

ETHNIC CONFLICT

PSCI 4396

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M, W 10:00-11:15 AM
CB3 1.308
Fall 2017

Description and Learning Objectives

The character of international conflict has taken a turn over the past three decades, with the end of the Cold War representing the key transition point. Whereas major threats to international peace and security previously derived from *interstate* disputes over ideology or resource issues, recent conflicts have been primarily *intrastate* clashes often pitting different groups against one another. Indicative of this trend is that over 90% of UN peacekeeping operations since 1989 have been deployed to disputes with a significant internal conflict component. Identity-based conflicts are not new phenomena, given that many confrontations trace their roots back hundreds of years. Yet recent outbreaks are more numerous than in earlier eras and significantly more deadly, especially now that such conflicts involve advanced weaponry and genocidal acts. Central to the contemporary conflicts are issues of ethnic identity, here broadly defined to include attachments to racial, tribal, linguistic, religious, or other groupings.

The first two sections of the seminar explore the origins and development of nationalism and identity. Identity is broadly defined to include attachments to ethnic, racial, tribal, linguistic, religious, or other groupings. Special attention to the origins of those identities, specifically whether such identities are primordial (i.e., inherent), constructed, or instrumental (i.e., a product of political manipulation), or some combination thereof. The course also considers the relationship between the nationalism and development of the modern state. Issues of cross-cutting cleavages, mass mobilization, and competing identities are covered. In this section, and throughout the seminar, references to cases representing a variety of different cultures and geographic regions are used to permit broad comparisons.

Learning Objectives: At the end of this segment, a student should:

- Recognize multiple types of identity and explain how and why some are more salient than others.
- Understand the multiple ways that identities are formed, including her or his own.
- Be able to discuss how ethnic identities are distributed and the sources of heterogeneity in states around the world.

Almost all diverse states experience some form of political tension, but most of these tensions do not escalate to violence. The third segment of the seminar explores the sources of disputes between ethnic groups, and then turns to an examination of the conditions under which such conflict is manifested in violence. Characteristics of that violence and general patterns across different countries are considered.

Learning Objectives: At the end of this segment, a student should:

- Recognize that identity-based conflict need not always be violent.
- Be able to analyze which situations are most prone to violence and the underlying factors.
- Be able to assess the prospects for violence in any country given requisite information.

In the fourth and final segment of the course, solutions to identity conflict are explored. These include those that promote greater understanding between groups, constitutional engineering, and “separation” strategies.

Learning Objective: At the end of this segment, a student should:

- Be able to describe proactive responses that exist to ethnic conflict
- Be able to analyze critically the strengths and limitations of each approach.
- Be able to construct and evaluate conflict management proposals as they apply to any country given requisite information.

Although the course seeks to identify broad generalizations about ethnic conflict and understand their limitations, special reference is made to select case studies throughout the course. In addition, each section of the course includes an intensive case study (India, Northern Ireland, and Rwanda respectively) in order to illustrate those broad patterns. This seminar does not address ethnic conflict issues in the United States, except as an occasional reference point for comparison purposes. Those interested in racial, ethnic, and related issues in the United States context are directed to the variety of courses and programs offered by numerous departments and programs on campus.

Required Readings

Adrian Guelke, *Politics in Deeply Divided Societies*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).

This book is available from the campus bookstore or your favorite internet bookseller. Be sure that you purchase the paperback edition to save money.

All other course readings are available on the course website (under “Readings.”). Please read these online or make a single copy only for your personal use.

Course Website

All announcements, reading assignments, information on assignments, additional copies of this syllabus, and other information connected to the course will be provided only through the course website.

Requirements

1) Class Participation - Students will be evaluated on a) attendance, b) contributions to class discussions, and c) in-class exercises and writing assignments. A guide to class participation is given on the course website. This counts for 10% of a student's final grade.

2) News Reports – Five (5) times during this course, each student is required to write a one page analysis on a news story related to identity and ethnic issues. Details on these assignments are given on the course website. Students must complete at least one report each month (for August through November). Students may earn extra credit by submitting up to five (5) additional reports. These collectively count for 20% of a student's final grade.

3) Movie Reviews – Student are required to watch three (3) movies and write a 3 page review for each; these are a combination of the movies shown in class and those chosen by the student. Details on these assignments are given on the course website. Each review counts for 15% of a student's final grade for a total of 45% of the final grade. Students may earn extra credit by submitting one (1) additional movie review.

The deadlines for the movie reviews are as follows:

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|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| • Student Choice | 20 September |
| • <i>Bombay</i> | 11 October |
| • <i>Nothing Personal</i> | 15 November |
| • Extra-Credit | any time before or on 29 November |

4) Midterm Examination – This is a take-home, essay examination that is due in class on 25 October. Details will be posted in advance on the course website. This counts for 25% of a student's final grade.

Rules on Course Requirements

The following rules govern the requirements for this course:

1) Written assignments are due on the designated dates during the regular class period. Failure to turn in an assignment by the date indicated results in a failing grade for that assignment.

2) Failure to complete the midterm examination or all of the movie reviews (even if the due date is past) results in a failing grade for the course.

3) No collaboration or consultation with other groups or individuals (with the exception of the instructor), is permitted in the completion of the assignments.

4) Any exceptions to the above rules are given at the instructor's discretion, only with prior approval, and only under instances of extreme emergency or serious illness. Appropriate documentation must be supplied by the student in any event.

5) Students are required to keep all notes, records of citations, and drafts associated with their assignments until two weeks after the end of the course. Students should also keep copies of their writing assignments. Students are also required to keep graded, returned copies of all assignments until two weeks after the end of the course.

6) Students are expected to follow the Comet Creed: "As a Comet, I pledge honesty, integrity, and service in all that I do." The instructor will employ the latest software and other techniques to detect instances of academic dishonesty. Students are advised to consult university policies and guidelines – (<http://www.utdallas.edu/deanofstudents/dishonesty/>). The instructor will follow all UTD rules and processes regarding academic dishonesty – see <http://www.utdallas.edu/deanofstudents/managing/>

7) Students needing additional time or other accommodations concerning note taking, the course website, examinations, or the writing assignments should discuss such matters with the instructor at the outset of the course. Appropriate documentation concerning disabilities may be required. For further information, consult <https://policy.utdallas.edu/utdbp3100>.

8) Rules and procedures on student grievances and appeals are given at <http://policy.utdallas.edu/utdsp5005>.

9) Students considering sharing personal information in email, in person, or within assignments or exams should be aware that faculty members and teaching/research assistants are required by UT Dallas policy to report information about sexual misconduct to the UT Dallas Title IX Coordinator. Per university policy, faculty have been informed that they must identify the student to the UT Dallas Title IX Coordinator. Students who wish to have confidential discussions of incidents related to sexual harassment

or sexual misconduct should contact the Student Counseling Center (972-883-2527 or after hours 972-UTD-TALK or 972-883-8255), the Women's Center (972-883-8255), a health care provider in the Student Health Center (972-883-2747), the clergyperson (or other legally recognized religious advisor) of their choice, or an off-campus resource (i.e., rape crisis center, doctor, psychologist). Students who are sexually assaulted, harassed, or victims of sexual misconduct, domestic violence, or stalking, are encouraged to directly report these incidents to the UT Dallas Police Department at 972-883-2222 or to the Title IX Coordinator at 972-883-2218. Additional information and resources may be found at <http://www.utdallas.edu/oiec/title-ix/resources>.

Rules on In-Class Behavior

1) Students are expected to arrive in class at the start of the class period (10:00 AM). No accommodations will be made for students who arrive late and miss an in-class assignment or signing the attendance sheet.

2) Students are allowed to use laptop computers only to take class notes or as designated by the instructor. Students violating this rule will be asked to leave the class for that day.

3) All cell phones, Androids, Blackberrys, I-Phones, tablets, and related devices must be turned off at all times and stowed away.

4) Students are expected to tolerate (i.e., allow the existence, occurrence, or practice of something that one does not necessarily like or agree with without interference) the views of others in the class on controversial subjects and express disagreement in a respectful manner.

Topics and Readings

I. Introduction: Multiple Identities and Their Salience

- Guelke, Chapters 1 and 2.
- Gardner, Robert. "Identity Frames." in Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess (eds.), *Beyond Intractability* Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. June 2003.
- Liah Greenfeld and Nicolas Prevelakis. "The Formation of Ethnic and National Identities." In Robert Denemark (ed.) *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. London: Blackwell Publishing, 2014.
- Kachan Chandra, "What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9 (2006): 397-424.

II. The Origins and Development of Identity, Nationalism, and Extremism

A. Primordial, Constructed, and Instrumental Theories of Identity

- Murat Bayer, "Reconsidering Primordialism: An Alternative Approach to the Study of Ethnicity." *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32.9, (2009): 1639-1657.
- Henry Hale, "Explaining Ethnicity." *Comparative Political Studies*, 37 (2004): 458-485.

B. The Development of Extremism

- Andrea Bartoli and Peter Coleman, "Dealing with Extremists" in Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess (eds.) *Beyond Intractability*. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder, 2003.
- Josephine Squires, "The Ethnic, Nationalist, and Religious Roots of Terrorism." in Robert Denemark (ed.) *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. London: Blackwell Publishing, 2014.

C. The Disconnects Between Identities and State Borders

- Jerry Muller, "Us vs. Them: The Enduring Power of Ethnic Nationalism." *Foreign Affairs*, 87 (2008): 18-35.

D. National and International Rights of Ethnic and Other Minorities

- Raymond Taras and Rajat Ganguly. *Understanding Ethnic Conflict: The International Dimension*. 4th edition. (Boston: Longman, 2010), Chapter 2.

E. Case Study: India

- "India" World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples
- Film: *Bombay*

III. From Identity Differences to Violent Conflict

- Guelke, Chapter 3

A. Patterns of Conflict

- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Erik Melander, and Henrik Urdal, "Patterns of Armed Conflict since 1945" in T. David Mason and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, (eds.), *What Do We Know About Civil Wars?* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), pp. 15-32.

- Yehonatan Abramson, "Culture, Religion, War, and Peace." in Robert Denemark (ed.) *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. London: Blackwell Publishing, 2014.

- James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein, "Is Ethnic Conflict Inevitable?: Parting Ways Over Nationalism and Separatism." *Foreign Affairs*, 87 (2008): 138-141.

B. General Approaches to Ethnic Mobilization

- Lee J.M. Seymour and Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, "Identity Issues and Civil War: Ethnic and Religious Divisions," in T. David Mason and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, (eds.), *What Do We Know About Civil Wars?* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), pp. 43-57.

- Barbara Harff and Ted Robert Gurr, *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*. 2nd edition. (Boulder: Westview Press, 2004), Chapter 5.

- Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael E. Brown, (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 103-124.

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

C. Internal Political Dimensions

- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), pp. 15-42.

D. Internal Economic and Other Dimensions

- Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), Chapter 6.

E. International Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict

- Stephen Saideman and Erin Jenne, "The International Relations of Ethnic Conflict." in Manus Midlarsky (ed.), *Handbook of War Studies III* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), pp. 260-279.

F. Problems of State Disintegration and Secession

- Stephen Saideman, "Is Pandora's Box Half Empty or Half Full?: The Limited Virulence of Secessionism and the Domestic Sources of Disintegration," in David Lake and Donald Rothchild, (eds.), ***The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion and Escalation***, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 127-150.

G. Case Study: Northern Ireland

- Neal Jesse and Kristen Williams, ***Ethnic Conflict: A Systematic Approach to Cases of Conflict***. (Washington: CQ Press, 2011), pp. 93-140.
- Film: *Nothing Personal*

IV. Conflict Management Approaches

A. General Considerations

- Guelke, Chapter 4
- Sammy Smooha and Theodore Hanf, "Conflict Regulation in Deeply Divided Societies" in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, (eds.), ***Ethnicity*** (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 326-333.

B. Mediation

- Guelke, Chapter 8
- Carolin Goerzig "Mediating Identity Conflicts Potential and Challenges of Engaging with Hamas." Berghof Occasional Paper No. 30, 2010.

C. Reconciliation and Integration

- Guelke, Chapter 5
- Richard Goldstone, "Justice and Reconciliation in Fragmented Societies." in Andreas Wimmer et. al., ***Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Toward a New Realism*** (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), pp. 189-200.

D. Constitutional Engineering: Democracy, Consociationalism, and Power-Sharing

- Guelke, Chapter 6
- Ulrich Schneckener, "Making Power-Sharing Work: Lessons from Successes and Failures in Ethnic Conflict Resolution." ***Journal of Peace Research***, 39 (2002): 203-228.

E. Federalism, Autonomy, and Territorial Partition

- Guelke, Chapter 6.
- Hurst Hannum, "Territorial Autonomy: Permanent Solution or Step Toward Secession?" in Andreas Wimmer et. al., ***Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Toward a New Realism*** (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), pp. 274-282.

F. Peacekeeping and Intervention

- Roger McGinty and Gillian Robinson, "Peacekeeping and the Violence in Ethnic Conflict" in Ramesh Thakur and Albrecht Schnabel (eds). ***United Nations Peacekeeping Operations*** (New York: United Nations Press, 2001), pp. 26-45.

G. Case Study: Rwanda/Burundi

- PBS Frontline, "Rwanda Chronology"
- Michael Barnett, ***Eyewitness to Genocide***. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), Chapter 6.
- Film: *PBS Frontline: The Triumph of Evil*.

The descriptions and timelines contained in this syllabus and on the course website are subject to change at the discretion of the instructor.