Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict

Wimmer goes above and beyond the debate on whether nationalism and ethnicity are modern or ancient phenomena. He shows that nationalist and ethnic politics are not only by-products of modern state formation, but that they provide the basis for modernity itself. Democratic participation, equality before the law and national self-determination are offered only to the ethnic group in a privileged relationship with the modernising state. They are denied to those who do not belong to the state-embodying nation. According to the varying geometries of power, these dynamics of exclusion take on different forms. Where nationbuilding is 'successful', immigrants and ethnic minorities are excluded from full participation. In weaker states, political closure proceeds along ethnic, rather than national lines. In his chapters on Mexico, Iraq and Switzerland, Wimmer provides extended case studies that support and contextualise this argument.

Andreas Wimmer is Professor of Political and Cultural Change, and Director at the Center for Development Research of the University of Bonn. Cambridge University Press 0521812550 - Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity Andreas Wimmer Frontmatter More information

Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict

Shadows of Modernity

Andreas Wimmer



Cambridge University Press	
0521812550 - Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Confli	ict: Shadows of Modernity
Andreas Wimmer	
Frontmatter	
Moreinformation	
More information	

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne VIC 3207 Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

© Andreas Wimmer 2002

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2002

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

Typeface Plantin 10/12 pt. System $LATEX 2_{\mathcal{E}}$ [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Wimmer, Andreas.
Nationalist exclusion and ethnic conflict: shadows of modernity / Andreas Wimmer.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0 521 81255 0 (hb) – ISBN 0 521 01185 X (pb)
1. National state. 2. Nationalism. 3. Ethnic groups – Political activity.
4. Immigrants – Political activity. 5. Minorities – Political activity.
I. Title.

JC312.W56 2002 320.54 - dc21 2001052487

ISBN 0 521 81255 0 hardback ISBN 0 521 01185 X paperback

ambridge University Press	
521812550 - Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernit	y
ndreas Wimmer	
rontmatter	
Iore information	

Contents

Ac	knowledgements	page vii
1	Shadows of modernity	1
I	Theoretical explorations	
2	Compromise and closure: a theory of social dynamics	19
3	The making of modern communities	42
II	State-building and ethnic conflict	
4	Who owns the state? Ethnic conflicts after the end of empires	85
5	Nationalism and ethnic mobilisation in Mexico	114
6	From empire to ethnocracy: Iraq since the Ottomans	156
III The politics of exclusion in nationalised states		
7	Racism and xenophobia	199
8	Nationalising multi-ethnic Switzerland	222
•	ferences dex	269 306

v

Acknowledgements

The chapters of this book have benefited from presentations to different audiences and from comments and suggestions of a substantial number of friends and colleagues. Some pointed out missing links in the argument, others provided me with useful information or suggested further reading, while still others helped with critiques, thus encouraging me to sharpen, reconstruct or abandon some of my arguments. My sincerest thanks go to all of them.

Parts of chapter 2 are based on my inaugural lecture as a *Privatdozent* of the University of Zurich. Various versions have been read at an annual congress of the Swiss Ethnological Society and at the universities of Cologne and Oxford. Helpful comments were received from Kurt Imhof, Verena Tobler Müller, Steve Vertovec, and from the editors as well as from anonymous reviewers of the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (48, 3: 401–25), where large parts of the text were published in German. Alisdair Rogers has carefully edited the English version.

Chapter 3 includes sections of papers given at the universities of Neuchâtel and Mannheim, where Hartmut Esser offered a stimulating critique. My talk at the weekly colloquium of the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin was largely based on chapter 3. It was received with fervent and thought-provoking criticism from too many co-fellows to be mentioned here individually. Kurt Imhof provided insightful comments on a German version of the chapter. Parts of it have previously been published in French in the *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (37, 1: 163–79), other parts in *Tsantsa. Revue de la Société Suisse d'Ethnologie* (1: 4–18), and the editors of both journals provided stimulating critiques. Stephen Krasner helped to clarify the ideas put forward in the last section of the chapter.

Chapter 4 has benefited from detailed comments by Daniel Geiger, Elisabeth Hsü, Kurt Imhof, Lorenz G. Löffler, Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Milan Stanek, and from my students at the University of Zurich. Different versions of the chapter were presented at the University of Zurich, at the Congress of German-Speaking Anthropologists in Vienna, and at the

viii Acknowledgements

First Congress of Swiss Social Sciences in Berne. An anonymous reviewer of *Nations and Nationalism* (3, 4: 631–65), where an English version was published, provided extensive and detailed comments on almost every paragraph of the text.

Parts of chapter 5 were read at the universities of Basle and Zurich. Peter Gerber, Jürg Helbling, Lorenz G. Löffler and Hans-Peter Müller commented generously on earlier versions of the argument. Some sections of the chapter are taken from my book *Transformationen*. *Sozialer Wandel im indianischen Mittelamerika* (Berlin: Reimer, 1995). Natividad Gutierrez Chong and 'Professor' Mauricio Tenorio Trillo were kind enough to go through the entire chapter and to provide most valuable comments and suggestions for further reading.

A section of chapter 6 is based on papers given at two international congresses organised by students of the Free University of Berlin. Special thanks go to Georg Elwert and Martin van Bruinessen for their helpful and detailed comments. One of the papers was published in the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (47, 1: 95–113), and this in turn was based on a lecture given before the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Zurich as part of the habilitation procedure. Dale Eickelman has commented upon the present text.

Chapter 7 was presented at the University of Zurich, at a COST workshop in Berne, the Joint Congress of the Swiss Societies for Sociology and Ethnology in Berne, a workshop on xenophobia in Freiburg (Germany), and a congress organised by ERCOMER at the University of Utrecht, where it was discussed in a most helpful way. I wish to thank Kurt Imhof, Margrit Kaufmann, Lorenz G. Löffler, Hans Mahnig and Verena Tobler Müller for their criticism and comments on earlier versions of the text. I received further suggestions from two anonymous reviewers of *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (20, 1: 17–41), where parts of the chapter have appeared as an article, and from Jesika Ter Wal and Maykel Verkuyten, who edited a book entitled *Comparative Perspectives on Racism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), from which chapter 7 is adapted. Michael Banton provided an encouraging comment on the article published in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

The last section of chapter 8 was read at the Congress of the Austrian, German and Swiss Societies of Sociology in Freiburg (Germany). Thoughtful comments were received from Michael Bommes and Jost Halfmann who edited the volume *Migration in nationalen Wohlfahrtsstaaten* (Osnabrück: IMIS, 1998), from which this part of the chapter was adapted.

The rewriting of these different pieces and their drawing together into a book were made possible by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft which generously supported me with a Heisenberg Research Fellowship. Cambridge University Press 0521812550 - Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity Andreas Wimmer Frontmatter <u>More information</u>

Acknowledgements

Much of the writing was done during my stay at St Antony's College of Oxford University. Its Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology provided me with office space and a stimulating intellectual environment. The final version of the manuscript was produced during my term as a fellow of the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin. Staff and co-fellows formed an inspiring and supportive *communité de savants* – had I started writing the book instead of finishing it there, it would undoubtedly have become a much better one.

Staff members of the Center for Development Research of the University of Bonn contributed substantially to the editing of the manuscript. Lisa Braukämper was most helpful in bringing order into the bibliography; Isobel Kerr took care of English orthography, grammar and style; Karina Waedt traced quotations in original languages; Veronika Lenarz, Karina Waedt and Conrad Schetter helped to produce the figures.

Hilde Hey, Adele Jinadu, Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Conrad Schetter, Anja Schoeller-Schletter and Indra de Soysa, all researchers at the Center, as well as Steve Vertovec, made valuable suggestions, both editorial and substantive, for the introductory chapter. Aleksandra Ålund, Rune Johansson, Vjeran Katunaric, Carl-Ulrik Schierup and a group of Swedish postgraduate students discussed the manuscript during a stimulating seminar in Murter, Croatia. I thank all of them.

This book is dedicated to my friends and colleagues Rogers Brubaker, Yehuda Elkana, Kalliope Giantroglou, Kurt Imhof, Lorenz G. Löffler, the late Hans Mahnig, Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Yamila Ramirez Bosque, Steve Vertovec and Sarah Zingg, all experts in crossing and transcending national boundaries either in theory or in practice, or both. I hope I will continue to learn from them.