

POL 300H1F: Topics in Comparative Politics
Identity Politics and Ethnonationalist Mobilization in the Developing World
May-June 2014

Instructor: Shelly Ghai

Location and date: Mondays, Wednesdays 12-2 pm

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Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:30-4:30 (SS3118)

With the independence of many former colonial states and the end of the Cold War, the world has witnessed the growing importance of identity politics. Groups and individuals have defined themselves according to their ‘ethnic’ character, often defined by religious, linguistic, racial, caste, tribal and/or regional markers. This course seeks to address several questions relevant to understanding ethnic conflict in the developing world. How do we define ethnic identity? How have ethnic identities been mobilized and politicized? What are the consequences of ethnonationalist mobilization and how does it affect political outcomes like voting, democratic competition and democratic stability, economic growth, and political violence? Why is ethnic conflict violent, divisive, and destabilizing in some cases, but is non-violent and occurs within the framework of democratic competition in others?

These questions will be explored from a comparative and historical perspective drawing on cases from Latin America, the Balkans, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Africa. In this course, ethnic identity and ethnic conflict will be treated as both a dependent variable and an independent variable. A fundamental goal of this course is to have students think critically about substantive questions central to the study of ethnic politics. By the end of the course, students will be able to distinguish between the distinct approaches to studying ethnicity, including a strong understanding of each approach’s strengths and limitations. Students will also become more aware of the empirical realities associated with ethnonationalist mobilization in the developing world, equipped with the analytical and conceptual tools to conduct further comparative research on ethnonationalism. Students will be given opportunities to hone their research, writing, and critical analysis skills in class discussions and their written assignments.

Required Readings:

Readings will be made available online through Blackboard and the University’s library website. Students are responsible for downloading journal articles from the library website and accessing e-books through the library website.

Course Format & Requirements:

Paper proposal and outline	15%
Short reflection paper	25%
Research paper	40%
Class attendance and participation	20%

Course Assignment Guidelines & Details:

Paper Proposal and Outline (15%): The purpose of this assignment is to encourage you to explore your research topic early on in the course, consult relevant scholarly sources to develop a thesis and your supporting arguments, and to receive feedback early on in the research and writing process. Proposals should be 2-3 pages in length (not including the bibliography) and should be written in proper sentence and paragraph form (point form proposals are unacceptable). Your proposal must include the following components: a) your argument and thesis statement; b) your supporting arguments and a brief discussion of these claims, including preliminary evidence and empirical examples; and c) preliminary research (it is not sufficient to simply list sources in your bibliography without drawing on them in the proposal itself). A minimum of 4 external, scholarly/peer-reviewed sources should be consulted for your proposal. You should also draw on the relevant course material, though course readings will not count towards your four sources. A list of suggested paper topics will be made available through blackboard. Your proposal and outline is due at the beginning of lecture on May 26.

Short Reflection/Reaction Paper (25%): Select a reading (or readings) from sessions 1-4 (i.e., part I and part II of the course). Your reaction paper should be 5 pages in length and must be more than a simple summary of the selected course reading(s). Your reaction paper must present a thesis statement, which should be supported using the course readings. Your reaction paper should demonstrate an understanding of the author's main arguments and place his/her arguments in context of readings from that same week or related readings from other weeks. A good starting point is to look for similarities and differences between the reading selected and others included in the course. What are common or dissimilar themes that emerge from the readings? Do the readings adopt a particular theoretical approach? Is one approach better at explaining a particular phenomenon when compared to other approaches and why? Is there a single theme that emerges from the material? These questions should be used to analytically engage with the course material, develop a critical analysis, and present a central argument that is developed in your reaction paper. Your reflection paper is due at the beginning of lecture on June 4.

Research Paper (40%): The research paper allows students to write on a topic of their interest relating to the politics of identity and ethnic conflict in the developing world. A list of suggested topics will be posted on Blackboard during the first week of class. Students who wish to write on a topic not included in the list provided should discuss their topic with the course instructor during office hours. All papers must: a) be based on one (or more) of the topics covered in the weekly lectures; b) incorporate the relevant course material and assigned readings; c) consult a minimum of 6 external scholarly sources; and d) incorporate cases from the developing world, covered in the course. Papers will be graded on the strength, structure, and logic of the argument, the quality of research and information presented in the paper, and the clarity of writing. The paper should be 10 pages in length, not including the bibliography. The research paper is due at the beginning of lecture on June 18.

Class Attendance and Participation (20%): Attendance and active participation is expected. This component of your grade is therefore based on a combination of both attendance and participation. Participation should reflect familiarity with the themes, issues, and concepts covered in the course as well as your engagement with the relevant course material. Part of your

participation grade will include unannounced in-class quizzes based on readings or lectures. These quizzes will be in the form of short identification questions and/or short answers on concepts discussed in lecture or in specific readings. There will be no make-ups of missed in-class quizzes.

Course Policies:

Submission of Assignments: All assignments must be submitted in-class, at the beginning of lecture, on the stated due date. Emailed submissions of assignments will not be accepted unless prior arrangements have been made with the instructor. Your assignment is not considered submitted until the paper copy is received. Students must attach a completed and signed copy of the Academic Integrity Checklist to their written assignments. This form will be made available on Blackboard.

Students are strongly encouraged to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments even after the marked assignments have been returned.

Assignment Format & References: The page limit for the assignments refers to double-spaced pages, using a standard 12-point font, and one-inch margins. Your paper must use a standard citation style such as Chicago or APA and you must be consistent in the formatting of your citations and references. Students who are unfamiliar with these citation styles should consult a style guide. Papers should be stapled and must include page numbers. Please consider the environment and print double-sided.

Students are encouraged to take advantage of the writing support and tools available at the University of Toronto: <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/learning>.

Late Penalties: It is your responsibility to ensure that your assignments are submitted on the stated due date, in lecture. Late assignments will be penalized 5% per day, including weekends. Any assignment submitted one week past the due date will automatically receive a grade of 0. Late assignments should be submitted to the Political Science main office (Room 3018, Sidney Smith Hall) to be date-stamped. It is also the student's responsibility to email me informing me that they have left their assignment in the office. Papers submitted on the stated due date, but after lecture will be penalized 2.5%. No email submissions of late assignments will be accepted.

Extensions & Absences: Only valid and documented reasons will be accepted for the late submission of assignments without penalty. If you foresee difficulties in meeting the deadline you must: 1) provide me with appropriate official documentation that verifies why you were unable to meet the deadline; and 2) email me within 48 hours of the missed deadline. Attaching documentation (e.g., medical certificates) to your assignment and leaving it in the main office, without informing me within the 48 hour window is unacceptable.

Class attendance and participation is expected. There will be no opportunities to make-up missed in-class pop quizzes. Missed quizzes will be excused only under extraordinary circumstances in which the student provides official documentation for his/her absence.

Contesting a Grade: If you have a question concerning a grade received on an assignment, you are encouraged to visit the course instructor during office hours to discuss your questions. If you would like to contest your grade, you must follow these steps: within two weeks of the returned assignment, you should submit a one-page, typed request, along with the graded assignment, outlining why you deserve a higher grade. Specific reference should be made to the instructions and guidelines for that assignment. Students should note that grades can go up or down when appealing their grades. The new grade will be final. Requests for appeals outside of the two-week window will not be considered.

Blackboard & Email: Important information about the course, announcements, course readings, and detailed instructions about the assignments will be communicated through Blackboard, some of which may not come up in class. It is the student's responsibility to check the course section on Blackboard regularly.

Students who wish to contact me through email must do so using a valid University of Toronto email address. If I do not respond within 48 hours, feel free to send me a follow-up email.

Accessibility: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility and meeting the diverse learning styles and needs of students who require such accommodation. If you require such accommodation or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility services (<https://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/Home.htm>) as soon as possible (accessibility.services@utoronto.ca or 416-978-8060).

Turnitin.com: 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.

Students who do not wish to use turnitin.com and prefer to opt out must speak to me about alternate procedures. This will entail the submission of all research notes, rough drafts, and bibliographies in addition to the final paper. Students must approach me to discuss these alternate procedures during the first two weeks of classes.

Academic Integrity & Plagiarism: Academic integrity is a fundamental to learning and scholarship at the University of Toronto. Students should familiarize themselves with the rules for academic behavior in the University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>). Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:

- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Copying material word-for-word from a source (including lecture and study group notes) and not placing the words within quotation marks.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor.
- Making up sources or facts.
- Including references to sources that you did not use.

- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment including:
 - working in groups on assignments that are supposed to be individual work;
 - having someone rewrite or add material to your work while “editing”.
- Lending your work to a classmate who submits it as his/her own without your permission.

On tests and exams:

- Using or possessing any unauthorized aid, including a cell phone.
- Looking at someone else’s answers
- Letting someone else look at your answers.
- Misrepresenting your identity.
- Submitting an altered test for re-grading.

Misrepresentation:

- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including doctor’s notes.
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades.

Plagiarism is a serious academic offense and will not be countenanced. Cases of plagiarism will be punished accordingly. Citing someone else’s work and words without due attribution is considered plagiarism. Please see “How not to Plagiarize” (<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>) and “Standard Documentation Formats” (<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/documentation>) for further information and clarification. Students are strongly encouraged to explore the writing resources available at the University of Toronto (<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres>).

Lecture and Reading Schedule

PART I: Ethnicity & Nationalism

May 12: Introduction: Defining Ethnicity

What is identity? What is ethnicity? How can/do we study ethnicity?

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. What is Ethnic Identity and does it Matter? *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: pp. 397-424.

May 14: The Rise of the Nation-State

What is nationalism? Where does nationalism come from? How does it emerge and spread? Does it matter?

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, pp. 1-46. (Available online through the library website)

Jackson-Preece, Jennifer. "Origins of 'Nations': Contested Beginnings, Contested Futures." In *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*, edited by Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff, pp. 15-25. New York: Routledge, 2010. (Available online through the library website)

May 21: Different Approaches and Explanations: The Formation of Ethnic Identity and Causes of Ethnic Mobilization

How is ethnic identity formed and politicized? What are the assumptions made in the different approaches and explanations?

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States." *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 255-269. (Available online through the library website)

Symposium in ASPA – Comparative Politics (2001). "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics." Read: Chandra pp. 7-11; Wilkinson pp. 17-20, Van Evera pp. 20-22. <http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/chandra/apsa-cp2001.pdf>

Brass, Paul. 2003. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 5-16 and 30-37.

PART II: Ethnicity from a Historical Perspective

May 26: Reifying Ethnic Identity: The Impact of Colonialism

How did the colonial powers understand their colonies? How did the colonized societies respond?

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 14-34.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-14.

Posner, Daniel N. January 2003. The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia. *Comparative Politics* 35(2): pp. 127-146.

PART III: Ethno-nationalist Mobilization in the Political Arena: Ethnic Political Violence

Why does ethnic conflict often take a violent form? What causes the escalation to ethnic violence? Is ethnic violence a spontaneous act, or is it calculated and planned? Does it only occur along one ethnic axis, or does it somehow incorporate other ethnic cleavages and identities? Can ethnic violence be conceptually separated from other forms of political violence? If so, what are its distinctive features?

May 28: Ethno-Nationalist Mobilization, Territorial Integrity, and Explaining Extreme Ethnic Violence

Horowitz, Donald. "Irredentas and Secessions." In *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*, edited by Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff, pp. 158-68. New York: Routledge, 2010. (Available online through the library website)

Lake, David and Donald Rothchild. 1996. Containing Fear: the Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict. *International Security* 21(2): pp. 41-75.

June 2: Explaining Extreme Ethnic Violence: Riots and Genocides

Kaufman, Stuart. 2006. Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice: Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence. *International Security* 30(4): pp. 45-86.

Wilkinson, Stephen. 2006. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Violence in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-18. (Available online through library website)

PART IV: The State, Nation & Ethnicity

How does ethnicity engage with the modern state, democratic political institutions and the market? What are the political manifestations of ethnicity within the context of democratic political competition? How does ethnicity engage with other identities?

June 4: Ethnonationalist Mobilization, Institutions and Political Change

Bertrand, Jacques. 2004. *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-27.

Yashar, Deborah. 1999. Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Post-Liberal Challenge in Latin America. *World Politics* 52(1): pp. 76-104.

June 9: Ethnicity and the Market: The Political Economy of Ethnicity

Miguel, Edward. 2004. Tribe or Nation? Nation-building and public goods in Kenya versus Tanzania. *World Politics* 56(3): pp. 327-362.

Brysk, Alison and Carol Wise. 1997. Liberalization and Ethnic Conflict in Latin America. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 32(2): pp. 76-104.

June 11: The Electoral Manifestation of Ethnic Competition: the Ethnic Political Party

Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability. *Perspectives on Politics* 3(2): pp. 235-252.

Ferree, Karen. 2006. Explaining South Africa's Racial Census. *The Journal of Politics* 68(4): pp. 802-814.

Van Cott, Donna. 2003. Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America. *Latin American Politics and Society* 45(2): pp. 1-39.

June 16: Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict

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

Berman, Sheri. 2003. Islamism, Revolution, and Civil Society. *Perspectives on Politics* 1(2): pp. 257-272.

June 18: Ethnicity, the State, and Gender

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1991. Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20(3): pp. 429-443.

Htun, Mala. 2004. Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups. *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3): pp. 439-458.

Sofos, S.A. 1996. Inter-Ethnic Violence and Gendered Constructions of Ethnicity in Former Yugoslavia. *Social Identities* 2(1): pp. 73-92.