

Nationalism

Political Science 2338.10, Spring 2015
Monday & Wednesday 2.20-3.35pm
(1957 E. Street, Room B12)

Harris Mylonas
406 Hall of Government (2115 G St)
E-mail: mylonas@gwu.edu
Office hours: Monday 1:30 - 2:15pm and Wednesday 3:45 - 5pm

Teaching assistant: Julian Waller, jgwaller@gwmail.gwu.edu
Office: DHH, 609 21st Street, N.W., Room 201
Office hours: 12:00-2:00 pm Wednesdays

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. 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 12. Introduction
January 14. Definitions: Ethnicity, Race, Nation, and Nationalism
January 21. Varieties of Nationalism
[Assignment #1 due: National Anthems Project]
I. Causes
January 26. Primordialism/Ethnic Hatreds
[Assignment #1 due: National Anthems Project]
January 28. Empirics
February 2. Industrialization, Urbanization, and Social Mobilization
[Assignment #2 due: What "ethnic group system" type does the US have?]
February 4. Empirics
February 9. Socialization: Family, Schooling, Army
February 11. Empirics
February 18. Guest Lecture
February 23. Events, Practices, and Demonstration Effects
[Assignment#3 due: Personal stories]
February 25. Empirics
March 2. Elites and the Politics of People-Building
March 4. Empirics
March 16. Cascades and Identity Change
March 18. Empirics
March 23. International Involvement and the Politicization of Differences
March 25. Review Session
March 30. Midterm Exam

II. Effects

April 1. Nationalism as an Explanatory Variable
April 6. The Homogenizing Imperative and the Politics of Nation-Building
April 8. Empirics
April 13. Nationalism and Political Violence
April 15. Empirics
April 20. Nationalism and Political Mobilization/Voting
April 22. Guest Lecture
April 27. Nationalism and Self Determination Movements
April 29. Wrap Up: Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Nation-Building in the 21st Century
Final exam May 8

Films

During the semester I will be 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 4 required books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore or online. All books are also on reserve at Gelman Library.

Required:

Gellner, Ernest. 2006 [2nd edition]. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell.
Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford.
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.

Recommended:

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.
Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge University Press.
Jenne, Erin. 2007. *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Cornell University Press.
Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundation of Ethnic Politics*. 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 Publishing Company.
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.
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.

Course Requirements:

Midterm Exam: In-class midterm exam (March 30).

3 Short Assignments

Final Exam/Paper: Final exam (May 8)

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 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 with you news stories that are relevant to our class.
- In class midterm: 30% - The midterm will consist of two parts. The first part will be multiple-choice questions (30/100) and IDs (30/100). The second part will require you to write an essay (40/100). You will be given three questions/topics and you will be expected to write on one of them. Please do not bring with you any notes or reading materials. (**March 30**).
- 3 Short assignments: 30% of your grade – Students will have to write three short assignments on themes covered in class.
- Take home Final Exam: 30% - You will write a **Policy Note** to a leader or an opinion piece. You will be given two questions/topics and you will be expected to write on one of them (**May 8**).

Participation	(10%)
Midterm (March 30)	(30%)
3 Short assignments	(30%)
Final Exam (May 8)	(30%)

If you would like your TA 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. We 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 20% of your grade.

Make-up exams

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

Policy on Religious Holidays:

You should notify the TA 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 the TA about holidays in advance of the original due date. I do not intend to observe any religious holidays.

Academic Integrity

By taking this course, you are agreeing to abide by the University's Code of Academic Integrity. It states: "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 the remainder of the code, see: <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>

If you are unsure about any aspect of this policy the Writing Center (<http://www.gwu.edu/~gwriter/>) can provide assistance on citation or other aspects of writing papers. Claiming ignorance about how or when to cite sources is not an excuse for *academic dishonesty*.

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 Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: <http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/>

UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300

The University Counseling Center (UCC) 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
- <http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices>

Security

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.

Your first reaction in an emergency should be to stay where you are. Evacuate only if you hear the fire alarm or someone instructs you to evacuate. If you are outdoors during an incident, proceed into the closest GW building unless you are told to do otherwise. No matter where you are on campus, the basic steps of “sheltering in place” are:

Shelter-in-place in an interior room, above ground level, and with the fewest windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms may be necessary. Shut and lock all windows (locking will form a tighter seal), close exterior doors, and stay away from glass doors and windows. Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able (Facilities staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible). Make a list of the people with you and call the list in to GWPD (see numbers above) so they know where you are.

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.

Evacuation

We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds or if the building we are in becomes unsafe. In the event of an evacuation, please quickly gather your personal belongings (purse, keys, cell phone, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Do not use the elevator.

Alert DC

Alert DC provides free notification by email or text message during an emergency. Visit GW Campus Advisories for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, please share the information immediately.

GW Alert

GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. You are encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit GW Campus Advisories to learn how. Additional Information about emergency preparedness at GW can be found on GW Campus Advisories <http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu>

Course Schedule:

January 12. **Introduction**

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

Recommended:

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.

January 14. **Definitions: 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.

January 21. **Varieties of Nationalism**

Connor, Walker. 1984. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. *Introduction and Chapter 1*.

Hechter, pp. 35-93.

Gellner, pp. 85-105

Suggested Films: Braveheart, The French Revolution, Exodus

I. Causes

January 26. **Primordialism/Ethnic Hatreds**

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

Assignment #1 due: National Anthems Project

Suggested Film: 15 Février 1839 [15 February 1839]

January 28. **Empirics**

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

February 2. **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.

Assignment #2 due: What “ethnic group system” type does the US have?

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

February 4. **Empirics**

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.

February 9. **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)

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

February 11. **Empirics**

Darden, Chapter 3

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

February 18. Guest Lecture

February 23. **Events, practices, and demonstration effects**

Brubaker, Rogers. 1994. "Rethinking Nationhood: Nation as Institutionalized Form, Practical Category, Contingent Event," *Contention* 4[1]:3-14.

Recommended:

William H. Sewell, Jr. 1996. "Historical Events As Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille," *Theory and Society*, Vol.25, No.6: 441-481.

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

Assignment#3 due: Personal stories

Suggested Films: *The Battle of Algiers*, *The Patriot*

February 25. **Empirics**

Suny, Ronald Grigor. 1993. *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1-19.

Recommended:

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. "From the Impossible to the Inevitable," in *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-46.

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

March 2. **Elites and the Politics of People-Building**

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

Recommended:

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

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

March 4. **Empirics**

Malcolm X on Black Nationalism

Akturk, Sener. 2011. "Regimes of Ethnicity: Comparative Analysis of Germany, the Soviet Union/Post-Soviet Russia, and Turkey," *World Politics*, Vol.63, No.1: pp.115-164.

Mylonas, Chapter 6.

March 16. **Cascades and Identity Change**

Laitin, 2007, pp. 29-59.

Suggested Film: Lawrence of Arabia

March 18. **Empirics**

Laitin, 2007, pp. 61-80

March 23. **International Involvement and the Politicization of Differences**

Mylonas, Chapter 1.

Darden, Keith and Harris Mylonas. Forthcoming. "Threats to Territorial Integrity, National Mass Schooling, and Linguistic Commonality," *Comparative Political Studies*.

Recommended:

Jenne, Chapter 2

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

March 25. **Review Session**

March 30. **Midterm Exam**

II. Effects

April 1. **Nationalism as an explanatory variable**

Brubaker, Rogers and David Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 4: 423-452.

Recommended:

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

Suggested Film: *Dances with Wolves*

April 6. **The Homogenizing Imperative and the Politics of Nation-Building**

Mylonas, Chapter 2

Recommended:

Jenne, Chapter 3

Bulutgil, Zeynep. 2010. "War, Collaboration, and Endogenous Ethnic Polarization: The Path to Ethnic Cleansing." In Adria Lawrence and Erica Chenoweth (eds). *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict*. BCSIA Studies in International Security, MIT Press.

Suggested Films: Sometimes in April, Hotel Rwanda

April 8. **Empirics**

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 (with Enze Han).

Recommended:

Mylonas, Chapter 7

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.

April 13. **Nationalism and Political Violence**

Laitin, 2007, pp. 1-27.

April 15. **Empirics**

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

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2008. "Ethnic Defection in Civil Wars". *Comparative Political Studies*, 41:8, 1043-1068.

Recommended:

Posen, Barry. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35, no.1: 27-47.
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.nytimes.com/packages/html/world/20071209_KOSOVO_FEATURE/index.html

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

April 20. **Nationalism and Political Mobilization/Voting**

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.

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

April 22. **Guest Lecture on Nationalism, Anti-Regime Mobilization, and Separatism**
by Julian G. Waller, Ph.D. candidate, George Washington University

April 27. **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.

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

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

April 29. **Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Nation-Building in the 21st Century**

Laitin 2007, Chapters 4 and 5.

Recommended:

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

Keith Darden and Harris Mylonas. 2012. “The Promethean Dilemma: Third-Party State-building in Occupied Territories”, *Ethnopolitics*, Issue 1, March, pp. 85-93.
Mylonas, Chapter 9

Final exam date: May 8.