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**The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities**

Harris Mylonas

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Why do governments in ethnically diverse states pursue different paths to national integration? In this impressive book, Mylonas provides a parsimonious and, more importantly, convincing explanation for variation in government approaches to ethnic diversity.

The author distinguishes between three broad sets of national homogenization policies aimed at unassimilated ethnic groups: accommodation, assimilation and exclusion. The way governments (“host states”) treat unintegrated ethnic communities (“non-core groups”) depends on the support those communities receive from other states (“external powers”), and the relationship that domestic governments have with those states. Where non-core groups receive no foreign support, governments of host states will attempt to assimilate them in order to preclude their future mobilization by a hostile external power. Non-core groups with outside support fall into two categories, those supported by allies and those supported by enemies. Ally-supported groups are likely to be accommodated by host states since they do not present a significant strategic threat and because unfriendly policies toward them might jeopardize the alliance. The treatment of enemy-supported groups depends on the foreign policy goals of host states. Status-quo states, that is, those that do not seek to revise existing borders, will want to assimilate non-core groups. Revisionist host states will tend to “exclude” enemy-supported groups via a range of more or less violent measures.

In chapter 4, Mylonas analyzes government policies toward non-core groups in six early-twentieth century Balkan states (a total of 90 observations). The statistical analysis largely bears out the predictions outlined in the theoretical chapter and is followed, in chapter 5, by a useful exploration of outliers. In chapters 6 and 7 the author further solidifies his argument via a more detailed analysis of several important cases (Greek policy toward non-core groups in Western Macedonia, and Serbian policy vis-à-vis Albanians in nineteenth-century Serbia and inter-war Yugoslavia). These chapters, based in part on valuable archival material, supplement the cross-state comparison by illuminating the decision-makers’ motives in devising policies of national homogenization. In addition, the study demonstrates the validity of the argument not only across cases, but also across time. In chapter 8, the author applies his framework to cases outside of the Balkans (post-Soviet Estonia and Mao-era China) and finds that his argument retains its persuasive power.

This is an agenda-shifting book in the field of nationalism and ethnic conflict studies. It offers one of the first comprehensive theories explaining a broad range of policies for managing complexity in ethnically diverse states. While previous scholarship concerning the choice of national integration policies has tended to be quite narrow in focus (examining only exclusionary policies, for example), this work covers a broader scope of phenomena. Moreover, the book also presents a useful corrective to the literature on accommodation in plural states. Most scholars writing about institutional accommodation of ethno-national diversity have centred on the *impact* of accommodative policies on the stability of multi-ethnic polities (from Lijphart’s early contribution (1977) to the more recent work of, for example, Roeder (2007) and Stepan, Linz and Yadav (2011)). Significant as such work is, we also need to understand why particular policies are chosen in the first place, especially if we are pursuing policy-relevant knowledge. Mylonas’ book is one of the foundational works in what ought to become a vibrant new sub-field in comparative politics: the institutional genesis and development of multi-ethnic and multi-national states.

As is the case with other groundbreaking books, this work leaves us with some notable unresolved issues. One of the foremost concerns the aggregation of a broad variety of nation-building measures into only three categories: accommodation, assimilation and exclusion. While this simplifying move adds to the parsimony of Mylonas' theoretical framework, it prevents us from understanding more fine-tuned changes in national integration policies. For instance, the recent perceived reduction of autonomy for Catalonia has led to a spike in nationalist mobilization and secessionist agitation in that region. Can Mylonas' model be adapted to explain the changes in the nature and scope within each of the three broad categories of policy explained in this work?

The second problem concerns the argument's broader applicability. A number of states which have seen next to no change in their external relations—that is, the key explanatory variable in this book—have over time transformed their approach to non-core groups (some of the more recent examples feature West European states such as Belgium, the UK, and Spain). Can the argument developed in this book account for these shifts in policy? Given the well documented decline in the frequency of interstate warfare during the post-World War II period, might the conditions giving rise to the dynamics that Mylonas examines be a thing of the past? The author does not think so (7–9). Even if he is correct, and hostile interstate relations are here to stay, the framework presented in this book might not be able to address changes in national integration policies in states with relatively peaceful and predictable external relations. Although these issues deserve attention in future research, they do not significantly detract from the power and persuasiveness of Mylonas' argument.

While *The Politics of Nation-Building* will be an important reading for specialists of ethnic conflict and nationalism, it should also be read by scholars and students interested in problems of state-building. In addition, the book's layered methodology will make it very useful to anybody interested in multi-method approaches to comparative analysis. The book's outstanding issues should continue to inspire other scholars to address the questions posed in this work and to build on important insights developed here.

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### **Hybridité politique et résistances dans les pays du Sud. Trajectoires inattendues de la démocratie locale**

Nancy Thede (dir),

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*Hybridité politique et résistances* traite des enjeux de la décentralisation sociopolitique dans les pays du Sud autour de la fin des années 1980 et du début des années 1990. À un niveau plus précis, les auteurs interrogent les conditions d'émergence et l'animation de nouveaux processus de communalisation rurale ou d'extension de la démocratie nationale aux populations locales. Ils cherchent à répondre aux questions liées aux mutations sociales et politiques qui surgissent du nouveau transfert de pouvoir démocratique, qui a des répercussions sur les conditions d'organisation de l'État national, sur les modes d'exercice du pouvoir et sur le développement de la société dans son ensemble.

En analysant l'émergence de la démocratie locale à travers la mise en place de municipalités, le texte de Nancy Thede insiste sur les structures organisationnelles en attente dans les régions rurales et qui prennent leur origine dans la révolution bolivienne de 1952. Ce sont les déterminants sociopolitiques de *l'arène politique locale* où les nouveaux agents politiques s'expriment à travers les syndicats des paysans et des structures communautaires autochtones. C'est une forme inattendue de réappropriation de la