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POL 466:
Topics in International Politics III:
International Relations of Ethnic Conflict

Course Description:

This seminar explores the international relations of ethnic conflict. The questions discussed in this course lie at the nexus between International Relations and Comparative Politics. Why and through what mechanisms do domestic conflicts spread across borders? Is ethnic conflict “contagious”? How have these types of conflicts challenged traditional conceptions of international security? According to international law, does the international community have a responsibility to protect a state or its citizens? What types of international peacebuilding interventions work better than others? What are the potential hazards of international interventions in ethnic civil wars? What does the prevalence of civil war mean for the future of International Security studies? Looking at these questions, the course engages literature on identity, civil war, international interventions, negotiated settlements, irredentism and separatism, diaspora politics, and regional security.

This course is a joint fourth year undergraduate seminar and graduate seminar. The different expectations upon undergraduate and graduate students are noted below. This is an advanced Political Science course that assumes a foundation in International Relations theory. Reading, writing, participation, and presentations are required. There is no final exam.

Undergraduate Requirements:

Reading response: 20%
Participation: 30%
Team lead: 10%
Final paper: 40%

Graduate Requirements:

Participation: 40%
Presentation: 20%
Final Paper: 40%

Required Readings:

The course relies on three books and a collection of academic journal articles. Links to the required readings are posted to the Blackboard. Both undergraduate and graduate students are expected to do all the readings.

David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998)

Stephen M. Saideman and R. William Ayres, *For Kin or Country: Xenophobia, Nationalism and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008)

Peter Andreas, *Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008)

Special Considerations:

The course requirements consist of seminar participation, reading, writing, and presentations. Students are responsible for completing all the course requirements on time, as stipulated by the syllabus. If you have special needs, please come see the professor at the beginning of the course so that arrangements can be made for you. If you face a serious unexpected challenge during the course for which you require special accommodations, please notify the instructor as far in advance as possible, so that more options are available.

Classroom etiquette:

This classroom is a safe, equitable and professional learning environment, in which students are encouraged to express their views in a collegial and respectful manner. To maintain a healthy learning environment, there is a zero tolerance policy on discrimination and harassment. Please familiarize yourself with the University of Toronto statement on student rights and responsibilities, found here: <http://life.utoronto.ca/get-help/rights-responsibilities/>

The University of Toronto treats issues of plagiarism extremely seriously. Please take note of the description of academic integrity and punishable offenses, found here: <http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/academicoffenses.html>.

Please also review the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, found here: <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>

Seminar Participation:

Both undergraduate and graduate students are expected to participate in the weekly seminar discussions. Our conversations are the heart and soul of the course. Active, thoughtful participation in the discussions is a key requirement and makes up a substantial part of your final grade. The weekly questions are on the syllabus, so students are encouraged to read the assigned readings with special attention to how they speak to the major debates.

Undergraduate Team Lead:

On the first day of class, you will be assigned to teams. Each team of 2-3 students will take the lead in kick-starting one of the weekly discussions. So every week, our seminar will start off with a 10 minute team sparring match on the weekly readings and the discussion questions. A good lead will engage the major fault lines of the existing debate, and battle with the strengths and weaknesses of the assigned readings. You have 10 minutes to get our attention and spark the discussion that we'll pick up for the rest of the class.

Undergraduate Reading Response Paper:

Undergraduate students are expected to write one 3-5 page analytical response to one set of the weekly discussion questions on the syllabus. The short paper should engage the readings on the syllabus to answer the questions. The responses are due the week before reading break. Please see the assignment instructions and grading criteria for complete details.

Undergraduate Research Paper:

Undergraduate students are expected to write one original 15-page research paper that answers one of the assigned questions. Essays should be written in 12-point Times New Roman font, double-spaced, and with 1-inch margins. Papers are due on the last day of class.

An outstanding paper utilizes theory to construct an analytical argument, and then presents empirical evidence to test the thesis against competing arguments. Papers should engage the existing debate, establish a clear theoretical position in that debate, and present a cogent empirical test of that hypothesis. Please see the assignment instructions and grading criteria for complete details.

Undergraduate Late Policy:

Late papers are penalized at 10% per day. If a serious unexpected situation arises that requires that you receive an extension, please speak to the professor as far ahead of time as possible so that a special arrangement can be made for you. Formal supporting documentation will be required before an extension can be granted.

Undergraduate Peer Review Policy:

The essay assignment is subject to a peer review process. Every student's paper must be proofread and critiqued by one of his or her teammates before submission. That is, each student will submit two drafts: 1) a signed rough draft showing comments and edits from their teammate (this can be a printed draft or an electronic draft with track changes); and 2) a printed, clean final draft, which has been proofread and which incorporates the comments and suggestions made by the teammate.

If a student fails to submit a rough draft alongside the final paper, their paper will be subject to an automatic 5-point deduction. If the student provides their teammate with a rough draft within

one week of the deadline, but the teammate fails to provide comments on that draft within 48 hours of the deadline, it is the teammate's paper that will be subject to an automatic 5-point deduction.

Students may select their own reviewer. It is the responsibility of each student to be mindful of their teammate's schedule, and give each other enough time to review their work.

Graduate Research Paper:

Graduate students are expected to write one original 20-30 page research paper on any topic on the international relations of ethnic conflict. Please consult the professor well in advance about your essay topic.

Papers should be written with the possibility of publication in mind. Assignments are due on the last day of class. Late papers are not accepted. If a serious unexpected situation arises that requires that you receive an extension, please speak to the professor as far ahead of time as possible so that a special arrangement can be made for you. Formal supporting documentation will be required before an extension can be granted.

Graduate Paper Presentation and Workshop:

Graduate students will present a first draft of their research papers in the second half of the course. Paper presentations give students the opportunity to workshop their ideas with their peers in the early stages of development and writing.

Undergraduate students are not required to present their paper drafts, but are encouraged to actively participate in giving constructive criticism and feedback to their graduate student colleagues during their presentations of original work. Both graduate and undergraduate students are expected to carefully read their colleagues' drafts, and provide them with written and verbal comments during class.

Paper drafts must be submitted and circulated to the entire class 72 hours before the presentation, so that everyone has a chance to read your work carefully and provide valuable comments on your draft. Earlier presentations give students feedback on their ideas sooner, whereas presenting later allows students to put forward more polished work. Neither an earlier or later choice will disadvantage students with respect to the grading.

Each graduate student will have approximately 30 minutes, so a 10 minute presentation will leave 20 minutes for discussion. Because the entire room will have already read your draft, it is recommended that you spend no more than 10 minutes on your presentation, so that more time can be dedicated to giving you feedback. It is helpful to conclude your presentation by pointing to the areas that you'd like the most help with, so as to guide the group discussion.

The available dates for presentations are: November 13th, 15th, and 20th. Please note that the September 11 class is cancelled. Friday, November 15th is a special make-up class.

Course Schedule and Readings

September 18:

Introduction

Why should we consider ethnic conflict an International Relations puzzle? How do ethnic civil wars challenge traditional understandings of international security? Are ethnic conflicts fundamentally different from other civil wars, or is this distinction invalid?

David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, "Spreading Fear: The Genesis of Transnational Ethnic Conflict" in David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (eds.) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 3-32

James D. Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict" in Lake and Rothchild (eds.) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 107-126

Stathis Kalyvas, "New and Old Civil Wars" *World Politics* (Vol. 54, No. 1, 2001), pp. 99-118

September 25:

Identity

What constitutes an ethnic identity? How useful is identity as a concept in understanding ethnic conflict? Does ethnic identity help to explain the outbreak of violent conflict or do other variables better explain the outbreak of ethnic conflict? Why is this distinction important? How do different analytical models affect policy prescriptions?

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), Chapter 1-4

Rawi Abdelal et al., "Identity as a Variable", in *Perspectives on Politics* (Vol. 4, No. 4, 2006), pp. 695-711

Stuart J. Kaufman, "Symbolic Politics versus Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence", in *International Security* (Vol. 30, No. 4, Spring 2006), pp. 45-86

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

October 2:

Irredentism and Separatism

Why do irredentist claims take root in some cases? What makes some states more prone to irredentism than others? Is identity causal, or do domestic politics provide a better explanation of variation? Should borders be defined by ethnic identity, or is this the path to endless violence?

Stephen M. Saideman and R. William Ayres, *For Kin or Country: Xenophobia, Nationalism, and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008)

Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature" *World Politics* Vol. 52, No. 4, July 2000, pp. 437-482

October 9:
Diasporas

How can diasporas affect ethnic conflict in their countries of origin? Are the interests of diasporas fundamentally different from citizens in the home country? Do diasporas worsen the prospects of peace by trying to influence politics back home? Is the "Israel Lobby" an example of this kind of diaspora politics, or do such analyses place too heavy an emphasis on identity?

Charles King and Neil J. Melvin, "Diaspora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy, and Security in Eurasia" in *International Security* (Vol. 24, No. 3, Winter 1999/2000), pp. 108-138

Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, "Diasporas and International Relations Theory" in *International Organization* (Vol. 57, Summer 2003), pp. 449-479

Nauja Kleist, "Mobilizing the 'Diaspora': Somali Transnational Political Engagement" in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Vol. 34, No. 2, 2008), pp. 307-323

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy" in *Middle East Policy* (Vol. XIII, No. 3, Fall 2006), pp. 29-87

Robert C. Lieberman, "The 'Israel Lobby' and American Politics" in *Perspective on Politics* (Vol. 7, No. 2, 2009), pp. 235-257

October 16:
Contagion

*****UNDERGRAD SHORT PAPERS DUE*****

Is ethnic conflict contagious? If so, what is the mechanism through which this spread occurs? What makes some neighbouring states more vulnerable than others to "catching" this virus? Is ethnic identity causal or does a domestic politics model have more explanatory power?

Timur Kuran, "Ethnic Dissimilation and Its International Diffusion", in Lake and Rothchild (eds.) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 35-60

Stuart Hill, Donald Rothchild, and Colin Cameron, “Tactical Information and the Diffusion of Peaceful Protests” in Lake and Rothchild (eds.) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, pp.61-88

Stephen Saideman, “Is Pandora’s Box Half Empty or Half Full? The Limited Virulence of Secessionism and the Domestic Sources of Disintegration”, in Lake and Rothchild (eds.) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 127-150

Erin Jenne, “A Bargaining Theory of Minority Demands: Explaining the dog that did not bite in 1990s Yugoslavia” in *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 48, 2004), pp.729-754

Halvard Buhaug and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, “Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space” in *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 52, 2007), pp. 215-233

October 23:
International Interventions I: Laws and Norms

What does international law have to say about intervention in ethnic civil wars? How do such conflicts challenge traditional legal conceptions of collective security? How does the concept of “human security” change the nature and scope of international interventions? Does the Responsibility to Protect doctrine constitute a new norm in international relations? How does R2P work in practice? Can it work?

Theodor Meron, “Rape as a Crime under International Humanitarian Law” in *The American Journal of International Law* (Vol. 87, No. 3, Jul., 1993), pp. 424-428

Theodor Meron, “War Crimes in Yugoslavia and the Development of International Law” in *The American Journal of International Law* (Vol. 88, No. 1, Jan. 1994), pp. 78-87

Payam Akhavan, “The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda: The Politics and Pragmatics of Punishment” in *The American Journal of International Law* (Vol. 90, No. 3, July 1996), pp. 501-510

Carsten Stahn, “Responsibility to Protect: Political Rhetoric or Emerging Legal Norm?” in *The American Journal of International Law*, (Vol. 101, No. 1, Jan. 2007), pp. 99-120

Robert A. Pape, “When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard for Humanitarian Intervention” in *International Security* (Vol. 37, No. 1, Summer 2012), pp. 41-80

Gareth Evans and Ramesh Thakur versus Robert A. Pape, “Correspondence: Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect” in *International Security* (Vol. 37, No. 4, Spring 2013), pp. 199-214

October 30:
International Interventions II: Engagement

How can states intervene in complex ethnic conflicts? What are the costs and benefits of different strategic and tactical approaches to intervening? What are the trade-offs between putting boots on the ground, using airpower, and mobilizing proxy groups? What sort of end-game political solutions make sense for these types of conflicts? What are the potential dangers of intervention?

Patrick M. Regan, “Choosing to Intervene: Outside Interventions in Internal Conflicts” in *Journal of Politics* (Vol. 60, No. 3, August 1998), pp. 754-79

Andrew L. Stigler, “A Clear Victory for Air Power: NATO’s Empty Threat to Invade Kosovo” in *International Security* (Vol. 27, No. 3, Winter 2002/03), pp. 124-157

Idean Salehyan, “Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations” in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Vol. 54, No. 3, 2010), pp. 493-515

Chaim Kaufmann, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars” in *International Security* (Vol. 20, No. 4, Spring 1996), pp. 136-175

Alan J. Kuperman, “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans” in *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 52, 2008), pp. 49-80

November 6:
International Interventions III: Consequences

What are the unintended consequences of intervention? How does international intervention in civil wars affect the war economy? Is it ever possible for the international community to intervene in an ethnic civil war and not inadvertently finance sub-state armed groups? What types of interventions in ethnic conflicts are most likely to inadvertently exacerbate and prolong violence?

Peter Andreas, *Blue Helmets and Black Markets: The Business of Survival in the Siege of Sarajevo* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008)

Aisha Ahmad, “Agenda for Peace or Budget for War? Evaluating the Economic Impact of International Intervention in Somalia” in *International Journal*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Spring 2012) pp. 313-331

November 13:
Paper Presentations I

November 15:
Paper Presentations II*
(*Friday afternoon class)

November 20:
Paper Presentations III

November 27:
Negotiating Peace

*****FINAL PAPERS DUE *****

What are the challenges of achieving a negotiated peace in an ethnic civil war? Do peacekeepers make the difference or do other factors predict the outcome? Is a negotiated settlement the best resolution to an ethnic civil war, or does decisive military victory lead to a more stable peace? Which explanation is more convincing and empirically sound, and how do these models lead to different policy prescriptions?

Roy Licklider, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993" in *American Political Science Review* (Vol. 89, No. 3, September 1995), pp. 681-690

Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep the Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War" in *International Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 48, 2004), pp. 269-292

David E. Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration" in *American Journal of Political Science* (Vol. 50, No. 4, October 2006), pp. 875-892

Monica Duffy Toft, "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" in *International Security* (Vol. 34, No. 4, Spring 2010), pp. 7-36

Laurie Nathan versus Monica Duffy Toft, "Correspondence: Civil War Settlements and the Prospects for Peace" in *International Security* (Vol. 36, No. 1, Summer 2011), pp. 202-210