



IAST CONNECT #14

Spring 2019

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN TOULOUSE



IDENTITY
RACE, SEX AND
RADICALIZATION

'Let's talk about the big questions'

In development economics, we increasingly have very specific and high standards that we hold empirical work to, but we also have a lot of leeway in choosing which questions to ask. In my own research, I have often found it's a fool's errand to try to isolate a policy problem from its environment, or to understand a single human force assuming that it explains the issue at hand but isn't closely linked to context, structure and politics.

This is where interdisciplinary institutions like IAST excel, broadening the scope of inquiry to address the biggest questions. I often see students or policymakers begin a conversation with a solution already in hand, such as digital identification or universal basic income. Big-picture environments like those fostered by IAST can help academics and decision-makers to back up a few steps and start thinking in terms of problem identification. If we can be question-orientated rather than answer-orientated, it's an easy step to then think about the right analytical frameworks and the necessary evidence.

Exploring the general theme of identity, this issue of IAST Connect showcases the diverse strengths of both Toulouse-based researchers and the Distinguished Lecturers invited to speak at the IAST podium. Economist **Glenn Loury** and legal expert **Wanda Mastor** discuss racial inequality in the US; award-winning novelist **Kamel Daoud** and political scientist **Saurabh Pant** focus on problems of radicalization; and, in complement to my own work on gender norms in India, economic historian **Victor Gay** demonstrates the impact of the First World War on women at work in France today. Also in these pages, IAST biologist **Sabine Noebel** presents her striking discovery that fruit flies have cultural traditions.

This multifaceted, dynamic approach – allied with the willingness to grapple with 21st century issues – is one of IAST's core strengths. It's a constant reminder that we need to identify root problems before offering solutions, and to engage with research questions before choosing research tools.



Rohini Pande is the Rafik Hariri Professor of International Political Economy at Harvard Kennedy School. From the fall of 2019 she will move to Yale University as Professor of Economics and Director of the Economic Growth Center.

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FLASHBACK TO RECENT EVENTS

IAST in action



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SCIENTIFIC OUTREACH

OCTOBER 20

IAST's Harilanto Razafindrazaka and Alice Baniel participated in the Scientilivre festival organized by Délires d'encre to offer an interactive workshop on paleontology dedicated to science lovers.

SEPTEMBER 14
LEARNING TO WIN, LOSE AND PERFORM: EVIDENCE FROM ONLINE POKER

PSYCHOLOGY

Jérôme Hergueux (ETH Zurich) came to talk about the bias identified in decision-making in poker games based on how players shift behavior as a response to exogenous, marginal wins and losses.



NOVEMBER 16
WHY DO PEOPLE VARY IN DISGUST?

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Joshua Tybur (VU Amsterdam) described how people vary in the degree to which they experience disgust toward—and, consequently, avoid—cues to pathogens.

DECEMBER 18
REFUGEE SHELTERS AND ELECTORAL OUTCOMES IN GERMANY

ECONOMICS

Jakob Hennig (IAST) explained how the recent establishment of refugee shelters in Germany reduced the perceived quality of local amenities, but increased business creation and right-wing votes.

ALCOHOL, BEHAVIORAL NORMS AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE ON US COLLEGE CAMPUSES

JANUARY 8

ECONOMICS, SOCIOLOGY

Using a decision-theoretic model, Paul Seabright (IAST) showed that US colleges with a religious affiliation have a higher frequency of rape and sexual assault. This association is very strong for assaults where alcohol is a contributing factor. Restrictions on campus availability of alcohol substantially reduces the frequency of such incidents.

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

FEBRUARY 6-9

Pyrenean Interdisciplinary Research Event (PIREN)



INFORMATION, INSTITUTIONS, AND ACCOUNTABILITY

MARCH 14

POLITICAL SCIENCE

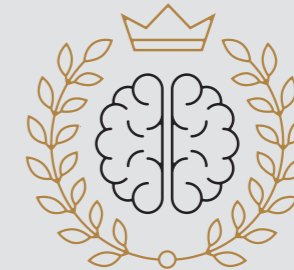
IAST's sixth Political Science & Political Economy conference brought together scholars involved in cutting-edge research on autocratic and weakly institutionalized societies as well as experts on voters' beliefs, incentives, and support for democracy.

IAST appointments & PRIZES



CONGRATULATIONS TO MOHAMED SALEH

who has won tenure at TSE. He joined TSE and IAST in 2012 and his research focuses on economic history, development economics, and empirical political economy. Mohamed is also the winner of the Economic History Association (EHA)'s Cole Prize for best article for 'On the Road to Heaven: Taxation, Conversions, and the Coptic-Muslim Socioeconomic Gap in Medieval Egypt', published in *The Journal of Economic History*.



WORLD-CLASS RESEARCH IN TOULOUSE

Eight Toulouse-based researchers, including IAST president and Nobel laureate Jean Tirole, have been listed among the world's most influential thinkers in the latest academic rankings from Clarivate Analytics.

ON AIR AND ON THE ROAD

Cognitive psychologist Jean-François Bonnefon was on French national television show *Le Quotidien* to talk about his team's Moral Machine experiment and the ethical dilemmas that arise from the use of self-driving cars and other autonomous vehicles.



UPCOMING IAST EVENTS IN TOULOUSE

See www.iast.fr for more details

SAVE THE DATE

April 18
Chief Judge for US Seventh Circuit Diane Wood on Current Challenges For Transnational Regulation

April 23-26
Conference of the European Human Behavior and Evolution Association - EHBEA

May 9-10
Conference on Risk, Disaster and Crisis in a historical perspective

May 23-24
Economics & Biology Conference on cultural evolution

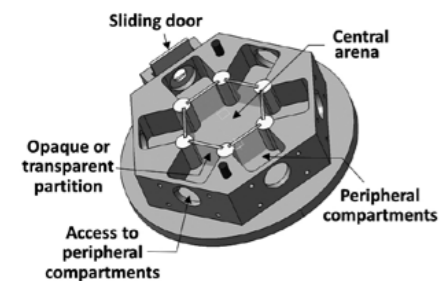
Do flies have their own culture?

• SABINE NÖBEL • INSECT TRADITIONS

The idea that culture is uniquely human has been swept away by recent discoveries about many animals, including whales, meerkats, orangutans, and birds. But until now, there has been little empirical evidence that social transmission and copying occur in less cognitively advanced species.

Sabine's lab experiments show that fruitflies (*Drosophila melanogaster*) perform mate-copying, in which females learn sexual preferences from watching others mate. Does this behavior constitute culture?

To answer this, Sabine and her co-researchers at TULIP required a transferable definition. "The typical criterion of culture is generally that transferred traits must be socially acquired and spread to others repeatedly," they write. "We propose a definition focusing on the properties of social learning."



The experimental hexagon device is used to test flies for conformity and transmission chains. Females located in the peripheral compartments watch a demonstration in the central arena through a transparent partition.

The researchers set up five rules to test whether mating behavior was socially learned across age classes, memorized for sufficient time to be copied, trait-based, and conformist. Given these demanding criteria, Sabine's team was delighted to see their flies produce a five-star performance.

After watching others mate with green or pink males, female flies preferentially mated with males of the color preferred by the female they had observed. This social learning occurred

whether the observed flies were the same age or 11 days older (i.e. the age of parents). Color-based copying continued even when the pink and green males had another contrasting trait such as curly wings or white eyes.

"Our study shows one major way culture can affect evolution as it changes the selective social context of every individual"

The socially learned sexual preferences were highly durable. After watching five demonstrations spaced by resting intervals, the flies continued to display unusually high mate-copying 24 hours later. Considering the flies' short lifespan, this demonstrates long-term social memory. Using a new hexagon device to test six female observer flies at once, researchers also found that learned behaviors persisted for at least eight transmission steps.

To test for conformist bias, the proportion of demonstrator females in the hexagon was varied. Observer females demonstrated an exaggerated tendency to copy the majority, preferring whichever color was chosen more

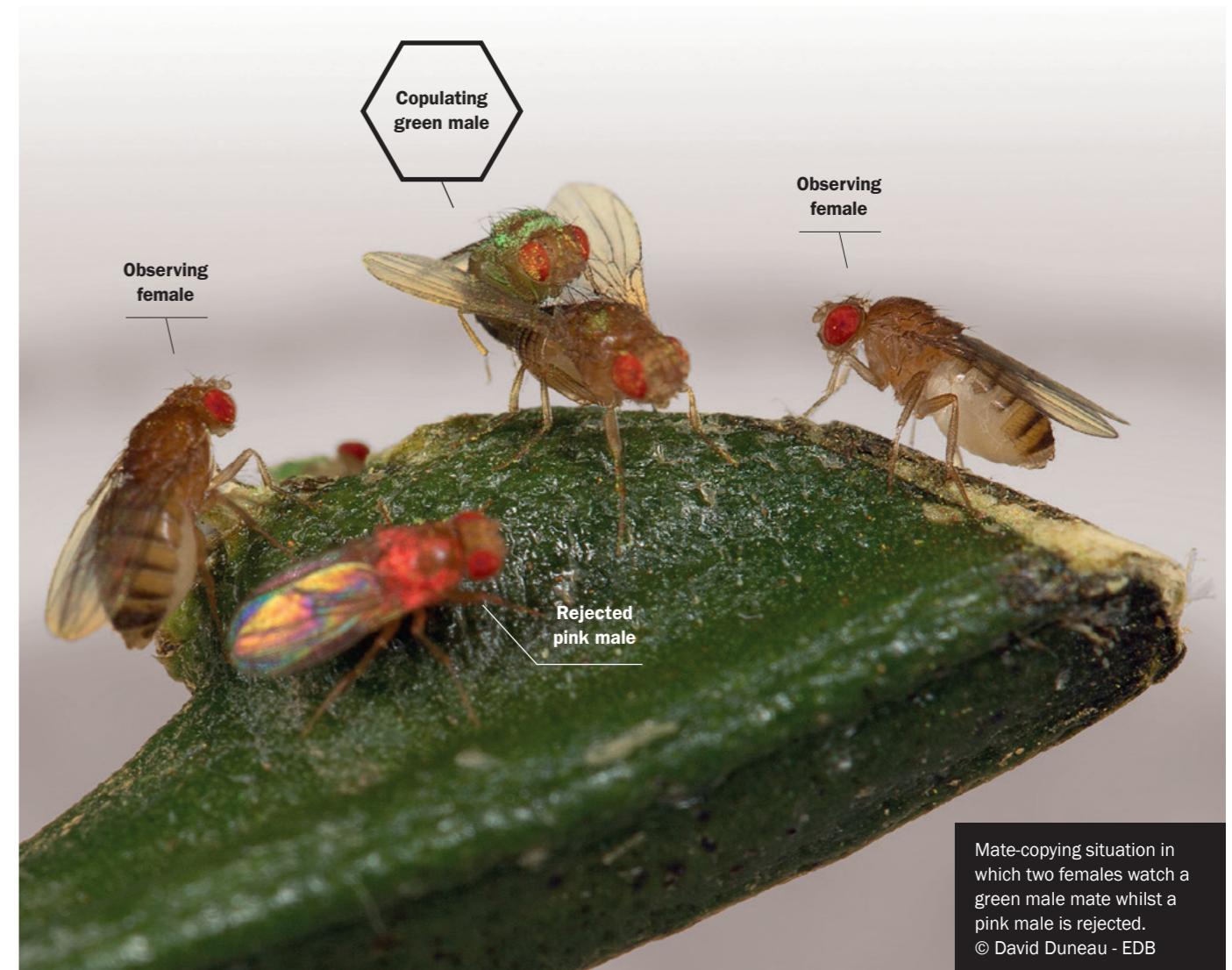
LORD OF THE FLIES

With a number of papers published on the fruitfly's cognitive mechanisms, Sabine shares an interest with illustrious predecessors. Eight Nobel prizes have been awarded for research using *Drosophila*, which reflects its advantages as a fast-breeding, easy-to-handle lab species. Sabine believes this humble fly has plenty more to offer: "With its mini yet highly structured brain (100,000 cells) it is one of the most favorable model species to dissect the neuronal processes of learning."



often. This evidence supports existing theory, Sabine explains: "As soon as even the slightest detectable mating preference emerges within a population, conformist females are favored, as they transmit the most attractive trait to their male descendants while potentially culturally transmitting the preference to their daughters and/or to younger females."

This snowball effect, in which females must quickly respond to peer pressure and grasp the local tradition before mating, provides an evolutionary explanation for mate-copying. "More generally, our study shows one major way culture can affect evolution as it changes the selective social context of every individual."



Mate-copying situation in which two females watch a green male mate whilst a pink male is rejected.
© David Duneau - EDB

As the test population had only six observer females in each generation, the odds were relatively high that 50% or more of the trained flies would make a copying "error" by chance. Even in such a small population, local traditions were established. When the scientists built a dynamic model to simulate the large populations common in nature, the probability of copying errors dropped rapidly.

As conformist learning reinforces any initial preference, the model suggests that

cultural traditions in natural populations can last for thousands of generations.

"Our lab experiments can be seen as a proof that *D. melanogaster* has all the cognitive capacities and dispositions to transmit female mating preferences culturally across generations in ways that can elicit potentially long-lasting traditions. This suggests that the taxonomical range of culture may be much broader than ever before envisioned."

FIND OUT MORE

Sabine and her colleagues have also demonstrated that *Drosophila* require serotonin and dopamine for mate copying. In research on mosquitofish, she shows that mate-copying depends on female boldness and optimal male size differences. One of Sabine's key collaborators, CNRS research director Etienne Danchin, will be a plenary speaker at the European Human Behavior and Evolution Association Conference in Toulouse (April 23-26).

See www.iast.fr/people/sabine-noebel

Us and them

The recent IAST Distinguished Lectures invited leading global thinkers to discuss issues of identity, seen through the prisms of race, gender, nation and religion. In this section, we present some of their ideas about the enduring inequalities and conflicts that well up from our great identity divides. Joining the debate, IAST experts offer fresh perspectives and new research from the fields of law, economic history and political science.

RACIAL INEQUALITY

P10-12 **AMERICA'S TRAGEDY**

Glenn Loury – Unlocking the shackles of race

P13 **WE HAVE TO DEMAND JUSTICE**

Wanda Mastor – The case for affirmative action

JOBS FOR WOMEN

P14-16 **WHO WINS IF WOMEN DON'T WORK?**

Rohini Pande – The Indian puzzle

P17 **WAR AND THE SEXES**

Victor Gay – Missing men

RADICALIZATION

P18-20 **FOR GOD AND COUNTRY**

Kamel Daoud – The Algerian Inquisition

P21 **MILITANT MINORITIES**

Saurabh Pant – Explaining political violence



America's TRAGEDY

• GLENN LOURY • UNLOCKING THE SHACKLES OF RACE

What explains persistent racial inequality in the US? For Glenn Loury, one-time intellectual hero of the Reagan right, the search for an answer has been a constant companion on a roller-coaster career from college dropout to Harvard's first black professor of economics, from the president's dinner table to rehab, religious rebirth and personal reinvention. In his IAST Distinguished Lecture in September, he argued that the 21st-century challenge is no longer the 'closed doors' of racist laws and formal institutions, but the more insidious social stigma which prevent children from developing their full potential.



How have the challenges of fighting racial inequality evolved?

There are basically two narratives currently at play. The bias narrative, dating back 100 years or more, observes that African-Americans have suffered discrimination, exclusion, segregation, and second-class citizenship. We have been the victims of bias: jobs closed off because we're not thought fit for them, communities where houses would not be sold to our kind, and so on. It still exists, but it's not nearly as important as it used to be. Bias has been reduced substantially by a transformation of American society, begun even before the Civil Rights movement and culminating in the 1960s and 70s with laws passed at the federal and state level, and changes in cultural practices.

The ideology of bias is an anachronism, fit for another time. I favor the ideology of development, which emphasizes the fact that if

people can't perform, they're never going to be equal. The development narrative concerns the social processes that systematically impair the development of African-Americans' potential, so that even if they are treated equally – in the labor market, credit market, housing market, in transactions which equal opportunity law can influence – the inequality of status is carried forward.

.....
“Self-limiting patterns of behavior among poor blacks are not a product of some alien cultural imposition upon a pristine Euro-American canvas”

For example, the extent to which African-Americans are being disciplined in schools is much higher than the proportion of African-American students. Many of these

children come from communities where the socialization and the acquirement of the skills needed to benefit from school are not taking place. They haven't learned impulse control; they are not willing to submit to the school's authority. If the response is to discipline the school for being biased rather than to direct attention to the source of the students' behavior, an opportunity to enhance the development of black kids will have been missed.

In your 2008 book 'Race, Incarceration and American Values' you advocate using Rawls' theory of justice. What does this entail?

This book was based on lectures I gave at Stanford, motivated by the observation that so many African-American youngsters are in prison. The philosopher John Rawls argues that a just social order is one which would arrange its institutions to advance the well-being of the least well-off. He asks us to engage in a thought experiment: 'Put yourself behind the veil of ignorance, imagine that you don't know what part of society

you will be born into.' What's fair, he says, is what you would agree to before you knew how you were going to be situated. If you might end up as one of these youngsters in a housing project whose father is in prison, whose mother has seven children and not enough money to feed them, how would you want society's institutions to treat you?

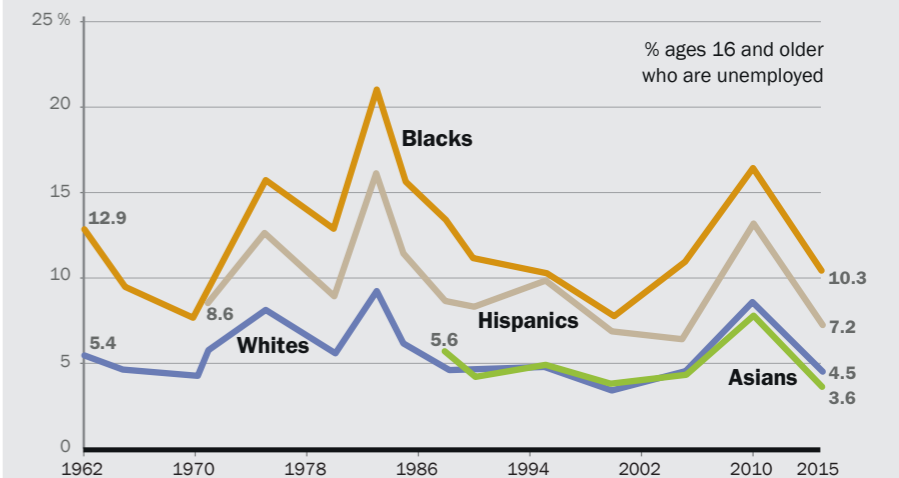
In my mind, if all of us were to sincerely engage in that thought experiment, we would conclude that we would deal much more generously with these youngsters in US prisons. Saying that does not mean that they don't deserve to be punished for breaking the law; you have to have personal responsibility. But you don't have to throw away the key and pretend they don't exist. We wouldn't do so if they were our children.

Along with Jane Jacobs, you coined the term social capital. How does it help to explain racial disparities?

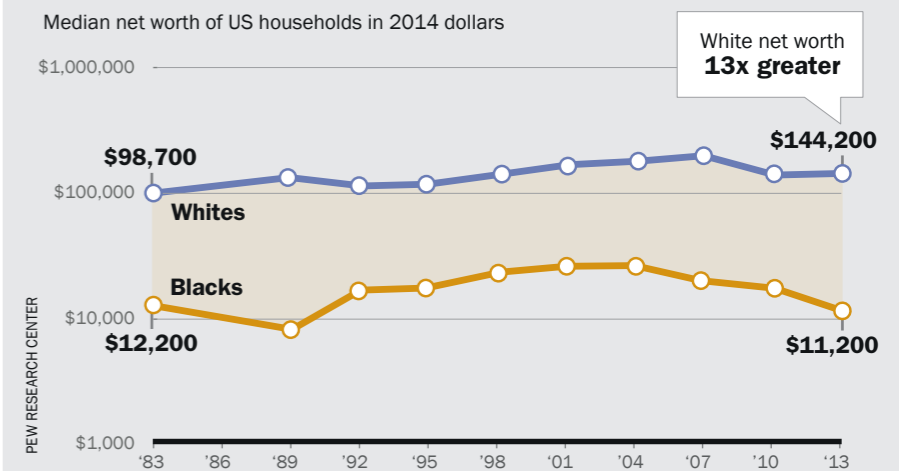
This concept can illuminate the contrast between relations and transactions. Human capital theory imports into the study of inequality an intellectual framework developed in economics to explain the investment decisions made by firms. It focuses on the analysis of formal transactions, but it overlooks informal social relations in important ways.

First, all human development is socially mediated. Developmental resources are not commodities, they are the consequences of social interaction that occur within social institutions such as the family. The decisions a mother makes about her health and nutrition during pregnancy, for instance, will alter the neurological development of her fetus. This and a myriad of other social factors shape the experience of the newborn infant, who will one day be judged on his or her productivity, as reflected in wages, or scores on some cognitive examination. Behavioral and cognitive capacities are not merely the result of some mechanical infusion of material resources. Rather, they are by-products of social processes.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN UNEMPLOYMENT IS DOUBLE THAT OF WHITES



WHITES ARE SIGNIFICANTLY WEALTHIER THAN BLACKS



'I STAND WITH MY PEOPLE'

Glenn's swift ascent from Chicago's South Side to America's intellectual elite has not been an easy ride. But the collision of these two worlds has indelibly marked his own ideas and identity. Talking to IAST Connect, he recalled a speech at the University of Illinois in which he criticized affirmative action. His uncle had turned out, with six of his 22 children, to support his illustrious nephew. Wine was being poured at the reception, as Glenn received the family patriarch's withering verdict. "Son," he said to me, 'we could only send one. We sent you. And yet, I don't see us in anything you do.' That *shattered* me. I'm still haunted by it. But I determined that never again would I give him cause to speak to me in such a way. I am a black American intellectual and I must stand with my people."

Second, race is mainly a social and only indirectly a biological phenomenon. It rests upon a set of conceptions about identity: beliefs that people have about who they are, and about legitimacy of conduct in relations with others. Such beliefs affect the access people enjoy to informal resources. My child might be musically talented, but she won't practice because her peers disdain the piano. Historically oppressed groups often evolve what anthropologist John Ogbu has called oppositional identities, the embrace of which can inhibit development.

What explains the contrast in the trajectories of African-American communities and other minorities?

Blackness is not some arbitrary mark. This symbol was laden with historically generated meanings that are particular to American society and carry a stigmatizing, degrading and subordinating connotation. How else could chattel slavery be rationalized in a society which self-consciously understood itself to be the land of the free? Africans had to be seen as not fully human. ●●●

•••

This stigmatized understanding of blackness which evolved in the 18th and 19th centuries has had an enduring resonance in American social life. Without this insight, one may say, as many conservative commentators have, 'Look at the recent influx from Asia and Latin America. They too have been victims and yet they've advanced as you blacks in inner cities continue to lag. What is wrong with you people?' One may attribute the backwardness of those stigmatized people to their essence, culture, or lack of potential.

Putting relations before transactions leads to this counter narrative: 'Of course there may be something backward about their culture. US jails are full of blacks and they're not all political prisoners. Two in three blacks are born to a mother with no husband and that can't possibly be inconsequential to social outcomes. But is declaring that they possess certain values, attitudes and beliefs just a statement about them? Might it not also be a statement about us?' Imputing a causal role to what one takes to be intrinsic cultural traits of a subordinate racial group, while failing to see the system-wide context out of which these patterns emerge, is a significant cognitive error.

The self-limiting patterns of behavior among poor blacks are not a product of some alien cultural imposition upon an otherwise pristine Euro-American canvas. Rather, this 'pathological' behavior of these most marginal Americans is deeply rooted in American history, and has evolved in tandem with American social, economic and political institutions, and with the cultural practices that legitimated those institutions. This is an American tragedy; it is a national, not merely a communal disgrace. ■

FIND OUT MORE

Many of Glenn's ideas about race in the United States are explored in his 2003 book, "The Anatomy of Racial Inequality". See www.glennloury.com

We have to demand JUSTICE

• WANDA MASTOR •
THE CASE FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

IAST associate Wanda Mastor is a professor of law at University of Toulouse Capitole, and an expert in constitutional affairs. She argues that the African-American experience demonstrates that inequalities in law are sometimes required to compensate for inequalities in practice.

The election of Barack Obama should not allow us to forget that it is still easier to be born white than black on American soil. Following the civil disobedience efforts of the 1950s and 1960s, federal laws gradually aligned with anti-segregation movements. But due to America's deeply entrenched culture of racial opposition, reality did not align with the law. What in France is incorrectly called positive discrimination in favor of blacks should never be compared to similar policies favoring other formerly neglected groups. It's not that such policies are less dignified or less urgent. But given the extraordinary suffering and subjugation of African-Americans, the policies required to force their integration are equally unique.

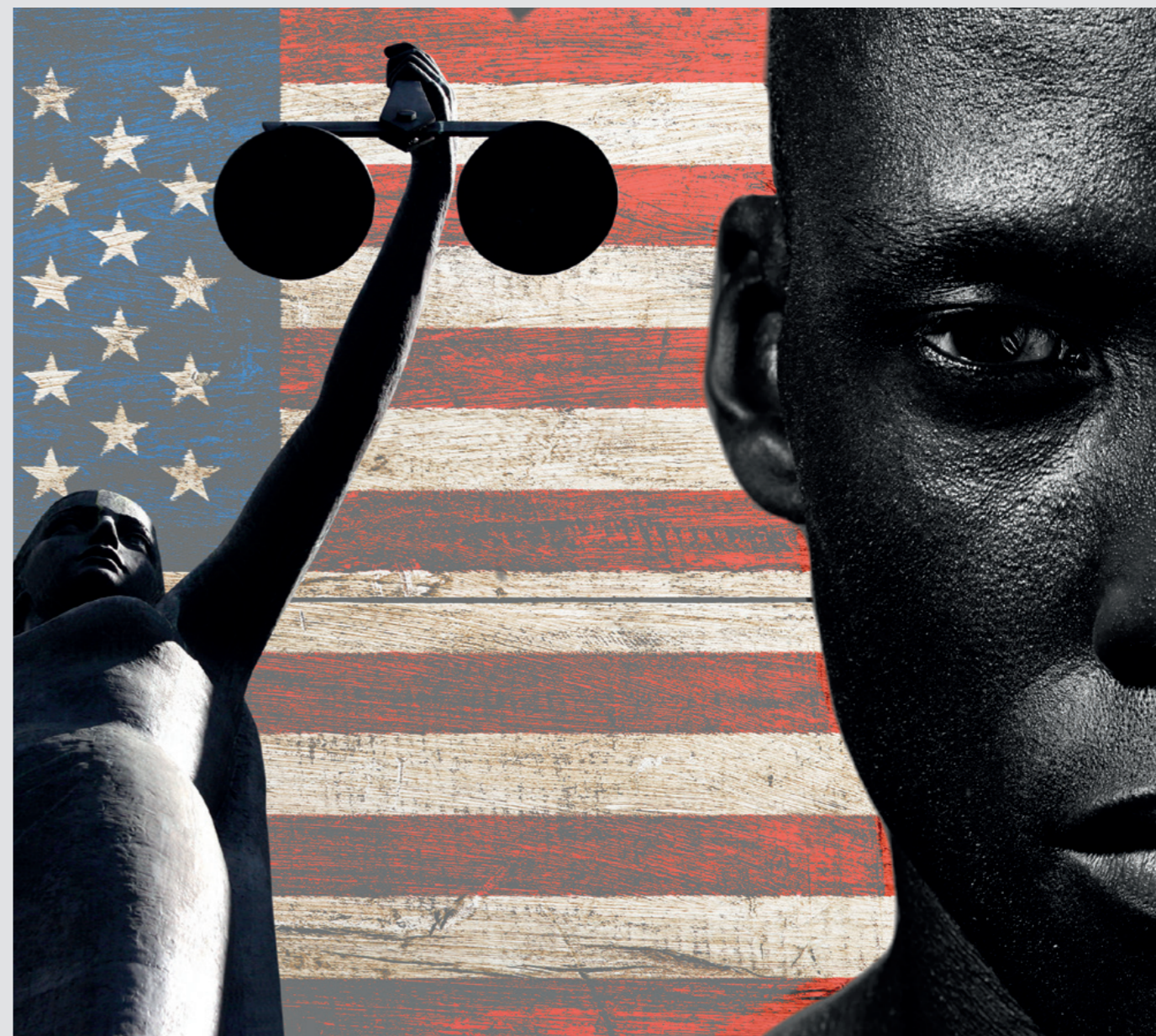


his white compatriots: "Blacks crave justice, not just love. It's not enough to say, 'We love blacks, we have lots of black friends.' You have to demand justice. Love that does not pay its debt of justice does not deserve its name. It is only a sentimental affection, like that of a pet."

.....
"It is hypocritical for judges to say, 'It's because I'm not a racist that I do not want to use race as a criterion of distinction.'"

Ideas about affirmative action owe a great debt to the father of black civil disobedience. Firmly, but without hate, Martin Luther King had these words for

All the elements of affirmative action policy, which King describes as "preferential and compensatory", are found in his work: "It is not enough to radically transform one's attitude towards blacks, under the pressure of events; the country must also consider compensation for the



handicaps that blacks have suffered in the past [...], to restore equilibrium and allow them to enter into competition on a fair and equitable basis." King's proposal of an equivalent for blacks of the 1944 GI Bill of Rights (a preferential policy for veterans) makes an excellent case for positive discrimination and its legitimacy.

The suspicion among some judges of any distinction based on race is one way to reject a preferential policy (integration of blacks) in the name of a supposedly egalitarian

posture (to not stigmatize a race). It is so simple – and hypocritical – to say, "It's because I'm not a racist that I do not want the race test to be used as a criterion of distinction." Without this criterion – which, though not always suspicious, is potentially dangerous – blacks are barred from access to the life they deserve. Not from an abstract notion inscribed in the framework of beautiful ideals, but from a life with access to employment, housing, health and education. When equality cannot triumph by itself, when proclamations and condemnations are not

enough to change attitudes, we must not just use the massive weapon of pacifist disobedience, but also the firm and rigorous weapon of the law, albeit in a sophisticated way. ■

FIND OUT MORE

Read Wanda's article 'Désobéir Pour Être : Les Noirs Américains' (in French) at www.cairn.info/revue-pouvoirs-2015-4-page-81.htm

Who wins if **WOMEN** don't get to **WORK**?

• ROHINI PANDE • THE INDIAN PUZZLE

Despite India's rapid economic growth, female employment is strikingly low. In her IAST Distinguished Lecture in December, Harvard's Rohini Pande argued that women are being held back by stubborn gender norms, to the benefit of rural elites. Encouragingly, this professor of international political economy also points to evidence that public policy can be successful in changing power dynamics.

Across the world, men are more likely to have jobs than women. But the lowest rates of female labor force participation (FLFP) are not concentrated in the poorest countries. Instead, says Rohini, charting these rates against income produces a U-shaped graph. "At low incomes, as in sub-Saharan Africa, both men and women work. As countries get richer, women seem to stop working. Then as incomes continue to rise, the hopeful view is that women will re-enter the labor force."

non-agricultural work. As male incomes rise outside agriculture, women no longer work out of necessity; instead of backbreaking labor, women may choose to engage in domestic work, childrearing, etc. In an even richer context, women are more likely to enter higher education and satisfying jobs. Households may also have preferences – such as holidays and consumer goods – that require two incomes. And as preferences change, norms may adjust so that traditional gender roles come to be seen as outdated."



"When US women earn more than their husbands, they understate their income compared to their tax return, and men overstate theirs"

The typical narrative on the U-shaped curve, says Rohini, is that economic growth is accompanied by structural transformation. "At first, both men and women exit agriculture, but men tend to be first in line for

WHY ARE INDIAN GIRLS SHORTER THAN BOYS?

In a 2017 paper written with Seema Jayachandran and published in *American Economic Review*, Rohini shows that much of the India-Africa height gap can be explained by Indian parents' discrimination in favor of first-born sons. See scholar.harvard.edu/rpande/home

THE POWER OF NORMS

Despite increases in FLFP in richer countries, a key concern is that women are not advancing into high-skilled professions at the same rate as men. "If men are first in line for non-agricultural jobs at the beginning of the structural transformation, women may not be able to catch up in the long run. This appears to be a factor in sectorial inequality, even in rich countries. One explanation is that norms have lagged behind changes in FLFP and legal structure."

For Rohini, social norms are not just the standards that describe typical behavior, they also incentivize and stigmatize behavior. "Research in the US has found that when women earn more than their husbands, women understate their income compared to their tax return, and men overstate theirs. Another study asked MBA students for their salary expectations from a summer placement. When their response risked being publicly revealed to the group, single women underreported."

INDIAN OUTLIER

The prediction that economic growth will raise labor market opportunities for men and women equally has failed in most countries, but India's strikingly low FLFP rates represent an enduring puzzle. "Since the early 1990s, India has had a dramatic takeoff in economic performance with roughly 7% growth in GDP every year. It's very much off the global trend line for FLFP, below where it should be at every point in time. There's no evidence that a U-shaped curve is about to emerge."

India's falling FLFP rates are particularly mystifying given its dramatic decline in fertility and the rise in women entering education. "The typical economist's response is that women are undertaking education because there are returns to finding a quality spouse. If skills were equally valuable across genders, we would have reversed the wage gap by now." Instead, Indian women are concentrated in industries that extend traditional household roles. "If anything, recent years have seen a decline in the percentage



of women in top positions such as senior officers, legislators, and managers. Domestic help and education dominate the most common female occupations."

WILLING WORKERS

Surveys suggest that Indian women are keen to find jobs, so what's holding them back? "If women have a lot of freedom and jobs, it may be harder to ensure that marriages remain within the caste. Both caste and marital norms perpetuate gender norms, restricting women's movements. It's not uncommon to find 50% of women saying they cannot leave the village without permission from other members of the household."

Rohini's team conducted a survey of more than 2,500 trainees in vocational skill programs, and the findings suggest that social norms have powerful effects. "Although

"In India, men's typical reasons for leaving a job were because they didn't like salary or the food; women leavers typically cited family pressure"

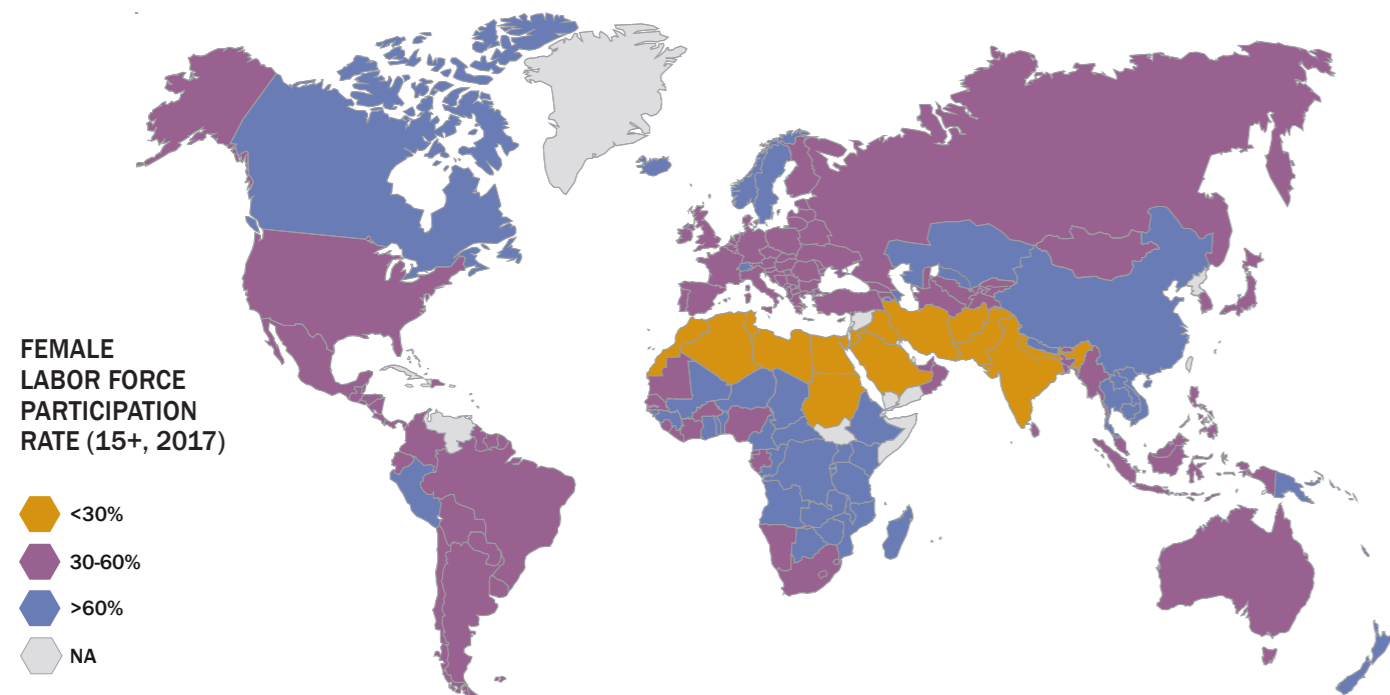
men and women do equally well in the program exams, young men were more likely to receive job offers. Women were much less likely to accept or to remain in jobs. Men's typical reasons for leaving a job were because they didn't like salary or the food; women leavers typically cited family pressure."

MISPERCEPTIONS MATTER

Citing field experiments involving 800 couples in rural areas, Rohini argues that

women are not working because men believe they will face a high social cost. "In interviews, women say they would work if their husbands agreed to it. However, men feel very strongly that they will be judged by the community if their wife is working, because the husband should provide for the household. Men also believe that the community thinks much worse of men with working wives than it actually does."

These beliefs and misperceptions matter. In the same setting, Rohini's team made an arrangement with local landowners to offer households a day's work in a neighboring field. "We found that if the woman thinks her husband believes women shouldn't work, she was 10 percentage points less likely to turn up. Similarly, if the man believes the community thinks badly of working women, this led to a five percentage-point decline." ● ● ●



Poor households can significantly increase their income if women are allowed to work, so why are gender norms enforced so strictly? "One of the key options for poor Indians is factory work outside the village. If you limit women's mobility, poor households will be more dependent on the existing caste power structure. A modernizing economy can increase poor households' wages and collective bargaining power, making it harder for higher castes to maintain a captive cheap labor force. Reinforcing social norms to impose sanctions has benefits, at least in the short term, for the rural elite."

QUOTAS FOR VOTERS

Survey experiments in India by Rohini and her coauthors show that political gender quotas can change stereotypes. "After villagers had listened to a speech recorded in either a male or female voice, we asked them how effective the leader was. In areas that had not seen a female politician, they rated the woman lower. After the introduction of gender quotas, ratings for women leaders increased significantly as villagers became more used

to the idea. This exposure also had a positive impact on teenage girls' job aspirations."

Why would men extend the franchise to women? "In politics, 50% of the electorate are women and they vote, and that's important for the success of gender quotas. If you want to challenge entrenched elites within your party or attract female votes, quotas can help."

MONEY MATTERS

Another promising policy area is financial independence. Two years after providing digital bank accounts to low-income earners, Rohini's team saw a significant rise in the savings of those women who had an account linked to their payments.

"Providing bank accounts increased FLFP and changed women's norms. Both acceptance of working women and aspirational beliefs improved in the group of women that increased working. We saw gains in women's ability to make purchases, their mobility decisions, and empowerment. Unfortunately, we didn't see significant improvement in

husbands' norms, or in levels of gender-based violence. Women were also more likely to report being anxious and stressed."

Future research on women's work, says Rohini, should consider the structure within which it occurs. "There is little dispute that gender norms or traditional roles for men and women can distort allocation of talent. If these norms are just misperceptions, then information campaigns or exposure to women in positions of power can achieve quite a lot. In other settings, it's harder. Men may not move their norms, or there may be groups that want to constrain labor market opportunities. When talent is misallocated, a more nuanced understanding requires asking, 'Who benefits?'" ■

FIND OUT MORE

Rohini has published numerous papers examining the costs and benefits of informal and formal institutions in the developing world. Her research focuses on gender, environmental regulation, and state capacity and accountability.

War and the sexes

• VICTOR GAY • MISSING MEN

Empirical research by IAST economic historian Victor Gay shows that traditional gender roles still exert a large influence on female labor force participation, even in rich countries. His work explores the impact of the First World War on working women in France throughout the twentieth century. Elsewhere, he finds that women arriving in the US who speak a language with sex-based grammar are less likely to be in the labor force.

In France, labor force participation rates of women aged 30 to 49 surged from 40 per cent in the early 1960s to 90 per cent today. In his search for explanations for this 'quiet' revolution, Victor has examined the severe shock to the sex ratio caused by the First World War, in which more than 1.3 million Frenchmen died. Compiling a huge database of military records, he finds that more women entered the labor force in areas where more soldiers had been lost. "Many of these women could not find a suitable husband and so had to work to support their families," Victor explains. "Similarly, war widows had to work because subsidies were very low, at least until the early 1930s."

In his paper 'The Legacy of the Missing Men', Victor argues that these working women altered the preferences and beliefs about female labor of their daughters, sons, and entourage, and these changes translated into the working behavior of women in

"A woman whose great-grandmother worked because of the First World War is more likely to work and to hold progressive views about gender roles"

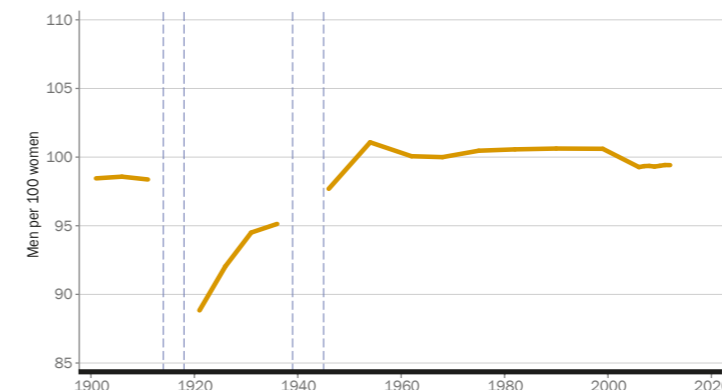
subsequent generations. "The impact of the First World War is still present today. A woman whose grandmother or great-grandmother worked because of the war is more likely to work today and to hold more progressive views about gender roles. We also witness a similar impact on attitudes, although lower, for men whose grandmother or great-grandmother became labor force participants following the war."

In a related research project, Victor and his co-authors focus on whether languages, and specifically, the pervasiveness of gender



distinctions in grammar, can help to explain variations in women's economic behavior across cultural origins. "Measuring culture is very complicated, especially when we consider how culture emerges and changes over time. Our intuition is that language structures reflect deep cultural differences. We find that married female immigrants who speak a more gendered language are less likely to participate in the US labor market. We explore how and why these language structures emerged, and how they might reflect the social structures of pre-modern societies." ■

THE SHOCK OF WAR



FIND OUT MORE

To measure changing beliefs about gender roles, Victor is collecting information on the legislative behavior of representatives in the French National Assembly during the 20th century. He is also starting a research project on the impact of early nation-states and institutions on long-term economic growth.

See www.iast.fr/people/victor-gay

For God *and country*

• KAMEL DAOUD • THE ALGERIAN INQUISITION

Winner of the Goncourt First Novel Award for 'The Meursault Investigation', Kamel Daoud is also a prolific journalist and outspoken public intellectual. In his native Algeria, his book provoked a fatwa from a radical cleric. In the West, his newspaper columns have sparked heated debate, notably an article entitled 'The Sexual Misery of the Arab World'. In Toulouse in November to deliver his Distinguished Lecture, he discussed the impact of religious extremism in his country, where he continues to live undaunted.



Since gaining independence from France in 1962, how have ideas about identity been shaped in Algeria?

The slogan of Algeria's first president Ahmed Ben Bella – "We are Arabs, we are Arabs, we are Arabs" – quickly became an exclusive political doctrine. Arabness was affirmed as a supreme identity, not as a cultural component of the Algerian identity. "We are Arab" because we want to say that we are not French. It was the only available alternative.

This cry of "We are Arabs" has had its variations during my lifetime. For a long time, Algerian identity was an expression of a political orthodoxy built on the national narrative of decolonization, or an expression of the opposition that defended the country's Amazigh history. Since the Algerian Civil War in the 1990s, the definition of national identity, previously a monopoly of the political regime, has been gradually delegated to religious extremists. For some, the solution to the war was a kind of pakistanization of Algeria: a monopoly on oil profits for the regime; and control of values, religion and culture for the Islamists.

What are your own memories of identity, growing up in Algeria?

Memory and identity are first transmitted by the family: parents, grandparents, the people around you. It starts with stories, narratives, and pictures, before you reach the age where you can conceptualize and have ideas.

"Like many, I was a witness but also a victim. We were traitors, alien to Algeria, condemned to this day to suffer exclusion and isolation"

As a child in my village, Arabness stopped at the doors of the school or the mosque. The rest was Algeria: denied, repulsed, devalued and despised. Perhaps for many of my generation, it was the shame we felt at this scorn that was our first feeling. This hierarchy that valued Arabness over Algerian was painful even then. Watching TV, we were invited to join the repression and isolation of the Kabyles and their region. Identity was already an inquisition.

Like many, I was a witness but also a victim. Caught in a vice between the regime and the Islamists, Algeria's progressive, democratic

and modernist factions had the bad luck to embody neither identity nor history, but only a foreign, Western posture. We were traitors, alien to Algeria, condemned to this day to suffer exclusion and isolation.

What role has language played in Algeria's struggle?

In the so-called Arab world, nobody speaks Arabic except the imam or certain elites. Every country speaks its own language. The

TIME TRAVEL

One of the first novels that fascinated me was *The Time Machine*. Reading allows this illusion of escaping the mechanics of time. I can talk to someone who has been dead for 1,000 years. I can share the intimacy of someone I have never met, whether their name is Dostoevsky or Nabokov.

Imagine, I lived in a small village, where we did not have much opportunity to go further than 15km away and suddenly I read about islands, Jules Verne, trips to space. All this brought me disembodiment, weightlessness and the feeling of living many lives. Maybe reincarnation exists: we just need to open books.



"Identity has become religious identity, and history has been erased. The Algerian War of Independence has been rewritten as a holy war"

songs that touch us the most in Algeria, are not those sung in Arabic but in Tamazight or Algerian languages, like Rai [a form of folk music from Oran].

You will not be condemned to death if you translate the Koran from Arabic to French, but you risk your neck if you translate it from Arabic into one of the Algerian languages. In the Islamists' war to take over Algerian schools, there was violent controversy over the use of Darija. Supported by researchers as a means of educational transition, the use of this Algerian language was fiercely opposed by religious conservatives who saw it as a threat to their monopoly of the identity debate and religious orthodoxy, and to their interpretation of the Koran.

I am not against the Arabic language. I am against its use for ideology, caste, and domination. Arabness belongs to me, and I do not belong to it.

How do religious extremists define national values?

Today, you cannot talk about your identity without expressing your Islam. Identity has become the clothing of an unabashed, extreme right-wing discourse. The Islamists now define and monopolize identity, the nation and authenticity, and place themselves as judges of all opposition.

The paradox of the Islamist discourse is that it advocates nationalism and anti-Moroccanism, but they do not believe in the nation. Instead, Islamists support a transnational concept that does not recognize borders: the Ummah, a future caliphate or an Islamic state. This contradiction is of no concern to them. An imam who called for my death explained to the judge that I was an agent of the West, and yet he openly refused to stand for the Algerian flag or to listen to the national anthem.

Bizarrely, identity has become religious identity, and history has been erased. The Algerian War of Independence has gradually been rewritten as a holy war, fought for religious independence. A few years ago, this revisionism would have seemed impossible. The narrative of decolonization was intended to liberate a people and a specific territory, not to return it to the Crusades.

How do Algerian and Western identity debates interact?

In the postcolonial discourse, "We are Arabs" is replaced with "We are victims". The identity discourse for the Maghreb community living in France, for example, has been taken hostage by the clergy who claim to be the community's only voice. If you attack Islamism, you are accused of attacking a community. Islamism is quick to benefit, taking on the status of postcolonial, racialized victim whose identity is ridiculed and rejected.

In Algeria, as in many parts of the world, identity has become the domain of radical populists. Anti-black racism, ● ● ●

Militancy among minorities

• SAURABH PANT •
EXPLAINING POLITICAL VIOLENCE

When does militancy arise among marginalized minorities? How can states suppress such violence? Working at the intersection of international relations and comparative politics, IAST's Saurabh Pant uses quantitative methods and game theory to study the conditions that lead to the outbreak of armed struggle in divided societies.

Drawing on fieldwork in India, Saurabh's 2018 working paper entitled 'Explaining Militancy among Minorities' reveals an interesting empirical puzzle regarding the different levels of militant mobilization in minority groups and illustrates an important, overlooked dynamic. "Minorities often face the threat of indiscriminate retaliation if any violent transgressions occur from within their community. Low levels of protection from this threat would incentivize minority members to police their group to prevent militancy emerging in their community. The strategic tensions involved in this protection-group policing dynamic occur within the minority group and between the minority group and the state."



Counterintuitively, his model shows how a low-capacity state can be less conducive to the emergence of militant minorities than a high-capacity state. Insights from the model can help to explain differences in militant mobilization between Muslims in India and Western Europe and across minority groups within India.

While the above research establishes the conditions for the onset of militancy among marginalized minorities, another

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"Counterintuitively, a low-capacity state can be less conducive to the emergence of militant minorities than a high-capacity state"
.....

Saurabh's game-theoretic model investigates how state capacity and state willingness can influence minority militancy.

...

journalism, radicalization of ethnic groups, xenophobia, conspiracy... everything that has contributed to the triumph of populism, has also led to today's Islamism. Who's talking about the future now? The populists. Who promises salvation and answers? The populists. Who assumes the right to talk about the status of women, procreation, abortion, migration, otherness? The populists. We need to recover the right to speak.

Faced with political lockdown in many parts of the Arab world, how optimistic are you about the prospects for change?

I trust humanity more than history. From a logical point of view, we have every reason to despair. We have rent-seeking economies, a population pushed back towards ignorance and resignation, towards belief rather than citizenship. We have elites without autonomy, legitimacy or power to make real change. I am optimistic only out of anger, out of a sense of dignity. It's better to be defeated at the end than at the beginning. I hope to deserve, in my children's memory, the idea that I fought a little, that I defended the idea of freedom. When I read fabulous novels like Marguerite Yourcenar's *The Abyss*, I tell myself that we are between two epochs, in those median times which are painful, mysterious, enigmatic, unjust, and inquisitorial, but which are the first fruits of a new society. It may not come soon – on the scale of a lifetime, one despairs – but in a century or two. You have to believe it. ■

FIND OUT MORE

A selection of Kamel's articles for *Le Quotidien d'Oran* have been translated into English in *Chroniques: Selected Columns, 2010-2016*.

See www.nytimes.com/column/kamel-daoud



paper explains how the state can then suppress militancy if such conditions are present in a country. In 'Winning Hearts and Minds in Civil Wars: Governance, Leadership Change, and Support for Violent Groups in

Iraq', Saurabh and his coauthors show how support for militancy in Iraq is not explained by primordial sectarian animosity but by perceptions of governance. Their research takes advantage of a natural experiment

that arose when Iraq's divisive prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki, suddenly announced his resignation in 2014, during a period in which a nationwide survey was being conducted.

"We demonstrate that the leadership transition led the aggrieved minority Sunni population to switch support away from armed groups and towards the new (but still) Shia-led regime. In line with our argument, this realignment was due to rising optimism among Iraqi Sunnis that the new government would provide basic services and public goods – specifically security, electricity, and jobs." ■

CHANGING ATTITUDES IN IRAQ AFTER NOURI AL-MALIKI'S RESIGNATION



Leadership change led Iraq's disgruntled Sunni Arab minority to shift support from militants to the government. This realignment was due to their rising optimism that the new government would provide services and public goods.

FIND OUT MORE

Saurabh and his team have also conducted the first list experiments in Iraq that measure attitudes about ISIS, the government, and US airstrikes across multiple ethnic groups. Working with Mercy Corps, a humanitarian NGO, they surveyed a large national sample at the height of the insurgency in 2015.

See www.iast.fr/people/saurabh-pant

A breath of fresh air

During a recent retreat in the Pyrenees, researchers discussed their latest findings on the theme of identity. External speakers at the Pyrenean Interdisciplinary Research Event (PIREN) included neuropsychologists Giorgia Ponsi and Giusi Porciello (University of Rome), political scientist Prerna Singh (Brown University) and primatologist Michael Wilson (IAST visitor from University of Minnesota). Here, some of the IAST members involved reflect on their experience.



MONKEY BUSINESS

Does misery love company?



Biologist (and PIREN organizer) **Francesca de Petrillo** presented her new experimental study on the influence of inequality aversion on risk-taking in capuchin monkeys.

“It was a great pleasure to be part of the organization. We spent three great days in the Pyrenees presenting research in an informal environment. It was excellent for developing professional and social networks.”

CITIZENSHIP AND COMPLIANCE

Why do citizens comply with the state (for example, in paying taxes) when the state has not upheld its end of the social contract?



Political scientist **Leah Rosenzweig** presented a new project which uses survey data from informal settlements in Lagos, Nigeria.

“We often see more polished work in seminars, but PIREN let us step back, get feedback on initial results, and collectively brainstorm and discuss themes related to our work. The fresh air and beautiful scenery helped stimulate creativity and collaboration.”



ANCESTRAL WARFARE

Do warriors clash with their parents?



Biologist **Alberto Micheletti** presented his study of conflicting interests in war. His model shows parents are liable to disagree about how brave their sons should be, but always want them to go to war more than their sons do. Different genes can favor different levels of aggression, with potential for behavioral disorders.

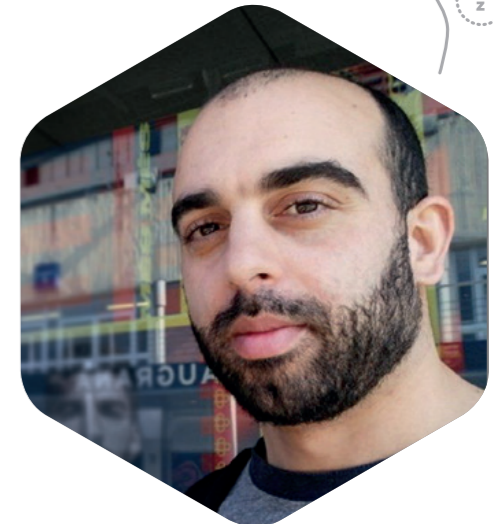
“As a new IAST member, PIREN helped me to discover the breadth of research being carried out here. I realized I share similar interests with many colleagues, and not just in my own discipline. I had very stimulating conversations.”

PLASTICITY IN EVOLUTIONARY GAMES

Is there an evolutionary advantage in anticipating other people's behavior?

Biologist **Slimane Dridi** showed that the ability to anticipate behavior is only selected when individuals are in a game that favors behavioral diversity.

“It was a great opportunity to chat with colleagues about our research in a relaxed environment and to build team spirit. It has potentially inspired new research collaborations.”



PANORAMIC PERSPECTIVES

The PIREN talks demonstrated IAST's ability to marshal multiple approaches toward a huge range of challenging issues. Here are a few more highlights:

- **Bence Bago**
“The Cognitive Psychology of Fake News”
- **Nick Crawford**
“Food Scarcity and Collective Action among British Caribbean Slave Communities”
- **Sreemati Mitter**
“Enforced Identity: Israeli Absentee Property Laws, 1950”
- **Jorge Peña**
“The Olson conjecture for discrete public goods”
- **Vivek Venkataraman**
“The Social Mechanics of Efficient Central-Place Foraging in Hunter-Gatherers”



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WWW.IAST.FR/RESEARCH/PUBLICATIONS



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