

HIST 3230/ GOVT 3239: Democracy, Diversity and Nationalism

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Office Hours: Wednesday 11 am-1pm or by appointment

Classes: Tuesdays and Thursday, 2:55-4:10
Rockefeller Hall 231

Course Description:

How does democracy respond ethnic, national and religious diversity? Ever since the emergence of modern democracies have scholars and politicians been struggling with this question. While some, like John Stuart Mill, consider a homogenous nation a prerequisite for democracy, others have seen the democracy and diversity as inherently compatible. Since the "third wave" of democratization, beginning in the mid-1970s, many countries around the world have moved towards democracy. At the same time, there has been a marked rise of ethnic conflict around the world. The class will discuss the relationship between the two and explore how countries around the world respond to this challenge. As most countries around the world have diverse populations, governments have had to adopt strategies to address diversity. Some have sought to build nation-states, some transformed themselves into multinational states and others attempted to forge a new civic identity.

The course will be both historical as well as taking a broad comparative look around world. From the Ottoman Empire recognizing different religious communities when these were persecuted in Western Europe to the French state's effort to transform "peasants into Frenchmen" (Eugene Weber) the course will look at the relationship between the emergence of the modern state, democracy and nationalism.

In the contemporary world, it will seek to understand ethnic conflict such as in former Yugoslavia, civil strife in Iraq and the efforts to mitigate ethnic tensions through institutional design. Its scope will mostly look at Europe, Asia and Africa, but also draw on examples from elsewhere.

The course will be interdisciplinary, drawing on literature from history, political science, sociology and anthropology, using films and primary documents, such as speeches, in addition to regular academic readings.

Expectations:

The classes cover both theoretical themes and case studies for each topic. Attendance is thus very important, as the readings are based on scholarly articles and excerpts from books, rather than textbooks. The lectures and discussions help to contextualize the readings and provide necessary background. The classes will be a flexible combination of lecture and discussion, thus being well-prepared is essential for a successful class. For a successful participation in class you will thus need to:

- attend classes and actively participate in discussions

- be familiar with the class readings and have questions
- work in groups

Grading:

20%	Participation
20%	Book Review (10% text, 10% presentation)
10%	Response Paper
15%	Wikipedia article (5% draft, 5% presentation, 5% final version)
35%	Research Essay

Assignments:

For all assignments do not start working on them before having discussed and agreed the topic, book or case study with me.

Participation: Participation is based on both the regularity of participation in class, as well as on the basis of active participation. Active participation should be based on familiarity with readings: There is nothing wrong with raising questions about anything which might be unclear!

Book Review: You will have to pick a book (it can be a book which is on the syllabus or other books, to be confirmed before you start) to review. The review will be 5-6 pages long, including a short summary (1 page) and a critical discussion of the arguments in the book (either picking a particular aspect of the book or critically analyzing the overall argument). Half of the grade is based on the written text, the other half on a short (5-10 minute) presentation of the book to the class. The presentation should not be read out, but outline the key points of the review to the class.

Response Paper: You are required to write one two-page critical summary of the readings. You have to complete the summary by Monday prior to the Tuesday class and circulate it to all other students.

Wikipedia Article: Groups of three to four will work throughout the term on a Wikipedia article on a topic of this class. It should either be an entirely new article or the thorough revision of an existing entry. The draft article will be circulated among the entire class by week 9 and discussed in the subsequent classes. On the basis of the feedback, the group produces a final version and uploads it to Wikipedia.

Research Essay: You will produce a 15-20 page paper on one of the key topics discussed in class. It should address of the theoretical points and can focus on one or several case studies. The essay should be written as an academic paper, including footnotes and bibliography. The topic should be agreed with me before you start writing.

Format:

All written materials should be in Times New Roman, 12-point font and double-spaced (except handouts). Make sure to use one citation style consistently, to proof-read the materials, to avoid colloquialism and filling words ('I think...'), and be concise.

All presentations should be held without reading, be concise and stick to the time limit. Be respectful of other's time and make sure to engage the rest of the class.

Background and Overview:

Stefan Wolff, *Ethnic Conflict. A Global Perspective* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).
David Laitin, *Nations, States, and Violence* (Oxford: OUP, 2007).
John Hutchinson & Anthony Smith (eds), *Nationalism* (Oxford: OUP 1994).

Useful Links:

Nationalism Project: <http://www.nationalismproject.org/>
Minorities at Risk: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/>
Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict:
http://www.idea.int/publications/democracy_and_deep_rooted_conflict/home.htm
The Global Review of Ethnopolitics: <http://www.ethnopolitics.org/>
JEMIE - Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe:
<http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/>
MOST - Journal on Multicultural Societies: www.unesco.org/shs/ijms

Relevant Journals:

Nations and Nationalism
Ethnic and Racial Studies
Ethnopolitics
Nationalities Papers
Democratization
Journal of Democracy

Week 1: 20, 22 January 2009

Introduction: Democracy and Nationalism

Brendan O'Leary, "The Elements of Right-Sizing and Right-Peopling the State,"
Brendan O'Leary, Ian Lustick, Thomas Callaghy (eds), *Rightsizing the State. The Politics of Moving Borders* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 15-74.

Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Ma., London: Harvard UP, 2004), Chapter 1.

John Hutchinson & Anthony Smith (eds), *Nationalism* (Oxford: OUP 1994), Part 1.

Week 2: 27, 29 January 2009

Diversity Before Modernity

Anthony Smith, "Dating the Nation," Daniele Conversi (ed.), *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World* (London and New York: Routledge: 2002), pp. 53-71.

Donald Horowitz, "The Primordialists," Daniele Conversi (ed.), *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World* (London and New York: Routledge: 2002), pp. 72-82.

Anthony W. Marx, *Faith in Nation. Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), Chapter 1, 6, 7

R.D. Grillo, *Pluralism and the Politics of Difference* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), Chapter 4 (Ottoman Empire).

Case Studies: Britain, Spain, France, Ottoman Empire

Week 3: 3, 5 February 2009

States Making Nations, Nations Making States

Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: CUP, second ed., 1990), Chapter 1.

John Hutchinson & Anthony Smith (eds), *Nationalism* (Oxford: OUP 1994), Part 4.

Graham Robb, *The Discovery of France. A Historical Geography from the Revolution to the First World War* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2007), Chapter 1-4 (esp. 1, 4)

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976), Chapter 1, 29.

Mark Mazower, *The Balkans. A Short History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2000), Chapter 4.

Case Studies: France, Balkans

Week 4: 10, 12 February 2009

Western Models of States, Nations and Democracy in the Developing World

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, revised and ext. ed., 1991), Chapter 6, 7.

John Hutchinson & Anthony Smith (eds), *Nationalism* (Oxford: OUP 1994), Part 5.

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000, 2nd ed.), Chapter 6.

Week 5: 17, 19 February 2009

The Causes of Ethnic Conflict: Explaining Exclusion and Solidarity

Roger D. Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 2002), Chapter 2.

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

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds. The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Cornell: CUP, 2001), Chapter 2.

Week 6: 24, 26 February 2009

Democratization and Ethnic Conflict

Donald L. Horowitz, "The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict. Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October 1993), 18-37.

Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York 2000), Chapter 2.

V. P., Jr. Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia And Croatia in the 1990s* (Cornell: CUP, 2006), Chapter 2.

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds. The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Cornell: CUP, 2001), Chapter 6.

Case Study: former Yugoslavia

Week 7: 3, 5 March 2009
State, Nation and Democracy Building

Sammy Smootha, "The Model of Ethnic Democracy," Sammy Smootha and Priit Järve (eds), *The Fate of Ethnic Democracy in Post-Communist Europe* (Budapest: LGI, 2005), pp. 5-59. Available at: http://lgi.osi.hu/publications_datasheet.php?id=277

Sammy Smootha, "The model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2002), pp. 475-503.

Vello Pettai, Klara Hallik, "Understanding Processes of Ethnic Control: Segmentation, Dependency and Co-optation in Post-communist Estonia," *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (2002), pp. 505-529.

James Ron, *Frontiers and Ghettos. State Violence in Serbia and Israel* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), Chapter 6 & 7.

Case Study: Baltic States, Israel

Week 8: 10, 12 March 2009
Ethnic Cleansing and Democracy

Michael Mann *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chapter 1.

Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard UP, 2001), Conclusion.

Debate On Michael Mann's *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2006), pp. 389–411.

Bruce Clarke, *Twice a Stranger. How Expulsion Forged Modern Greece and Turkey* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard UP, 2006).

Case Study: Greece-Turkey, former Yugoslavia

17, 19 March 2009: Spring Break

Week 9: 24, 26 March 2009
The Partition Debate: Alternatives to Accommodation?

Alexander B. Downes, *More Borders, Less Conflict? Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Civil Wars*, *SAIS Review*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2006), pp.49-61.

Chaim Kaufman, *When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century*, *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 2. (Autumn, 1998), pp. 120-156.

Gurharpal Singh, "Resizing and Reshaping the State: India from Partition to the Present," Brendan O'Leary, Ian Lustick, Thomas Callaghy (eds), *Rightsizing the State. The Politics of Moving Borders* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 138-167.

Vali Nasr, "The Negotiable State: Borders and Power-Struggles in Pakistan," Brendan O'Leary, Ian Lustick, Thomas Callaghy (eds), *Rightsizing the State. The Politics of Moving Borders* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 168-200.

Erin Jenne, "The Paradox of Ethnic Partition: Lessons from De Facto Partition in Bosnia and Kosovo," *Regional and Federal Studies*, forthcoming.

Sumantra Bose, *Contested Lands* (Harvard: HUP, 2007), Chapter 4.

Case Studies: India- Pakistan

Week 10: 31 March, 2 April 2009
Minority Rights

Will Kymlicka, Introduction, Will Kymlicka (ed.), *The Rights of Minority Cultures* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), pp. 1-31.

Stephen D. Krasner and Daniel T. Froats, "Minority Rights and the Westphalian Model," David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (eds), *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton: PUP, 1998), pp. 227-250.

Max Plog, "Democratic Theory and Minority Rights: Internal and External Group Rights in a Global Democracy," *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, Vol. 10 (2003), pp. 55-82.

Erin K. Jenne, *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment Institutions in Diverse Society* (Cornell: CUP, 2006), Chapter 2.

Stephen Deets, "Reimagining the Boundaries of the Nation: Politics and the Development of Ideas on Minority Rights," *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2006), pp. 419-446.

Case Study: Eastern Europe

Week 11: 6, 9 April 2009
Sharing Power: Approaches to Diversity in Democracies

Arend Lijphart 'Constitutional Design for Divided Societies', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2004), pp. 96-109.

Timothy D. Sisk, *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts* (Washington: USIP Press, 1996), Chapter 3.

Philip G. Roeder, Donald Rothchild, "Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy," Philip G. Roeder, Donald Rothchild (eds), *Sustainable Peace. Power and Democracy after Civil War* (Cornell: CUP, 2005), pp. 29-50.

Marie-Joelle Zahar, "Power-Sharing in Lebanon: Foreign Protectors, Domestic Peace and Democratic Failure," Philip G. Roeder, Donald Rothchild (eds), *Sustainable Peace. Power and Democracy after Civil War* (Cornell: CUP, 2005), pp.219-240.

Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry, "Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict and its Agreement: Part 1. What Consociationalists Can Learn from Northern Ireland", *Government & Opposition: An International Journal of Comparative Politics*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2006), pp. 43-63.

Case Studies: Lebanon, Northern Ireland

Week 12: 14, 16 April 2009

Imposing Democracy on Diverse Societies?

Francis Fukuyama, "Nation-Building and the Failure of Institutional Memory," Francis Fukuyama (ed.), *Nation-Building Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2006), pp. 1-16.

Gerald Knaus, Felix Martin. "Travails of the European Raj," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (2003), pp. 60-74.

Nina Caspersen, "Good Fences Make Good Neighbours? A Comparison of Conflict Resolution Strategies in Post-War Bosnia," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 4, No. 5 (2004), pp. 569-588.

Larry Goodson, "The Lessons of Nation-Building in Afghanistan," Francis Fukuyama (ed.), *Nation-Building Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2006), pp. 145-169.

Larry Diamond, *Squandered Victory. The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005), Chapter 10, 11.

Case Studies: Iraq, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Afghanistan

Week 13: 21, 23 April 2009

Multiculturalism, Migration and Citizenship

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), Chapter 2.

Alan Patten, "Liberal Citizenship in Multinational Societies," Alain-G. Gagnon, James Tully (eds), *Multinational Democracies* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), pp. 279-298.

Hugh Donald Forbes, "Canada: From Bilingualism to Multiculturalism," Larry Diamond, Marc Plattner (eds), *Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1994), pp. 86-101.

Jon Stratton, Ien Ang, "Multicultural Imagined Communities: Cultural Difference and National Identity in the USA and Australia," David Bennett (ed.), *Multicultural States. Rethinking Difference and Identity* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 135-162.

Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), Chapter 5

Case Studies: Canada, USA, Australia

Week 14: 28, 30 April 2009

Conclusion: Identity and Democracy between Toleration and Violence

Michael Walzer, *On Toleration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), Chapter 7, 8.

Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity. Violence and the Need to Belong* (New York: Arcade, 2000).