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*The Journal of Public and International Affairs*

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Book Reviews

Iraq crisis thanks to high-level contacts in Paris; but the documents are still formally classified, which means that other researchers will not be able to replicate and check his findings for at least another decade. This poses a problem in terms of research transparency. But these are quibbles. We can only speculate about Chirac's deepest motives, and Bozo cannot really be held responsible for the limitations of French declassification policy. The book is well written and painstakingly researched. This is a valuable addition to the historical literature on the Iraq War, which also improves our understanding of intra-alliance bargaining and coalition building at the UN Security Council.

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**The Diversity Bargain and Other Dilemmas of Race, Admissions, and Meritocracy at Elite Universities** by Natasha K. Warikoo. Chicago, IL, University of Chicago Press, 2016. 320 pp. \$26.00.

In August 2017, white nationalists marched on the University of Virginia (UVA), brandishing torches as they gathered around a statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee. Today, selective colleges and universities—both public ones like Virginia as well as private ones such as Harvard, Brown, and Oxford—find themselves grappling with their racial pasts at a political moment when racial anxieties are high. How do students on these campuses make sense of it, and the broader opportunity structure in which they are situated? The defiant chants of protestors in Charlottesville (for example, “You will not replace us” and “blood and soil,” a Nazi cry) offer a glimpse into one mental model on race, although most at this protest were not themselves UVA students. In *The Diversity Bargain*, the contextualized narratives elicited from Natasha K. Warikoo's interviews with college students at three elite U.S. and English universities provide another glimpse into present thinking about race and opportunity.

Warikoo's carefully designed research into student views on admissions provides insight into wider frames about race and opportunity because selection of those whom society agrees are its best and brightest, into universities similarly deemed best, offer “proof that meritocracy and equal opportunity are flourishing” (p. 181). Admissions is especially symbolic in the United States, where success in obtaining access to the top tier of the postsecondary sector has become its own mechanism for legitimating status distinctions. The book adds to works by Stevens, Khan, and Gaztambide-Fernandez in discussing mechanisms and paradoxes of modern meritocracy. Warikoo also joins a rising tide of critical perspectives on diversity. Such scholars as Berrey, Ahmed, and

Bensimon have argued that institutional actions taken in the name of diversity are unlikely to disrupt racial hierarchies and, indeed, can reinforce them. Warikoo's unique contribution is combining the status legitimation and diversity threads, using comparative data.

The most substantive intellectual work documents race frames, complementing work by Bonilla-Silva, Feagin, and Gallagher. Warikoo, however, downplays ideology in favor of a focus on the ways that students frame experiences with race on campus, including their views on affirmative action. A color-blindness frame is well-documented in prior literature, and Warikoo found it in both the U.S. and English contexts. Most U.S. subjects' views also fall within a diversity frame, which is marked by a belief in "collective merit," that diverse learning environments confer personal educational benefits because of the cross-cultural opportunities they afford. By limiting the purposes of affirmative action to diversity that serves the interests of privileged individuals, a tacit deal is struck: "the diversity bargain." Most white students expressed conditional support for affirmative action, viewing it as an acceptable price for the value of a diverse learning environment as long as their long-term place in the social hierarchy is maintained.

Few of these findings are new, making the comparative perspective especially important for this book's contribution. In England, immigration is even more intertwined with ethnoracial debates, and belief in an open opportunity structure does not define national identity. Enrollment inequalities are thus understood by Oxford students not as Oxford's problem to solve, but rather one for precollegiate educational systems. If the core implications of Warikoo's findings from the U.S. context concern meritocracy's role in status legitimation, the British context highlights the legitimation of institutional policies that redress ethnoracial inequality. National contexts for access to college shape what counts as acceptable remediation for inequities.

Other implications, which echo arguments advanced by Guinier and Sen, follow from Warikoo's recognition that college students' race frames are partial, permitting them incomplete appreciation for power and its distribution across ethnoracial groups. If evidence were needed that tomorrow's leaders do not enter college with the racial knowledge they need to guide the United States and United Kingdom through a turbulent time in our racial histories, *The Diversity Bargain* provides it. The book shows that white nationalism is not required to protect systems of white supremacy in ostensibly democratic societies. All it takes is leaders turning a blind eye to the pervasiveness of antidemocratic frames that quietly reinforce racial hierarchies.

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