

# **Nationalism and Nation-Building**

**PSC 8388.80, Spring 2019**

Tuesday 11:10 - 1:00PM

(1776 G 150)

Harris Mylonas

403 Hall of Government (2115 G St)

E-mail: mylonas@gwu.edu

Office hours: Wednesday 3:40 - 5:40 pm or by appointment

## **Course Goals and Description**

This is a class on nationalism, ethnic conflict, and nation-building. 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. We will also study the effects of nationalism on political identities, state formation, patterns of political violence, definitions of citizenship and migration policies, as well as voting behavior.

The course also focuses on nation-building, the various policies nation-states have pursued toward different non-core groups over the 19th and 20th centuries in their efforts to make the borders of the state coincide with that of the nation. State policies have ranged from deportation and killings, to forced assimilation or even accommodation. The main emphasis is to understand the logic behind these policy choices and evaluate their consequences. Finally, toward the end of the course we will turn to “third-party nation-building” conducted by international organizations primarily in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Balkans.

Using the reading material we will discuss various research methods (how to collect relevant data) and designs (how to maximize the information we can get from the available data). Issues of falsifiability and external validity of arguments will be discussed. Every student will be required to write a research paper or research design on some aspect of nationalism or nation-building that interests you using primary sources (archives, newspapers, parliamentary debates, memoirs, information sessions, NGO reports).

## **Course Outline**

Week 1 (January 15). Introduction

Week 2 (January 22). State, Nation, and Varieties of Nationalism

Week 3 (January 29). Origins of Nationalism

Week 4 (Feb 5). Defining and re-Defining the Nation

Week 5 (Feb 12). Nationalism and Political Violence

Week 6 (Feb 19). Public Goods, State Formation, and Nation-Building

Week 7 (Feb 26). The International Dimension of Nation-Building

Week 8 (Mar 5). Nationalism, and Resistance to Occupation

Week 9 (Mar 19). Nationalism and Self-Determination

Week 10 (Mar 26). Nationalism and Foreign Policy

Week 11 (April 2). Third-Party Nation-Building

Week 12 (April 9). Nationalism, Immigrant Integration, and Multiculturalism

Week 13 (April 16). Nationalism, Refugees, and Diasporas

Week 14 (April 23). Student Presentations

### **Requirements:**

The requirements for this course include weekly responses to questions I will send you and a research paper or a research design (20-35 pages). Components of the review/paper/design will be graded separately and will be submitted according to the following schedule (each assignment will be due at the beginning of class):

Week 5 (Feb 12): Selection of a topic/empirical puzzle/research question

Week 8 (March 5): Bibliography of existing literature and summary of main arguments

Week 11 (April 2): Relevant history and/or guidelines for data collection

Week 13 (April 9): Abstract, outline, and preliminary findings

Week 14 (April 23): Student Presentations

*Final Papers Due by May 10.*

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

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2 hours per week in lecture (28 hours for the semester). Homework, assignments, and other out-of-class work is estimated to take up, on average, 8 hours per week (112 hours for the semester). The course includes a final paper for which approximately 40 hours of work is assumed.

### **Texts**

There are 11 books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore (or you can find them online).

#### Required:

Adida, Claire L., David Laitin, Marie-Anne Valfort. 2016. *Muslim Integration*. Harvard University Press.

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

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso.

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

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

Griffiths, Ryan D. 2016. *Age of Secession: The International and Domestic Determinants of State Birth*. Cambridge University Press.

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

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

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

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

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

#### Recommended:

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

Birnir, Jóhanna Kristín. 2009. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

- Boone, Catherine. 2012. *Political Topographies of the African State*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge University Press.
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gellner, Ernest. 2006 [2<sup>nd</sup> edition]. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Coggins, Bridget. 2016. *Power Politics and State Formation in the Twentieth Century The Dynamics of Recognition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Connor, Walker. 1984. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Gat, Azar. 2012. *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundation of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hroch, Miroslav. 2000 [1985]. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture*. Chicago University Press.
- Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Mann, Michael. 2004. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge University Press.
- Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marx, Anthony. 2005. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. Oxford University Press.
- Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rae, Heather. 2002. *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roger M. Smith. 2003. *Stories of Peoplehood: The Politics and Morals of Political Membership*. Cambridge University Press.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence, Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Straus, Scott. 2015. *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*. Cornell University Press.
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich eds. Berkeley: University of California 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.

**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.

**Learning Outcomes:**

As a result of completing this course, you will:

1. Improve your presentation skills.
2. Compose a publishable article on the topic.
3. Learn how to assess writings on national history and be alert to propaganda.
4. Understand the origins of national identities.
5. Understand events caused by nationalist ideas.

**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. Laptop volume must be set to “mute.”

**Grading** - Short assignments: 20%, Class participation 10%, Completion of each stage of the paper 5% (20% total), Final Paper and presentation 50%.

**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). I am willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me *before* the assignment is due.

**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:

### WEEK 1 (Jan 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.

### WEEK 2 (Jan 22). State, Nation, and Varieties of Nationalism

#### *State*

Weber, Max. *Economy and Society*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. 50-58; "The Types of Legitimate Domination", 212-261; 901-905 (Definition of the State); Selections on "Bureaucracy", 956-982, 990-993, and on "Patrimonialism" 1006-1042.

#### *Nation*

Weber, Max. 1996. "Ethnic Groups," in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*. New York: New York University Press. pp. 52-56.  
Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.  
Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, pp. 5-46 and Chapter 8.  
Gellner, pp. 1-7.

#### *Varieties of Nationalism*

Barnett, Michael. 1995. "Sovereignty, Nationalism, and Regional Order in the Arab States System," *International Organization* 49.03: 479-510.  
Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-20.  
Connor, Walker. 1984. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. *Introduction and Chapter 1*.

#### Recommended Reading:

Azar Gat. 2012. *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press.  
Boone, Catherine. 2012. *Political Topographies of the African State*. Cambridge University Press.  
Coggins, Bridget. 2011. "Statehood." Oxford Bibliographies Online (OBO) <http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com>  
Connor, Walker. 1994. "When is a Nation?" Chapter 9 of *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 210-226.  
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. 2008. *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808), ed. and trans. Gregory Moore. Cambridge University Press.  
Hechter, pp. 15-17, 35-93.  
Herder, Johann Gottfried. 2004. *Another Philosophy of History and Selected Political Writings*. Translated and edited by Ioannis Evrigenis and Daniel Pellerin. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company.  
Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton University Press.  
Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.  
Kohn, Hans. 1994. *The Idea of Nationalism*. New York: MacMillan, Chapter 1.

- Malešević, Siniša and Tamara Pavašević Trošt. 2018. "Nation-State and Nationalism," in G. Ritzer and C. Rojek (eds.). *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. London: Wiley Blackwell.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1861. "Chapter XVI - Of Nationality, as connected with Representative Government" in *Considerations on Representative Government*. Parker, son, and Bourn.
- Mylonas, Harris. 2017. "Nation-Building," *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, pp.174-208.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence, Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, pp. 36-39, 69-83, and Chapter 4.
- Tilly, Charles. 1975. "Reflections on the History of European State-Making" and "Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation," In Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### WEEK 3 (Jan 29). **Origins of Nationalism**

#### *Nationalism as a by-product*

- Gellner, pp. 19-62, 137-143.
- Anderson, Chapter 4-7.
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge University Press. [pages 1-24 and 30-45]
- Karl W. Deutsch. 1961. "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 55, No. 3: 493-514.
- Posner, Dan. "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia," *Comparative Politics* 35, 2 (January 2003), pp. 127-146.
- Posen, Barry. 1993. "Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power," *International Security* 18, 2: 80-124.

#### *State-sponsored Nationalism*

- Eugen Weber. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Chapters 12, 17, 18.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3 "The Government Perspective"
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 23-106.

### WEEK 4 (Feb 5). **Defining and re-Defining the Nation**

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

OR

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

AND

- Smith, Rogers. 2001. "Citizenship and the politics of people-building," *Citizenship Studies* 5, 1: 73-96.
- Mylonas, Harris and Nadav Shelef. 2014. "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.

Recommended readings:

Centeno, Miguel A. and Agustín E. Ferraro (eds). 2014. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible*. Cambridge University Press.

- Gould, Andrew and Anthony Messina. 2014. *Europe's Contending Identities Supranationalism, Ethnoregionalism, Religion, and New Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Liow, Joseph. 2016. *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- Nadav G. Shelef. 2010. *Evolving Nationalism: Homeland, Identity, and Religion in Israel, 1925–2005*. Cornell University Press.

*Assignment: Political Science Journals*

#### WEEK 5 (Feb 12). **Nationalism and Political Violence**

- Bulutgil, Zeynep. 2016. *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers and David Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 4: 423-452.

Recommended:

- Birnie, Jóhanna Kristín. 2009. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*, 97:1, 75-90.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2008. "Ethnic Defection in Civil Wars". *Comparative Political Studies*, 41:8, 1043-1068.
- Mann, Michael. 2004. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-110.
- Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge University Press. [Intro, Chapters 1-4, 10-11]
- Straus, Scott. 2015. *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*. Cornell University Press.
- van Evera, Stephen. 1994. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring), pp. 5-39.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2002. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Assignment: Selection of a topic/Empirical Puzzle/Research Question*

#### WEEK 6 (Feb 19). **Public Goods, State Formation, and Nation-Building**

- Wimmer, Andreas. 2018. *Nation building: Why some countries come together while others fall apart*. Princeton University Press.
- Laitin, David. 1995. "Marginality: A Microperspective," *Rationality and Society*, Vol.7, No. 1: 31-57.

Recommended:

- V.P. Gagnon, Jr. Winter 1994/1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict, The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19(3), pp. 132-168.
- Laitin, David D. and James D. Fearon. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54, 4: 845-877.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (chapters 1-5).



- Saideman, Stephen M. and R. William Ayres. 2008. *For Kin or Country: Xenophobia, Nationalism, and War*. Columbia University Press.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence, Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Chapter 1.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2006. "Ethnic Exclusion in Nationalizing States," in Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (eds.), *Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2012. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wimmer, Andreas; Lars-Erik Cederman and Brian Min. 2009. "Ethnic politics and armed conflict. A configurational analysis of a new global dataset", in *American Sociological Review* 74(2): 316-337.

*Assignment: Datasets*

WEEK 7 (Feb 26). **The International Dimension of Nation-Building**

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

Recommended:

- Jenne, Erin K.. 2006. "Ethnic Bargaining in the Balkans: Secessionist Kosovo Versus Integrationist Vojvodina," in *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Koksal, Yonca. 2010. "Transnational Networks and Kin States: Turkish Minority in Bulgaria, 1878-1940," *Nationalities Papers*.
- Kymlicka, Will. 2002. "Multiculturalism and Minority Rights: West and East", *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* (JEMIE), issue #4: 1-25.  
[http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/special\\_4\\_2002.html](http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/special_4_2002.html)
- Kymlicka, Will. 2008. "The Internationalization of Minority Rights", *ICON: International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 6/1 (2008), pp. 1-32.
- Kymlicka, Will. 2005. "National Minorities in Post-Communist Europe: The Role of International Norms and European Integration" in Zoltan Barany and Robert Moser (eds). *Ethnic Politics After Communism*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, pp. 191-217.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Luc Girardin and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2009. "Ethnonationalist Triads: Assessing the Influence of Kin Groups on Civil Wars." *World Politics*, 61: 403-43.
- Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture*. Chicago University Press.
- Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Marx, Anthony. 2005. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, pp. 1-164.
- Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mavrogordatos, George Th. 1983. *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary. 1994. "The Political Regulation of National and Ethnic Conflict". *Parliamentary Affairs* 47 (1): 94-115.

- 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.
- Rae, Heather. 2002. *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 14-54, skim Chapters 4-6.
- Sambanis, N., Skaperdas, S., & Wohlforth, W. C. 2015. "Nation-building through war," *American Political Science Review*, 109, 279-296.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor and Terry Martin (eds.). 2001. *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*. Oxford University Press.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "Elementary strategies of ethnic boundary making," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 31 No. 6: 1025-1055.

### *Grant Proposals*

#### WEEK 8 (Mar 5). **Nationalism, and Resistance to Occupation**

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

*Assignment: Bibliography of existing literature and summary of main arguments*

#### WEEK 9 (Mar 19). **Nationalism and Self-Determination**

- Coggins, Bridget. 2011. "Friends in High Places: International Politics and the Emergence of States from Secessionism" *International Organization* 65:3 (July 2011), 433-467.
- Griffiths, Ryan D. 2016. *Age of Secession: The International and Domestic Determinants of State Birth*, Cambridge University Press.
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 6]

#### Recommended:

- Beissinger, Mark. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bunce, Valerie. 1999. "Peaceful Versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia." *Politics and Society*, 27 (June): 217-237.
- Bunce, Valerie. 2007. "Minority Politics in Ethnofederal States: Cooperation, Autonomy or Secession?" Mario Einaudi Center for International Studies, *Working Paper Series*, No. 8-07.
- Coggins, Bridget. 2016. *Power Politics and State Formation in the Twentieth Century The Dynamics of Recognition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2014. *Inside the Politics of Self-determination*. Oxford University Press,.
- 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.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, chapter 6.
- Hroch, Miroslav. 2000 [1985]. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*. New York: Columbia University Press. [skim Part II read the rest]
- Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundation of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 93-119

- Kaufmann, Chaim. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security*, 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175.
- Sambanis, Nicholas "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics*, 52 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Chapman, Thomas and Roeder, Philip G. "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions". *American Political Science Review* 101 (November 2007), 677-91.
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl. "What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?." *International Security* 34, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 82-118.
- Prott, Volker. *The Politics of Self-Determination: Remaking Territories and National Identities in Europe, 1917-1923*. Oxford University Press.
- Roeder, Philip G. 1991. "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization," *World Politics* 43: 196-232.
- Roeder, Philip G. *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

#### WEEK 10 (Mar 26). **Nationalism and Foreign Policy**

- John J. Mearsheimer. 2018. *The Great Delusion: Liberal Dreams and International Realities*. Yale University Press.
- Mylonas, Harris and Kendrick Kuo. 2018. "Nationalism and Foreign Policy," in Cameron G. Thies (ed.). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis, Volume II*. Oxford University Press, pp. 223-242.

#### WEEK 11 (April 2). **Third-Party Nation-Building**

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

- Comments:* Bardos, Gordon. 2012. "Buying Peace? The Difficulties of Building States and Nations in Deeply Divided Post-conflict Societies," *Ethnopolitics*, Issue 1, March, pp. 94-97.
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. "Doing the Least Harm: How to Prevent a Post-withdrawal Resumption of Violence in Afghanistan and Iraq," *Ethnopolitics*, Issue 1, March, pp. 98-100.
- Gortzak, Yoav & David Siroky. 2012. "Prometheus Bound? Indigenous Forces and Third-party State-building," *Ethnopolitics*, Issue 1, March, pp. 101-104.
- Jenne, Erin K. 2012. "The Low Odds of Successful Third-party Nation-building," *Ethnopolitics*, Issue 1, March, pp. 105-108.
- Response:* Mylonas, Harris and Keith Darden. 2012. "The Promethean Dilemma Revisited: A Response to Bardos, Christia, Gortzak & Siroky and Jenne", *Ethnopolitics*, Issue 1, March, pp. 109-112.

Carolyn Stephenson. 2005. "Nation-Building". Available at: [http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/nation\\_building/](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/nation_building/)

#### Recommended:

- Dobbins, James; Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Beth Cole DeGrasse. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation. (Read the Foreword and the Summary). Available at: [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND\\_MG557.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2007/RAND_MG557.pdf)
- Toby Dodge, "Iraq: The Contradictions of Exogenous State-Building in Historical Perspective," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 1, From Nation-Building to State-Building (2006), pp. 187-200.
- Barnett Rubin, "Peace Building and State-Building in Afghanistan: Constructing Sovereignty for

Whose Security?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No.1 (2006), pp.175-185.

James Dobbins, John G. McGinn, Keith Crane, Seth G. Jones, Rollie Lal, Andrew Rathmell, Rachel M. Swanger, Anga R. Timilsina. *America's Role in Nation-Building From Germany to Iraq*. RAND Corporation.

James Dobbins, Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Christopher S. Chivvis, Andrew Radin, F. Stephen Larrabee, Nora Bensahel, Brooke Stearns Lawson, Benjamin W. Goldsmith. 2008. *Europe's Role in Nation-Building: From the Balkans to the Congo*. RAND Corporation.

*Assignment: Write up as much of your empirics as possible. Focus especially on describing the variation in your dependent variable. Relevant history and/or guidelines for data collection.*

## WEEK 12 (April 9). **Nationalism, Immigrant Integration, and Multiculturalism**

Adida, Claire L.; David Laitin, Marie-Anne Valfort. 2016. *Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies*. Harvard University Press.

A Discussion of Claire L. Adida, David D. Laitin, and Marie-Anne Valfort's "Why Muslim Integration Fails in Christian-Heritage Societies," *Perspectives on Politics*, 16(3): 760-766.

Kymlicka, Will. 2012. *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Recommended:

Adida, Claire L. 2014. *Immigrant Exclusion and Insecurity in Africa: Coethnic Strangers*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Dancygier, Rafaela. 2010. *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Klotz, Audie. 2015. *Migration and National Identity in South Africa, 1860–2010*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

## WEEK 13 (April 16). **Nationalism, Refugees and Diasporas**

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

Brand, L. A. 2010. *Emigrants and National Narratives: State Discursive Strategies of Inclusion and Exclusion in Lebanon and Jordan*. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 44, No. 1: 78-110

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*.

Recommended:

Brand, L. 2006. *Citizens Abroad: State and Emigration in the Middle East and North Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers and Jaeun Kim. 2011. "Transborder Membership Politics in Germany and Korea" *Archives européennes de sociologie/European Journal of Sociology* 52.1: 21-75.

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

Joppke, Christian. 2005. *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

King, Charles and Neil J. Melvin. 1999/2000. "Diaspora Politics: Ethnic Linkages, Foreign Policy, and Security in Eurasia," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Winter), pp. 108–138.

Mylonas, Harris. 2013. "The Politics of Diaspora Management in the Republic of Korea," *The Asan Institute for Policy Studies*, Issue Brief No. 81, pp. 1-12.

Sznajder, Mario and Luis Roniger. 2015. *The Politics of Exile in Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Assignment: Abstract, outline, and preliminary findings*

WEEK 14 (April 23). **Student Presentations**

Final Papers Due by May 10.