

# Nationalism

Political Science 2338.10, Spring 2019  
Tuesday & Thursday 2.20-3.35pm  
(BELL 309)

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Office hours: Tuesday 3:40 to 5:40pm or by appointment

## Course Goals and Description

This is a class on the causes and the political effects of nationalism. The first half of the course is designed to provide you with an understanding of the most prominent explanations of the emergence of nationalism across the world, and the background knowledge and tools with which to evaluate them. We will discuss the importance of conceptualization in understanding social phenomena and confront terms such as: state, nation, nationalism, patriotism, minorities, identity, ethnicity, religion, class, and race. In the second half of the course, we will focus on the effects of nationalism on political identities, patterns of political violence as well as voting, and state policies toward minorities, diasporas, and immigrants. We are going to cover cases from around the world. Students will learn how to formulate research questions, develop arguments, and evaluate hypotheses.

## Course Outline

January 15. Introduction

### I. Definitions and Historical Context

January 17. Definitions: Ethnicity, Race, Nation, and Nationalism

January 22. Varieties of Nationalism

January 24. Nationalism and Communism

*[Assignment #1 due: National Anthems Project]*

### II. Causes

January 29. Primordialism/Ethnic Hatreds

January 31. Movie & Discussion

February 5. Print Capitalism and Creole Pioneers

February 7. Industrialization, Urbanization, and Social Mobilization

February 12. International Involvement and the Politicization of Differences

February 14. Socialization: Family, Schooling, Army

February 19. Empirics

*[Assignment#2 due: Personal stories]*

February 21. Cascades and Identity Change

February 26. Review Session

February 28. Midterm Exam

March 5. Elites and the Politics of People-Building

### III. Effects

March 7. The Homogenizing Imperative and the Politics of Nation-Building

March 19. Methodological Issues in the Study of Nation-Building

March 21. Nationalism and Political Violence I

March 26. Nationalism and Political Violence II

March 28. Guest Lecture

April 2. Nationalism and Political Mobilization/Voting

April 4. Nationalism and Self Determination Movements  
April 9. Methodological Issues in the Study of Stateless Nationalist Movements  
April 11. Homelands and Diasporas  
April 16. State- and Nation-Building in the 21st Century  
April 18. The US Constitutive Story and Immigrant Incorporation  
April 23. Multiculturalism, Immigration, and the future of Nationalism  
April 25. Review Session  
*Final exam May 10*

### **Films**

During the semester, I will be suggesting/screening films related to the material covered in class. Attendance is not mandatory. However, watching the movies is highly recommended and will help you comprehend the class material.

### **Texts**

There are 2 required books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore or online.

Required:

Laitin, David D. 2007. *Nations, States, and Violence*. Oxford.

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

There are several recommended books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore or online.

Aktürk, Şener. 2012. *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Balcells, Laia. 2017. *Rivalry and Revenge*. Cambridge University Press.

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brand, L. A. 2014. *Official Stories: Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria*. Palo Alto California: Stanford University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge University Press.

Bulutgil, Zeynep. 2016. *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 2006 [2nd edition]. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell

Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundation of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford.

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

Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge University Press.

Shevel, Oxana. 2011. *Migration, Refugee Policy, and State Building in Postcommunist Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wedeen, Lisa. 2008. *Peripheral Visions: Politics, Power, and Performance in Yemen*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2012. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2018. *Nation building: Why some countries come together while others fall apart*. Princeton University Press.

### **Blackboard:**

This course will use Blackboard for announcements and readings (see “Electronic Reserves”). I strongly encourage you to ensure you have access to Blackboard as soon as possible.

### **Course Requirements:**

*Midterm Exam:* In-class midterm exam (February 28).

**2 Short assignments**

*Final Exam/Paper:* Take-Home Final exam (May 10)

### **Average minimum amount of independent, out-of-class, learning expected per week:**

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2.5 hours per week in lecture (35 hours for the semester). Homework, assignments, and other out-of-class work is estimated to take up, on average, 5 hours per week (70 hours for the semester). The course includes a take-home final exam for which approximately 10 hours of work is assumed.

### **Learning Outcomes:**

As a result of completing this course, students will be able to:

1. Understand the origins of national identities.
2. Understand events caused by nationalist ideas.
3. Critically assess writings on nationalism and be alert to propaganda.
4. Compose a publishable article/opinion piece on the topic.

### **Class Policies**

The following policies are important. Read them carefully.

### **Attendance**

Please come to class on time. Feel free to bring a cup of coffee/tea or water, but please **don't bring food**. Cell phones must be **turned off**. Laptops or other electronic devices are **not** allowed. Instead of attendance I will give occasional pop quizzes with difficult questions such as "what is your name?" or "what day of the week is it today?"

### **Grading**

There are four components to your grade:

- Class Participation: 10% - Students will have to read 1-2 texts per class. They are academic articles or chapters. They aim to introduce the issues and debates for each class and they are the beginning and not the end of the discussion. Active participation in the class is strongly encouraged. You are encouraged to bring news stories that are relevant to our class.
- In class midterm: 40% - The midterm will consist of two parts. The first part will include 10 multiple-choice questions (40/100). In the second part you will be asked to choose 6 out of 10 IDs and write on them (60/100). Please do not bring with you any notes or reading materials. **(February 28)**.
- 2 Short assignments: 20% of your grade –two short assignments on themes covered in class.
- Final Exam: 30% - You will be given two questions/topics and you will be expected to write on one of them **(May 10)**.

Participation	(10%)
Midterm <b>(Feb 28)</b>	(40%)
2 Short assignments	(20%)
Take-Home Final Exam <b>(May 10)</b>	(30%)

If you would like me to re-grade your midterm or the final paper, you must submit a *written* request, explaining why you believe you did not receive the proper grade. I reserve the right to raise *or* lower your grade. There will **not** be opportunities to do extra-credit work to improve your grade.

### **Late Work**

Late assignments will lose one third of a full grade (e.g., from an A to a A-, to B+ etc.) for each day after the deadline. There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide *written documentation* (such as a doctor's note if you are ill), **and** you must communicate with me *before the assignment is due* (i.e., emailing me on the morning the assignment is due and saying you are sick is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). We are willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me *before* the assignment is due.

### **Participation**

You are expected to come *prepared*. All lectures will involve discussion, and participation will account for 10% of your grade.

### **Make-up exams**

Make-up exams are allowed only if you have consulted with me in advance.

### **University policies**

#### ***University policy on observance of religious holidays***

In accordance with University policy, you should notify me during the first week of the semester of your intention to be absent from class on a day(s) of religious observance. If an assignment falls on a day you will be observing a religious holiday, we will work together to find an alternative time to complete the assignment. Please communicate with me about holidays in advance of the original due date. I do not intend to observe any religious holidays. For details and policy, see: [students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays](http://students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays).

#### ***Academic integrity code***

Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For details and complete code, see: [studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity](http://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity)

### **Support for students outside the classroom**

#### ***Disability Support Services (DSS)***

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information see: [disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/](http://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/)

**Mental Health Services 202-994-5300**

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: [counselingcenter.gwu.edu/](http://counselingcenter.gwu.edu/)

***Safety and security***

In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity call the GW Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon). If the line is unavailable, dial 911. Visit GW Campus Advisories <http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu> or call the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050 for incident updates. If possible, turn on a radio or television and listen for further instructions. If your email address or mobile device is registered with Alert DC, check for alert notifications. Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

## Course Schedule:

### January 15. **Introduction**

Renan, Ernest. 1995 [1882]. "What is a Nation?" in Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay (eds) *The Nationalism Reader*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, pp. 143-155.

#### Recommended:

John Stuart Mill. 1861. "Chapter XVI - Of Nationality, as connected with Representative Government" in *Considerations on Representative Government*. Parker, son, and Bourn.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. 2008. *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808), ed. and trans. Gregory Moore. Cambridge University Press.

Herder, Johann Gottfried. 2004. *Another Philosophy of History and Selected Political Writings*. Translated and edited by Ioannis Evrigenis and Daniel Pellerin. Indianapolis: Hackett.

## I. Definitions and Historical Context

### January 17. **Ethnicity, Race, Nation, and Nationalism**

Weber, Max. 1996. "Ethnic Groups," in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*. New York: New York University Press. pp. 52-56.

Gellner, pp. 1-7.

Hechter, pp. 5-17.

#### Recommended:

Siniša Malešević and Tamara Pavasović Trošt. 2018. "Nation-State and Nationalism," in G. Ritzer and C. Rojek (eds.). *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. London: Wiley Blackwell.

### January 22. **Varieties of Nationalism**

Hechter, pp. 35-93.

### January 24. **Communism and Nationalism**

Connor, Walker. 1984. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. [Introduction and Chapter I].

*Assignment #1 due: National Anthems Project*

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Suggested Films: Braveheart, The French Revolution, Exodus

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## II. Causes

### January 29. **Primordialism/Ethnic Hatreds**

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 6-12, 21-54.

Recommended:

Kaplan, Robert. 1993. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. New York: Vintage Books, pp. 3-70.

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Suggested Film: 15 Février 1839 [15 February 1839]

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January 31. **Movie** [[Whose is this song?](#) Discussion with Marko Žilović]

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Suggested Films: The Patriot, Joaquim

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February 5. **Modernization Theories I: Print Capitalism and Creole Pioneers**

Anderson, pp. 47-65.

February 7. **Modernization Theories II: Industrialization, Urbanization, and Social Mobilization**

Karl W. Deutsch. 1961. "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 55, No. 3: 493-514.

Gellner, pp. 19-61, 131-136.

Posner, Dan. "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia," *Comparative Politics* 35, 2 (January 2003), pp. 127-146.

Recommended:

Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, Introduction and Chapters 12, 17, 18.

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Suggested Films: Ziemia Obiecana [The Promised Land], Colonel Redl

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February 12. **International Involvement and the Politicization of Differences**

Mylonas, Chapter 1.

Darden, Keith and Harris Mylonas. 2016. "Threats to Territorial Integrity, National Mass Schooling, and Linguistic Commonality," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 11: 1446-1479.

Recommended:

Jenne, Chapter 2

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Suggested Film: Otac na sluzbenom putu [When Father was Away on Business]

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February 14. **Socialization: Family, Schooling, Army**

Darden, Keith A. Forthcoming. *Resisting Occupation: Mass Schooling and the Creation of Durable National Loyalties*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 1)

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Suggested Films: The Wind that Shakes the Barley, Barry Lyndon, Under the Sun

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February 19. **Empirics**

Balcells, Laia. 2013. Mass schooling and Catalan nationalism. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 19(4), pp.467-486

Posen, Barry. 1993. "Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power," *International Security* 18, 2: 80-124.

*Assignment#2 due: Personal stories*

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Suggested Films: The Battle of Algiers, The Patriot

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February 21. **Cascades and Identity Change**

Laitin, 2007, pp. 29-59 and 61-80.

February 26. **Review Session**

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Suggested Film: Lawrence of Arabia

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February 28. **Midterm**

March 5. **Elites and the Politics of People-Building**

Smith, Rogers M. 2001. "Citizenship and the politics of people-building," *Citizenship Studies* 5, 1: 73-96.

Mylonas, Chapter 6.

Recommended:

Hobsbawm, E.J. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3 "The Government Perspective"

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Suggested Films: Malcolm X, Lumumba, Gandhi, Paths of Glory

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**III. Effects**

March 7. **The Homogenizing Imperative and the Politics of Nation-Building**

Mylonas, Chapters 2, 7, and 9.

Recommended:

Bulutgil, H. Z. 2016. *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Han, Enze and Harris Mylonas. 2014. "Interstate Relations, Perceptions, And Power Balance: Explaining China's Policies Toward Ethnic Groups, 1949-1965," *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue 1, 148-181.

March 19. **Methodological Issues in the Study of Nation-Building**

Mylonas, Harris. 2015. "Methodological Problems in the Study of Nation-Building: Behaviorism and Historicist Solutions in Political Science," *Social Science Quarterly*, Volume 96, Issue 3: 740-758.



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Suggested Film: *Dances with Wolves*

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March 21. **Nationalism and Political Violence I**

Laitin, 2007, pp. 1-27.

Recommended:

Laitin, David D. and James D. Fearon. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54, 4: 845-877.

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Suggested Films: Sometimes in April, Hotel Rwanda

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March 26. **Nationalism and Political Violence II**

Wimmer, Andreas. 2012. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Intro)

Recommended:

Alison Des Forges, "*Leave None To Tell the Story*": *Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999), 3-64. Available online at [www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/](http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/rwanda/)  
[http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/world/20071209\\_KOSOVO\\_FEATURE/index.html](http://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/world/20071209_KOSOVO_FEATURE/index.html)

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Suggested Film: Lepa sela lepo gore [Pretty Village, Pretty Flame]

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March 28. **Guest Lecture**

April 2. **Nationalism and Political Mobilization**

Darden, Keith and Anna Maria Grzymała-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics - Volume 59, Number 1*: 83-115.

Recommended:

Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.  
Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.

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Suggested Films: Attila '74, Les Ordres [Orderers], Octobre [October]

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April 4. **Nationalism and Self Determination Movements**

Mylonas, Harris and Nadav Shelef. "Which Land is Our Land? Domestic Politics and Change in the Territorial Claims of Stateless Nationalist Movements," *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue 4. Issue 4, 754-786.

Coggins, Bridget. 2011. "Friends in High Places: International Politics and the Emergence of States from Secessionism" *International Organization* 65:3 (July 2011), 433-467.

Recommended:

Lawrence, Adria. 2010. "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 2: 88-122.

Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundation of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 93-119.  
Giuliano, Elise. 2006. "Secessionism from the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition," *World Politics*, Volume 58, Number 2: 276-310.

April 9. **Methodological Issues in the Study of Stateless Nationalist Movements**

Mylonas, Harris and Nadav Shelef. 2017. "Methodological Challenges in the Study of Stateless Nationalist Territorial Claims," *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 5, Issue 2: 145- 157.

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Suggested Film: Bloody Sunday, Ararat, Exodus, One Day in September

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April 11. **The Politics of 'Long-Distance Nationalism'**

Délano Alonso, Alexandra and Harris Mylonas. 2017. "The Microfoundations of Diaspora Politics: Unpacking the State and Disaggregating the Diaspora," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

Mylonas, Harris and Marko Žilović. 2017. "Foreign Policy Priorities and Ethnic Return Migration Policies: Group-Level Variation in Greece and Serbia," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

April 16. **State- and Nation-Building in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Darden, Keith and Harris Mylonas. 2012. "The Promethean Dilemma: Third-Party State-building in Occupied Territories", *Ethnopolitics*, Issue 1, March, pp. 85-93.

Recommended:

Mylonas, Harris. 2017. "Nation-Building," *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*.

April 18. **The US Constitutive Story and Immigrant Incorporation**

Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. "The hispanic challenge." *Foreign Policy*: 30-45.

Massey, Douglas. 2015. "The Real Hispanic Challenge," *Pathways*, pp. 3-7.

Recommended:

U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Task Force on New Americans, "Building an Americanization Movement for the Twenty-first Century: A Report to the President of the United States from the Task Force on New Americans," Washington, DC 2008.

April 23. **Multiculturalism, Immigration, and the future of Nationalism**

Laitin 2007, Chapters 4 and 5.

Kymlicka, Will. *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*

April 25. **Review Session**

Take-Home Final exam: **May 10**.