

# REPRESENTATION AND IDENTITY POLITICS

PSCI416-401-16a@lists.upenn.edu

Professor: Dawn Teele

Spring 2016

## OFFICE HOURS:

TBD – does Friday afternoon work for all of you?

## OVERVIEW:

Identity lies at the heart of political conflict. Who we are and which groups we align with influences the set of issues that we may support, and shapes our visions for just governance. In this course we examine the relationship between representative bodies, elected leaders, and identity groups to understand the effects of identity politics on political outcomes. We look for connections across categories of identity, including gender, race, class, ethnicity, national affiliation, sexual orientation, partisanship and age, in order to ask the following questions: What is an identity group and what does it mean for members of these groups to be represented in and by political institutions? What allows some identity groups to organize around a common cause and take political action? How do electoral institutions affect the distribution of power among identity groups? And what is the impact, if any, of descriptive representation on substantive outcomes, both in terms of legislation that favors the identity group, and with other aspects of political engagement.

The course will be divided into three segments. The first segment will address the construction of political identities with a strong focus on nationalism, race, gender & sexuality, and class. The second segment (short) will consider mobilizational projects that aim to overthrow institutions and regimes when those institutions cannot accommodate the needs of organized identity groups (which could be nationalist, class, and race/ethnic based revolutions). The final section delves into the possibilities of “reform from within”, examining the institutional and procedural fixes that can be used to make politics more representative and democratic (though we will also consider how authoritarian regimes can deal with issues of representation). Here we will touch on institutional forms like PR, electoral rules like quotas, and social movement strategies including national and transnational movements that bring about substantive changes in procedures.

#### COMPUTER AND EMAIL POLICY:

No screens of any kind in class.

Please keep emails to me to a minimum, especially if your classmates may know the answer. We will set up an online forum to ask questions and share readings (in case you do not buy all of the books). See: [https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/E-Mail\\_the\\_Third\\_Shift.pdf](https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/E-Mail_the_Third_Shift.pdf)

**Please star or flag my initial email to the class and make all of your emails to me a response to the first one. That way everything about all of you is in one place.**

#### GRADING:

Your work is subject to Penn's Code for Academic Integrity. A confirmed violation of the code will result in a failure of the course.

A good rule of thumb is to cite every source you use and do not copy or paste things from books or the internet into your written and graded work. Wikipedia is generally not considered an academic source. JSTOR is more reliable than Google for searching for academic articles.

To quibble with grades you must submit a hand written note to my faculty mailbox. If I agree to re-evaluate your work, I will do so for the entire document and not just for the section to which the quibble refers. Office hours are not to be used for grade discussions, but please do come to them.

#### EVALUATION:

*Continual activities:* You will write weekly (save for three, your choice) reading responses whose length will grow as the semester progresses. Everyone will have an opportunity to present (with a partner) at the beginning of class on the day's readings. These presentations will guide our discussion by opening up critiques and questions. Participation matters, but it can come in different forms (including office hours etc.)

*Midterm:* Presentations during "Paper Days", more details to come.

*Final:* Graduate students will craft a research proposal with a co-author and we will "incubate" these the last possible day of the semester.

Undergraduates that hope to write a senior essay (or that wish to apply to Ph.D. programs) may also craft a proposal as their final assignment.

Undergraduates that do not wish to work on research proposals may opt to 1. Critique my book manuscript, attacking at the weakest links given the materials we study in the course. Or 2. Prepare for a three-question take home final.

## REQUIRED READINGS

### IDENTITY CREATION

Jan 20

1. Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Books, 2006.

Jan 27

2. Offen, Karen M. *European feminisms, 1700-1950: a political history*. Stanford University Press, 2000.

Feb 3

3. Beltrán, Cristina. *The trouble with unity: Latino politics and the creation of identity*. Oxford University Press. 2010.

Feb 10

4. D'Emilio, John. 1998. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. 2nd Edition. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.

Feb 17

5. Frymer, Paul. *Uneasy alliances: Race and party competition in America*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

### INSTITUTIONAL RUPTURE

Feb 24

6. Pineda, Erin. *The Anful Roar: Civil Disobedience, Civil Rights, and the Politics of Creative Disorder*. Yale PhD Thesis 2015.

6. McAdam, Doug. 1999. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago, IL: University Of Chicago Press.

### REFORM FROM WITHIN

March 2

7. McConaughy, Corinne. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America: A Reassessment*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

March 16

8. Papers Day (Grad & Sr.) – Studying Identity

March 23

9. Papers Day (Sr. & Jr.) – Penn Faculty & Theories of Identity & Grad Topics Due

March 30

10. Burns, Nancy, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 2001. *The private roots of public action*. Harvard University Press.

April 6

11. Ayoub, Phillip *When States Come Out: Europe's Sexual Minorities and the Politics of Visibility*. Cambridge University Press, in press.

April 13

12. Posner, Daniel N. *Institutions and ethnic politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

OR

12. Roberts, Dorothy. *Killing the black body: Race, reproduction, and the meaning of liberty*. Vintage, 2014 [Pantheon, 1997].

April 20 → No Class

April 27

13. Papers Day (UG) -- Institutions and Representation

14. TBD Makeup Class: Research Proposal Incubator

**ADDITIONAL SOURCES** (\* are some of my preferred options for “paper days”)

BOOKS

Baldez, Lisa. *Defying Convention: US Resistance to the UN Treaty on Women's Rights*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Fetner, Tina. 2008. *How the Religious Right Shapes Lesbian and Gay Activism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Habyarimana, J., D.N. Posner, M. Humphreys, and J.M. Weinstein. 2009. *Coethnicity: Diversity and the Dilemmas of Collective Action*. Russel Sage.

Harvey, Anna L. *Votes without leverage: Women in American electoral politics, 1920-1970*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Htun, Mala. *Sex and the state: abortion, divorce, and the family under Latin American dictatorships and democracies*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Jayawardena, Kumari. *Feminism and nationalism in the Third World*. (1986).

Key, Valdimer. *Southern politics in state and nation*. (1949).

Lawrence, Adria. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Mendelberg, Tali. *The race card: Campaign strategy, implicit messages, and the norm of equality*. Princeton University Press, 2001.

Nepstad, Sharon. *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late Twentieth Century*. Oxford University Press. 2011.

Nobles, Melissa. 2000. *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

\*Olson, Mancur. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Vol. 124. Harvard University Press, 1971.

\*Riker, William H. 1986. *The Art of Political Manipulation*.

Skocpol, Theda. *Protecting soldiers and mothers*. Harvard University Press, 1995.

Smith, Rogers M. *Stories of peoplehood: The politics and morals of political membership*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

\*Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge University Press.

Tate, Katherine. *From protest to politics: The new black voters in American elections*. Harvard University Press, 1994.

E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963)

Weber, Eugen. "Cultures and Civilization," *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, pp. 485-496.

Wilson, William Julius *The Bridge over the Racial Divide. Rising Inequality and Coalition Policies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), Chapters 1 and 2.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: 2003.

## ARTICLES

### METHODOLOGICAL

\*Akerlof George and Rachel Kranton, A. "Economics and Identity", *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (August 2000) 115(3), 715-53.

\*Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond 'identity.'" *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 1-47.

\*Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (1): 397-424.

Cohen, Cathy J. "Deviance as resistance: A new research agenda for the study of Black politics." *Du Bois Review* 1.01 (2004): 27-45.

\*Dawson, Michael C., and Cathy Cohen. "Problems in the Study of the Politics of Race." *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (2002): 488-510.

\*Guttman, Amy "Identity and Democracy: A Synthetic Perspective," in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, W.W. Norton: New York, 2002, pp. 542-567.

\*Htun, Mala. "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* null, no. 03 (September 2004): 439-58.

\*MacKinnon, Catharine. 1982. "Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*

\*Mohanty, Chandra Talpade "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses"

\*Morrison, Toni. *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Harvard University Press, 1992. Chapter 1.

O'Leary, Brendan "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism," *British Journal of Political Science*, 1997, pp. 191-222.

\*Scott, J.W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053-75.

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*.

\*West, Candace and Don Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender and Society* 1: 125-151.

#### SUBSTANTIVE

Barnes, Tiffany D. and Stephanie M. Burchard. 2013. 'Engendering' Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(7): 767-790.

\*Beaman, Lori, Raghavendra Chattopadhyay, Esther Dufo, Rohini Pande and Petia Topalova. 2009. "Powerful Women: Does Exposure Reduce Bias?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124(4):1497-1540.

\*Benhabib, Seyla. "Strange multiplicities: The politics of identity and difference in a global context." *Macalester International* 4.1 (1997): 8.

Besley, Timothy. Stephen Coate. "Elected versus Appointed Regulators : Theory and Evidence,".

Bowler, Nicholson, and Segura, "Earthquakes and Aftershocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change".

Chandra, Kanchan et al., "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics" <http://www.nd.edu/~apsacp/pdf/APSA-CP20Winter202001.pdf> pp. 7-25.

Dorf, Michael C. and Sidney Tarrow. 2014. "Strange Bedfellows: How an Anticipatory Countermovement Brought Same-Sex Marriage into the Public Arena." *Law & Social Inquiry* 39(2): 449-473.

Dunning, Thad, and Lauren Harrison. "Cross-cutting cleavages and ethnic voting: An experimental study of cousinage in Mali." *American Political Science Review* 104.01 (2010): 21-39.

\*Gillion, Daniel Q. "Protest and Congressional Behavior: Assessing Racial and Ethnic Minority Protests in the District." *The Journal of Politics* 74.04 (2012): 950-962.

Gottlieb, J., G. Grossman, A.L. Robinson. "Do Men and Women Have Different Policy Preferences in Africa? Determinants and Implications of Gender Gaps in Policy Prioritization." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Grossman, Gene M. ; Helpman Elhanan. n.d. "Electoral Competition and Special Interest Politics."

\*Hochschild, Jennifer, and Vesla Weaver. "Is the significance of race declining in the political arena? Yes, and no." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38.8 (2015): 1250-1257.

Lustick, Ian S., Dan Miodownik, and Roy J. Eidelson, "Secessionism in Multicultural States: Does Sharing Power Prevent or Encourage It?" *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 98, No. 2. May 2004, pp. 209-229.

Schilt, Kristen. 2006. "Just One of the Guys? How Transmen Make Gender Visible at Work." *Gender and Society* 20: 465-90.

Snow David A. and Robert D. Benford RD. 1988. Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization. *International Social Movement Research*. 1:197-218

\*Stepan Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33(1): 7-44

\*Strolovitch, Dara Z. "Do interest groups represent the disadvantaged? Advocacy at the intersections of race, class, and gender." *Journal of Politics* 68.4 (2006): 894-910.

Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 259–274.

\*Zepeda-Millán, Chris, and Sophia J. Wallace. "Racialization in times of contention: How social movements influence Latino racial identity." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 1.4 (2013): 510-527.

\* Tilly Charles, "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation," in The Formation of National States in Europe (Charles Tilly, ed.) pp. 601-638.

Washington, Ebonya L. "Female Socialization: How Daughters Affect Their Legislator Fathers." *American Economic Review* 98 (2008): 311-332