

ETHNIC POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
POL 321H1F
University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
2010 Fall Term

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The focus of this course will be ethnic politics and ethnonationalism in industrial societies. We will examine several dimensions of ethnicity and politics: sources of ethnic competition and conflict; the forms multiethnic polities have taken in response to the need for institutions and processes to regulate conflict and mobilize resources in ethnically heterogeneous societies; the policies and programs that have been developed in response to ethnic demands and tensions; the political resources, organizational forms, tactics and strategies of ethnic groups in multiethnic societies; interethnic relations within multiethnic states, as these are played out in the political arena.

In the first part, we will undertake an examination some general issues that will provide a framework for our case studies: the ethnic origins of the nation; circumstances under which can we expect ethnic politics to be transformed into ethnonationalism; sources of ethnic conflict; types of political arrangements that have been developed to respond to the needs of ethnic groups and deal with tensions arising from ethnic relations in multi-ethnic societies. This theoretical introduction will be used to provide us with direction in the rest of the course. We will refer back to our initial thoughts, reassess them, and check their utility for understanding specific cases.

The second part will involve an exploration of ethnic politics and ethnonationalism through case studies. This exploration will be wide-ranging and will include:

West Europe: the successful construction of unified nations (Germany, France, Italy); the successful negotiation of consociational arrangements in multinational countries (Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands); the challenges of territorial minorities (the Irish, Scots, Welsh, Basques, and Catalans); and, the new challenges of multiculturalism that have arisen as the result of migration into Western Europe; the tensions created by attempts at nation-building between Israeli Arabs and Jews and within the Jewish community *within Israel*.

Eastern Europe: The role of nationalism in post-communist states in Eastern Europe: the case of **Yugoslavia** which has seen the violent disintegration of the state along ethnonational territorial lines.

Former Soviet Union. The impact of ethnonationalism on the viability of a multinational state undergoing major transformations and the role of nationalism in state-building in post-communist societies. This will involve either an overview of challenges & responses or a case study of nation- and state-building in one country (likely Russia)

Required Readings

A package of materials containing the required readings for each section of the course will be made available. Some readings are available as e-journals and e-books through the University of Toronto Library Website.

Supplementary Readings

The course outline includes only required readings. Students may wish to consult additional readings on each topic. The additional readings will be useful in supplementing the required readings. They will also be useful in preparation for term tests and as a starting point for research into essays. These readings will be available on my Web Page.

Course Requirements

Wednesday October 13

A **term test** will be held in class on Wednesday, October 7. It will be worth 25% of the final mark. The term test will cover material in the theoretical introduction (3 lectures).

Wednesday November 17

Students have an **option**. You may submit a short paper (5 pages) or a long essay (10 pages) on Western Europe (4 lectures). If you submit a short paper, it will be worth 25% of the final mark. If you write a long essay, it will be worth 50% of the final mark. Detailed guidelines for the short paper / essay will be provided during the term.

Wednesday December 8

Students have an **option**. You may submit a short paper (5 pages) or a long essay (10 pages). The paper and essay will cover the material in the modules on Israel, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (3 lectures). A short paper will be worth 25% of the final mark. A long essay will be worth 50% of the final mark. Detailed guidelines for the short paper / essay will be provided during the term.

NOTE: You must take care to ensure that you understand the way you may exercise your options to complete your course requirements.

1. Term test (25%) (October 13) is required by all students.
2. The second and third assignments will be completed as a short paper (25%) and long essay (50%). You have the choice as to when you exercise each option (November 17 or December 8).

Summary of course requirements:

Term Test:	25%
Short Paper (5 pages):	25%
Long Essay (10 pages):	50%

A **make-up term test** for students who miss the regularly scheduled term test will be done only in circumstances where students have good **reasons**. Appropriate documentation is required.

The University of Toronto is encouraging faculty and students to conserve paper. As a result, to conserve paper, please print double-sided.

Papers / essays submitted beyond the due date without the prior approval of the instructor may be subject to a penalty of 1% per day (including weekends). Papers / Essays will not be accepted through fax or e-mail.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays before handing them in to the Department. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism at <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>.

**ETHNIC POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
REQUIRED READINGS**

I. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO ETHNICITY, ETHNIC CONFLICT, & ETHNIC CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

1. Ethnicity and Nation

A.D. Smith, "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism", *Survival*, 35,1 (Spring 1993), 48-62 (e-journal)

D. Brown, *Contemporary Nationalism: Civic, Ethnocultural & Multicultural Politics*, pp 4-37

A.D. Smith, "Culture, Community & Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism", *International Affairs*, 72,3 (1996), 445-458 (e-journal)

A.D. Smith, "An Ethnosymbolic Account of Nations and Nationalism", in Smith, *The Nation in History*, 62-77

2. Sources of Ethnonational Conflict

R. Ganguly & R.C. Taras, "Ethnic Conflict on the World Stage", in Ganguly & Taras, *Understanding Ethnic Conflict*, Chapter 1

M.E. Brown, "The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview", in Brown, ed., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, 3-25

3. Strategies of Ethnic Conflict Management / Accommodation

J. McGarry & B. O'Leary, "Introduction: The Macro-Political Regulation of Ethnic Conflict", in McGarry and O'Leary (eds), *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation*, Chapter 1

A. Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies*, Chapter 2

A. Lijphart, "The Netherlands: Rules of the Game" in K.D. McRae (ed), *Consociational Democracy*, 137-149

Sammy Smootha, "The Model of Ethnic Democracy" pages 20-41 in *The Fate of Ethnic Democracy in Post-Communist Europe*, Local Government & Public Service Reform Initiative and European Centre for Minority Issues, http://lgi.osi.hu/publications_datasheet.php?id=277

II. ETHNIC CONFLICT & ITS MANAGEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPEAN TYPE SYSTEMS

1. Western Europe: Nation- & State-Building

Francesco Barbagallo, "Italy: the idea and the reality of the nation," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 6(3) 2001: 388–401 (e-journal)

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, Chapter 29 (e-book)

2. Western Europe: Multi-National States & Stability: Consociation: Switzerland

K.D. McRae, *Switzerland: Example of Cultural Coexistence*, 1-56

3. Western Europe: Territorial Fragmentation: From Ethnocracy to Consociation?: Northern Ireland

Brendon O'Duffy, "Containment or Regulation? The British Approach to Ethnic Conflict in Northern Ireland", in John McGarry & Brendon O'Leary, *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation*, Chapter 6

John McGarry & Brendan O'Leary, "Northern Ireland's Options: A Framework and Analysis" in McGarry & O'Leary (eds), *The Future of Northern Ireland*, Chapter 11

C. Gilligan, "Northern Ireland Ten Years after the Agreement", *Ethnopolitics*, 7, 1, March 2008 (e-journal)

4. Western Europe: Immigration & Challenges to the Nation

Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France & Germany*, 1992, Conclusion, pages 179 – 189 (e-book)

E. Thomas, 'Keeping Identity at a distance: Explaining France's new legal restrictions on the Islamic headscarf', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29:2, 2006, 237 — 259 (e-journal)

5. Israel: National State or Ethnic Democracy?

a. Arab Israelis

S. Smooha, "The Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State", *Nations and Nationalism*, 8 (October 2002), 4, 474-503 (e-journal)

O. Yiftachel, "The Concept of 'Ethnic Democracy' and Its Applicability to the Case of Israel", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, January 1992, 125-136

A.H. Sa'di, "Control & Resistance: Two Dimensions of Palestinians' Existence in Israel", in S. Ben Ami, et.al., *Ethnic Challenges to the Modern National State*

b. **Jewish Identity & Nation-Building**

C. Liebman & B. Susser, "Judaism & Jewishness in the Jewish State", *Annals, AAPSS*, 555, January 1998, 15-25

E. Ben-Rafael, "Mizrahi & Russian Challenges to Israel's Dominant Culture: Divergences & Convergences", *Israel Studies*, 12, 3 (e-journal)

III. NATION-BUILDING & CONFLICT IN SOCIALIST AND POST-SOCIALIST STATES

1. Introduction

R. Brubaker, "National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe", *Daedalus*, 124, 2 (Spring 1995), 107-120 (e-journal)

2. Yugoslavia: Collapse into Conflict

G. Schopflin, "The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia" in J. McGarry and B. O'Leary (eds), *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation*, Chapter 8

A. Oberschall, "From Ethnic Cooperation to Violence & War in Yugoslavia", in D. Chirot & M. Seligman (eds.), *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences, & Possible Solutions*, Chpt 9

S.L. Woodward, "Bosnia After Dayton: Transforming A Compromise into a State", in R. Rothstein (ed), *After the Peace: Resistance & Reconciliation*

S. Majstorovic, "Autonomy of the Sacred: The Endgame in Kosovo", in W. Safran & R. Maiz (eds), *Identity & Territorial Autonomy in Plural Societies*

3. Nationality & State-Building in Post- Soviet States

G. Lapidus, "Ethnicity and State-Building: Accommodating Ethnic Differences in Post-Soviet Eurasia" in M. Beissinger & C. Young (eds), *Beyond State Crisis?*, Chapter 13

G. Smith, "Post-Colonialism and Borderland Identities" in Smith, *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identity*, Chapter 1

V. Tolz, "Conflicting "Homeland Myths" and Nation-State Building in Post-Communist Russia", *Slavic Review*, 57, 2 (Summer 1998), 267-294 (e-journal)