

Carleton University
Department of Political Science
<https://carleton.ca/polisci/>
Winter 2020

PSCI 5915 Y
THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE

Wednesday 11.35 am–2.25 pm
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: Gopika Solanki
Office: Loeb C674
Office Hours: Wednesday 3.00 pm–4.30 pm or by appointment
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course explores theoretical and methodological approaches that explain the causes of ethnic violence in diverse polities. The course also focuses on processes, structures, actors, and mechanisms that seek political, administrative, and legal solutions to ethnic strife. The first part of the course focuses on conceptual frames relating to ethno-nationalism and identifies typologies of conflict. The second part of the course discusses the causes and patterns of ethnic conflict. The third part of the course explores the successes and failures of political and institutional arrangements to redress ethnic violence in varied empirical locations. The course draws upon debates and literature across sub-fields and disciplines. The course integrates in class group exercises to discuss conditions that underlie more successful solutions to address ethnic violence.

READINGS

All assigned readings are also available on library reserves.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

You are expected to hand in two short-response papers during the semester. Each paper is worth 15 percent of the final grade and should be handed in on the day the material is covered in class. You will be responsible for presenting your paper in class, and the presentation comprises 5 percent of the grade. The paper should focus on issues related to the particular theme of the week and respond critically to the discussion. In addition, your paper may also connect themes across readings covered in other weeks. You should hand in your first paper by February 12.

You are required to write a 20–25-page research paper worth 35 percent of the grade. Paper topics may include any issue relevant to the course. You are encouraged to select your topic in consultation with the instructor. You may hand in your paper no later than April 6. Late papers and essays will be penalized by 2.5 marks per day. Late papers will only be exempted from penalty if supported by a medical certificate or other documentary evidence.

You should attend and participate actively in all class discussions and complete the readings for each week. Class participation and attendance together are worth 25 percent of the final grade.

COURSE SCHEDULE

January 8 Introduction and Overview

January 15 Concepts and Definitions

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What Is Ethnic Identity and Why Does it Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 397-424.

Anthony D. Smith (1993) "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism." *Survival* 35:1 48-62.

Anderson, Ben. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. 1-102. Skim.

Posner, Daniel. 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.

Kaufmann, Stuart. 2011. "Symbols, Frames and Violence: Studying Ethnic War in the Philippines." *International Studies Quarterly* 55 937-958.

Horowitz, Donald. 2001. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 522-565.

January 22

Understanding Ethnic Violence: Causes and Typologies

Fearon, James D. and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

Walter, Barbara. 2017. "The New New Civil Wars." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 469-486.

De La Calle, Luis. 2015. *Nationalist Violence in Postwar Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53(April): 362-398.

Uvin, Peter. 2001. "Reading the Rwandan Genocide." *International Studies Review* 3(3): 75-99.

Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2018. "Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence." *Politics and Society* 46(4): 513-537.

January 29

Understanding Ethnic Violence: Structure, Discourse and Agency

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2003. "The Ontology of Political Violence: Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475-494.

Staniland, Paul. 2012. "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia." *International Security* 37(1): 142-177.

Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Security* 54(4): 845-877.

Mueller, John. 2000. "The Banality of Ethnic War." *International Security* 25(1): 42-70.

Mazur, K. (2019). "State Networks and Intra-Ethnic Group Variation in the 2011 Syrian Uprising." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(7): 995-1027.

Brooten, Lisa and Yola Verbruggen. 2017. "Producing the News: Reporting on Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 47(3): 440-460.

February 5

The Aftermath of Violence and Internal Peace Mechanisms

Boyle, Michael. 2010. "Do Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency Go Together?" *International Affairs* 86(2): 333-353.

Sigrun Marie Moss, Özden Melis Uluğ, and Yasemin Gülsüm Acar, "Doing Research in Conflict Contexts: Practical and Ethical Challenges for Researchers When Conducting Fieldwork." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 25, 1 (2019).

Hyndman, J. and A. Amarasingam. 2014. "Touring 'Terrorism': Landscapes of Memory in Post-War Sri Lanka." *Geography Compass* 8(8): 560-575.

McKenna, T. M. 2000. "Murdered or Martyred: Popular Evaluations of Violent Death in the Muslim Separatist Movement in the Philippines," pp. 189-203 in J. A. Sluka (ed.) *Death Squad: The Anthropology of State Terror*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

(W) Krause, Jana. 2017. "Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War: Evidence from Jos, Nigeria." *African Affairs* 116(462): 261-283.

McLeod, Laura. 2019. "Investigating Missing Women: Gender, Ghosts, and the Bosnian Peace Process." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(3): 668-679.

February 12

External Interventions

Regan, Patrick. 2002. "Third Party Intervention and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 55- 73.

Krain, Matthew. 2005. "International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(3): 363-88.

Karlsrud, John. 2015. "The UN at War: Examining the Consequences of Peace-Enforcement Mandates for the UN Peacekeeping Operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali." *Third World Quarterly* 36:1.

Saideman, Stephen. 2002. "Overlooking the Obvious: Bringing International Politics Back into Ethnic Conflict Management." *The International Studies Review* Vol. 4, No. 3 (December 2002): 63-86.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace?" *International Studies Quarterly* 48, 2 June 2004.

Kuperman, Alan. 2008. "Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1), March 2008: 49-80.

February 19
Winter Break—No Classes

February 26
Refugees and Forced Migration

Carens, Joseph. 2011. *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford University Press, Chapter 11.

Zetter, Roger. 2007. "More Labels, Fewer Refugees: Remaking the Refugee Label in an Era of Globalization." *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 20, Issue 2, June 2007, 172-19.

Bloch, Alice. 2020. "Reflections and Directions for Research in Refugee Studies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43:3, 436-459. DOI: [10.1080/01419870.2020.1677928](https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1677928).

Liisa, Malkki. 1996. "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization." *Cultural Anthropology* 11(3): 377-404.

Moulin, Carolina and Peter Nyers. 2007. "We Live in a Country of UNHCR"—Refugee Protests and Global Political Society." *International Political Sociology*, Vol. 1, Issue 4, November 2007, 356-372.

Kaiser, Tania. 2006. "Between a Camp and a Hard Place: Rights, Livelihood and Experiences of the Local Settlement System for Long-term Refugees in Uganda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 44(04): 597-621.

March 4
Debates over Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation
Group Exercises

(W) Forst, Rainer. 2010. "The Justification of Human Rights and the Basic Right to Justification: A Reflexive Approach." *Ethics* 120(4): 711-740.

Loyle, Cyanne and Benjamin Appel. 2017. "Conflict Recurrence and Postconflict Justice: Addressing Motivations and for Sustainable Peace Opportunities." *International Studies Quarterly* 61(3): 690-703.

Wilson, Richard. 2002. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 62-94; 223-230.

Gutmann, Amy and Dennis Thompson. 2002. "The Moral Foundations of Truth Commissions" In *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, eds. Rotberg, Robert and Dennis Thompson. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. pp. 22-44.

Chi, Mgbako. 2005. "Ingando Solidarity Camps: Reconciliation and Political Indoctrination in Post-Genocide Rwanda." *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 18:201-224.

March 11

Partition, Secession, and Autonomy

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52(July): 437-483.

Chapman, Thomas and Philip Roeder. 2007. "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 677-691.

Basta, K. 2010. "Non-Ethnic Origins of Ethnofederal Institutions: The Case of Yugoslavia." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16: 92-110.

Zuber, C. I. 2011. "Understanding the Multinational Game: Toward a Theory of Asymmetrical Federalism." *Comparative Political Studies* 44:5 546-571.

Lustick, I. S., D. Miodownik and R. J. Eidelson. 2004. "Secessionism in Multicultural States: Does Sharing Power Prevent or Encourage It?" *American Political Science Review* 98(02) 209-229.

Hale, H. E. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse." *World Politics* 56(2) 165-193.

March 18

Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Diversity in Society

Benhabib, Seyla. 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2, pp. 49-69, and Ch. 4-5 and Conclusion, pp. 129-221.

Kymlicka, Will. 1996. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 2, 5.

Melancon, Jerome. 2015. "Liberty, Equality, Laicity: Quebec's Charter of Values and the Reframing of Politics." *Canadian Political Science Review* 9(3): 35-71.

Vertovec, Steven. 2007. "Super-Diversity and Its Implications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024-1054.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. "Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40:8 1191-1226.

March 25

Crafting Diverse Accommodative Arrangements

Bariagaber, Assefaw. 2003. "Ethnicity and Constitutionalism in Ethiopia." In *Emancipating Cultural Pluralism*, ed. Toffolo, Cris. Albany: State University of New York Press. pp. 221-236.

Lijphart, Arendt. 1990. "The Power Sharing Approach." In *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*, ed. Montville, Joseph. Washington, DC: Lexington Books. pp. 491-509.

Horowitz, Donald. "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management." In *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. ed. Montville, Joseph V. New York: Lexington Books. pp. 451-476.

Horowitz, Donald. 2000. "Constitutional Design: An Oxymoron?" In *Designing Democratic Institutions*, eds. Shapiro, Ian and Stephen Macedo. New York University Press. NOMOS XLII. pp. 253- 284.

Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 103(2):231-247.

Reilly, Ben. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 156-170.

Wilkinson, S. I. 2006. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

April 1

Student Presentations

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;

- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

| Percentage | Letter grade | 12-point scale | Percentage | Letter grade | 12-point scale |
|------------|--------------|----------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| 90-100 | A+ | 12 | 67-69 | C+ | 6 |
| 85-89 | A | 11 | 63-66 | C | 5 |
| 80-84 | A- | 10 | 60-62 | C- | 4 |
| 77-79 | B+ | 9 | 57-59 | D+ | 3 |
| 73-76 | B | 8 | 53-56 | D | 2 |
| 70-72 | B- | 7 | 50-52 | D- | 1 |

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.