Course Description
Nationalism and ethnic conflict are among the defining phenomena of the modern epoch, yet our understanding of these phenomena remains contested, if not elusive. Where is the nation’s homeland? Who is part of “us”? What collective mission does are we to accomplish? How are these questions answered? Do the answers change? These and other questions of nationalism and national identity are at the heart of inter- and intra-national conflict around the world. This course will unpack the main theoretical approaches to understanding them and the conflict they generate (and show why these differences matter). It will then investigate the interactions between state-building and nation-building, the relationship between nationalism, citizenship and minority rights, the nexus between nationalism, ethnicity and conflict, the colonial legacies of nationalism, religious nationalism, and the impact of globalization on nationalism.

Course Requirements
Students are expected to attend each class ready to contribute to the discussion and to have done the readings assigned for each session prior to class. You should come prepared with two or three questions raised by the readings. This course is a discussion seminar and your active participation will determine how much you will get out of it. In this vein, each student will provide a critique of the readings that will serve as the starting point for our discussion in at least two separate weeks.

These critiques should not be summaries of the readings. At the very least the critiques should argue the relative merits of the claims in the readings based on an evaluation of their assumptions, conceptual argument, research design, evidence, and implications. Your critiques should also try to situate each reading in the literature as a whole.

The critiques must be e-mailed by 8pm on the Sunday before the class in question to the rest of the class at: polisci854-1-f11@lists.wisc.edu

There will be no examinations in this course. The major assignment is an original research paper on an aspect of nationalism or ethnic politics that interests you. The paper should be between 8000 and 10,000 words and is due May 12th. Students are strongly encouraged to discuss the paper with me (and with your colleagues) throughout the semester.

Grading Criteria
Final course grades will be assigned according to the following weights:
- Class participation: 20%
- Critical Reviews: 20%
- Research paper: 60%
Course Readings
Readings are available online through “Learn@UW”. The following books have been ordered at the University Bookstore.

Questions to consider in formulating and evaluating social science research (thanks to Hein Goemans)

1. What is the central question?
   • Why is it important (theoretically, substantively)?
   • What is being explained (what is the dependent variable and how does it vary)?
   • How does this phenomenon present a puzzle?
2. What is the central answer?
   • What is doing the explaining (what are the independent variables and how do they vary)?
   • What are the hypotheses (what is the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, what kind of changes in the independent variable causes what kind of change in the dependent variable)?
   • What are the causal mechanisms (why are the independent and dependent variables related as in the hypothesis)?
   • How do the independent variables relate to each other?
   • What assumptions does the theory make?
   • Is the theory falsifiable?
   • What does this answer add to our understanding of the question?
3. What are the possible alternative explanations?
   • What assumptions does the central answer make about the direction of causality?
   • What other answers might there be to the central question, and to what degree do they conflict with the central answer?
   • Could the hypothesized relationships have occurred by chance?
4. Why are the possible alternative explanations wrong?
   • What is the logical structure of the alternative explanations, and why do they fail?
   • What is the empirical reasons for the failure of the alternative explanations?
5. What is the relationship between the theory and the evidence
   • What does the research design allow to vary (i.e., are the explanations variables or constants)?
   • What does the research design hold constant (i.e., does it help rule out alternative explanations)?
   • How are the theoretical constructs operationalized?
6. How do the empirical conclusions relate to the theory?
   • How confident are you about the theory in light of the evidence?
   • How widely do the conclusions generalize? What are the limitations of the study?
   • What does the provisionally accepted or revised theory say about questions of broader importance?
Course Schedule

**January 27: Introduction**

**February 3: When is a nation? The Primordial and perennial answer**

**February 10: When is a nation II? The Modernist/Constructivist Answer**

**February 17: Where do nations come from? The instrumentalist answer**

February 24: Coping with Janus: how to account for the stability and fluidity in nations and nationalism?

March 3: Nationalism and the state
Craig Calhoun. “State, Nation and Legitimacy” Ch. 4 of Nationalism

March 10: Nationalism, citizenship, and Membership

March 17: No class: Spring Break

March 24: Nationalism, Religion, and Religious Nationalism


March 31: Nationalism and Colonialism


April 7: Nationalism, ethnicity, and conflict I


April 14: No class

April 21: Nationalism, ethnicity, and conflict II

April 28: Resolving ethnic and national conflict

Lustick, Midonowik, and Eidelson, “Secessionism in Multicultural States- Does Sharing Power Prevent or Encourage It”


**May 5: The future of nationalism and ethnicity**


**May 12: Papers Due!**
Select Additional Readings by topic:

Introduction
Calhoun, Craig Nationalism (1997).
Cooper, Robert Language Planning and Social Change (1989).
Fishman, Joshua The Sociology of Language (1972).
Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (1963).
Hall, John, a. “Nationalisms: Classified and Explained”
Huntington, Samuel Who Are We: The Challenges to America’s National Identity (New York; Simon and Schuster, 2004), chapter 2 (pp. 21-33).
Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds., Ethnicity (1996).
Hutchinson, John and Anthony Smith, eds., Nationalism (1994).
Lapointe, J. A. Languages and Their Territories (1987).
Mose, George L. *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (1975).


Porter, Brian *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth Century Poland* (2000).

Renan, Ernst “What is a nation.”


**February 3: When is a nation? The Primordial and perennial answer**


Miles, Robert (1993) Racism after 'race relations' (Routledge: London), Ch. 2: Nationalism and racism: antithesis and articulation, pp.53-80


Smith, A. D. The Ethnic Revival


February 10: When is a nation II? The Modernist/Constructivist Answer


Deutsch, Karl. 1953. *Nationalism and social communication*,


Gellner, E. "Scale and Nation" in Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 3,1973, pp. 1-17

Gellner, E., Thought and Change Chapter on Nationalism


Hall, John A. and Ian Jarvie (eds.), *The Social Philosophy of Ernest Gellner.*


Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition.*


Said, E. *Orientalism*


**February 17: Where do nations come from? The instrumentalist answer**


Deutsch, Karl *Peoples, Nations, and Communication* (1953).

Enloe, Cynthia *Ethnic Conflict and Political Development* (1972).


Hardin, R. *One for All*

Hearn, national identity- banal, personal and embedded

Hechter, Michael *Containing Nationalism*


Laitin, David *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa.*


McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (2002), Chapter 8.


Waters, Mary C. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identifies in America.*


**February 24: Coping with Janus: how to account for the stability and fluidity in nations and nationalism?**


Kuran, Timur, “The Unthinkable and the Unthought,”


Mitchell and Todd, Between the devil and the deep blue sea- nationality, power and symbolic trade-offs among evangelical Protestants in contemporary Northern Ireland.

Motyl, the social construction of social construction- implications for theories of nationalism and identity formation


**March 3: Nationalism and the state**


Breuilly, John *Nationalism and the State* (1982).

Calhoun, Craig *Nationalism* (1997).


Keating, Michael. “Stateless nation-building: Quebec, Catalonia and


Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States*.

**March 10: Nationalism, citizenship, and Membership**


Barrington, Lowell. *After Independence*


Bengio, Ofra and Gabriel Ben-Dor, eds., *Minorities and the State in the Arab World* (2000).


Glazer, Nathan *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (1997).


Greenfeld, Liah *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*.


Horowitz, Donald *Ethnic Groups in Conflict.*
Kook, R. *The Logic of Democratic Exclusion.*
Kymlicka, Will *Liberalism, Community and Culture.*
Miller, David, *On Nationality.*

Slezkine, Yuri *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (1994).

Snyder, Jack *From Voting to Violence*.


Tamir, Yael. *Liberal Nationalism*.


**March 24: Nationalism, Religion, and Religious Nationalism**

Akenson, Donald Harman *God’s Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster*.


Dohen, Dorthy *Nationalism and American Catholicism* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967)


Hastings, Adrian *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*.

Huntington, Samuel *Who Are We: The Challenges to America’s National Identity* (New York; Simon and Schuster, 2004).

Juergensmeyer, Mark *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*.

Little, David “Belief, Ethnicity and Nationalism,” United State Institute of Peace Publication.
Mihelj, 'Faith in nation comes in different guises'- modernist versions of religious nationalism


**March 31: Nationalism and Colonialism**

Chatterjee, Partha *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*.


Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*.


Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt*.


Snyder, Jack *From Voting to Violence*, chapter 6

**April 7: Nationalism, ethnicity, and conflict**


Chirot, Daniel and Martin Seligman, eds., Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences and Possible Solutions (2001).
Eck, “From Armed Conflict to War- Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict Intensification”: This article presents a new line of inquiry into ethnicity and armed conflict, asking the question: are conflicts in which rebels mobilize along ethnic lines more likely to see intensified violence than nonethnically mobilized conflicts? The article argues that the ascriptive nature of ethnicity eases the identification of potential rebels and facilitates a rebel group’s growth, leading to an increased risk for war. This proposition is empirically tested using a Cox model on all intrastate armed conflicts 1946–2004; the results show that ethnically mobilized armed conflicts have a 92 percent higher risk for intensification to war. In extending the analysis, the study finds that the vast majority of conflicts intensified in the first year, but for every year a low-scale conflict remained active thereafter, the risk of intensification increased, peaking around year 12..
Horowitz, Donald L. The Deadly Ethnic Riot (2001).
Hutchinson, “warfare and the sacralization of nations”
Ishiyama, Do Ethnic Parties Promote Minority Ethnic Conflict
Kaufman, Stuart Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War (2001), 15-
Mann, Michael. “A political theory of nationalism and its excesses”
Snyder, Jack From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict (2000).
Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Read and Allum, “Does Ethnic Diversity Erode Trust- Putnam’s 'hunkering down' thesis reconsidered”


**April 28: Resolving ethnic and national conflict**

Alexander, Y. Self Determination, national, regional and global dimensions

Bakke, Cao, O’Loughlin, and Ward, Social distance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the North Caucasus region of Russia-

Beck, The Basque power-sharing experience: from a destructive to a constructive conflict?

Boismenu, Gerard “Perspectives on Quebec-Canada Relations in the 1990s: Is the Reconciliation


Cobban, A. *National state and national self determination*


Johnson, H. S. Self determination within the community of nations

Kaufman, Escaping the Symbolic Politics Trap- Reconciliation Initiatives and Conflict Resolution in ethnic wars


Lijphart, A. “Constitutional Design for Divided Societies”


Mitchell, Evans and O’Leary, Extremist Outbidding in Ethnic Party Systems is Not Inevitable-Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland


Nordlinger, Conflict regulation in divided societies.

Pomerance, M. Self Determination in law and practice
Ruane and Butler, Southern Irish Protestants- an example of de-ethnicisation.pdf
Snyder, Jack. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*
Yagcioglu, Dimostenis “Nation-States vis-à-vis Ethnocultural Minorities: Oppression and Assimilation versus Integration and Accommodation.”

**May 5: The future of nationalism and ethnicity**
Habermas. “Postnational constellation” (pp.59-112)
Held, David “the decline of the nation-state” in Hall and Jacques, eds. *New Times: the changing face of politics.*
Horsman. Mathew and Andrew Marshall, *After the nation-state: citizens, tribalism, and the new world disorder*
Hutchinson, “Nationalism, Globalism and the conflict of civilizations”*
Joppke, Christian. “Immigration challenges the nation-state”
Kymlicka, Will. *Multicultural Citizenship*.
Mann, Michael. “Nation states in Europe and other continents: diversifying, developing, not dying”.
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick *Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics* (1993).
Ohmae, Kenichi *The end of the nation-state: the rise of regional economies*
Soysal, Yasemin. *Limits of Citizenship* (Chs 1 and 8)
van Creveld, Martin *The Rise and Decline of the State* (1999).