

Gov.84.05: Ethnicity, Elections and Representation

Fall Quarter 2012

10A, Tuesday and Thursday, 10am

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Office hours: Wednesdays 9:30-12:00

Topic & Description

South Africa, The United-Kingdom, India, Brazil, the United States, Zambia: most representative democracies also happen to be *multiethnic* democracies. This seminar examines the role played by ethnicity and ethnic diversity in political campaigns, electoral choices as well as in the subsequent political decision-making process. Each class addresses a specific question. While we will usually focus on one “great book” per session - taking time to analyze and critique the author’s thought in depth -, the geographical focus of our readings will change from one week to the next, thus offering a broad range of perspectives on the role played by ethnicity in representative democracies throughout the world.

Objective

The course is an advanced seminar whose objective is *not* to exhaustively cover an entire knowledge area, but rather to expose students to important social science works and debates about the role of ethnicity in elections and in the representative process. As such, it constitutes an introduction to important (and often recent) bibliographic references in this area of research.

Requirements

Participation to discussion about the readings 30%

Written Responses to readings (5) 15%

Presentation on assigned readings (1) 15%

Outline of final research paper 15%

Presentation on research paper (1) 10%

Final paper 15%

Participation

While I will provide some notes, discussions of the readings will occupy most of our time. Students are expected to do the assigned readings before class and to actively participate in class discussions (Along with the final exam, participation is the single most important component of your grade).

How do I assess who is a good participant?

- Good participation does not necessarily mean having understood every aspect of the assigned material first time through. The best participation often comes in the form of questions about concepts, arguments, or factual claims from the readings that warrant further explanation.

- Good participation is constant and informed though. Participating a few times in the term will not ensure that you get the best possible participation grade. Good participation also requires that you are well acquainted with the reading prior to class, even if you have not understood everything. Participation *about the readings* is valued, and not merely your ability to speak in front of others.

- Although this may be obvious to some, presence in class plays a role in determining what your grade will be. I do not monitor presence, but if I rarely see you in class there is a major chance that you will get a lower participation grade.

- Finally, your attitude in class - even while you do not participate - plays a role. I simply ask that you be focused on the discussion taking place in class even when you do not actively speak. Napping is excellent, but napping in class does not count as presence, let even participation. Please also see my point about laptops below.

Responses to readings

Each student is responsible for producing a written response to the assigned readings for class **six** times over the course of the semester. The purpose is to force you to take the next step beyond just getting the reading done - to articulate some thoughts about the readings before class begins which, in turn, will raise the overall quality of class discussion.

You are required to write responses frequently, but you should not regard them as high-pressure assignments. They are not book reports, and should not attempt to summarize the reading (which you wouldn't have space to do in any case), nor do they need to be comprehensive. You can focus on a part of the readings assigned for that day if you think it warrants particular attention - e.g. some particular part of a book. That said, I do not recommend focusing on the particular in an attempt to disguise the fact that you did not do all the reading.

A written response may take the form of a short critique of some aspect of the assigned reading for a given class if you choose. Alternatively, it may take the form of identifying:

- questions raised by the readings that you think warrant discussion or further clarification;
- claims advanced by the readings with which you disagree, or toward which you are skeptical;
- points of agreement or disagreement across more than one of the readings assigned for that day, or across readings for that day and those earlier on the syllabus;
- other themes, as you see fit.

In short, your written response does not need to be a polished essay. A bulleted list is fine. It must be coherent, but otherwise, form and content are up to you. Two pages **max** (with reasonable font, margins, etc.). More important, your response should demonstrate that you have done the assigned reading for the class and formulated some thoughtful reaction to it. Having done so, it should naturally follow that you will be in a position to contribute (perhaps even more constructively than on 'non-response days') to class discussions. You must submit six written responses during the term.

Look at the syllabus and decide which readings interest you. Look at your calendar and decide on the basis of your schedule and other commitments. But note:

- you cannot produce a response paper on the day of your in-class presentation on assigned readings (see below); and
- you cannot produce a response paper during the last two days of class, when there are no assigned readings.

Responses must be submitted by email three hours before class begins (i.e at 1PM). At the top of each response, in addition to your name, you should indicate the date of the class and provide the citation information for the readings discussed.

Responses to readings will not be graded individually. I will collect the responses you produce over the course of the quarter and evaluate them as a group. Students who want feedback on grades earlier in the semester may request a preliminary response grade once three responses have been submitted, so you can get an idea where you stand.

Presentations

Each student will make two presentations during the course of the term – one on the assigned readings for a given class and the other on the research paper.

Presentations on the assigned readings will start the second week of class. I will circulate a sign-up sheet on the second day of class so you can select a date for your presentation.

The last two classes will be devoted to presentations of students' final paper projects (10-15 minutes to present, followed by 5-10 minutes of Q&A). At this point, the papers will not be written, but prospecti will have been turned in and returned

with comments, and students should be advancing on their research. The presentations are an opportunity to present research-in-progress and receive feedback from classmates.

For paper guidelines, see the memo on the Materials page of the class BB site. Make sure to meet with me after class early enough to bounce ideas.

Final paper (4500 words maximum, including abstract, references, tables & figures)
Each student will write a paper on a topic of her/his own design (with feedback from me) on ethnicity in politics. You are not limited to the topics specifically covered by the readings, although the assigned readings might help you frame your research and/or formulate ideas. We will discuss the task of identifying a research topic, and devote some class time to it, during the second day of class. I recommend that you look ahead on the syllabus for ideas about potential final paper topics because you will have to identify a topic, and begin work on your paper, before we cover all of the material in class. You should start to consider what topic you intend to write about *right away*, and bounce ideas off me early and often. You are required to turn in a prospectus for your paper by October 8 (Note: there is no class on Oct 4 so that you can focus on this). For more details on the final paper, see Research Paper Guidelines on the Assignments page of the class BB site.

Getting the readings

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

Missing Classes

I do not explicitly take attendance in this class. Hence I do not require you to email me if you are going to miss a class. This being said, a large share of your grade is participation (30%). So missing too many classes is not encouraged.

Religious observation

Some students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations.

Turning off devices

I ask that for three and a half hours a week we all refrain from staring at our various screens and that we delay gratification related to exciting status updates or other news. Print your discussion notes if need be. Unless you have specific needs, no laptops in class please.

Schedule of Classes

September 11

Introduction

September 13

1. Lecture on Ethnicity.
2. In-class exercise about defining a research question

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?"
Forthcoming in the *Annual Review of Political Science*. Read pp. 1-29. (article
available on BB)

September 18: Ethnic appeals

Tali Mendelberg *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm
of Equality* (2001) – Selections

September 20: Ethnic Cleavages

Dan Posner *Institution and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (2005). Selections.

September 25: NO CLASS

September 27: Ethnic voting I

Kanchan Chandra *Why ethnic parties succeed. Patronage and Ethnic Headcount in
India* (2004), Selections.

October 2: Ethnic voting II

Karen Ferree *Framing the Race in South Africa* (2010) . Cambridge University Press
(2010)

October 4: NO CLASS – Meet with me that week.

October 9: Does the Ethnicity of Representatives impact the Policies they implement?

Besley, Tim, Rohini Pande and Vijayendra Rao (2004). "The Politics of Public Good Provision: Evidence from Indian Local Governments," *Journal of the European Economics Association Papers and Proceedings*, Vol. 2 (2-3): 416-426.

Pande, Rohini (2003). "Can Mandated Political Representation Provide Disadvantaged Minorities Policy Influence? Theory and Evidence from India," *American Economic Review*, 93.

Preuhs, Robert R. 2006. The Conditional Effects of Minority Descriptive Representation: Black Legislators and Policy Influence in the American States." *Journal of Politics* 68: 585-599.

October 11: Do Ethnicity and Patronage go together?

Fearon, James D. 1999. "Why Ethnic Politics and 'Pork' Tend to Go Together." Manuscript, Department of Political Science, Stanford University.

Kasara, Kimuli (2007) "Tax Me if You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa" *American Political Science Review*, vol.101, no.1, pp.159-172.

October 16: Psychological Effects of African-American Representation

Gay, Claudine (2002). "Spirals of Trust: The Effect of Descriptive Representation on the Relationship between Citizens and their Government," *American Journal of Political Science* 46.

Hajnal, Zoltan (2001). "White Residents, Black Incumbents, and a Declining Racial Divide". *American Political Science Review*. 95(3):603-617.

Valentino, Nicholas & Ted Brader (2010). "The Sword's Other Edge: Perceptions of Discrimination and Racial Policy Opinion after Obama". Presentation, APSA 2010

October 18: Questioning Voters' Attitudes Towards Obama

Tesler, Michael and David O. Sears. 2010. *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Introduction and Chapter 8.

Jackman, Simon and Lynn Vavreck (2011) How Does Obama Match-Up? Counterfactuals & the Role of Obama's Race in 2008

October 23: “Minority inclusion” and intergroup relations in comparative perspective

Fearon James, David Laitin and Kimuli Kasara (2007). “Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset”. *American Political Science Review* 101, 1.

Steven Wilkinson *Votes and Violence. Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India* (2005) . Selections.

October 25: Minority inclusion and intergroup relations in comparative perspective

Rafaela Dancygier *Immigration and Ethnic Conflict in Europe* (2010). Selections.

Chauchard, Simon (2011). “Can the Experience of Political Power by a Member of a Stigmatized Group Change the Nature of Day-to-day Interpersonal Relations? Evidence from Rural India”. *Manuscript*.

October 30: Ethnic diversity and Public Goods provision I

Lieberman, Ethan (2009). *Boundaries of Contagion. How Ethnic Politics have shaped Government Responses to AIDS*. Princeton. Selections

Alesina, Alberto, and Reza Baqir and William Easterly. (1999). “Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 114(4), 1243-1284.

November 1: Ethnic diversity and Public Goods provision II

Miguel, Edward and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2005. “Ethnic Divisions, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods in Kenya.” *Journal of Public Economics* 89 (11-12):2325-2368.

Edward Miguel. 2004. “Tribe or Nation? National Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania.” *World Politics* 56: 327-62.

Habyarimana et al (2007). “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?”. APSR.

November 6 : The effect of Political Competition on Ethnicity

Dunning, Thad (2009). “The Salience of Ethnic Categories: Field and Natural Experimental Evidence from Indian Village Council”, working paper, Department of Political Science, Yale U.

Eifert, Benn & Edward Miguel & Daniel Posner (2010) "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 54, 2: 494-510

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 (November).

November 8

Students Presentations

November 13

Students Presentations