

***Race and Ethnicity***  
Spring 2021, AMH 5930  
Professor Paul Ortiz  
Department of History, University of Florida  
[352-392-7168/portiz@ufl.edu](mailto:352-392-7168/portiz@ufl.edu)  
Thursdays, 3-6 pm

*Race belongs to the same family as the evil eye. Racism belongs to the same family as murder and genocide. Which is to say that racism, unlike race, is not a fiction, an illusion, a superstition or a hoax. It is a crime against humanity.*

–Barbara J. Fields,  
*Racecraft: The Soul of Inequality in American Life*

*The American landscape has never been at one with the white man. Never. And white men have probably never felt so bitter anywhere, as here in America, where the very landscape, in its very beauty, seems a bit devilish and grinning, opposed to us... But you have there the myth of the essential white America. All the other stuff, the love, the democracy, the floundering into lust, is a sort of by-play. The essential American soul is hard, isolate, stoic and a killer. It has never yet melted.*

--D.H. Lawrence,  
*Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923)

### **Course Description:**

This interdisciplinary seminar explores the invention and reinvention(s) of race and ethnicity keying in on questions of racism, power, resistance, and the regimented fluidity of identities from the Age of Revolution to Black Lives Matter. Scholars have proven that race is a fiction, right? However, like Banquo's Ghost, "It Will Not Down." Theories and practices of racism continue to dominate discourses of crime, consumption, war, education and citizenship—among other areas—while shaping unequal relations between individuals and nations.

We will explore a broad array of topics, historical moments, and social relations that can be greatly enriched by using race and ethnicity as a comparative lens of historical analysis. These include: the Enlightenment and modernity; revolution and counter-revolution; racial capitalism; Indigeneity, genocide and settler colonialism; Black Internationalism; Gender and sexuality; Segregation and re-segregation; Immigration, forced migration, and non-citizenship; Critical Latino Studies; social movements and organizing; Neoliberalism, policing and mass incarceration; relational and intercultural approaches to the study of race and ethnicity.

### **Course Objectives/Student Learning Outcomes**

By the end of the semester, students will be able to prepare reading/exam fields in topics intersecting with race, class, gender, and power—and will be able to successfully incorporate these themes in research projects including master's theses and dissertations.

**Contact Information:** Paul Ortiz: [portiz@ufl.edu](mailto:portiz@ufl.edu) Office Hours: Mondays/Wednesdays from 3:00 to 4:30 remotely I am available to meet outside of these times by appointment. Office phone, 392-7168. Cell Phone, 831-334-0131.

**Attendance Policy:** A medical certificate is needed to excuse absences. If you miss a seminar you are responsible for getting notes and/or assignment instructions from one of your peers or the instructor.

**Academic Honesty:** As colleagues at the University of Florida, we have committed ourselves to uphold our Honor Code, which includes the following pledge: “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity.” Students are required to be honest in their coursework, and must properly cite all sources that they have consulted for their projects. For UF’s honor code, see <http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/honorcodes/honorcode.php>.

**Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the [UF Disability Resource Center](https://drc.dso.ufl.edu/) (352-392-8565), <https://drc.dso.ufl.edu/>, by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodations. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.”

**Counseling and Mental Health Resources:** Students experiencing events or issues that interfere with their general well-being are encouraged to utilize the university’s counseling services. The Counseling and Wellness Center provides confidential counseling services at no cost for currently enrolled students. Counseling and Wellness Center: 352-392-1575; <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/>.

**Current UF Grading Policy:**

Review current UF Grading policy at: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx#grades>

**Canvas Site:** Check our Canvas site regularly for course updates, and study guides for papers & exams.

### ***COURSE FORMAT***

**Analytical Engagement Essays:**

You will write weekly 4-5-page analytical essays on the major readings. I encourage you to engage the readings from multiple disciplinary perspectives. First, explicate the core arguments and theories of the major texts. In your analysis, also discuss how the reading enriches and disrupts your understanding of how race and ethnicity “work” as well as how the reading can inform your own research project if appropriate.

**Final Seminar Project**

Your final seminar project assignment is designed to help you to infuse your new knowledge into your graduate research projects. The final product will be the equivalent of a 20-25-page graduate seminar paper and may take the form of a dissertation prospectus draft, an MA chapter, a historiographical essay, a research paper, or a literature review (among other possibilities.) You will create and complete this project in close consultation with the instructor. Please schedule a meeting with me between weeks 3 and 5 of the semester to discuss your final seminar project. On February 25<sup>th</sup>, we will share draft outlines of our projects-in-progress. Thereafter, we will reserve a portion of each session to discuss our works-in-progress. We will present our final projects in class during the last two seminar sessions.

**Grading:** Class participation (10%); weekly writing assignments (60%); final projects (30%).

**Required Texts:** (Available at Library West Reserves)

Patrisse Khan-Cullors & Asha Bandele, *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*  
Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*  
Paul Ortiz, *An African American and Latinx History of the United States*  
C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*  
David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*  
Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*  
Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*  
Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (2005 edition)  
Ian Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*  
Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*  
Gaye Johnson and Alex Lubin, *Futures of Black Radicalism*  
Jordan Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis: Freedom Struggles and the Rise of the Neoliberal State*  
Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*

***Syllabus & Reading List:***

**January 14: Organizing in the Contemporary Crisis**

Patrisse Khan-Cullors & Asha Bandele, *When They Call You a Terrorist: A Black Lives Matter Memoir*

*A Vision for Black Lives:* <https://policy.m4bl.org/>

Barbara Ransby, "Justice for Trayvon: The Spark," *University of California Press Blog*,  
<https://www.ucpress.edu/blog/37556/justice-for-trayvon-the-spark/>

A White Businessman Dedicates a Confederate Monument in 1913 (Handout)

**Suggested Reading:**

Monique W. Morris, *Pushout: The Criminalization of Black Girls in Schools*

Equal Justice Initiative, *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror (CANVAS=CA)*

D.H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature*

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective*

Suggested Films: Boots Riley, "Sorry to Bother You," Zane Dalen, "Terminal City Ricochet,"

William Darity and Samuel Myers, *Persistent Disparity: Race and Economic Inequality in the US Since 1945*

**January 21: Settler Colonialism and Changing the Narrative of American History**

Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*

"Beyond 'Race Relations' an Interview with Barbara J. Fields and Karen E. Fields, *Jacobin*,

<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2018/01/racecraft-racism-barbara-karen-fields>

Book Review Forum on Jill Lepore's *These Truths: A History of the United States*, *American Historical Review*  
(December, 2020), Blackhawk, Garcia, Norton and Ortiz (CA)

Film: Neil Diamond, "Reel Injun," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YNZBpn9asng>

**Suggested Reading:**

Edward W. Said, "The Formation of American Public Opinion on the Question of Palestine," in  
*The Politics of Dispossession*, 56-68.

Claudio Saunt, *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans*

Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*  
Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*  
Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe*  
Andrew L. Knaut, *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in 17<sup>th</sup> Century New Mexico*  
Orin Starn, *Ishi's Brain: In Search of America's Last 'Wild' Indian*

**January 28: Comparative Ethnic Studies And Changing the Narrative of American History, II**

Paul Ortiz, *An African American and Latinx History of the United States*

Book Forum on *An African American and Latinx History of the United States* in: *Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. 3, (Fall, 2019), 399-417

Paul Ortiz, *Teaching Comparative African American and Latina/o Histories in an Age of Neoliberal Crisis*, *Kalfou*, Vol. 3, Issue 1 (Spring 2016)

Suggested Reading:

Gaye Theresa Johnson, *Sounds of Solidarity: Music, Race and Spatial Entitlement in Los Angeles*  
Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth Century America*  
Zaragosa Vargas, *Crucible of Struggle: A History of Mexican Americans from Colonial Times to Present*  
Laura Pulido and Josh Kun, ed., *Black and Brown in Los Angeles: Beyond Conflict and Coalition*  
Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*

**February 4: The Haitian Revolution, Violence and the Remaking of the Modern World**

C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*

*Black Jacobins Study Materials (CA) and "Living with Difference: Stuart Hall in Conversation with Bill Schwarz" (2007) (CA)*

Suggested Reading:

Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery*  
Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution*  
David Geggus, *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History*  
Greg Grandin, *The Empire of Necessity: Slavery, Freedom and Deception in the New World*.  
Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: Saint Domingue Revolution from Below*

**February 11: The Making of Whiteness in the Early Republic**

David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*

Elizabeth Esch and David Roediger, "'One Symptom of Originality': Race and the Management of Labour in United States History," *Historical Materialism*, 17 (December 2009), 3-43. (CA)

Cedric J. Robinson, "Oliver Cromwell Cox and the Historiography of the West," *Cultural Critique*, (Winter 1990-91), 5-19. (CA)

Suggested Reading:

W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880*

Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic*  
Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race* (Two Volumes)  
Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (2000 edition)  
George Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community*  
Karl Marx, *Capital* (Penguin edition)

### **February 18: Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race**

Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race*

Paul Ortiz, "In Support of Our Students, in Support of the DREAM Act," *Latino Studies* (2010)

Paul Ortiz, "Arizona's New Laws: An Attempt to Secure Cheap Labor?" *History News Network*, June 2, 2010, <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/127519>

Watch Film: "The Stuart Hall Project" (**Library Reserves**)

#### Suggested Reading:

Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans*  
Rodolfo F. Acuna, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*  
Kelly Lytle Hernandez, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol*  
Kelly Lytle Hernandez, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in LA, 1771-1965*  
Julie M. Weise, *Corazón de Dixie: Mexicanos in the U.S. South since 1910*  
Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*  
Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*  
William F. Deverell, *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past*

### **February 25: Imperialism, Empire and the Reconfiguration of Race**

Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*

Watch: "Edward Said on Orientalism," [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fVC8EYd\\_Z\\_g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fVC8EYd_Z_g)

Adolph Reed, "Skin Deep," in: *Class Notes* (CA)

*Share Draft Outlines of Our Research projects-in-progress with class (bring copies to share)*

#### Suggested Reading:

Shenila Khoja-Moolji, *Forging the Ideal Educated Girl: The Production of Desirable Subjects in Muslim South Asia*  
Edward Said, *Orientalism*  
Edward Said, *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*  
Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*  
Lila Abu-Lughod, *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?*  
Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, The Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*  
Katrina Srigley, et. al., *Beyond Women's Words: Feminisms and the Practices of Oral History*  
Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," (1-47) (CA)

*Race and Ethnicity Graduate Seminar: 5*

### **March 4: Wars of Liberation: Unlearning Oppression:**

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (2005 edition)

“*The Wretched of the Earth* study materials” (CA)

*Watch:* Gillo Pontecorvo, “Battle for Algiers,”

#### **Suggested Reading:**

Aimé Césaire, “*Discourse on Colonialism*,” (CA)

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*

Amilcar Cabral, *Resistance and Decolonization*

Eduardo Galeano, *Memoria del fuego* (3 Vol.)

C.L.R. James, *Beyond a Boundary*

### **March 11: Law, Racism, and Immigration**

Ian Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*

Cheryl I. Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” *Harvard Law Review* (June 1993), 1710-1791. (CA)

“Gainesville’s War on Drugs,” <http://projects.heraldtribune.com/bias/alachua/>

#### **Suggested:**

*Bias on the Bench* investigative series, *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, <http://projects.heraldtribune.com/bias/alachua/>

Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*

Angela P. Harris & Katharine Bartlett, *Gender and Law: Theory, Doctrine, Commentary*

Ian Haney López, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class*

### **March 18: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor**

Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor*

Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (July 1991), 1241-1299. (CA)

Deborah Small, *Communities of Color and the War on Drugs*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v11j4Ozlha4>

#### **Suggested Reading:**

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists: Color Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality*

Natalia Molina, *How Race is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Power of Racial Scripts*

David Bacon, *Illegal People: How Globalization Creates Migration and Criminalizes Immigrants*

Sebastião Salgado and Eduardo Galeano, *An Uncertain Grace*

Ernesto Galarza, *Merchants of Labor: The Mexican Bracero Story*

“Detained, Then Violated [ICE Detention],” *The Intercept*, April 11, 2018,

<https://theintercept.com/2018/04/11/immigration-detention-sexual-abuse-ice-dhs/>

### **March 25: Performing Struggle: Blues Legacies and Black Feminism**

Angela Davis, *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*

*Watch:* August Wilson’s *Ma Rainey’s Black Bottom* (Netflix)

Ralph Ellison, "An American Dilemma: A Review," Albert Murray, "White Norms, Black Deviation" and Rhett S. Jones, "Proving Blacks Inferior: The Sociology of Knowledge," and Sidney M. Wilhelm, "Equality: America's Racist Ideology," in Joyce Ladner, ed., *The Death of White Sociology*, 81-157. (CA)

Angela Davis, "How Does Change Happen?" UC-Davis, October 10, 2006,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pc6RHtEbiOA>

Kevin Jenkins, "Racial Congruence as Predictor of Physician Performed Breast Examinations," (CA)

Suggested Reading:

Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class*

August Wilson, *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom*

Kimberle Crenshaw, *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*

Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back, Writings by Radical Women of Color*

Patricia Hill Collins & Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality*

Richard Delgado, *Critical Race Theory* (Third Edition)

Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*

Daisy Hernandez, et. al., *Colonize This! Young Women of Color on Today's Feminism*

**April 1: Racial Capitalism, the Black Radical Tradition and Environmental Racism**

Gaye Johnson and Alex Lubin, *Futures of Black Radicalism*

Paul Ortiz & Derrick White, "C.L.R. James on Oliver Cox's Caste, Class, and Race," *New Politics*, (Winter 2016), <http://newpol.org/content/clr-james-oliver-coxs-caste-class-and-race>

Nicole Cox, "The Best Device I ever Saw to Handle Ties is a Negro": Environmental Inequalities in the Wood-Preservation Industry," in: Cox, "Toxic Treatment: Creosote, the Wood-Preservation Industry, and the Making of Superfund Sites," (PhD Dissertation, University of Florida, 2017) (Chapter 6) [CA]

Suggested:

Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (2000 edition)

Oliver Cromwell Cox, *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*

Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*

Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*

C.L.R. James, "The Class Basis of the Race Question in the United States," <http://newpol.org/content/class-basis-race-question-united-states>

Paul Ortiz, "Behind the Veil," *Radical History Review* (2007) (CA)

Clyde Woods, *Development Drowned and Reborn: The Blues and Bourbon Restorations in Post-Katrina New Orleans*.

**April 8: Neoliberal Crisis, Mass Incarceration & Revolution**

Jordan Camp, *Incarcerating the Crisis: Freedom Struggles and the Rise of the Neoliberal State*

Stuart Hall, "The Neoliberal Revolution," *Soundings*, 9-27 (CA)

James Baldwin, "A Letter to My Nephew," (1962) <https://progressive.org/magazine/letter-nephew/>

Tatjana Meschede, et. al., "'Family Achievements?': How a College Degree Accumulates Wealth for Whites and Not for Blacks," *Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis REVIEW (First Quarter: 2017)*, 121-137.

Suggested Reading:

Stuart Hall, et. al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (CA)

Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," (1-47) (CA)

Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*

James Baldwin, *No Name in the Street*

Tom Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*

Donna Murch, *Living for the City: Migration, Education, and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland*

Heather Thompson, *Blood in the Water: The Attica Prison Uprising of 1971 and Its Legacy*

Chris Chen, "The Limit Point of Capitalist Equality," *Endnotes*, 3 (September, 2013), endnotes.org.uk.

**April 15: Where Do We Go From Here? Theory and Practice Presentations**

No new reading.

*Seminar participants will continue with oral presentations on their works-in-progress*

**April 22: Finals Week:**

Final research projects due Wednesday, 5pm.

**About the Instructor:**

Paul Ortiz is a third-generation military veteran and a first-generation college graduate. His book *An African American and Latinx History of the United States* was identified by *Bustle* as one of "Ten Books About Race to Read Instead of Asking a Person of Color to Explain Things to You." *Fortune Magazine* listed it as one of the "10 books on American history that actually reflect the United States." *Beyondchron.org* called his book *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920* "As both an essential teaching of American history and a critical resource for understanding grassroots organizing today."

Paul received his PhD in history from Duke University in 2000. He earned his bachelor's degree from the Evergreen State College in 1990 and his Associate of Arts degree from Olympic College in 1988. He is currently a professor of history and director of the Samuel Proctor Oral History Program at the University of Florida. He is the faculty advisor for the UF Dream Defenders, *Por Colombia*, CHISPAS, Students for Bernie and many other student organizations. In 2013, he received the César E. Chávez Action and Commitment Award from the Florida Education Association, AFL-CIO.



**Consider (Double) Majoring in Women's Studies:** Do you want to learn about issues of diversity, power, equity, and justice and gain the scholarly knowledge and skills to change the world? Adding the Women's Studies major can deepen your critical thinking, analysis, and skills in intersectional feminist approaches to studying and transforming gender, race, class, sexualities and other systems of power. The Women's Studies major shows graduate schools and employers that you bring advanced knowledge and skills about diversity and equity issues. The 30-credit Women's Studies major consists of four core courses and six electives. It's simple to combine with another major, and up to 15 credits can double count with another degree (English, Psychology, and Sociology in particular have many courses that can double count). It's also the perfect complement to pre-health studies. Contact undergraduate coordinator Dr. Alyssa Zucker ([azucker@ufl.edu](mailto:azucker@ufl.edu)) to make an appointment to discuss adding the major.

**Consider adding a Certificate in Women's Studies or Gender and Development:** Adding a Certificate in *Women's Studies* or in *Gender and Development* can deepen your critical thinking, analysis, and skills in intersectional feminist approaches to studying and transforming gender, race, class, sexualities and other systems of power. The 12 credits Certificate will appear on your transcript and can be listed on your CV. The *Certificate in Women's Studies (WST)* is designed for graduate students from any discipline who wish to become acquainted with various feminist (and other appropriate) theoretical approaches and methodologies for examining the roles and intersections of gender, race/ethnicity, sexualities and other sociocultural systems. The *Certificate in Gender and Development (GAD)* applies this lens to the analysis of labor/economic development processes at micro and macro levels. All graduate students in an MA or PhD program from all colleges at UF are eligible to enroll in these certificates. Visit the Center's website for details on how to add the [Women's Studies Certificates](#) and the [Gender and Development Certificate](#) and review the [Graduate Handbook](#) (p. 15-18). Contact Dr. Broad ([klbroad@ufl.edu](mailto:klbroad@ufl.edu)) with any questions.