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**The Politics of Identity in Western Europe: Nations, Citizens and Immigrants**

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## **Introduction**

This course will provide an introduction and overview of the politics of identity in Western Europe. The course begins with a general introduction into identity of individuals and groups. What do we mean by the term identity, and where do our identities come from? How durable or malleable are our identities and attachments, and how much do they depend on our economic interest, our psychological makeup, or on political institutions? Beyond raising theoretical questions about identities, we will also examine three critical areas of identity politics in Europe: nationalism, citizenship and immigration/integration. Where does nationalism come from? How do perspectives on identity formation shed light on the sources of nationalism, and how do these perspectives match with the facts of nation-building? How do we understand citizenship, and what are the links between citizenship and nationalism? What are the implications of immigration for national identity and for domestic ethnic conflict? How are West European nations struggling to accommodate multiculturalism, and how confident are they that they will succeed? Through a close examination of these questions, students will gain a better understanding of the new politics of identity in Western Europe, of the causes that lay behind it, and of the conflicts and compromises that result from it.

## **Requirements**

Students are expected to attend class, to participate in discussion and to have completed the assigned readings. In addition, students will complete a two to three-page response paper every week (with one by week of your choice), responding to or raising an issue in the readings related to the themes of the course. Although these papers will not be graded as such, they will comprise a portion of the 30% participation grade. Response papers will be due by 10:00 am of the Monday of class in my mail box in Munroe 213.

Once during the semester (in a week of the student's choosing, with May 3 as the final deadline), students will be asked to read a supplementary book and to relate its themes to the course materials being covered through a 3-4 page book review. This will be worth 10% of the final grade.

The principal goal of this course is to allow students to build towards a substantial research paper on a topic of the student's choice.

Therefore, on the Monday of week six (March 18) by 12:00 noon, students must turn in a term-paper proposal and arrange a brief meeting with me that week to discuss the topic. You are strongly encouraged to look at future weeks' readings or to spend an hour or two in the library if you would like to write on a topic that we have not yet covered or will not cover.

On the Wednesday of week nine (April 17) by 12:00 noon, students must turn in a **rough draft** of at least fifteen pages, including a **well-developed bibliography**, and a **set of questions** about how to improve the paper. It will be assessed according to how close the paper is to a **finished product** in terms of the thought put in to the **thesis argument** and the amount of **research** already carried out. We will arrange meetings the following week to discuss the draft and your questions. The closer you are at this stage to the final version, the more useful will be our discussion. At a minimum, you must have a **thesis and evidence** to back up your thesis. Successful completion of this portion of the assignment is worth 20% of the final grade. Consideration and leniency will be given for writing on a topic that we have not already covered in class. Although you do not need to write a 20-25 page paper to get full credit for this assignment, if you choose to do so you may. Full credit can be obtained for any paper in the 15 page range that shows a thoughtful

argument and substantial research and evidence to back it up. The questions about improvement should reflect your ability to identify weaknesses in your argument and to highlight problem areas that require more research or thought. They might also reflect your desire to reformulate your topic slightly .

The research paper—due on Monday, May 13 at 12:00 noon—of twenty to twenty-five pages will count for 40% of the grade. It will be graded not only on the standard criteria of clarity and originality of thesis and topic, consistency of argument, use of evidence, and style, but also on the extent to which you have improved upon your draft based on our conversations.

Due dates for assignments are as follows:

Response papers: Every week at 10:00 am on the Monday of class

Term Paper proposal: March 18, 2002

Term Paper draft: April 17, 2002

Book Review: Any date, no later than May 3, 2002

Term Paper: May 13, 2002

### **Late Policy**

To ensure that I can comment on and grade your assignments in a timely fashion (and for fairness), material turned in late will be docked a third of a grade (an A- becomes a B+, etc.) for each 24 hour period after it is due. To be clear, turning in an assignment any time during the first 24 hours after it is due is penalized a third of a grade; between 24 and 48 hours two thirds of a grade, etc. Any paper seven or more days late will be given a failing grade. Because email copies occasionally do not transfer properly, please turn in a printed copy in my mail box in Munroe 213. Only a note from the Dean of Students Office or the Health Center will waive the late penalty.

### **Readings**

Books are available for purchase at the College Store. Supplementary readings will be available in the Political Science office. You may borrow them for 2 hours at a time.

Books available for purchase:

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. 2nd ed. London: Verso.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Kepel, Gilles. 1997. *Allah in the West*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Also available:

Joppke and Lukes. Multicultural Questions.

Joppke. Immigration and the Nation-State

Hutchinson and Smith. Ethnicity.

Hechter. Internal Colonialism.

Brettell and Hollifield. Migration Theory.

Hargreaves. Immigration, Race and Ethnicity in Contemporary France.

Werbner and Modood. Debating Cultural Hybridity

Feldblum. Reconstructing Citizenship.

Saggar. Race and Representation.

## **Week One**

### **Identity I: Thinking about Identity**

Bloom, William. 1990. *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Chapter 2; pp. 25-53

Barth, Frederick. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Boston, Little, Brown and Company; Introduction; pp. 9-38

Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press; pp. 5-11, 39-46, skim the rest of 12-57

## **Week Two**

### **Identity II: How Significant is Identity? Primordialism, Instrumentalism and Situationalism**

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States. In *The Interpretation of Cultures*, edited by C. Geertz. New York: Basic Books; pp. 255-79, 306-10.

Nagel, Joane. 1986. The Political Construction of Ethnicity. In *Competitive Ethnic Relations*, edited by S. Olzak: Academic Press; pp. 93-111

Allahar, Anton L. 1996. Primordialism and Ethnic Political Mobilisation in Modern Society. *New Community* 22(1) January: 5-21.

Okamura, Jonathan. 1981. Situational Ethnicity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4:452-63.

Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Chapters 1, 5, 8; pp. 1-20, 97-108, 171-83

## **Week Three**

### **Identity III: Perspectives on Identity Politics**

Mason, David. 1986. Introduction. Controversies and Continuities in Race and Ethnic Relations Theory. In *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, edited by J. Rex and D. Mason. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; pp. 1-19

Rex, John. 1986. The Role of Class Analysis in the Study of Race Relations — A Weberian Perspective. In *Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations*, edited by J. Rex and D. Mason. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; pp. 64-83

Laitin, David D. et. al. 1994. Language and the Construction of States: The Case of Catalonia in Spain. *Politics and Society*. 22(1) March: 5-29.

Gourevitch, Peter Alexis. 1979. The Reemergence of 'Peripheral Nationalisms': Some Comparative Speculations on the Spatial Distribution of Political Leadership and Economic Growth. *Comparative Study of Society and History* July: 303-22.

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Chapter 6

Wallman, Sandra. 1978. The Boundaries of 'Race': Processes of Ethnicity in England. *Man* 13(2): 200-17.

#### **Week Four**

##### **Discussion of “Integration in Policy and Practice in Europe and the Americas”**

Students are expected to attend the Clifford Symposium on Friday and Saturday March 1-2, and to be prepared to discuss the issues raised there in class. Please write your response papers on the conference.

#### **Week Five**

##### **Nationalism: Theories and Origins of Nationalism; Types of Nationalism**

Connor, Walker. 1994. Terminological Chaos (A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a ...). In *Ethnonationalism: the Quest for Understanding*, edited by W. Connor. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 90-117.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. 2nd ed. London: Verso; Chapters 1-4, 6 (pp. 1-65; 83-111)

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press; Chapters 1-5 (pp. 1-62)

Smith, Anthony. 1986. *The Ethnic Origin of Nations*. Intro (skim); pp. 6-18; 129-73

Breuilly, John. 1993. *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Appendix (404-24)

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith, eds. 1994. *Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; pp. 76-89, 162-65 (selections by Hobsbawm, Brass, Kohn)

#### **Week Six**

##### **Nationalism III: Nationalism from the Ground Up—Historians' Views of Britain and France**

Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; Chapters 12, 18, 29; pp. 195-220, 303-38, 485-96

Colley, Linda. 1992. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Introduction and Conclusions; pp. 1-9, 364-75

Sahlins, Peter. 1989. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press; parts of Introduction, Chapter 4, and entire Chapter 8; pp 1-9, 155-67, 267-76

Keen, Maurice. 1991. *The Penguin History of Medieval Europe*. London: Penguin Books; Chapter 17; pp. 244-59

## **Week Seven**

### **Citizenship I: Theories of Citizenship and National Belonging**

Marshall, T.H. 1968. Citizenship and Social Class. In *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*, edited by T. H. Marshall. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books; pp. 71-134

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Introduction and Chapters 1-3

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Chs 1 and 7-9

## **Week Eight**

### **Citizenship II: Citizenship Policy in Western Europe**

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; Chapters 4-8

Brubaker, William Rogers, ed. 1989. *Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America; Introduction and Chapter 5; pp. 1-27, 99-127

Murray, Laura M. 1994. Einwanderungsland Bundesrepublik Deutschland? Explaining the Evolving Positions of German Political Parties on Citizenship Policy. *German Politics and Society* (33, Fall):23-56.

## **Week Nine**

### **The Politics of Immigration**

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Chapter 2

Freeman, Gary. 1995. Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States. *International Migration Review* 29(4); pp. 881-913

Hollifield, James F. 1992. *Immigrants, Markets, and States: The Political Economy of Postwar Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; pp. 3-13, 19-41, 214-32

Money, Jeannette. 1997. No Vacancy: The Political Geography of Immigration Control in Advanced Industrial Countries. *International Organization* 51 (4, Autumn):685-720.

Messina, Anthony. 1996. The Not So Silent Revolution: Postwar Migration to Western Europe. *World Politics* 49 (1, October):130-54.

Husbands, Christopher T. 1994. Crises of National Identity as the 'New Moral Panics': Political Agenda-Setting about Definitions of Nationhood. *New Community* 20 (2):191-206

## **Week Ten**

### **Integration: Modes of Incorporation and Islam**

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Chapters 3-5

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Chapters 1-3, 6, 9

Kepel, Gilles. 1997. *Allah in the West*. Cambridge: Polity Press; pp. 1-6; 81-85; 126-46; 149-55; 174-203

## **Weeks Eleven and Twelve**

Student Presentations

### **Response Papers**

The goal of writing a response paper is to reflect actively on the reading(s) of the week. This makes it crucial to say more than you "liked" or "disliked" the readings. Response papers (of about 2-3 pages in length) may include a summary of the main points of the readings, but they also identify elements of the work that you find particularly stimulating and worthy of further discussion. This might involve a critique of or skepticism about the author's argument. It might entail making connections between readings (either from the same week or from different weeks). It might pick out a segment of the reading and expand on its implications in other countries or at other times—something like "if the author is right, shouldn't we expect to see the same thing in Germany?"

In sum, it is up to you how to formulate your responses to the readings, but it is worth ending the response paper with a question or two that emerge from the material that you think are worthy of your fellow students' attention and that you might like to spend time discussing in class. I will read all of your response papers before class each week and they will help structure class discussion.

### **Book Review**

A good book review does more than just summarize the book. Typically, it picks out the main themes and arguments and puts them into a broader perspective, assessing their strengths and weaknesses. Book reviews usually make an argument, and it is one that goes beyond "the book is good/bad" to say what is especially new or enlightening, what is controversial or downright wrong. Be sure to give evidence for your own argument (generally from other readings we have done during the semester).

### **Research Papers**

The best research paper you can write will be on a topic that fascinates you. Please take time in the first few weeks of the course to look in the readings for issues that jump out at you as quirky, important, or puzzling.

Because this course requires a research paper, you must begin thinking about your topic right away.

Often it helps to formulate a question in order to drive forward a research paper. So instead of writing on "immigration" (for example), try developing a specific question such as "why do some countries have lots of immigrants and others do not?" or "do liberal immigration laws help minority groups or generate backlash against them?" The question provides focus and the answer you develop is also your thesis statement.

Discuss your topic and your argument with your peers from class. You may have them read drafts and comment on them. Yet the writing of your paper must be done by you alone. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Please review the College policy on plagiarism and be sure to cite sources for rhetoric, facts and ideas that you employ in your paper.

We will use the last two weeks' classes for presentations of research papers. This will count towards the class participation grade. Be prepared to circulate a sheet with relevant information about your topic to your classmates a few days ahead of your presentation.