

PS2307: Ethnic Politics and Conflict

Professor Laura Paler

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E-mail: lpaler@pitt.edu

Office Hours: M 3:00-5:00

Office: Posvar 4445

Web: www.laurapaler.com

Class Hours: M 9:30-12:00

Class Room: 4430 Posvar Hall

Course Description

Understanding the causes and consequences of ethnic politics and conflict has long been of central interest in political science. This course aims to introduce political science Ph.D. students to key questions and areas of research on the subject. The course will proceed in three parts. **Part I** examines what ethnic identity is, how it changes, and when it—among multiple possible identities—becomes salient. In doing so, we will encounter classic debates over ‘primordial’ versus ‘constructivist’ approaches to identity and consider the role of intergroup competition, elite mobilization, and cleavage structure in activating ethnic identity. We end Part I by evaluating the challenges of translating the concept of ‘ethnicity’ into measurement strategies.

Part II examines the consequences of ethnicity for important outcomes in political science, including distributive politics; cooperation and public goods provision; voting and electoral accountability; and civil conflict. Here we pay particular attention to assessing evidence for a causal effect of ethnicity. Finally, **Part III** considers how key factors—namely institutional design, social norms, spatial segregation, and intergroup contact—contribute to the perpetuation of ethnic politics and conflict. We will also examine the evidence base for policy and interventions designed to mitigate ethnic divisions.

Throughout the semester we will read a combination of the classics and cutting-edge research in political science, economics, psychology, and other disciplines. Within political science, we will read works that span comparative, international relations, and American politics. The main goal is to provide not only a solid foundation on the topic but also an awareness of the theoretical and empirical frontiers to prepare interested students to conduct their own research on this subject. We will be focusing on themes and subjects rather than specific countries or regions, although our inquiry will take us to virtually every continent.

Prerequisites

This course is designed for Ph.D. students in political science. While there are no formal prerequisites, we will have several readings that employ advanced approaches to formal modeling and empirical analysis, especially causal inference. You are expected to have enough methods training to be able to read, comprehend, and think critically about the methods used. If you would like to read-up on methods we will be encountering in the course, I suggest beginning with:

- Thad Dunning. *Natural Experiments in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Alan Gerber and Don Green. *Field Experiments: Design, Analysis, and Interpretation*. W.W. Norton and Co.
- Nolan McCarty and Adam Meirowitz. *Political Game Theory*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Stephen Morgan and Christopher Winship. *Counterfactuals and Causal Inference*. Cambridge University Press, second edition, 2015.

Course Requirements

All students must complete the following requirements as part of the course:

- **Participation (10%):** Attendance and active participation at weekly seminars is mandatory. Our weekly meetings will focus on in-depth discussions of the required readings. There will typically be about 4-6 readings (about 200 pages) each week. You should read these papers thoroughly and critically and come to class prepared to discuss. Your goal should be to understand the main contributions of the individual pieces as well as how they relate to one another (within a topic and across topics).
- **Response papers (30%):** During the semester you will select **four** weeks for which to write response papers. The goal of the response papers is to interpret and synthesize the readings, make an argument, or answer a (self-posed) question that pertains to the topic of the week. A good response paper will **not** devote a lot of space to simply summarizing the material. It **will** focus on one argument (not many) and will draw on additional readings as necessary or helpful. Papers should be about three pages.
- **Research paper or proposal (50%):** You have two options for the main assignment for this course.
 - **Option 1:** Complete a research prospectus (about 10-15 pages) that is essentially a proposal for a research project and is designed to prepare you to write a funding proposal, dissertation proposal, or MA paper. As with any proposal, you want to identify a puzzle in the literature; explain why this is an important puzzle; present preliminary hypotheses; outline an empirical strategy; and (if possible) present supporting analysis. You should focus on a topic that interests you, without worry for whether the data can be obtained by the end of the course. In other words, you are not required to

have accessed or produced the data. If you would like to produce a complete research paper, please discuss with me.

- **Option 2:** Use original survey and survey experimental data already collected in Lebanon (by myself and co-authors in 2016) to produce an original research paper. You will be given the complete survey instrument, registered pre-analysis plan (PAP), and any supporting materials. You will use these materials to write your own PAP, adapting the existing one or formulating an original proposal. Once your PAP is approved by me (and registered online if desired), you will receive access to the data to implement your analysis. This option is meant to give you an opportunity to write a complete and original paper with existing data. You will also have the opportunity to publish your work if it proves promising.
- **Discussant comments (10%):** In addition to writing your own research prospectus or paper, you will write referee reports on each others' papers or prospectuses. The purpose of these reports is to provide constructive feedback both to be helpful to your classmates and to give you a chance to practice the very valuable career skill of constructive criticism. You will write referee reports for two classmates (to be assigned by me).
- Key deadlines for the main assignment are as follows:
 - **Monday, Sept. 10:** Notify me of your choice of options.
 - **Friday, Oct. 19:** First draft of research prospectus (Option 1) or complete pre-analysis plan (Option 2) due.
 - **Wednesday, Dec. 5:** Near final draft of papers or prospectuses should be sent to the class (see below).
 - **Monday, Dec. 10:** In-class work-shopping of papers and prospectuses.
 - **Friday, Dec. 14:** Final papers and prospectus due.

Readings

Several of our readings this semester come from books. Where possible I will photocopy relevant sections and make them available on CourseWeb. If you would like to purchase any of these for your own collection, I suggest trying Amazon. The main books that we will be reading from this semester include:

- Kanchan Chandra. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, 2007
- Kanchan Chandra. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2012
- Ryan D. Enos. *The Space Between Us: Social Geography and Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2017
- Donald Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, second edition, 2000

- John D. Huber. *Exclusion by Elections: Inequality, Ethnic Identity, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2017
- Daniel N. Posner. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. 2005

Schedule Overview

- **Session 1 (Aug 27):** What is ethnic identity?
- September 3: No class (Labor Day)
- **Session 2 (Sept 10):** What makes ethnicity salient? Intergroup competition. **Deadline for notifying me of grading option.**
- **Session 3 (Sept 17):** What makes ethnicity salient? Cleavage structure.
- **Session 4 (Sept 24):** Conceptualization and measurement issues.
- **Session 5 (Oct 1):** Distributive politics (and taxation)
- **Session 6 (Oct 8):** Cooperation and public goods.
- **Session 7 (Tuesday, Oct 16):** Voting and accountability.
- **October 19:** Pre-analysis plan or first draft of prospectus due.
- **Session 8 (Oct 22):** Conflict
- **Session 9 (Oct 29):** Institutional design
- November 5: No class (professor in Ghana)
- **Session 10 (Nov 12):** Alternative identities
- **Session 11 (Nov 19):** Social pressure and norms
- **Session 12 (Nov 26):** Spatial segregation
- **Session 13 (Dec 3):** Intergroup contact
- **December 5:** Near final draft due to discussants
- **Session 14 (Dec 10):** Workshop papers. **Discussant comments due before class.**
- **December 14:** Final paper due.

PART I: ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ITS SALIENCE

Session 1 (Aug 27): What is ethnic identity?

Required

- Kanchan Chandra. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2012: Chapters 1-2 and 4.
- Stephen Van Evera. Primordialism Lives! In *Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, volume 12, pages 20–22. 2001.
- Henry E. Hale. Explaining ethnicity. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(4):458–485, 2004.
- Kristen Monroe, James Hankin, and Renee Van Vechten. The Psychological Foundations of Identity Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3:419–47, 2000.

Recommended

- George A Akerlof and Rachel E Kranton. Economics and Identity. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115(3):715–753, 2000.
- Kanchan Chandra. What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9(1):397–424, jun 2006.
- James D Fearon. What Is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)? *Department of Political Science (Stanford University)*, pages 1–43, 1999.
- James Fearon and David D Laitin. Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization*, 54(4):845–877, 2000.
- Clifford Geertz. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books, 1977: Chapter 10.
- Michael Kalin and Nicholas Sambanis. How to Think About Social Identity. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 21(1):239–257, 2018.
- S Stryker and P Burke. The Past, Present, and Future of Identity Theory. *Social Psychology*, 63(4):284–297, 2000.
- Max Weber. Ethnic Groups. In Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, editors, *Max Weber, Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press, 1978.

Session 2 (Sept 10): What makes ethnicity salient? The role of inter-group competition

Required

- Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner. The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior. In *Political Psychology*, pages 276–293. 2004.

- Donald Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, second edition, 2000: Chapters 1, and 4 (pp. 3-54 and 141-228).
- Daniel N. Posner. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. 2005: Chapters 1, 4, and 5.
- Benn Eifert, Edward Miguel, and Daniel N Posner. Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(2):494–510, 2010.
- Deborah Yashar. Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 31(1):23–42, 1998.

Recommended

- Robert H Bates. Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa. *Comparative Political Studies* 1, 6(4):457–484, 1974.
- Thad Dunning. Do Quotas Promote Ethnic Solidarity? Field and Natural Experimental Evidence from India. Technical report, New Haven, 2010.
- Patrick Francois, Ilia Rainer, and Francesco Trebbi. How Is Power Shared in Africa? *Econometrica*, 83(2):465–503, 2015
- Donald Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, second edition, 2000: Chapters 7-10 (pp. 291-440) – on ethnic parties and party competition.
- R. Kurzban, J. Tooby, and L. Cosmides. Can race be erased? Coalitional computation and social categorization. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 98(26):15387–15392, 2001.
- David Laitin. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations of the Near-Abroad*. Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Melissa Nobles. *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics*. Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Roger Petersen. Identity, Rationality, and Emotion in the Processes of State Disintegration and Reconstruction. In Kanchan Chandra, editor, *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*, chapter 11, pages 387–421. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Daniel N Posner. The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia. *Comparative Politics*, 35(2):127–146, 2003.
- Daniel N. Posner. 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, 2004.
- Daniel N. Posner. When and why do some social cleavages become politically salient rather than others? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(12):2001–2019, 2017.
- Nicholas Sambanis and Moses Shayo. Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2):294–325, 2013.

- Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner. An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict. In William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, editors, *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, pages 33–47. Brooks/Cole Pub. Co., Monterey, CA, 1979.
- Henri Tajfel. Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 26(2000):1–39, 1982.

Session 3 (Sept 17): What makes ethnicity salient? The role of cleavage structure (with a focus on ethnic and class cleavages)

Required

- Thad Dunning and Lauren Harrison. Cross-cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali. *American Political Science Review*, 104(1):21, Jan 2010.
- John D. Huber. *Exclusion by Elections: Inequality, Ethnic Identity, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2017: pp. 1-98 and 144-159.
- John D. Huber and Pavithra Suryanarayan. Ethnic Inequality and the Ethnification of Political Parties: Evidence from India. *World Politics*, 68(1):149–188, 2016.
- Pavithra Suryanarayan. When do the poor vote for the right-wing and why: Hierarchy and vote choice in the Indian states. *Comparative Political Studies*, pages 1–37, 2018.

Recommended

- Alberto Alesina, Stelios Michalopoulos, and Elias Papaioannou. Ethnic Inequality. *Journal of Political Economy*, 124(2), 2016.
- Natália S. Bueno and Thad Dunning. Race, resources, and representation: Evidence from Brazilian politicians. *World Politics*, 69(2):327–365, 2017.
- Joan Esteban and Debraj Ray. On the Saliency of Ethnic Conflict. *American Economic Review*, 98(5):2185–2202, 2008
- Mala Htun. Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(3):439–458, 2004.
- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan. Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. In Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, editors, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. The Free Press, 1967.
- Robert Melson. Ideology and Inconsistency: The Cross-Pressured Nigerian Worker. *American Political Science Review*, 65(1):161–171, 1971.
- Tariq Thachil. Elite parties and poor voters: Theory and evidence from India. *American Political Science Review*, 108(2):454–477, 2014.

- Theresa Vescio, Charles Judd, and Poh-Peng Chua. The crossed categorization hypothesis: Cognitive mechanisms and patterns of intergroup bias. In Richard Crisp and Miles Hewstone, editors, *Multiple Social Categorization*. 2006.
- Deborah J. Yashar. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press, 2005: Chapters 2-5 and 7.

Session 4 (Sept. 24): How should we conceptualize and measure ethnicity? A methods interlude

Required

- Daniel N. Posner. Measuring ethnic fractionalization in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(4):849–863, 2004.
- Joan Esteban and Debraj Ray. Linking Conflict to Inequality and Polarization. *The American Economic Review*, 101(4):1345–1374, 2011
- Joel Sawat Selway. The Measurement of Cross-cutting Cleavages and Other Multidimensional Cleavage. *Political Analysis*, 19(1):48–65, 2011.
- Claire Adida, Karen Ferree, Dan Posner, and Amanda Robinson. Who's Asking? Interviewer Coethnicity Effects in African Survey Data. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(12):1630–1660, 2016.
- Daniel Corstange. Ethnicity on the sleeve and class in the heart: When do people respond to identity and material interests? *British Journal of Political Science*, 43(4):889–914, 2013.

Recommended

- Kate Baldwin and John D. Huber. Economic versus cultural differences: Forms of ethnic diversity and public goods provision. *American Political Science Review*, 104(4):644–662, 2010.
- Halvard Buhaug, Lars Erik Cederman, and Jan Ketil Rød. Disaggregating ethno-nationalist civil wars: A dyadic test of exclusion theory. *International Organization*, 62(3):531–551, 2008.
- Klaus Desmet, Ignacio Ortuño-Ortín, and Romain Wacziarg. The political economy of linguistic cleavages. *Journal of Development Economics*, 97(2):322–338, 2012.
- Jean-Yves Duclos, Joan Esteban, and Debraj Ray. Polarization: concepts, measurement, estimation. *Econometrica*, 72(6):1737–1772, 2004.
- Simon Hug. The Use and Misuse of the Minorities at Risk Project. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16(1):191–208, 2013.
- David Laitin and Dan Posner. The Implications of Constructivism for Constructing Ethnic Fractionalization Indices. In *Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, pages 13–17. 2001.

- Sara Lowes, Nathan Nunn, James A Robinson, and Jonathan Weigel. Understanding Ethnic Identity in Africa: Evidence from the Implicit Association Test. *Working paper*, pages 0–11, 2015.
- José Montalvo and Marta Reynal-Querol. Ethnic polarization, potential conflict, and civil wars. *American Economic Review*, 95(3):796–816, 2005.
- Max Schaub. Second-order ethnic diversity: The spatial pattern of diversity, competition and cooperation in Africa. *Political Geography*, 59:103–116, 2017.

PART II: CONSEQUENCES OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY

Session 5 (Oct. 1): Distributive politics (and taxation)

Required

- Kanchan Chandra. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, 2007: Chapters 1 and 3.
- Eric Kramon and Daniel N. Posner. Who benefits from distributive politics? how the outcome one studies affects the answer one gets. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(2):461–474, 2013.
- Gwyneth H. McClendon. Race and Responsiveness: An Experiment with South African Politicians. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 3(1):60–74, 2016.
- Thad Dunning and Janhavi Nilekani. Ethnic quotas and political mobilization: Caste, parties, and distribution in Indian village councils. *American Political Science Review*, 107(1):35–56, 2013.
- Kimuli Kasara. Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa. *The American Political Science Review*, 101(1):159–172, 2007.

Recommended

- Robin Burgess, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, and Gerard Padró i Miquel. The Value of Democracy: Evidence from Road Building in Kenya. *American Economic Review*, 105(6):1817–1851, 2015.
- Kanchan Chandra. What is an Ethnic Party? *Party Politics*, 17(2):151–169, 2011.
- Giacomo De Luca, Roland Hodler, Paul A. Raschky, and Michele Valsecchi. Ethnic favoritism: An axiom of politics? *Journal of Development Economics*, 132(November 2017):115–129, 2018.
- Simon Ejdemyr, Eric Kramon, and Amanda Lea Robinson. Segregation, Ethnic Favoritism, and the Strategic Targeting of Local Public Goods. *Comparative Political Studies*, pages 1–33, 2017

- James D. Fearon. Why Ethnic Politics and Pork Tend to Go Together. *Stanford University Working Paper*, pages 1–24, 1999.
- Raphael Franck and Ilia Rainer. Does the leader's ethnicity matter? Ethnic favoritism, education, and health in Sub-Saharan Africa. *American Political Science Review*, 106(2):294–325, 2012.
- Barak D Hoffman and James D Long. Parties, Ethnicity, and Voting in African Elections. *Comparative Politics*, 45(2):127–146, 2013.
- Donald Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, second edition, 2000: pp. 291-311.
- Jeremy Horowitz. The Ethnic Logic of Campaign Strategy in Diverse Societies: Theory and Evidence From Kenya. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(3):324–356, 2016.
- Eric Kramon and Daniel N. Posner. Ethnic Favoritism in Education in Kenya. (January 2015):1–58, 2012.
- Evan S. Lieberman. *Race and Regionalism in the Politics of Taxation in Brazil and South Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Staffan I. Lindberg and Minion K.C. Morrison. Are African voters really ethnic or clientelistic? Survey evidence from Ghana. *Political Science Quarterly*, 123(1):95–122, 2008.
- Gerard Padró I. Miquel. The control of politicians in divided societies: The politics of fear. *Review of Economic Studies*, 74(4):1259–1274, 2007.

Session 6 (Oct. 8): Cooperation, collective action, and public goods provision

Required

- James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision? *American Political Science Review*, 101(4):709–725, 2007
- Yuhki Tajima, Krislert Samphantharak, and Kai Ostwald. Ethnic Segregation and Public Goods: Evidence from Indonesia. *American Political Science Review*, pages 1–24, 2018.
- Evan Lieberman and C.H. McClendon Gwyneth. The Ethnicity-Policy Preference Link in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(5):574–602, 2013 (skim).
- Lars Ivar Oppedal Berge, Kjetil Bjorvatn, Simon Galle, Edward Miguel, Daniel N. Posner, Bertil Tungodden, and Kelly Zhang. How Strong are Ethnic Preferences. 2015
- Ryan D Enos and Noam Gidron. Exclusion and Cooperation in Diverse Societies: Experimental Evidence from Israel. 2018
- Jennifer M. Larson and Janet I. Lewis. Ethnic Networks. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(2):350–364, 2017

Recommended

- Alberto Alesina, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 114(4):1243–1284, 1999
- Alberto Alesina and Eliana La Ferrara. Ethnic Diversity and Economic Performance. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 43(3):762–800, 2005
- Klaus Desmet, Joseph Gomes, and Ignacio Ortuno-Ortin. The Geography of Linguistic Diversity and the Provision of Public Goods. 2016
- William Easterly and Ross Levine. Africa’s Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(4):1203–1250, 1997
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. Explaining Interethnic Cooperation. *The American Political Science Review*, 90(4):715–735, 1996
- Eleanor Gao. Tribal Mobilization, Fragmented Groups, and Public Goods Provision in Jordan. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(10):1372–1403, 2016
- James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein. *Coethnicity*. Russell Sage Foundation, 2009
- Jonas Hjort. Ethnic Divisions and Production in Firms. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, pages 1899–1946, 2014
- Esteban F. Klor and Moses Shayo. Social identity and preferences over redistribution. *Journal of Public Economics*, 94(269-278), 2010.
- Jennifer M. Larson. Networks and Interethnic Cooperation. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(2):546–559, 2017
- Alexander Lee. Ethnic Diversity and Ethnic Discrimination: Explaining Local Public Goods Provision. *Comparative Political Studies*, pages 1–33, 2017
- Erzo F. P. Luttmer. Group Loyalty and the Taste for Redistribution. *Journal of Political Economy*, 109(3):500–528, 2001
- Edward Miguel and Mary Kay Gugerty. Ethnic diversity, social sanctions, and public goods in Kenya. *Journal of Public Economics*, 89:2325–2368, 2005
- Kaivan Munshi and Mark Rosenzweig. Insiders and Outsiders: Local Ethnic Politics and Public Good Provision. 2016
- Prerna Singh and Matthias vom Hau. Ethnicity in Time: Politics, History, and the Relationship between Ethnic Diversity and Public Goods Provision. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(10):1303–1340, 2016
- Andreas Wimmer. Is Diversity Detrimental? Ethnic Fractionalization, Public Goods Provision, and the Historical Legacies of Stateness. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(11):1407–1445, 2016

Session 7 (Oct. 16): Voting behavior and accountability

Required

- Karen E. Ferree. Explaining South Africa's Racial Census. *Journal of Politics*, 68(4):803–815, 2006.
- Claire L. Adida. Do African Voters Favor Coethnics? Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Benin. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 2(1):1–11, 2015.
- Elizabeth Carlson. Ethnic Voting and Accountability in Africa: A Choice Experiment in Uganda. *World Politics*, 67(2):353–385, 2015.
- Katherine Casey. Crossing Party Lines : The Effects of Information on Redistributive Politics. *American Economic Review*, 105(8):2410–2448, 2015.
- Claire Adida, Jessica Gottlieb, Eric Kramon, and Gwyneth McClendon. Reducing or Reinforcing In-Group Preferences? An Experiment on Information and Ethnic Voting. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 12(4):437–477, 2017.

Recommended

- Tim Besley. *Principled Agents? The Political Economy of Good Government*. Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Michael Bratton, Ravi Bhavnani, and Tse-Hsin Chen. Voting intentions in Africa: ethnic, economic or partisan? *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 50(1):27–52, 2012.
- Simon Chauchard. Unpacking Ethnic Preferences: Theory and Micro-Level Evidence From North India. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(2):253–284, 2016.
- Jeffrey Conroy-Krutz. Information and ethnic politics in Africa, 2013.
- Thomas Fujiwara and Leonard Wantchekon. Can Informed Public Deliberation Overcome Clientelism? Experimental Evidence from Benin. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 5(4):241–255, 2013.
- Nahomi Ichino and Noah L. Nathan. Crossing the line: Local ethnic geography and voting in Ghana. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2):344–361, 2013.
- Staffan I. Lindberg and Minion K.C. Morrison. Are African voters really ethnic or clientelistic? Survey evidence from Ghana. *Political Science Quarterly*, 123(1):95–122, 2008.
- Kristin Michelitch. Does Electoral Competition Exacerbate Interethnic or Interpartisan Economic Discrimination? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Market Price Bargaining. *American Political Science Review*, 109(1):43–61, 2015.
- Emily West. *The Psychology of In-Group Voting*. 2016.

Session 8 (Oct. 22): Conflict

Required

- Nicholas Sambanis. Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1). *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(3):259–282, 2001.
- Joan Esteban, Laura Mayoral, and Debraj Ray. Ethnicity and Conflict: An Empirical Study. *The American Economic Review*, 102(4):1310–1342, 2012.
- Nicholas Sambanis and Moses Shayo. Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2):294–325, 2013.
- Additional reading(s) TBD.

Recommended

- Victor Asal, Michael Findley, James A. Piazza, and James Igoe Walsh. Political Exclusion, Oil, and Ethnic Armed Conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60(8):1343–1367, 2015.
- Matthias Basedau and Jan Henryk Pierskalla. How ethnicity conditions the effect of oil and gas on civil conflict: A spatial analysis of Africa from 1990 to 2010. *Political Geography*, 38:1–11, 2014.
- Halvard Buhaug, Lars Erik Cederman, and Jan Ketil Rød. Disaggregating ethno-nationalist civil wars: A dyadic test of exclusion theory. *International Organization*, 62(3):531–551, 2008.
- Rogers Brubaker and David D. Laitin. Ethnic and Nationalist Violence. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1):423–452, 1998.
- Lars Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis. *World Politics*, 62(1):87–119, 2010.
- Daniel Corstange and Erin A. York. Sectarian Framing in the Syrian Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(2):441–455, 2018.
- Joan Esteban and Debraj Ray. Linking Conflict to Inequality and Polarization. *The American Economic Review*, 101(4):1345–1374, 2011.
- James Fearon and David D Laitin. Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization*, 54(4):845–877, 2000.
- James D Fearon and David D Laitin. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *The American Political Science Review*, 97(1):75–90, 2003.
- Joshua Gubler and Joel Selway. Horizontal Inequality, Crosscutting Cleavages, and Civil War. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56(2):206–232, 2012.
- John Huber and Laura Mayoral. Inequality, Ethnicity and Civil Conflict. 2014.
- Elisabeth King and Cyrus Samii. Minorities and mistrust: On the adoption of ethnic recognition to manage conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(3):289–304, 2018.

- Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach. *Journal of Political Economy*, 112(4):725–753, 2004.
- José Montalvo and Marta Reynal-Querol. Ethnic polarization, potential conflict, and civil wars. *American Economic Review*, 95(3):796–816, 2005.
- Gudrun Østby. Polarization, horizontal inequalities and violent civil conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 45(2):143–162, 2008.
- Roger Petersen. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred and Resentment in Twentieth Century Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Barry R. Posen. The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict. *Survival*, 35(Spring):27–47, 1993.
- Ashutosh Varshney. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 2002.
- Steven Wilkinson. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min. Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict : A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set. *American Sociological Review*, 74(2006):316–337, 2009.

PART III: CHANNELS OF PERSISTENCE & STRATEGIES FOR MITIGATION

Session 9 (Oct. 29): Institutional Design

Required

- Pippa Norris. Stable Democracy and Good Governance in Divided Societies: Do Powersharing Institutions Work? *International Studies Association 46th Annual Convention*, (March):1–41, 2005.
- Kanchan Chandra. Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(2):235–252, 2005.
- John D. Huber. Measuring ethnic voting: Do proportional electoral laws politicize ethnicity? *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(4):986–1001, 2012.
- Thad Dunning. Do Quotas Promote Ethnic Solidarity? Field and Natural Experimental Evidence from India. Technical report, New Haven, 2010.
- Cyrus Samii. Perils or promise of ethnic integration? Evidence from a hard case in Burundi. *American Political Science Review*, 107(3):558–573, 2013.

Recommended

- Dawn Brancati. Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism? *International Organization*, 60(03):651–685, 2006.
- Frank Cohen. Proportional Versus Majoritarian Ethnic Conflict Management in Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies* 1, 30(5):607–630, 1997.
- Thad Dunning. Decentralization and Ethnic Diversity. In Jonathan Rodden and Erik Wibbels, editors, *Decentralization and Development in Practice: Assessing the Evidence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Elisabeth King and Cyrus Samii. Minorities and mistrust: On the adoption of ethnic recognition to manage conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, 55(3):289–304, 2018.
- Arend Lijphart. *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale University Press, 1999.

Session 10 (Nov. 12): Other Identities

Required

- John Dovidio, Samuel Gaertner, Gordon Hodson, Blake Riek, Kelly Johnson, and Missy Houlette. Recategorization and crossed categorization: The implications of group salience and representations for reducing bias. In Richard Crisp and Miles Hewstone, editors, *Multiple Social Categorization*, chapter 4, pages 65–89. 2006.
- Amanda Lea Robinson. National versus ethnic identification in Africa: modernization, colonial legacy, and the origins of territorial nationalism. *World Politics*, 66(4):709–746, 2014.
- Amanda Lea Robinson. Nationalism and Ethnic-Based Trust: Evidence from an African Border Region. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(14):1819–1854, 2016.
- Samara Klar. The Influence of Competing Identity Primes on Political Preferences. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(04):1108–1124, 2013.
- John F. McCauley. The political mobilization of ethnic and religious identities in Africa. *American Political Science Review*, 108:801–816, 2014.

Recommended

- Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1991.
- Paul Brass. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. Sage, 1991.
- Marilyn Brewer. Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination. In Stuart Oskamp, editor, *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*, chapter Reducing P, pages 165–183. 2000.
- Ernest Gellner. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell University Press, 1983.

- Sangick Jeon, Tim Johnson, and Amanda Lea Robinson. Nationalism and Social Sanctioning Across Ethnic Lines: Experimental Evidence from the Kenya-Tanzania Border. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 4(1):1–20, 2017.
- Edward Miguel. Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania. *World Politics*, 56(3):328–362, 2004.
- Nicholas Sambanis and Moses Shayo. Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict. *American Political Science Review*, 107(2):294–325, 2013.
- Moses Shayo. A model of social identity with an application to political economy: Nation, class, and redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 103(2):147–174, 2009.

Session 11 (Nov. 19): Social Pressure and Norms

Required

- Edward Miguel and Mary Kay Gugerty. Ethnic diversity, social sanctions, and public goods in Kenya. *Journal of Public Economics*, 89:2325–2368, 2005.
- Laura Paler, Leslie Marshall, and Sami Atallah. The Social Costs of Public Political Participation: Evidence from a Petition Experiment in Lebanon. *Journal of Politics*, 80(4), 2018.
- Elizabeth Carlson. Identifying and Interpreting the Sensitivity of Ethnic Voting in Africa. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 80(4):837–857, 2016.
- Avidit Acharya, Matthew Blackwell, and Maya Sen. The Political Legacy of American Slavery. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(3):1–66, 2016.
- Margaret E. Tankard and Elizabeth Levy Paluck. Norm Perception as a Vehicle for Social Change. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 10(1):181–211, 2016.
- Elizabeth Levy Paluck. Reducing Intergroup Prejudice and Conflict Using the Media: A Field Experiment in Rwanda. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 96(3):574–587, 2009.

Recommended

- Claire Adida, Karen Ferree, Dan Posner, and Amanda Robinson. Who’s Asking? Interviewer Coethnicity Effects in African Survey Data. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(12):1630–1660, 2016.
- Daniel Corstange. Ethnicity on the sleeve and class in the heart: When do people respond to identity and material interests? *British Journal of Political Science*, 43(4):889–914, 2013.
- Timur Kuran. *Private Truths, Public Lies: The Social Consequences of Preference Falsification*. Harvard University Press, 1997.

Session 12 (Nov. 26): Spatial Segregation and Integration

Required

- Ryan D. Enos. *The Space Between Us: Social Geography and Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2017: Chapters TBD.
- Ryan D. Enos and Christopher Celaya. The Effect of Segregation on Intergroup Relations. *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 5:1–17, 2018.
- Yann Algan, Camille Hémet, and David D. Laitin. The Social Effects of Ethnic Diversity at the Local Level: A Natural Experiment with Exogenous Residential Allocation. *Journal of Political Economy*, 124(3):696–733, 2016.
- Additional reading(s) TBD.

Recommended

- By Alberto Alesina and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. Segregation and the Quality of Government in a Cross Section of Countries. *American Economic Review*, 101(5):1872–1911, 2011.
- Elizabeth Oltmans Ananat and Ebonya Washington. Segregation and Black political efficacy. *Journal of Public Economics*, 93(5-6):807–822, 2009.
- By Yan Chen and Sherry Xin Li. Group Identity and Social Preferences. *The American Economic Review*, 99(1):431–457, 2009
- Raj Chetty, Nathaniel Hendren, and Lawrence F. Katz. The effects of exposure to better neighborhoods on children: New evidence from the moving to opportunity experiment. *American Economic Review*, 106(4):855–902, 2016.
- Alejandro Corvalan and Miguel Vargas. Segregation and conflict: An empirical analysis. *Journal of Development Economics*, 116:212–222, 2015.
- D. M. Cutler and E. L. Glaeser. Are Ghettos Good or Bad? *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(3):827–872, 1997.
- Ryan D. Enos. Causal effect of intergroup contact on exclusionary attitudes. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 111(10):3699–3704, 2014
- Ryan D. Enos. Context, Perception, and Intergroup Relations. *Psychological Inquiry*, 27(4):294–298, 2016.
- James M. Glaser. Social Context and Inter-Group Political Attitudes: Experiments in Group Conflict Theory. *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(4):607–620, 2003.
- J Eric Oliver and Janelle Wong. Intergroup prejudice in muliethnic settings. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(4):567–582, 2003
- Amanda Lea Robinson. Ethnic Diversity, Segregation and Ethnocentric Trust in Africa. *British Journal of Political Science*, pages 1–23, 2017.

- Hillel David Soifer. Regionalism, Ethnic Diversity, and Variation in Public Good Provision by National States. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(10):1341–1371, 2016.

Session 13 (Dec. 3): Intergroup Contact

Required

- Gordon Allport. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Basic Books, 1954: Chapter 30 (pp. 479-500).
- Elizabeth Levy Paluck, Seth A. Green, and Donald P. Green. The contact hypothesis re-evaluated. *Behavioral Public Policy*, pages 1–30, 2018.
- Alexandra Scacco and Shana S. Warren. Can Social Contact Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria. *American Political Science Review*, pages 1–24, 2018.
- Salma Mousa. Overcoming the Trust Deficit: Intergroup Contact and Associational Life in post-ISIS Iraq. 2018. (Working paper, see CourseWeb).
- Laura Paler, Leslie Mashall, and Sami Atallah. Discussing Politics in Ethnically Divided Societies: An Experiment in Lebanon. 2018. (Working paper, see Courseweb).

Recommended

- Luke N Condra and Sera Linardi. Casual Contact and Ethnic Bias: Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan.
- John F Dovidio, Samuel L Gaertner, and Kerry Kawakami. Intergroup Contact: The Past, Present, and the Future. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6(1):5–21, 2003.
- Ryan D. Enos. Context, Perception, and Intergroup Relations. *Psychological Inquiry*, 27(4):294–298, 2016.
- Elizabeth Levy Paluck. Is it better not to talk? Group polarization, extended contact, and perspective taking in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. *Personality and social psychology bulletin*, 36(9):1170–1185, 2010.
- Elizabeth Levy Paluck and Donald P Green. Prejudice Reduction: What Works? A Review and Assessment of Research and Practice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 2009.
- Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp. *When Groups Meet*. Psychology Press, 2011. (Updates the seminal 2006 meta-analysis).

Session 14 (Dec. 10): Work-shopping papers and prospectuses