Comparative Ethnicity and Nationalism

Rogers Brubaker
Monday, 3-6pm, Haines A76

This is the second quarter of a two-quarter sequence, designed especially for students who are considering taking the field examination in Comparative Ethnicity and Nationalism, though other students, from sociology and other departments, are welcome as well. The second quarter is open with the permission of the instructors to well-prepared students who have not taken the first quarter.

The course as a whole seeks to "decenter" prevailing American perspectives on ethnicity, race, and nationhood. In the broader literature, these concepts have wider meanings, and theoretical debates have different contours, than in the US. A comparative view helps to place the US experience in a broader context.

The course is based on the assumption that ethnicity, race, and nation belong to a broad family of forms of cultural understanding, social organization, and political contestation, all related to perceived similarities and differences of cultural background, social belonging, and political destiny. "Ethnicity" is the broadest term, including almost all of what we mean by "race" and much (but not all) of what we mean by nationhood and nationalism. "Race" is thus conceptualized as a particular form of ethnicity that emerges when phenotype becomes an important diacritical marker of difference. "Nation" -- insofar as it overlaps with ethnicity -- is taken as a specifically modern form of ethnicity that is understood to be based on common history, culture, and political destiny and to justify claims to an autonomous polity.

The course begins with ethnicity, understood broadly as embracing race and nationhood as well. After an introductory discussion of basic concepts and empirical configurations, we devote a week to each of five broad approaches, emphasizing (1) the process of political modernization and state-building; (2) economic competition, social closure, and uneven development; (3) the cultural construction of boundaries, categories, and identities; (4) rational choice and micro-mechanisms; and (5) sociobiological, primordialist, and psychological accounts. In the second section of the course, we devote two weeks to race. In the spring quarter, the first five weeks will be devoted to nationhood and nationalism; the next three weeks to cross-cutting themes (probably a wekk on ethnicity, nationalism and religion and a week on conflict and violence) and a case, possibly of contemporary Iraq; and the final week to an examination of trajectories, diagnoses, and prospects, including questions of a possible movement "beyond" ethnicity, race, or nationalism.

This is a reading course, not a research seminar. No research, or research paper, is required. The course pivots on the critical examination of key writings in the field. This requires (1) close, critical reading of the literature assigned each week; (2) active participation in class discussion; (3) initiation of discussion, in the form of short (5-10 minute), clearly-focused presentations of key analytical issues by two (or in some cases three) students each week; and (4) preparation each week, after the first week, by all students (with one grace week allowed), of a short memorandum (one or two typed pages)

developing, criticizing, or otherwise engaging an analytical issue, question, or problem raised by the reading. (This should not be a summary of the reading, but a response to the reading.)

The weekly memorandum is intended to inculcate the habit of writing as a natural accompaniment to all reflective reading. The memoranda will not be graded; but their submission is a firm requirement of the course.

The memoranda will be posted to an Annotation Board on the class web site. Using software developed by Mike Franks, members of the class will be able not only to read but to annotate one another's memoranda by adding footnotes with comments or questions keyed to particular passages in a memorandum.

So as to allow students and the instructors ample time to read the memoranda before class, the memoranda are to be posted to the web site **by 11am Monday** at the latest. Students will be expected to read each other's memoranda before class, and will be encouraged to annotate them. In this way participants can develop web-based discussions that parallel the classroom discussions.

Initiators of discussion should not, if possible, read a written text, and should not summarize the readings; rather, they should bring into focus the key analytical issues raised in the readings and pose analytical questions about or (if they wish) analytical criticisms of the readings.

At the end of the quarter, there will be a take-home final examination. The questions will be distributed at the last meeting of the class; the examination will be due in the Sociology Department office one week later.

Required readings are listed below by week. Three required books have been ordered for purchase at the UCLA bookstore. Other readings will be made available through the UCLA library e-reserves, or through the course web site.

To access library e-reserves: From the search page [http://catalog.library.ucla.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?PAGE=rbSearch&DB=local], select instructor or course number. The next screen may include links to books - the key item will be something like "Sociol 230 E-links," which will link to PDF files. Materials not on e-reserve should be on the course web site. For questions about accessing materials, please contact Prof. Brubaker's assistant, Linda Kim (lkim@soc.ucla.edu)

Required books

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. Nations and Nationalism

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso

Smith, Anthony D. 1986. The Ethnic Origins of Nations. Oxford: Basil Blackwell

Weekly readings (provisional!)

April 3. No class meeting.

April 10. *This meeting is substantive, not organizational! Memoranda should be posted in advance for this meeting (see course description)*

Conceptual and definitional issues

Weber, Max. 1978 [1922]. Economy and Society, eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkeley: University of California Press, 395-398 [last part of Weber's discussion of race and ethncity]; last full paragraph on 902 through first paragraph on 903 [emotional foundations of political community]; 910 through top of 912 [prestige and political power]; 921 (beginning with last paragraph *before* the section break through 926.

Stalin, Joseph, excerpt from "Marxism and the national question"
http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03.htm#s1, up to the beginning of the discussion of the views of Springer and Bauer.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, pp. 1-7

Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. "'Civic' and 'ethnic' nationalism", in id., Ethnicity without Groups. Harvard: Harvard University Press. Chapter 6.

Calhoun, Craig. 1997. Nationalism. Buckingham: Open University Press. Pp 1-12, 18-23

Smith, Anthony D. 1983. *Theories of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. London: Gerald Duckworth, pp 167-191, 211-229

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. "Rethinking nationhood" Pp 13-22 in Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Verdery, Katherine. 1993. "Whither 'Nation' and 'Nationalism'?" *Daedalus* 122(3): 37-46.

April 17
Approaches I: Socio-economic modernization

Deutsch, Karl. 1953. *Nationalism and social communication*, 1-6, 20-21, 43-45, 60-74, 90-111, 127-138, 161-164

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. Nations and Nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1-75, 137-43

Gellner, Ernest. 1996. Reply to critics, in John A. Hall and Ian Jarvie (eds.), The Social Philoshy of Ernest Gellner. pp. 622-629, 636-639.

April 24
Approaches II: Political modernization

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. Nations and Nationalism Since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 80-100

Breuilly, John. Nationalism and the State, Conclusion.

Mann, Michael. 1995. 'A political theory of nationalism and its excesses,' in Sukumar Periwal (ed.), Notions of Nationalism. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Tilly, Charles. 1996. "The State of Nationalism." *Critical Review* 10(2):299-306.

Shorten or omit Hechter, Michael. 2000. Containing Nationalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 3 and 4.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2002. Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflicts. Shadows of Modernity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chap. 3.

Smith, Anthony. 1998. State and nation, in Anthony Smith, Nationalism and Modernism. London: Routledge.

May 1
Approaches III: Cultural modernization

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso. Chapters **specify**

Balakrishnan, Gopal. 1996. The National Imagination. In: Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.) Mapping the Nation, pp. 198–213. London: Verso.

[use different Meyer?]

Meyer, John et al. 1997. World society and the nation-state, in American Journal of Sociology 103(1):144-181.

May 8
Approaches IV: Ethnosymbolism

Smith, Anthony D. 1986. The Ethnic origins of nations. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp 1-5, 13-18, 21-41, 69-91, 109-125, 129-173, 212-226

Gellner, Ernest. 1996. Reply: Do Nations Have Navels?, in Nations and Nationalism 2(3):366-370.

May 15
Ethnicity, nationalism and violence

Brubaker, Rogers and David D. Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:423-52.

Horowitz, Donald L. 2001. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 1 and 13

Fearon and Laitin, "violence and the social construction of identities"? or use w soc constr

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war", in *American Political Science Review* 97 (1):1-16.

Ross, Michael. 2005. What do we know about natural resources and civil war? in Journal of Peace Research, forthcoming, accessible at www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/ross/whatdoweknow.pdf

May 22
Ethnicity, nationalism and religion

Bruce, Steve. 2003. *Politics and Religion*. Cambridge, UK, Malden, MA: Polity Press. Blackwell Pub., Chapter 3

Lapidus, Ira. 2001. Between universalism and particularism: The historical bases of Muslim communal, national, and global identities. In: Global Networks 1(1):37-55.

Friedland, Roger. 2001. "Religious Nationalism and the Problem of Collective Representation." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:125-52.

van der Veer, Peter. 1994. *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 1

Harry Harootunian, "Memory, mourning, and national morality : Yasukuni shrine and the reunion of the state and religion in postwar Japan," in Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehman (eds.), *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. Princeton University Press, 1999.

Talal Asad, "Religion, nation-state, secularism," in Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehman (eds.), *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. Princeton University Press, 1999.

May 29
Language

June 5
Post-ethnicity, -race, -nation?

Habermas, Jürgen. 1996. "The European Nation-State - Its Achievements and Its Limits: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship." Pp. 281-94 in *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan. London: Verso.

Smith, Anthony D. 1990. "The Supersession of Nationalism?" *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* XXXI(1-2):1-31.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1987. "The World in Creolisation." *Africa* 57(4):546-59.

Waldron, Jeremy. 1995. Minority cultures and the cosmopolitan alternative, in Will Kymlicka (ed.), Rights of Minority Cultures. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 93-118

Hollinger, David. 1995. The Ethnos, the Nation, the World, in Postethnic America. Beyond Multiculturalism. New York: Basic Books. Chapter 6