

Nationalism and Nation-Building

PSC 8388.80, Fall 2014
Wednesday 6:10 - 8:00PM
(Monroe Hall 250)

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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 (August 27). Introduction
- Week 2 (Sept 3). State, Nation, and Varieties of Nationalism
- Week 3 (Sept 10). Origins of Nationalism
- Week 4 (Sept 17). Race and Nation
- Week 5 (Sept 24). Defining and re-Defining the Nation
- Week 6 (Oct 1). Nationalism, War, and State Formation
- Week 7 (Oct 8). The Homogenizing Imperative and The Politics of Nation-Building
- Week 8 (Oct 15). Nationalism and Self-Determination
- Week 9 (Oct 22). Literacy, Nationalism, and Resistance to Occupation
- Week 10 (October 29). Ethnic Cleavages and Alliances in Civil Conflicts
- Week 11 (Nov 5). Ethnicity, Cleavages, and Electoral Politics
- Week 12 (Nov 12). Nation-Building, Migration, and Multiculturalism
- Week 13 (Nov 19). Third-Party Nation-Building
- Week 14 (Dec 3). 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 (Sept 24): Selection of a topic/empirical puzzle/research question

Week 8 (Oct 15): Bibliography of existing literature and summary of main arguments

Week 11 (Nov 5): Relevant history and/or guidelines for data collection

Week 13 (Nov 19): Abstract, outline, and preliminary findings

Final Papers Due by December 15.

Texts

There are 12 books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore (or online). All books are also on reserve at Gelman Library.

Required:

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.

Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture*. Chicago University Press.

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

Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation*. Cambridge: 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. 2012. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge 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.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Connor, Walker. 1984. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton 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.
- 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 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. 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.
- 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. 2002. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. 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.

Policy on Religious Holidays - 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.

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:

WEEK 1 (August 27). **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.

WEEK 2 (September 3). **State, Nation, and Varieties of Nationalism**

State

Max Weber, *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

Gellner, pp. 88-109
Hechter, pp. 15-17, 35-93.
Connor, Walker. 1984. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. *Introduction and Chapter 1*.
Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 1-20.

Recommended Reading:

Boone, Catherine. 2012. *Political Topographies of the African State*. Cambridge University Press.
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 Publishing Company.
Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton University Press.
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.
Connor, Walker. 1994. "When is a Nation?" Chapter 9 of *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 210-226.
Kohn, Hans. 1994. *The Idea of Nationalism*. New York: MacMillan, Chapter 1.
Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, pp.174-208.
Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.

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.

WEEK 3 (Sept 10). **Origins of Nationalism**

Nationalism as a by-product

Anderson, Chapter 4-7.

Gellner, pp. 19-62, 137-143.

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, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*.

Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976. 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 (Sept 17). **Race and Nation**

Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laitin, David. 1995. "Marginality: A Microperspective," *Rationality and Society*, Vol.7, No. 1: 31-57.

Recommended:

Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge University Press. [Intro, Chapters 1-4, 10-11]

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.

Mavrogordatos, George Th. 1983. *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922-1936*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2002. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture*. Chicago University Press.

Assignment: Political Science Journals

WEEK 5 (Sept 24). **Defining and re-Defining the Nation**

Aktürk, Şener. 2013. *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

WEEK 6 (Oct 1). **Nationalism, War, and State Formation**

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

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.

van Evera, Stephen. 1994. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War", *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Spring), pp. 5-39.

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

Recommended:

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

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*, 97:1, 75-90.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2006. "Ethnic Exclusion in Nationalizing States," in Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (eds.), *Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*. London: Sage.

V.P. Gagnon, Jr. Winter 1994/1995. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict, The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19(3), pp. 132-168.

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (chapters 1-5).

Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence, Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Chapter 1.

Assignment: Datasets

WEEK 7 (Oct 8). **The Homogenizing Imperative and The Politics of Nation-Building**

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

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.

Koksal, Yonca. 2010. "Transnational Networks and Kin States: Turkish Minority in Bulgaria, 1878-1940," *Nationalities Papers*.

Recommended:

Marx, Anthony. 2005. *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, pp. 1-164.

Mann, Michael. 2004. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-110.

Rae, Heather. 2002. *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples*. Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 14-54, skim Chapters 4-6.

- 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.
- 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
- Kymlicka, Will. 2008. "The Internationalization of Minority Rights", *ICON: International Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 6/1 (2008), pp. 1-32.
- 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.
- Ron, James. 2003. *Frontiers and Ghettos. State Violence in Serbia and Israel*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press. [Introduction and Part I].
- John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary. 1994. "The Political Regulation of National and Ethnic Conflict". *Parliamentary Affairs* 47 (1): 94-115.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. "Elementary strategies of ethnic boundary making," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 31 No. 6: 1025-1055.

Grant Proposals

WEEK 8 (Oct 15). Nationalism and Self-Determination

- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, chapter 6.
- 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]
- Mylonas, Harris and Nadav Shelef. "Which land is Our Land? Explaining Change in the Desired State Borders by Stateless Nationalist Movements," *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue 4.

Recommended:

- 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]
- Beissinger, Mark. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge 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.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security*, 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175.
- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics*, 52 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Thomas Chapman 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.
- Nicholas Sambanis 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.
- 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. Hale, pp. 93-119

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.

Assignment: Bibliography of existing literature and summary of main arguments

WEEK 9 (Oct 22). **Literacy, 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.

<http://keithdarden.wordpress.com/books/>

WEEK 10 (Oct 29). **Ethnic Cleavages and Alliances in Civil Conflicts**

Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Posen, Barry. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35, no.1: 27-47.

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

WEEK 11 (Nov 5). **Ethnicity, Cleavages, and Electoral Politics**

Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture*. Chicago University Press.

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.

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (chapters 7-10).

Recommended:

Mylonas, Harris and Nasos Roussias. 2008. "[When do Votes Count? Regime Type, Electoral Conduct, and Political Competition in Africa.](#)" *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 11, 1466-1491.

Mozaffar, S., Scarritt, J., & Galaich, G. (2003). "Electoral institutions, ethnopolitical cleavages, and party systems in Africa's emerging democracies," *American Political Science Review*, 97 (3): 379-390.

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

Wilkinson, Steven. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 and skim 2-5.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Part 1 and skim the rest.

Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence, Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Chapter 1.

Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Assignment: Relevant history and/or guidelines for data collection

WEEK 12 (Nov 12). **Nation-Building, Migration, and Multiculturalism**

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.

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

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

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

Recommended:

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

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

WEEK 13 (Nov 19). **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/

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

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

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Assignment: Abstract, outline, and preliminary findings

WEEK 14 (December 3). **Student Presentations**

Final Papers Due by December 15.