INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland, <prutland>; tel. 2483; office PAC 203, hours Tues 11-12.00, 2-3.00.

ASSESSMENT: Out of 100 points

1) One 3-4 page report on one of the theoretical books or articles on the syllabus. To be submitted by 4.00 pm on Oct. 1. Email your papers to <prutland@wesleyan.edu> as attached Word documents. [15 points]

2) Two 3-4 page profiles of a particular nation and its nationalism. One is a nation that we cover in class, to be submitted on the day that case is discussed. A second country will be randomly assigned to you, report due on Oct. 29. What are the key elements in its national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, historical events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws. A sign up sheet for assigning cases will be circulated in week two. [15 points each]

3) One 8-10 page final paper. Either (a) analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement. Or (b) discussion of a theme or issue not specific to one country. I will circulate a list of possible topics, or you can pick your own topic. Outline due on Nov 12; 6-8 page paper due 4.00 pm Thursday 17 Dec. [35 points]

4) Class participation and weekly quizzes on the reading. Each quiz will have 1 point for a correct answer, exceptionally 2 points may be given. [20 points]

Books for sale in Broad Street Books:

Required readings are marked with *. All the other readings are strictly optional, mainly for your essays.

Useful websites include:
- Kennedy School website: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/~ksgpress/opin/index.html
- State Department gopher: dosfan.lib.iuic.edu
- www.nationalismproject.org definitions, links, articles
- Minorities at Risk project www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/
- http://web.inter.nl.net/users/Paul.Treanor/plana.html ‘Nation Planet’ site, nationalism as global system
- Search the Washington Post (articles only up to 2005): www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/world/search/

Various encyclopedias:

All the articles are on Blackboard under ‘Course Documents’ and can be printed. If you are not using Internet Explorer, you may have to open files in a different browser. With pdf files it is easiest to hit the printer icon within the Blackboard window (ie not try to print using the tool bar). With Word files it is best to right click on the file in Blackboard and scroll to ‘open in new window’. You should be able to print from that window.

Students must attend every class and complete the required reading (*). Unexplained absence from three classes will be treated as withdrawal from the course. Plagiarism i.e. using material not written by yourself and without clear attribution to the source is not tolerated.
Week 1

THE SOCIETY OF GROUP IDENTITY

Sept 10

For an overview of the course theme, see:


What is ethnic identity? How does it relate to other types of identity? We take a quick look at a couple of classic sociological and anthropological articles on this question.

* Edmund Shils  ‘Primordial, personal, sacred and civil ties,’ from *British Journal of Sociology*, 8: 2, 1957, 130-45
* Max Weber  ‘Ethnic groups,’ in *Economy and Society*, v. 1, 385-98
Fredrik Barth  *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) 9-38
Fredrik Barth  ‘Ethnicity and the concept of culture’ (1995)
Thomas Eriksen  *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1999) ‘What is ethnicity?’ ch 1

Week 2

OBAMA NATION

Sept 15

9/11 started a new debate about US patriotism, which reached its apogee with the election of Obama. As the ‘first new nation’ the US sees itself as a new type of civic nation based on political consensus rather than ethnic identity. Has American nationalism finally freed itself from ethnic content? How does contemporary American patriotism differ from other peoples’ nationalism?

* Michael Walzer  ‘What does it mean to be an ‘American’?’ *Social Research*, n 57, 1990, 591-614
* Minxin Pei  ‘The paradoxes of American nationalism,’ *Foreign Policy*, May 2003
* Graham E. Fuller  ‘America’s uncomfortable relationship with nationalism,’ Stanley Foundation Policy brief, July 2006
Alexander Aleinikoff  ‘A multicultural nationalism?’ *American Prospect*, 36, Jan 1998, 80-86
Samuel P. Huntington  ‘The Hispanic challenge,’ *Foreign Policy*, March 2004
Anatole Lieven  *America Right or Wrong* (2004)
Walter Berns  *Making Patriots* (2001)
Seymour M. Lipset  *The First New Nation* (1963)

Week 2

NO LECTURE!

Sept 17

The instructor will be out of town, but I will have the class watch the Macedonian movie *Before the Rain*.

Week 3

ETHNICITY IN THE PRE-MODERN WORLD

Sept 22

What was the character of ethnic identity before the emergence of the modern state? ‘Primordialists’ or ‘perennialists’ consider ethnicity to be a perennial human characteristic. Diaspora nations such as the Jews and Armenians exemplify one type of primordial identity.

* Walker Connor  *Ethnonationalism* (1993)’Nation building or nation destroying?’, pp. 28-66, ‘Man is a national animal,’ 195-209
Anthony Smith  *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998) chs. 7, 8

continued…..
Week 3

FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES

Sept 24

(1) Gellner


* Ernest Gellner  
  Nations and Nationalism, esp. chs. 2 and 3
* Anthony Smith  
  ‘State making and nation-building,’ in John Hall (ed), States in History (1986)
* Anthony Smith  
  Nationalism and Modernism (1998) chs 1, 2
* John Hall (ed.)  

Week 4

(2) Hobsbawm

Sept 29

Discussion of Hobsbawm’s book. Did capitalists need the nation-state to organize their production, to seize and unify markets, and to divert their workers from socialist revolution? A look at the paradigm cases of Britain and France in the 17-19th centuries. Renan provides a classic statement of the evolution of the nation in Europe.

* Eric Hobsbawm  
  Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 (1992)
* Ernst Renan  
  ‘What is a nation?’ (1882)
* Anthony Smith  
  Nationalism and Modernism (1998) chs 3,4
* Liah Greenfeld  
* John Breuilly  
  Nationalism and the State (1994)
* Linda Colley  
  Britons: Forging the Nation (1992)
* Eugene Weber  
  Peasants into Frenchmen (1986)
* David Bell  

Week 4

NATIONALISM AND CITIZENSHIP

Oct 1

Brubaker contrasts ‘ethnic’ and ‘civic’ definitions of citizenship, as exemplified by the respective cases of France and Germany.

* Rogers Brubaker  
  ‘Immigration, citizenship, and the nation-state in France and Germany,’ International Sociology, no. 5 (Dec 1990), 379-407
* Rogers Brubaker  
  Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany (1992)
* Stephen Shulman  
  ‘Challenging the civic/ethnic and West/East dichotomies in the study of nationalism,’ Comparative Political Studies (Jun 2002)
* Andreas Fahmeir  
  Citizenship: the Rise and Fall of a Modern Concept (2007)
Oct 1

**FIRST ASSIGNMENT**

First book report due. Write a 3-4 page critical review of one of the theorists (Smith, Gellner, Connor, Hobsbawn, etc.). Email it to <prutland@wesleyan.edu> as an attached Word document by 4.00 pm.

Week 5

**NATIONALISM AS ARTEFACT**

Oct 6

Anderson focuses on the nationalism as an artefact constructed by elites, and broadens the picture by looking at the spread of nationalism to the 19th century colonial world: Latin America and Indonesia. Nationalism becomes a tool unifying anti-imperialist struggles.

* Benedict Anderson  * Imagined Communities (1991)
* Anthony Smith  * Nationalism and Modernism (1998) chs, 5, 6, 9
Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds) on the history of the kilt, by Hugh Seton-Watson
Nicola Miller ‘The historiography of nations and nationalism in Latin America,’ Nations and Nationalism, July 2006, 12: 2, 201-21

Week 5

**A CLASS STRUGGLE APPROACH**

Oct 8

Why was legal segregation of the races introduced in South Africa and the USA but not in Brazil?

* Anthony Marx  ‘Race-making and the nation-state’ World Politics, 48: 2, Jan 1996
* Stephen Buckley  ‘Brazil’s racial awakening,’ Washington Post, 12 June 2000
Antoinette Handley ‘The new South Africa,’ Current History, May 2004
Peter Fry  ‘Politics, nationality and the meanings of race in Brazil,’ Daedalus, spring 2000, 83-118

Week 6

**NATIONALISM AND MARKET LOGIC**

Oct 13

Amy Chua picks up the theme of vulnerable ‘middleman minorities’ in the globalizing economy. The classic article by Bonacich explains ethnic segregation in the division of labor.

* Amy Chua  World On Fire (2002)
* Eva Bonacich  ‘Class approaches to ethnicity,’ Insurgent Sociologist, 10 (1980) 9-22
Michael Hechter  ‘Group formation and the cultural division of labor,’ American Journal of Sociology, 84: 2. (Sep. 1978), 293-318

Week 6

**NATIONALISM AND GENDER**

Oct 15

What role does gender play in the definition of the nation and the politics of nationalism?

* Nira Yuval-Davis  Gender and Nation (1997) ch. 1
Lois A. West (ed.)  Feminist Nationalism (1997)
Tamar Meyer  Gender Ironies of Nationalism (1999)
Patrizia Albanese  Mothers of the Nation (2006)
Movies  The Terrorist (1998); No More Tears, Sister (2004)
Week 7
Oct 20

CASE STUDIES: QUEBEC

Canada is rich and free, but faces a persistent nationalist movement in Quebec. What do the Quebecois want? Does federalism help or hinder nationalist conflicts? This case also provides an opportunity to look at the rational choice school, which argues that ethnic groups form in democracies for instrumental reasons, to advance interests rather than to express identities.

* Hudson Meadwell  ‘The politics of nationalism in Quebec,’ World Politics, 45: 2
Jan. 1993, 203-41

* Michael Hechter  ‘A theory of ethnic collective action,’ International Migration Review,
16: 2 (1982) 412-34


* Michael Ignatieff  Blood and Belonging, ch. 4

* Michael Hechter  ‘A rational choice approach to the rise and decline of ethno-regional
& Margaret Levi political parties’ in Ed Tiryakian (ed), New Nationalisms of the
Developed West (1985)

* Eva Mackey  The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in
Canada (1999)


Week 7
Oct 22

NORTHERN IRELAND

What was driving the conflict in Northern Ireland? Why did peace arrive when it did? Will it last?

* Richard Rose  ‘Northern Ireland: The irreducible conflict’ in Joseph Montville,
(ed) Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies (1990), ch 9

* Ted Smyth  ‘The unsung heroes of the peace process,’ World Policy (2005), 79-87

* John Coakley  ‘Has the Northern Ireland problem been solved?’ Journal of
Democracy, 19:3 (Jul 2008), 98-112


* Tom Nairn  The Break-Up of Britain (1977)

* Sabine Wichert  Nationalism in Ireland (1991)

* Donald Horowitz  ‘Explaining the Northern Ireland agreement,’ British Journal of
Political Science, 32: 2 (Apr 2002), 193-22

Movies: Bloody Sunday, Wind that Shakes the Barley, Omagh, Michael Collins

Week 8
Oct 27

NO CLASS – FALL BREAK

Oct 29

SECOND ASSIGNMENT

Write a 3-4 page profile of the national narrative and ethnic conflicts in country X.
Email it to <prutland@wesleyan.edu> as an attached Word document by 4.00 pm.

Week 8
Oct 29

NATIONALISM IN POST-COLONIAL AFRICA

Decolonization led to a surge of nationalism. But ethnic complexity has made the construction of viable states in post-colonial Africa very difficult. Still, ethnicity is not necessarily destructive, it is also used by people to defend their political and economic interests.

* Bruce Berman et al,  ‘Ethnicity and the politics of nation-building in Africa,’ ch 1 in
Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa (2004), 1-21

* Donald Horowitz  Ethnic Groups in Conflict (1985) chs 4-5

* Frantz Fanon  The Wretched of the Earth (1963) 35-94 and 148-205  Continued…
Week 9

**RWANDA**

Nov 3

Rwanda is the most vivid recent example of the power of ethnicity to bring about evil. Yet Rwanda in some crucial respects is not typical for the African continent.

* Helen Hintjens  
  ‘Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda,’ *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37: 2 (June 1999), 241-86

* Samantha Power  

* Philip Gourevitch  
  *We Wish to Inform You . . .* (1999)

* Fergal Keane  

* Alan Kuperman  
  *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention* (2001)

* Alison Des Forges  
  *Leave None to Tell the Story* (1999)

* Frank Chalk & Kurt Jonassohn  
  *The History and Sociology of Genocide* (1990) 3-43

* Jacques Semelin  
  ‘From massacre to the genocidal process,’ *International Social Science Journal*, 54: 174 (Dec 2002), 433-42

* Mahmood Mamdani  

* Movies  
  *Sometime in April* (2005)  
  *Hotel Rwanda* (2004)  
  *Shake Hands With The Devil* (2007)

**Week 9**

**THE FORMER SOVIET UNION**

Nov 5

What was Soviet nationality policy, and why did the country fall apart in the late 1980s?

* Ronald Suny  

* Pal Kolsto  

* Dina Zisserman-Brodsky  
  ‘Chechnya’ in Metta Spencer (ed.), *Separatism* (1998)

* Vera Tolz  
  ‘The national debate over nation-building in Russia,’ *Prism*, 15 May 98

* David Laitin  
  ‘Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union,’ *Comparative Political Studies*, 34: 8 (2001), 839-61

* Valerie Bunce  

* Philip Roeder  
  *Where Nation-States Come From* (2008)

* Movies  
**Week 10**

**THE BREAK UP OF YUGOSLAVIA**

Nov 10-12

The Yugoslavia wars left 250,000 dead and political deadlock in Bosnia and Kosovo. Why?


Christopher Bennett *Yugoslavia’s Bloody Collapse* (1996)

Noel Malcolm *Bosnia: A Short History* (1996)

Norman Cigar *Genocide in Bosnia* (1996)

James Gow *Triumph of Lack of Will: International Diplomacy and Yugoslav War*

Jack Snyder *From Voting to Violence* (2000)


**Nov 12**

**Outline for final paper is due.**

The outline should be 1-2 pages long, and include the main thesis, an outline of the arguments to be raised, and a preliminary biography. Email it to <prutland@wesleyan.edu>

Either (a) an analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement.

Or (b) discussion of a theme or issue not specific to one country.

**Week 11**

**CHINA**

Nov 17

Chinese nationalism surged in response to Western incursions in the 19th century, then was displaced by communism, and then returned in the 1990s at both elite and mass level. Does contemporary China’s nationalism conform to or depart from Western models?


* Emily Parker ‘The roots of Chinese nationalism,’ *Wall Street Journal*, 1 Apr 2008


Maria Hsia Chang *Return of the Dragon: China’s Wounded Nationalism* (2001)

Peter Hays Gries *China’s New Nationalism* (2004)

Howard French ‘Taiwan and China: Struggle over identity,’ *IH Tribune*, 27 May 2005


**Week 11**

**JAPAN**

Nov 19

Japan was the first non-European country to successfully embrace the nation-state model. However, that led to disaster in 1945, after which Japan reinvented itself as a trading nation. In the post-cold war world, is Japan about to undergo a third transition?


John Nathan *Japan Unbound A Volatile Nation’s Quest for Pride and Purpose* 2004

Takashi Shiraishi ‘Cool heads needed to solve Japan-China problems’ *Yomiuri*, 05/31/05
Week 12

India is a complex case, a country that has seen multiple conflicts around ethnicity but has somehow managed to preserve democracy and avoid a meltdown.

* Rudra Sil  ‘India,’ in J. Kopstein & M. Lichbach (eds) *Comparative Politics* ch 10
Pamela Constable  ‘Pakistan’s predicament,’ *Journal of Democracy*, 12: 1 (Jan 2001)
Paul R. Brass  *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1991)
Ornit Shani  *Communalism, Caste and Hindu Nationalism* (2007)

Nov 26

NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING

Week 13

(1) ARAB NATIONALISM

Why has Western style nationalism failed to take root in the Arab world despite persistent efforts by modernizing leaders? What is the relationship between Islam and nationalism? Will Iraq be viable as a nation-state?

Ira Lapidus  ‘The Arab Middle East,’ from *A History of Islamic Societies* (1988)
Sylvia Haim (ed.)  *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology*, (1962), chs. 9, 10, 15
Adeed Dawisha  *Arab Nationalism. From Triumph to Despair* (2003)
James Jankowski & Israel Gershoni  *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (1997)

(2) ISRAEL

How does Israel fit into the pattern of nationalist politics?

David Shipler  *Arab and Jew, Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land* (1987)
Avi Shlaim  *The Iron Wall. Israel and the Arab World* (2001)
Yael Tamir  *Liberal Nationalism* (1994)
Week 13
Dec 3

**NATIONAL IDENTITIES IN EUROPE**

i) A look at Moslem immigrants in Europe, taking the French ‘veil controversy’ as our case.

Faruk Sen  ‘Immigrant Muslims in Germany,’ *Turkish Daily News*, 31 Oct 2001
The Veil Project  http://www.veil-project.eu/

ii) Will a European identity emerge to replace nationalism? Will national ‘brands’ survive?


Week 14
Dec 8

**MINORITY RIGHTS**

What collective rights should ethnic minorities be given? Do native peoples deserve special rights? Is consociationalism a solution to the co-existence of several groups in a single polity?

Michael Barry  *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (2001) 63-155

Week 14
Dec 10

**SOLUTIONS?**

What can the international community do in the face of ethnic conflict? How do ethnic conflicts end? Are international humanitarian interventions indispensable – or impossible?

* Chaim Kaufmann  ‘Possible and impossible solutions to ethnic civil wars,’ *International Security*, 20: 4 (spring 1996), 136-75
James D. Fearon  ‘Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war,’ *American Political Science Review*, 97: 1 (Feb 2003), 79–90
Barbara Walter  ‘Designing transitions from civil war,’ 415-43
Samantha Power  *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (2002)
D. Byman  ‘Forever enemies? The manipulation of ethnic identities to end ethnic wars,’ *Security Studies*, spring 2000