Political science 832 Winter 2018 MC-B313

Monday 11:30am-2:30pm

Prof: Zsuzsa Csergő Office hours: Monday 3-5pm; and

by appointment csergo@queensu.ca

#### Theories and Politics of Nationalism

The goal of this seminar is to examine major debates and influential arguments in the scholarship about nationalism. In the first part of the course, we will focus on broader questions about the meaning and sources of nationalism as a political ideology, its relationship to ethnicity and race, and the links between identity and political violence. In the second part, we will discuss the relationship between nationalism and democracy. Beyond seminar discussions, the course provides opportunities for students to develop advanced research, writing, and presentation skills.

# **Course requirements include the following:**

- (1) Completing all required readings and participating actively in class discussions [20% of grade]
- (2) Serving as a discussant for one weekly session: writing a 5-page critical discussion paper about the readings assigned for that session, and presenting it in class

[30% of grade, including 15% for the paper + 15% for the 20-minute presentation. Students are also required to share their discussion papers with other class participants by 5pm on the day before the seminar. Additional details will be provided in class.]

(3) Writing one 20-page research paper on an approved topic OR two review essays (10 pages each) [50 % of grade]

# The research paper

Submit a paper proposal by **February 16, 4pm**. The proposal should be maximum 2 pages long, and it should include the following: a research question and brief explanation of its significance; brief justification of case selection, where appropriate; an explanation for the method through which the research question will be answered; and a preliminary list of sources.

Submit the final paper by April 6, 4pm (in the main office).

# The review essays

For each review essay, select a question about nationalism that you find important, and write a critical review essay about 2 scholarly books that address that question from different perspectives. (Include only books published by major university or academic presses.) Develop a critical analysis of the way these authors have addressed the question, identifying strengths and weaknesses in their approaches, and suggesting ways in which future research might fill the gaps left by their work.

- Submit a proposal for both essays by **February 16, 2018, 4pm.**
- The final essays are due on April 6, 2018, by 4pm.

# The following books are required:

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. Nations and Nationalism. Cornell University Press.

Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.

Malkki, Liisa. 1995. Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania. University of Chicago Press.

Brubaker, Roger. 1996. Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe. Cambridge University Press.

Stroschein, Sherrill. 2012. Ethnic Struggle, Coexistence, and Democratization in Eastern Europe. Cambridge University Press.

Stepan, Alfred, Juan Linz, and Yogendra Yadav. 2011. *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

### Schedule and topics of discussion

### **January 8: Introduction to the course**

## I. Theorizing about the meanings and sources of nationalism

### January 15: Ethnicity and nationalism: what is the relationship?

Abdelal, Rawi, Yoshiko M. Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston and Rose McDermott. 2006. "Identity as a Variable." *Perspectives on Politics* 4(04):695-711

Barth, Frederik. 1998 (1969). "Introduction." In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, ed. Frederik Barth. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, Inc.

Gil-White, Francisco J. 1999. "How thick is blood? The plot thickens . . .: if ethnic actors are primordialists, what remains of the circumstantialist /primordialist controversy?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22(5):789 - 820

Hale, Henry. 2004. "Explaining Ethnicity," Comparative Political Studies 37 (4): 458-485

Brubaker, Rogers. 2012. "Religion and Nationalism." Nations and Nationalism 18 (1): 2-20

# January 22: How did nationalism emerge as a political ideology?

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. Nations and Nationalism [entire]

Recommended:

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso: chapter 4 ("Creole Pioneers")

Greenfeld, Liah. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Smith, Anthony D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*. New York: Routledge.

Hall, John A. ed. 1998. *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hroch, Miroslav. 1993. "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," New Left Review 198: 3-20.

# January 29: What is the link between race and nationalism?

Anthony Marx. 1998. Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil. Cambridge University Press. [entire]

# February 5: How helpful is the "ethnic vs civic" dichotomy in understanding nationalism?

Brubaker, Rogers. 1999. "The Manichean Myth." Kriesel, Hanspeter et al. ed. *Nation and National Identity: The European Experiment in Perspective*. Zürick: Verlag Rüger: 55-71.

Kuzio, Taras. 2002. "The myth of the civic state: a critical survey of Hans Kohn's framework for understanding nationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25 (1):20-39

Marx, Anthony W. 2002. "The Nation-State and Its Exclusions." *Political Science Quarterly* 117 (1): 103-126

Arash Abizadeh, 2002. 'Does Liberal Democracy Presuppose a Cultural Nation?', *American Political Science Review* 96 (3): 495-509

### Recommended:

Anthony Marx, Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism (Oxford U P, 2003)

Yack, Bernard. 1996. "The Myth of the Civic Nation." Critical Review 10(2):193-211.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Place, Kinship and the Case for Non-Ethnic Nations," Nations and Nationalism 10 (1/2), 2004: 49-62

# February 12: What is the role of memory in nation-building?

Malkki, Lisa. *Purity and Exile* [entire]

Recommended:

Majstorovic, Steven. 1997. "Ancient Hatred or Elite Manipulation? World Affairs 159 (4): 170-182

• **February 16: Due date for paper proposals.** Please email proposals to csergo@queensu.ca by 10pm. Send everything in an editable Word file, and the file name should include your name. The email subject field should include your name, the course number (Pols 832), and the assignment (e.g., "paper proposal").

[February 19: Reading week]

# February 26: The link between identity and political violence

Guest: Professor Lee Ann Fujii, Political Science Department, University of Toronto

Fujii, Lee Ann – TBA

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence:' Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(03):475-494

Recommended:

Fujii, Lee Ann. 2009. Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda. Cornell University Press.

Horowitz, Donald. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. 2nd revised Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press: pp.229-288.

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2004. "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(01):85-99

### II. Nationalism and democracy

# March 5: When does democratic regime change trigger nationalist conflict?

Stroschein, Sherrill. Ethnic Struggle, Coexistence, and Democratization in Eastern Europe [entire]

#### Recommended:

Brubaker, Roger, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox & Liana Grancea, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. 2008. Princeton University Press.

Snyder, Jack. 2000. From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict. W. Norton & Company.

Giuliano, Elise. 2006. "Secessionism from the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Local Accountability in the Russian Transition." *World Politics* 58(2):276-310

Beissinger, Mark. 2008. "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 19 (3): 85-97.

# March 12: Can democratic states accommodate multiple nation-building projects?

Stepan, Alfred, Juan Linz and Yogendra Yadav. 2011. *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies*. Johns Hopkins University Press [entire]

# March 19: Can transnational institutions tame nationalism?

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [entire]

David J. Smith. 2002. "Framing the national question in Central and Eastern Europe: a quadratic nexus?" *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics*, 2 (1), 3-16.

# March 26: Lessons from the EU

Csergő, Zsuzsa and James M. Goldgeier. 2004. "Nationalist Strategies and European Integration." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (1): 21-37

Fox, Jon and Peter Vermeersch. 2010. "Backdoor Nationalism." *European Journal of Sociology* 51 (2):325-357.

Mabry, Tristan James, John McGarry, Margaret Moore, and Brendan O'Leady, eds. *Divided Nations and European Integration*. 2013. University of Pennsylvania Press. Two chapters of your choice.

Csergő, Zsuzsa and Ada-Charlotte Regelmann, eds. "Europeanization and Minority Political Action in Central and Eastern Europe." special issue in *Problems of Post-Communism* 64 (5). Two articles of your choice.

April 2: Review

April 6 – Research paper OR second critical essay due by 4pm (main office)