

Socio Demography 2022

“Mind the Gap”

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Javier G. Polavieja



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****Note slight changes in the syllabus might take place as the course progresses****

Instructor

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Class Time and Location

Wednesdays 15.00-18.00, Room 18.1.A01

Course description

This course overviews contemporary research on ethnic and racial inequality, with special attention to labour market inequalities produced by discriminatory processes. We discuss the distinction between observed “gaps” and “discrimination” and show not all gaps (i.e. observed differences between groups) reflect discriminatory behaviour. We then focus on the study of ethno-racial stratification, with special attention to discrimination theories, explanatory mechanisms and methodological questions.

Teaching Arrangements

This is a tutorial-based course that combines instructor's lectures with student-run sessions. Findings from the work carried out at the Discrimination & Inequality Lab (D-Lab), including work in progress, will also be presented and discussed in several sessions. Starred readings are compulsory for all students, as they form the basis for in-class discussions, upon which the success of this course crucially hinges. The course will last from 16 February to 11 May, 2022, unless rescheduling is needed. Students' grades will be based exclusively on their active participation in class, including presentations and discussions (100%).

Trigger Warning

The study of ethno-racial discrimination addresses topics, theories and evidence that might be potentially upsetting and emotionally challenging. Being upset by discrimination, racial prejudice, Islamophobia, etc. is perfectly normal. Yet if you feel too uncomfortable or find it especially difficult to participate in the in-class discussions because of the nature of the topics addressed, please do let the instructor know.

Course Outline and syllabus

Note: The allocation of compulsory readings (starred) might be subjected to slight changes.

Legend: E=Evidence for discussion; D= Student-run discussion of compulsory readings; PP= student presentations; L=Instructor's lecture; LD=Literature debate.

All readings and lecture slides available at the course's webpage:

<https://socialstructureuc3.wixsite.com/mindthegap22>

Session 1: Mind the Gap (E, L, LD) (16 February)

Political and media discussions on gender and ethnic inequality often assume differences in outcomes must reflect unequal treatment (discrimination). Yet this need not be the case –and often it isn't. For example, gender differences in labour-market outcomes might respond to multiple supply-side factors, as we reviewed last year (see Social Stratification I), while differences in labour-market outcomes between natives and migrants (and their descendants) might reflect differences in unobserved characteristics (e.g. language and other cultural skills, networks, parental background, etc). Estimates of discrimination based on observational data (i.e. surveys) typically suffer from omitted variable bias because we cannot possibly account for all potentially confounding factors (e.g. differences in unobserved preferences and traits potentially affecting people's choices, differences in unobserved resources and skills, etc). In other words, observed gaps in outcomes should not be interpreted as necessarily -nor primarily- reflecting discrimination. Hence the title of this course, Mind the Gap, should be read as a warning. In this introductory session, I will lecture on the confounding bias problem and introduce students to the logic of field-experimental research for the analysis of discrimination (to which we will go back on Session 2). This lecture will be followed by a discussion of the role of cognitive skills in explaining racial gaps in the US, for which students are expected to read at least one of the two starred readings.

- *Farkas, George, and Keven Vicknair. 1996. "Appropriate Tests of Racial Wage Discrimination Require Controls for Cognitive Skills." *American Sociological Review* 61:557-660.
- Heckman, James J. 1995. "Lessons from the Bell Curve." *Journal of Political Economy*, 103(5):1091-1120.
- *Massey, Douglas, S. 1995. "Review Essay: The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life. By Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray." *American Journal of Sociology* , 1995(101):c747-753.

Session 2: Investigating Discrimination: Field Experiments (L, D, PP) (23 February)

In this session we will explain the logic of field experimental research on discrimination with special attention to the crucial role of randomization for causal identification. We will review basic concepts (control group, treated group, experimental units, etc...) and different types of experiments (audit studies, correspondence studies) and designs (paired/unpaired, fractional, factorial, etc). The lecture will be followed by a discussion of two highly-cited papers on racial discrimination in hiring, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) and Pager (2007), which will be presented and discussed by students.

- *Bertrand, Marianne and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. "Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination". *American Economic Review* 94: 991-1013.
- *Pager, Devah. 2003. "The Mark of a Criminal Record". *American Journal of Sociology* 108:937-75.

Session 3: Race and Ethnicity: Conceptual debates I (D, PP, LD) (2 March)

Sessions 3 to 5 address theoretical debates around the related concepts of race, racialization, racism and racial inequality, as well as ethnicity and boundary-making processes. Sessions 3 and 4 will be entirely student-run. Each sessions addresses a specific debate in the specialized literature. Session 3 focuses on Wimmer's comparative approach to ethnic boundary making -and approach which Winant (2015) strongly objects to- as well as on his critique to -what he calls- race-centric approaches in the US literature. A central theme of this polemic is the conceptual status of "race" and whether racialization should be conceptualized as a specific form of ethnic-boundary making or requires a specific conceptual status, a debate that continues in session 4, where we contrast Bonilla-Silva's "structural" approach to race with Loveman's boundary-making stand on the subject. Students should be able to identify the main points of each argument as well as flaws and/or inconsistencies that might appear in the course of the published discussion.

Note session 3 includes a debate between Winant and Wimmer. It is recommended to read Wimmer (2013) first, Winant (2015) second, and Wimmer (2015) last.

- *Wimmer, A. 2013. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions Power, Networks*. Princeton University Press., Introduction.
- *Wimmer, A. 2015. "Race-centrism: a critique and a research agenda". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38:13, 2186-2205, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1058510

*Winant, H. 2015. "Race, ethnicity and social science". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38:13, 2176-2185, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1058514

Session 4: Race and Ethnicity: Conceptual Debates II (D, PP, LD) (9 March)

Note session 4 includes a debate between Bonilla-Silva and Loveman, it is thus recommended to start by reading Bonilla-Silva (1997), followed by Loveman's (1999) critique and, finally, Bonilla-Silva's reply (1999). Same goals as in session 3.

*Bonilla-Silva, E. 1997. "Rethinking Racism: Towards a Structural Interpretation". *American Sociological Review*, 62(3):465-480.

*Bonilla-Silva, E. 1999. "The Essential Social Fact of Race". *American Sociological Review*, 64(6): 899-906.

*Loveman, Mara. 1999. "Is "Race" Essential?" *American Sociological Review*, 64(6): 891-898.

Winant, H. 2017. "Is Racism Global?". *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 23(2): 505-510.

[Note Session 5, originally scheduled for March 16 moved 1 week forward]

Session 5: Race and Ethnicity: A Conceptual Synthesis and application (L, D) (23 March)

In this session I will present a review of some of my own ongoing thinking about racialization processes as forms of othering. The lecture will include a historical review of racist thought from blood purity ideas in XVI century Spain to current cultural racism. I will argue racialization process can be based on blood purity concerns (haematic racialization) or phenotypic differences (phenotypic racialization) and should be conceived as one type of a broader process of outgroup categorization based on the naturalization (or biologization) of social difference. Other related forms of naturalization of social difference include pathogenization (where the outgroup is depicted as potentially infectious) and animalization (where the outgroup is presented as unhuman). These concepts will then be applied to the case study of Catalan nationalist thought since the XIX century to the present, which presents numerous examples of boundary-making through different forms of naturalization of social differences discussed above.

Roth, W. D. 2016. "The multiple dimensions of race". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39:8, 1310-1338, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2016.1140793

Meer, N. and Moddod, T. 2012. "For "Jewish" Read "Muslim"? Islamophobia as a Form of Racialisation of Ethno-Religious Groups in Britain Today". *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, 1(1):34-53.

* See also:

<http://www.americananthro.org/ConnectWithAAA/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=2583>

Session 6: (Ethno)Racial Discrimination in Europe (L, D) (30 March)

This section will present the results of the first large-scale comparative field experiment on racial discrimination in hiring ever conducted in Europe. Between 2016 and 2018, as part of the GEMM discrimination study, we sent fictitious résumés to almost 13,000 real vacancies in Germany, the Netherlands and Spain, randomly varying applicants' ethnic ancestry (signaled foremost by ethnic names) and applicants' racial appearance (signaled using applicants' photographs). The study used a harmonized design and this allowed Polavieja and collaborators to examine average differences in callback rates across four phenotypic groups and for applicants coming from four regions of ancestry. Polavieja et al (2002, u.r.) propose two models of racial discrimination: the independent racial appearance effects model and the appearance-ethnicity intersection model. I will show the former model provides the best fit to the Dutch and the German data, whereas the latter model better fits the data in Spain. Implications will be discussed with the students in light of the concepts and accumulated evidence reviewed in the previous sessions. Limitations and avenues for future research will also be discussed in this monographic session, which might be opened to a larger audience (t.b.c.).

*Alba, Richard. 2005. "Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 28(1): 20-49.

Weichselbaumer, D. 2017. "Discrimination Against Migrant Job Applicants in Austria: An Experimental Study". *German Economic Review*, 18(2), 237-265.

Session 7: Skin Tone Stratification I (D, PP) (06 April)

Sessions 7 and 8 review the literature on colourism both in the US and in Latin America. These two sessions are intended not only to review existing evidence but also to connect the evidence and arguments on colourism presented in these papers to the theories and concepts discussed in previous sessions. Students are therefore encouraged to make such connections in their presentations.

Hersch, Joni. 2008. "Profiling the New Immigrant Worker: The Effects of Skin Color and Height". *Journal of Labor Economics* 26: 345-386.

*Maddox, K. B. 2004. "Perspectives on Racial Phenotypicity Bias". *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8(4):388-401.

*Monk, E. 2014. "Skin Tone Stratification among Black Americans, 2001–2003". *Social Forces*, 92(4):1313–1337.

*Monk, E. 2015. "The Cost of Color: Skin Color, Discrimination, and Health among African-Americans". *American Journal of Sociology*, 121(2): 396–444.

Painter Matthew A., Malcolm D. Holmes, Jenna Bateman. 2016. "Skin Tone, Race/Ethnicity, and Wealth Inequality among New Immigrants". *Social Forces*, 94(3): 1153–1185.

Session 8: Skin Tone Stratification in Latin America (D, PP, LD) (20 April)

A glimpse of the emerging Latin American literature on colourism and (some of) the debates this literature raises. Note this session includes a debate between Villareal (2010) and Flores et al (2012), followed by a reply by Villareal (2012).

*Monk, E. 2015. "The Consequences of "Race and Color" in Brazil". *Social Problems*, 63(3): 413-430.

Telles, E., Flores, R. and Urrea-Giraldo, F. 2015. "Pigmentocracies: Skin Color, Census Ethnoracial Categories and Educational Inequality in Eight Latin American Countries" *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 40: 39-58

*Villareal, A. 2010. "Stratification by Skin Color in Contemporary Mexico". *American Sociological Review*, 75:652-678.

*Flores, R.D. and Telles, E. 2012. "Social Stratification in Mexico: Disentangling Color, Ethnicity, and Class." *American Sociological Review*, 77:486-494.

*Villareal, A. 2012. "Flawed Statistical Reasoning and Misconceptions about Race and Ethnicity". *American Sociological Review*, 77:495-502.

Session 9: Discrimination against Muslim Minorities in Europe (D, PP) (27 April)

Immigrants from countries of majoritarian Muslim faith and their descendants are the target of prejudice and discrimination across Europe. This student-run session reviews existing evidence on discrimination against Muslim-background minorities as well as a theoretical discussion of Islamophobia and racialization processes by Meer and Modood (2012). Students are encouraged to put this evidence and conceptual discussions in the context of previously-reviewed debates and findings.

Adida, C. L., Laitin, D. D., Valfort, M. A. 2010. "Identifying Barriers to Muslim Integration in France". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 107, 52, 22384–22390.

*Di Stasio, V., Lancee B., Veit S. & Yemane R. 2019. "Muslim by Default or Religious Discrimination? Results from a Set of Harmonized Field Experiments". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, DOI:10.1080/1369183X.2019.1622826.

Meer, N. and Modood, T. 2012. "For "Jewish" Read "Muslim"? Islamophobia as a Form of Racialisation of Ethno-Religious Groups in Britain Today". *Islamophobia Studies Journal*, 1(1):34-53.

*Strabac, Z., and Listhaug, O. 2007. "Anti-Muslim Prejudice in Europe: A Multilevel Analysis of Survey Data from 30 Countries". *Social Science Research*, 37: 268-286.

Voas, David and Fleischmann, Fenella. 2012. "Islam Moves West: Religious Change in the First and Second Generations". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 38 (1): 525-545.

Session 10: Intra-European Ethnic Boundaries (L, D) (04 May)

This session will again present evidence from ongoing research carried out at the D-Lab and based on the GEMM discrimination study. In this case we will focus on the discrimination of Southern-European descendants in Northern European job markets. This research proposes a placebo test to distinguish between two drivers of ethnic discrimination: outgroup rejection and ingroup favouritism, as well as a diagnostic test to identify statistical vs taste-based discrimination mechanisms. Students are expected to read at least one of the two starred papers in preparation for the in-class discussions.

*Cuddy, A. et al. 2009. "Stereotype Content Model Across Cultures: Towards Universal Similarities and Some Differences." *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 10.1348/014466608X314935, 48(1): 1-33.

*Phelps ES. 1972. "The statistical theory of racism and sexism". *American Economic Review*, 62(4): 659–61.

Session 11: The Roots of Prejudice and Anti-Immigrant Sentiments (D, PP) (11 May)

Where do negative stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes come from? Can they be mitigated by increasing intergroup contact? The literature in both the social, psychological and cognitive sciences on these important questions is vast. To open a small introductory window to these literatures, in this student-run session we will review three papers that offer different takes on the roots of prejudice and anti-immigrant sentiments.

*Deole, S. S and Huang, Y. 2022. "Suffering and Prejudice: Do Negative Emotions Cause Immigrant Concerns?". Typescript.

*Finseraas, Henning, Andreas Kotsadam, 2017. "Does personal contact with ethnic minorities affect anti-immigrant sentiments? Evidence from a field experiment". *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol 56(3), 703-722, DOI: 10.1111/1475-6765.12199.

Fiske, S.T. 1998. "Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination" In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske and G. Lindzey

Lee, T. L and Fiske, S. 2006. "Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the Stereotype Content Model." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30: 751–768

*Polavieja, Javier G. 2016. "Labour-Market Competition, Recession and Anti-Immigrant Sentiments in Europe: Occupational and Environmental Drivers of Competitive Threat". *Socio-Economic Review*, 14(3): 395-417.

Sides, John, and Jack Citrin. 2007. "European opinion about immigration: the role of identities, interests, and information". *British Journal of Political Science* 37:477-504.

Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior 2004. "Predisposing factors and situational triggers: exclusionary reaction to immigrant minorities". *American Political Science Review*, 98 (1):35-49.

Session 12: The Role of Culture: Epidemiological Approaches (D, PP) (18 May)

We know that culture influences people's behaviour. Yet estimating the exact extent of this influence poses a formidable methodological challenge for the social sciences. This is because preferences and beliefs are endogenous, that is, they are shaped by individuals' own experiences and affected by the same macro-structural conditions that constrain their actions. A handful of scholars have attempted to address this problem, the so-called problem of endogenous preferences, by using migration as a source of identification. What this "epidemiological" approaches exploit is the portability of culture, i.e. the fact that migrants bring their culture of origin with them, to arrive at exogenous estimates of cultural effects –in this section of female labour-force participation. This student-run session will present the problem, review some of these contributions and discuss the potential flaws and limitations of epidemiological research on cultural effects.

*Fernández, R. 2011. "Does Culture Matter?" In *Handbook of Social Economics*, edited by J. Benhabib, M. O. Jackson, and A. Bisin, 481–510. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

He, Qian, Gerber, Theodore P. 2019. "Origin-Country Culture, Migration Sequencing, and Female Employment: Variations among Immigrant Women in the United States". *International Migration Review*: 1-29.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918318821651>

*Finseraas, H., and A. Kotsadam. 2017. "Ancestry Culture and Female Employment – An Analysis Using Second Generation Siblings." *European Sociological Review* 33(3):382–92

*Polavieja, J. G. 2015. "Capturing Culture: A New Method to Estimate Exogenous Cultural Effects using Migrant Populations". *American Sociological Review*, 80(1): 166-191.

Polavieja, J. 2017. "Culture as a Random Treatment: A Reply to Chou". *American Sociological Review*, 82(2): 444-450.

Additioanl Themes

Alternative Session #1: Multiculturalism and assimilation: The Debate (D, PP)

*Koopmans, Ruud. 2010. "Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36, 1 - 26

*Nandi, Alita and Platt, Lucinda. 2015. "Patterns of Minority and Majority Identification in A Multicultural Society". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(15): 2615-2634.

*Maliepaard M, Gijsberts M, Lubbers M. 2012. "Reaching the Limits of Secularization? Turkish- and Moroccan- Dutch Muslims in the Netherlands 1998–2006". *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 51(2):359–367.

- Platt, Lucinda. 2014. "Is there assimilation in minority groups' national, ethnic and religious identity?". *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37: 46-70.
- Wimmer, A. and Soehl, T. (2014). "Blocked Acculturation: Cultural Heterodoxy among Europe's immigrants". *American Journal of Sociology*, 120(1):146-186.

Alternative Session #2: Physical Appearance and the labour market (D)

- *Monk, E.P., Esposito, M. H. and Lee, H. 2021. "Beholding Inequality: Race, Gender, and Returns to Physical Attractiveness in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology*, 127(1): 194–241.
- *Hakim, C. 2010. "Erotic Capital". *European Sociological Review*, 26(5):499–518.
- *Hamermesh, Daniel S., and Jeff E. Biddle 1994. "Beauty and the Labor Market". *American Economic Review* 84: 1174-1194.
- Liu, Xing and Sierminska, Eva. 2014. "Evaluating the Effect of Beauty on Labor Market Outcomes: A Review of the Literature." IZA DP No. 8526(<http://ftp.iza.org/dp8526.pdf>). (See also <http://wol.iza.org/articles/does-it-pay-to-be-beautiful-1.pdf>)
- Bozoyan, C. and Wolbring, T. 2018. "The Weight Wage Penalty: A Mechanism Approach to Discrimination". *European Sociological Review*, 34(3):254-267.
- See also: The Economist 2011. "The economics of good looks: The line of beauty" <http://www.economist.com/node/21526782>

Alternative Session #3: Signal mixing? The perception of race is affected by other signals

This student-run session discusses the interaction between perceived race and other socio-economic signals, such a social status or ethnic ancestry. Students are encouraged to thinkl about the implications of such interactive processes might have on racial discrimination research, which typically assumes racial tratments are unprobelmatically identifible by observers and hence orthogonal to other characteristics of the applicants in field-exprimental research designs.

- *Freeman, Jonathan B. Andrew M. Penner, Aliya Saperstein, Matthias Scheutz, Nalini Ambady. "Looking the Part: Social Status Cues Shape Race Perception". PLoS ONE, 2011; 6 (9): e25107 DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0025107
- *García, D. and Abascal, M. 2016. "Colored Perceptions: Racially Distinctive Names and Assessments of Skin Color". *American Behavioral Scientist*, 60(4):420-441.
- Zhang, N. et al. 2019 "Prosocial Behaviour in Interethnic Encounters: Evidence from a Field Experiment with High- and Low-Status Immigrants". *European Sociological Review*, 2019, Vol. 35, No. 4, 582–597.
- *Williams, Keelah E. G., Oliver Sng, and Steven L. Neuberg. 2016. "Ecology-driven stereotypes override race stereotypes" PNAS, 113(2): 310–315.

Additional bibliography (Recommended literature reviews)

- Baldassarri, Delia and María Abascal. 2017. "Field Experiments across the Social Sciences". *Annual Review of Sociology*, 43:41–73
- Bertrand, M. and Duflo, E. 2017. "Field Experiments on Discrimination." In *Handbook of Economic Field Experiments*, Volume 1, edited by A. V. Banerjee and E. Duflo. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Pager, Devah. 2007. "The Use of Field Experiments for Studies of Employment Discrimination: Contributions, Critiques, and Directions for the Future". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 609 (January):104-133.
- Pager, Devah and Shepherd, Hana. 2008. "The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 34:1-524.
- Zschirnt, Eva and Ruedin, D. 2016. "Ethnic Discrimination in Hiring Decisions: A Meta-Analysis of Correspondence Tests 1990-2015". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(7): 1115-1134