

Ethnic Conflict

PSC 300.205 – Fall 2008

Department of Political Science
Syracuse University

MWF 10.35 am-11.30am
Room: Eggers Hall 018

Professor: Seth Jolly
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Course website: blackboard.syr.edu

Office Hours
Monday and Wednesday
4pm-5pm,
or by appointment

Course Overview

In this course, we will examine ethnicity and its effects on politics. We will engage the concept of ethnicity, how it structures politics and sparks conflict, and what political tools exist to manage these conflicts. In the first part of the course, we explore various definitions of ethnicity. Then we will study the many manifestations of political conflict that can be attributed to ethnic divisions within a society, ranging from discrimination to genocide. Finally, we will evaluate possible mechanisms for managing ethnic conflict. In all three segments of the course, we will draw material from around the world, in particular Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America; in your written assignments and in class discussions, however, I encourage you to bring in expertise, examples, and experiences from any part of the world.

Ethnicity is a crucial dividing line in nearly every society. Its political relevance is evident. Studying ethnic conflict brings together many fields of inquiry within and outside political science: comparative politics, international relations, sociology, economics, religion, and psychology, among others. Though we approach the topic from a political standpoint, we will incorporate these alternative viewpoints and methods whenever possible.

Course Expectations and Requirements

Response Papers

1. Attendance is required, and unexcused absences will adversely affect the participation grade. But attendance is only one component of successful participation. The course follows a seminar/lecture format, and much of the course will be spent discussing the readings and relevant current events. Your primary responsibilities will be to come to class on time and be prepared to engage in discussion and ask questions about the material. If you miss more than 4 classes without proper University documentation, your course grade will be lowered by 1/2 letter grade per absence.
2. Reading the required assignments, typically about 50 pages per session. Your written work for the course needs to demonstrate familiarity with and understanding of the literature by making references to the readings. In addition to the academic literature, you should follow current events regarding ethnic conflict. When appropriate, we will discuss current events during class.
3. If class participation is lacking, I reserve the right to administer quizzes, either announced or unannounced, on the readings. If given, quizzes will be incorporated into your participation grade.

4. You will complete two short papers (4-5 pages). More detailed instructions for each assignment will be distributed during class, at least one week prior to the due date. Written assignments are due, in hard copy form, at the beginning of the class session listed in the syllabus. Late assignments will be penalized 1/2 letter grade for each 24 hour delay.
5. There will be an in-class final exam on Monday 8 December from 2:45-4:45pm. You will receive a set of study questions covering the course material during the final class session. The exam essay questions will be drawn from this list and there will be several short answer questions as well.

Evaluation

Papers (2)	30%
Mid-Term Exam	20%
Final Exam (cumulative)	30%
Participation	20%

Academic Integrity

Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. If I suspect academic dishonesty or plagiarism, I will submit formal reports to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. For reference, the University's clear statement on plagiarism and academic dishonesty is available at this link: http://supolicies.syr.edu/ethics/acad_integrity.htm.

Required Books

Gourevitch, Philip. 1999. *We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. New York: Picador. ISBN: 0312243359.

Horowitz, Donald L. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2nd ed. ISBN 0520227069. (abbreviated *EGC*)

The remaining readings are available via Blackboard, as designated in the syllabus.

Meeting and Assignment Schedule

1. Introduction & Overview (Monday, 25 August)

Part I. Understanding Ethnicity

2. What is ethnicity? (Wednesday, 27 August)

Assignment Due: Short Essay

How do you define ethnicity? Please write one or two paragraphs on how you conceive of ethnicity. What constitutes an ethnic group? What criteria distinguishes ethnicity from other politically salient characteristics? Please do not do any research to complete this assignment; it should comprise only your own thoughts and ideas.

3. Ethnicity (Friday, 29 August)

Required Readings

EGC parts of Ch. 1 “Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict” (pp. 3-12 & pp. 41-54)

Labor Day (1 September)—No Classes

4. Theories of Ethnicity—Primordialism (Wednesday, 3 September)

Required Readings

EGC parts of Ch. 2 “A Family Resemblance” (pp. 55-64 & pp. 74-92)

Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds. 1996. *Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Blackboard]

- Clifford Geertz “Primordial Ties” (pp. 40-45)
- Jack Eller and Reed Coughlan “The Poverty of Primordialism” (pp. 45-51)
- Steven Grosby “The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality” (pp. 51-56)
- Pierre van den Berghe “Does Race Matter?” (pp. 57-62)

5. Theories of Ethnicity—Constructivism (Friday, 5 September)

Required Readings

Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds. 1996. *Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press. [Blackboard]

- Max Weber “Ethnic Groups” (pp. 35-40)
- Walker Connor “Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond” (pp. 69-74)
- Paul R. Brass “Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Identity Formation” (pp. 85-90)
- Michael Hechter “Ethnicity and Rational Choice Theory” (pp. 90-98)
- Anthony D. Smith “Chosen Peoples” (pp. 189-197)

Waters, Mary C. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. “Chapter 3: Influences on Ancestry Choice.” Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 52-89. [Blackboard]

6. Is Ethnicity a Constant, or Can it Change? (Monday, 8 September)

Required Readings

EGC part of Ch. 2 “A Family Resemblance” (pp. 64-74)

Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. “The Hispanic Challenge.” *Foreign Policy* 141 (March/April): 30-45. [Blackboard]

Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba*. Ch. 1 “The Two Faces of Culture.” Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-20. [Blackboard]

- See U.S. State Department Background Note for a good overview of Nigeria <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2836.htm>

7. Which ethnicities matter? (Wednesday, 10 September)

Required Readings

- Hardin, Russell. 1995. *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ch. 1 “Individuals and Groups” (pp. 3-25)
 - Ch. 2 “Group Power” (pp. 26-45)

Part II. Ethnic Conflict and Its Many Forms

8. Theories of Ethnic Violence—Preliminaries from Psychology (Friday, 12 September)

Required Readings

- Tajfel, Henri. 1982. “Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations.” *Annual Review of Psychology* 33: 1-39. [Blackboard]
- Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1998. “Intergroup Contact Theory.” *Annual Review of Psychology* 49: 65-85. [Blackboard]

9. Theories of Ethnic Violence (Monday, 15 September)

Required Readings

- EGC* Ch. 3 “Conflict Theory and Conflict Motives” (pp. 95-140)
- Nirenberg, David. 1996. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Ch. 7 “The Two Faces of Sacred Violence.” Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 200-230. [Blackboard]

10. 1994 Rwanda Genocide I—The Banality of Evil? (Wednesday, 17 September)

Required Readings

- Gourevitch, Philip. 1999. *We Wish To Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda*. New York: Picador, pp. 4-74.
- Szamuely, George. 1999. “The evil of banality” *The Spectator* 283.8926 (Sept. 4): 13. [Blackboard]
- Miller, Stephen. 1998. “A note on the banality of evil.” *The Wilson Quarterly* Washington Autumn, 54. [Blackboard]
- Goldhagen, Daniel. 1992. “The Evil of Banality” *The New Republic* (July 13), 49-52. [Blackboard]

11. 1994 Rwanda Genocide II (Friday, 19 September)

Required Readings

- Gourevitch, pp. 75-131.

In-Class Film, Part I: *The Ghosts of Rwanda*

12. 1994 Rwanda Genocide III (Monday, 22 September)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 132-184.

In-Class Film, Part 2: *The Ghosts of Rwanda*

13. 1994 Rwanda Genocide IV (Wednesday, 24 September)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 185-274

Percival, Valerie and Thomas Homer-Dixon. 1995. "Getting Rwanda Wrong." *Saturday Night* 110.7 (September): 47-49. [Blackboard]

14. 1994 Rwanda Genocide V (Friday, 26 September)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 275-320

Power, Samantha. 2001. "Bystanders to Genocide." *Atlantic Monthly* 288.2 (September): 84-108.

15. 1994 Rwanda Genocide VI (Monday, 29 September)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 321-353

Dallaire, Roméo A. 1998. "The End of Innocence: Rwanda 1994." In *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention*, ed. Jonathan Moore. New York: Rowan and Littlefield.

Further (optional) Readings

Dallaire, Roméo. 2003. *Shake Hands With The Devil. The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2002. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Power, Samantha. 2002. *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide*. New York: Basic Books.

16. Ethnic Cleansing in Darfur, Sudan (Wednesday, 1 October)

Required Readings

2004. "Fleeing the horsemen who kill for Khartoum." *The Economist* (May 15-21): 21-23. [Blackboard]
Human Rights Watch. 2004. "Sudan: Darfur in Flames: Atrocities in Western Sudan." 16.5 (April 2004). [Blackboard]

17. Sources of Conflict: Group Comparison (Friday, 3 October)

Required Readings

- EGC* part of Ch. 1 "Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict" (pp. 21-36)
EGC Ch. 4 "Group Comparison and the Sources of Conflict" (pp. 141-184)

18. Peer Editing (Monday, 6 October)

Paper 1 draft due

First Paper Due 10/8

19. Sources of Conflict: Group Entitlement (Wednesday, 8 October)

- EGC* Ch. 5 "Group Entitlement and the Sources of Conflict" (pp. 185-228)

20. Micro-Level Economic Effects of Ethnic Divisions (Friday, 10 October)

Required Readings

- Rauch, James E. and Vitor Trindade. 2002. "Ethnic Chinese Networks in International Trade." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 84.1 (February): 116-130. [Blackboard]
Moss, Philip and Chris Tilly. 1995. "Raised Hurdles for Black Men: Evidence from Interviews with Employers." Russell Sage Foundation, November. [Blackboard]
Waldinger, Roger. 1997. "Social Capital or Social Closure? Immigrant Networks in the Labor Market." UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies working paper, August. [Blackboard]

Optional Readings

- DiPasquale, Denise and Edward L. Glaeser. 1998. "The Los Angeles Riots and the Economics of Urban Unrest." *Journal of Urban Economics* 43.1 (January): 52-78.

21. Macro-Level Economic Effects of Ethnic Divisions (Monday, 13 October)

Required Readings

- Easterly, William and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112.4 (November): 1203-1250. [Blackboard]
- Posner, Daniel N. 2004. "Measuring Ethnic Fractionalization in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 48.4 (October): 849-863. [Blackboard]

22. Mid-Term Exam (Wednesday, 15 October)

23. Ethnicity and Political Competition (Friday, 17 October)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 7 "Ethnic Parties and Party Systems" (pp. 291-332)

Optional Readings

EGC Ch. 8 "Competition and Change in Ethnic Party Systems" (pp. 333-364)
EGC Ch. 9 "Multiethnic Coalitions" (pp. 365-395)

24. Political Competition and Ethnic Conflict (Monday, 20 October)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 10 "Multiethnic Alliances and Parties" (pp. 396-440)

25. Ethnic Violence and the Electoral Process (Wednesday, 22 October)

Required Readings

- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Blackboard]
- Ch. 1 "The Electoral Incentives for Ethnic Violence" (pp. 1-18)
 - Ch. 5 "The Electoral Incentives for Hindu-Muslim Violence." (pp. 137-171)

26. Ethnic Patronage Politics (Friday, 24 October)

Required Readings

- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India*. Ch. 1 "Introduction." New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-30. [Blackboard]
- Witte, Els and Machteld de Metsenaere. 1992. Ch. 2 "The Flemings in Brussels." In Max Engman, ed. *Ethnic Identity in Urban Europe: Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850-1940*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 13-37. [Blackboard]

27. Globalization and Ethnic Conflict (Monday, 27 October)

Required Readings

Chua, Amy. 2003. *World on Fire*. New York: Doubleday.

- Ch. 5 “Backlash Against Markets” (pp. 127-146)
- Ch. 6 “Backlash Against Democracy” (pp. 147-162)
- Ch. 7 “Backlash Against Market-Dominated Minorities” (pp. 163-176)

Part III. Managing Ethnic Conflict

28. Electoral and Institutional Reforms (Wednesday, 29 October)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 14 “Ethnic Policy: The Constraints and Opportunities” (pp. 563-600)

29. Lijphart v. Horowitz: Consociational v. Incentive-based Approaches (Friday, 31 October)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 15 “Structural Techniques to Reduce Ethnic Conflict” (pp. 601-652)

Lijphart, Arend. 1996. “The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation.” *American Political Science Review* 90.2 (June): 258-68. [Blackboard]

30. Designing Democracy (Monday, 3 November)

Required Readings

Horowitz, Donald. 1991. *A Democratic South Africa: Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [Blackboard]

- Ch. 5 “Electoral Systems for a Divided Society” (pp. 163-203)
- Ch. 6 “Designs for Democracy” (pp. 204-238)

31. Democracy and Fair Representation in America (Wednesday, 5 November)

Required Readings

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. “Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent ‘yes.’” *The Journal of Politics* 61.3 (August): 628-657. [Blackboard]

Hill, Kevin A. 1995. “Does the Creation of Majority Black Districts Aid Republicans? An Analysis of the 1992 Congressional Elections in Eight Southern States.” *The Journal of Politics* 57.2 (May): 384-401. [Blackboard]

Toobin, Jeffrey. 2003. “Annals of Law: The Great Election Grab.” *The New Yorker* 79.38 (December 8): 63-80. [Blackboard]

Optional Readings

- Guinier, Lani. 1995. "The Representation of Minority Interests." In Paul Peterson ed. *Classifying by Race*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 21-49.
- Lublin, David Ian. 1995. "Race, Representation and Redistricting." In Paul Peterson ed. *Classifying by Race*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 111-128.

32. Overcoming Discrimination: The Free-Market Approach (Friday, 7 November)

Required Readings

- Becker, Gary S. 1993. "The Economic Way of Looking at Behavior." *Journal of Political Economy* 101.3: 385-409 (esp. 385-389). [Blackboard]
- Friedman, Milton. 1962. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Ch. VII "Capitalism and Discrimination." Chicago: University of Chicago, pp.108-118. [Blackboard]
- After Becker and Friedman, read:
Marshall, Ray. 1974. "The Economics of Racial Discrimination: A Survey." *Journal of Economic Literature* 12.3 (September): 849-871. [Blackboard]

33. Overcoming Discrimination and Inequality: Preferential Policies (Monday, 10 November)

Required Readings

- EGC* Ch. 16 "Preferential Policies to Reduce Ethnic Conflict" (pp. 653-680).

Optional Readings

- Wyman, Michael L. 1990. "Ethnic Relations and the New Economic Policy in Malaysia." In Michael L. Wyman, ed., *The Political Economy of Ethnic Discrimination and Affirmative Action*. New York: Praeger, pp. 49-80. [Blackboard]
- Weiner, Myron and Mary F. Katzenstein. 1981. *India's Preferential Policies: Migrants, the Middle Classes, and Ethnic Equality*. Ch. 8 "India's Preferential Policies in Comparative Perspective." Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.136-153.

34. Is Democracy Good for Ethnic Conflict? (Wednesday, 12 November)

Required Readings

- Elster, Jon, Claus Offe and Ulrich K. Preuss. 1998. *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies*. Ch. 7 "Consolidation and the Cleavages of Ideology and Identity." New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 247-270. [Blackboard]
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Blackboard]
- Ch. 8 "Democracy and Ethnic Violence" (pp. 236-241)

35. Nations, States, and Nation-States (Friday, 14 November)

Required Readings

- Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Ch. 7 “The Demand for Sovereignty and the Emergence of Nationalism.” New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 113-133. [Blackboard]
- Lijphart, Arend. 1995. Ch. 12 “Self-Determination versus Pre-Determination of Ethnic Minorities in Power-Sharing Systems.” In Will Kymlicka, ed. *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 275-287. [Blackboard]
- Mill, John Stuart. 1861. *Considerations on Representative Government*. Ch. 16 “Of Nationality as Connected with Representative Government.” [Blackboard]

36. Secessionism and Irredentism (Monday, 17 November)

Required Readings

- Buchanan, Allen. 1995. Ch. 17 “The Morality of Secession.” In Will Kymlicka, ed. *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 350-374. [Blackboard]
- EGC* Ch. 6 “The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas” (pp. 229-88)

37. Separatism as a Policy Tool (Wednesday, 19 November)

Required Readings

- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars.” *International Security* 20.4 (Spring): 137-175. [Blackboard]
- Sambanis, Nicolas. 2000. “Ethnic Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature.” *World Politics* 52.4 (July): 437-482. [Blackboard]

38. International Intervention (Friday, 21 November)

Required Readings

- EGC* Ch. 13 “The Effects of Intervention and the Art of Prevention” (pp. 526-562)
- Review Gourevitch, esp. 177+*

39. International Community as Honest Broker (Monday, 24 November)

Required Readings

- Posen, Barry. 1993. “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict.” *Survival* 35.1 (Spring): 27-47. [Blackboard]
- Jentleson, Bruce. 1998. “Preventive Diplomacy and Ethnic Conflict: Possible, Difficult, Necessary.” In David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 292-316. [Blackboard]

Chayes, Antonia Handler and Abram Chayes. 1998. "Mobilizing International and Regional Organizations for Managing Ethnic Conflict." In Eugene Weiner, ed. *The Handbook of Interethnic Coexistence*. New York: Continuum, pp. 416-46. [Blackboard]

Thanksgiving Break (26-28 November)—No Classes

40. Responding to Atrocities: the International Criminal Court (Monday, 1 December)

Required Readings

Dempsey, Gary. 2006. "Not-So-Supreme Court." *National Review Online*. (9 April). [Blackboard]

Kissinger, Henry. 2001. "The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction." *Foreign Affairs* 80.4 (July/August). [Blackboard]

Roth, Kenneth. 2001. "The Case for Universal Jurisdiction." *Foreign Affairs* 80.5 (Sept/Oct). [Blackboard]

Simons, Marlise, Lydia Polgreen and Jeffrey Gettleman. 2008. "Arrest is Sought of Sudan Leader in Genocide Case." *The New York Times* (15 July). [Blackboard]
Search for other recent news on the Darfur/Sudan ICC case

41. Peer Editing (Wednesday, 3 December)

Paper 2 draft due

Second Paper Due 12/5

42. (Friday, 5 December)

Wrap-Up & Discussion of Papers

Final Exam: Monday, 8 December from 2:45-4:45pm