

# Politics of Identity from a Global Perspective

Winter Term 2024

Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays from 10:10AM - 11:15PM in Silsby 215

**Prof. Yang-Yang Zhou** (*she/her*)

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**Office Hours:** 15 min meeting slots available on Tuesdays from 12:00-1:30PM on Zoom, Wednesdays from 2:00-3:30PM in Silsby 209. To schedule, go to [calendly.com/yangyangzhou/office-hours](https://calendly.com/yangyangzhou/office-hours).

## 1. Meet Your Instructor



Hello and welcome! I am an Assistant Professor (pre-tenure) in the Government Department. My research studies the political causes and consequences of migration: What factors drive migration? When migrants settle in a place, how do existing communities react? My current projects are located in East Africa, South and North America, and Central Asia. You can learn more about them on my website. I also co-host a podcast called Scope Conditions: [scopeconditionspodcast.com](http://scopeconditionspodcast.com), which features new research by emerging scholars in comparative politics.

## 2. Course Overview

The term “identity politics” has become a mainstay of contemporary political discourse around the world. In both scholarly and public debates, it is understood to be the organizing principle of phenomena as diverse as racism, xenophobia, voting, feminist and LGBTQ+ movements, as well as violent ethnic conflicts. But what do we mean by identity, and what does it mean to identify with a social group? Where do our identities come from and why do they matter for social, political, and economic life? Do we have the freedom to choose our own identities or are they ascribed to us by others? And to what extent do our identities dictate what we can do, think, know, say, or feel?

This course is designed to provide students with an overview of major theories and empirical approaches to the study of identity politics. Throughout the term we will read a combination of the classics and cutting-edge research in political science as well as sociology, economics, and social psychology to explore a range of topics with implications for politics and societies around the world. Readings for these topics will span countries and contexts from around the world. You will have the opportunity to delve in more detail the topics and regions that interest you for the final research paper and present your research to the class. To that end, we will also analyze and practice the elements of conducting effective social science research.

## 3. Learning Objectives

- Identify the key research questions related to identity and politics, and demonstrate a command of the most influential answers to those questions,

- Explain the ways that identities are made meaningful across a range of domains, including, but not limited to, politics,
- Analyze the conditions under which identity motivates political action and even conflict,
- Recognize aspects of political messages that leverage or exploit various aspects of identity,
- Develop an argument on this topic and support that argument with a research plan to collect evidence.

#### 4. Course Expectations

This is an advanced undergraduate seminar organized around intensive weekly readings and discussions. I will provide some background and context to our discussions, but the success of this class depends on your active engagement. Thus, I expect that you:

- will have done the readings before class and submitted your assignments on time,
- come to class eager to learn and engage with that week's topics and with each other's ideas in a critical and respectful manner,
- treat your assignments as opportunities for discovery and development, by making sure that all your work is original

#### 5. Course Format

The class will meet three times a week this term. Each day we meet, there are required readings that should be completed before we meet. I plan to lecture a little and speak up more in the earlier weeks (more theoretical topics), then as your discussion leads start (more empirical topics), I hope to take more of a backseat.

Thus, for this seminar to work, **attendance** is required. If you have to miss class, you are responsible for coordinating with a classmate to catch up on any material that you may have missed. If you anticipate missing multiple classes, please let me know.

Both required and recommended **readings** are available on Canvas. The format of the class is discussion-based, so required readings need to be completed BEFORE class. Come prepared to discuss, critique, or defend any required reading. Recommended readings are just that, recommended. If you are particularly interested in a topic, I encourage you to do the recommended readings. I may mention them during our discussion. Discussion leaders are welcome to mention them as well, but we do not expect all the class to have completed these readings.

Our **X-hour** is Thursdays from 12:15 – 1:05PM. In case we need to reschedule a class for any reason, we can use this time. I would let you know ahead of time, but please don't schedule other obligations that conflict with the X-hour for this course.

#### 6. Assignments and Grading Criteria

1. Participation (20%): Attendance and active participation are mandatory. Our meetings will focus on in-depth discussions of the required readings. There will typically be about 1–2 readings for each day we meet. You should read these papers critically and come to class prepared to discuss. Your goal

should be to understand the main contributions of the individual pieces as well as how they relate to one another (within a topic and across topics).

2. Reflection Memos (2 x 10%): After the first day of class, you will be asked to sign up for 2 days to write memos. Each memo will be no more than 2 pages (double spaced, 12pt font, 1 inch margins on all sides). For your memo, please summarize the main arguments and findings of each of the assigned readings and raise two or three points of critique (either theoretical or empirical) per paper. I would suggest not signing up for back to back weeks, so that you can get feedback on your first summary before writing the second. **The memos are due on Canvas at 11:59PM before the day you're discussing the readings.** Late memos will be penalized 10 pts (out of 100 pts) per day including weekends and holidays, except in the case of an extraordinary circumstance.
3. Discussion Lead/Co-Lead (2 x 10%): For the day you've signed up for the memos, you will also serve as the discussion lead or co-lead. Come up with short (5 min) introductory remarks, 4-5 open-ended discussion questions, and a plan to guide the discussion. If you're co-leading, work with your partner beforehand. Your grade will be based on both the quality of the questions and how well you have facilitated discussion.
4. Final Research Proposal Paper (40%): A 7-page (double spaced, 12pt font, 1 inch margins on all sides) research proposal on a topic of your choice related to the materials covered throughout the semester. This paper will be a research proposal, so it should include a main argument, all background research, literature review, testable hypotheses, and a plan for how you could carry out the research (if you had a large grant and a whole year). Think of this paper as an opportunity to start planning your thesis. You will also give a 15 min presentation of your paper during Weeks 9-10. We will determine the order of the presentations in Week 5. **Paper Due on Canvas the Last Day of Class on March 4 at 11:59PM.** Late papers will be penalized 5 pts (out of 100 pts) per day including weekends and holidays, except in the case of an extraordinary circumstance.

## 7. Grade Scale

Letter Grade	Point Cutoffs
A	94 - 100
A-	90 - 93
B+	87 - 89
B	83 - 86
B-	80 - 82
C+	77 - 79
C	73 - 76
C-	70 - 72
D	60 - 69
E	0 - 59

Note: final grades for this seminar will be scaled to produce a A- median, in keeping with the Government Department policy.

## 8. Course Schedule and Readings

### Week 1: What are the Stakes of “Identity Politics”?

Jan 3, 5

- **Weds, Jan 3:** Introductions, Go over the syllabus, Discuss “social identity” / “political identity”
- **Fri, Jan 5:** Contemporary debates about Identity in Politics, Regression Primer
  - Lopez, German. Aug 17, 2017. “The battle over identity politics, explained.” Vox.
  - Newport, Frank. Dec 3, 2021. “Identity Politics in Context.” Gallup.
  - Fukuyama, Francis. Sept/Oct 2018. “Against Identity Politics: The New Tribalism and the Crisis of Democracy.” Foreign Affairs.

### Week 2: What makes Identity Meaningful?

Jan 8, 10, 12

- **Mon, Jan 8:** Defining Identity
  - Kalin, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. 2018. How to Think About Social Identity. Annual Review of Political Science 21(1): 239–257.
- **Weds, Jan 10:** Psychological and Social Underpinnings
  - Monroe, Kristen, James Hankin, and Renee Van Vechten. 2000. The Psychological Foundations of Identity Politics. Annual Review of Political Science 3: 419–47
  - (**Recommended**)Tajfel, Henri and John C. Turner. 2004. The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In Political Psychology, pages 276–293.
- **Fri, Jan 12:** Identifying and Categorizing Identity Groups, Memo and Final Paper Instructions
  - Horowitz, Donald. 2000. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, second edition, Chapter 1 (pp. 3–54).

### Week 3: Major Theories of How identities become Politicized

Jan 17, 19

- **Mon, Jan 15:** No Class Today
- **Weds, Jan 17:** Primordialist and Instrumental Views of Identity
  - Posner, Daniel (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.
- **Fri, Jan 19:** Constructivist View of Identity
  - Chandra, Kanchan. (2006). “What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?” Annual Review of Political Science.
  - Sen, Maya and Omar Wasow. 2016. “Race as a ‘Bundle of Sticks’: Designs that Estimate Effects of Seemingly Immutable Characteristics.” Annual Review of Political Science.

### Week 4: How does the State Create and (Re)enforce Identities?

Jan 22, 24, 26

- **Mon, Jan 24:** Census and Counting
  - Lieberman, Evan and Prerna Singh. (2017). “Census Enumeration and Group Conflict: A Global Analysis of the Consequences of Counting.” World Politics.

- (**Listen to**) Code Switch: “Why Some Republicans want to narrow who counts as Black” Dec 2, 2022

- **Weds, Jan 24:** Segregation

- Enos, Ryan D. (2017). The space between us: Social geography and politics. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Enos, Ryan D. “Causal effect of intergroup contact on exclusionary attitudes.” Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 111.10 (2014): 3699-3704.
- (**Recommended**) Enos, Ryan. (2015). What the Demolition of Public Housing Teaches Us About the Impact of Racial Threat on Political Behavior. American Journal of Political Science 60(1): 123–142.

- **Fri, Jan 26:** Policing and Incarceration

- Lerman, Amy and Vesla M. Weaver. 2014. Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 2, 7
- Ba, Bocar, Dean Knox, Jonathan Mummolo, and Roman Rivera. 2021. The role of officer race and gender in police-civilian interactions in Chicago. Science 371(6530): 696--702.
- (**Recommended**) Knox, Dean, Will Lowe, and Jonathan Mummolo. “Administrative records mask racially biased policing.” American Political Science Review 114.3 (2020): 619-637.

## **Week 5: Identity’s Role in Voting, Political Representation, Economic Development Jan 29, 31, Feb 2**

- **Mon, Jan 29:** Ethnic Parties and Voting

- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2 and 3.
- (**Recommended**) Adida, Claire, Jessica Gottlieb, Eric Kramon and Gwyneth McClendon. 2017. Reducing or Reinforcing In-Group Preferences? An Experiment on Information and Ethnic Voting. Quarterly Journal of Political Science 12(4):437--477.

- **Weds, Jan 31:** Immigrant Political Representation

- Dancygier, Rafaela. Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 2 and 6.
- (**Recommended**) Grossman, Guy, and Stephanie Zonszein. Voted in, standing out: Public response to immigrants’ political accession. Immigration Policy Lab Working Paper Series (21-02), 2022.

- **Fri, Feb 2:** Ethnic Diversity and Economic Development

- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner and Jeremy Weinstein (2007). “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?” American Political Science Review 101, 4: 709 - 725.
- Miguel, Edward. (2004). Tribe or nation? Nation building and public goods in Kenya versus Tanzania. World politics, 56(3), 327-362.

- (**Recommended**) Rosenzweig, Leah R., and Yang-Yang Zhou. (2021). “Team and nation: Sports, nationalism, and attitudes toward refugees.” *Comparative Political Studies*.

## **Week 6: Identity’s Role in Violence**

**Feb 5, 7, 9**

- **Mon, Feb 5:** Relationship between Identity and Violence
  - Littman, Rebecca and Elizabeth Levy Paluck. 2015. “The cycle of violence: Understanding individual participation in collective violence.” *Political Psychology* 36:79–99.
  - Gilligan, Michael J., Benjamin J. Pasquale, and Cyrus Samii. “Civil war and social cohesion: Lab-in-the-field evidence from Nepal.” *American Journal of Political Science* 58.3 (2014): 604-619.
- **Weds, Feb 7:** Dehumanization, Media Propaganda, and Genocide
  - Kteily, Nour S., and Emile Bruneau. “Darker demons of our nature: The need to (re) focus attention on blatant forms of dehumanization.” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 26.6 (2017): 487-494.
  - Yanagizawa-Drott, David. 2014. “Propaganda and conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan genocide.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129(4):1947–1994.
  - (**Recommended**) Adena, Maja, Ruben Enikolopov, Maria Petrova, Veronica Santarosa and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2015. “Radio and the Rise of the Nazis in Prewar Germany.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 130(4):1885– 1939.
  - (**Recommended**) Ang, Desmond. 2023. “The birth of a nation: Media and racial hate.” *American Economic Review* 113(6):1424–1460.
- **Fri, Feb 9:** No readings, Visit from Librarian Wendel Cox on Research Resources

## **Week 7: Interpersonal Approaches to Prejudice Reduction**

**Feb 12, 14, 16**

- **Mon, Feb 12:** Canvassing Conversations
  - Broockman, David, and Joshua Kalla. “Durably reducing transphobia: A field experiment on door-to-door canvassing.” *Science* 352.6282 (2016): 220-224.
  - Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. “Reducing exclusionary attitudes through interpersonal conversation: Evidence from three field experiments.” *American Political Science Review* 114.2 (2020): 410-425.
- **Weds, Feb 14:** Contact Interventions
  - Mousa, Salma. 2020. Building social cohesion between Christians and Muslims through soccer in post-ISIS Iraq. *Science*. 369 (6505), 866-870.
  - Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, et al. “Prejudice reduction: Progress and challenges.” *Annual review of psychology* 72 (2021): 533-560.
  - (**Listen to**) my and Alan Jacobs’ interview with Salma Mousa: *Promise and Limits of Intergroup Contact*: [Scope Conditions Podcast Episode 1.1](#)
  - (**Recommended**) Scacco, Alexandra, and Shana S. Warren. “Can social contact reduce prejudice and discrimination? Evidence from a field experiment in Nigeria.” *American Political Science Review* 112.3 (2018): 654-677.

- (**Recommended**) Zhou, Yang-Yang, and Jason Lyall. 2023. “Prolonged Contact Does Not Improve Locals Relations with Migrants in Wartime Settings.” Forthcoming, American Journal of Political Science.

- **Fri, Feb 16:** Social Media

- Ašimović, Nejla, Jonathan Nagler, Richard Bonneau, and Joshua A. Tucker. “Testing the Effects of Facebook Usage in an Ethnically Polarized Setting.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 118, no. 25 (2021).
- Munger, Kevin. “Tweetment Effects on the Tweeted: Experimentally Reducing Racist Harassment.” *Political Behavior* 39, no. 3 (2017).

## **Week 8: Institutional Attempts to Decrease Identity Conflicts**

**Feb 19, 21, 23**

- **Mon, Feb 19:** Political Quotas

- Horowitz, Donald. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, second edition, Chapter 14 (pp. 563–652).
- Htun, Mala. 2004. “Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups.” *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3): 439–458.

- **Weds, Feb 21:** Desegregation and Institutional Integration

- Kasara, Kimuli. “Separate and suspicious: Local social and political context and ethnic tolerance in Kenya.” *the Journal of Politics* 75.4 (2013): 921-936.
- Weiss, Chagai M. 2021. Diversity in Israeli Healthcare Institutions Reduces Prejudice towards Arabs. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 118(14).
- (**Recommended**) Brown, Jacob R., et al. (2021). “Childhood cross-ethnic exposure predicts political behavior seven decades later: Evidence from linked administrative data.” *Science Advances*.

- **Fri, Feb 23:** Assimilation versus Multicultural Policies

- Choi, Donghyun Danny, Mathias Poertner, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2019. “Parochialism, social norms, and discrimination against immigrants.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 116.33.
- Abdelgadir, Aala and Vasiliki Fouka. 2020. Political Secularism and Muslim Integration in the West: Assessing the Effects of the French Headscarf Ban. *American Political Science Review* 114(3): 707—723.
- (**Listen to**) my and Alan Jacobs’ interview with Donghyun Danny Choi: *Overcoming the Hijab Penalty*: [Scope Conditions Podcast Episode 3.1](#)
- (**Recommended**) Blinder, Scott, Robert Ford, and Elisabeth Ivarsflaten. 2019. Discrimination, Antiprejudice Norms, and Public Support for Multicultural Policies in Europe: The Case of Religious Schools. *Comparative Political Studies* 52(8): 1232—55.

## **Weeks 9 and 10: Paper Presentations**

**Feb 26 and 28, March 1 and 4**

- Last 4 days of class, no required readings, we will be doing 15-min presentations of your paper with 5 min Q&A each.



- **Final Paper due at 11:59PM on March 4**

## 9. Course Policies

**Office Hours.** As your instructor, I am fully committed to making sure that you learn everything you are hoping to learn from this class. If you feel like you're not understanding the materials, do not suffer in silence. Please sign up for my office hours where we will meet one-on-one to figure it out together. In office hours, I am happy to discuss the course materials, anything related to political science or the social sciences more generally, what graduate school and academia is like, what you might want to do after graduation. To schedule this time with me, sign up for a 15 min slot available on Tuesdays from 12:00-1:30PM on Zoom, Wednesdays from 2:00-3:30PM in Silsby 209 at [calendly.com/yangyangzhou/office-hours](https://calendly.com/yangyangzhou/office-hours). If you need to cancel, please do so ASAP so others have a chance to take your spot. By the end of this term, I hope to have met with each of you in my office hours at least once.

**Emails.** In the Subject line, write "Govt 84:" and the subject of your inquiry. Some days, I can receive up to a hundred emails, so this guarantees that it will catch my attention. I will try to respond within 24 hours, but I generally will not respond at night or weekends. I understand that academic issues can sometimes feel like emergencies. But there is almost always a sensible solution, and there are no emergencies in my class.

**Academic Honor Principle.** The faculty, administration, and students of Dartmouth College acknowledge the responsibility to maintain and perpetuate the principle of academic honor, and recognize that any instance of academic dishonesty is considered a violation of the [Academic Honor Principle](#). At the most basic level, this means submitting only original work done by you and citing all sources of information and ideas. We will discuss how to cite. If you are still unsure what constitutes as cheating and plagiarism, please ask.

**Generative Artificial Intelligence.** There is no official Dartmouth policy on the use of Generative AI (e.g. ChatGPT). On the one hand, I recognize that it will become a useful and perhaps even necessary tool for the future. However, as is, it does not do a good job of writing papers and importantly, citing sources correctly. So I recommend that if you choose to use these tools, only use them as a thesaurus to help come up with alternative short expressions (although I find the writing to be stilted and flowery). Do not use them to generate ideas, those should be your own and you should feel ownership over them. For your benefit, don't rely on them too much for the writing part either. Writing is thinking, and through the process of writing you will refine your ideas.

**Student Accessibility and Accommodations.** Students requesting disability-related accommodations and services for this course are required to register with Student Accessibility Services (SAS; [Apply for Services webpage](#), 1-603-646-9900) and to request that an accommodation email be sent to me in advance of the need for an accommodation. Then, students should schedule a follow-up meeting with me to determine relevant details such as what role SAS or its [Testing Center](#) may play in accommodation implementation. This process works best for everyone when completed as early in the quarter as possible. If students have questions about whether they are eligible for accommodations or have concerns about the implementation of their accommodations, they should contact the SAS office. All inquiries and discussions will remain confidential.

**Mental Health and Wellness.** The academic environment is challenging, our terms are intensive, and classes are not the only demanding part of your life. There are a number of resources available to you on campus to support your wellness, including: the [Counseling Center](#) which allows you to book triage appointments online, the [Student Wellness Center](#) which offers wellness check-ins, and your undergraduate dean. The student-



led [Dartmouth Student Mental Health Union](#) and their peer support program may be helpful if you would like to speak to a trained fellow student support listener. If you need immediate assistance, please contact the counselor on-call at (603) 646-9442.

**Religious Observances.** Dartmouth has a deep commitment to support students' religious observances and diverse faith practices. Some students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me as soon as possible – before the end of the second week of the term at the latest – to discuss appropriate course adjustments.