

Ethnic Conflict

PSC 387 – Fall 2018

Department of Political Science
Syracuse University

T/TH 9:30–10:50am

Room: Hall of Languages 102

Professor: Seth Jolly

Contact Information

Office: 100 Eggers Hall

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Course website: blackboard.syr.edu

Office Hours

Tuesday 3–4pm,

Thursday 11–12pm,

or by appointment

Teaching Assistant: Heidi Stallman

Contact Information

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Office Hours

Thursday 4–5pm,

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, 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 prepared to engage in discussion about the material. If you miss more than 4 classes without proper University documentation, your *overall course grade* will be lowered by 1/2 letter grade per absence.

2. Reading the required assignments, typically about 40–50 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 class readings, you should follow current events regarding ethnic conflict. When appropriate, we will discuss current events.
3. Laptops, cell phones, and other electronic devices may not be used during class without the permission of the instructor. Research shows that the use of laptops hinders learning for students and for nearby peers as well. Multitasking is unfortunately distracting and cognitively challenging. In addition, research suggests that students take notes more effectively with paper and pen than when they write on laptops.
4. You will complete 3 response papers (2 pages each). More detailed instructions for the response papers will be distributed during class. You must choose one class from each part of class (i.e., I. Understanding Ethnicity, II. Ethnic Conflict, III. Managing Ethnic Conflict). Written response papers are due, in hard copy, at the beginning of the relevant 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. 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, December 10th, 12:45–2:45pm. You will receive a set of study questions covering the course material during the final class session. There will be several short answer questions and one longer essay.

Learning Outcomes

- To help you understand the concepts of ethnicity and ethnic conflict.
- To help you become a better consumer of international and national political economic news.
- To help you develop better analytical and communication skills.

Evaluation

Papers (2)	30%	Response Papers (3)	15%
Final Exam (cumulative)	35%	Participation	20%

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 [1985]. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2nd ed. ISBN: 9780520227064. (abbreviated *EGC*)

Minow, Martha. 1999. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. New York: Beacon Press. ISBN: 9780807045077.

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

Meeting and Assignment Schedule

1. Introduction & Overview (Tuesday, 28 August)

In-class Assignment: 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?

American Political Science Association annual meeting (30 August)—No Class

Part I. Understanding Ethnicity

2. Ethnicity (Tuesday, 4 September)

Required Readings

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

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. “What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397–424. [BB]

Supplementary Readings

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

3. Theories of Ethnicity: Primordialism & Rationality (Thursday, 6 September)

Required Readings

EGC parts of Ch. 2 “A Family Resemblance” (pp. 55–64 & pp. 83–92)

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

- Clifford Geertz “Primordial Ties” (pp. 40–45)
- Walker Connor “Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond” (pp. 69–74)
- Michael Hechter “Ethnicity and Rational Choice Theory” (pp. 90–98)

4. Ethnic Options in America (Tuesday, 11 September)

Required Readings

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]

Hochschild, Jennifer and Vesla Mae Weaver. 2010. “‘There’s No One as Irish as Barack O’Bama’: The Policy and Politics of American Multiracialism.” *Perspectives on Politics* 8.3 (September): 737–759. [BB]

5. Is Ethnicity a Constant, or Can it Change? (Thursday, 13 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]

Citrin, Jack, Amy Lerman, Michael Murakami, and Kathryn Pearson. 2007. “Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity?” *Perspectives on Politics* 5.1: 31–48. [BB]

6. Which Ethnicities Matter? (Tuesday, 18 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]

Yi Dionne, Kim. 2015. “Social networks, ethnic diversity, and cooperative behavior in rural Malawi.” *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 27.4: 522–543. [BB]

Part II. Ethnic Conflict and Its Many Forms

7. Preliminaries from Psychology (Thursday, 20 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.

8. Theories of Ethnic Violence (Tuesday, 25 September)

Required Readings

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

9. Rwanda & The Banality of Evil (Thursday, 27 September)

Required Readings

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]

Strauss, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide. Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ch. 1 "Background to the Genocide." Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 17–40.[BB]

Supplementary Readings

Arendt, Hannah. 1963. "Eichmann in Jerusalem." *The New Yorker* 16 February. [BB]

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

10. Rwanda Genocide I (Tuesday, 2 October)

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 (Prologue through Ch. 5).

Paper 1 draft due for Peer Editing. Bring two copies.

First Paper Due 4 October

11. Rwanda Genocide II (Thursday, 4 October)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 75–146 (Ch. 6 through Ch. 10).

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

12. Rwanda Genocide III (Tuesday, 9 October)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 147–226 (Ch. 11 through Ch. 14).

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

13. Rwanda Genocide IV (Thursday, 11 October)

Finish In-Class Film: *The Ghosts of Rwanda*

14. Rwanda: International Intervention (Tuesday, 16 October)

Required Readings

Gourevitch, pp. 227–256 (Chs. 15 and 16), 303–320 (Ch. 20), 342–353 (Ch. 22).

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

Supplementary Readings

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

Gourevitch, Philip. 2009. “The Life After.” *The New Yorker* 4 May 2009: 36–49.

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.

Strauss, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide. Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press

15. International Intervention: Bosnia (Thursday, 18 October)

Required Readings

Moore, Jonathan, 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)

Power, Samantha. 2002. *“A Problem From Hell.” America and the Age of Genocide*. Parts of chapter 9 “Bosnia: ‘No More than Witnesses at a Funeral.’” New York: Basic Books, 247–263 and 304–327.[BB]

Supplementary Readings

Moore, Jonathan, ed. 1998. *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention*. New York: Rowan and Littlefield. [BB]

- Dallaire, Roméo A. “The End of Innocence: Rwanda 1994” (pp. 71–86)

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]

16. Globalization and Ethnic Conflict (Tuesday, 23 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)

17. Sources of Conflict: Comparisons & Legitimacy (Thursday, 25 October)

Required Readings

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

EGC Part of Ch. 5 “Group Entitlement and the Sources of Conflict” (pp. 201–209)

Supplementary Readings

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

30 October—No Class

Part III. Managing Ethnic Conflict

18. Structural Techniques: Federalism & Elections (Thursday, 1 November)

Required Readings

EGC Part of Ch. 14 “Ethnic Policy: The Constraints and Opportunities” (pp. 597–600)

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

Supplementary Readings

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

On federalism:

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

On electoral reform:

Horowitz, Donald. 1991. *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, esp. Ch. 5 (pp. 163–203). [BB]

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]

On ethnic parties:

EGC Ch. 7–10 (pp. 291–364)

19. Consociational Democracy (Tuesday, 6 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?* Berkeley: University of California Press.

20. Structural Techniques: Discrimination and Preferential Policies (Thursday, 8 November)

Guest lecture: Prof. Sara Wallace Goodman, UC-Irvine

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 16 “Preferential Policies to Reduce Ethnic Conflict” (pp. 653–680).

Adida, Claire L., David D. Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort. 2010. “Identifying barriers to Muslim integration in France.” *PNAS* 107.52 (December 28): 22384–22390.

Supplementary Readings

DeSante, Christopher. 2013. “Working Twice as Hard to Get Half as Far: Race, Work Ethic, and America’s Deserving Poor.” *American Journal of Political Science*.

Friedman, Milton. 1962. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Ch. VII “Capitalism and Discrimination.” Chicago: University of Chicago, 108–118. [BB]

Moss, Philip and Chris Tilly. 1995. “Raised Hurdles for Black Men: Evidence from Interviews with Employers.” Russell Sage Foundation, November, 1–15.

21. Secessionism (Tuesday, 13 November)

Required Readings

EGC Ch. 6 “The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas” (pp. 229–281, skim 281–288)

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]

Supplementary Readings

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

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

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.

Paper 2 draft due for Peer Editing. Bring two copies.

Second Paper Due 11/15

22. Ethnic Violence and the Electoral Process (Thursday, 15 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)
- Ch. 8 “Democracy and Ethnic Violence” (pp. 236–241)

Supplementary Readings

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

Thanksgiving Week—No Class (19–23 November)

23. Trials (Tuesday, 27 November)

Required Readings

Minow Ch. 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. “Darfur in Flames: Atrocities in Western Sudan.” 16.5 (April).

24. Truth Commissions (Thursday, 29 November)

Required Readings

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

Minow Ch. 4 “Truth Commissions” (pp. 52–90)

Supplementary Readings

Linfield, Susie. 2010. “Living with the Enemy.” *Guernica. a magazine of art & politics* 1 July.
Available at: https://www.guernicamag.com/features/linfield_7_1_10/. [BB]

25. Case Study: South Africa (Tuesday, 4 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]

26. Reparations and Facing History (Thursday, 6 December)

Required Readings

Minow Ch. 5 “Reparations” and Ch. 6 “Facing History” (pp. 91–147)

Supplementary Readings

Coates, Ta-Nehisi. 2014. “The Case for Reparations.” *The Atlantic Monthly* 313.5 (June): 54–71.
[BB]

Final Exam: Monday, December 10th, 12:45–2:45pm

University Policies

Academic Integrity

Syracuse University's academic integrity policy reflects the high value that we, as a university community, place on honesty in academic work. The policy defines our expectations for academic honesty and holds students accountable for the integrity of all work they submit. Students should understand that it is their responsibility to learn about course-specific expectations, as well as about university-wide academic integrity expectations. The university policy governs appropriate citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verification of participation in class activities. The policy also prohibits students from submitting the same written work in more than one class without receiving written authorization in advance from both instructors. The presumptive penalty for a first instance of academic dishonesty by an undergraduate student is course failure, accompanied by a transcript notation indicating that the failure resulted from a violation of academic integrity policy. The presumptive penalty for a first instance of academic dishonesty by a graduate student is suspension or expulsion. SU students are required to read an online summary of the university's academic integrity expectations and provide an electronic signature agreeing to abide by them twice a year during pre-term check-in on MySlice. For more information and the complete policy, see academicintegrity.syr.edu.

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. Also, www.plagiarism.org is a useful website for tips on citations and other writing resources.

Statement Regarding Disability-Related Accommodations

If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS), disabilityservices.syr.edu, located in Room 309 of 804 University Avenue, or call (315) 443-4498, TDD: (315) 443-1371 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue students with documented Disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS as soon as possible.

Diversity and Disability

Syracuse University values diversity and inclusion; we are committed to a climate of mutual respect and full participation. My goal is to create learning environments that are useable, equitable, inclusive and welcoming. If there are aspects of the instruction or design of this course that result in barriers to your inclusion or accurate assessment or achievement, I invite any student to meet with me to discuss additional strategies beyond accommodations that may be helpful to your success.

Religious Observances Policy

SU's religious observances notification and policy, found at <http://hendricks.syr.edu/spiritual-life/index.html>, recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holidays according to their tradition. Under the policy, students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be missed due to a religious observance provided they notify their instructors before the end of the second week of classes for regular session classes and by the submission deadline for flexibly formatted classes. For fall and spring semesters, an online notification process is available for students in **My Slice/StudentServices/Enrollment/MyReligiousObservances/Add a Notification**.