INSTRUCTOR: Peter Rutland, <prutland>; tel. 2483; Office PAC 203 hours T, Th 10.30-12.00

ASSESSMENT: Out of 100 points

1) A 3-4 page report on one of the theoretical books or articles listed in weeks 1-5 of the syllabus. To be submitted by 4.00 pm on Thursday Oct 1. Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word file. [15 points]

2) A 3-4 page report on a randomly assigned country, due 4.00 pm on Friday Oct 24. You should explain the key elements in country X’s national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, key events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws, etc. Not a potted history of the country. [15 points]

3) An 8-10 page final paper. Either (a) analysis of a specific nation or nationalist movement; or
   (b) discussion of a general topic not specific to one country.
   The final paper should not be on the same country as the #2 random assignment.
   Outline due on Friday Nov 21; email me the paper by 7.00 pm on Tuesday Dec 9. [40 points]

4) A presentation in which you present and analyze a specific nation’s nationalist politics, in the last two weeks of class. You are encouraged to make an imovie: there will be a training class on Oct 23. [15 points]

5) Class participation, debates and weekly quizzes on the reading. Each quiz will have 1 point for a correct answer, exceptionally 2 points may be given. Also extra credit for 1-2 page reports on outside lectures, to be emailed to me within one week of the event (maximum of four extra credit reports). [15 points]

Books to buy (two are available free as ebooks through Olin):

- Ernest Gellner
  Nations and Nationalism (1983)
- Benedict Anderson
  Imagined Communities (1983) (ebook)
- Jack Snyder
  From Voting to Violence (2000)
- Amy Chua
  World on Fire (2004) (ebook)

* signifies required reading for that class. All the other readings are optional, useful for your papers.

All the articles listed on the syllabus are available on the course’s Wesfiles page.
I only use Moodle to post grades.
Unexplained absence from three classes will be treated as withdrawal from the course.
Plagiarism, using material that you did not write and without clear attribution to the source, will be punished.
You can bring a laptop to class, but if I notice you emailing or web surfing I will ask you to leave.

Websites (especially useful for your country reports):

- BBC country profiles
  Archive of recent articles on each country in the world.
- CIA World Factbook
  Basic facts.
- State Department country notes
  Detailed descriptions of institutions and recent events.
- Nationalism Project
  Definitions, links, articles by academics.
- International Crisis Group
  Up-to-date reports on countries experiencing conflicts.
- Minorities at Risk project
  Lots of data on ethnic minorities, esp. those that are politically active.
- New York Times
  Search the NYT for recent articles using the country box on the right
- NationalismWatch
  my own blog on nationalism.

Encyclopedias:
Sept 2  WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

For an overview of the course theme, see:


What is ethnic identity? How does it relate to other types of identity?
A review of some classic sociological and anthropological articles on this question.

* Ernst Renan  ‘What is a nation?’ (1882)
* Max Weber  ‘Ethnic groups,’ in *Economy and Society*, v. 1, 385-98
   Fredrik Barth  *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969) 9-38
   Thomas Eriksen  ‘What is ethnicity?’, *Ethnicity and Nationalism* (1999) ch 1

Sept 4  OBAMA NATION

What does it mean to be American? As the ‘first new nation’ the US sees itself as a new type of
civic nation based on political consensus rather than ethnic identity.
How does American patriotism differ from other peoples’ nationalism?

* 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
   Martha Nussbaum  ‘Patriotism and cosmopolitanism,’ in Joshua Cohen (ed) *For Love of
   Country* (1996)
* Alexander Aleinikoff  ‘A multicultural nationalism?’, *American Prospect*, 36, Jan 1998, 80-86
* Samuel P. Huntington  ‘The Hispanic challenge,’ *Foreign Policy*, March 2004

Sept 9  NORTHERN IRELAND

We start by looking at Ireland and Quebec: tough cases where nationalism has led to
persistent conflict. Note the contrasting roles played by religion and language in the two cases.

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
* PBS Newshour  ‘Peace in Northern Ireland, but the religious divide remains,’ 07/11/12
* 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  *Northern Ireland Since 1945* (1999)
   Donald Horowitz  ‘Explaining the Northern Ireland agreement,’ *British Journal of
   Political Science*, 32: 2 (Apr 2002), 193-222

Movies:  *Bloody Sunday, Wind that Shakes the Barley, Omagh, Michael Collins*
Sept 11  QUEBEC

Do you believe that Quebec should become an independent country?
Why is language policy so central to the nationalist project?
Does federalism help or hinder nationalist conflicts?
This case provides an opportunity to look at the rational choice school, which argues that ethnic
groups form 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
* Jacques Parizeau  ‘The case for a sovereign Quebec,’ (1995), plus responses
Ian Austen  ‘PQ failed to renew mandate,’  New York Times, 8 Apr 2014
Michael Hechter  ‘A theory of ethnic collective action,’  International Migration Review,
  16: 2 (1982) 412-34
Eva Mackey  The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in
  Canada (1999)

Sept 16  SCOTLAND

In class debate: Should Scotland become an independent country?

Scotland will hold an independence referendum on Sept 18. How would you vote?
Why, after 300 years of union, is Scotland on the brink of secession?

* various  ‘Scottish independence’  collection of recent newspaper articles
* Peter Rutland  ‘The pros and cons of Scottish independence’ (blog) 23 Aug 2014
Better Together  pro-union website
Yes Scotland  pro-independence website
Future of UK and Scotland  academic discussion site
Murray Leith & Martin Steven  ‘Party over policy? Scottish nationalism and the politics of
  independence,’  Political Quarterly, 81: 2, June 2010, 263-69
Michael Keating  The Independence of Scotland (2009)

Sept 18  ETHNICITY IN THE PRE-MODERN WORLD

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

* Anthony Smith  Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism (2009) chs. 1, 2 [ebook]
* Walker Connor  Ethnonationalism (1993)‘Nation building or nation destroying?’,
  pp. 28-66, ‘Man is a national animal,’ 195-209
Anthony D. Smith  The Ethnic Origins of Nations (1986) 1-46
Anthony D. Smith  Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity (2003)
Special Issue on Smith  Nations and Nationalism, 10: 1, Jan 2004
John Wilford  ‘Languages die, but not their last words,’  IHT, 18 Sept 2007
Michael Erard  ‘How linguists share a bible of 6,912 languages,”  NYT, 19 Jul 2005
Mon Sept 22   Extra credit opportunity Lecture by Professor Eric Fassin (ENS Paris)
6.00 pm       ‘The Roma in France and the return of race.’ Location: Daniel Family Commons, Usdan.

Sept 23       FUNCTIONALIST THEORIES

(a) ERNEST GELLNER

Is nationalism a pre-requisite for capitalism and the modern state? Why did nationalism arise in 18th century Europe? Gellner explains nationalism as integral to the project of modernity, a by-product of the spread of mass communications and industry. Smith offers a critique of Gellner.

* Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, esp. chs. 2 and 3
* Gellner, web-page

Sept 25       (b) ERIC HOBSBAWM

Hobsbawm takes a Marxist approach. He argues that capitalists needed the nation-state to organize their production, to seize and unify markets, and to divert their workers from socialist revolution. Consider the paradigm cases of Britain and France in the 17-19th centuries.

* Timothy Baycroft, ‘France’ in Baycroft & Hewitson (eds), *What is a Nation?* (2006)

Sept 30       NATIONALISM AS CONSTRUCT

Anderson sees nationalism as an artifact constructed by elites, and goes beyond Europe, looking at the spread of nationalism to the 19th century colonial world: Latin America and Indonesia. Nationalism becomes a tool unifying anti-imperialist struggles.

* Nicola Miller, ‘The historiography of nations and nationalism in Latin America,’ *Nations and Nationalism*, July 2006, 12, 2, 201-21
* Wikipedia, ‘The history of the kilt’

Thursday Oct 1     FIRST ASSIGNMENT DUE

Write a 3-4 page critical review of one of the core theorists (Smith, Gellner, Connor, Hobsbawm, Anderson). Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word document by 4.00 pm.
Oct 2  
**IN-CLASS DEBATE:**

“This house believes that nationalism is a product of modernity and may recede as quickly as it appeared.”

Oct 7  
**NATIONALISM AND THE LOGIC OF THE MARKET**

Why and how do markets encourage and consolidate ethnic identification? 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. Rodrik makes an economic argument for the persistence of the nation-state in a global economy.

* Amy Chua  
  * [ebook](#) thru Olin

* Eva Bonacich  
  * ‘Class approaches to ethnicity,’ *Insurgent Sociologist*, 10 (1980) 9-22

* Dani Rodrik  
  * ‘Who needs the nation-state?’ *Economic Geography*, forthcoming 2013

* Roger Waldinger  
  * ‘The other side of embeddedness: the interplay of ethnicity and economics,’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18, 1995, 555-69

Oct 9  
**ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM IN AFRICA**

What was the legacy of the colonial state in Africa? Why has ethnic conflict and civil war beset most African states post-independence?

* 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)

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

* Movie  
  * Battle of Algiers (1965) especially minutes 10.00-18.00

* James Fearon  
  * ‘Ethnic and cultural diversity by country,’ *Journal of Economic Growth* 8: 2 (2003), 195-222

* Alberto Alesina et al  
  * ‘Fractionalization,’ *Journal of Economic Growth* 8: 2 (2003), 155-194

* Joshua Forrest  

* Crawford Young  

* Ali Mazrui  

* Movies  

Oct 14  
**RWANDA**

The 1994 Rwandan genocide exemplifies the potential of nationalism to unleash evil behavior. Why did it happen? Note that in some crucial respects Rwanda is not typical for Africa.

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

* Samantha Power  
  * ‘Bystanders to genocide,’ *Atlantic Monthly* (August 2001),

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

* 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  
THE SOVIET COLLAPSE

What was Soviet nationality policy, and why did the country fall apart in the late 1980s? The collapse of communism in the early 1990s and the spread of democracy coincided with an upsurge of ethnic violence. Why was this? Snyder offers one explanation.

* Jack Snyder From Voting to Violence (2000) chs. 1-2, 5
Victor Kogan ‘Chechen separatism’ in Metta Spencer (ed.), Separatism (1998)
Vera Tolz ‘Forging the nation in Russia’ Europe-Asia Studs, 50: 6 Sep 98, 993-22
David Laitin ‘Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union,’ Comparative Political Studies, 34: 8 (2001), 839-61

Oct 16 Extra credit opportunity: Lecture by Professor George Solt (New York University) 4.30 pm On Political Meritocracy: China and the Limits of Democracy. Location: Freeman Center

Oct 21 NO CLASS – FALL BREAK

Oct 23 Training on how to prepare i-movie presentations To be held in the Language Teaching Center in Fisk Hall during class time.

Friday Oct 24 SECOND ASSIGNMENT

Write a 3-4 page profile of the national narrative and/or ethnic conflicts in a randomly-assigned country. You should explain the key elements in country X’s national narrative and self-image: symbols, land, religion, race, heroes, historical events, relations with neighbors, values, virtues, flaws, etc.

Email it to <prutland> as an attached Word document by 4.00 pm.

Friday Oct 24 Crimean Tatar event. 6.30 pm Panel and musical performance on the fate of the Crimean Tatars.

Oct 28-30 THE BREAK UP OF YUGOSLAVIA

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

* BBC documentary The Death of Yugoslavia (1995) at least watch the first 15 minutes
Noel Malcolm Bosnia: A Short History (1996)
Norman Cigar Genocide in Bosnia (1996)
Jan Honig & Norbert Both
Nov 4  

**IS THERE A EUROPEAN IDENTITY?**

What does it mean to be European? The economic success of the European Union has not led, as some hoped, to the emergence of a strong European identity replacing national identities. Did the Eastern enlargement in 2004 and 2007 undermine the prospects for a new Euro identity? What are the chances that deeper political integration may create a real European identity?

* Daniel Williams  
* Thomas Risse  
* Eurozine  
  ‘Changing Europe’ (essays, 2006-07)
* Michael Bruter  
* Zsuzsa Csergo & James Goldgeier  
  ‘Nationalist strategies and European integration,’ *Perspectives on Politics* (2004), 2: 1, 21-37
* Michael Keating  

Nov 6  

**MOSLEM MINORITIES IN EUROPE**

A look at Moslem immigrants in Europe, taking the French ‘veil controversy’ as our starting point. The rights of Moslem groups have triggered fierce debates over dress codes, mosque building, and free speech issues in many European countries, from the cartoon controversy in Denmark to the killing of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh. The topic has also provoked broader debates about what it means to be British, German etc., leading to changes in citizenship laws.

* Jane Freedman  
* Jan Jap de Ruiter  
* Eric Kaufman  
  ‘Immigration and integration in Britain’ *Nationalities Papers* Nov 2014
* Foulard Affair  
  newspaper clippings
* Stephanie Giry  
* Faruk Sen  
  ‘Immigrant Muslims in Germany,’ *Turkish Daily News*, 31 Oct 2001
* Jytte Klausen  
* Joel Fetzer & Christopher Soper  
  *Muslims and the State in Britain, France and Germany* (2005)

Movies  
  * Hate (La Haine) (1995); East is East (1999)*

Nov 11  

**CHINA**

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?

* Suisheng Zhao  
* Emily Parker  
* Sexy Beijing TV  
  ‘Lost in translation’ (2008) 7 min. video
* Guangqiu Xu  
* Howard French  
  ‘Taiwan and China: Struggle over identity,’ *IH Tribune*, 27 May 2005
* Zheng Wang  
  *Never Forget National Humiliation* (2012)
* Peter Hays Gries  
  *China’s New Nationalism* (2004)

Movies  
Nov 13  JAPAN & KOREA

Japan was the first non-European country to successfully embrace the European 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

Korea was divided between North and South, and under strong influence from China, Japan and now the US, Koreans exhibit a robust national pride. But finding a clear political expression for that nationalism in such a challenging international environment has proved very contentious.

John Huer  ‘Can we ever understand Korea,’ *Korea Times*, 12 Aug 2009


Gi-Wook Shin et al  Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in NE Asia (2007)

Nov 18  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? Is Iraq viable as a nation-state? What was the role of nationalism in the Arab Spring?


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)

The internet and social media are seen as having played a pivotal role in mobilizing popular protests during the Arab Spring. Can it similarly be used to forge new nationalist movements? Evidence is mixed. Some diasporas use the web to create transnational political lobbies, but within individual countries the state and traditional media still seem to have the upper hand.

* Evgeny Morozov The Net Delusion. The Dark Side of Internet Freedom (2011)
* Xu Wu Chinese Cybernationalism (2007)

Friday, Nov 21 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> by 4.00 pm.

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

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

Nov 25-Dec 2, Dec 4 STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

I would strongly encourage you to deliver your presentation in the form of an imovie or equivalent video program.

Each presentation will be no more than ten minutes followed by a brief Q&A.

Tuesday Dec 9 Final research paper due

10-12 pages including notes, the paper should be sent by email to <prutland> by 7.00 pm on Dec 9.