

Ethnicity and Nationalism
CPO 6728
Fall 2024
M Periods 8-10 (3-6pm)

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This seminar will introduce you to the main approaches in political science to the study of how ethnic and national identities are formed, and how they are activated in politics. We will study various forms of ethnic politics: peace, electoral competition, rioting, and the most extreme forms, genocide and secession. It will also give you a foundation in the study of ethnic, nationalist, and religious identity formation, which is pertinent to research well beyond the fields of ethnic politics in comparative and international politics and race, ethnicity and politics in American.

Course requirements:

Readings. I have structured this course keeping in mind the need to have a reading load that is manageably as opposed to unmanageably heavy; weekly readings run 200-300 pages in general, more for books, fewer for sets of articles (which generally take longer given a stand-alone argument in each). What this means is that I expect each of you to have done ALL of the readings in advance.

Participation. One of the central aims of our PhD program is to train you in the profession of political science. In this profession, you will need to talk, in order to present your own ideas, in order to comment on/challenge/encourage the improvement of your colleagues' ideas, to teach, and so forth. As such, ***participation constitutes 10% of the grade in this course***, and it is not a freebie. Sitting quietly in a seminar is analogous to turning in a paper consisting of blank pages.

Writing. My goal in having you write a paper is to get you thinking about publishing in political science journals. That in mind, ***the major portion of your grade will be an article-length paper of around 9-10,000 words (the limit for most political science journals), which will constitute 50% of your grade.*** Your paper will focus on a well-formulated question related to ethnicity and nationalism in one or more countries. I am amenable to multiple formats, but we must agree on them. We will talk at length early in the semester about both the cross-national datasets available and about appropriate criteria for selecting cases for comparison. In consultation with me, you'll formulate,

research, and write the paper, target a conference at which to present it, and a set of possible journal outlets for it later.¹

30% of your grade will be composed of two essays of about 1500-2000 words (around 6-8 pages). These will be similar to comprehensive exam questions on the course topic: even though our department has a paper option for major fields and a grade option for minor fields, these essays will help you to focus on the materials in this seminar to organize them analytically. They will be due

The **final 10% of your grade** will be based on your review comments on your colleagues' paper drafts. This means that each of you will read (carefully) your colleagues' project summaries and submit written review comments within 24 hours of their in-class presentation.

Participation: 10%

Review comments for colleagues' papers: 10%

Paper: 50%

Essays: 30%

The paper project has the following deadlines:

- September 23 – select question, format and cases of focus.
- October 14 – submit paper proposal following consultation meeting with me;
- November 14 –summary memo due to me and the class (see below).
- November 18 and December 10 – paper presentations and paper submission deadline, respectively.

Papers due by 5pm EST December 10, uploaded to the course page at Canvas. In addition to the final draft of the paper, you will submit a response memo to your colleagues' review comments, explaining what you responded to in the paper, what (if applicable) you opted not to change, and why.

AI policy: you may not use any generative or other AI tools to produce your paper. You may use it to help identify appropriate sources, to check grammar, and other non-substantive writing tasks *and if you use any AI tools you must report them in an appendix to your paper. The appendix does not count against the word range.*

Required readings: The following books are required, as are the articles and chapters below. Articles and chapters are all archived on the course Canvas page.

Anderson, Benedict *Imagined Communities*

Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide*

Schedule of Readings:

¹ Students in departments other than political science should meet with me soon to discuss appropriate formats for their papers: my goal is not to shoehorn you into our world but to help you do scholarship in yours.

August 26: Course Introduction

Paul Brass, "Development of an Institutionalized Riot System in Meerut City, 1961-1982," *Economic and Political Weekly* October 30, 2004.

I. Foundational Concepts and Dynamics

September 2: No class. Labor Day.

September 9: What are "Ethnicity" and "Ethnic Politics?" What causes "Ethnic violence" and how do we know it when we see it?

Rogers Brubaker and David Laitin, "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Reviews in Sociology*, 24 (1998).

Henry Hale, "Explaining Ethnicity," *Comparative Political Studies* 37, 4 (May 2004): 458-85.

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54, 4: 845-77.

Beverly Crawford, "The Causes of Cultural Conflict: An Institutional Approach" and "The Causes of Cultural Conflict: Assessing the Evidence," in Beverly Crawford and Ronnie Lipschutz eds. *The Myth of "Ethnic Conflict": Politics, Economics, and "Cultural Violence"* University of California Press, 1998.

September 16: Identity Formation:

Yashar, Deborah J. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 31 (1): 23-42.

Evan Lieberman and Prerna Singh, "The Institutional Origins of Ethnic Violence," *Comparative Politics* October 2012.

Robert H. Bates, "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 6, 4 (1974).

Kanchan Chandra, "What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter," *Annual Reviews in Political Science* 9 (2006): 397-424.

September 23: Introduction to Cross-National Datasets and to Strategies for Research.

James Mahoney, "Strategies of Causal Assessment in Comparative Historical Analysis," in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 337-72.

Barbara Geddes, "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get," *Political Analysis* 1990.

Johanna Birnir et al, "Socially relevant ethnic groups, ethnic structure, and AMAR," *Journal of Peace Research* 52, 1: 110-115.

Manuel Vogt et al, "Integrating Data on Ethnicity, Geography, and Conflict: The Ethnic Power Relations Data Set Family," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, 7: 1327-1342.

Therese Pettersson and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2014," *Journal of Peace Research* 52, 4: 536-550.

James Fearon, "Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country," *Journal of Economic Growth* 8: 195-222.

II. The Rise of Nationalism.

September 30

Anderson, *Imagined Communities*

Nick Danforth, "An Imprisoned Nationalist Reads Benedict Anderson," *Dissent*, March 7, 2013, at <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/an-imprisoned-nationalist-reads-benedict-anderson>

III. The Causes, Levels, and Types of Ethnic and Nationalist Violence

October 7: Macro Causes: Ethnicity and Violence.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min, "Why do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis," *World Politics* 61, 1: 87-119.

Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1945," *American Political Science Review* 97:1 (2003), pp. 57-73.

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

Sandra Halperin, "The Spread of Ethnic Conflict in Europe: Some Comparative-Historical Reflections," in David A. Lake & Donald Rothchild, Eds. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton University Press, 1998) 151-184.

October 14: Micro Causes:

Robert White, "From Peaceful Protest to Guerilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army," *American Journal of Sociology* 94:6 (1989), 1277-1302.

Laia Balcells, Lesley-Ann Daniels, and Abel Escribá-Folch, "The determinants of low-intensity intergroup violence: The case of Northern Ireland," *Journal of Peace Research* 53, 1 (2016): 33-48.

Donald Green and Rachel Seher, "What Role Does Prejudice Play in Ethnic Conflict?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (2003), pp. 509-531.

Stathis Kalyas, "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 2003: 475-94.

Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Rationality," *Perspectives on Politics* 1, 1 (March 2003): 85-99.

Jens Rydgren, "The Power of the Past: A Contribution to a Cognitive Sociology of Ethnic Conflict," *Sociological Theory* 25, 3 (2007): 225-44.

October 21: Institutions and Ethnic Politics

Posner, Daniel, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics*, Chapter 1.

Benjamin Smith, "Separatist Conflict in the Former Soviet Union and Beyond: How Different Was Communism?" *World Politics* April 2013.

Cornell, Svante, "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Comparative Perspective," *World Politics* 54 (January 2002): 245-76.

Roeder, Philip & Donald Rothchild, Chapter 2 from *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*.

October 28: ethnic riots

Steven Wilkinson, chapter 1 of *Votes and Violence*

Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* 53 (2001): 362-98.

Risa J. Toha, "Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in Democratic Transition: A Lesson From Indonesia," *British Journal of Political Science* 47 (2015): 631-51.

Benjamin Smith and Samsu Rizal Panggabean, "Explaining Anti-Chinese Riots in Late 20th Century Indonesia," *World Development* 39, 2 (2011): 231-42.

Albert Bergesen and Max Herman, "Immigration, Race, and Riot: The 1992 Los Angeles Uprising," *American Sociological Review* 63, 1 (1998), 39-54.

November 4: secession conflicts.

Barbara Walter, "Information, Uncertainty, and the Decision to Secede," *International Organization* 60, 1 (2006): 105-35.

Monica Duffy Toft, "Indivisible Territory, geographic concentration, and ethnic war," *Security Studies* 12, 2: 82-119.

David Siroky and John Cuffe, "Lost Autonomy, Nationalism and Separatism," *Comparative Political Studies*, 48, 1 (2015): 3-34.

Elise Giuliano, "Secessionism from the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition," *World Politics* 58 (2006): 276-310.

Essay 1 due 5pm October 31.

November 11: Genocide

Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide*

Also November 11: Prepare and distribute your project summaries. **Each of you will circulate a 2-3 page double-spaced summary by November 14 at 5pm including:**

- key question driving the paper
- tentative argument
- research design (how you conducted/are conducting the research)
- tentative findings & conclusions

November 18: project presentations and feedback.

Each of your colleagues will provide written feedback on your project summary and, as time allows, we'll follow each presentation of *no more than twelve minutes* with discussion.

Essay 2: due 5pm to Canvas November 25.

November 25: no class meeting. Thanksgiving break is the full week this year.

December 2: course conclusion.

December 10: final paper due 5pm to Canvas.

Grading Policy

Letter Grade	Numerical Equivalent	GPA equivalent
A	93-	4.0
A-	90-92	3.67
B+	87-89	3.33
B	83-86	3.0
B-	80-82	2.67
C+	77-79	2.33
C	73-76	2.0
C-	70-72	1.67
D+	67-69	1.33
D	63-66	1.0
D-	60-62	0.67
E	<60	0.00
E1	stopped attending	0.00
I	Incomplete	0.00

More information on UF grading policy may be found at:

<https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/grades.aspx>

UF Syllabus information (not specific to this seminar):

Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their Canvas course menu under GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/>. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.” The Conduct Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. [Click here to read the Conduct Code](#). If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor or TAs in this class.

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are

(1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

Campus Resources: Health and Wellness

U Matter, We Care: If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, or visit [U Matter, We Care website](#) to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.

Counseling and Wellness Center: [Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website](#) or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.

Student Health Care Center: Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need, or [visit the Student Health Care Center website](#).

University Police Department: [Visit UF Police Department website](#) or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).

UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center: For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; [Visit the UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website](#).

GatorWell Health Promotion Services: For prevention services focused on optimal wellbeing, including Wellness Coaching for Academic Success, visit the [GatorWell website](#) or call 352-273-4450.