

POLS 569: Topical Seminar in Comparative Politics:  
Ethnic Politics and Nationalism  
Fall 2008  
Professor Stephen Bloom

Wednesday 5:00 – 7:30, Faner 3075  
Office hours, Faner 3164: Monday 12-1; Wednesday 9-11, 3:30-4:30; Friday 9-11  
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This course offers students an overview of the large and growing literature on ethnicity and nationalism. This material should prove useful to students who plan to take qualifying exams in comparative politics. The seminar also provides a necessary theoretical compass for those students who intend to conduct their own research in ethnic politics or nationalism.

The field of ethnic politics and nationalism is broad and contested. There is little consensus among scholars over approach, method, or key concepts and questions, let alone empirical findings. The diversity of approaches and methods is reflected in this syllabus. We will cover most of the main approaches to the study of ethnicity and nationalism, with the possible exception of social-psychological accounts. And while these approaches can be seen as competing, they also offer different lenses that might better capture certain aspects of ethnic politics and nationalism. It is my belief that the inherent complexity and ambiguity of ethnicity and nationalism calls for a well-equipped and variegated tool kit. My own research, some of which is assigned for this seminar, adopts such a “mixed-methods” approach.

The course is divided into three parts. The first two seminars survey key concepts and theories in the study of ethnicity and nationalism as well as perennial debates about the origins and types of nationalism. The next series of seminars overviews structural (socio-economic and statist), constructivist and rational choice approaches. The final seminars offer forays into the literature on different topics: assimilation, competition, ethnic violence, ethnic parties & party systems, and post-nationalism.

**Course Requirements:**

1. Two class briefings (20%). Each student will need to write two 750-word briefings. The briefing should place the readings of a given week in a broader context and provide a critical analysis that includes points that a careful reader might not have considered. These should be sent via e-mail to the instructor the day before class. The briefing writer(s) will also serve as discussant(s) and introduce the subject of the week’s seminar. Under no circumstances should the briefing be read in class. You will be expected to pick two dates on August 20.

2. Six memoranda (30%). Each student will need to write six thoughtful 500-word memoranda on the assigned readings. Memoranda should not be written for weeks that a student is acting as discussant.

3. Final (30%). Questions will be distributed in class on Wednesday December 3 and are due in my office by noon on Monday December 8.

4. Participation (20%). It is important for **each** student to participate in the discussion of **each** week's readings.

**Required Books (Available for purchase at the SIU Bookstore):**

Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*. (Madison, WI: university of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

Daniel Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

**Course Schedule:**

**August 20**

**Introduction and Course Overview**

**Part I: Conceptual Foundation**

**August 27**

**Definitions: What is a nation? An ethnic group? Nationalism? Ethnicity?**

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, ch. 2.

Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," in *Ethnicity without Groups*, pp. 7-27.

Joseph Stalin, excerpts from *Marxism and the National Question*:

<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm#s1>

Read "The Nation" up to the discussion of Springer and Bauer.

\*Max Weber, "The Nation," in *Economy and Society*. (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968 [1922]), pp. 921-26.

\*Ernest Renan, "What Is a Nation?" in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996 [1882]), pp. 42-55.

\*Richard Jenkins, "Anthropology, Ethnicity," in *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*. (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 3-15 [Read only pp. 9-15].

\*Benedict Anderson, "Introduction," in *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 1-7.

\*Walker Connor, "A Nation is a Nation, Is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, Is a..." in *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 89-117.

\* To be uploaded to electronic course reserves: <http://www.lib.siu.edu>.

\*Craig Calhoun, "Introduction," in *Nationalism*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 1-8.

\*Katherine Verdery, "Whither 'Nation' and 'Nationalism'?" *Daedalus* 122/3, 1993, pp. 37-46.

### **September 3**

#### **Origins and Types of Nations and Nationalisms**

Rogers Brubaker, "'Civic' and 'Ethnic' Nationalism," in *Ethnicity without Groups*, pp. 132-46.

\*Anthony Smith, "Introduction," "Are nations modern?" & "Ethnic and ethnicism in history," in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 1-5, 6-18, 47-68.

\*Craig Calhoun, "The Modernity and Diversity of Nationalisms," in *Nationalism*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 9-28.

\*Benedict Anderson, "The Origins of National Consciousness," in *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 37-46.

\*Oliver Zimmer, "'A Unique Fusion of the Natural and the Man-Made': The Trajectory of Swiss Nationalism, 1933-1939," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39/1, 2004, pp. 5-24.

\*Stephen Shulman, "Challenging the 'Civic'/'Ethnic' and 'West'/'East' Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism," *Comparative Political Studies* 35/5, 2002, pp. 554-85.

## **Part II: Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism**

### **September 10**

#### **Structure I: Modernism and Structuralism**

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, ch. 1.

\*A. W. Orridge, "Uneven Development and Nationalism," Parts I & II, *Political Studies* 29, 1981, pp. 1-15, 181-90.

\*Karl Deutsch, "Introduction," "Peoples, Nations and Communication," and "Nationality and Social Learning," in *Nationalism and Social Communication*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966), pp. 1-14, 86-106, and 107-22.

\*Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism" in *Thought and Change*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1964), pp. 147-78.

\*Brendan O'Leary, "Ernest Gellner's diagnoses of nationalism: a critical overview, or, what is living and what is dead in Ernest Gellner's philosophy of nationalism?" in John A. Hall, ed., *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 40-88.

\*Michael Hechter, "Introduction," and "Toward a Theory of Ethnic Change," in *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 3-14, 15-43.

\*Frederick Solt, "Diversionsary Nationalism: Income Inequality and the Formation of National Pride."

## September 17

### Structure II: Statism

- \*John Breuilly, "Conclusion," in *Nationalism and the State*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 366-403.
- \*Joseph Rothschild, "Ethnicity and the State," in *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 213-46.
- \*Andreas Wimmer, "The Making of Modern Communities," in *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 42-81.
- \*Michael Mann, "A Political Theory of Nationalism and Its Excesses," in Sukumar Periwal, ed., *Notions of Nationalism*. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1995), pp. 44-64.
- \*Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution," in Clifford Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*. (New York: Free Press, 1963), pp. 105-57.

## September 24

### Culture I: Constructivism

- Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity as Cognition," in *Ethnicity without Groups*, pp. 64-87.
- \*Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), pp. 9-38.
  - \*Richard Jenkins, "Categorization and Power," in *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explorations*. (London: Sage, 1997), pp. 52-73.
  - \*Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," and "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-14, 263-305.
  - \*Benedict Anderson, "Census, Map, Museum," in *Imagined Communities*. (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 163-85.
  - \*Mara Loveman, "Making 'race' and nation in the United States, South Africa, and Brazil: Taking Making Seriously," *Theory and Society* 28, 1999, pp. 903-27.
  - \*Yuri Slezkine, "The USSR as Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism," *Slavic Review*, 1994, pp. 414-54.
  - \*Jonathan Leib and Gerald Webster, "Rebel with(out) a cause? The contested meanings of the Confederate battle flag in the American South," in Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Richard Jenkins, eds., *Flag, Nation and Symbolism in Europe and America*. (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 31-53.

## October 1

### Culture II: Applied Constructivism

Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* [Entire book].

**October 8**  
**Rational Choice**

- \*Ronald Rogowski, "Causes and Varieties of Nationalism: a Rationalist Account," in Edward Tiryakian, ed., *The New Nationalisms of the Developed West*. (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1985), pp. 87-108.
- \*Stephen Bloom, "Competitive Assimilation or Strategic Nonassimilation?: The Political Economy of School Choice in Latvia," *Comparative Political Studies*, 2008, pp. 947-70.
- \*James Fearon and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90, 1996, pp. 715-35.
- \*David Laitin, "National revivals and violence," *European Journal of Sociology*, 1995, pp. 3-43.
- \*Timur Kuran, "Ethnic Norms and Their Transformation Through Reputational Cascades," *Journal of Legal Studies* 27, 1998, pp. 623-59.
- \*Richard McElreath, Robert Boyd, and Peter Richerson, "Shared Norms and the Evolution of Ethnic Markers," *Current Anthropology* 44/1, 2003, pp. 122-29.

**Part III: Empirical Debates in the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism**

**October 15**  
**Assimilation**

- Rogers Brubaker, "The Return of Assimilation?" in *Ethnicity without Groups*, pp. 116-31.
- \*Karl Deutsch, "National Assimilation or Differentiation: Some Quantitative Relationships," and "Unity and Diversity: The Balance of Qualitative and Quantitative Factors," in *Nationalism and Social Communication*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966), pp. 123-53, 153-65.
- \*Thomas Schelling, "Dynamic Models of Segregation," *Journal of Mathematical Sociology* 1, 1971, pp. 143-86.
- \*H. D. Forbes, "A Social Experiment," in *Ethnic Conflict: Commerce, Culture and the Contact Hypothesis*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 42-61.
- \*David Laitin, "Family Strategies in Response to the Cataclysm," in *Identity in Formation: The Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 105-57.
- \*Stephen Bloom, "Competitive Assimilation or Strategic Nonassimilation?: The Political Economy of School Choice in Latvia," *Comparative Political Studies*, 2008, pp. 947-70.

## **October 22 Competition**

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, ch. 3., pp. 105-35 or “Economic Interest” to “Cultural Pluralism.”

\*Max Weber, “The Distribution of Power Within the Political Community: Class, Status, Party,” in *Economy and Society*. (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968 [1922]), pp.926-39.

\*Susan Olzak, “Competition Processes: Arguments and Propositions,” and “Summary and Conclusions,” in *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 32-47, 207-24.

\*Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, “Introduction,” in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 1-26.

\*Andreas Wimmer, “Who owns the state? Ethnic conflicts after the end of empires,” in *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 85-113.

\*James Habyarimana, Macarten Humphreys, Daniel Posner and Jeremy Weinstein, “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?” *American Political Science Review* 101/4, 2007, pp. 709-25.

\*Stephen Bloom, “On the Paradoxical Benefits of Economic Reform for Ethnic Cooperation.”

## **October 29 Ethnic Violence**

Rogers Brubaker, “Ethnic and Nationalist Violence,” in *Ethnicity without Groups*, pp. 88-115.

\*Donald Horowitz, “The Riot Episode,” in *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 71-123.

\*James Fearon and David Laitin, “Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war,” *American Political Science Review* 97, 2003, pp. 1-16.

\*Susan Olzak, “World Integration and Centrifugal Forces,” in *The Global Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Mobilization*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 1-32.

\*Roger Petersen, “An Emotion-Based Approach to Ethnic Conflict,” “Resentment,” and “Fear and Rage,” in *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 17-39, 40-61, & 62-84.

\*Stathis Kalyvas, “Ethnic Defection in Civil War,” *Comparative Political Studies* 41/8, 2008, pp. 1043-68.

## **November 5**

### **Ethnic Parties, Party Systems and Electoral Design I**

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, chs. 7, 8, 9 & 10.

- \*Kanchan Chandra, "Introduction," in *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-30.
- \*Jóhanna Kristín Birnir, "Divergence in Diversity? The Dissimilar Effects of Cleavages on Electoral Politics in New Democracies," *American Journal of Political Science* 51/3, 2007, pp. 602-19.
- \*Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Designs for Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy*, 2004, pp. 96-109.
- \*Steven Wilkinson, "India, Consociational Theory, and Ethnic Violence," *Asian Survey*, 2000, pp. 767-91.
- \*Donald Horowitz, *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Excerpts from the following chapters: "Models and Pitfalls," ONLY pp. 137-47; and "Electoral Systems," ONLY pp. 166-96.
- \*Stephen Bloom, "Which minority is appeased? Coalition potential and redistribution in Latvia and Ukraine." *Europe-Asia Studies*, forthcoming.

## **November 12**

### **Ethnic Parties. Party Systems and Electoral Design II**

Daniel Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* [Entire book].

## **November 19**

**No Class**

## **November 26**

**Thanksgiving**

## **December 3**

### **Beyond Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Nation-State?**

- \*Will Kymlicka, "The Politics of Multiculturalism," and "Freedom and Culture," in *Multicultural Citizenship*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 10-33, 75-106.
- \*David Hollinger, "Pluralism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Diversification of Diversity," and "Toward a Postethnic Perspective," in *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. (New York: Basic Books, 1995), pp. 70-104, 105-30.
- \*Anthony Smith, "The Supersession of Nationalism?" *International Journal of Sociology* 31, 1990, pp. 1-31.
- \*Anthony Smith, "The Crisis of the National State" and "Supra- or Super-Nationalism?" in *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), pp. 85-115, 116-46.

- \*David Ost, "Using America against Europe: Poland's National Reactions to Transnational Pressure," in Mitchell Orenstein, Stephen Bloom and Nicole Lindstrom, eds., *Transnational Actors in Central and East European Transitions*. (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 162-87.
- \*Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Loss of Faith in Secular Nationalism," in *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 11-25.
- \*Talal Asad, "Religion, nation-state, secularism," in Peter van der Veer, ed., *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). Excerpts.