

Gov.40.01: Comparative Ethnic Politics

Fall Quarter 2013

MWF 12 slot

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Office hours: Wednesdays 2.30-5.00

Description and objective

This mid-level course introduces students to the principal concepts, questions and answers in the subfield of comparative ethnic politics. Four sorts of questions define the field of ethnic politics:

- (1) Questions of conceptualization. What is ethnicity and what is ethnic identity?
- (2) Questions of ethnic group creation and ethnic identity change: why/how do ethnic groups form and why/how do ethnic group identities change?
- (3) Questions about the determinants of ethnically defined outcomes (e.g. Why do “ethnic riots” occur? Where and why does “ethnic voting” occur?)
- (4) Questions about the effect of ethnically defined variables (such as ethnic diversity) on some outcome (e.g. How does ethnic identity affect economic growth? How does ethnic identity affect the onset or dynamics of inter-state war?)

To develop possible answers to the rest of the questions, we will read theoretical treatments as well as case studies from various regions of the world, including the United States, Latin America, Africa, and South Asia. Readings will be diverse in several ways. Readings for the course reach *across* subfields, *across* disciplines and *across* regions.

A major goal of the class is to compare and contrast the strengths and limitations of distinct approaches to understanding ethnicity and to analyzing its political consequences. The emphasis is therefore on understanding and applying various analytic tools that have been used to illuminate ethnic politics in comparative perspective.

Organization and Teaching Style

The schedule below lists a series of lectures. In each of this lecture I will provide an outlook on the question at hand for that day. There is no textbook for this class, so the lectures are an essential component of the class experience. While I will be lecturing, this does not however mean that you should not participate. Interruptions, questions and discussions should and will be frequent.

The readings assigned in this class are best thought of as illustrations or extensions of the lectures. While I will explicitly refer to most readings during class, I may on occasion let you connect the readings to the main thread developed during lectures on your own (unless obviously there are questions). This obviously does not mean that those readings are less important or less valuable. Your ability to process, analyze and connect readings – regardless of the time we actually spend on these articles in class – is as important as lectures in order to follow the pace and get the best possible grade.

Assignments

There will be two types of graded assignments in this class: two midterms and a final.

Midterms

Each of the two midterms will count for 33% of your final grade. Each will include both short/multiple-choice questions testing your understanding of the readings and a short essay that will require you to draw across the various themes explored in class.

Final

The in-class final will be cumulative and will count for the remaining 34% of the final grade. This will include a few short questions about the remaining readings and two short essays.

Participation

Finally, note that although there is no formal grade for participation in this class, participation matters. I will adjust your final grade for up to half a letter grade at the end of the term depending on your participation in class.

Getting the readings

Everything will be made available in electronic format on the Assigned Readings page, under Documents on the course Blackboard site.

Schedule of Classes

September 16: Introduction. What Is Ethnic Identity and How Does it Differ from other kinds of Identities?

September 18: How We (Mostly) Used to Think of Ethnic Identities

Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States" in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) pp. 255-269.

Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press. Ch. 1, pp. 3-54.

September 20. Modern Conceptions of Ethnic Identities

Barth, Fredrik. 1969. "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries." Reprinted in Sollors, Werner ed., *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*. New York: NYU Press, 1996.. pages 1-20.

Mary Waters. *Ethnic Options, choosing identities in America*, chapter 1 and 2

September 23. The Debate Between Primordialism and Constructivism.

Is one Conception Really More Convincing than the Others?

Chandra, Kanchan. 2001. "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics." *APSA-CP* (winter), 12, 1: 7-11.

Stephen Van Evera, "Primordialism Lives!" *APSA-CP*, vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 20-22.

Bamshad M, Olson S. 2003. "Does race exist?" *Scientific American* 289:78-85.

Other: Andreas Wimmer (2008). *The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory*

Gil-White, Francisco J. 1999. "How Thick is Blood? The Plot Thickens...: If Ethnic Actors Are Primordialists, what remains of the circumstantialist/primordialist controversy?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22, 5 (September): 789-820.

Eschbach, Karl, and Christina Gómez. 1998. "Choosing Hispanic Identity: Ethnic Identity Switching among Respondents to High School and Beyond." *Social Science Quarterly*. 79, 1 (March): 74-90.

Edward E. Telles. 2002. "Racial Ambiguity among the Brazilian Population." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 25, 3 (May): 415-441

September 25. Measuring Ethnicity

Required:

Laitin, David, and Daniel Posner. 2001. "The Implications of Constructivism for Constructing Ethnic Fractionalization Indices." *APSA-CP* 12, 1 (Winter): 13-17.

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2001. "Constructivist Assumptions and Ethnic Violence." *APSA-CP* 12, 1 (Winter): 17-20.

Fearon, James D. 2003. "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8, 2 (June): 195-222

Alesina, Alberto, et al. 2003. "Fractionalization." *Journal of Economic Growth* 8, 2 (June): 155-194.

Posner, Daniel. 2004. "Measuring Ethnic Fractionalization in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (4): 849-863.

Other:

Min, Brian, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Andreas Wimmer. 2008. "Ethnic Power Relations: A New Dataset on Access to State Power of Politically Relevant Ethnic Groups, 1946-2005." A paper prepared for the 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 28-31.

September 27 & 30. The Formation of Ethnic Identities

Nobles, Melissa. 2000. *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Read pp. 1-24

Benedict Andersen, "Census, Map, Museum" in *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983).

September 2, October 4 & 7. Ethnic Identity Change

Posner, Daniel. 2003. "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia," *Comparative Politics* 35: 2, pp. 127-146.

Posner, Daniel N. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98 (4): 529-545.

Ernest Gellner, Chapter 6, "Social Entropy and Equality in Industrial Society," in *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Weber, Eugene. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Introduction (xi-xv) Chapter 18 and Chapter 29.

Paul Brass, Chapters, 1, 4 in *Theft of an Idol* (Calcutta: Seagull Press 1998).

Laitin, David. 1998. "A Theory of Political Identities." In *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations of the Near-Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Read pp. 3-35.

October 9. First midterm

October 11 & 14 Ethnic Mobilization

What leads ethnic and racial groups to mobilize politically? What are the consequences of mobilization?

Marx, Anthony. 1996. "Race-Making and the Nation-State." *World Politics* 48 (2): 180-208.

Hechter, M. and D. Okamoto. 2001. "Political Consequences of Minority Group Formation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 189-215.

Barany, Zoltan. 2002. "Ethnic Mobilization without Prerequisites: The East European Gypsies." *World Politics* 54 (April): 277-302.

Yashar, Deborah. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 31, 1 (October): 23-42.

Further Readings:

Trejo, Guillermo. 2009. "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 103, 3 (August): 323-342.

Eisenstadt, Todd A. 2009. "Agrarian Tenure Institutions, Conflict Frames, and Communitarian Identities: The Case of Indigenous Southern Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, 1 (January): 82-113.

October 16 & 18. Ethnic voting

Kanchan Chandra, "Why Ethnic Parties Succeed" Chapter 1,2,3.

Karen Ferree, "Explaining South Africa's Racial Census", *Journal of Politics*, 2006

October 21 & 23. Ethnic Parties

Why do ethnic parties emerge? What are their consequences for democratic peace and stability?

Rabushka, Alvin, and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1972. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Columbus: Merrill Publishing. (Reissued by Longman in 2008). Excerpts.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 2 (June): 235-252.

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press: Chs. 7-8, pp. 291-364.

Further readings:

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1-2.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 45, 2: 1-39.

October 25 & 28. Ethnic identity and conflict

How frequent is ethnic conflict? Is violent conflict more common in ethnically diverse societies? Under what circumstances do ethnic differences lead to violence? What impact does conflict have on ethnic identification?

Reilly, Benjamin. 2000/01. "Democracy, Ethnic Fragmentation, and Internal Conflict: Confused Theories, Faulty Data, and the "Crucial Case" of Papua New Guinea." *International Security* 25, 3 (Winter): 162-185.

Fearon, James & David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1):1-17.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, and Luc Girardin. 2007. "Beyond Fractionalization: Mapping Ethnicity onto Nationalist Insurgencies." *American Political Science Review* 101, 1 (February): 173-185.

Fearon, James, Kimuli Kasara, and David D. Laitin. 2007. "Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset." *American Political Science Review*. 101, 1 (February): 187-193.

Further Readings:

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Luc Girardin, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2009. "Ethnonationalist Triads: Assessing the Influence of Kin Groups on Civil Wars." 61, 3 (July): 403-37.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2008. "Ethnic Defection in Civil War." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 8 (August): 1043-1068.

Fearon, James & David Laitin. 2000. Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization*. 54(4):845-877

October 30 Second Midterm

Nov 1 & 4. Democracy and Ethnic Conflict

Does democracy increase the likelihood of ethnic conflict? Does ethnic diversity cause problems for democracy? Under what circumstances does conflict become more likely under democratic regimes?

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* (2001), pp. 362-398.

Wilkinson, Steve. 2004. *Votes and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chs. 1 and 2.

Fish, M. Steven, and Robin S. Brooks. 2004. "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 15, 1 (January): 154-166.

Further readings:

Beissinger, Mark. 2008. "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy*, 19, 3: 85-97.

Collins, Kathleen. 2004. "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories." *World Politics* 56 (January): 224-261.

S. Saideman, D. Lanoue, M. Campanni, S. Stanton, "Democratization, Political Institutions, and Ethnic Conflict - A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1985-1998," *Comparative Political Studies* (2002), pp. 103-129.

November 6 & 8. Ethnic Conflict and Institutions

Do institutions worsen or mitigate ethnic conflict? Can policymakers design institutions that help to reduce conflict?

Reilly, Benjamin. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy*, 156-170.

Horowitz, Donald L. 2003. "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers." *Journal of Democracy*: 115-126.

Lijphart, Arend. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 15, 2 (April): 96-109.

Further reading:

Cornell, Svante. 2002. "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective." 54 (January): 245-276.

Elkins, Zachary, and John Sides. 2007. "Can Institutions Build Unity in Multiethnic States?" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, No. 4 (2007): 693-708.

Bakke, Kristin M. and Erik Wibbels. 2006. "Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States." *World Politics* 59 (October): 1-50.

Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse." *World Politics* 56 (January): 165-193

Bermeo, Nancy. 2002. "The Import of Institutions: A New Look at Federalism." *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 2 (April): 96-110.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52 (July): 437-483.

November 11 & 13. Ethnic Diversity and Public Goods

How does ethnicity affect economic growth and development? Does ethnic diversity undermine taxation and the provision of public goods and, if so, why?

Habyarimana, James et al. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101, 4 (November): 709-725.

Kasara, Kimuli. 2007. "Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 101, 1 (February): 159-172.

Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56 (April), 327-64.

Other:

Alesina, Alberto et al. 1999. "Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 114. 4

Hopkins, Daniel. 2009. "The Diversity Discount: When Increasing Ethnic and Racial Diversity Prevents Tax Increases." *Journal of Politics*. 71: 160-177.

November 15 & 18. Review
