

Ethnic Conflict

PSC 300.205 – Fall 2009

Department of Political Science
Syracuse University

MWF 10.35 am-11.30am
Room: Eggers Hall 018

Professor: Seth Jolly

Contact Information

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Course website: blackboard.syr.edu

Office Hours

Monday 4–5pm,

Wednesday 9–10am,

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, 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

1. Attendance is required, and 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 3 response papers (2 pages). You are free to choose the sessions for which you complete a response paper, though one must be during a Rwanda session. More detailed instructions for the response papers will be distributed during class. Written assignments are due, in hard copy form, at the beginning of the class session.

5. You will complete two short papers (5–6 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, along with a Turnitin Originality Report. Late assignments will be penalized 1/2 letter grade for each 24 hour delay.
6. There will be an in-class final exam on Monday, 21 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%
Response Papers (3)	15%
Final Exam (cumulative)	35%
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. Also, <http://www.plagiarism.org> is a useful website for tips on citations and other writing resources.

This class will be using Turnitin, a plagiarism prevention system. Via blackboard, each student will submit all papers that you write in this class to Turnitin, a service that identifies “matched text.” Using Turnitin, you will be given the opportunity to view your Originality Report and check that all sources you have used are properly acknowledged and cited. Note that all submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers in the future. When you turn in your papers, you should also turn in your Originality Report.

Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

Students who are in need of disability-related academic accommodations must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS), 804 University Avenue, Room 309, 315-443-4498. Students with authorized disability-related accommodations should provide a current Accommodation Authorization Letter from ODS to the instructor and review those accommodations with the instructor. Accommodations, such as exam administration, are not provided retroactively; therefore, planning for accommodations as early as possible is necessary. For further information, see the ODS website, Office of Disability Services <http://disabilityservices.syr.edu/>.

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*)

Minow, Martha. 1999. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. New York: Beacon Press. ISBN: 0807045071.

The remaining readings are available via Blackboard under the Documents tab (abbreviated [BB]).

Meeting and Assignment Schedule

1. Introduction & Overview (Monday, 31 August)

Part I. Understanding Ethnicity

2. What is ethnicity? (Wednesday, 2 September)

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.

American Political Science Association annual meeting (4 September)—No Class

Labor Day (7 September)—No Class

3. Ethnicity (Wednesday, 9 September)

Required Readings

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

4. Theories of Ethnicity—Primordialism (Friday, 11 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. [BB]

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

Supplementary Readings

Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. “The Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Affairs* 72.3 (Summer): 22–49.

5. Theories of Ethnicity—Constructivism (Monday, 14 September)

Required Readings

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

- 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)

Hardin, Russell. 1995. *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Ch. 1 “Individuals and Groups” (pp. 3–25) [BB]

6. Which Ethnicities Matter? (Wednesday, 16 September)

Required Readings

Posner, Daniel N. 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 (November): 529–545. [BB]

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

7. Is Ethnicity a Constant, or Can it Change? (Friday, 18 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. [BB]

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. [BB]

Eid Ul-Fitr (21 September)—No Class

Part II. Ethnic Conflict and Its Many Forms

8. Theories of Ethnic Violence—Preliminaries from Psychology (Wednesday, 23 September)

Required Readings

Allport, Gordon W. [1954] 1979. *The Nature of Prejudice*. "Chapter 16: The Effect of Contact." New York: Basic Books, 261–282. [BB]

Pettigrew, Thomas F. 1998. "Intergroup Contact Theory." *Annual Review of Psychology* 49: 65–85. [BB]

Supplementary Readings

Tajfel, Henri. 1982. "Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations." *Annual Review of Psychology* 33: 1–39.

9. Theories of Ethnic Violence (Friday, 25 September)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 3 "Conflict Theory and Conflict Motives" (pp. 95–140)

Yom Kippur (28 September)—No Class

10. 1994 Rwanda Genocide I—The Banality of Evil (Wednesday, 30 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, 5–74.

Szamuely, George. 1999. “The evil of banality” *The Spectator* 283.8926 (Sept. 4): 13. [BB]

Miller, Stephen. 1998. “A note on the banality of evil.” *Wilson Quarterly Washington* Autumn: 54. [BB]

Goldhagen, Daniel. 1992. “The Evil of Banality” *The New Republic* (July 13): 49–52. [BB]

11. 1994 Rwanda Genocide II (Friday, 2 October)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 75–146.

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

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

12. 1994 Rwanda Genocide III (Monday, 5 October)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 147–226.

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

13. 1994 Rwanda Genocide IV (Wednesday, 7 October)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 227–290.

14. 1994 Rwanda Genocide V (Friday, 9 October)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 290–353.

Power, Samantha. 2001. “Bystanders to Genocide.” *Atlantic Monthly* 288.2 (September): 84–108.

Supplementary 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.

15. Responding to Atrocities: International Intervention (Monday, 12 October)

Required Readings

- Jonathan Moore, ed. 1998. *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention*. New York: Rowan and Littlefield. [BB]
- Annan, Kofi A. “Peacekeeping, Military Intervention, and National Sovereignty in Internal Armed Conflict” (pp. 55–69)
 - Dallaire, Roméo A. “The End of Innocence: Rwanda 1994” (pp. 71–86)
 - Anderson, Mary B. “‘You Save My Life Today, But for What Tomorrow?’ Some Moral Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid” (pp. 137–156)

16. International Community as Honest Broker (Wednesday, 14 October)

Required Readings

- Posen, Barry. 1993. “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict.” *Survival* 35.1 (Spring): 27–47. [BB]
- 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, 293–316. [BB]

17. Case Study: Bosnia (Friday, 16 October)

Required Readings

- Power, Samantha. 2002. “A Problem From Hell.” *America and the Age of Genocide*. Chapter 9 “Bosnia: ‘No More than Witnesses at a Funeral.’” New York: Basic Books, 247–329.[BB]

18. Peer Editing (Monday, 19 October)

Paper 1 draft due

First Paper Due 10/21

19. Sources of Conflict: Group Comparison (Wednesday, 21 October)

Required Readings

- EGC* Ch. 4 “Group Comparison and the Sources of Conflict” (pp. 141–184)

20. Sources of Conflict: Group Entitlement (Friday, 23 October)

Required Readings

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

21. Micro-Level Economic Effects of Ethnic Divisions (Monday, 26 October)

Required Readings

- Moss, Philip and Chris Tilly. 1995. "Raised Hurdles for Black Men: Evidence from Interviews with Employers." Russell Sage Foundation, November, 1–15. [BB]
- Waldinger, Roger. 1997. "Social Capital or Social Closure? Immigrant Networks in the Labor Market." UCLA Lewis Center for Regional Policy Studies working paper, August, 1–29. [BB]

22. Overcoming Discrimination and Inequality: The Free-Market Approach & Preferential Policies (Wednesday, 28 October)

Required Readings

- Becker, Gary S. 1993. "The Economic Way of Looking at Behavior." *Journal of Political Economy* 101.3: 385–409 (esp. 385–389, skim the rest). [BB]
- Friedman, Milton. 1962. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Ch. VII "Capitalism and Discrimination." Chicago: University of Chicago, 108–118. [BB]
- EGC* Ch. 16 "Preferential Policies to Reduce Ethnic Conflict" (pp. 653–680).

23. Macro-Level Economic Effects of Ethnic Divisions (Friday, 30 October)

Required Readings

- Campos, Nauro F. and Vitaliy S. Kuzeyev. 2007. "On the Dynamics of Ethnic Fractionalization." *American Journal of Political Science* 51.3 (July): 620–639. [BB]
- Posner, Daniel N. 2004. "Measuring Ethnic Fractionalization in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 48.4 (October): 849–863. [BB]

Supplementary Readings

- Alesina, Alberto and Eliana La Ferrara. 2005. "Ethnic Diversity and Economic Performance." *Journal of Economic Literature* 43.3 (September): 762–800.
- Easterly, William and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112.4 (November): 1203–1250.

24. Globalization and Ethnic Conflict (Monday, 2 November)

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)

25. Is Democracy Good for Ethnic Conflict? (Wednesday, 4 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. [BB]

Mill, John Stuart. 1861. *Considerations on Representative Government*. Ch. 16 “Of Nationality as Connected with Representative Government.” (pp. 308–319) [BB]

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [BB]

- Ch. 8 “Democracy and Ethnic Violence” (pp. 236–241)

26. Ethnicity and Political Competition (Friday, 6 November)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 7 “Ethnic Parties and Party Systems” (pp. 291–332)

Supplementary Readings

EGC Ch. 8 “Competition and Change in Ethnic Party Systems” (pp. 333–364)

EGC Ch. 9 “Multiethnic Coalitions” (pp. 365–395)

27. Political Competition and Ethnic Conflict (Wednesday, 11 November)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 10 “Multiethnic Alliances and Parties” (pp. 396–440)

28. Ethnic Violence and the Electoral Process (Monday, 9 November)

Required Readings

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [BB]

- Ch. 1 “The Electoral Incentives for Ethnic Violence” (pp. 1–18)
- Ch. 5 “The Electoral Incentives for Hindu-Muslim Violence.” (pp. 137–171)

Part III. Managing Ethnic Conflict

29. Institutional Reforms (Friday, 13 November)

Required Readings

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

30. Structural Techniques: Federalism (Monday, 16 November)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 15 “Structural Techniques to Reduce Ethnic Conflict” (pp. 601–628)

Hechter, Michael. 2000. “Nationalism and Rationality.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35.1 (Spring): 3–19. [BB]

31. Structural Techniques: Electoral Reforms (Wednesday, 18 November)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 15 “Structural Techniques to Reduce Ethnic Conflict” (pp. 628–652)

Horowitz, Donald. 1991. *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Ch. 5 “Electoral Systems for a Divided Society.” Berkeley: University of California Press, 163–203. [BB]

32. Case Study: Papua New Guinea (Friday, 20 November)

Required Readings

Reilly, Benjamin. 2001. *Democracy in Divided Societies*. Ch. 4 “The Rise and Fall of Centripetalism in Papua New Guinea.” New York: Cambridge University Press, 58–94. [BB]

33. Consociational Democracy (Monday, 23 November)

Required Readings

Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. Ch. 2 “Consociational Democracy.” New Haven: Yale University press, 25–52. [BB]

First read Lijphart, then:

Lemarchand, René. 2007. “Consociationalism and Power Sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” *African Affairs* 106.422: 1–20. [BB]

Supplementary Readings

Barry, Brian. 1975. “The Consociational Model and Its Dangers.” *European Journal of Political Research* 3 (December): 393–412.

Lijphart, Arend. 1985. *Power-Sharing in South Africa*. Berkeley, CA: Institute of International Studies, University of California.

Lijphart, Arend. 2004. “Constitutional Design for Divided Societies.” *Journal of Democracy* 15.2 (April): 96–109.

Horowitz, Donald. 1991. *A Democratic South Africa?*

Thanksgiving (25–27 September)—No Class

34. Secessionism and Irredentism (Monday, 30 November)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 6 “The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas” (pp. 229–88)

35. Separatism as a Policy Tool (Wednesday, 2 December)

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, 350–374. [BB]

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars.” *International Security* 20.4 (Spring): 136–175. [BB]

Supplementary Readings

Downes, Alexander. 2001. “The Holy Land Divided: Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars.” *Security Studies* 10 (Summer): 58–116.

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.

36. Peer Editing (Friday, 4 December)

Paper 2 draft due

Second Paper Due 12/7

37. Trials (Monday, 7 December)

Required Readings

Minow, Martha. 1998. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass Violence*. Chapter 3 “Trials.” Boston: Beacon Press, 25–51.

Kissinger, Henry. 2001. “The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction.” *Foreign Affairs* 80.4 (July/August): 86–96. [BB]

Roth, Kenneth. 2001. “The Case for Universal Jurisdiction.” *Foreign Affairs* 80.5 (Sept/Oct): 150–154. [BB]

Case Study: Sudan

“Fleeing the horsemen who kill for Khartoum.” May 15, 2004. *The Economist*. [BB]

“A Warrant for Bashir.” March 5, 2009. *The Economist*. [BB]

“Braced for the Aftershock.” March 5, 2009. *The Economist*. [BB]

Supplementary Readings

Dempsey, Gary. 2006. “Not-So-Supreme Court.” *National Review Online*. (9 April).

Human Rights Watch. 2004. “Sudan: Darfur in Flames: Atrocities in Western Sudan.” 16.5 (April 2004).

38. Truth Commissions (Wednesday, 9 December)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, Philip. 2009. "The Life After." *The New Yorker* 85.12 (4 May): 36–49. [BB]

Minow, Chapter 4 "Truth Commissions" (pp. 52–90)

39. Case Study: South Africa (Friday, 11 December)

Required Readings

Boraine, Alex. 2000. Ch. VII "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Third Way." In Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds. *Truth V. Justice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 141–157. [BB]

Krog, Antjie. 1998. *Country of My Skull*. Chapter 6 "The Wet Bag And Other Phantoms." New York: Three Rivers Press, 89–99. [BB]

Mandela, Nelson. 2003. *Nelson Mandela: In His Own Words*. Selections: "No Easy Walk to Freedom" and "I Am Prepared to Die." New York: Little, Brown and Company, 15–17 & 27–42. [BB]

Tutu, Desmond. 1999. *No Future Without Forgiveness*. Chapter 1 "The Prelude." New York: Image, 3–12. [BB]

Supplementary Readings

Krog, Antjie. 1998. *Country of My Skull*. Chs. 3–5. New York: Three Rivers Press, 37–88. [BB]

Minow, Martha. 2000. Ch. XII "The Hope for Healing: What Can Truth Commissions Do?" In Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds. *Truth V. Justice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 235–260. [BB]

40. Reparations and Facing History (Monday, 14 December)

Required Readings

Minow, Chapter 5 "Reparations" and Chapter 6 "Facing History" (pp. 91–147)

Final Exam: Monday, 21 December from 2:45–4:45pm