Professor: Matteo Giglioli
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Course Title: Nationalism: Instability and Change in 21st-century Politics

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Description: In the contemporary world, nationalism has proven a force for violent destabilization in many contexts, but also a way to boost group cohesion and solidarity in the face of the uncertainties of global economic integration. Indeed, the appeal of nationalist politics does not appear diminished by the erosion of economic sovereignty faced by all states. However, its growing clout in the domestic politics of many rising Powers contrasts with the tensions to which regionalist and separatist movements are subjecting historically established nation-states. The goal of the course is to explore the several ways in which nationalism makes its influence felt in politics today. To that end, the course provides a broad foundation for the analysis and discussion of nationalist political dynamics, focusing on topics of particular salience in contemporary international affairs, while allowing students to delve into specific national or sub-national cases of interest to them. Thus, the course will prove of use to political analysts (whether based in international organizations, national governments, think tanks, or the private sector) who face the problem of assessing the influence of nationalism on state cohesion or instability. The course juxtaposes the main contributions in the social-scientific literature on nationalist phenomena with selected empirical topics in nationalist politics: the causal link with violence, the ideological competition between political movements to don the mantle of nationalism, and the tendency of nationalism to replicate at ever-lower levels are explored, along with the changing characteristics the phenomenon has assumed in different socio-economic contexts.

Assessment: Student performance will be assessed on the basis of written assignments and participation in class. For the former component, students may choose between writing three policy memos (6 pp. each) due at the end of weeks 5, 9, and 13, or one (20 pp.) research paper due in January. The policy memos will require analyzing a specific empirical case of the student's choice (e.g. Ukraine, Iraq, Belgium, Nigeria…) with regards to one of the issues discussed in the course, as set forth in each assignment. The format for the research paper will be to use one or more case studies to test a theoretically grounded hypothesis about nationalism. Historical cases are appropriate, though their relevance to contemporary issues should be explained. The topic of the research paper <u>must</u> be approved in advance by the instructor. Participation in the seminar will be structured week-by-week by means of (individual or group) presentations, scenario analysis, the discussion of relevant current events, and other such activities, depending on class size. The weighting of the different components is as follows: class participation 1/3, written assignments 2/3 (each memo is 2/9).

Prerequisites: none

Honor Code: In all courses and all student activities at SAIS, students are expected to adhere to the rules and spirit of the school's Honor Code, which are detailed in the Student Handbook and posted on-line. In this course, although it is certainly acceptable for students to study together, written assignments should be completed independently. In preparing their essays, students should be especially careful to understand what constitutes plagiarism and to avoid it. SAIS makes available to both faculty and students a software program known as Turnitin, which uses a very large database to identify possible plagiarism. Students are encouraged to use the software as a self-checking mechanism to avoid inadvertent, but inappropriate inclusion of source material. Violation of the Honor Code in an assignment or activity will almost invariably result in failing that assignment and possibly more severe sanctions, including but not limited to course failure, depending on the specific circumstances.

COURSE OUTLINE:

Session 1:   Defining the problem: the nation and politics

    Required Readings:
- George Orwell, "Notes on Nationalism," in *Essays*, New York, Knopf, 2002: 865-84;
- Stefano Recchia & Nadia Urbinati (eds.), *A Cosmopolitanism of Nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's Writings on Democracy, Nation Building, And International Relations*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton UP, 2009, chapter 3;
- Ernest Renan, "What is a nation?" in Stuart Woolf (ed.), *Nationalism in Europe: A Reader*, London, Routledge, 1995: 48-60.

    Suggested Readings:
- Johann Gottlieb Fichte, "Addresses To the German nation," in Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay (eds.), *The Nationalism Reader*, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, Humanities Press, 1995: 62-70.

Session 2:   What kind of a thing is the nation anyway?

    Required Readings:
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London, Verso, 2006, introduction and chapters 4, 6–8, 11.

    Suggested Readings:
- Anthony Smith, *The Antiquity of Nations*, Cambridge, Polity, 2004: 102-123;
- Jonathan Hearn, *Rethinking Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006: 1-19;
- Philip Spencer & Howard Wollman, "Contemporary Approaches to Nationalism," in *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, London, Sage, 2002.

Session 3:   How do nations come to matter in politics?

> **Required Readings:**
> - Sinisa Malesevic, *Identity as Ideology*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007, chapters 1, 3;
> - Philip Spencer & Howard Wollman, "Good and Bad Nationalisms: A Critique of Dualism," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 3 (1998): 255-74;
> - Michael Freeden, "Is nationalism a distinct ideology?" *Political Studies* 46 (1998): 748-65.
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> **Suggested Readings:**
> - J.M. Whitmeyer, "Elites and popular nationalism," *British Journal of Sociology* 53 (2002): 321-41;
> - David Miller, *On Nationality*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1995, chapter 2;
> - Walker Connor (ed.), *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton UP, 1994, chapters 4, 6, and 8.

Session 4:   Methods of mobilization

> **Required Readings:**
> - Maurizio Isabella, "Emotions, Rationality and Political Intentionality in Patriotic Discourse," *Nations and Nationalism* 15 (2009): 427-33;
> - George Mosse, "Mass Politics and the Political Liturgy of Nationalism" in E. Kamenka (ed.), *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, London, Edward Arnold, 1976;
> - A. D. Smith, "The Myth of the "Modern Nation" and the Myth of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11(1988): 1-26;
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> **Suggested Readings:**
> - Alberto Mario Banti, "Conclusions: Performative Effects and 'Deep Images' in Nationalist Discourse" in Laurence Cole (ed.), *Different Paths to the Nation: Regional and National Identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-1870*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007: 220-9;
> - Ramón Maíz, "Framing the Nation: Three Contemporary Versions of Nationalist Ideology," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 8 (2003): 251-67;
> - Mabel Berezin, "Emotions and political identity: mobilizing affection for the polity," in James M Jasper et al. (eds.), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001: 83-98.

Session 5:   When are nations born?

> **Required Readings:**
> - Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1983, chapters 1, 4, 5, 7;
> - Walker Connor, "When is a Nation?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13 (1990): 92-103.
>
> **Suggested Readings:**
> - B. P. O'Leary, "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's

Writings on Nationalism," *British Journal of Political Science* 27 (1997): 191-222;
- I. B. Colley, "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain, 1750-1830," *Past and Present* 113 (1986): 97-117;
- Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1985, chapters 6-7.

Session 6:   Nationalism for economic development?

Required Readings:
- Hy V. Luong "The Restructuring of Vietnamese Nationalism, 1954-2006," *Pacific Affairs* 80 (2007): 439-53;
- Crawford Young, "The End of the Post-Colonial State in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics," *African Affairs* 103 (2004): 23-49.
- Stephen Shulman, "Nationalist Sources of International Economic Integration," *International Studies Quarterly*, 44 (2000): 365-390.

Suggested Readings:
- Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, Delhi-New York, Oxford UP, 1989, chapters 3, 10;
- Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1975 (browse);
- Edward Page, "Michael Hechter's internal colonialism thesis: some theoretical and methodological problems," *European Journal of Political Research*, 6 (1978): 295-317.

Session 7:   One nation, one people, one state?

Required Readings:
- Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1986, chapters 1, 6, 7.

Suggested Readings:
- Kanchan Chandra, "What is Ethnicity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006): 397-424;
- James Habyarimana et al., "Why Does Ethnicity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 94 (2007): 709-25;
- S. Malesevic, "'Divine Ethnies' and 'Sacred Nations:' Anthony Smith and the Neo-Durkhemian Theory of Nationalism," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10 (2004): 561-93.

Session 8:   One man's nation is another man's empire: the challenge of sub-nationalism

Required Readings:
- Dawn Brancati, "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire of Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60 (2006): 651-87;
- Peter Graefe, "The Contradictory Political Economy of Minority Nationalism," *Theory and Society* 34 (2005): 519-49;
- Yossi Shain & Martin Sherman, "Dynamics of Disintegration: Diaspora, Secession and the Paradox of Nation-States," *Nations and Nationalism* 4

(1998): 321-46.

Suggested Readings:
- Stephen Saideman, B. Dougherty, & E. Jenne, "Dilemmas of Divorce: How Secessionist Identities Cut Both Ways," *Security Studies* 14 (2005): 607-36;
- Kathleen Cunningham, "Divide and Conquer or Divide and Concede: How Do States Respond to Internally Divided Separatists?" *American Political Science Review* 105 (2011): 275-97;
- Henry Hale, "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethno-federal State Survival and Collapse," *World Politics* 56 (2004): 165-93.

Session 9:   Can constitutions build nations?

Required Readings:
- Arash Abizadeh, "Does Liberal Democracy Presuppose a Cultural Nation? Four Arguments," *American Political Science Review* 96 (2002): 495-509;
- Margaret Canovan, "Patriotism is Not Enough," *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (2000): 413-32;
- Stephen Shulman, "Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism," *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2002): 554-85;
- Bernard Yack, "The Myth of the Civic Nation," *Critical Review* 10 (1996): 193-211.

Suggested Readings:
- Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 2003, chapter 3;
- D. Schnapper, "Transcendence by Citizenship," in A. S. Leoussi & S. Grosby (eds.), *Nationality and Nationalism*, Vol. I, London, I. B. Tauris, 2004: chapter 24;
- Jan-Werner Müller, *Constitutional Patriotism*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton UP, 2007, chapter 1.

Session 10:   When does nationalism foster violence?

Required Readings:
- Rogers Brubaker & David Laitin, "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 423-52;
- Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," *International Security* (1994): 5-39;
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*, New York, Norton, 2000, chapters 1, 2.

Suggested Readings:
- Monica Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," *Security Studies* 12 (2002): 82-119;
- Nicholas Sambanis, "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (2001): 259-82;
- Adria Lawrence, "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," *International Security* 35 (2010): 88-122;

- John Mueller, "The Banality of Ethnic War," *International Security* 25 (2000): 42-70;
- James Fearon & David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 75-90;

Session 11:   Religion and nationalism: allies or competitors?

Required Readings:
- Ashild Kolas, "Tibetan Nationalism: The Politics of Religion," *Journal of Peace Research* 33 (1996): 51-66;
- G. Hossein Razi, "Legitimacy, Religion, and Nationalism in the Middle East," *American Political Science Review* 84 (1990): 69-91;
- Yehouda Shenhav, "Modernity and the Hybridization of Nationalism and Religion: Zionism and the Jews of the Middle East as a Heuristic Case," *Theory and Society* 36 (2007): 1-30.

Suggested Readings:
- Fredrik Barth, "Are Islamists Nationalists or Internationalists?" in Kjell Goldmann, U. Hannerz, & C. Westin (eds.), *Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era*, London, Rutledge, 2000;
- Jonathan Fox, "The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars," *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (2004): 715-731.

Session 12:   Which nationalism in the era of the global marketplace?

Required Readings:
- Gal Ariely, "Globalization and the Decline of National Identity?" *Nations and Nationalism* 18 (2012): 461-82;
- Miguel Centeno & Joseph Cohen, "The Arc of Neoliberalism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 38 (2012): 317-40;
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford, OUP, 2005, chapter 3.

Suggested Readings:
- Daniel J. Hopkins, "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition," *American Political Science Review* 104 (2010): 40-60;
- Andre Gingrich & Marcus Banks (eds.), *Neo-nationalism in Europe and Beyond: Perspectives from Social Anthropology*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2006 (browse);
- D. Halikiopoulou & S. Vasilopoulou (eds.), *Nationalism and Globalisation: Conflicting or Complementary?* New York, Routledge, 2011, chapter by John Hall and browse.

Session 13:   Should we all be cosmopolitans instead?

Required Readings:
- Martha Nussbaum (ed.), *For Love of Country?*, Boston, Beacon, 2002, essays by Nussbaum, Appiah, Falk, and Sen.

Suggested Readings:
- Raymond Aron, "Is Multinational Citizenship Possible?" *Social Research* 41 (1974): 638-56;
- W. Connolly, "Pluralism, Multiculturalism and the Nation-State: Rethinking the

Connections," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 1 (1996): 53-73;
- R. E. Goodin, "Conventions and Conversions, or, Why is Nationalism Sometimes so Nasty?" in R. McKim & J. McMahan (eds.), *The Morality of Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 1997: chapter 7;
- Liah Greenfeld, "Transcending the Nation's Worth," *Daedalus* 122 (1993): 47-62;
- Riva Kastoryano, "Transnational Nationalism: Redefining Nation and Territory," in Seyla Benhabib, Ian Shapiro & Danilo Petranovich (eds.), *Identities, Affiliations, Allegiances*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2007: 159-178.

Additional Reading List:

- A. Abdel-Malek, *Nation and Revolution*, London, Macmillan, 1981;
- Ronald Beiner, *Theorizing Nationalism*, Albany, NY, SUNY Press, 1999;
- Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2001;
- G. Eley & R. G. Suny (eds.), *Becoming National: A Reader*, Oxford UP, 1996;
- Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1991;
- Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism in the Vacuum," in Motyl (ed.), *Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities*, New York, Columbia UP, 1992, chapter 10;
- Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Mapping the Nation*, Verso, London 1996;
- M. Guibernau, *The Identity of Nations*, Cambridge, Polity, 2007;
- M. Guibernau & J. Hutchinson (eds.), *Understanding Nationalism*, Cambridge, Polity, 2001;
- Hurst Hannum, *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination*, Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990;
- J. Couture, K. Nielsen, & S. Seymour (eds.), *Rethinking Nationalism*, Calgary, University of Calgary Press, 1998;
- J.A. Hall (ed.), *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1998;
- Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, London: Blackwell, 1993;
- Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads To Modernity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992;
- Llobera, *God of Modernity*, Oxford, Berg, 1994;
- M. Guibernau & J. Rex (eds.), *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, Cambridge, Polity, 1997;
- David McCrone, *Sociology of Nationalism*, London, Routledge, 1998;
- Michael Brown, "The causes of internal conflict: An Overview," in Michael Brown et al., *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2001: 3-25;
- Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 2000;
- Tom Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism*, New York, Verso, 1997;
- Gregory Jusdanis, *The Necessary Nation*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton UP, 2001;
- Peter Gourevitch, *Politics in Hard Times*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell UP, 1985.
- Umut Özkirimli, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism*, New York, Palgrave, 2005;
- Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*, London, Zed, 1993;
- Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1996;

- S. Malesevic, and M. Haugaard (eds.), *Ernest Gellner and Contemporary Social Theory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Marc Howard Ross, *Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2007;
- Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton UP, 1995.