

GOVERNMENT 94IP
Identity, Politics, & Policy

Fall 2017
Thursday 2-4pm
Room: CGIS K109

Instructor: Dr. Ana Catalano Weeks
Email: catalan@fas.harvard.edu
OH: Th 4 – 5:30 or by appointment
Office: CGIS S316

Course Description

What explains the meteoric shift in favor of same-sex marriage in advanced democracies over recent years? Why are gender quotas sometimes instituted to increase women's representation, but reserved seats more commonly used for ethnic groups? How has the rise of far right parties affected policies towards immigrants? This course brings together different approaches to the study of identities – gender, sexuality, race, religion, and others – to explore the causes and consequences of policies related to group rights and equality in Western advanced democracies. Forms of identity are often studied separately. One of the goals of this course is to bring together different approaches to the study of identities -- from gender to race, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, and so on – to search for commonalities and intersectionality between them. In the first part of the course, we will consider several key explanations of policy change. In the second part of the course, we will apply these theoretical perspectives to specific policy issues facing different identity groups. The course takes a comparative perspective, aiming to understand the relative influence of key policy determinants across countries and issue areas.

This course also includes a significant methodological component, aimed at introducing students to the process of designing an original research project.

Course Goals

Students should come away from this course with a deep understanding of the role of identity in politics and policymaking, and why equality and identity-based policy has evolved differently in different contexts. Students will also improve critical analysis and written and oral communication skills. By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Explain how and why policies related to identity and group rights vary across advanced democracies

- Develop their own perspectives of what we know and don't know yet about the causes, consequences, and proposed solutions to inclusiveness in democracy, and debate these with peers
- Design a research proposal and present it to peers; give constructive feedback to peers on their proposals
- Write a research design paper consisting of an important puzzle, literature review, and proposed methodological approach, which students may build on if they decide to write a senior thesis

Readings

All readings will be available through Harvard library links in this syllabus, or posted on the course website for the appropriate week under the “Other Readings” tab on the left hand side. I recommend you install Harvard LibX to help access readings quickly (especially by using the right-click option to “Reload page via Harvard access”). <http://library.harvard.edu/harvard-libx>. Note that the readings on this syllabus are subject to change.

Assignments and Grading

This is a seminar, and as such your active participation in the course is vital to its success. Assignments are geared towards improving your critical analysis and communication skills. Your grade is based on five components:

- 1. Class participation (10%):** It is important to attend and participate in each class. Everyone has something to contribute. I expect students to come to class prepared to discuss the readings, for example by raising questions or comments about the material or relating your own experience or current events to the topic. Students are also required to read their fellow students' response papers each week before class.
- 2. Short response papers (4, each worth 5% of grade):** Each student will write 4 short response papers (1-2 pages each) on the readings, to be posted on the course website on Wednesday (night before class) by midnight. Response papers should consist of: 1) critical analysis of the readings (evaluation based on their methodology, argumentation, logic, and your personal views); 2) questions that remain unanswered / you would like to discuss with your classmates, and 3) other possible research directions. You do not need to cover every reading, and can focus on 2-3 readings of interest in depth if you prefer (you must cover more than one). Students will be able to express a preference, and I will do my best to accommodate everyone's preferences. Everyone will write a response paper in the final week.
- 3. In-class presentation and discussion (15%):** Each student will be responsible for leading discussion on the readings for one week. Students will start with a short presentation on the week's reading assignments, identifying key puzzles, main findings, strengths and weaknesses, and relation to other themes in the course / 'big picture' (no longer than 15 min). At the end of the presentation, students will pose a few questions

that they would like the class to discuss. Students may prepare a few slides or use a handout of 1-2 pages. Students will be able to express a preference, and I will do my best to accommodate everyone's preferences.

- 4. Research proposal (15%):** Students will write a 3-4 page research proposal for the final paper and discuss it in a small workshop with 3-5 peers. Students will have significant freedom to choose a topic of interest to them; it can be one of the policy issues we cover or something else related to identity politics and policy. I will schedule meetings with all students before proposals are due to discuss potential topics. The research proposal should cover the key puzzle or research question, what others have said about it, and your ideas for the design of a study that will answer the question of interest. The goal of small workshops is to provide constructive suggestions and comments on the research proposal, to help all students improve their work.
- 5. Final research paper (40%):** Building on the research proposals and feedback, students will write a final research design paper on a topic of their choice. The final paper should articulate your central hypotheses or arguments, review the most salient academic literature, and describe methods for the exploration of evidence. The paper should be between 15 and 25 pages.

Absences and Late Assignments

Absences must be accompanied by a formal note written by a doctor or your Resident Dean. If there is an anticipated scheduling conflict, the student will be able to write an extra response paper in lieu of attendance for one class only, if agreed in advance. Unexplained absences will result in late penalty equivalent to 1/3 of a letter grade for the final class participation grade (e.g., from an A to an A-).

Late assignments will not be accepted barring exceptional circumstances (family emergencies, medical illness), with a letter from your Resident Dean explaining the reason.

Collaboration policy

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential for academic work. For this course, you should free to discuss ideas for paper topics and sources with your classmates and others who might bring new and interesting perspectives. However, please ensure that all work you submit is the result of your own research and writing, and reflects your own approach to the topic. All students must use standard citation practice in the discipline and properly acknowledge any sources that have helped you with your work. I recommend using the Chicago Manual of Style's author-date format. If you received help with your writing (e.g., feedback on drafts), please also acknowledge this assistance. Please speak with me if you have any questions about how to cite assistance.

Accessibility and Accommodations

If you are registered with the AEO, please submit your letter to me within the first two weeks of the term. I will make any reasonable accommodations to support the learning needs of all students. For further information please see: <http://aeo.fas.harvard.edu/>.

Weekly Plan at a Glance

- **Week 0 (Aug 31):** Course Introduction
- **Week 1 (Sept 7):** What is identity and why does it matter?
- **Week 2 (Sept 14):** Explanations: Culture
- **Week 3 (Sept 21):** Explanations: Political Institutions
- **Week 4 (Sept 28):** Explanations: Social Movements
- **Week 5 (Oct 5):** Explanations: Descriptive Representation
- **Week 6 (Oct 12):** Issues: Affirmative Action and Race in Politics
- **Week 7 (Oct 19):** Issues: Same-Sex Marriage and LGBTQ Rights
- **Week 8 (Oct 26):** Issues: Gender Quotas
- **Week 9 (Nov 2):** Issues: Multiculturalism
- **Week 10 (Nov 9):** Issues: Prostitution
- **Week 11 (Nov 16):** Issues: Immigration Policy and the Rise of the Far Right
- **Week 12 (Nov 30):** Wrap-Up & Research Proposal Workshops

Detailed Weekly Plan

Week 0 (Aug 31): Course Introduction

Course intro & overview. Why study identity, politics, & policy? What is the current state of the political climate on 'identity politics'? Strategies for reading in Political Science and this class.

All students will take at least 1 IAT test, focusing on race, gender, religion, or sexuality:
<https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/selectatest.html>

Read 4 brief articles / op-eds on contemporary “identity politics” in the U.S.:

1. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/20/opinion/sunday/the-end-of-identity-liberalism.html>
2. <https://niskanencenter.org/blog/defense-liberty-cant-without-identity-politics/>
3. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/15/us/politics/democrats-joe-biden-hillary-clinton.html>
4. <http://www.cnn.com/2017/07/24/politics/democratic-agenda-rollout/index.html>

Week 1 (Sept 7): What is identity and why does it matter?

What is group identity? How is it constructed? Which identities matter in politics? Should identity be relevant to politics and policy?

American Anthropological Association Statement on “Race”, May 17, 1998. [Link](#)

“Sex Redefined”, *Nature*, 18 February 2015. [Link](#)

Chandra, K., 2006. What is ethnic identity and does it matter?. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 9, pp.397-424. [Link](#).

Young, I.M., 1994. Gender as seriality: Thinking about women as a social collective. *Signs: journal of women in culture and society*, 19(3), pp.713-738. [Link](#)

Griffin, J.D. and Newman, B., 2008. *Minority report: Evaluating political equality in America*. University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2: “Which Groups Govern.” [Link](#).

Young, I.M., 2001. Equality of whom? Social groups and judgments of injustice. *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 9(1), pp.1-18. [Link](#)

Week 2 (Sept 14): Explanations: Culture

How do different cultural legacies affect the recognition and accommodation of identity groups? Which aspects of culture are relevant, and how do we measure them?

Samuel, P., 1993. Huntington, The clash of civilizations. *Foreign affairs*, 72(3), pp.22-49. [Link](#)

Inglehart, R. and Norris, P., 2003. The true clash of civilizations. *Foreign policy*, pp.63-70. [Link](#)

Wedeen, L., 2002. Conceptualizing culture: Possibilities for political science. *American Political Science Review*, 96(04), pp.713-728. [Link](#)

Robert Putnam, “*E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century*,” *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 2007, v. 30 (2): 137-174. [Link](#)

Methodological topic 1: What is political science?

Kellstedt, P.M. and Whitten, G.D., 2013. *The fundamentals of political science research*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1: The Scientific Study of Politics. See course website.

Week 3 (Sept 21): Explanations: Political Institutions

Are certain institutional set-ups better for representing identity groups? What is the role of constitutions, electoral systems, and party systems in shaping policy?

Lijphart, A., 2012. *Patterns of democracy: Government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*. Yale University Press. Chapters 2-3 and 16. See course website.

Alesina, A. and Glaeser, E.L., 2004. *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 4 and 5. [Link](#).

Iversen, Torben, and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2010. *Women, work, and politics: The political economy of gender inequality*. Yale University Press. Chapter 6: "Gender and Political Careers." See course website.

Week 4 (Sept 28): Explanations: Social Movements

What explains the formation of strong identity group movements? When are they successful at achieving policy goals?

Kitschelt, H.P., 1986. Political opportunity structures and political protest: Anti-nuclear movements in four democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(01), pp.57-85. [Link](#)

Tilly, C., Tarrow, S.G. and McAdam, D., 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Chapters 1-2. See course website.

Biggs, M. and Andrews, K.T., 2015. Protest campaigns and movement success: Desegregating the US South in the early 1960s. *American Sociological Review*, 80(2), pp.416-443. [Link](#).

Gamson, J., 1995. Must identity movements self-destruct? A queer dilemma. *Social problems*, 42(3), pp.390-407. [Link](#)

Methodological topic 2: Descriptive and causal inference

Wheelan, C., 2013. *Naked statistics: Stripping the dread from the data*. WW Norton & Company. Chapter 9: Inference. See course website.

King, G., Keohane, R.O. and Verba, S., 1994. *Designing social inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*. Princeton university press. sections 3.1 and 5.4. [Link](#)

Week 5 (Oct 5): Explanations: Descriptive Representation

Can increased numbers of identity groups in political office influence policies in the direction of group interests?

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapter 1 Part II (The Structure of the Model, 2pgs) and Chapter 8. See course website.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *The Journal of Politics*. 6:3:628-57. [Link](#)

Broockman, D.E., 2013. Black politicians are more intrinsically motivated to advance Blacks' interests: A field experiment manipulating political incentives. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(3), pp.521-536. [Link](#)

Cameron, C., Epstein, D. and O'Halloran, S., 1996. Do majority-minority districts maximize substantive black representation in Congress?. *American Political Science Review*, 90(04), pp.794-812. [Link](#)

Bratton, K.A. and Ray, L.P., 2002. Descriptive representation, policy outcomes, and municipal day-care coverage in Norway. *American Journal of Political Science*, pp.428-437. [Link](#).

Methodological topic 3: Developing a research question

Johnson, J.B., Reynolds, H.T. and Mycoff, J.D., 2015. *Political science research methods*. Cq Press. Sections 3.1 – 3.2. See course website.

Week 6 (Oct 12): Issues: Affirmative Action and Race in Politics

What explains the different approaches to affirmative action in the United States and other countries like Brazil or France? How do racial attitudes affect politics and policymaking?

<http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/09/29/495665329/for-affirmative-action-brazil-sets-up-controversial-boards-to-determine-race>

Gilens, M., Sniderman, P.M. and Kuklinski, J.H., 1998. Affirmative action and the politics of realignment. *British Journal of Political Science*, 28(01), pp.159-183. [Link](#)

Htun, M., 2004. From "racial democracy" to affirmative action: changing state policy on race in Brazil. *Latin American Research Review*, 39(1), pp.60-89. [Link](#)

Lieberman, R., 2001. A Tale of Two Countries: The Politics of Color Blindness in France and the United States. *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 19(3), pp.32-59. [Link](#).

Michael Tesler, 2012. "The Spillover of Racialization into Health Care: How President Obama Polarized Public Opinion by Race and Racial Attitudes," *American Journal of Political Science*. [Link](#).

Alesina, A. and Glaeser, E.L., 2004. *Fighting poverty in the US and Europe: A world of difference*. Oxford University Press. Sections 6.4 – 6.6. [Link](#).

Methodological topic 4: Conducting a Literature Review

Johnson, J.B., Reynolds, H.T. and Mycoff, J.D., 2015. *Political science research methods*. Cq Press. Sections 3.3 – 3.7. See course website.

Week 7 (Oct 19): Issues: Same-Sex Marriage and LGBTQ Rights

What factors led to the rise of same-sex marriage laws and other LGBTQ rights in Europe and the United States?

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2015/05/20/the-absolutely-stunning-rise-in-support-for-gay-marriage-in-1-chart/?utm_term=.997d24b196e7

<http://www.pewforum.org/2015/06/26/gay-marriage-around-the-world-2013/>

Ayoub, P.M., 2016. *When States Come Out*. Cambridge University Press. Chs 2 and 6. See course website.

Reynolds, A., 2013. Representation and rights: The impact of LGBT legislators in comparative perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 107(02), pp.259-274. [Link](#)

Lax, J.R. and Phillips, J.H., 2009. Gay rights in the states: Public opinion and policy responsiveness. *American Political Science Review*, 103(03), pp.367-386. [Link](#)

Methodological topic 5: Building a Theory

Kellstedt, P.M. and Whitten, G.D., 2013. *The fundamentals of political science research*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2: The Art of Theory Building. See course website.

Week 8 (Oct 26): Issues: Gender Quotas

What can explain the surprising upsurge of gender quota laws worldwide over the past few decades? Do quotas lead to less qualified candidates?

Htun, M., 2004. Is gender like ethnicity? The political representation of identity groups. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(03), pp.439-458. [Link](#)

Weeks, Ana Catalano. 2017. "Why Are Gender Quotas Adopted by Men? The Role of Intra- and Inter-Party Competition." Working paper. See course website.

Hughes, M.M., Krook, M.L. and Paxton, P., 2015. Transnational women's activism and the global diffusion of gender quotas. *International Studies Quarterly*, 59(2), pp.357-372. [Link](#)

Besley, T., Folke, O., Persson, T. and Rickne, J., Gender Quotas and the Crisis of the Mediocre Man: Theory and Evidence from Sweden. *American Economic Review*. [Link](#).

Methodological topic 6: Research Design I – choosing a methodology

Howard, C., 2017. *Thinking Like a Political Scientist: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*. University of Chicago Press. Chapter 4. See course website.

Week 9 (Nov 2): Issues: Multiculturalism

What are the different approaches to group identity in public life across societies? Why do some countries embrace multiculturalism while others aim for assimilation?

http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2016/10/28/philosopher-charles-taylor_n_12494828.html

Browse the Multiculturalism Policy Index: <http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/>

Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. eds., 2010. *Multiculturalism backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*. Routledge. Chapter 2: The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism? By Kymlicka. See course website.

Caldwell, C., 2009. *Reflections on the revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West*. Anchor. Ch 6: Adversary Politics. See course website.

Fleras, A., 2009. *The politics of multiculturalism: Multicultural governance in comparative perspective*. Springer. Chapter 3 (Canada). [Link](#).

****Optional: see Ch 4 for U.S.**

Entzinger, H., 2014. The rise and fall of multiculturalism: The case of the Netherlands. In *Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation-states* (pp. 59-86). Palgrave Macmillan UK. See course website.

Methodological topic 7: Research Design II – case selection

Gerring, J., 2001. *Social science methodology: A criterial framework*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 9. See course website

Week 10 (Nov 9): Issues: Prostitution

Guest lecturer: Professor Max Waltman

****Content Notice: The readings for this week contain strong language, violence, and sexual content that may challenge or trigger you. Please talk to me if this will be difficult for you. An alternative assignment is available.**

What are the different approaches to prostitution policy across countries, and how does it affect women?

Outshoorn, J. ed., 2004. *The politics of prostitution: women's movements, democratic states and the globalisation of sex commerce*. Cambridge University Press. Ch 12: “Criminalizing the John” by Svanstrom. See course website.

Scoular, J., 2010. What's law got to do with it? How and why law matters in the regulation of sex work. *Journal of Law and Society*, 37(1), pp.12-39. [Link](#).

MacKinnon, C.A., 2011. Trafficking, prostitution, and inequality. *HARV. cR-cLL REv.*, 46, p.271. [Link](#).

Waltman, M., 2011, October. Sweden's prohibition of purchase of sex: The law's reasons, impact, and potential. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 34, No. 5, pp. 449-474). Pergamon. [Link](#).

***In-class exercise on the judicial politics of prostitution laws – materials to be circulated in advance.*

Week 11 (Nov 16): Issues: Immigration Policy and the Rise of the Far Right

How has the rise of anti-immigrant sentiment and far right parties affected policies towards immigrants?

Mudde, C., 2013. Three decades of populist radical right parties in Western Europe: So what?. *European Journal of Political Research*, 52(1), pp.1-19. [Link](#)

Bale, Tim. 2010. If You Can't Beat Them, Join Them? Explaining Social Democratic Responses to the Challenge from the Populist Radical Right in Western Europe. *Political Studies*, vol. 58: 410–426. [Link](#)

Howard, M.M., 2013. Continuity and Change in the Citizenship Laws of Europe (Chapter 13). *Outsiders No More?: Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation*, p.227. [Link](#).

Rueda, D., 2017. “Food Comes First, then Morals: Redistribution Preferences, Parochial Altruism and Immigration in Western Europe”. *J. Polit.* [Link](#).

Methodological topic 8: Clear writing

Reading TBA

***Research Proposals due*

****No class Nov 23: Happy Thanksgiving !****

Week 12 (Nov 30): Wrap-Up and Research Proposal Workshops

****Class will meet from 2-3pm for a final wrap-up discussion. Each student will also meet in small groups for a one-hour workshop on research proposals at a time TBA this week.**

Course wrap-up

Each student will write a response paper addressing one or more of these key questions, in light of what we have learned this semester. Use examples from the readings and current events.

- How does identity matter to political outcomes (such as: descriptive and substantive representation, policy issues we covered)?
- How and why do countries address the claims of identity groups differently?
- What connections can we make across categories of identity (gender, race, religion, sexuality, class)?

- Are there important differences between groups that help or hinder group-based political power and representation? What about conditions in society?
- What are the looming questions that remain unanswered in this field, and how could research be designed to address them? (*Note: students should not write about their research proposal topics here.)

Workshops

Students will meet in small groups to discuss research proposals on similar topics. Students will be responsible for reading all of the proposals in their group.

***Final paper due date: Tuesday, December 12 by 11:59pm**