

Political Science 426: Identity Politics¹

Winter 2020

Thursday 1:30-4:20 PM

Encina Hall West 417

Professor: Hakeem Jefferson

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For Meetings: <https://go.oncehub.com/HakeemJefferson>

Course Description:

Whether one considers the partisan and electoral choices citizens make or the judgments citizens render in response to officer-involved shootings or other salient social and political events, the centrality of identity in our politics is indisputable. But what is an identity? What are the conditions under which identities become politicized? How do identities work to structure attitudes and affect behavior? This course seeks to provide some answers to these questions. Using an interdisciplinary and cross-subfield approach, students are brought into conversation with scholarship that demonstrates the powerful ways that identities influence all aspects of the political. A primary goal of the course is to provide students a foundation for thinking carefully and creatively about the way that identity and identity-based considerations matter for the various research questions they seek to answer.

Required Texts:

Readings will be available on the course's Canvas site. You are required to purchase *White Identity Politics* by Ashley Jardina, which we will discuss January 30.

Daily Class Schedule:

1:30-3:05 PM – Seminar discussion of assigned texts

3:05-3:15 PM – Break

3:15-4:20 PM – Virtual Identity Politics Workshop

For the first half of each class (1:30 PM-3:05 PM), we will engage in an open discussion of the assigned readings for that week's topic. We will then take a 10-minute break. At 3:15, we will begin the second half of the class with our **Virtual Identity Politics Workshop**.

With the exception of the first session, each week will feature a new working paper that we will workshop collectively. The author(s) of the paper will join us virtually, except in a couple instances when the scholar is local. All workshop participants are expected to come having read the paper as there is no formal paper presentation. The workshop format is as follows: The author can choose to begin with some opening remarks to provide some context for the paper, but can forego this opportunity so we can jump right in. A faculty discussant (usually me) and a graduate student (one of you) will then provide comments on the paper (no more than 10 minutes for each discussant). *Student discussants are expected to email their comments to me and the*

¹ Up to date as of Thursday, January 9, 2020

author no later than noon the Wednesday prior to the Thursday seminar. This will allow the author to consider our comments before the workshop. After discussant comments, the floor is open for discussion until we conclude at 4:20 PM.

Course Expectations:

Seminar Participation (30%):

This is a seminar-style course and the success of the course requires full participation by all of us. In that spirit, we are all expected to attend seminar having critically read and considered the assigned texts. I have attempted to assign a reasonable number of texts such that we can give each a reasonably close read, but as you go along, you should learn to skim well, paying particular attention to key arguments, methods, and findings. You should also read with an eye toward what the broader debate in the field is and where future research (including your own) might take us. I recommend discussing the material with peers before seminar to help deepen your understanding and improve your ability to consider a range of texts. Note: If you must miss seminar for some reason, you are required to submit a response paper that discusses your thoughts on the topic for that week's session, based on your reading of the assigned texts.

Critical Reviews (30%):

Providing criticism—*good* criticism—is a key part of being in scholarly community with others. In an effort to improve students' ability to critically engage scholarly texts, each student is required to serve as a discussant for one of the Virtual Identity Politics sessions. In addition, students are required to submit a critical review of an empirical paper from the required readings list. Depending on the size of the seminar, a student can serve as a student discussant for two workshop papers instead of writing a review for another assigned text. In both cases, students are expected to read papers carefully with an eye toward the theoretical and empirical strengths and weaknesses of the manuscript. We will discuss expectations for good peer review in our first session, but here are some helpful resources as you start your journey toward being a star peer reviewer: <https://reviewers.plos.org/resources/how-to-write-a-peer-review/>; Brendan Nyhan's essay in *The Political Methodologist* https://thepoliticalmethodologist.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/tpm_v23_n1.pdf; <https://www-chronicle-com.stanford.idm.oclc.org/article/How-to-Write-an-Anonymous-Peer/131475> and <https://thepoliticalmethodologist.com/2015/12/31/an-editors-thoughts-on-the-peer-review-process/>.

Final Research Proposal (40%):

Students are required to submit a final research proposal outlining a research agenda on some topic related to the course. I expect the research proposal to include a brief literature review and some set of hypotheses to be explored. In other words, it should include all the elements of a published article, except for the empirical section (although I would encourage students to engage in some preliminary or exploratory analyses if possible). Students should meet with me early in the quarter to discuss the research proposal. The proposal is due Monday, March 16 via email. Students should be prepared to discuss and present their proposal in class, however, March 12. Suggested length: 12-15 pages

Students with Documented Disabilities

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request, review appropriate medical documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty. The letter will indicate how long it is to be in effect. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations. Students should also send your accommodation letter to instructors as soon as possible. The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 723-1066, URL: <http://oae.stanford.edu>).

Improving Your Writing

The Hume Center for Writing and Speaking supports the written and oral communication of all Stanford students. In free one-to-one sessions, trained tutors help students get started on assignments; understand academic conventions in their fields; address and overcome writer's block and speech anxiety; learn strategies for revising, editing, and proofreading; and refine their written and oral delivery. Students may bring work in any genre, including assignments for PWR, IntroSem or Thinking Matters courses, writing projects or presentations in the major, multimedia projects such as websites or PowerPoints, Honors theses, creative projects, or fellowship or job applications. Appointment-based and drop-in tutors are available in the Hume Center, located in Building 250. Hours for the academic term are Sunday 1:00-7:30 pm; Monday - Wednesday 10:00 a.m.- 8:30 p.m.; Thursday 10:00 a.m.- 7:30 p.m.; and Friday 10:00 a.m.- 4:30 p.m. Writing tutors are also available in community centers around campus. To see hours and locations or to schedule an appointment with a tutor, visit the Hume Center website at <http://hume.stanford.edu>.

January 9

Session 1: Introductions and Course Blueprint

January 16

Session 2: What is Identity and How We Study It

Fearon, James D. 1999. "What is Identity (as we now use the word)." *Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, Stanford, California.*

Howard, Judith A. 2000. "Social Psychology of Identities." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1): 367-393.

Bernstein, Mary. 2005. "Identity Politics." *Annual Review of Sociology* 31: 47-74.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "Identity"." *Theory and Society* 29(1): 1-47.

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:

Julie Wronski (University of Mississippi)— "Who Doesn't Count as an American: An Exclusionary Approach to National Identity"

Supplemental Readings

Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott. 2006. "Identity as a Variable." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(4): 695-711.

Akerlof, George A., and Rachel E. Kranton. 2000. "Economics and Identity." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115(3): 715-753.

Barth, Fredrik. 2012. "Boundaries and Connections." *Signifying Identities*. Routledge. Chapter 1 (pgs. 17-35)

Bénabou, Roland, and Jean Tirole. 2011. "Identity, Morals, and Taboos: Beliefs as Assets." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126(2): 805-855.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424

Glazer, Nathan, Andrew M. Greeley, Orlando Patterson, and Daniel P. Moynihan. 1974. "What is Ethnicity?." *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 16-35.

January 23

Session 3: The Social Self

Henri, Tajfel, and John C. Turner. 1986. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* 2: 7-24.

Hogg, Michael A., and John C. Turner. 1987. "Intergroup Behaviour, Self-Stereotyping and the Salience of Social Categories." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 26(4): 325-340.

Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." *Political Psychology* 22(1): 127-156.

Huddy, Leonie, Lilliana Mason, and Lene Aarøe. 2015 "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity." *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 103-132.

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:

Mashail Malik (Stanford University)—"Discrimination & Defiant Pride: How the Demand for Dignity can Create Slack for Poor Governance"

Supplemental Readings

Brewer, Marilynn B. 1991. "The Social Self: On Being the Same and Different at the Same Time." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 17(5): 475-482.

Brewer, Marilyn B. 2001. "The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology." *Political Psychology* 22(1): 115-125.

Brown, Rupert. 2000. "Social Identity Theory: Past Achievements, Current Problems and Future Challenges." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30(6): 745-778.

Burn, Shawn Meghan, Roger Aboud, and Carey Moyles. 2000. "The Relationship between Gender Social Identity and Support for Feminism." *Sex Roles* 42(11-12): 1081-1089.

Fearon, James, and David Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54(4): 845-877.

Hymans, Jacques E.C. 2002. "Applying Social Identity Theory to the Study of International Politics: A Caution and an Agenda." *Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, New Orleans*.

January 30

Session 4: The Political Consequences of Group Identification

McClain, Paula D., Jessica D. Johnson Carew, Eugene Walton Jr, and Candis S. Watts. 2009. "Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics?." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 471-485.

White, Ismail K., Chryl N. Laird, and Troy D. Allen. 2014. "Selling Out?: The Politics of Navigating Conflicts Between Racial Group Interest and Self-Interest." *American Political Science Review* 108(4): 783-800.

Jardina, Ashley. 2019. *White Identity Politics*.

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:
Amanda Robinson (Ohio State University)—TBD

Supplemental Readings

Dawson, Michael C. 1995. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Chapters 1 & 3.

Egan, Patrick J. 2012. "Group Cohesion without Group Mobilization: The Case of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 597-616.

Ferree, Karen E. 2006. "Explaining South Africa's racial census." *The Journal of Politics* 68(4): 803-815.

Gay, Claudine, and Katherine Tate. 1998. "Doubly Bound: The impact of Gender and Race on the Politics of Black Women." *Political Psychology* 19(1): 169-184.

Gay, Claudine, Jennifer Hochschild, and Ariel White. 2016. "Americans' Belief in Linked Fate: Does the Measure Capture the Concept?." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics* 1(1): 117-144.

Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3): 439-458.

Huddy, Leonie. 2015. "Group Identity and Political Cohesion." *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences: An Interdisciplinary, Searchable, and Linkable Resource* 1-14.

Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L. Nathan. 2013. "Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 344-361.

Jamal, Amaney. 2005. "The Political Participation and Engagement of Muslim Americans: Mosque Involvement and Group Consciousness." *American Politics Research* 33(4): 521-544.

Klandermans, Pieter G. 2014. "Identity Politics and Politicized Identities: Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Protest." *Political Psychology* 35(1): 1-22.

Miller, Arthur H., Patricia Gurin, Gerald Gurin, and Oksana Malanchuk. 1981. "Group consciousness and Political Participation." *American Journal of Political Science* 25(3): 494-511.

Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2012 "Putting Inequality in its Place: Rural Consciousness and the Power of Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 106(3): 517-532.

February 6

Session 5: Identities and Intergroup Conflict (Symbolic and Realistic Threats)

Blumer, Herbert. 1958. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position." *Pacific Sociological Review* 1(1): 3-7.

Kinder, Donald R., and David O. Sears. 1981. "Prejudice and Politics: Symbolic Racism versus Racial Threats to the Good Life." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 40(3): 414-431.

Bobo, Lawrence. 1983. "Whites' Opposition to Busing: Symbolic Racism or Realistic Group Conflict?." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 45(6): 1196-1210.

Enos, Ryan D. 2014. "Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111(10): 3699-3704.

Velasco González, Karina, Maykel Verkuyten, Jeroen Weesie, and Edwin Poppe. 2008. "Prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands: Testing Integrated Threat Theory." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 47(4): 667-685.

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:

David Romney (Harvard University)— “Frames for Ingroup Policing: Evidence from Two Group-Based Experiments in Israel”

Supplemental Readings

Adida, Claire L. 2011. “Too Close for Comfort? Immigrant Exclusion in Africa.” *Comparative Political Studies* 44(10): 1370-1396.

Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*.

Bobo, Lawrence D. 1999. "Prejudice as Group Position: Microfoundations of a Sociological Approach to Racism and Race Relations." *Journal of Social Issues* 55(3): 445-472.

Bobo, Lawrence, and Vincent L. Hutchings. 1996. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *American Sociological Review* 61(6): 951-972.

Kasara, Kimuli. 2013. “Separate and Suspicious: Local Social and Political Context and Ethnic Tolerance in Kenya.” *The Journal of Politics* 75(4): 921-936.

Kinder, Donald R., and Lynn M. Sanders. 1996. *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*.

Newman, Benjamin J., Todd K. Hartman, and Charles S. Taber. 2012. "Foreign Language Exposure, Cultural Threat, and Opposition to Immigration." *Political Psychology* 33(5): 635-657.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1988. "Intergroup Contact Theory." *Annual Review of Psychology* 49(1): 65-85.

Posner, Daniel N. 2004. “The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi.” *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 529-545.

Stephan, Walter S., and Cookie White Stephan. "An Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice." *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*. Psychology Press, 2013. 33-56.

February 13 Session 6: Stigma

Major, Brenda, and Laurie T. O'Brien. 2005. "The Social Psychology of Stigma." *Annual Review of Psychology* 56: 393-421.

Link, Bruce G., and Jo C. Phelan. 2001. "Conceptualizing Stigma." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27(1): 363-385. (SKIM)

Cohen, Cathy J. 2004. "Deviance as Resistance: A New Research Agenda for the Study of Black Politics." *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 1(1): 27-45.

Fouka, Vailiki. 2019. "How Do Immigrants Respond to Discrimination? The Case of Germans in the US During World War I." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 405-422.

Pérez, Efrén O. 2015. "Xenophobic Rhetoric and Its Political Effects on Immigrants and Their Co-Ethnics." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 549-564.

Lyle, Monique L. 2015. "Effects of Anti-Black Political Messages on Self-Esteem." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 2(1): 73-80.

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:
TBD

Supplemental Readings

Bedolla, Lisa Garcia. 2003. "The Identity Paradox: Latino Language, Politics and Selective Dissociation." *Latino Studies* 1(2): 264-283.

Cohen, Cathy J. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*.

Dovidio, John F., Brenda Major, and Jennifer Crocker. 2000. "Stigma: Introduction and overview." *The Social Psychology of Stigma* 1-28.

Garcia-Rios, Sergio, Francisco Pedraza, and Bryan Wilcox-Archuleta. 2019. "Direct and Indirect Xenophobic Attacks: Unpacking Portfolios of Identity." *Political Behavior* 41(3): 633-656.

Goffman, Erving. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*.

Lewis Jr, Neil A., and Denise Sekaquaptewa. 2016. "Beyond Test Performance: A Broader View of Stereotype Threat." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 11: 40-43.

Luhtanen, Riia, and Jennifer Crocker. 1992. "A Collective Self-esteem Scale: Self-evaluation of One's Social Identity." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 18(3): 302-318.

Pérez, Efrén O. 2015. "Ricochet: How Elite Discourse Politicizes Racial and Ethnic Identities." *Political Behavior* 37(1): 155-180.

Pinel, Elizabeth C. 1999. "Stigma Consciousness: The Psychological Legacy of Social Stereotypes." *Journal of personality and social psychology* 76(1): 114-128.

Steele, Claude M., Steven J. Spencer, and Joshua Aronson. 2002. "Contending with Group Image: The Psychology of Stereotype and Social Identity Threat." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. 34: 379-440.

February 20

Session 7: Fluid Identities (or Identities in Context)

Saperstein, Aliya, and Andrew M. Penner. 2012. "Racial Fluidity and Inequality in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 118(3): 676-727.

Egan, Patrick J. 2020. "Identity as Dependent Variable: How Americans Shift Their Identities to Align with Their Politics." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Davenport, Lauren D. 2016. "The Role of Gender, Class, and Religion in Biracial Americans' Racial Labeling Decisions." *American Sociological Review* 81(1): 57-84.

Davenport, Lauren D. 2016. "Beyond Black and White: Biracial Attitudes in Contemporary U.S. Politics." *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 52-67.

Telles, Edward, and Tianna Paschel. 2014. "Who is Black, White, or Mixed race? How Skin Color, Status, and Nation Shape Racial Classification in Latin America." *American Journal of Sociology* 120(3): 864-907.

Davenport, Lauren D. 2020. "The Fluidity of Racial Classifications." *Annual Review of Political Science* (SKIM)

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:

Maneesh Arora (Wellesley College)—"Which Race Card? How Norms of Acceptable Political Rhetoric Vary by Group and Party"

Supplemental Readings

Adida, Claire L., Lauren D. Davenport, and Gwyneth McClendon. 2016. "Ethnic Cueing Across Minorities: A Survey Experiment on Candidate Evaluation in the United States." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80(4): 815-836.

Alba, Richard D., Scarlett Lindeman, and Noura E. Insolera. 2016. "Is Race Really so Fluid? Revisiting Saperstein and Penner's Empirical Claims." *American Journal of Sociology* 122(1): 247-262.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2016. "The Dolezal Affair: Race, Gender, and the Micropolitics of Identity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39(3): 414-448.

Caruso, Eugene M., Nicole L. Mead, and Emily Balcetis. 2009. "Political Partisanship Influences Perception of Biracial Candidates' Skin Tone." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106(48): 20168-20173.

Gay, Claudine. 2004. "Putting Race in Context: Identifying the Environmental Determinants of Black Racial Attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 547-562.

Ho, Arnold K., Nour S. Kteily, and Jacqueline M. Chen. 2017. "'You're One of Us': Black Americans' Use of Hypodescent and its Association with Egalitarianism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 113(5): 753-768.

Nathan, Noah L. 2016. "Local Ethnic Geography, Expectations of Favoritism, and Voting in Urban Ghana." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(14): 1896-1929.

Robinson, Amanda Lea. 2014. "National Versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of Territorial Nationalism." *World Politics* 66(4): 709-746.

February 27

Session 8: Group-Based Shame and Guilt

Lickel, Brian, Rachel R. Steele, and Toni Schmader. 2011. "Group-based Shame and Guilt: Emerging Directions in Research." *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 5(3): 153-163.

Johns, Michael, Toni Schmader, and Brian Lickel. 2005. "Ashamed to be an American? The Role of Identification in Predicting Vicarious Shame for Anti-Arab Prejudice after 9–11." *Self and Identity* 4(4): 331-348.

Chudy, Jennifer, Spencer Piston, and Joshua Shipper. 2019. "Guilt by Association: White Collective Guilt in American Politics." *The Journal of Politics* 81(3): 968-981.

Burge, Camille D., and Gbemende Johnson. 2018. "Race, Crime, and Emotions." *Research & Politics* 5(3): 1-9.

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:
Poulomi Chakrabarti—TBD

Supplemental Readings

Bar-Tal, Daniel, Eran Halperin, and Joseph De Rivera. 2007. "Collective Emotions in Conflict Situations: Societal Implications." *Journal of Social Issues* 63(2): 441-460.

Doosje, Bertjan, Nyla R. Branscombe, Russell Spears, and Antony SR Manstead. 1998. "Guilty by Association: When One's Group has a Negative History." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75(4): 872-886.

Lickel, Brian, Toni Schmader, Mathew Curtis, Marchelle Scarnier, and Daniel R. Ames. 2005. "Vicarious Shame and Guilt." *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 8(2): 145-157.

McGarty, Craig, Anne Pedersen, Colin Wayne Leach, Tamarra Mansell, Julie Waller, and Ana-Maria Bliuc. 2005. "Group-based Guilt as a Predictor of Commitment to Apology." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44(4): 659-680.

Schmader, Toni, and Brian Lickel. 2006. "Stigma and Shame: Emotional Responses to the Stereotypic Actions of one's Ethnic Ingroup." *Stigma and Group Inequality: Social Psychological Perspectives* 261-285.

Schmader, Toni, and Brian Lickel. 2006. "The Approach and Avoidance Function of Personal and Vicarious Shame and Guilt." *Motivation and Emotion* 30(1): 43-56.

Tangney, June Price Ed, and Kurt W. Fischer. 1995. "Self-conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment, and Pride."

Wohl, Michael JA, Nyla R. Branscombe, and Yechiel Klar. 2006. "Collective Guilt: Emotional Reactions when one's Group has Done Wrong or Been Wronged." *European Review of Social Psychology* 17(1): 1-37.

March 5

Session 9: An Eclectic Set of Exciting Identity Papers

Lewis Jr., Neil A., Daniel G. Koungias, Koji J. Takahashi, and Allison Earl. In Press. "The Behavior of Same-Race Others and Its Effects on Black Patients' Attention to Publicly Presented HIV-Prevention Information." *Health Communication*

Harrison, Brian F., and Melissa R. Michelson. 2019. "Gender, Masculinity Threat, and Support for Transgender Rights: An Experimental Study." *Sex Roles* 80(1-2): 63-75.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2019. "The Political Meaning of Whiteness for Liberals and Conservatives." In *The Forum*, 17(3): 421-446.

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:

Julian Wamble (Stony Brook University)—"The Chosen One: How Community Commitment Shapes Black Voter Candidate Preferability"

March 12

Session 10: Student Research Proposal Presentations

Virtual Identity Politics Workshop:

Edana Beauvais (Harvard University)—"Toward a Theory and Measure of Benevolent Racism"