THE POLITICS OF ETHNICITY:
CONSTRUCTION AND MOBILIZATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY CLAIMS
GOV 2572 – Spring 2019
Tuesdays and Thursdays 8:30-9:55 in Sills 117

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Office Hours (Hubbard 209A):
Tuesdays and Thursdays 3:00-5:00
or by appointment

Course Synopsis

Since the end of the Cold War, ethnic conflict has arrested the world's attention in nearly every corner of the globe: from Africa and Asia to the Middle East and Europe. Ethnicity is a crucial dividing line in most societies. The goal of the course is to understand what ethnicity is, when and how it ignites conflict, and what political tools exist to manage these conflicts. First, we will explore various definitions of ethnicity and theories of ethnic identity formation. Then we will study the different types of political conflict that can be attributed to ethnic divisions within a society. Finally, we will evaluate possible ways of mitigating and managing ethnic conflict, and we will discuss the role of international institutions in preventing the recurrence of large-scale atrocities. We will draw material from around the world, and case studies will feature Rwanda and Myanmar.

Expectations

This course does not require any prior background studying ethnic conflict. It does ask for diligent attention to reading and written assignments, participation in class and readiness to learn. I expect students not to plagiarize and to adhere strictly to the Academic Honor Code: https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/student-handbook/the-academic-honor-code-and-social-code.html

Readings

The reading assignments are drawn from the following book and from a variety of other sources, the latter available on e-reserves [ER] or otherwise electronically as indicated in the course outline. The book is available for purchase, and it will be on reserve in the library.

Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed by Our Families* (Picador, 1998)

Course Requirements

1.	Class Participation	20%
2.	Research Exercises	20%
3.	Concept Quiz	20%
4.	Group Debates	20%
5.	Final Memo	20%

ASSIGNMENTS
1. **Class Participation**
    a. *Daily Participation*:
        i. The course relies on student contributions, questions, and reflections based on readings. If students appear to be neglecting readings, I reserve the right to begin administering pop quizzes.
        ii. Your research exercises will allow you to become the class expert on an ethnic conflict of your choice. You will be expected to research its history, follow its current politics, and share your knowledge with the class wherever appropriate.
        iii. You may also post comments, questions, and replies in our course discussion board.
    b. *Media Leadership* – starting **2/12**:
        i. Find a contemporary (within the last two years) news article with a picture or short video clip (less than 2 minutes) featuring an ethnic group or ethnic conflict. Send it to me **by 8pm the evening before** the assigned class, along with the explanation paragraph. You will need to do the assigned readings a little earlier than normal to prepare.
            1. This can be your chosen ethnic conflict or any other one you find.
            2. If possible, try to relate the article to some part of the next day's reading; it might feature one of the groups mentioned in the readings, or it might refer to a topic from the readings (economic inequality, resources, elections, intervention, etc.). **Include a short paragraph in your email** about why you think it is relevant. If it is not related, write a short paragraph responding to an aspect of the readings.
        ii. In class, you will summarize the news article for your peers. If possible, you should provide some connection to the day's topic. If there is no connection, you can comment about the readings during class.

2. **Research Exercises "Mobilization of Ethnicity & Causes of Conflict" (6 pages total):**
    a. Group measurement and historical/colonial experience – 3 pages (**2/26**)
    b. Causes of conflict – 3 pages (**4/2**)

3. **Concept Quiz (3/7)**
    a. Definitions
    b. Short answers

4. **Classroom debates "Managing Ethnic Conflict":**
    a. Group Debates (**4/30 or 5/2**)

5. **Policy Memo – 5 pages (5/18)**

COURSE OUTLINE

Date		Assignments	#Pgs
INTRODUCTION AND POPULAR ACCOUNTS OF ETHNIC CONFLICT			
Tue 1/22	Session 1	Introduction to studying ethnic conflict: *Minorities at Risk*	
Thu 1/24	Session 2	**ASSIGNMENT: Bring to class two possible ethnic conflicts of interest** **SKIM** Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy" *The Atlantic Monthly* vol. 273, issue 2 (Feb 1994) pp. 44-76 *In Class*: ELF & Ethnologue	24
CASE STUDY I - RWANDA			
Tue 1/29	Session 3	Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You*…. pp. 5-43	39
		"The Triumph of Evil" and "Ghosts of Rwanda" PBS Frontline. Please browse for reference: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/ http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ghosts/	
		William Schmidt. "Terror Convulses Rwandan Capital as Tribes Battle" *New York Times* (9 April 1994) Sec. 1, p. 1, column 4 [Blackboard/Syllabus]	4
Thu 1/31	Session 4	Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You*…. pp. 47-100	54
		Valerie Percival and Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Getting Rwanda Wrong" *Saturday Night* (Toronto: New Leaf Publications) September 1995, vol. 110, no. 7, p 47 [MasterFILE Premier]	5
Tue 2/5	Session 5	Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You*… pp. 101-171	72
Thu 2/7	Session 6	TBA [read ahead]	
THEORIES OF ETHNICITY			
Tue 2/12	Session 7	*Primordialism* Clifford Geertz, "Primordial Ties" pp. 40-45; Jack Eller and Reed Coughlan, "The Poverty of Primordialism" pp. 45-51; Steven Grosby, "The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality" pp. 51-56 in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Ethnicity* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1996) [ER]	17
		Instrumentalism Paul R. Brass, "Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Identity Formation" in John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds. *Ethnicity* (1996) [ER: 85-90]	6
		SKIM Mary C. Waters, "Chapter 3: Influences on Ancestry Choice" in *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (University of California Press, 1990) [ER: 52-89]	38
Thu 2/14	Session 8	*Constructivism* Leroy Vail and Landeg White, "Tribalism in the Political History of Malawi" pp. 151-184 in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (James Currey, 1989) [ER: 151-184]	35
		Kanchan Chandra, "Designing Measures of Ethnic Identity: The Problem of Overlap and Incompleteness" *Qualitative Methods Newsletter* (Spring 2009): 36-38 [not entire]	3

THEORIES OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

Tue 2/19	Session 9	*Psychological Theories*

Donald Horowitz, "Group Comparison and the Sources of Conflict" pp. 141-184 in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (2000) [Blackboard/Syllabus]   43

Jolle Demmers, "On Love and Hate: Social Identity Approaches to Inter-Group Violence" in *Theories of Violent Conflict, An Introduction* (Routledge 2012) [ER: 38-52]   15

Thu 2/21	Session 10	*Colonial Legacies*

Donald Horowitz, "Group Entitlement and the Sources of Conflict" pp. 185-228 in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, 2000) [Blackboard/Syllabus]   44

*Bring research about the historical/colonial experience of your groups

Tue 2/26	Session 11	*Economic Theories I*

Ted Robert Gurr, "Relative Deprivation and the Impetus to Violence" in *Why Men Rebel* (1970) [ER: 46-56]   10

Paul Collier, "The Market for Civil War" *Foreign Policy* (May/June 2003): 39-45. [JSTOR]   4

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97: 1 (2003), pp. 75–90 [JSTOR]   15

RESEARCH EXERCISE #1 DUE [*Group measurement and historical experience*]

Thu 2/28	Session 12	*Economic Theories II*

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War" *World Development* 39, 2 (2011): 199-211 [Science Direct]   11

Karen Bodnaruk Jazayeri, "Identity-based Political Inequality and Protest: The Dynamic Relationship Between Political Power and Protest in the Middle East and North Africa" *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2015) pp. 1-23 [Sage Premier]   22

Julian Wucherpfennig *et al*, "Politically Relevant Ethnic Groups across Space and Time: Introducing the GeoEPR Dataset" *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 28, 5 (2011): 423-437 [Sage Premier]   14

Tue 3/5	Session 13	*Ethnic Entrepreneurs and Institutions*

Paul Brass, "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims in South Asia" in Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism,* pp. 69-102 (Sage Publications, 1991) [Blackboard/Syllabus]   33

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): 529-544 [Blackboard/Syllabus]   15

Thu 3/7	Session 14	**CONCEPT QUIZ**

SPRING BREAK – ENJOY!!!!

CASE STUDY II – BURMA/MYANMAR

Tue 3/26	Session 15	BBC News: Country Profile Burma: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-pacific-12990563

Mikael Gravers, "Conversion and Identity: Religion and the Formation of
Karen Ethnic Identity in Burma" in *Exploring Ethnic Diversity in Burma*
(2007) [ER: 227-254]   26
Matthew Walton, "Ethnicity, Conflict, and History in Burma: The Myths of
Panglong" *Asian Survey* 48: 6 (Nov/Dec 2008): 889-910 [JSTOR]   20
Ian Holliday, "Ethnicity and Democratization in Myanmar" *Asian Journal of
Political Science* 18:2 (August 2010): 111-128 [Academic Search Complete]   17

Thu 3/28   Session 16   Jacques Leider, "Rohingya: The History of a Muslim Identity in Myanmar"
Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History (May 2018) – excerpts TBA   ≈15
Nic Cheesman, "How in Myanmar 'National Races' Came to Surpass
Citizenship and Exclude Rohingya" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 47, 3
(2017): 461-483 [Academic Search Complete]   22
Lisa Brooten and Yola Verbruggen, "Producing the News: Reporting on
Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 47, 3 (2017):
440-460 [Academic Search Complete]   20

Tue 4/2   Session 17   **RESEARCH EXERCISE #2 DUE** [*Causes of conflict*]

Thu 4/4   Session 18   Ian Holliday, "Addressing Myanmar's Citizenship Crisis." *Journal of
Contemporary Asia* 44, 3 (2014): 404-421 [Academic Search Complete]   16
Matt Schissler, Matthew Walton and Phyu Phyu Thi, "Reconciling
Contradictions: Buddhist-Muslim Violence, Narrative Making and
Memory in Myanmar" *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 47, 3 (2017): 376-395"   19

MANAGING ETHNIC CONFLICT

Tue 4/9   Session 19   *Power Sharing*
Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy" pp. 25-52 in *Democracy in Plural
Societies* (1977) [Blackboard/Syllabus]   28
Arend Lijphart, Self-Determination versus Pre-Determination of Ethnic-
Minorities in Power-Sharing Systems," pp. 275-87 in Will Kymlicka, ed.,
The Rights of Minority Cultures (1995) [Blackboard/Syllabus]   13
Donald Horowitz, "Ethnic Power Sharing: Three Big Problems" *Journal of
Democracy* 25, 2 (April 2014): 5-18 [Project MUSE]   14
Allison McCulloch and Joanne McEvoy, "The International Mediation of
Power-Sharing Settlements" *Cooperation and Conflict* 53, 4 (Dec 2018):
467-485 [SAGE Premier]   18

Thu 4/11   Session 20   *Autonomy and Federalism*
Peter Lewis, "Boundaries and Bargains: Managing Nigeria's Fractious
Society" in Jeffrey Herbst *et al*, ed. *On the Fault Line*, pp. 19-32 (London:
Profile Books, 2012) [Blackboard/Syllabus]   13
Donald Horowitz, "Structural Techniques to Reduce Ethnic Conflict," pp.
613-628 in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (2000) [Blackboard/Syllabus]   15
Nancy Bermeo, "The Import of Institutions" *Journal of Democracy* 13, 2
(2002): 96-110) [Project MUSE]   14
John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, "Must Plurinational Federations Fail?"
Ethnopolitics 8, 1 (2009) 5-25 [Blackboard/Syllabus]   20

Tue 4/16	Session 21	*Electoral Rules and Redistricting*	
		Charles King, "Electoral Systems" [Blackboard: Course Documents]	7
		http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/kingch/Electoral_Systems.htm	
		Benjamin Reilly, "Centripetalism" in Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict* (Routledge, 2011) [ER: 288-299]	12
		David Lublin and Gary Segura, "An Evaluation of the Electoral and Behavioral Impact of Majority-Minority Districts" in Margaret Levi *et al*, *Designing Democratic Government: Making Institutions Work,* pp. 164-184 (Russell Sage Foundation, 2008) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	20
		Kanchan Chandra, "Ethnic Invention: A New Principle for Institutional Design in Multi-Ethnic Democracies" in Margaret Levi *et al*, *Designing Democratic Government: Making Institutions Work,* pp. 89-112 (Russell Sage Foundation, 2008) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	23
Thu 4/18	Session 22	*Preferential Policies*	
		Hwok-Aun Lee, "Affirmative Action Regime Formation in Malaysia and South Africa" *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 51, 5 (2016): 511-527 [Academic Search Complete]	15
		Donald Horowitz, "Preferential Policies to Reduce Ethnic Conflict," pp. 653-80 in *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (2000) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	28
		Graham K. Brown and Arnim Langer, "Does Affirmative Action Work? Lessons from Around the World" *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2015)	6
Tue 4/23	Session 23	*Partition and Intervention*	
		Allen Buchanan, "The Morality of Secession" in Will Kymlicka, ed. *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (Oxford University Press, 1995) [ER: 350-374]	24
		Erin K. Jenne, "When Will We Part with Partition Theory? Flawed Premises and Improbably Longevity of the Theory of Ethnic Partition" *Ethnopolitics* 11, 3 (September 2012): 255-267 [Blackboard/Syllabus]	15
		Raymond Taras and Rajat Ganguly, "Resolving Ethnic Conflicts Through International Intervention," pp. 85-108 in *Understanding Ethnic Conflict* (Longman, 2009) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	23

APPLICATION TO CASES

Thu 4/25	Session 24	Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You…* pp. 277-302; 321-341	40
		Pierre Englebert, "Democratic Republic of Congo: Fault Lines and Local Fissures" in Jeffrey Herbst *et al*, ed. *On the Fault Line* (London: Profile Books, 2012 [ER: 33-44]	11
Tue 4/30	Session 25	**GROUP DEBATES**	
Thu 5/2	Session 26	**GROUP DEBATES**	
Tue 5/7	Session 27	Wrap Up	

NO FINAL EXAM – FINAL MEMO DUE SATURDAY, MAY 18TH AT 11:30 AM