

Ethnic Conflict and Violence
POLITICAL SCIENCE/POLC 3010-03

M W 4:30-5:45pm
Norman Mayer 118

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Office Hours: MW 1:45-3:00pm or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

In public discourse and much social science research, the pervasiveness of ethnic diversity and ethnic identity politics is viewed as a danger to order, democracy, and development. The divisions of race, religion, and nativism pose serious challenges around the world and at home. At the same time, activists and policy-makers debate the best policies for cultivating the empowerment of marginal groups, on the one hand, and inter-ethnic cooperation on the other. With the goal of bringing insight to the discussion of ethnic politics, this course introduces students to the key concepts, questions, and debates in the sub-field of comparative ethnic politics in political science, with an emphasis on developing countries.

The class will proceed as follows. First, we discuss key approaches to conceptualizing and measuring ethnicity. This will emphasize the constructivist approach, which suggests even some of the most hardened identities were shaped by context, history, and institutions. Next, we move onto discuss explanations for why ethnic identities take the form that they do and how they change over time. We will see that history, particularly colonial rule, had powerful effects on modern ethnic politics and ethnic conflict. Third, we will discuss important questions in ethnic politics—ranging from why voters vote along ethnic lines to the conditions under which ethnic diversity leads to violence and can create challenges for public goods provision. We will end the class with a critical discussion of government institutions and policies aimed to reduce ethnic conflict, encourage inter-ethnic cooperation, and mandate representation of marginalized groups.

Goals/Objectives of the Course (intended outcomes):

1. Students will come to understand major debates underlying comparative politics.
2. Students will engage in effective written expression.
3. Students will learn about the ways that ethnicity affects the politics of different countries including the U.S. and many developing countries (e.g., India, South Africa, etc)
4. Students will learn to analyze complex political phenomena through careful engagement with theory and evidence

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Your final grade will be based on the following components:

15% - Class Participation. Since this is a seminar course, attendance is obligatory. An active role in discussions and in-class activities by everyone enrolled in the course is expected, as is the completion of the required readings before the session for which they are assigned. Each student is permitted one unexcused absence (i.e. without a written note from a doctor or a dean). There will be a grade penalty for unexcused absences beyond this. As a rule of thumb, each student should participate in class at least once per class.

15% - Case Study Presentations. I will ask each student to complete one presentation on a case that applies to the course theme of that week. The presentation should last 10 minutes. We will go over guidelines on presentations and finalize the country elections in the second class. All students should discuss the presentation with me no later than one week before the presentation. A 1-page proposal including the research question, argument to explore you're your preliminary sense of available evidence used for the case study will be due before our meeting. I will be happy to help you with all of this of course.

5% - Ethnic Politics/Conflict in the News. For this assignment, you will follow the news on the role of ethnicity in politics/conflict/policies of a particular country that interests you (e.g., healthcare, education, welfare, etc.) over the course of the term. Based on your reading of the news, I'll ask you to diagnose a main issue you follow in the news and to speculate on a policy/change that might help in a short 3-page (double-spaced) memo. You will post the memo on Canvas and present your main observations in the last week of class (and feel free to bring up your country in class discussions at any time).

5% - Response Paper. You will write one 3-page response paper (double-spaced) based on the readings for a particular week before the midterm (Weeks 2 to 7). The response paper should not be a summary of readings. Instead, you will carefully explain the argument or concepts introduced in required readings, assess the relationship between the argument and evidence, and contrast conceptual and methodological approaches across readings that week. I will ask students to sign up for class sessions on first come first serve at the second class meeting.

***Note: that you must pick a different class session for the response paper and presentation.*

25% - Take-Home Mid-Term. Students will be required to write a take-home midterm consisting of a short answer section and longer essay (7-8 pages) section. The essay will be due by email and in hard copy on 10/17.

35% - Take-Home Final. There will be a take-home essay final exam (8-10 pages) that focuses on the broad themes of the course with a focus on the material covered after the midterm. You will be asked to address one of two essay prompts. Final exam essay prompts will be handed out at the final class meeting and due at 5pm on the day of the scheduled final exam, which is set by the registrar.

CLASSROOM ETIQUETTE

To make sure that we have a hospitable learning environment, I ask students to follow three simple rules:

- 1) Arrive on time
- 2) Turn your cell phones off when you enter the class room
- 3) Unless you are speaking in groups about readings, close your laptops in class. This will help everyone focus on class discussion.
- 4) Respect your classmates. Debate is welcome but disagree respectfully by engaging ideas rather getting personal.
- 5) Coffee/beverages are fine but food is not permitted in class since it can distract your classmates.

HONOR CODE AND PLAGIARISM

Academic honesty is expected of all students at Tulane. Your responsibilities as a Tulane student include being familiar with the honor code and the plagiarism policy of the University (see <http://tulane.edu/college/code.cfm>). Cases of cheating or plagiarism will be reported to the Honor Board, and may result in a failing grade for the class, academic probation, or expulsion. Ignorance is not a valid excuse. Academic dishonesty includes but is not limited to the following actions:

1. presenting another's work, ideas, expressions or research as if it were one's own;
2. failing to acknowledge or document a source even if the action is unintended (i.e., plagiarism);

Note: Plagiarism includes copying & pasting material from any source (Wikipedia, paper mill, other internet site, book, journal, newspaper, magazine, etc.) without proper attribution. Plagiarism also includes non-verbatim borrowing of words or ideas through paraphrasing or summarizing another's work(s) without proper attribution.

3. fabricating or altering citations;
4. giving or receiving, or attempting to give or receive, unauthorized assistance or information in an assignment or examination;
5. submitting the same assignment in two or more courses without prior permission of both instructors;
6. having another person write a paper or sit for an examination (includes online paper-mills);
7. using tests or papers from students in prior semesters;
8. sabotaging the work of another through destroying or preventing work from receiving fair assessment (especially in group projects)

NOTE ON SPECIAL ACCOMODATIONS

If you believe you may encounter barriers to the academic environment, please feel free to contact me and/or the Goldman Center for Student Accessibility. This information is confidential. Any student with approved academic accommodations is encouraged to contact me during office hours or to email me to schedule an appointment. If you have questions regarding registering a disability or receiving accommodations, please contact the Goldman Center at 504.862.8433 or <http://www.accessibility.tulane.edu>. Students needing accommodations must provide me with a Course Accommodation Form and if applicable, an Exam Request Form (“blue sheet”) in order to schedule an exam to be taken at ODS. Accommodations involving exams must be requested to me **four days before a test or seven days before a final exam**. Any student receiving an exam-related accommodation should plan to take the exam at the Goldman Center.

If you have any other special circumstances, such as involvement with a university activity that requires you to miss class, let me know as soon as possible. If, during the semester, issues arise that are likely to affect your participation, attendance or performance, it is in your interest to let me know as soon as they arise. You may consult with your academic advisor or Erica Woodley in Student Affairs if issues are serious enough that you need temporary accommodations.

Statement on Discrimination and IX Protections

Tulane University recognizes the inherent dignity of all individuals and promotes respect for all people. As such, Tulane is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination including sexual and gender-based discrimination, harassment, and violence like sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or is experiencing these types of behaviors, know that you are not alone. Resources and support are available: you can learn more at titleix.tulane.edu. Any and all of your communications on these matters will be treated as either “Confidential” or “Private” as explained in the chart below. Please know that if you choose to confide in me I am mandated by the university to report to the Title IX Coordinator, as Tulane and I want to be sure you are connected with all the support the university can offer. You do not need to respond to outreach from the university if you do not want. You can also make a report yourself, including an anonymous report, through the form at tulane.edu/concerns.

Confidential	Private
<i>Except in extreme circumstances, involving imminent danger to one's self or others, nothing will be shared without your explicit permission.</i>	<i>Conversations are kept as confidential as possible, but information is shared with key staff members so the University can offer resources and accommodations and take action if necessary for safety reasons.</i>
Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) (504) 314-2277 or The Line (24/7) (504) 264-6074	Case Management & Victim Support Services (504) 314-2160 or srss@tulane.edu
Student Health Center (504) 865-5255	Tulane University Police (TUPD) Uptown - (504) 865-5911. Downtown – (504) 988-5531
Sexual Aggression Peer Hotline and Education (SAPHE) (504) 654-9543	Title IX Coordinator (504) 314-2160 or msmith76@tulane.edu

READINGS

All the readings are available online or in required books and can be downloaded from the course's page on CANVAS or at the web page links provided on the syllabus. This course requires you to carefully read all assigned readings before class. Generally, 4 articles or book chapters are assigned each week. Make sure you not only understand the basic arguments, but give yourself time to think critically about the readings before class so you will be prepared to participate in discussion. I encourage you to complete the reading worksheet at the end of this syllabus for each challenging reading. Recommended readings are a resource for those making presentations and are not required.

The following has been ordered for purchase at the book store and is available on course reserve:

Posner, Daniel. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

COURSE SCHEDULE

PART I: WHAT ARE ETHNIC IDENTITIES AND HOW SHOULD WE THINK ABOUT THEM?

Session 1: Introduction (8/27)

NO CLASS 8/29: I WILL BE TRAVELING FOR THE ANNUAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE IN BOSTON

NO CLASS 9/3: Labor Day Holiday

Session 2: Does Ethnic Identity Matter in America I (9/5)

Coates, T. N. 2015. "The Case for Reparations," *Atlantic Monthly*. Available at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>

Badger, Emily, Claire Miller, Adam Pierce, and Kevin Quealy. "Extensive Data Shows Punishing Reach of Racism for Black Boys." *New York Times* (19 March 2018): <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/03/19/upshot/race-class-white-and-black-men.html>

Watch at Home (Before Class): *13th*

Session 3: Does Ethnic Identity Matter in America II (9/10)

READ THESE (MOSTLY) SHORT MEDIA PIECES:

Goldstein, Dana. 2016. "America, This is Your Future." Politico <available at: <https://www.politico.com/agenda/story/2016/11/political-future-of-america-generations-diversity-tensions-000235>>.

Hsu, Hua. "The End of White America?" *Atlantic Magazine* (February 2009): <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2009/01/the-end-of-white-america/307208/>

Hochschild, Arlie. 2016. *Strangers in Their Own Land*. Chapter 9.

PART 1: ETHNIC IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION AND CHANGE

Session 4: What Do We Mean by Ethnic Identities? Primordialism (9/12)

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

Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. "Primordialism Lives!" *APSA-CP*, 12 (1) (Winter Issue) 20-22.

Session 5: What Do We Mean by the Construction of Ethnic Identities? (9/17)

Barth, Frederik, ed. 1998. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Chicago, IL: Waveland Press. Introduction: 9-38.

Waters, Mary. 1990. *Ethnic Options*. Chapters 2.

Recommended: Waters, Mary 1999. *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 3.

Session 6: Conceptualizing and Measuring Ethnic Groups (9/19)

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science*.

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

Session 7: Ethnic Diversity and Its Measurement (9/24)

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

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

Listen at home: "Political Scientist: Does Diversity Really Work?" NPR:
<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=12802663>

Online Activity: In groups of 3-4, develop a measure of ethnic diversity for the city of New Orleans. Think of one outcome that is likely to be affected by this.

PART II: HOW DO ETHNIC IDENTITIES CHANGE?

Session 8: Colonial Institutions and Identity Construction (9/26)

Posner, Daniel. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge Press. Chapters 2 and 3.

Weber, Eugene. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press. Chapter 29, "Cultures and Civilization" (pp 485-496).

Session 9: Colonial Institutions and Identity Construction: The Census (10/1)

Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers*, Chapter 3.

Cohn, Bernard. 1987. "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia." In *An Anthropologist Among Historians*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 10 (focus on pp 231 onwards on the colonial census in India).

Recommended: Lee, S. M. (1993). "Racial Classifications in the US Census: 1890–1990." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 16(1) 75-94.

Session 10: Do Political Incentives Explain Identity Salience and Change? (10/3)

Posner, Daniel. 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.

Bates, Robert. 1974. "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 6(4) 457–477.

Tessler, Michael. "Views About Race Mattered More in Electing Trump Than in Electing Obama." *Washington Post* < https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/11/22/peoples-views-about-race-mattered-more-in-electing-trump-than-in-electing-obama/?utm_term=.075b0b8d63da>

Session 11: When are Ethnic Minorities Likely to Assimilate? (10/8)

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.

Pew. "Hispanic Identity Fades Across Generations as Immigrant Connections Fall Away." <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2017/12/20/hispanic-identity-fades-across-generations-as-immigrant-connections-fall-away/>

"Hispanic Immigrants are Assimilating Just as Quickly as Earlier Groups." *Washington Post*. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2013/01/28/hispanic-immigrants-are-assimilating-just-as-quickly-as-earlier-groups/?utm_term=.d3860b69dc4c.

Recommended: Giry, Stéphanie. 2006. "France and Its Muslims." *Foreign Affairs*, 85(5) 87-104.

TAKE-HOME MIDTERM WILL BE HANDED OUT IN CLASS

Session 12: Racial Domination and Race Relations in Comparative Perspective (10/10)

Marx, Anthony. *Making Race and Nation*, chapters 1 (skim), 6, 7.

Session 13: Why Do Ethnic Parties Emerge (and Are They Dangerous for Democracy)? (10/15)

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press: Chap. 7 (pp. 291-311).

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

Beauchamp, Zach. 2015. "Ethnic outbidding": the academic theory that helps explain Trump's anti-Muslim rhetoric." *Vox*: <https://www.vox.com/world/2015/12/10/9881876/trump-muslims-ethnic-outbidding>

Session 14: Ethnic Populism and Anti-Immigrant Sentiments in Europe? (10/17)

Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition*, 39(4) 542-563.

Abrajano, Marissa and Zoltan Hajnal. 2015. *White Backlash: Immigration, race, and American politics*. Princeton University Press. Introduction.

Tessler, Michael. "Views about race mattered more in electing Trump than in electing Obama." Washington Post < https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/11/22/peoples-views-about-race-mattered-more-in-electing-trump-than-in-electing-obama/?utm_term=.075b0b8d63da>

MIDTERM DUE IN CLASS

***Session 15: Ethnic Populism: Cases (10/22)**

Readings To Be Announced

MIDTERM IS DUE AT THE START OF CLASS

Session 16: Ethnic Voting: Why Do Voters (Sometimes) Prefer to Vote for a Co-Ethnic Politician? (10/24)

Ferree, Karen. "Explaining South Africa's Racial Census." *Journal of Politics*, 68(4) 803-15.

Vaishnav, Milan. Forthcoming. *By Hook or by Crook*, Chapter 5.

Session 17: Ethnic Riots as an Electoral Strategy (10/29)

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2002. "Putting Gujarat in Perspective." *Economic and Political Weekly*: 1579-1583.

Beber, Bernd, Philip Roessler, and Alexandra Scacco. 2014. "Intergroup Violence and Political Attitudes: Evidence from a Dividing Sudan." *The Journal of Politics*, 76 (3) 649-665.

Session 18: How Does Ethnic Diversity Affect Public Goods Provision? (10/31)

Alesina, Alberto, and Edward Glaeser. 2004. *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference*. New York: Oxford University Press: Chapter 6.

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

PART 3: ETHNIC VIOLENCE AND ETHNIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Session 19: Is Ethnic Violence Inevitable in Multi-Ethnic Societies? (11/5)

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, 22-49.

Habyarimana, James, et al. 2008. "Is Ethnic Conflict Inevitable-Parting Ways over Nationalism and Separatism." *Foreign Affairs*.

Session 20: Does Ethnic Diversity Lead to Civil War? (11/7)

Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*, 97(1) 75-90.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics*, 62(1) 87-119.

Session 21: Managing Ethnic Conflict I: Consociationalism and Its Critics (11/12)

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

Dekmejian, Richard Hrair. 1978. "Consociational Democracy in Crisis: the case of Lebanon." *Comparative Politics* 10(2): 251-265.

Biden, Joe and Leslie H. Gelb. 2006. "Unity Through Autonomy." *New York Times*
<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/05/01/opinion/01biden.html>

We will develop an institutional design to address Shi'a-Sunni conflict in Iraq in class

Session 22: Addressing Ethnic Inequality in India and the U.S.: The Problem (11/14)

Bertrand, Marianne and Sendhil Mullainathan. 2004. "Are Emily and Greg More Employable than Lakisha and Jamal: A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination." *The American Economic Review*, 94 (4)

Chauchard, Simon. 2017. *Why Representation Matters: The Meaning of Ethnic Quotas in Rural India*. Chapter 2.

Session 23: Policies of Positive Discrimination: Affirmative Action (11/19)

Chen, Anthony and Lisa Stulberg. 2013. "Racial Inequality and Race-Conscious Affirmative Action in College Admissions: A Historical Perspective on Contemporary Prospects and Future Possibilities," in Fredrick Harris and Robert Lieberman (eds.), *Beyond Discrimination* (pp. 105-134).

Parikh, Sunita. 2001. "Affirmative Action, Caste and Party Politics in Contemporary India." *Color lines: Affirmative action, immigration, and civil rights options for America*: 297-312.

NO CLASS 11/21: THANKSGIVING

Session 24: Addressing Ethnic Inequality: Quotas and Descriptive Representation in Elective Office (11/26)

Chauchard, Simon. 2014. "Can descriptive representation change beliefs about a stigmatized group? Evidence from rural India." *American Political Science Review*, 108 (2) 403-422.

Jensenius, Francesca R. 2017. *Social Justice Through Inclusion: The consequences of electoral quotas in India*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.

Session 25: Can Discriminatory Attitudes be Changed? The Contact Hypothesis (11/28)

Pettigrew, Thomas. 1998. "Intergroup Contact Theory." *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49(1) 65-85.

Oliver, J. Eric and Janelle Wong. 2003. "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings." *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(4) 567-582.

Session 26: Addressing Ethnic Inequality: Political Power (12/3)

Browning, Rufus P., Dale Rogers Marshall, and David H. Tabb. 1984. *Protest is Not Enough: The struggle of blacks and Hispanics for equality in urban politics*. University of California Press.

Jeffrey, Craig, Patricia Jeffery, and Roger Jeffery. 2008. "Dalit Revolution? New politicians in Uttar Pradesh, India." *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 67 (4)1365-1396.

Session 27: Course Conclusion and Review (12/5)

Reading Skills:

As you manage the reading for this and other graduate courses, you are likely to find, if you have not already, that there is no correlation between effort and outcome. It is entirely possible to spend several hours reading something without “getting it.” And it is equally possible to spend less than a half-hour reading something else and getting to the heart of the argument. You will have to devise for yourselves ways to read efficiently. These are some devices that may help:

1. Figure out what the heart of an argument is before you read deeply: skim, read the abstracts, the jacket blurbs, often short reviews published elsewhere. When you know where the center of gravity is, you read more efficiently.
2. Read actively: do not simply soak up the reading for what the author wants to tell you, but approach it with questions, and try to answer them for yourself as you make your way through.
3. Use other peoples’ skills: you do not have to do all the work yourself. It is not “cheating” if you talk through the argument with someone else before or after you delve in, or look at reviews for explication, or form reading groups where you can discuss the argument with each other.
4. Write in order to read. The response papers for this class and the (non-graded) worksheet attached should help.
5. Use diagrams if necessary: often, the structure of an argument can be most clearly expressed if you “draw” it, using arrows and lines, than by trying to understand it in words.
6. Organize your notes in a way that makes retention and information retrieval possible: you could use index cards, annotated bibliographies, database programmes like Filemaker Pro etc. These rules may be obvious to some and not to others. Basically, do whatever works for you. But be self-conscious about the reading process as a skill that should be learned and not necessarily as an ability that either comes naturally or does not.

Reading Worksheet

For each book, chapter, or article assigned in this course, you should fill out the following (non-graded) worksheet. Many of these points can be addressed in a sentence or two (e.g. Questions 1 and 2; in some cases, answers will not need even to be full sentences (e.g., Question); and in some cases, answers may overlap. These worksheets should be retained: they will be useful for future reference.

1. State the central question that the reading addresses.
2. State the central argument(s) defended in the paper in response to this question.
3. What type of reasoning or evidence is used to support these arguments? If it is an analytical paper, what is the logic that undergirds the argument? If an empirical paper, what type of data is employed? Are there other data sources that you think might be more appropriate?
4. Do you find the claims of the reading convincing? What do you see as the main gaps that need to be filled?
5. Why (if at all) is the reading interesting?
6. Do you agree with the main claims? What are your hesitations? (This may simply involve restatement of previous points.)
7. Identify one or two implicit premises or background assumptions in the paper that you think are especially controversial or objectionable.
8. In light of your answers to the previous questions, write an abstract for the article of no more than 100 words. (Feel free to repeat formulations given in response to earlier questions.)
9. When you have done this for individual readings, take some time to think about the various readings you have been assigned in relation to each other. See if you can write or imagine a summary table for all the readings taken together which compares and contrasts them.