

PSc 5600: COMPARATIVE NATIONALISM

Prof. Paul Goode
University of Oklahoma
Spring 2009

Thursday 3:00-5:50 pm
Dale Hall Tower 907

Office: DAHT 214
Office hours: Tues 3-5:00, and by appt.
Email: paulgoode@ou.edu
Tel: (405) 325-2023

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Nationalism as a political phenomenon is particularly good at both raising questions and evading answers. Is it, in the words of George Orwell, merely “power hunger tempered by self-deception”, or does it contribute to the development of a democratic and tolerant citizenry? Did nationalism and the modern state arise simultaneously, or did one produce the other? Does nationalism spring from primordial bonds of kinship and ethnic loyalty, or is it carefully crafted from above and manipulated by elites? When do nationalists seek autonomy or secession, and how might they be induced to share power after achieving independence? What motivates nationalist violence and how might it be contained? And ultimately, what does the study of nationalism reveal about political science’s ability to understand and explain identity politics? This course examines theories of nationalism and approaches to understanding its political salience, though we will only scratch the surface of this vast and fascinating literature.

REQUIRED TEXTS

The following books are on order at the university bookstores. Additional readings will be made as a course packet at **King Kopy**, located at 119 West Boyd.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006 (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised Edition. New York: Verso. ISBN-13: 9781844670864

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0521001489

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-0521576499

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0801492631

Hechter, Michael. 2001. *Containing Nationalism*. New Edition. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0199247516

Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith eds. 1994. *Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN-13: 978-0192892607

Kaufman, Stuart J. 2001. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Reilly, Ben. 2001. *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management*. New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN: 978-0521797306

ASSIGNMENTS AND EVALUATION

Attendance and discussion (10%)

Students are expected to attend the seminar regularly and to come prepared to discuss each week's assigned readings.

Weekly reaction papers (15%)

Prior to each seminar meeting, students are required to submit a short (no more than 1-2 pages, single spaced) reaction paper on the week's readings. The reaction papers are just that – not summaries, but your thoughts about the reading such as its quality, curiosities, insights, or shortcomings. The reaction papers must be submitted to the course dropbox on desire2learn at least one day prior to the seminar meeting.

Take home exam (25%)

Following week 7, there will be a take home exam that will cover the major theories and approaches in the study of nationalism. The exam will require students to respond to a question similar to those you are likely to encounter on a comprehensive field exam.

Research paper (50%)

All students are required to write a substantial research paper (25-30 pages). The topics are wide open and can focus on theoretical, thematic, or country-specific issues. Each student needs to meet with the professor to approve the topic and research agenda. Week 15 is reserved for students to present and discuss drafts of their research papers in the seminar.

ACCOMMODATION

Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent him or her from fully demonstrating his or her abilities should contact me personally at the beginning of the semester so we can discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate your educational opportunities. The university requires students with disabilities to register with the Office of Disability Services (located in Goddard Health Center, Suite 166, phone 325-3852 or TDD only 325-4173) *prior* to receiving accommodations in this course.

It is the policy of the University to excuse absences of students that result from religious observances and to provide without penalty for the rescheduling of examinations and additional required classwork that may fall on religious holidays. Students who plan to observe a holiday should notify me immediately in order to make appropriate arrangements.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

While academic honesty is presumed and required on the part of students in this course, you are encouraged to read and familiarize yourself with the university's Academic Misconduct Code (<http://www.ou.edu/provost/integrity/>). This is particularly important for the research paper if you are uncertain about the proper use of quotations or footnotes. If you use other people's work without crediting them, then you are presenting them as your own. This is known as plagiarism and the penalties are severe. *I have zero tolerance for academic dishonesty.*

IMPORTANT DATES

March 5: Take home exam issued

March 12: Take home exam due

March 14-22: Spring Break

April 30: In-class presentations of draft research papers

May 7: Final draft of research papers due

SCHEDULE

NOTE: Readings marked by * are in the course packet.

Week 1 (Jan 22)

INTRODUCTION & ORGANIZATION OF THE COURSE

Week 2 (Jan 29)

DEFINITIONS & APPROACHES

Gellner, Ch. 1 (pp.1-7)

* Connor, "A Nation Is a Nation, Is a State, Is an Ethnic Group, Is a..."

* Barrington, Lowell W. 1997. "'Nation' and 'Nationalism': The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 30(4):712-717.

* Breuilly, John. 1994. *Nationalism and the state*. 2nd Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Appendix, pp.404-424)

* Young, Crawford. 1993. "The Dialectics of Cultural Pluralism: Concept and Reality." In *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?*, ed. Crawford Young. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. (pp.3-35)

* Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith eds. 1994. *Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. (readings by Renan, Geertz, Gellner, Nairn, Hobsbawm, Brass)

* King, Charles. 1999. "Nations and Nationalism in British Political Studies." In *The British Study of Politics in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Jack Hayward, Brian Barry and Archie Brown. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CIVIC VS ETHNIC NATIONALISM?

* Hutchinson & Smith, *Nationalism* (readings by Hutchinson, Seton-Watson, Kohn, Greenfeld)

* Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging* ("Introduction"), pp.3-14.

* Brubaker, Rogers. 2004. "'Civic' and 'Ethnic' Nationalism." In *Ethnicity Without Groups*, pp.132-146.

RECOMMENDED

Barrington, Lowell W. 2006. "Nationalism & Independence." In *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial & Postcommunist States*, ed. Lowell W. Barrington. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

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

Greenfeld, Liah. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Miller, David. 1997. *On Nationality*. Reprint Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kuzio, Taras. 2002. "The myth of the civic state: a critical survey of Hans Kohn's framework for understanding nationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25(1):20-39.

Kymlicka, Will. 2001. *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*. New York: Oxford University Press. ("Misunderstanding Nationalism", pp.242-253)

Smith, Rogers M. 2003. *Stories of Peoplehood: The Politics and Morals of Political Membership*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (pp.74-92)

Yack, Bernard. 1996. "The Myth of the Civic Nation." *Critical Review* 10(2):193-211.

Week 3 (Feb 5)

MODERNIST APPROACHES

Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, entire.

RECOMMENDED

Breuilly, John. 1994. *Nationalism and the state*. 2nd Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Deutsch, Karl W. 1966. *Nationalism and Social Communication*: MIT Press.

Hall, John A. ed. 1998. *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Anthony D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*. New York: Routledge.

Week 4 (Feb 12)

PRIMORDIALISM , PERENNIALISM, AND ETHNO-SYMBOLISM

- * Hutchinson & Smith, *Nationalism*, (readings by Armstrong, Smith)
- * Connor, Walker. 1993. "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16(3):373-389. [reprinted in *Ethnonationalism*, pp.196-209]
- * Eller, Jack David and Reed M. Coughlan. "The Poverty of Primordialism: The Demystification of Ethnic Attachments"; Steven Grosby, "The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordialism". In *Ethnicity*, pp.45-56.
- * Smith, Anthony D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Routledge. (ch.s 7-8)
- * Gil-White, Francisco J. 1999. "How thick is blood? The plot thickens . . . : if ethnic actors are primordialists, what remains of the circumstantialist / primordialist controversy?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(5):789 - 820.

RECOMMENDED

Armstrong, John A. 1982. *Nations Before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Armstrong, John A. 2004. "Definitions, periodization, and prospects for the longue duree." *Nations and Nationalism* 10(1-2):9-18.

Grosby, Steven Elliott and Athena S. Leoussi eds. 2007. *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Isaacs, Harold R. 1975. *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change*. New York: Harper & Row.

Shils, Edward. 1957. "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory." *The British Journal of Sociology* 8(2):130-145.

Smith, Anthony D. 1988. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Reprint Edition. New York: Blackwell.

Warwick Debates on Nationalism (Smith v. Gellner):

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/gellner/Warwick0.html>

Week 5 (Feb 19)

CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACHES

Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, entire.

RECOMMENDED

Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications.

Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "Identity"." *Theory and Society* 29(1):1-47.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Haas, Ernst. 1993. "Nationalism: An Instrumental Social Construction." *Millenium*:505-545.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger eds. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. Reprint Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Motyl, Alexander J. 2002. "Imagined Communities, Rational Choosers, Invented Ethnies." *Comparative Politics* 34(2):233-250.

Week 6 (Feb 26)

INSTRUMENTAL NATIONALISM

Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, entire.

RECOMMENDED

Barth, Frederik. 1998 (1969). "Introduction." In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, ed. Frederik Barth. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Bates, Robert H. 1974. "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 6(4):457-484.

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90(4):715-745.

Giuliano, Elise. 2000. "Who Determines the Self in the Politics of Self-Determination? Identity and Preference Formation in Tartarstan's Nationalist Mobilization." *Comparative Politics* 32(3):295-316.

Hardin, Russell. 1995. *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hechter, Michael. 1996. "Ethnicity and Rational Choice Theory." In *Ethnicity*, eds. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. New York: Oxford University Press. (pp.90-98)

Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Laitin, David. 2007. *Nations, States, and Violence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Olzak, Susan and Joane Nagel eds. 1986. *Competitive Ethnic Relations*. Orlando: Academic Press. (pp.1-46)

Rabushka, Alvin and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1972. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Political Instability*. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co. (pp.62-92)

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2004. "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(01):85-99.

**Week 7 (Mar 5) ** NOTE: TAKE HOME EXAM ISSUED
INSTITUTIONALIST APPROACHES**

Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, entire.

RECOMMENDED

Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse." *World Politics* 56(2):165-193.

Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kuzio, Taras. 2001. "'Nationalising states' or nation-building? a critical review of the theoretical literature and empirical evidence." *Nations and Nationalism* 7(2):135-154.

Lankina, Tomila. 2004. *Governing the Locals: Local Self-Government and Ethnic Mobilization in Russia*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Leff, Carol Skalnik. 1999. "Democratization and Disintegration in Multinational States: The Breakup of the Communist Federations." *World Politics* 51(2):205-235.

Marx, Anthony W. 1998. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roeder, Philip G. 1991. "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization." *World Politics* 43(2):196-232.

Slezkine, Yuri. 1994. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." *Slavic Review* 53(2):414-452.

Week 8 (Mar 12)

NO CLASS: TAKE HOME EXAM DUE

Week 9 (Mar 19)

NO CLASS – SPRING BREAK

Week 10 (Mar 26)

SEPARATISM, SECESSION, AND NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*, esp. Ch.s 1-2, 4-6.

RECOMMENDED

Buchanan, Allen. 1991. *Secession: The Morality of Political Divorce from Fort Sumter to Lithuania and Quebec*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Buchanan, Allen. 1997. "Theories of Secession." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 26(1):31-60.

Giuliano, Elise. 2006. "Secessionism from the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition." *World Politics* 58(2):276-310.

Hannum, Hurst. 1990. *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Horowitz, Donald. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. 2nd revised Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press. (pp.229-288)

Horowitz, Donald. 2003. "The Cracked Foundations of the Right to Secede." *Journal of Democracy* 14(2):5-17.

Lustick, Ian S., Dan Miodownik and Roy J. Eidelson. 2004. "Secessionism in Multicultural States: Does Sharing Power Prevent or Encourage It?" *American Political Science Review* 98(2):209-229.

Moore, Margaret. 1997. "On National Self-Determination." *Political Studies* 45(5):900-915.

Moore, Margaret ed. 1998. *National Self-Determination and Secession*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 11 (Apr 2)

ETHNIC AND NATIONALIST VIOLENCE

Kaufman, Stuart J. 2001. *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

RECOMMENDED

Brass, Paul. 1997. *Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers and David D. Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:423-452.

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90.

Horowitz, Donald L. 2001. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(03):475-494.

King, Charles. 2004. "The Micropolitics of Social Violence." *World Politics* 56(3):431-455.

Lake, David A. and Donald Rothchild eds. 1998. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Petersen, Roger D. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Snyder, Jack L. 2000. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. 1st Edition. New York: W. W. Norton.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2004. "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(01):85-99.

Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 12 (Apr 9)

NATIONALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND POWER-SHARING

* Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (pp.25-103)

* Horowitz, Donald. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. 2nd revised Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Ch.s 7-10)

RECOMMENDED

Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(02):235-252.

Lustick, Ian S. 1979. "Stability in Deeply Divided Societies: Consociationalism versus Control." *World Politics* 31(3):325-344.

Horowitz, Donald. 1991. *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kymlicka, Will. 1996. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Reprint Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Miller, David. 1997. *On Nationality*. Reprint Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rabushka, Alvin and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1972. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Political Instability*. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co. (pp.62-92)

Stepan, Alfred. 1998. "Modern Multinational Democracies: Transcending a Gellnerian Oxymoron." In *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*, ed. John A. Hall. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tamir, Yael. 1995. *Liberal Nationalism*. New Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week 13 (Apr 16)

NATIONALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND POWER-SHARING (Continued)

Reilly, *Democracy in Divided Societies*, entire.

* Rothchild, Donald and Philip G. Roeder. 2005. "Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, eds. Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

* O'Leary, Brendan. 2003. "What States Can Do with Nations: An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federation?" In *The Nation-State in Question*, eds. T.V. Paul, G. John Ikenberry and John A. Hall. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week 14 (Apr 23)

NEW DIRECTIONS IN RESEARCHING IDENTITY POLITICS

* Fearon, James D. 1999. "What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?" Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University.

* Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "Identity"." *Theory and Society* 29(1):1-47.

* Monroe, Kristen Renwick, James Hankin and Renee Bukovchik Van Vechten. 2000. "The Psychological Foundations of Identity Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3(1):419-447.

* Chandra, Kanchan. 2001. "Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics." *APSA-CP* 12(1):7-25.

* Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Explaining Ethnicity." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(4):458-485.

* Smith, Rogers M. 2004. "Identities, Interests, and the Future of Political Science." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(02):301-312.

* Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston and Rose McDermott. 2006. "Identity as a Variable." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(04):695-711.

Week 15 (Apr 30)

DRAFT PAPER PRESENTATIONS

Week 16 (May 7)

RESEARCH PAPERS DUE