

IDENTITY GROUP POLITICS

POL 163 | WINTER 2021
Professor Rachel Bernhard
ribernhard@ucdavis.edu

Classes

January 5 – March 11

Synchronous Lectures:

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 4:40 - 6 pm |

<https://ucdavis.zoom.us/j/96879978708?pwd=NWQ1bkpxV2N3b0ZUWUZXXJ0TEtZz09>, or Meeting ID: 968 7997 8708, Passcode: 678923

No discussion sections

Office Hours

Starting Jan. 7, Thursdays 1-3 pm | Drop-in (1-2 pm) or 1:1 by appointment (2-3 pm)

For drop-in:

<https://ucdavis.zoom.us/j/92120972638?pwd=K25RNEpXTEJWOUd3VitnN2FBTmInUT09>, or Meeting ID: 921 2097 2638, Passcode: 445227

To book a 1:1 slot: <https://doodle.com/mm/rachelvevelazquezbernhard/1-1>

Teaching Assistants

Rana McReynolds, rmcreynolds@ucdavis.edu, office hours TBD

Lily Huang, ylhuang@ucdavis.edu, office hours TBD

Overview

What is an identity? What are the conditions under which group identities become politicized? How do group identities work to structure political attitudes and shape political behavior? Despite recent claims that “identity politics” suddenly pervade and even overwhelm American political debate, it is not obvious that identity—briefly defined here as group characteristics like race, ethnicity, sexuality, class, religion, and immigration status—has only just now become relevant to political decision-making.

This reading- and writing-intensive upper-division course makes inroads on these large questions by restricting our focus to understanding the operation of, and psychology behind, discrimination against key identity groups in U.S. politics. In Module 1, we’ll encounter big-picture theoretical perspectives on identity, intersectionality, and multiculturalism. In Module 2, we’ll dive deep, focusing on the different psychological mechanisms by which our group identities shape our political attitudes and behavior toward one another. In Module 3, we’ll survey the experiences of different minority groups in the U.S., examining some of the formative experiences, dilemmas, and challenges facing each group. We conclude the module (and the course) by connecting the experiences of these groups to American national identity. By the end of our time together, I hope to convince you that all politics is identity politics, and that identity—in all of its complexity—is a thing worth thinking rigorously about.

Students who engage deeply with this class can expect by its finish to:

- Think in sophisticated ways about the meaningfulness of group identity in politics.
- Develop skills to read, synthesize, and critique scholarly texts about identity.

- Ask theoretically-driven research questions related to identity and politics.
- Analyze complex social and political phenomenon using concepts and ideas from various literatures related to identity.
- Reflect on class content and engage peers, family members, friends, and others in thoughtful and respectful dialogue about identity politics.

Class in the Era of COVID

All reading material for the course will be available electronically for free through Canvas. Each synchronous class will generally follow the format of:

4:40 pm: mini-review by Professor Bernhard (questions about upcoming assignments, etc.)

5:00 pm: Reading #1 discussion (group members + Dr. Bernhard)

5:20 pm: Reading #1 Q&A (any student)

5:30 pm: Reading #2 discussion (group members + Dr. Bernhard)

5:50 pm: Reading #2 Q&A (any student)

Each synchronous Zoom lecture will be recorded and posted to Canvas by the next day (large files take time to upload to Canvas). Note that you will need to be logged into Zoom using Canvas or your UC Davis account in order to access the meeting.

During synchronous class time, please silence and put away all other devices: cell phones, tablets, etc. Even if you are muted on Zoom, please do not load or listen to anything, including music, that might distract the class if you were suddenly unmuted (mistakes happen): do your part to make the classroom a learning environment. I strongly recommend you take notes on paper if possible; the research is clear that we are all highly distracted by our devices and that we retain less information when we type than when we write by hand. The longer you have other devices out in front of you, the more tempted you will be to attend to the world outside of class. We only have 30 hours together, and this time is dearly purchased—by you, by your families, or by your country. I take these sacrifices seriously and expect you to do the same.

More broadly, the subject matter of the class demands that you be respectful and kind to yourselves and to your classmates as we struggle with difficult topics. This class offers a space to learn about and discuss the challenges that have faced marginalized groups in the U.S. for hundreds of years, and is thus inherently personal and emotional. Those who are unkind to others, whatever their perspective, will be asked to step away from class.

Finally, I strongly encourage you to be proactive in letting your TA know if something happens—a health or family event—that may affect your work, *even if it doesn't result in an absence*. Sometimes, events and situations may affect your work for longer or harder than you initially anticipate, and it is much easier for us to work with you to find solutions ahead of time than try to “fix” things after it has become a problem.

ASSESSMENT

Synchronous Reading Discussion | 15%

In lieu of regular in-person participation, students will be randomly assigned to two discussant groups, each of which will take a turn summarizing and discussing one of the assigned class readings during synchronous lecture. Your discussant group assignments can be found in Canvas (usually on the lower right-hand side of the course homepage); the reading they are linked to is listed below. For instance, if you are in groups 3T1 and 7R2, you will be responsible for the readings marked with “group 3T1” and “group 7R2” in the syllabus, below. The first numbers correspond to the week (week 3 and week

7, in this case), the letters to the day (T for Tuesday, R for Thursday), and the second numbers, to the listed reading (reading 1 and reading 2, respectively). The first group for everyone will occur during Module 2, and the second, during Module 3.

Each group will prepare a 250-word written summary of their assigned reading. For the first summary, due during Module 2, only a summary is due (5% of grade, same for all group members; due in Canvas by the night before the assigned synchronous discussion at 11:59 pm), to be posted to a class wiki. For the second summary, due during Module 3 (8% of grade, same for all group members; due in Canvas by the night before the assigned synchronous discussion at 11:59 pm), to be posted to a class wiki, *and* each individual in the group will be responsible for asking a question or making a comment during the synchronous session (2% of grade, assigned individually). This adds to 15% (5% for first summary, 8% for second summary, 2% for synchronous comments for second reading). A rubric will be provided in advance for the reading summary. Questions and comments will be graded on a five-point scale (0 if no participation).

This means you are each responsible for being **extremely** prepared and actively participating synchronously during just three lectures (the third is for the campaign ad, below). Students who cannot attend synchronously (e.g., time zone issue) or who cannot easily participate in this format (e.g., disability) should contact me ASAP to make alternate arrangements. Students who experience unanticipated WiFi issues during their assigned discussion will also be able to make alternate arrangements after the fact.

This approach allows us to have a more small-class, seminar-style environment rather than the dreaded Zoom lecture hall full of black screens and muted microphones that intimidates everyone (yes, your professors too!), while avoiding the heavy burden of committing everyone to many long synchronous Zoom sessions where students must constantly interrupt each other, struggle with video/WiFi issues, etc.

Weekly Questions | 10%

The other form of lecture participation measured is a weekly reading question. Each week, you are responsible for posting one or more questions on that week's readings or lectures to Canvas by Friday at 11:59 pm. I will use these as needed to generate a "mini-review" each week. Questions will be graded out of five points; thoughtful and creative questions that synthesize concepts from multiple readings will receive top marks, while questions that merely reiterate the author's research questions will receive low marks.

Recall that this class is reading- and writing-intensive; there are no quizzes or problem sets, so doing the readings, posting an informed weekly question, and writing a paragraph or so for a blog post is your entire homework in the average week. Most of the assigned readings are about 15 pages long (the shortest is 3 pages, while the longest is 32 pages of text), so each week features about 60 pages of reading. If you're struggling to keep up with the reading load for any reason, I suggest selecting just one of the readings for a given class day and reading it thoroughly, rather than skimming two readings and not really comprehending either. This will benefit you for the weekly questions, since it's easier to write a sharp question about a reading you've actually worked to understand than something you've skimmed.

Campaign Ads | 20%

Rather than the regular reading discussion that normally occurs during lecture, on the last day of class we will screen class "campaign ads" (Thursday, March 11); this is a *required* day of attendance. To make these videos will require asynchronous preparation in groups. Once you've been assigned to a group, you (as a group) will then create short "campaign ad" videos for your side, and these videos

will be screened during class. These videos will also be made available asynchronously after class. The components of the assignment are as follows:

1. Brainstorming (5%): students will be assigned to small groups that are each assigned to advocate for one side of the debate. In a discussion board on Canvas, each group will research and develop a list of arguments for their side, as well as a list of counterarguments (i.e., arguments for the other side). Following this discussion, the group will undertake another brainstorming session to build a plan for their campaign ad, including a clear and egalitarian division of labor. These discussions must be documented in Canvas to receive credit, even if the planning is done elsewhere (e.g., over Zoom). This discussion must be completed no later than 11:59 pm on Sunday, February 21.
2. Campaign ads (15%): Each group will then create a maximum 2-minute “campaign ad” that features what they believe are the most persuasive arguments for their side. These videos will be submitted in Canvas by 11:59 pm on Sunday, March 7. These videos will then be screened for the class as a whole on March 11. At the end of screening the ads, we will discuss the videos and wrap up class for the quarter.

Discussion board participation will be graded on a five-point scale (0 if no participation). Topics and rubrics will be provided in advance, and more detailed information on the campaign ads will be provided throughout the class.

Class Papers | 55%

Taken together, the papers comprise the largest portion of your grade. Each will have the format of a “blog post,” that is, they are five short essays meant to be clear and interesting to a general audience. These five essays are:

1. Manifesto (10%): The first “blog post” you’ll write for the class is a 750-word manifesto, outlining your beliefs about the role identity should or should not play in politics. The manifesto post is graded out of ten points and due by 11:59 pm on Sunday, January 17.
2. Teach a Theory (10%): The second “blog post” you’ll write is a 500-word post that attempts to describe one of the core group politics theories from Module 2 (e.g., social identity theory) to a general audience. Note that this post can focus on the same theory you covered for your synchronous discussion group, but it cannot reuse your group’s summary (reusing it will mean a zero). The theory post is graded out of ten points and due by 11:59 pm on Sunday, January 31.
3. Manifesto 2.0 (10%): The third “blog post” will be an updated manifesto that incorporates what you’ve learned in the class. Your task here is to turn your original manifesto into a sharper version (still 750 words). This is very hard to do well; do not underestimate the amount of time needed to revise your writing and incorporate all the new thoughts you have. The updated manifesto is graded out of ten points and due by 11:59 pm on Sunday, February 14.
4. Teach a Group (10%): The fourth “blog post” will allow you to focus on one of the minority groups we cover in Module 3 (e.g., Muslims). In 500 words, you will summarize for a general audience the class readings on that group and explain how those readings helped you understand or changed your understanding of a related event, phenomenon, or non-class reading (e.g., 9/11; transphobia; a news article on COVID fatality rates by ethnicity). The group post is graded out of ten points and due by 11:59 pm on Sunday, February 28.
5. Teach a Friend (15%): The final “blog post” can be creative in its format. The core goal is for you teach some concept or idea you learned in the course to a friend or family member using what you develop. You can choose to teach in whatever way you decide, but it must be in a format that is accessible to folks who haven’t taken this course. Examples might include another blog post, a podcast episode, an “ask me anything” Q&A, a video with slides, or a video you record. Again, whatever method you choose, the objective is the same: teach a

friend something from this course using materials you develop. The friend “post,” whatever you make it, is graded out of 15 points and should be uploaded to Canvas by 11:59 pm on Sunday, March 14.

Prompts and rubrics will be provided in advance, and more detailed information will be provided throughout the class.

Other Policies

If you are a parent and your childcare falls through, you are welcome to bring your child or infant to class provided they are able to be present without disrupting class. Similarly, if you are nursing, you are welcome to breastfeed in class.

Please include “POL 163” in the subject line of your emails; if you do not, your email is likely to end up in the wrong folder and may be missed. I will try to respond to emails within 48 hours during the week or 72 hours over the weekend, and I usually respond to student emails each afternoon. In both class and via email, you can address me as “Professor Bernhard” or “Dr. Bernhard;” your TAs should be addressed as “Mr./Ms. So-and-So” unless you hear otherwise from them.

If you need disability-related accommodations in this class, and/or if you have emergency medical information that you wish to share, and/or if you need special arrangements in order to participate in Zoom meetings, please inform me immediately. Please email me or see me during office hours. For disability-related accommodations, you must also obtain an accommodations letter (<https://sdc.ucdavis.edu>), which will be sent directly to me.

As a UC Davis student, we trust you to conduct your academic affairs ethically. Betrayal of that trust will not be tolerated. Cheating in an online course includes, but is not limited to, having someone take a quiz or complete an assignment for you, attend a required class on your behalf, or using someone else’s written work or materials without appropriate citations (plagiarism). I take violations of academic integrity seriously. If you have questions about how best to cite another’s work or facts in the public domain, please write your TA. When in doubt, cite. I recommend the Chicago Manual of Style’s author-date format if you don’t have a favorite. If you have questions about whether an action qualifies as misconduct, please talk to me.

Grading

All assignments save participation will be graded anonymously through Canvas. This is to prevent any unconscious bias entering the grading. For each graded assignment, I will provide you with a rubric well in advance of the due date. Your TAs will grade your assignments and submit the grades to me before we return the assignment to you; this is to standardize all grades and reduce the possibility of error. If you believe an error has occurred, you may request a re-grade from me, in writing, no later than one week after you received the assignment grade. If I believe an error has occurred, I will re-grade the assignment from scratch; otherwise, I will defer to the original grade. Be aware that I am a much harsher grader than your TAs.

Late assignments will receive a penalty of 10% (e.g., from a 95% to an 85%) for every day late. Late assignments will not be accepted after the date of the final exam except by prior arrangement. All .5 or higher grades will be rounded up (e.g., an 89.50% will become a 90%). An A+ cannot be earned through extra credit.

97+	A+	87-89	B+	77-79	C+	67-69	D+	<60	F
93-96	A	83-86	B	73-76	C	63-66	D		
90-92	A-	80-82	B-	70-72	C-	60-62	D-		

COURSE OUTLINE

MODULE 1: Identity, Intersectionality, and Multiculturalism

Jan. 5 | Introduction

- Reading T1: this syllabus!
- Reading T2: Lewis, John. 2020. "Together, You Can Redeem the Soul of Our Nation." (no discussant group)

Jan. 7 | What is Identity?

- Reading R1: Song, Sarah. 2007. Excerpt from Justice, Gender, and the Politics of Multiculturalism, 29-31. (no discussant group)
- Reading R2: Nicholson, Linda. 2008. Identity Before Identity Politics, Chapter 1. (no discussant group)

Jan. 12 | Identity Politics and Multiculturalism

- Reading T1: Heyes, Cressida. 2016. "Identity Politics." (no discussant group)
- Reading T2: Laden, Anthony and David Owen. 2007. "Multiculturalism and Political Theory." (no discussant group)

Jan. 14 | Critiques of Identity Politics

- Reading R1: Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1995. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." (no discussant group)
- Reading R2: Kukathas, Chandran. 2008. "Moral Universalism and Cultural Difference." (no discussant group)

MODULE 2: Theories of Group Identity and Conflict

Jan. 19 | Social Identity Theory

- Reading T1: Tajfel, Henri and John Turner. 1986. "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior." (group 3T1)
- Reading T2: Huddy, Leonie. 2001. "From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory." (group 3T2)

Jan. 21 | Prejudice and Social Dominance Theories

- Reading R1: Pettigrew, Thomas and Roel Meertens. 1995. "Subtle and Blatant Prejudice in Western Europe." (group 3R1)
- Reading R2: Pratto, Felicia, Jim Sidanius, Lisa Stallworth, and Bertram Malle. 1994. "Social Dominance Orientation: A Personality Variable Predicting Social and Political Attitudes." (group 3R2)

Jan. 26 | Stereotyping and System Justification Theories

- Reading T1: Fiske, Susan, Juan Xu, Amy Cuddy, and Peter Glick. 1999. "(Dis)respecting versus (Dis)liking: Status and Interdependence Predict Ambivalent Stereotypes of Competence and Warmth." (group 4T1)

Reading T2: Jost, John, Mahzarin Banaji, and Brian Nosek. 2004. "A Decade of System Justification Theory: Accumulated Evidence of Conscious and Unconscious Bolstering of the Status Quo." (group 4T2)

Jan. 28 | Mental Health Day

no class, no readings

MODULE 3: Identity and Discrimination in American Politics

Feb. 2 | Class Identity and Status Prejudice

Reading T1: De Tocqueville, Alexis. [2003]. Democracy in America. Vol. II, Chaps. 13-14. (group 5T1)

Reading T2: Mutz, Diana. 2018. "Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote." (group 5T2)

Feb. 4 | Native American Identity and anti-Indigeneity

Reading R1: Nagel, Joanne. 1995. "American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity." (group 5R1)

Reading R2: Sturm, Circe. 2002. Blood Politics. Chapter 3. (group 5R2)

Feb. 9 | Black Identity and anti-Blackness

Reading T1: White, Ismail, Chryl Laird, and Troy Allen. 2014. "Selling Out? The Politics of Navigating Conflict between Racial Group Interests and Self-Interest." (group 6T1)

Reading T2: Acharya, Avidit, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. 2016. "The Political Legacy of American Slavery." (group 6T2)

Feb. 11 | Latinx Identity and anti-Latinx Attitudes

Reading R1: Gutierrez, Angela. ND. "Latino Tú Latino Yo: A Theory of Latino Identity in California." (group 6R1)

Reading R2: Reny, Tyler, Ali Valenzuela, and Loren Collingwood. 2019. "'No, You're Playing the Race Card:' Testing the Effects of Anti-Black, Anti-Latino, and Anti-Immigrant Appeals in the Post-Obama Era." (group 6R2)

Feb. 16 | Asian American Identity and anti-Asian Attitudes

Reading T1: Junn, Jane and Masuoka, Natalie. 2008. "Asian American Identity: Shared Racial Status and Political Context." (group 7T1)

Reading T2: Lee, Erika. 2002. "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gate-Keeping, 1882-1924." (group 7T2)

Feb. 18 | Muslim Identity and anti-Muslim Discrimination

Reading R1: Chouhoud, Youssef. ND. "Gauging Political Tolerance through a List Experiment: Findings from a Survey of American Muslims." (group 7R1)

Reading R2: Hainmueller, Jens and Dominik Hangartner. "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination." (group 7R2)

Feb. 23 | Mormon Identity and anti-Mormon Discrimination

- Reading T1: Coppins, McKay. 2020. "How Mormons Became American." (group 8T1)
- Reading T2: Song, Sarah. 2016. "Polygamy in Nineteenth Century America." (group 8T2)

Feb. 25 | Queer Identity and Homophobia

- Reading R1: Egan, Patrick. 2012. "Group Cohesion without Group Mobilization: The Case of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals." (group 8R1)
- Reading R2: Smith, Brianna, Zein Murib, Matthew Motta, Timothy Callaghan, and Marissa Theys. 2018. "'Gay' or 'Homosexual'? The Implications of Social Category Labels for the Structure of Mass Attitudes (group 8R2)

Mar. 2 | Trans* Identity and Transphobia

- Reading T1: Taylor, Jami and Donald Haider-Markel. 2014. "Introduction to Transgender Rights and Politics." (group 9T1)
- Reading T2: Broockman, David and Josh Kalla. 2016. "Durably Reducing Transphobia: A Field Experiment on Door-To-Door Canvassing." (group 9T2)

Mar. 4 | White Identity and Racial Politics

- Reading R1: Jardina, Ashley. White Identity Politics. Chapter 1. (group 9R1)
- Reading R2: Chudy, Jennifer, Spencer Piston, and Joshua Shipper. "Guilt by Association: White Collective Guilt in American Politics." (group 9R2)

Mar. 9 | American National Identity

- Reading T1: Song, Sarah. 2009. "What Does It Mean to Be an American?" (group 10T1)
- Reading T2: Citrin, Jack, Cara Wong, and Brian Duff. 2001. "The Meaning of American National Identity: Patterns of Ethnic Conflict and Consensus." (group 10T2)

Mar. 11 | Campaign Ad Screening/Wrap-up

No readings, but required class!

Syllabus references and credits are due to: ACCELERATE, Richard Ashcroft, Lisa Baldez, Amanda Bittner, Taylor Carlson, Melisa Casumbal-Salazar, Ana Catalano Weeks, Youssef Chouhoud, Margaret Denike, Patrick, Brian Harrison, Mackenzie Israel-Trummel, Hakeem Jefferson, Brad Jones, Sophia Jordán-Wallace, Katherine Krimmel, Melissa Michelson, Mara Cecilia Ostfeld, Shalini Satkunanandan, Andrew Shield, Bob Taylor, and Denise Walsh.