

Section 7

Announcements:

- I'm no longer accepting extra credit
- Because we have the midterm next week, we are going to split up the readings

- Midterm
 - o Next Thursday
 - o Get to class on time. It will start right at :07 and it will be much less stressful
 - o short answers (something like choose 5 from 8) drawn from "terms to know" in the handouts. This will be 20 or 25% of the grade
 - o 1 essay where they choose from 2 or 3 prompts
 - o Covers material up through this week, but you can absolutely use information from next week, especially if there's a prompt about ethnicity and you want to draw on the cases for evidence
 - o Want to have a sense of what the different authors think, what different cases are good examples for various things we've studied.
 - o → **I will give more concrete info when I know it.**

Fixed → Primordialism

1) Horowitz

- a. Ethnic conflict is everywhere
- b. What is ethnicity? Where did it come from?
 - i. Ethnicity is from birth:
 1. "ethnicity is established at birth for most group members, though the extent to which this is so varies. Ethnicity is based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with it traits believed to be innate. Some notion of ascription, however diluted, and affinity deriving from it are inseparable from the concept of ethnicity" (52)
- c. When is it mobilized?
 - i. "Within the [new] boundaries, the question was to whom the new states belonged." (4)
 - ii. "With some exceptions, ethnic differences tended to be muted until independence was achieved" (4).
- d. *Ranked v. unranked?*
 - i. *Skin salient in ranked systems (in U.S., it was first religion, then when people started converting, skin-color)*

2) Geertz

- a. What is ethnicity? Where did it come from?

- i. “By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the “givens”...immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves”
- b. When is it mobilized?
 - i. Groups’ “interest in the affairs of government...takes the form of an obsessive concern with the relation of one’s tribe, region, sect, or whatever to [the] center of power” (270).
 - ii. “The growing capacity of the state to mobilize social resources for public ends, its expanding power, roils primordial sentiments” (276) that don’t want to be ruled by the other groups

Constructed

- 3) Instrumentalist – Bates → material interests (from below (& above), but emphasizes demands from below)
 - a. What is ethnicity? Where did it come from?
 - i. *new states provide access to a bundle of goods that people want → Land, Markets, Jobs*
 - ii. *people want resources, positions, prestige, social status*
 - iii. *politicians want office*
 - iv. “Ethnic groups represent, in essence, coalitions which have been formed as part of rational efforts to secure benefits created by the formed of modernization – benefits which are desired but scarce” (152)
 - v. Ethnic groups are thus able to extract investments from persons seeking access to elite positions in the “modern” order. Moreover, the “moderns” need, and seek to elicit, the support of ethnic groupings” (163)
 - b. When is it mobilized?
 - i. “Not only is modernity desired, but the goods it represents are scarce in proportion to the demand for them. The inevitable result is that people compete. This competition is best illustrated in the struggles over income and for several of the resources which create it: land, markets, and jobs” (153)
 - c. *institutional design can change incentives*
 - i. *“the appropriate response, then, is one of institutional design. Efforts should be devoted to creating institutional environments which alter incentives so that persons organize coalitions of a*

different nature when in pursuit of their interests. Attempts should focus on exploiting the very nature of ethnic competition so as to channel and diffuse it.”

- 4) Instrumentalist - Political competition (Posner, mainly from above)
 - a. What is ethnicity? Where does it come from?
 - i. “Whether or not a cleavage matters would seem to depend not at all on the material from which it is built. That material can be as sturdy as the traits, customs, norms, and practices that a professional ethnographer might identify or as flimsy as an arbitrary boundary drawn by an uninformed colonial officer. Much more than the stuff from which the boundary is made, what matters seems to be whether the cleavage defines groups that, because of the scope of the larger political and social arena in which they are located, are of a useful size for political mobilization and/or social categorization”
 - ii. “The political or social salience of a cultural cleavage does not follow axiomatically from the fact that the cultural cleavage exists. Some cultural cleavages matter a lot for political competition and social categorization, and others do not” (543)
 - b. when is ethnic mobilization most likely?
 - i. “If the purpose of mobilizing the cultural cleavage is to build a coalition that can help [politicians] achieve political power, then it is natural for them to emphasize the cleavage that defines the most usefully sized coalitional building blocks and to ignore those that define groups that are too small to be politically viable” (538)
 - c. *In Zambia, they are both “Easterners”, but in Malawi, they are mobilized as Chewas and Tumbukas*
- 5) Institutional (or Steve calls Social Constructivist) -- state institutions (Nagel, mainly from below)
 - a. What is ethnicity? Where does it come from?
 - i. “The nationalization and expansion of politics redirects increasing proportions of societal activity (ethnic and other) toward the political center. [Ethnicity is recognized] as a basis for political organization and claims-making... Thus we see a politicization and legitimation of ethnicity in modern states” (97)
 - b. When does ethnic mobilization occur?
 - i. “[T]he recognition and institutionalization of ethnicity in politics (1) *increases the level* of ethnic mobilization among all ethnic groups... and (2) *determines the boundaries* along which ethnic mobilization and/conflict will occur by setting down the rules for political participation and political access (e.g., should contenders organize on the basis of panethnic representation or on the basis of historical claims?)” (98)

- ii. *Ethnicity politically constructed by:*
 - 1. *Structure of political access, ethnic boundaries that correspond to administrative boundaries, political participation (like parties)*
 - 2. *Land policies, language policies, special treatment (affirmative action)*
 - 3. *→ ethnicity is legitimated and institutionalized this way*
- c. *When is ethnic mobilization most likely:*
 - i. *structure of political access and participation is organized along ethnic lines (regional/administrative boundaries)*
 - ii. *official castes/quotas/reserved seats*
 - iii. *policies recognize/institutionalize ethnic differences (official languages, designated lands)*
 - iv. *ethnic boundaries that offer official access to special treatment*

VIOLENCE

1) Wilkinson

- a. What is ethnicity? Where does it come from?
 - i. “individuals have many ethnic and non-ethnic identities with which they might identify politically. The challenge for politicians is to try to ensure that the identity that favors their party is the one that is most salient in the minds of a majority of voters” (4)
- b. When does ethnic mobilization occur?
 - i. “I argue that the most effective method for elite-dominated ethnic parties to mobilize those target voters...will be to use ethnic wedge issues to increase – albeit in the short term – the salience of ethnic issues that will favor their party” (23)
- c. When does it become violent?
 - i. “Whether violence is bloody or ends quickly depends not on the local factors that caused violence to break out but primarily on the will and capacity of the government that controls the forces of law and order...politicians in government will increase the supply of protection to minorities when either of two conditions applies: when minorities are an important part of their party’s current support base, or the support base of one of their coalition partners in a coalition government; or when the overall electoral system in a state is so competitive – in terms of the effective number of parties – that there is therefore a high probability that the governing party will have to negotiate or form coalitions with minority supported parties in the future, despite its own preferences” (5)

In groups of 3, and one group of 4, figure out which quotations go where, and which author they correspond to.

- **A clue: only one author addresses conflict. You will have about 15 minutes or so.**
- **We are using all the authors except Brown**

Once class is done: be sure they figured out:

Primordialist – Horowitz and Geertz

Constructivist –

- Instrumentalist – Bates, Posner, Wilkinson
- Institutional – Nagel

What do we find most convincing here?

What are problems with primordialist arguments?

What about instrumentalist arguments?

What is situational ethnicity? (Nagel)

Have you ever experienced it?

What is the solution that some of our authors propose (Bates – institutions)

	Primordialist		Constructivist			
			Instrumentalist			Institutionalist (Social constructivist)
Authors:						
What is ethnicity? Where does it come from?						
When does ethnic mobilization occur?						
When does violent ethnic conflict occur?						

“Ethnicity is established at birth for most group members, though the extent to which this is so varies. Ethnicity is based on a myth of collective ancestry, which usually carries with it traits believed to be innate. Some notion of ascription, however diluted, and affinity deriving from it are inseparable from the concept of ethnicity”

“Within the [new] boundaries, the question was to whom the new states belonged... With some exceptions, ethnic differences tended to be muted until independence was achieved”

“By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the “givens”... immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves”

Groups’ “interest in the affairs of government... takes the form of an obsessive concern with the relation of one’s tribe, region, sect, or whatever to [the] center of power... The growing capacity of the state to mobilize social resources for public ends, its expanding power, roils primordial sentiments”

“Ethnic groups represent, in essence, coalitions which have been formed as part of rational efforts to secure benefits created by the formed of modernization – benefits which are desired but scarce”

“Not only is modernity desired, but the goods it represents are scarce in proportion to the demand for them. The inevitable result is that people compete. This competition is best illustrated in the struggles over income and for several of the resources which create it: land, markets, and jobs”

“Whether or not a cleavage matters would seem to depend not at all on the material from which it is built. That material can be as sturdy as the traits, customs, norms, and practices that a professional ethnographer might identify or as flimsy as an arbitrary boundary drawn by an uninformed colonial officer. Much more than the stuff from which the boundary is made, what matters seems to be whether the cleavage defines groups that, because of the scope of the larger political and social arena in which they are located, are of a useful size for political mobilization and/or social categorization”

“If the purpose of mobilizing the cultural cleavage is to build a coalition that can help [politicians] achieve political power, then it is natural for them to emphasize the cleavage that defines the most usefully sized coalitional building blocks and to ignore those that define groups that are too small to be politically viable”

“The nationalization and expansion of politics redirects increasing proportions of societal activity (ethnic and other) toward the political center. [Ethnicity is recognized] as a basis for political organization and claimsmaking... Thus we see a politicization and legitimization of ethnicity in modern states”

“[T]he recognition and institutionalization of ethnicity in politics (1) *increases the level* of ethnic mobilization among all ethnic groups... and (2) *determines the boundaries* along which ethnic mobilization and conflict will occur by setting down the rules for political participation and political access (e.g., should contenders organize on the basis of panethnic representation or on the basis of historical claims?)”

“individuals have many ethnic and non-ethnic identities with which they might identify politically. The challenge for politicians is to try to ensure that the identity that favors their party is the one that is most salient in the minds of a majority of voters”

“I argue that the most effective method for elite-dominated ethnic parties to mobilize those target voters... will be to use ethnic wedge issues to increase – albeit in the short term – the salience of ethnic issues that will favor their party”

“Whether violence is bloody or ends quickly depends not on the local factors that caused violence to break out but primarily on the will and capacity of the government that controls the forces of law and order... politicians in government will increase the supply of protection to minorities when either of two conditions applies: when minorities are an important part of their party’s current support base, or the support base of one of their coalition partners in a coalition government; or when the overall electoral system in a state is so competitive – in terms of the effective number of parties – that there is therefore a high probability that the governing party will have to negotiate or form coalitions with minority supported parties in the future, despite its own preferences”