

POL 339: Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict

Fall 2018

Professor: Egor Lazarev egor.lazarev@utoronto.ca

Lecture: Monday 4-6pm; MS 4279;

Office Hours: Tuesday 10-12; Sidney Smith Hall 3108;

sign-up here: <https://calendly.com/egorlazarev/office-hours/09-11-2018>

TA: Nicholas Fraser nicholasar.fraser@mail.utoronto.ca

TA office hours: by appointment

Themes:

The class is devoted to understanding the role of ethnicity in conflict. The class takes students through some of the main theoretical families used to understand the political dynamics of ethnic identification and nationalism. In particular, we will address the following questions: Are national or ethnic political stances adopted for rational or non-rational reasons? Is ethnic war rational? Do elites manipulate masses, or do nationalism and ethnic conflict grow from grass roots sentiments? If the elites sell it, why do the masses buy? Are ethnic conflicts different from non-ethnic ones? Why people fight for their ethnic group? When are ethnic loyalties in conflict betrayed? Is it better to partition a war-torn multiethnic territory like Syria or to try to reintegrate it into a single, unified, multicultural state?

Course objectives:

- 1) To familiarize with the most important debates and issues on ethnicity and nationalism;
- 2) To learn how to critically engage with media and academic narratives on ethnicity and nationalism;
- 3) To learn how to conduct social science research; formulate research questions and hypotheses, and how to test them;
- 4) To learn how to write an academic paper;

Organization of the course:

Announcements, lecture slides, readings, assignments, and grades will be posted on the Quercus portal.

There is no textbook for this class. You are not required to buy any books; all readings are available online. Readings are divided into required and recommended. Recommended readings are usually longer and more complicated. These readings provide a roadmap for further explorations. Students should read them if they want to learn more about the topic or better understand lecture materials.

There are no mid-term or final exam, so no need to memorize what is written in the readings. Instead, you will be asked to complete a set of interrelated research tasks. First, you will be asked to find an interesting media article / blog post about the role of ethnicity in political process or violent conflict that you care about and write a one-page critical review of this article. The article can be from any time period and from any sources, for example, Toronto Star, the New York Times, the Economist, The Monkey Cage blog, the Political Violence at Glance blog, etc. You will be asked to summarize the main argument in one paragraph (but no longer) and then discuss how the article / blogpost is related to the theories of ethnicity and nationalism that we will discuss in class.

Second, you will be asked to write a one-page research proposal. It may be connected to the material in the media article you reviewed or be on an unrelated new topic. You are absolutely free to choose your research topic as long as it is related to ethnicity and nationalism. The topic might be contemporary or historical, related to Canada or any other country. You will have to formulate a research question, explain why it is important to study it, propose a hypothesis or an argument, discuss a plausible alternative argument, and speculate on the sources of evidence to test your ideas. You are encouraged to come to the office hours to discuss your project ideas.

After your topic is approved you will be asked to write a one-page review of an academic article, or a book, or a documentary (that you will find yourself) on the topic related to your proposed project. You will again briefly summarize the argument (in one paragraph and no more), connect it to the theories of ethnicity, analyze the credibility of the empirical evidence in support for the argument and present 2-3 questions for further research.

Finally, you will be asked to write a 10-page final paper. For example, you can write on the following topics: Why ethnic identities are stronger in Kenya than in Tanzania? How did democratization affect ethnic violence in Myanmar? To what extent did anti-immigrant attitudes determine support for the Brexit? Why did some immigrant communities in Ontario vote for the conservative party? Why do some of the First Nations in Canada organize political movements, while others are less politically active? Who supports independence in Quebec (Catalonia, Iraqi Kurdistan, etc.) and who opposes it? You will come up with a great question of your own! The paper can be based on secondary sources or some original research, for instance analysis of the archive of a “nationalist movement” or interviews with the residents of an “ethnic neighborhood of Toronto.”

Requirements weights and deadlines:

- (1) active, informed participation in class (10%);
- (2) review of a journalistic article on ethnicity and conflict (10%), 1 page, due October 1st, at 5 pm;
- (3) final paper proposal (15%), 1 page, due October 29th, at 5 pm;
- (4) review of an academic paper / book / documentary on ethnicity (15%), 1 page, due November 12th, at 5 pm;
- (5) final paper – approximately 10 pages, 4000 words max (50%) due December 6th at 5 pm;

All writing assignments should be in 12 Times New Roman font double-spaced; Word file or pdf; Late submissions will be penalized 5% of grade per day.

Turnitin: Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Academic integrity: Academic integrity is an important priority here at the University of Toronto. Our academic community honors the values of honesty, trust, respect, fairness and responsibility in order to protect you and your degree. Read Section B of the University of Toronto's Code of Behavior on Academic Matters, as all students are expected to know and to respect this Code: <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/The-rules>

Appeals: Appeals must be accompanied by a half-page explanation of the merit for appeal (that you thought the assignment would get a better grade is not a sufficient reason for appeal). Appeals are to be submitted by e-mail to your teaching assistant for consideration within 10 days after the tests/papers are returned. Your grade can go either way, up or down by re-grading.

E-mail: Substantive questions on course subject matters should not be addressed via email as all such questions are best considered during the lectures and office hours. Email correspondence should only be used for bureaucratic or course related problems.

Course accessibility: Students with diverse learning styles and needs are always welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability or health consideration, which may require accommodation, please feel free to approach me in person and/or the Accessibility Service
<https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as/contact-us>

Accessibility Services needs dependable volunteer note-takers to assist students living with a disability to achieve academic success! Volunteers report that by giving to the U of T community their class attendance and note taking skills improve. All you have to do is attend classes regularly & submit your notes consistently:

- 1) Register Online as a Volunteer Note-Taker at:
<https://clockwork.studentlife.utoronto.ca/custom/misc/home.aspx>
- 2) Follow the link that says Volunteer Notetakers
- 3) Select your course and upload a sample of your notes
- 4) Once you have been selected as a note-taker you'll get an email notifying you to upload your notes.

If you have any questions, please call us. Our office is open Monday-Friday 9:00am-5:00pm and Tuesdays 9:00 AM-6:00 PM. Email us at as.notetaking@utoronto.ca or call 416-978-6186 if you have questions or require any assistance. Volunteers may receive co-curricular credit or a certificate of appreciation. Your support is much appreciated!

Illness and Extensions: In the case that you submit an assignment late because of illness, you need to provide the verification of student illness or injury form. The form should be submitted within one week of the deadline – or, in the case of serious illness prior to the deadline, must be submitted before the due date.

<http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca/index.php>

Reading and Lecture Schedule

September 10: ETHNIC MOBILIZATION AND CONFLICT: AN OVERVIEW

Recommended Readings:

- Elizabeth Hurd. "Stop Trying to Make Syria's War into a Sectarian Conflict." *The Atlantic*. May 15, 2013.
- Theodore McLauchlin. "Why has the Syrian Civil War lasted so long?" *The Money Cage* Washington Post.
- Maeysa Alam. "5 things you need to know about Rohingya Crisis." *The Monkey Cage*.

September 17: THEORIES OF ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM

Readings:

- Michael Hechter. *Containing Nationalism*. Chapter 1.
- Kanchan Chandra. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics (Introduction)*. 2015.
- Brubaker Rogers. "Ethnicity Without Groups." *European Journal of Sociology*. Vol 43. Issue 2. 2002.

Recommended:

- Banks, Marcus. *Ethnicity: anthropological constructions*. Routledge, 2003. Chapters 2 and 5.
- Wimmer, Andreas. "The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multilevel process theory." *American journal of sociology* 113.4 (2008): Pages 970-986.

September 24: EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO ETHNICITY

Reading:

- Chandra, Kanchan, and Steven Wilkinson. "Measuring the effect of "ethnicity"." *Comparative Political Studies* 41.4-5 (2008): 515-563.
- Waters, Mary C. "Ethnic and racial identities of second-generation black immigrants in New York City." *International Migration Review* 28.4 (1994): 795-820.

Recommended:

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics* 62.1 (2010): 87-119.
- Della Vigna, Stefano, Ruben Enikolopov, Vera Mironova, Maria Petrova and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. "Unintended Media Effects in a Conflict Environment: Serbian Radio and Croatian Nationalism." *American Economic Journals: Applied Economics* 2013, 6(3).
- Fouka, Vasiliki. "Backlash: The unintended effects of language prohibition in US schools after World War I." *Stanford Center for International Development Working Paper* 591 (2016).

October 1: THE ORIGINS OF NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Readings:

- Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. Introduction and Chapter 2.
- Ernest Gellner. *Nations and Nationalism*, ch. 1-4.
- Daniel Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review*, 98, 4

Recommended:

- David Laitin, *Identity in Formation*, chapters 1, and 5, 6.
- Liisa Malkki. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*, ch. 3-5.
- Nagel, Joane. "American Indian ethnic renewal: Politics and the resurgence of identity." *American Sociological Review*(1995): 947-965.
- Amanda Lea Robinson, "National Versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of Territorial Nationalism," *World Politics*, October 2014.

October 15: IMMIGRATION, IDENTITY POLITICS, AND FAR-RIGHT PARTIES

Readings:

- Matt Golder. *Far Right Parties in Europe*. Annual Review of Political Science. 2016.
- Howard, Marc Morjé. *The politics of citizenship in Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chapter 2.

Recommended:

- Kalicki, Konrad, Go Murakami, and Nicholas AR Fraser. "The Difference that Security Makes: The Politics of Citizenship in Postwar Japan in a Comparative Perspective." *Social Science Japan Journal* 16.2 (2013): 211-234.
- Rafaela Dancygier, *Immigration and Conflict in Europe* (Cambridge, 2010), Chapter 1.

October 22: ETHNIC VOTING

Readings:

- Kanchan Chandra. What is an Ethnic Party? *Party Politics* 2011.
- Ferree, Karen E. "Explaining South Africa's racial census." *The Journal of Politics* 68.4 (2006): 803-815.
- Bueno, Natália S., and Thad Dunning. "Race, resources, and representation: evidence from Brazilian politicians." *World Politics* 69.2 (2017): 327-365.

Recommended:

- Dunning, Thad, and Lauren Harrison. "Cross-cutting cleavages and ethnic voting: An experimental study of cousinage in Mali." *American Political Science Review* 104.1 (2010): 21-39.
- Koter, Dominika. "King Makers: Local Leaders and Ethnic Politics in Africa." *World Politics*. Volume 65, Number 2, April 2013

October 29: ETHNIC AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

Reading:

- Yashar, Deborah J. "Contesting citizenship: Indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America." *Comparative politics* (1998): 23-42.

Recommended:

- Olzak, Susan. "Contemporary ethnic mobilization." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9.1 (1983): 355-374.
- Beissinger Mark. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. 2002. Chapter 2.
- Georgi Derluguian, Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus, chapter 6.
- Bertrand, Jacques. *Nationalism and ethnic conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge University Press, 2004. Chapter 2.
- Bakke, Kristin M. *Decentralization and intrastate struggles: Chechnya, Punjab, and Québec*. Cambridge University Press, 2015. Chapter 5.
- Lawrence, Adria. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: Anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. Chapter 2.

November 12: PSYCHOLOGY OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN CONFLICT

Reading:

- Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Chapters 3 and 4.

Recommended:

- Anastasia Shesterinina "Collective Threat Framing and Mobilization in Civil War." *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 110, No. 3 (2016).
- Roger Peterson. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe*. 2002. Introduction and Chapter 2.
- Kurzban, Robert, John Tooby, and Leda Cosmides. "Can race be erased? Coalitional computation and social categorization." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 98.26 (2001): 15387-15392.

November 19: IS ETHNIC CONFLICT RATIONAL?

Readings:

- Barry Posen. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 1993.
- James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization*, summer 1995.

Recommended:

- Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality," *Perspectives on Politics*, March 2003.
- Lee Ann Fuji, "The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence," *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2013.

November 26: DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Readings:

- V. P. Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security*, winter 1994-95.
- Donald Horowitz. "Democracy in Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy*, 1993, Vol 4.

Recommended:

- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*, chapter 1.
- Steven I. Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*, chapter 1.
- Chua, Amy. *World on fire: How exporting free market democracy breeds ethnic hatred and global instability*. Anchor, 2004. Chapter 1.

December 3: ETHNIC CONFLICT?

Readings:

- Fotini Christia. Alliance Formation in Civil Wars. Chapter 1.
- Stathis Kalyvas. "Ethnic Defection in Civil Wars." *Comparative Political Studies*. 2008, 41.

Recommended:

- James Fearon and David Laitin. Explaining Interethnic Cooperation. *American Political Science Review*. 1996.
- Kasara, Kimuli. "Tax Me if You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy and the Taxation in Africa." *American Political Science Review*. 2007 (2).
- Htun, Mala. "Is gender like ethnicity? The political representation of identity groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2.3 (2004): 439-458.

Useful Resources:

- The All Minorities at Risk Project <https://cidcm.umd.edu/research/all-minorities-risk-project>
- Ethnic Power Relations Dataset <https://icr.ethz.ch/data/epr/>
- Correlates of War Dataset (COW)
- Peace Research Institute Oslo Armed Conflict Dataset
- Political Violence at Glance <http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/>
- The Monkey Cage <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/>
- The Association for the Study of Nationalities
- Nations and Nationalism Journal
- International Crisis Group Reports