Ethnicity and Race in Africa
Spring 2021
Professor Karen Ferree

This class will consider social science theories of identity politics. We will ask: How do racial and ethnic identities differ from other identities like gender, class, and nation? How do we measure ethnic and racial identity? What shapes patterns of identification, eroding or intensifying particular identities? What are the political, economic, and health effects of politicized ethnic and racial identities? What are potential solutions for managing politicized identities? The course will focus primarily on Africa, introducing students to a deep slice of research on African politics, but will also make forays into other regions from time to time.

Grading:
- Participation (40%)
  - Students are expected to participate *constructively and actively* in all discussions. An asynchronous participation option is available if needed.
  - More precise expectations will be discussed first day of class.

- Final paper (60%). Up to 5,000 words in length, not including references. Short research paper or detailed research design, to include:
  - Clear framing of the issue and clear statement of the research question
  - Situate your contribution in the literature and how what you are doing moves that literature forward. Literature review should be focused and concise and should extend beyond readings assigned in class.
  - Theory: may synthesize existing theory in a new way, translate a theoretical idea from one field or subfield to another, develop a new argument, or apply/adapt an argument from one region to another one.
  - The theory should give rise to testable hypotheses; think especially hard about mechanisms and their observable implications
  - Preliminary or descriptive data analysis (eg. using pre-existing dataset)
  - Proposed research design to more thoroughly test hypothesis (be realistic, try to propose something that is actually feasible).
  - Topic should involve identity politics in some way. It need not be ethnic politics, nor about Africa. Identity politics can be the DV, IV, or mediating variable.

Texts:
Almost all reading is available in Canvas. For longer selections in books (eg. Straus Week 9), UCSD has a digital version in the library. The only exception is:

Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela. 2004. *A Human Being Died That Night: A South African Woman Confronts the Legacy of Apartheid.* New York: Houghton Mifflin.

This is in Week 10. It is not in the library. I can make my copy available for photocopying for anyone who does not wish to purchase it.

PART I: IDENTITY AND ITS ORIGINS

Week 1 (March 30): Conceptualization and Measurement.

- What is ethnic identity?
- How is ethnicity different from race, gender, language, class, nation, religion, etc.? Does it matter?
- What are the key components of: primordialism, constructivism, and instrumentalism?
- Is Primordialism a straw man?
- What does it mean to say identity is "constructed?" Are there limits to constructed identities?
- How are constructivist and instrumental approaches different?
- What is "social identity theory?" How does it map to the other approaches?
- How have debates about the nature of identity played out in studies of African politics?
- How do we measure ethnicity? Do current measures capture the complexity of the construct? What is missing?

Kanchan Chandra. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424.

Donald Horowitz. 1985. "The Structure of Group Relations." In Chapter 1, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press. Pp. 21-32.

Amanda Robinson. 2017. "Ethnic Visibility."

Ashutosh Varshney. 2001. "Ethnic Conflicts and Ancient Hatreds: Cultural Concerns." In Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, eds, *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences.* Oxford: Pergamon, 2001.

Henri Tajfel and J.C. Turner. 1979. "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict." Chapter 3, pp. 33-47. Austin and Worchel.

Carola Lenz. 1995. "Tribalism and Ethnicity in Africa: a Review of Four Decades of Anglophone Research." *Cahiers des Sciences Humaines* 31(2): 303-329.

David Laitin and Daniel Posner. 2001. "The Implications of Constructivism for Constructing Ethnic Fractionalization Indices." APSA-CP Newsletter Winter 2001.

Additional Reading:

Henri Tajfel, M. G. Billig, R. P. Bundy and Claude Flament. 1971. "Social Categorization and Intergroup Behavior." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 1 (2): 149-78.

Rogers Brubaker. 2002. "Ethnicity without Groups." European Journal of Sociology 43(2): 163-189.

David Laitin. 1998. "A Theory of Political Identities." Chapter 1 in *Identity in Formation.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Kanchan Chandra. 2012. "How Ethnic Identities Change." Chapter 4 in *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*, edited by Kanchan Chandra. Oxford University Press.

Week 2 (April 6): Geography, institutions (esp. colonialism), and ethnicity

- Did colonialism create ethnic politics in Africa?
  - What was there before?
- If colonialism created ethnic politics, through what mechanisms?
- More generally, through what mechanisms do institutions shape identity?

Stelios Michalopoulos. 2012. "The Origins of Ethnolinguistic Diversity." *American Economic Review*, 102 (4): 1508-39.

Christensen, Darin, and David D. Laitin. Chapters 6-10. *African States Since Independence.* Yale University Press.

Peter Ekeh. 1975. Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17(1): 91-112.

Mahmood Mamdani. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* Introduction.

Carola Lentz. 2000. "Colonial Constructions and African Initiatives: the History of Ethnicity in Northwestern Ghana." *Ethnos* 65(1).

Daniel Posner: *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (Cambridge, 2005). Chapter 1 (Introduction), Chapter 5 ("Explaining Changing Patterns of Ethnic Politics").

Catherine Boone and Lydia Nyeme. 2015. "Land Institutions and Political Ethnicity in Africa: Evidence from Tanzania." *Comparative Politics* 48(1): 67-86.

Additional Reading:

RENÉ LEMARCHAND. "Ethnicity as Myth." *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa.* University of Pennsylvania Press.

Week 3 (April 13): Modernization, migration, and marriage.

- What is "modernization?" How does it shape ethnic identity?
- Does urbanization erode or exacerbate ethnic identities? Through what mechanisms?
- What is "Contact Theory?" Does contact erode or exacerbate ethnic identities?
- How does migration shape ethnic identities?
- Is intermarriage re-shaping ethnic identity in Africa?

Michela Wrong. 2009. *It's Our Turn to Eat: the Story of a Kenyan Whistleblower.* Chapter 9 "The Making of a Sheng Generation." London: Fourth Estate.

Binyavanga Wainaina. 2011. *One Day I Will Write About This Place.* Minneapolis MN: Gray Wolf Press. Chapter 22.

A.
Bates, Robert H. 1983. "Modernization, Ethnic Competition, and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa." In *State versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*, ed. Donald Rothchild.

Kramon, E., Hamory, J., Baird, S. and Miguel, E. (2021), Deepening or Diminishing Ethnic Divides? The Impact of Urban Migration in Kenya. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Boniface Dulani, Adam Harris, Jeremy Horowitz, and Happy Kayani. 2020. "Electoral Preferences among Multiethnic Voters in Africa. *Comparative Political Studies.*

B.
Allport, Gordon. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice.* Chapter 3, "The Formation of In-Groups."

Elizabeth Colson. 1970. "The Assimilation of Aliens among Zambian Tonga." Chapter 2 in *From Tribe to Nation in Africa: Studies in Incorporation Processes*, edited by Ronald Cohen and John Middleton. Scranton, PA: Chandler Publishing Company.

Kimuli Kasara. 2013. "Separate and Suspicious: Local Social and Political Context and Ethnic Tolerance in Kenya." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 75, No. 4, October 2013, Pp. 921–936.

Yang-Yang Zhou. 2019. "How Refugee Resentment Shapes National Identity and Citizen Participation in Africa." Draft.

PART II: OUTCOMES

Week 4 (April 20): Voting

- Why do people vote for co-ethnics?
- Under what conditions does co-ethnic voting emerge?
- What do instrumental approaches to ethnic voting leave out?
- What is behind the "ethnic heuristic?" What does ethnicity signal?
- Does ethnic voting impede accountability?
- Do all explanations of behavior begin with individuals?
- Is ethnic diversity incompatible with democracy?

Karen Ferree. 2006. "Explaining South Africa's Racial Census." *Journal of Politics* 68(4).

Nahomi Ichino and Noah Nathan. 2013. "Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana." *American Political Science Review*.

Elizabeth Carlson. 2015. "Ethnic Voting and Accountability: A Stated Choice Experiment in Uganda." *World Politics* 67(2).

Claire Adida, Jessica Gottlieb, Eric Kramon, and Gwyneth McClendon. 2017. "Reducing or reinforcing in-group preferences? An experiment on information and ethnic voting." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 12: 437-477.

Adam Harris. 2020. "At the Borders of Identity: Identity Construction and Racial Bloc Voting." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 5(2): 326-355.

Karen Ferree. 2020. "Choice and Choice Set in African Elections." Program on Governance and Local Development Working Paper No. 28.

Week 5 (April 27): Public goods and economic growth

- Does ethnic diversity impede economic development?
- Does ethnic diversity reduce investment in public goods?
- What are the mechanisms driving these relationships?
- What is "co-ethnicity" and why does it matter?

Christensen, Darin, and David D. Laitin. Chapter 2. *African States Since Independence.* Yale University Press. (some basic background information).

William Easterly and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Politics and Ethnic Division." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112(4): 1203-1250. (cited 7000+)

Robert Bates. "Ethnicity and Development in Africa: A Reappraisal." *The American Economic Review*. 90(2): 131-134.

Edward Miguel and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2005. "Ethnic Diversity, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods Provisions." *Journal of Public Economics* 89 (11- 12): 2325-68.

James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101(4).

Christensen, Darin, and David D. Laitin. "Cultural Policy," Chapter 10 in *African States Since Independence*. Yale University Press.

Alesina, Alberto, Stelios Michalopoulos, and Elias Papaioannou. "Ethnic inequality." *Journal of Political Economy* 124, no. 2 (2016): 428-488.

Week 6 (May 4): No reading, students present research topics in class (optional for second years).

Week 7 (May 11): Distribution

- Do leaders favor co-ethnics in distribution of goods and services?
    - Why/why not?
- In which arenas (national, local) and for what types of goods do these patterns emerge?
- How does the geographic distribution of populations mediate co-ethnic distribution?

Binyavanga Wainaina. 2011. *One Day I Will Write About This Place.* Minneapolis MN: Gray Wolf Press. Chapters 4-7.

Robin Burgess, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, and Gerard Padró i Miquel. 2015. "The Value of Democracy: Evidence from Road Building in Kenya." *American Economic Review* 105(6): 1817-51.

Harris, J. Andrew, and Daniel N. Posner. 2019. "(Under What Conditions) Do Politicians Reward Their Supporters? Evidence from Kenya's Constituencies Development Fund." *American Political Science Review* 113 (1): 123–39.

Benjamin Marx, Thomas Stoker, and Tavneet Suri. 2019. "There is No Free House: Ethnic Patronage in a Kenyan Slum." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 11(4).

Kasara, Kimuli. 2007. "Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 101 (1): 159–72.

Additional Reading:

Ejdemyr, Simon, Eric Kramon, and Amanda Lea Robinson. 2018. "Segregation, Ethnic Favoritism, and the Strategic Targeting of Local Public Goods." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(9): 1111-43.

FRANCK, RAPHAËL, and ILIA RAINER. 2012. "Does the Leader's Ethnicity Matter? Ethnic Favoritism, Education, and Health in Sub-Saharan Africa." *The American Political Science Review* 106 (2): 294–325.

Week 8 (May 18): Public Health

- Does disease threat exacerbate identity divisions?
- Is disease threat response based on actual disease risk? What is the role of identity versus symptoms in driving response?
- How do identity divisions shape public health policy and public response to it?

Evan Lieberman. 2009. *Boundaries of Contagion.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-2.

Ato Kwamena Onoma. 2020. "Xenophobia's Contours During an Ebola Epidemic: Proximity and the Targeting of Peul Migrants in Senegal." *African Studies Review* 63(2): 353-374.

Kim Yi Dionne and Fulya Felicity Turkmen. 2020. "The Politics of Pandemic Othering: COVID-19 in Historical Context." *International Organization*, Special Issue on Covid.

Karen Ferree, Kristen Kao, Boniface Dulani, Adam Harris, Ellen Lust, Cecilia Ahsan-Jansson, and Erica Metheny. 2021. "Disease Threats, Stereotypes, and Covid-19: an Early View from Malawi and Zambia." Unpublished manuscript.

Marcella Alsan and Marianne Wanamaker. 2018. "Tuskegee and the Health of Black Men." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*: 407-455.

Leonardo Arriola and Allison Grossman. 2019. "Ethnic Marginalization and (Non) Compliance in Public Health Emergencies." *Journal of Politics.*

Additional Reading:

Sunasir Dutta and Hayagreeva Rao. 2015. "Infectious diseases, contamination rumors, and ethnic violence: Regimental mutinies in the Bengal Native Army in 1857 India." *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 127(2015): 36-47.

Week 9 (May 25): Genocide/violence

- Does ethnicity produce violence?
- How do we explain popular participation in genocide?
- Is violence rational? When and under what conditions?

Rui J.P. de Figueiredo Jr. and Barry R. Weingast. 1999. "The rationality of fear: political opportunism and ethnic conflict." In *Civil wars, insecurity, and intervention*, edited by Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder. New York: Columbia University Press.

James Fearon and David Laitin. 2000. Violence and ethnic identity construction. *International Organization*. 54(4).

Gerard Prunier. 1995. Ch. 1, history. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide.* Columbia University Press.

Scott Strauss. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Read Ch. 1 and as much of the rest of it as you can (at least the introductions of all chapters). (Ch. 1 is in Canvas, the book is available digitally through the library).

Lee Ann Fuji. 2008. "The Power of Local Ties: Popular Participation in Genocide." *Security Studies* 17(3): 568-597.

Joshua Hammer. "He Was the Hero of 'Hotel Rwanda.' Now He's Accused of Terrorism." *New York Times Magazine*. March 7, 2021.

Additional Readings:

RENÉ LEMARCHAND. *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa.* University of Pennsylvania Press. Chapters 4-8.

Week 10 (June 2): Living with diversity (and challenges therein)

- Can people forgive? Does truth help?
  - Can we know the truth?
- Can over-arching identities (nation, religion) bind ethnic divisions?
- What must be destroyed to create unity?

- Can social contact improve ethnic relations?
- Can institutions improve ethnic relations?

James Gibson. 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), 201-217. doi:10.2307/1519878

Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela. 2004. *A Human Being Died That Night: A South African Woman Confronts the Legacy of Apartheid.* New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- See also *New York Times* interview, "What Can America Learn from South Africa about National Healing?" Interview with Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela.

Volha Charnysh, Christopher Lucas, and Prerna Singh. 2015. "The Ties that Bind: National Identity Salience and Pro-social Behavior Toward the Ethnic Other." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(3): 267-300.

Salma Moussa. 2020. "Building Social Cohesion between Christians and Muslims through Soccer in Post-ISIS Iraq" *Science*.

Kristen Kao and Mara Revkin. 2021. "Retribution or Reconciliation: Post-Conflict Attitudes Toward Enemy Collaborators." Forthcoming, *American Journal of Political Science.*

Edward Miguel. 2004. "Tribe or Nation: Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56 (April 2004), 327-62.

Catherine Boone and Lydia Nyeme. 2015. "Land Institutions and Political Ethnicity in Africa: Evidence from Tanzania." *Comparative Politics* 48(1): 67-86. (assigned before in Week 2, review).

Additional Reading:

Richard Rathbone. 2000. "Kwame Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Fate of 'Natural Rulers' under Nationalist Governments." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 10 (2000), pp. 45-63.

Benjamin Graham, Michael Miller, and Kaare Strom. 2017. "Safeguarding Democracy: Powersharing and Democratic Survival." *American Political Science Review* 111(4): 686-704.

Karen Ferree. 2020. "Electoral Systems in Context: South Africa." *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press.

Karen Ferree, Clark Gibson, Barack Hoffman. 2019. "Why the salience of social divisions matters in party systems: Testing the interactive hypothesis in South Africa." *Party Politics* 25(2):208-220.