

ETHNICITY, NATIONALISM, AND VIOLENCE IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

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Political Science 149C

University of California, Berkeley
Summer 2010; Session D

Office Hours: Tues. 9:30-11:00 and Thurs. 3:00-4:30
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Course Description: *What is the nature of ethnicity? How is ethnicity politicized into nationalism? What is the nature of nationalism? How does nationalism often lead to political violence? What are the dynamics of political violence? Finally, what strategies can the central state use to deal with violent ethnonationalist movements? This course seeks to answer these types of questions both conceptually and within a comparative framework. Particular emphasis will be placed on understanding and critically assessing competing descriptive and explanatory theories for these phenomena. In addition, we will analyze the comparative origins, dynamics, and trajectories of several ethnonationalist movements within the context of the thematic readings. The primary goal of this course is to provide students with a critical understanding of the complex phenomena of ethnicity, nationalism and political violence, and to spark their intellectual curiosity into areas for future explanatory research.*

(Day 1) Introduction and Analytical Overview of the Course

SECTION #1: WHAT IS ETHNICITY AND HOW IS IT FORMED?

(Day 2) The Psychological Basis for (Ethnic) Identity

Hale, Henry, "Explaining Ethnicity," *Comparative Political Studies* 37:4 (May 2004), pp. 458-485. {**Required Reading**; read only pp. 463-473}

(Day 3) Primordialist Explanations of Ethnicity

Van Den Berghe, Pierre, "Ethnicity as Kin Selection: The Biology of Nepotism," Chapter 1, *The Ethnic Phenomenon* (New York: Elsevier Science Publishing, 1981), pp. 15-36. {**Required Reading**; skip crossed-out sections}

Conner, Walker, "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16:3 (July 1993), pp. 373-89. **{Required Reading}**

Grosby, Steven, "The Verdict of History: The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17:2 (1994), pp. 164-71. {Suggested Reading}

Shils, Edward, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred, and Civil Ties," in *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*, ed. Edward Shils (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975), 130-45. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 4) The Instrumentalist Critique of Primordialism

Eller, Jack and Reed Coughlan, "The Poverty of Primordialism: The Demystification of Ethnic Attachments," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16:2 (1993), pp. 183-201. **{Required Reading}**

Brass, Paul, "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation, and Ethnic Identity Among the Muslims of South Asia," in *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, ed. Paul Brass (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991), pp. 69-108. **{Required Reading}**; read only pp. 69-77 and 93-108}

Barth, Fredrick, "Introduction," Chapter 1, in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, ed. Fredrick Barth (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969). {Suggested Reading}

McKay, James, "An Exploratory Synthesis of Primordial and Mobilizationist Approaches to Ethnic Phenomena," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 5:4 (October 1982), pp. 395-420. {Suggested Reading}

Bacova, Viera, "The Construction of National Identity: On Primordialism and Instrumentalism," *Human Affairs*, 8:1 (1998), pp. 29-43. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 5) Is Ethnicity A Modern or Perennial Phenomenon?

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1983), pp. 22-46. **{Required Reading}**

Smith, Anthony. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), pp. 6-18. **{Required Reading}**

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 39-52. {Suggested Reading}

Waldron, Arthur, "Theories of Nationalism and Historical Explanation," *World Politics* 37:3 (April 1985), pp. 416-433. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 6) Complexity of Ethnicity and Its Contradictory Role in Developing Societies

Geertz, Clifford, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in New States," in *Old Societies and New States*, Clifford Geertz ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 105-28. **{Required Reading; skip crossed-out sections}**

Rudolph, Lloyd and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 3-14 and 88-98. **{Required Reading}**

Chandra, Kanchan (et.al.), "Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics," *APSA-CP* 12:1 (Winter 2001), pp. 7-25. {Suggested Reading}

Chandra, Kanchan, "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3:2 (June 2005), pp. 235-252. {Suggested Reading}

SECTION #2: WHAT IS NATIONALISM AND HOW IS IT ACTIVATED?

(Day 7) Rational-Choice Explanations for the Rise of Nationalism

Popkin, Samuel, *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 252-67. **{Required Reading}**

Hector, Michael, "Nationalism as Group Identity," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 10:4 (October 1987), pp. 415-26. **{Required Reading}**

Congelton, Roger, "Ethnic Clubs, Ethnic Conflict, and the Rise of Ethnic Nationalism," in *Nationalism and Rationality*, Albert Breton (et. al) eds (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 71-97. {Suggested Reading}

Muller, Edward (et. al.), "Rational Choice and Rebellious Collective Action," *American Political Science Review* 85 (1991), pp. 1,261-1,282. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 8) Constructivist Critiques of Hard Rational-Choice Explanations

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

Ferree, Myra Marx, "The Political Context of Rationality: Rational-Choice Theory and Resource Mobilization," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg eds. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). {Suggested Reading}

Harden, Russell, *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 3-25. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 9) Socio-Psychological Explanations for Nationalism

Gurr, Ted Robert, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 22-30 and 46-58. **{Required Reading}**

Spinner-Haley, Jeff and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, "National Identity and Self-Esteem," *Perspectives on Politics* 1:3 (September 2003), pp. 515-32. **{Required Reading}**

Gurney, Joan Neff and Kathleen J. Tierney, "Relative Deprivation and Social Movements: A Critical Look at Twenty Years of Theory and Research," *The Sociological Quarterly* 23: 1 (Winter 1982), pp. 33-47. {Suggested Reading}

Sayles, Marnie, "Relative Deprivation and Collective Protest: An Impoverished Theory?" *Sociological Inquiry* 54 (1984), pp. 449-65. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 10) The Aggregation of Individuals into Social/Nationalist Movements

McAdam, Doug, "The Political Process Model," Chapter 3, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 36-59. **{Required Reading}**

Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 9-27. **{Required Reading}**; skip crossed-out section}

Snow, David and Robert Benford, "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, Aldon Morris and Carol McClurg eds. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). {Suggested Reading}

Goodwin, Jeff, "Caught in a Winding, Snarling Vine: The Structural Bias of Political Process Theory," *Sociological Forum* 14:1 (March 1999), pp. 27-54.

(Day 11) Question and Answer Session in Preparation for Exam #1

(Day 12) Exam #1

(Day 13) R&R (Reading and Reflection) Day

SECTION #3: THE DYNAMICS OF ETHNIC POLITICAL VIOLENCE

(Day 14) Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Violence: Methodological and Conceptual Complexity

Brubaker, Rogers and David Laitin, "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998), pp. 423-52. **{Required Reading}**

Fearon, James and David Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54:4 (Autumn 2000), pp. 845-77. {Suggested Reading}

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

(Day 15) Explanations for Internal Conflict

Brown, Michael E., "The Causes of Internal Conflict," in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown (et.al.) (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 3-25. **{Required Reading}**

Lake, David A. and Donald Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown (et. al.) (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 97-131. **{Required Reading}**; read only pp. 97-112}

Rothchild, Donald and Alexander Groth, "Pathological Dimensions of Domestic and International Ethnicity," *Political Science Quarterly* 110:1 (Spring 1995), pp. 69-82. {Suggested Reading}

Esman, Milton J., *Ethnic Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.) {Suggested Reading}

(Day 16) Terrorism as a Form of Political Violence

Crenshaw, Martha, "The Causes of Terrorism," *Comparative Politics* 13:4 (July 1981), pp. 379-99. **{Required Reading}**

Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security* 31:1 (Summer 1996), pp. 49-80. **{Required Reading}**

Victoroff, Jeff, "The Mind of a Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:1 (2005), pp. 3-42. {Suggested Reading}

Byman, Daniel, "The Logic of Ethnic Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 21:2 (April-June 1998), pp. 149-69. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 17) Insurgency as a Form of Political Violence

Weinstein, Jeremy, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp 27-60. **{Required Reading}**; skip crossed-out sections}

Kalyvas, Stathis N., "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 1:3 (September 2003), pp. 475-94. **{Required Reading}**

Wood, John R., "Secession: A Comparative Analytical Framework," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 14:1 (March 1981), pp. 107-34. {Suggested Reading}

O'Neill, Bard (et. al.), *Insurgency in the Modern World* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1980), pp. 1-42. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 18) Ethnic Riots as Forms of Political Violence

Varshney, Ashutosh, "Introduction," Chapter 1, in *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (New Haven: Yale University Press), pp. 3-22. **{Required Reading}**

Brass, Paul, "Explaining Communal Violence," Chapter 1, in *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), pp. 12-39. **{Required Reading; skip crossed-out sections}**

Tambiah, Stanley, "Entering the Dark Continent: The Political Psychology of Crowds," Chapter 10, *Leveling the Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 266-96. **{Suggested Reading}**

Horowitz, Donald, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). **{Suggested Reading}**

(Day 19) The Role of Religion in Violent Movements

Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 3-11, 148-65, and 219-32. **{Required Reading; skip crossed-out sections}**

Rapoport, David, "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions," *American Political Science Review* 78:3 (September 1984), pp. 658-677. **{Suggested Reading}**

Ranstorp, Magnus, "Terrorism in the Name of Religion," *Journal of International Affairs* 50:1 (Summer 1996). **{Suggested Reading}**

Fox, Jonathon, "Religious Causes of Ethnic Discrimination," *International Studies Quarterly* 44:3 (2000), pp. 423-50. **{Suggested Reading}**

(Day 20) Question and Answer Session in Preparation for Exam #2

(Day 21) Exam #2

(Day 22) R&R (Reading and Reflection) Day

SECTION #4: STATE RESPONSES TO ETHNONATIONALIST VIOLENCE

(Day 23) Macro-Level Methods to Control Ethnonationalist Violence

McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary, "Introduction: The Macro-Political Regulation of Ethnic Conflict," in *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Resolution: Case Studies of Protracted Ethnic Conflicts*, John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary eds. (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 1-40. **{Required Reading}**

Lake, David A. and Donald Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown (et. al.) (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 97-131. **{Required Reading; read only pp. 112-31}**

Fearon, James and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90:4 (1996), pp. 715-35. **{Suggested Reading}**

Kaufmann, Chaim, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," in *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, Michael Brown (et. al.) eds. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 265-304. {Suggested Reading}

Tir, Jaroslav, "Dividing Countries to Promote Peace: Prospects for Long-Term Success of Partitions," *Journal of Peace Research*, 42 (2005), pp. 545-562. {Suggested Reading}

Licklider, Roy, "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993," *American Political Science Review* 89:3 (September 1995), pp. 681-90. {Suggested Reading}

Nordlinger, Eric, *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies* (Cambridge, MA: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1972). {Suggested Reading}

(Day 24) Micro-Level Methods to Control Ethnonationalist Violence

Mason, David T., "Insurgency, Counterinsurgency, and the Rational Peasant," *Public Choice* 86:2 (1996), pp. 63-83. **{Required Reading}**; read only pp. 63-65 and 72-83

Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 233-49. **{Required Reading}**

Ginges, Jeremy, "Deterring the Terrorist: A Psychological Evaluation of Different Strategies for Deterring Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 9:1 (Spring 1997), pp. 170-85. **{Required Reading}**

United States Institute of Peace, (Special Report) "How Terrorism Ends?" (May 25, 1999), pp. 1-11. {Suggested Reading}

Chima, Jugdep, "Controlling the Sunni Insurgency in Iraq: 'Political' and 'Military' Strategies from Successful Counterinsurgency in Punjab-India," *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 18:4 (December 2007), pp. 615-637. {Suggested Reading}

O'Brien, Kevin, "The Use of Assassination as a Tool of State Policy: South Africa's Counter-Revolutionary Strategy," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10:2 (Summer 1998), pp. 86-105. {Suggested Reading}

Horowitz, Donald, "Preferential Policies to Reduce Ethnic Conflict," Chapter 16, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 653-680. {Suggested Reading}

Lichbach, Mark, "Deterrence or Escalation?: The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31 (1987), pp. 266-97. {Suggested Reading}

SECTION #5: EMPIRICAL CASES OF NATIONALISM AND VIOLENCE

(Day 25) Radical Islam and Al-Qaeda Violence

Juergensmeyer, Mark, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 61-84. **{Required Reading}**

Euben, Roxanne, "When Worldviews Collide: Conflicting Assumptions about Human Behavior Held by Rational Actor Theory and Islamic Fundamentalism," *Political Psychology* 16:1 (March 1995), pp. 157-78. **{Required Reading}**

Hellmich, Christina, "Terrorists, Hypocrites, Fundamentalists?: The View from Within," *Third World Quarterly* 26:1 (2005), pp. 39-54. {Suggested Reading}

Monroe, Kristen Renwick and Lina Haddad Kreidie, "The Perspective of Islamic Fundamentalists and the Limits of Rational Choice Theory," *Political Psychology* 18:1 (1997), pp. 19-42. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 26) White Supremacy in the United States

Sharpe, Tanya Telfair, "The Identity Christian Movement: Ideology of Domestic Terrorism," *Journal of Black Studies* 30:4 (March 2000), pp. 604-23. **{Required Reading}**

Dobratz, Betty, "The Role of Religion in the Collective Identity of the White Racialist Movement," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 40:2 (June 2001), pp. 287-301. **{Required Reading}**

Adams, Josh and Vincent Roscigno, "White Supremacists, Oppositional Culture and the Word Wide Web," *Social Forces* 84:2 (December 2005), pp. 759-78. {Suggested Reading}

Blee, Kathleen, "Evidence, Empathy, and Ethics: Lessons from Oral Histories of the Klan," *The Journal of American History* 80:2 (September 1993), pp. 596-606. {Suggested Reading}

(Day 27) Question and Answer Session in Preparation for Cumulative Final

(Day 28) Studying/Catch-Up Day

(Day 29) Final Exam