POLS 280: Politics of Development and Foreign Aid

Class 21:

The politics of collective identities and its developmental effects

Recap

- Developmental outcomes of different configurations of statesociety relations:
 - Integrated → state autonomy →
 - High state capacity → development (or, in some cases, unsuccessful 'seeing like a state' schemes) + repression
 - (Neo)patrimonialism → low state capacity → low level of development + repression
 - Dispersed →
 - 'Triangle of accommodation' → low state capacity → low level of development + (in some cases) decentralization of predation (i.e. emergence of roving bandits)
 - 'Consensually strong state equilibrium' (Acemoglu 2005)

Recap

	Integrated (autonomous)	Dispersed
High state capacity	Development + repression	Development + accountability / responsiveness ('consensually strong state equilibrium')
Low state capacity	No development + repression	No development + decentralization of predation

Plan for today

- Pitfalls of sociability
- Politics of collective identities, esp. ethnicity

Pitfalls of sociability according to Fukuyama

- Basic building blocks of human sociability:
 - Kin selection
 - Reciprocal altruism
 - Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The Origins of Political Order*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

What are the effects of kin selection and reciprocal altruism?

The effects of human sociability according to Fukuyama

• "The natural human propensity to favor family and friends," a.k.a. patrimonialism

Why aren't all countries (neo)patrimonial?

Pitfalls of sociability according to Habyarimana et al.

• Coin game:

- Player receives two UGX 100 or 500 coins and is asked to allocate the coins among themselves and two partners
- Two versions, with different results:
 - Offerer anonymous: equal allocation to co-ethnics and non-co-ethnics
 - Offerer visible: significantly larger allocation to co-ethnics than to non-co-ethnics

• Interpretation:

- Enforcement of cooperation-facilitating norms by ethnic groups >
- Sanctioning of community members who fail to contribute to collective endeavors
 - Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 709–25.

Pitfalls of sociability according to Habyarimana et al. (and Fukuyama)

- Implications:
 - Coethnics = kin
 - Particular difficulty of depatrimonialization (necessary for the establishment of 'modern states') in ethnically diverse societies

Ethnic diversity and public goods provision according to Habyarimana et al.

• Coin game:

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• Interpretation:

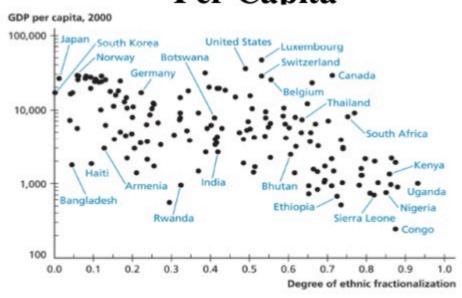
- Enforcement of cooperation-facilitating norms by ethnic groups \rightarrow
- Sanctioning of community members who fail to contribute to collective endeavors \rightarrow
- Ethnic diversity impedes the provision of public goods
 - Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 709–25.

Correlates of ethnic fractionalization

- Positive:
 - Conflict
- Negative:
 - Economic growth
 - Government public goods provision
 - Societal trust
 - Civil peace

Ethnic fractionalization and economic growth according to Alesina et al.

Ethnic Fractionalization vs GDP Per Capita



Source: Alesina et. al (2003)

Ethnic fractionalization and economic growth according to Easterly and Levine

• 28 percent of the economic growth differential between the countries of Africa and East Asia explained by ethnic diversity

• Easterly, William, and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions."

Quarterly Journal of Economics 112
(4): 1203-50.

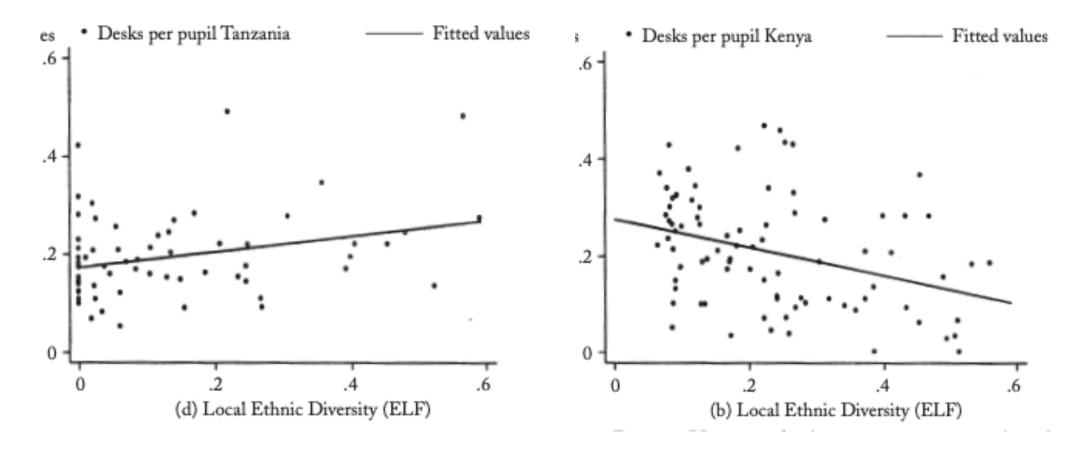






Is the effect of ethnic diversity deterministic according to Miguel?

Ethnic diversity and public goods provision according to Miguel

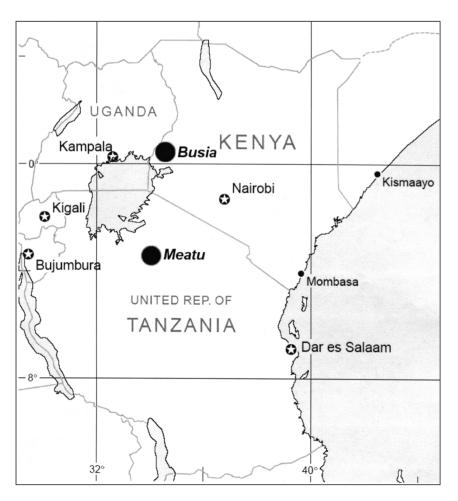


Why does ethnic diversity impede the provision of public goods according to Miguel?

Ethnic diversity and public goods provision according to Miguel

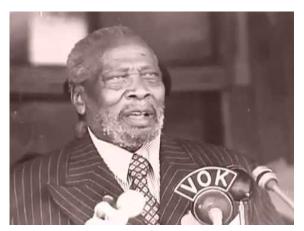
- Natural experiment
- Political salience of ethnicity:
 - Low in Tanzania
 - High in Kenya
 - Edward Miguel, "Tribe or Nation?: Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania," *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (2004): 327–62.





Political salience of ethnicity in Kenya and Tanzania

- Tanzania:
 - Julius Nyerere, Zanaki
 - Equitable distribution of government resources
 - Nation-building
- Kenya:
 - Jomo Kenyatta, Kikuyu
 - Ethnic favoritism
 - Political mobilization of coethnic ties





Political salience of ethnicity in Kenya



https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CynQ3Z30pP4

What mechanisms mediate the relationship between ethnic diversity and public goods provision according to Habyarimana et al. and Miguel?

Mechanisms

- Habyarimana et al.: enforcement of cooperation-facilitating norms by ethnic groups
- Miguel: political salience of ethnicity
- Implications:
 - No direct, deterministic relationship between ethnicity and public goods provision

Collective identities

- Ethnic
- Gender
- Linguistic
- National
- Racial
- Religious

Are the developmental effects of other collective identities the same as those of ethnicity?

Takeaways

- Socially detrimental effects of ethnicity (and potentially other collective identities) on development
- Key role of causal mechanisms