

**POL 429/2429Y:  
DEMOCRACY AND ETHNIC CONFLICT  
Mondays 12:00-2:00 pm (LA 213)**

<p><b>Instructor:</b> Prof. Jacques Bertrand <b>Office:</b> Munk, 264S <b>Email:</b> <a href="mailto:jacques.bertrand@utoronto.ca">jacques.bertrand@utoronto.ca</a> <b>Office hours:</b> Mondays 2:00-3:00 pm</p>
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### **Course objective and description**

This course aims at exploring various facets of how democracy contributes to intensifying or reducing ethnic conflict. Many studies have suggested that democratic institutions in their early stage fuel ethnic violence. Yet, only democratic institutions can provide the kind of institutional channels that allow conflicts to be resolved through negotiation and compromise. We discuss the debates and theoretical propositions that arise from empirical studies on these issues.

### **Format**

This seminar is reading and discussion intensive. All students are expected to have covered the required readings for each session, and to participate actively in the weekly discussions. The recommended readings listed complement the required readings, and are for your interest.

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### **Requirements and Evaluation**

1. Conflict monitor, 35%
  - a. Conflict monitor paper, 30%.

Write a paper on a particular conflict, and provide a brief overview of the current state of the conflict, and the main actors and processes involved in attempting to resolve it. Essays to be submitted through Turnitin. Undergraduate students: 8-10 pages / graduate students: 10-12 pages.  
**Due: October 19<sup>th</sup>**
  - b. Conflict monitor, group presentation, 5%

Along with your regional group, provide a regional briefing to the class, 10 minutes  
**Presentations: November 16<sup>th</sup>**
  
2. Research paper, 50%.

Compare two conflicts and assess the degree to which democratic instruments (or their absence) have contributed to intensifying the conflict, or reducing it. Essays to be

submitted through Turnitin. Undergraduate students: 10-12 pages / Graduate students: 15-20 pages.

**Due: December 7<sup>th</sup>**

3. Participation: 15%.

Class attendance; participation in class discussions.

\*\*Penalty for late submissions: 2% per day; no extensions; medical reasons require proper documentation are assessed on a case-by-case basis.

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## Readings

Readings and books are indicated as follow:

@ - Available on Blackboard

® - Available on reserve (Robarts Library)

## Turnitin

We are using a university wide service called Turnitin. 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 website.

## Blackboard

We are using Blackboard in this course. You will need your UTORid and password.

Logon at <http://portal.utoronto.ca>

For help and information, please contact: [blackboard@utoronto.ca](mailto:blackboard@utoronto.ca)

Do **not** direct your Blackboard specific questions to the instructor. We are unable to provide support for the web-based software. There are special services that you should consult. You should access the course regularly to check for announcements, broadcasts, etc...

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## **Week 1 – September 14<sup>th</sup> - Introduction to the course**

\*\* No readings \*\*

## **Week 2 – September 21<sup>st</sup> – Ethnic and National Identity**

What is ethnic identity? How does it differ from the concept of the “nation”? How fixed or malleable are these identities? Under what conditions do they change?

### ***Required***

@ Horowitz, Donald L. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict.*, Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press, Chapt. 1

@ Chandra, K. (2006). “What is ethnic identity and does it matter?”. *Annual Review of Political Science.* 9. 397-424.

@ Anderson, B. (1991). “Introduction”. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London and New York : Verso.

@ Smith, Anthony D. (1986). “Are Nations Modern?” in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. 6-18

### ***Recommended***

@ Connor, W. (1978). “A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group is a...”. *Ethnic and racial studies,* 1(4), 377-400.

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## **SECTION ONE**

### **DEMOCRACY, IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY (Alexandre Pelletier)**

## **Week 3 – September 28<sup>th</sup> - Democracy in the context of ethnic diversity**

The literature on democracy has often ignored ethnic identity. What are the challenges of building democratic institutions in a society with a high degree of ethnic diversity? What is the importance of having a “cultural core”, or a “nation” in order to build stable democratic institutions?

### ***Required***

@ Linz, J. J. (1993). “State building and nation building”. *European Review,* 1(4), 355-369.

@ Fish, M. S., & Brooks, R. S. (2004). “Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?”. *Journal of Democracy,* 15(1), 154-166.

@ Rustow, D. A. (1970). "Transitions to democracy: Toward a dynamic model". *Comparative politics*, 2(3), 337-363.

@ Marx, A. W. (1998). "Introduction". *Making race and nation: A comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.

### ***Recommended***

@ Rabushka, A., & Shepsle, K. A. (1972). "Chapter 3 – Distinctive Features of Politics in the Plural Society: A Paradigm" In *Politics in plural societies: A theory of democratic instability*. Columbus, OH: Merrill.

@ Mann, M. (1999). "The dark side of democracy: the modern tradition of ethnic and political cleansing". *New Left Review*, 235, pp. 18-45.

### **Week 4 – October 5<sup>th</sup> – Citizenship and identity politics**

What does it mean for ethno-cultural minorities to organize a democratic polity around liberal principles? Are individual rights and recognition/protection of minority rights compatible?

### ***Required***

@ Kymlicka, W. (2001). "The New Debate Over Minority Rights". *Politics in the vernacular: Nationalism, multiculturalism, and citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

@ Yashar, D. J., (1999). "Democracy, indigenous movements, and the post-liberal challenge in Latin America". *World Politics*; 52(1), pp. 76-104

### ***Recommended***

@ Kymlicka W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford University Press. Chaps. 1-3, pp. 1-48, and chaps. 9-10, pp. 173-195

® Tamir, Y. (1995). *Liberal nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

® Norman, W. (2006). *Negotiating nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

### **Week 5 – October 12<sup>th</sup> – Thanksgiving**

*No Class*

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**SECTION TWO**  
**INSTITUTIONS AND THE DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF ETHNIC CONFLICT**  
**(Jacques Bertrand)**

**Week 6 – October 19<sup>th</sup> – Democratic Transitions and Ethnic Conflict**

*\*\* First assignment due (Conflict monitor)\*\**

Democratic transitions have often associated with a rise of ethnic violence. What are the conditions leading to violence? When do transitions reduce ethnic violence and conflict?

***Required***

@ Snyder, J. L. (2000). *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York ; London: Norton, chap. 1 (pp. 15-42), chap. 2, (pp. 45-92).

@ Bertrand, J. (2004). *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapt. 2, pp. 9-27

@ Beissinger, M. R. (2008). A new look at ethnicity and democratization. *Journal of Democracy*, 19(3), 85-97.

***Recommended***

@ Wimmer, A. (1997). Who Owns the State? Understanding Ethnic Conflict in Post-Colonial Societies. *Nations and Nationalism*, 3(4), 631-666.

@ Posen, Barry (1993) "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict". *Survival*, 35(1), pp. 27-47

**Week 7 – October 26<sup>th</sup> – Autonomy and secessionism**

Autonomy has often been prescribed as institutional solution to ethnic conflict. Critics argue that it encourages secession. What are the conditions under which autonomy might lead to more stable democracy?

***Required***

@ Beissinger, M. R. (2002). "Chapter 1 – From the Impossible to the Inevitable" *Nationalist mobilization and the collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

@ Rothchild, D. & Hartzell, C. A. (1999) Security in Deeply Divided Societies: The role of Territorial Autonomy. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 5, 254-71

@ Cornell, S. E. (2002). "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict". *World politics*, 54(2), 245-76.

@ Hale, H. E. (2004). "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse". *World Politics*. 56(2). 165-193.

@ Brancati, D. (2006). "Decentralization: Fuelling the fire or dampening the flames of ethnic conflict and secessionism?". *International Organization*, 60(3), 651.

### **Recommended**

@ Jenne, E. K., S. M. Saideman, and W. Lowe. (2007). "Separatism as a Bargaining Posture: The Role of Leverage in Minority Radicalization". *Journal of Peace Research*. 44(5). Pp. 539-58

@ Lustick, I. S., Miodownik, D., & Eidelson, R. J. (2004). "Secessionism in multicultural states: Does sharing power prevent or encourage it?". *American Political Science Review*, 98(02), 209-229.

@ Erk, J., & Anderson, L. 2009. "The Paradox of Federalism: Does Self-Rule Accommodate or Exacerbate Ethnic Divisions?". *Regional and Federal Studies*, 19(2), 191-202.

@ Leff, C. S. (1999). "Democratization and disintegration in multinational states". *World Politics*, 51(2), 205-35.

### **Week 8 – November 2<sup>nd</sup> – Consociationalism and its critics**

Arend Lijphart began a very long debate about the merits of consociational democracy as an institutional mechanism for peaceful ethnic relations. What is consociational democracy? What are its characteristics? On what basis do some scholars disagree with Lijphart?

### **Required**

@ Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, Chap. 1 and Chap. 2, pp. 1-52

@ Andeweg, Rudy B. (2000). "Consociational Democracy". *Annual Review of Political Science*. 3. pp. 509-36

@ Horowitz, D.L. (1986). "Chapter 14. Ethnic Policy: The Constraints and the Opportunities". In *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press

### **Recommended**

@ Lijphart, A. (1969). "Consociational democracy". *World politics*, 21(2), 207-225.

@ Lijphart, A. (2004). "Constitutional design for divided societies". *Journal of democracy*, 15(2), 96-109.

@ Barry, B. (1975). "The consociational model and its dangers". *European Journal of Political Research*, 3(4), 393-412.

@ Lustick, I. S. (1979). "Stability in Deeply Divided Societies: Consociationalism versus Control". *World Politics*. 31. Pp. 325-44.

@ Pappalardo, A. (1981). "The Conditions for Consociational Democracy: A Logical and Empirical Critique". *European Journal of Political Research*. 9. Pp. 365-90

@ Tsebelis, G. (1990). "Elite interaction and constitution building in consociational democracies". *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 2(1), 5-29.

@ Lustick, I. S. (1997). "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism". *World Politics*. 50. Pp. 88-117

@ Bogaards, M. (1998). "The Favourable Factors for Consociational Democracy: A Review". *European Journal of Political Research*. 33. Pp. 475-96

### **Week 9 – November 9<sup>th</sup> – November Break**

*No class*

### **Week 10 – November 16<sup>th</sup> – Conflict monitor presentations**

*\*\* Presentations \*\**

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## **SECTION THREE DEMOCRACY, SOCIETAL INSTITUTIONS AND ETHNICITY (Jacques Bertrand)**

### **Week 11 – November 23<sup>rd</sup> – Democracy, Societal Actors, and Ethnic Peace**

A vibrant civil society is associated with a well functioning democracy. Some argue that civic engagement can reduce the incidence of ethnic conflict. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this argument?

#### ***Required***

@ Varshney, A. (2001) "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* 53(3). pp. 362-398

@ Chandra, K. (2001). "Civic Life or Economic Interdependence?". *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*. 39:1. Pp. 110-8

@ Berman, S. (1997). "Civil society and the collapse of the Weimar Republic." *World politics*, 49, 401-429.

#### ***Recommended***

@ Lake and Rothchild. (1996). Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict. *International Security*. 21 (fall): 41-75.

@ Cinalli, M. (2005). "Below and beyond power sharing: relational structures across institutions and civil society". In O'Flynn, I., & Russell, D. *Power sharing: new challenges for divided societies*. Pluto Press.

@ Varshney A. (1997). Postmodernism, civic engagement and ethnic conflict: a passage to India. *Comparative Politics*. 30(1): pp. 1-20

@ Weingast, B. R. (1998). "Constructing trust: the political and economic roots of ethnic and regional conflict". In *Institutions and social order*. pp. 163-200.

@ Fearon, J. D. (1994). Ethnic war as a commitment problem. In *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*, New York (Vol. 30, p. 24).

## **Week 12 - November 30<sup>th</sup> - Parties, Elections and Democracy**

Political parties are a core institution of electoral democracy. Are political parties organized along ethnic lines inherently unstable for democracy?

### ***Required***

@ Chandra, K. (2005). Ethnic parties and democratic stability. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(2), 235-52

@ Posner, D. N. (2007). Regime change and ethnic cleavages in Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(11), 1302-1327.

@ Reilly, B. (2006). Political engineering and party politics in conflict-prone societies. *Democratization*, 13(5), 811-827.

@ Wilkinson, S. I. 2006. "Chapter 1" *Votes and violence: Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

### ***Recommended***

@ Linz, J. J., & Stepan, A. (1992). "Political identities and electoral sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia". *Daedalus*, 121(2), 123-139.

@ Brancati, D. (2008). "The origins and strengths of regional parties". *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(01), 135-159.

## **Week 13 - December 7<sup>th</sup> - Wrap-up**

**\*\* Second Assignment due (Research paper) \*\***

What have we learned about the relationship between ethnic and national identity, and democracy? What have we missed?