

Ethnicity and Nationalism
CPO 6728
Fall 2020
M Periods 2-4 (830-1130am EST)

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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 field of ethnic politics.

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 20% of the grade in this course***, and it is not a freebie. If you earned perfect grades on all written assignments but sat quietly throughout the semester, you would receive a B-, an unsatisfactory grade in this program. I expect active and regular participation in all discussions. Sitting quietly in a seminar is analogous to turning in a paper consisting of blank pages. In addition to regular contribution to weekly discussions, each of you will introduce the readings for two weekly meetings. We will talk more later about what this involves.

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 an issue related to ethnicity and nationalism in one or more countries and, unless you and I agree on an alternative format, will take one of the following two forms: an in-depth study of a single case or country paired with analysis of data from one or more cross-national datasets on ethnicity or conflict, or a small-N study of issues in two or more cases selected appropriately. I am amenable to multiple alternatives, 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 target a conference at which to present this paper, and a set of possible journal outlets for it later.

20% of your grade will be composed of two response papers of about 1300-1500 words (around 5-7 pages). These are due in weeks of your choosing, but ***you must turn in at least one at or before our meeting on February 26.***

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 five colleagues' draft papers and submit written review comments of at least one single-spaced page within 24 hours of their in-class presentation. They will have submitted the draft one week prior to the first presentation session, so there will be ample time for you to read them.

Response papers: 20%

Participation: 20%

Review comments for colleagues' papers: 10%

Paper: 50%

The paper project has the following deadlines:

- September 21 – select question, format and cases of focus.
- October 12 is deadline for final selection;
- October 26 – submit paper proposal following consultation meeting with me;
- November 27 –full draft of paper due to me and the class.
- November 30 and December 7 – paper presentations (including my own prospectus for a new project)

Papers due by 5pm EST December 14, 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.

Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found in the online catalog at: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>

Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Student Office. The Dean of Students Office will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation.

Information on UF policies for grading may be found here:

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

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 Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obliged to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with me.

Important contact information for university counseling services and mental health services: 392-1575, <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx>. For the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

Required readings: The following books are available online and at local bookstores.

Anderson, Benedict *Imagined Communities*
Smith, Anthony *Nationalism*

Schedule of Readings:

August 31: Course Introduction

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

September 14: 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.

September 21: Identity Formation:

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

Giuliano, Elise. 2000. “Who Determines the Self in the Politics of Self-Determination? Identity and Preference Formation in Tatarstan’s Nationalist Mobilization.” *Comparative Politics* 32 (3): 295-316

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

September 28:

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.
- David Laitin, "Comparative Politics: The State of the Subdiscipline." Available here: https://web.stanford.edu/group/laitin_research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Cpapsa.pdf
- 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.

October 5
Smith, *Nationalism*

October 12
Anderson, *Imagined Communities* and 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 of Ethnic and Nationalist Violence

October 19: 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 26: 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.

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

November 9: 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.
- 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 16: 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.
- Elise Giuliano, "Secessionism from the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition," *World Politics* 58 (2006): 276-310.

November 23: no class meeting. Use this time to complete a full draft of your paper for circulation

November 30: presentations.

December 7: presentations