

CICS 401: IDENTITY, ETHNIC CONFLICT, AND DEMOCRACY
University of Michigan
Fall 2012

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Office Hours: Th 2-4pm, and by appointment

CICS 401.006

International Studies Program

Upper-level seminar (jr. standing required)

Classroom: B115A MLB

Website: see ctools.umich.edu

Course Description:

From Burma to Kenya, Sri Lanka to Syria, ethnically-motivated violence appears depressingly common in the world today. What is ethnicity, where do such identities come from, and to what extent are they malleable rather than fixed? When and why do conflicts over ethnic identities lead to violence? And why do some of these violent conflicts persist for decades (e.g. in Israel/Palestine) while others quietly fade away (e.g. in the south Moluccas in Indonesia)?

Multi-ethnic societies pose special challenges for democracy; indeed, some political philosophers have argued that loyalty to one's ethnic group over one's state will make democratic government impossible. But is this actually true in today's world? To what extent do ethnically-based political parties generate demands that are incompatible with democracy? For better or worse, most states in the world today are multi-ethnic and growing increasingly diverse. Is this diversity harmful, on balance: that is, does having a diverse population help or hinder economic growth and democratic stability?

These are some of the questions we will consider in this course. To develop answers to these questions, we will read a variety of theoretical arguments as well as case studies from around the world. A central goal of the class is to consider the strengths and limitations of different approaches to understanding ethnicity and analyzing its consequences.

Course Materials:

Required Readings:

There are no required books or coursepacks for this course. All readings will be posted to the CTools site. Some of the readings are excerpts from books; these are available on reserve at Shapiro Library (the UGLI). Most of the rest are also available online through the UM library's various electronic journal databases (e.g. MUSE, JSTOR).

Newspaper Reading

Because we will refer regularly to current events in this course, you are expected to follow the news on a daily basis. I recommend the *New York Times* newspaper, available online at www.nytimes.com. Other good sources include *The Economist*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post*.

Additional Readings and Resources

I may occasionally assign other readings. These I will distribute in class or post to the CTools site. I will also post additional resources for your research papers on the CTools site.

Course Requirements:

Participation and Attendance

As befits a senior seminar in your major field, this course is primarily oriented toward student-driven discussion. For you and your peers to benefit from this class, your active participation is crucial. You should be talking as much as I am. If you are silent, the rest of us have no way of knowing if you are brilliant or just didn't do the readings for the week: these are observationally equivalent until you open your mouth. If you are anxious about speaking in class, please contact me so that we can work out another way for you to participate.

To this end, you should come to class each week prepared to talk about **all** of the assigned readings. Note that the reading load is moderate-to-heavy, and that we will only meet once a week; please plan accordingly.

I expect you to be in attendance every class. Because we meet only once a week, missing any class will have a significant impact on your ability to contribute. More than one unexcused absence (those not due to religious exemptions or major illnesses) will lower your final letter grade one interval (e.g. A to A-) per absence. In addition, arriving late to class can be disruptive and is an inconvenience to the rest of us; habitual tardiness will likewise adversely affect your grade.

Discussion Questions

Before midnight on the day before class (i.e. Thursday at 11:59pm), please email me at least one question about the assigned readings. I will use these to structure our class discussion around what you find odd, perplexing, controversial, or otherwise worth talking about. This question can be a clarification—for instance, about evidence or the research method that you do not understand. Or it can be a substantive question that you think would be helpful to discuss in class—for instance, how does this reading relate to something from the previous week? **These questions are due before every class.** You may miss up to two questions before your grade is adversely affected.

Reading Analysis and Leading Discussion

You will be responsible for writing a critical analysis (4-6 pages) of the readings for one week. Your analysis will give you the opportunity to delve deeper into a particular topic and provide you with practice critiquing arguments and developing your own. I will provide a sign-in sheet at the first class for you to choose a topic.

Your analysis should include a summary of no more than one paragraph—assume your reader is already familiar with the material! In the rest of the paper, focus on the theme that ties the readings together (e.g. diversity and economic growth, institutional design for divided societies, international dimensions of ethnic conflict, etc.), and assess how each author addresses that theme. As part of your analysis, pose several discussion questions that arise from the readings. You will then help to lead discussion on that day based on your analysis.

Case Presentation

One of the best ways to make abstract theory more tangible is through the study of a particular case. To this end, you will be responsible for becoming our class expert on an ethnic conflict or a

country with multiple ethnic conflicts. At points during the semester, you will be expected to brief your classmates on developments in your case and relate them to the topic for that week. **Please email me your case no later than the end of the second week of class, 5pm September 14. On October 12, you will submit a 4-5 page summary of your case and its relation to the main topics we cover in the course.**

Final Paper

Your final research paper (12-15 pages) will investigate two cases of ethnic conflict with similar profiles whose outcomes differ on one of the “big” themes of the course. This is your chance to explore in much more depth an issue or examples of ethnic conflict that especially interest you. You should decide on your research topic and cases no later than the 8th week of class, October 26. You will submit an outline and discuss your research paper with me in office hours in November.

In the last two weeks of the course, you will give an 8-10 minute presentation based on your research findings. This is a chance for you to get feedback from your peers and me before the final version of the paper is due on December 14.

I will provide additional guidelines for the research paper in a hand-out distributed during the first few weeks of class.

Grading:

Your course grade will be determined as follows:

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| • Attendance, participation, and discussion questions: | 20% | |
| • Reading analysis paper: | 10% | |
| • Discussion leader: | | 10% |
| • Case summary: | 10% | |
| • Paper outline: | | 10% |
| • Paper presentation: | | 10% |
| • Final research paper: | | 30% |

Other Stuff:

Laptops and Mobile Phones in the Classroom

In order to maximize the value of discussion and minimize disruptions to the other students, **this will be a laptop-free class**. Please do not use laptops during our discussions: power down and tune in! I also take a dim view of mobile phones in the classroom—when you arrive to class, please turn them off.

Email

Email is the easiest way to reach me—I check frequently, and will do my best to reply promptly. However, I cannot answer messages instantaneously—do not send me a message 10 minutes before class and expect me to have read it when you arrive to section. I will also send important class announcements to your email via the CTools announcement function, so please make sure you have a working email account and check it regularly.

Office Hours

Office hours are for your benefit. I urge you to come to my office hours to talk about any difficulties you may be having with the class or to discuss a topic touched upon in class or in the readings. If you cannot make my scheduled office hours, I am happy to schedule individual appointments.

Academic Dishonesty

Per the university, academic dishonest includes “all forms of cheating, falsification, and/or plagiarism.” Simply put, don’t do it. If I suspect that you have plagiarized a paper or cheated on an exam or quiz, I will follow university procedures to the letter, up to and including receiving a failing grade for the course and referral to the Office of Student Conduct and Community Standards. Dishonesty has no place in the classroom. If you are not sure what constitutes a violation of this policy, please ask!

Special Accommodations

I am happy to work with students who feel they may require an accommodation for observance of religious holidays, for a disability, or for other kinds of personal issues that may arise over the term. If you anticipate needing a special accommodation, please see me during office hours, preferably early in the term.

COURSE SCHEDULE (SEPTEMBER 7 – DECEMBER 7)

Week 1 (9/7): Introduction

1. Jerry Z. Muller. 2008. "Us and Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism." *Foreign Affairs*.
2. James Habaryimana et. al. 2008. "Is Ethnic Conflict Inevitable?: Parting Ways Over Nationalism and Separatism." *Foreign Affairs*.
3. News articles (linked in CTools Readings folder.)

Week 2 (9/14): What Is Ethnic Identity and Where Does It Come From?

1. Walker Connor. 1994. "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a..." in *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*.
2. Ashutosh Varshney. 2003. "Why Civil Society?: Ethnic Conflict and the Existing Traditions of Inquiry," pp. 23-39 in *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
3. Steven Leavitt and Stephen J. Dubner. 2005. "Perfect Parenting II, or: Would a Roshanda by Any Other Name Smell as Sweet?" in *Freakonomics*.
4. New York Times articles:
 - "Geneticists Track More of Earliest Humans' First Itineraries."
 - "DNA Study Shows 20 Percent of Iberian Population Has Jewish Ancestry."
 - "Earliest Americans Arrived in Waves, DNA Study Finds."
 - "Pacific Islanders' Ancestry Emerges in Genetic Study."

Recommended (short excerpts from classic writings on ethnicity and nationalism):

- Benedict Anderson. 1981. "The Nation and the Origins of National Consciousness." In *Imagined Communities*.
- Ernest Gellner. 1983. "Nationalism as a Product of Industrial Society." In *Nations and Nationalism*.
- Max Weber. 1914. "Ethnic Groups" In Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds., *Max Weber, Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, Berkeley: University of California Press (2nd printing), pp. 385-398.
- Clifford Geertz. 1963. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States." In Clifford Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, pp. 105-130.

Week 3 (9/21): Which Cultural Differences Become Politically Salient?

1. Eugen Weber. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Introduction and Chapter 29, "Cultures and Civilization."

2. Daniel Posner. 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): 529-545.
3. David Laitin. 1997. "A Theory of Political Identities." In *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations of the Near Abroad*.
4. John McWhorter. 2008. "Introduction" and "Ch. 1: We Speak a Miscegenated Grammar." In *Our Magnificent Bastard Tongue: The Untold Story of English*.

Recommended:

- Douglas W. Rae and Michael Taylor. 1970. *The Analysis of Political Cleavages*. Pages TBA.

Week 4 (9/28): Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Violence: Common or Rare?
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1. Donald Horowitz. 1985. "The Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict," pp. 3-12 in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*.
2. David Laitin, 2007, "The Pandemonium of Nations," in *Nations, States, and Violence*.
3. James Fearon and David Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review*.
4. Stefan Wolff. 2006. "The Human Dimension: Facts, Figures and Stories of Ethnic Conflict," in *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective*.

Recommended:

- *Minorities at Risk* data handbook.

Week 5 (10/5): Domestic Sources of Ethnic Violence

1. James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*.
2. Ashutosh Varshney. 2003. "Why Civil Society?: Ethnic Conflict and the Existing Traditions of Inquiry" pp. 39-54, and Varshney, 2001, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53(3): 362-398.
3. Jack Snyder and Robert Jervis. 1999. "Civil War and the Security Dilemma." In *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*.
4. David Lake and Rothchild. "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict."

Week 6 (10/12): International Dimensions of Ethnic Violence
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1. James Fearon. 2007. "Iraq's Civil War." *Foreign Affairs*.
2. Idean Salehyan, Kristian Gleditsch, and David Cunningham. 2011. "Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups." *International Organization* 65: 709-744.
3. Amy Chua. 2003. "A World on the Edge." *Wilson Quarterly*

4. Susan Olzak 2011. "Does Globalization Breed Ethnic Discontent?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(1): 3-32.

****CASE SUMMARY DUE IN CLASS****

Week 7 (10/19): Ending Ethnic Civil Wars

1. Barbara Walter. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.
2. James Fearon. 2004. "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 275-301.
3. Chaim Kaufmann. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20(4): 36-175.
4. Radha Kumar. 2003. "The Troubled History of Partition." *Foreign Affairs* 76(1)

Recommended:

- Nicholas Sambanis. 2003. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52: 437-83.

****RESEARCH PAPER TOPICS DUE****

Week 8 (10/26): Transitions to Democracy in Multi-ethnic Societies

1. Daniel Bell. "Is Democracy the 'Least Bad' System for Minority Groups?"
2. Steven Fish and Robin Brooks. 2004. "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy*.
3. Demet Yalsin Mousseau. 2001. "Democratizing with Ethnic Divisions: A Source of Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research*.
4. Jack Snyder. 2004. "Nationalism and Democracy in the Developing World," Ch. 6 in *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*.

Recommended:

- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder. 1995. "Democratization and the Danger of War." *International Security* 20(1).

Week 9 (11/2): Elections in Multi-ethnic Societies

1. Alvin Rabushka and Kenneth Shepsle. 1972. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Pages TBA.
2. Donald Horowitz. 1985. "Ethnic Parties and Party Systems," in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, pp. 291-332.
3. Kanchan Chandra. 2003. "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics*

4. Thad Dunning and Lauren Harrison. 2010. "Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 21-39.

Week 10 (11/9): The Political Economy of Ethnic Diversity

1. Robert Bates. 1983. "Modernization, Ethnic Politics, and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa." In Donald Rothchild and Victor Olorunsola, *State Versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*.
2. Roberto Alesina and Eliana La Ferrara. 2004. "Ethnic Diversity and Economic Performance." NBER Working Paper 10313.
3. Habyarimana et al. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 709-725.
4. Richard Florida, "The Rise of the Creative Class," and interview with Scott Page in the *New York Times*.

Recommended:

- Richard Florida and Gary Gates. 2003. "Technology and Tolerance: The Importance of Diversity to High-Technology Growth." In Terry Nichols Clark, ed., *The City as Entertainment Machine*.

****RESEARCH PAPER OUTLINE DUE:
MEETINGS IN OFFICE HOURS****

Week 11 (11/16): Institution-Building in Multi-ethnic Societies

1. Arendt Lijphart. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 15(2).
2. Andrew Reynolds. 2005. "Constitutional Medicine." *Journal of Democracy*.
3. Philip Roder. 2004. "Power Dividing as an Alternative to Ethnic Power-Sharing," in *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*.
4. Joel Selway and Kharis Templeman. 2012. "The Myth of Consociationalism?: Conflict Reduction in Divided Societies." *Comparative Political Studies*.

11/23 – THANKSGIVING BREAK: NO CLASS

Week 12 (11/30): The Nation-State's Multi-ethnic Future: Creating a Broader "We"

We will have one hour of discussion and two hours of student presentations.

1. Robert Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the 21st Century." The 2006 Johann Skyte Prize Lecture.

2. Francis Fukuyama. 2006. "Identity, Immigration, and Liberal Democracy."
3. Will Kymlicka. 2003. "Immigration, Citizenship, Multiculturalism: Exploring the Links." *Political Research Quarterly*.

Week 13 (12/7): Summing Up

We will finish student presentations

****FINAL PAPERS DUE DECEMBER 14 AT 12 NOON****

GOOD LUCK ON FINALS AND HAVE A GREAT HOLIDAY BREAK!