

**UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**PIA 2430**

**ETHNIC POLITICS**

Spring 2018

Wednesday 3:00 - 5:50 PM

3610 Posvar Hall

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Office Hours: Tuesday, 10 AM - 12 PM (signup: <http://www.wejoinin.com/sheets/otstx>)

This graduate seminar is designed to introduce students to the comparative study of ethnic politics. It provides an overview of some of the theoretical questions and methodological innovations across four main topics: the sources of ethnic mobilization and cleavage choice; the consequences of ethnic mobilization for democratization; the impact of ethnicity on redistributive politics; and the relationship between ethnicity and patterns of political violence. Readings for each topic are drawn from the social sciences and from popular policy writing. The readings also reflect a range of regional contexts.

The purpose of the course:

- (1) to provide graduate students with the background necessary for undertaking original research on questions relating to ethnic politics; it should enable them to critically engage recent scholarship, understanding which theories have yet to be adequately tested and which theoretically interesting questions have yet to be asked.
- (2) to practice connecting and applying theoretical and empirical scholarship on ethnic politics to contemporary policy problems.

## **REQUIREMENTS**

### **1. Class Participation (20%)**

A discussion-based seminar of this kind can be a disaster (for students and instructor alike) if students have not completed all required readings before class.

Each student has the obligation to participate, as well as to facilitate the participation of others. The latter involves listening with respect while peers speak, responding thoughtfully but critically to their comments (i.e., providing constructive feedback), and providing space, leadership and encouragement for those less inclined to take initiative. At a more obvious level, it means not dominating the discussion, interrupting, or reacting disrespectfully to others' opinions you may not share.

### **2. Author Presenter Role (30%)**

Students will be asked to lead discussion by presenting core aspects of one assigned reading in a 10-minute presentation using Power Point. Over the duration of the semester students

will be required to present twice. The presenter will present as if he/she is one of the authors of the work. Students in the class will then be able to ask questions about the work in a 10-minute discussion following the presentation. The presentation should include the following:

- a. What is the research question?
- b. What literature/work is this work contributing to?
- c. What is the theory and hypotheses?
- d. What is the methodological approach and research design?
- e. What are the findings?
- f. What is the central contribution of the work and implications?

### 3. **Research/Policy Paper (50%)**

Students are required to write a research/policy paper that addresses a question in which ethnic politicization (broadly defined) serves either as a dependent or independent variable, and may (if the student chooses) speak to a policy question or issue by providing recommendations based on a theoretically- and empirically-informed analysis.

Writing the paper will proceed in five stages:

- First, you will lead a brief (5-7 minute) discussion of your initial research ideas in class. The purpose is simply to brainstorm with the class about your project; you do not need to have more than an idea of the topic on which you might work. If you wish, you may also come see me first to discuss your ideas. We will have this discussion in class on January 24.
- Second, you should write a 2-page research proposal, laying out the question you want to investigate and how you plan to investigate it (due February 7).
- Third, you should write a revised and extended 4/5-page research proposal, building on feedback received on your first draft. You will deliver a presentation in class that is based on your proposal. You will receive real-time feedback from your classmates at this stage (due February 21).
- Fourth, you should turn in a rough draft of your paper, which will be read and reviewed by another student (due April 4).
- Fifth, a final draft of your paper is due April 25 by 3:00 PM. You will deliver a presentation in class that is based on your final paper.

It should go without saying that the more thoughtful and complete is your work in the first three stages of this assignment, the better the final product likely will be and the less you will have to scramble and panic in April to turn in a final draft. The research paper should be in the 20-25 page range. The project is worth 50% of the course grade. It is broken down as follows: the rough draft will be worth 10% of the course grade; the final draft is worth 35% of the course grade; the final presentation is worth 5% of the course grade.

**Please be aware that barring extraordinary circumstances, I will not accept late assignments, nor will I give you a grade of “incomplete” for the course and allow you to finish the work in subsequent semesters.**

## January 10: Course Introduction & Organization

### CONCEPTUAL

#### January 17: What is ethnic identity?

- Horowitz, Donald. 2000 [1985]. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 51-92.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (June): 397-424.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2009. "Design Measures of Ethnic Identity: The Problems of Overlap and Incompleteness." *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research* (Spring): 36-41.
- Herrera, Yoshiko, Rose McDermott, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rawi Abdelal. 2009. "Measuring Identity Content and Comparing Social Identities." *Qualitative & Multi-Method Research* (Spring): 41-45.
- ❖ Massie, Victoria M. "Latino and Hispanic identities aren't the same. They're also not racial groups." *Vox.com* (September 18, 2016). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/2016/8/28/12658908/latino-hispanic-race-ethnicity-explained>.
- ❖ Lind, Dara. "What race would you be 100 years ago, according to the US Census?" *Vox.com* (June 17, 2015). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/2015/6/17/8765893/race-history-change>.
- ❖ Watch: Watch: "Between: Living in the Hyphen." 2005. National Film Board of Canada. Available via Kanopy Streaming Pitt library database.

#### January 24: How and why do ethnic groups form?

##### Discussion of students' initial research ideas

- Barth, Fredrik, ed. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. Boston: Little, Brown. Introduction.
- Bates, Robert. 1974. "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 6 (4): 457-477.
- Posner, Daniel. 2003. "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia," *Comparative Politics* 35: 2, pp. 127-146.

#### January 31: What explains identity change?

- Laitin, David D. 1996. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, chapters 1 and 5. Available as ebook from Pitt library.
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54: 4, pp. 845-877.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2012. "How Ethnic Identities Change," in Kanchan Chandra, ed. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press), 132-78.
- Waters, Mary C. 1999. *Black Identities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 3. Available as ebook from Pitt library.

## February 7: How is ethnicity mobilized and politicized?

### 2-page research proposal due

- Bates, Robert. 1983. "Modernization, Ethnic Competition, and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa." In *State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*, eds. Donald Rothchild and Victor A. Olorunsola. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 152-71.
- Fearon, James D. 1999. "Why Ethnic Politics and 'Pork' Tend to Go Together." Unpublished paper, Stanford University. Available from: <https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Pork.pdf>.
- Yashar, Deborah J. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 31 (1): 23-42.
- Posner, Daniel, Benn Eifert, and Edward Miguel. 2010. "Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (2): 494-510.

## DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

### February 14: Parties

- Horowitz, Donald. 2000 [1985]. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, chapter 7.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 4.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 1, 4.
- ❖ Beauchamp, Zack. "Ethnic outbidding': the academic theory that helps explain Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric." *Vox.com* (December 10, 2015). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/world/2015/12/10/9881876/trump-muslims-ethnic-outbidding>.

### February 21: Student presentations

### February 28: Voting

- Gay, Claudine. 2001. "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 95 (3): 589-602.
- Barreto, Matt A., Gary M. Segura, and Nathan D. Woods. 2004. "The Mobilizing Effect of Majority-Minority Districts on Latino Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 98 (1): 65-75.
- Adida, Claire. 2015. "Do African Voters Favor Coethnics? Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Benin." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 2, i. 1: 1-11.
- ❖ Enos, Ryan. "How segregation leads to racist voting by whites." *Vox.com* (November 28, 2017). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/11/28/16707438/social-geography-trump-rise-segregation-psychology-racism>.
- ❖ Prokop, Andrew. "Gerrymandering, explained." *Vox.com*. Available from: <https://www.vox.com/cards/gerrymandering-explained>. Read all 13 cards.

- ❖ Watch: “America by the Numbers: The New Deciders.” 2016. PBS. Available via Kanopy Streaming Pitt library database.

## REDISTRIBUTION

### March 14: Public goods and taxation

- Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. 1999. “Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114 (4): 1243-1284.
- Habyarimana, James et al. 2007. “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?” *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 709-725.
- Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L. Nathan. 2013. “Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana.” *American Political Science Review* 107: 344-61.
- Kasara, Kimuli. 2007. “Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa.” *American Political Science Review* 101 (February), 159-172.
- ❖ “The ins and outs: Growth suffers when there is inequality between different ethnic groups.” *The Economist* (May 14, 2015). Available from: <https://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/21651284-growth-suffers-when-there-inequality-between-different-ethnic-groups-ins-and>.
- ❖ “Affirming a divide; race in Brazil.” *The Economist* (January 28, 2012). CW

### March 21: Discrimination

- Bertrand, Marianne and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. “Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination.” *American Economic Review* 94, i. 4: 991-1013.
- Enos, Ryan. 2014. “Causal Effect of Intergroup Contact on Exclusionary Attitudes.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 111 (10): 3699-3704.
- Condra, Luke N. and Sera Linardi. “The Psychology of Ethnic Bias: Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan.” Working paper.
- Adida, Claire. 2014. *Immigrant Exclusion and Insecurity in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 3.
- Shayo, Moses and Asaf Zussman. 2017. “Conflict and the Persistence of Ethnic Bias.” *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 9, no. 4: 137-65.
- ❖ Nelson, Libby. “Affirmative action and the Supreme Court.” *Vox.com* (May 11, 2015). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/cards/affirmative-action/what-is-affirmative-action>. Read all 8 cards.
- ❖ Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2014. “The Case for Reparations.” *The Atlantic* (June). Available from: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>.

## VIOLENCE

### March 28: Mobilization

- Horowitz, Donald L. 2001. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, ch. 13.
  - Posen, Barry. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 35 (1): 27-47.
  - Petersen, Roger D. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 2.
  - De Figueiredo, Rui, Jr., and Barry Weingast. 1999. "The Rationality of Fear." In *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*, edited by Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, 261-302. New York: Columbia University Press.
- ❖ Calamur, Krishnadev. "The Misunderstood Roots of Burma's Rohingya Crisis." *The Atlantic* (September 25, 2017). Available from: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/rohingyas-burma/540513/>.

### April 4: Riots

#### Rough draft of paper due

- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 1-2.
  - Bergesen, Albert and Max Herman. 1998. "Immigration, Race, and Riot: The 1992 Los Angeles Uprising." *American Sociological Review* 63 (1): 39-54.
  - Kopstein, Jeffrey S. and Jason Wittenberg. 2011. "Deadly Communities: Local Political Milieus and the Persecution of Jews in Occupied Poland." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (3): 259-283.
- ❖ Fisher, Max. "Everything you need to know about Narendra Modi's 2014 rise." *Vox.com* (May 14, 2015). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/cards/narendra-modi/who-is-narendra-modi>. Read all 11 cards.
- ❖ Lopez, German. "The 2014 Ferguson protests over the Michael Brown shooting, explained." *Vox.com* (January 27, 2016). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/cards/mike-brown-protests-ferguson-missouri/ferguson-protests-police-racism>. Read all 10 cards.
- ❖ "Playing with fire; Race in Malaysia." *The Economist* (September 26, 2015). CW
- ❖ Watch: "Ram Ke Naam\In the Name of God." 1991. Available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OO-VaJBHiik>.

## COOPERATION AND INTEGRATION

### April 11: Micro-level mechanisms

- Fearon, James D. and David Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 715-35.
- Alexander, Marcus, and Fotini Christia. 2011. "Context Modularity of Human Altruism." *Science* 334: 1392-94.
- Scacco, Alexandra and Shana S. Warren. 2016. "Can Social Contact Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria." Working paper. Available from: [https://www.nyu.edu/projects/scacco/files/Scacco\\_Warren\\_UYVT.pdf](https://www.nyu.edu/projects/scacco/files/Scacco_Warren_UYVT.pdf).

- Transue, John E. 2007. "Identity Salience, Identity Acceptance, and Racial Policy Preferences: American National Identity as a Uniting Force." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 78-91.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. "Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process" *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 2, pp. 201-217.

#### **April 18: Macro-level institutions**

- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20: 4, 136-175.
- Rothchild, Donald and Philip G. Roeder. 2005. "Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil War*, edited by Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 29-50.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60 (Summer), 651-85.
- Jha, Saumitra. 2013. "Trade, Institutions, and Ethnic Tolerance: Evidence from South Asia." *American Political Science Review* 107, i. 4: 806-832.
- ❖ Winkler, Elizabeth. "Iraq's Kurds just voted to secede. Here's why that could cause a new civil war." *Vox.com* (September 27, 2017). Available from: <https://www.vox.com/world/2017/9/27/16374148/kurdish-referendum-vote-independence-oil-iraq-baghdad>.
- ❖ "Unity v diversity; Ethnic tension in Ethiopia." *The Economist* (October 7, 2017). CW

#### **April 25: Papers due. Student presentations.**