</u></b></p> <p>Goff, Phillip Atiba, Jennifer L. Eberhardt, Melissa J. Williams, and Matthew Christian Jackson. 2008. "Not yet Human: Implicit Knowledge, Historical Dehumanization, and Contemporary Consequences." <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> 94(2): 292–306.</p> <p>Branscombe, Nyla R., Michael T. Schmitt, and Kristin Schiffhauer. 2007. "Racial Attitudes in Response to Thoughts of White Privilege." <i>European Journal of Social Psychology</i> 37(2): 203–15.</p> <p>Phillips, L. Taylor, and Brian S. Lowery. 2015. "The Hard-Knock Life? Whites Claim Hardships in Response to Racial Inequity." <i>Journal of Experimental Social Psychology</i> 61: 12–18.</p> <p>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." <i>Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin</i>.</p> <p>Kachanoff, Frank J., Nour Kteily, and Kurt Gray. 2022. "Equating Silence with Violence: When White Americans Feel Threatened by Anti-Racist Messages." <i>Journal of Experimental Social Psychology</i> 102: 104348.</p>

March 21: The (changing) uses of race in electoral campaigns	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Mendelberg, Tali. 2001. <i>The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. (selections)</p> <p>Nteta, Tatishe M., Rebecca Lisi, and Melinda R. Tarsi. 2016. “Rendering the Implicit Explicit: Political Advertisements, Partisan Cues, Race, and White Public Opinion in the 2012 Presidential Election.” <i>Politics, Groups, and Identities</i> 4(1): 1–29.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Suhay, Elizabeth. 2015. “Explaining Group Influence: The Role of Identity and Emotion in Political Conformity and Polarization.” <i>Political Behavior</i> 37(1): 221–51.</p>
March 22–27: Asynchronous Midterm	
<p><b>Asynchronous</b> Online midterm via Canvas</p>	<p>Exam will be posted by 9am on Wednesday, March 22 and is due <b>by 5:00pm on Monday, March 27</b>. You may work on it for up to eight hours (in two or three sessions if you wish).</p>
March 28: Whiteness as investment	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Lipsitz, George. 2018. <i>The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics</i>. Twentieth anniversary edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.</p> <p>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.</p>
April 4: Hands-On Historical Research!	
<p><b>Visit to Special Collections:</b> 2:00–3:30pm</p> <p><i>We will meet in room 318 of the Small Special Collections Library.</i></p>	<p><i>We will meet at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library for a session on UVA’s collections relevant to research on white supremacy. There will be time for individual research after the group session.</i></p> <p><b>Reading TBA</b></p>

April 11: Scientific Racism, Eugenics, & UVa	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Catte, Elizabeth. 2021. <i>Pure America: Eugenics and the Making of Modern Virginia</i>. Belt Publishing.</p> <p>Reynolds, P. Preston. 2023. <i>Handbook Chapter Title TBA</i></p> <p><b>We will be joined for class by Dr. Preston Reynolds, Professor of Medicine, UVa Medical School, who is an expert on the history of eugenics at UVa.</b></p>
April 18: (White) Masculinity and (White) feminine protection	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Bederman, Gail. 1995. “Remaking Manhood through Race and ‘Civilization.’” In <i>Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917</i>, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapter 1 (1-44).</p> <p>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.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Romano, Aja. 2016. “How the Alt-Right’s Sexism Lures Men into White Supremacy.” <i>Vox</i>. <a href="https://www.vox.com/culture/2016/12/14/13576192/alt-right-sexism-recruitment">https://www.vox.com/culture/2016/12/14/13576192/alt-right-sexism-recruitment</a>.</p> <p>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.</p>

April 25: White Supremacy and "the Family"	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2017. "The Black Family in the Age of Mass Incarceration." In <i>We Were Eight Years in Power: An American Tragedy</i>, New York: Random House, 223–84.</p> <p>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.</p> <p>Balmer, Randall. 2021. "The Real Origins of the Religious Right." <i>POLITICO Magazine</i>. <a href="https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/05/religious-right-real-origins-107133/">https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/05/religious-right-real-origins-107133/</a></p> <p>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.</p>
May 2: Antiracism	
<p><b>QQC:</b> due Sunday 5pm</p> <p><b>QQC response:</b> by Monday midnight</p> <p><b>Synchronous:</b> 2:00–4:30pm</p>	<p>Kendi, Ibram X. 2019. <i>How to Be an Antiracist</i>. New York: One World.</p>
May 8: Presentations (during final exam slot)	
<p>9:00am–12noon</p>	<p>You will give a brief presentation to the class on your final research project.</p>