

Nationalism and the Nation-State
INTL 1040 | 67 George 104 | Th 4-6:30pm

Instructor: Elissa Berwick

Office Hours: Mondays 3pm-5pm SRH Room 201

Contact: elissa_berwick@brown.edu

Course Description

From Brexiteers in the United Kingdom and independence activists in Catalonia to members of the Hindu right-wing in India, nationalism seems to be everywhere today. We live in a world of nation-states whose boundaries are legitimized by the shared identities of their populations. But what is nationalism, and how does it relate to the nations whose borders structure both the affairs of states and the details of our everyday lives? In essence, nationalism is a project of creating congruence among a territory, its rulers, and the ruled. Yet scholars disagree over where national projects come from, and what their implications for societies are. For some, nationalism is a quintessentially modern and malleable phenomenon; for others, it is a primordial and inescapable impulse.

This course is divided into three parts, addressing in turn the origins, varieties and consequences of nationalism. The first part will offer an introduction to the most prominent explanations for the emergence and persistence of nationalism, and discuss how nationalism relates to modernity, community, ethnicity, war and welfare (or as in Ernest Gellner's unforgettable turn of phrase, why "some nations have navels, some achieve navels, [and] some have navels thrust upon them.") The second section explores variation in traditions of nationalism around the world, touching not only the debate over civic and ethnic forms of nationalism, but also studies of anti-colonial and sub-state nationalisms. The final section of the course will consider some of the consequences of nationalism for diverse societies, including the assimilation of immigrants and the provision of public goods as well as power-sharing arrangements and secessionist movements.

Learning Objectives

Through this course, students will gain an appreciation of how nationalism came to be and how it continues to shape our world. Students will develop familiarity with the most important theorists of nationalism and their critics, both classic and contemporary. This is a reading-intensive seminar aimed at honing students'

analytical and writing skills. Students will be presented with different theoretical lenses for studying nationalist movements each week and be expected to summarize arguments while critically evaluating background assumptions. Especially in the latter half of the course, readings will draw from cutting-edge research, exposing students to current trends in empirical social science.

Course Requirements

Participation: 20%

Reading responses: 40%

Research paper: 40% (proposal 10%; final paper 30%)

Participation. Students will be asked to complete ~150 pages of readings before coming to class. As a discussion-based course, class participation is vital, and I will therefore expect all students to attend with the required readings completed, prepared to thoughtfully and respectfully engage with classmates. I will also expect students to promote an active learning environment in the classroom by supporting each other intellectually and by asking questions, both of me and of their fellow students. When speaking, students should remember that they are in dialogue not just with me, but also with the entire class.

Reading Responses. Students will also be expected to produce four short reading responses over the course of the semester, with at least two responses submitted before the midterm. Responses should be brief, from one to two pages in length, and should contrast how each assigned author engages with the theme of the week in question. Responses will be due at least 24 hours prior to the class at which the readings will be discussed, so that they can be circulated among all students. If desired, one reading response may be re-written and re-submitted for a new grade at any point in the term. Late responses will not be counted without a legitimate excuse.

Research Paper. A final research paper of 15-20 pages will be due at the end of the reading period, on May 5th. For the final paper, students will select a nationalist and/or separatist movement, either historical (for example: Bolivarian revolutions, Ireland, India, Hungary, Zionist) or more contemporary (for example: Bangladesh, Vietnam, Iran, Basque Country, Catalonia, Quebec, Kurdish). Students will be expected to describe the most prominent features of their movement and discuss how well the theories covered in the course explain its origins or features. Is the movement particularly challenging for one theorist? Does it support one theorist over another? Is the movement very similar to others we've discussed, or is it quite

different? Papers should engage with the work of at least three scholars. The paper should draw principally on scholarly secondary sources, but primary sources may be used as well, if appropriate. I will help develop a plan of additional background reading if students so desire.

Paper Proposal. On March 20th, before the start of the spring break, students must submit a one-page proposal that: identifies the movement they will focus on, provides some background on it, and suggests which scholars they might engage with. Students are encouraged to consult with me prior to submitting the proposal in order to discuss possible topics. I may ask students to reconsider and resubmit infeasible or incomplete proposals.

Coursework Allotment. Over 13 weeks of classes, students will spend 3 hours per week in class (39 hours total). Required reading for the class meetings is expected to take up approximately 7 hours per week (91 hours total). In addition, composing the four reading responses together with writing and researching the final paper are estimated at total of approximately 50 hours over the course of the term. Note that the course will not meet during the reading period to allow students time to work on final papers.

Course Policies

Enrollment. The course is capped at twenty to facilitate engaged discussions. If the course is over-subscribed, then during the first class of the term, all students who want to enroll will fill out cards with their major, year, how likely they are to take the class, and why they want to take it. I will then select twenty students to maximize interest and a diversity of majors and years.

Late work. Students are expected to attend all class meetings and to submit all work on time. Missed class will result in a failure to participate in discussion, directly lowering the participation grade. Late final papers will be marked down by 1/3 of a letter grade (i.e., A to A-, A- to B+, etc.) for each day late, though in no case will a paper that would otherwise receive a passing grade receive a failing grade (which is to say, it won't drop below a D-), as long as it is submitted prior to the end of the semester.

Absences. I recognize that there will be situations that make it impossible (or unwise) for students to attend class or to submit a paper on time, including illnesses (when sick, please rest and recover; don't make me and your classmates sick too!) If

students are genuinely unable to come to class or submit a paper on time for a legitimate reason, I simply ask that they inform me in advance and let me know the reason. However, I reserve the right to request documentation of excuses if it seems to me that a student is taking advantage of this policy more frequently than is reasonable.

Accessibility and Accommodations. Brown University is committed to full inclusion of all students. Please inform me early in the term if you have a disability or other conditions that might require accommodations or modification of any of these course procedures. You may speak with me after class or during office hours. For more information, please contact [Student and Employee Accessibility Services](#) at 401-863-9588 or SEAS@brown.edu. Students in need of short-term academic advice or support can contact one of the deans in the Dean of the College office.

Inclusion. It is my intent that students from all diverse backgrounds and perspectives be well-served by this course, that students' learning needs be addressed both in and out of class, and that the diversity that students bring to this class be viewed as a resource, strength and benefit. It is my intent to present materials and activities that are respectful of diversity: gender, sexuality, disability, age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, race, and culture. Any suggestions are encouraged and appreciated. Please let me know ways to improve the effectiveness of the course.

Technology. To facilitate engaged discussions, laptops, tablets and smartphones will not be permitted in class, with the exception of documented accommodations. If you read class materials in an electronic format, please bring analog notes in order to participate in class. Any calls or texting will be deducted from your participation grade.

Academic Integrity. Students should be familiar with the university's integrity guidelines (<https://www.brown.edu/academics/college/degree/policies/academic-code>). A student's name on any exercise (e.g., a theme, report, notebook, performance, computer program, course paper, quiz, or examination) is regarded as assurance that the exercise is the result of the student's own thoughts and study, stated in his or her own words, and produced without assistance, except as quotation marks, references, and footnotes acknowledge the use of printed sources or other outside help. Proper citation of sources is also a critical part of the writing process, as it both helps readers understand the origins of underlying evidence and acknowledges the work done by other scholars.

Office Hours and availability. I will be holding regular weekly office hours on Mondays from 2pm-4pm in Stephen Robert Hall, and I will be available by appointment if that time is incompatible with students' schedules. I will also be available by email at elissa_berwick@brown.edu for any urgent questions or concerns. I will endeavor to answer all emails within 24 hours, except on weekends.

Required Readings. As you will be assigned readings from a large number of journals and books, I do not recommend purchasing all assigned texts. Assigned readings will be available online, though books will also be placed on reserve at the campus library and additional copies are available via Borrow Direct.

Course Overview

Week 1. Jan 23. Introduction; what is the nation?

Part I. Origins of nationalism

Week 2. Jan 30. Nationalism and modernity

Week 3. Feb 6. Invented traditions and imagined communities

Week 4. Feb 13. Ethnicity, race, and the nation

Week 5. Feb 20. Nationalism and war

Week 6. Feb 27. Literacy and welfare

Part II. Varieties of Nationalism

Week 7. Mar 5. Civic, ethnic and liberal nationalism

■ ***At least two reading responses must have been submitted by March 5th***

Week 8. Mar 12. Anticolonial nationalism

Week 9. Mar 19. Sub-state nationalism

■ ***Paper proposal due on March 20th***

Mar. 21-29 Spring break

Part III: Consequences of nationalism

Week 10. Apr 2. Immigration, diversity and toleration

Week 11. Apr 9. Public goods and social solidarity

Week 12. Apr 16. Federation and power-sharing

Week 13. Apr 23. Secession and partition

Class is not scheduled to meet during the Apr 24th - May 5th reading period

- **Final paper due May 5th**

Course Schedule

Week 1. Jan 23. Introduction

Recommended

Chandra, Kanchan. "How Hindu Nationalism Went Mainstream: And what that means for Narendra Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party." *Foreign Policy*, June 13th, 2019.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/13/how-hindu-nationalism-went-mainstream/>

Leddy-Owen, Charles. "What 'cultural backlash'? Brexit is a product of nationalist ideology." *LSE Blogs*, March 28th, 2019.

<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2019/03/28/what-cultural-backlash-brexit-is-a-product-of-nationalist-ideology/>

Part I: Origins of nationalism

Week 2. Jan 30. Nationalism and modernity

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press p. 1-51

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 14-79

Week 3. Feb 6. Invented traditions and imagined communities

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, p 1-112

Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 1-42 (chp. 1-2)

Week 4. Feb 13. Ethnicity, race and the nation

Connor, Walker. 1978. "A Nation is a nation, is an ethnic group, is a..." *Ethnic and racial studies* 1, no. 4: 377-400

Gat, Azar with Alexander Yakobson. 2013. *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism*. New York, Cambridge University Press, p. 1-66 (Chapters 1-3)

Week 5. Feb 20. Nationalism and war

Centeno, Miguel Angel, et al. 2013. "Internal Wars and Latin American Nationalism." In *Nationalism and War*, eds. John A. Hall and Siniša Malešević. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 279-305.

Herbst, Jeffrey. 1990. "War and the State in Africa," *International Security*, 14 (4): 117-139.

Hutchinson, John. 2018. "Bringing the Study of Warfare into Theories of Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 24:1, 6-21

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

Week 6. Feb 27. Literacy, schooling and communication

Balcells, Laia. 2013. "Mass Schooling and Catalan Nationalism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* Vol 19, No 4, p 467-486.

Darden, Keith and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse." *World Politics*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Oct.), p. 83-115

Wimmer, Andreas. 2018. *Nation Building: Why some countries come together while others fall apart*. Princeton University Press, p. 23-44, 113-170 (Chapters 1 and 4)

Part II: Varieties of nationalism

Week 7: Mar 5. Civic and ethnic nationalism

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Introduction and Conclusion

Greenfeld, Liah. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, p 1-26 (Introduction)

Kohn, Hans. 1945. "Western and Eastern Nationalisms". In *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p 162-165.

Smith, Anthony D. 1991. *National Identity*. London: Penguin, p. 1-18, 71-98 (Chapters 1 and 4)

- **At least two reading responses must have been submitted before class on March 5th**

Week 8. Mar 12. Anticolonial nationalism

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso (2nd Edition), p 113-140, 163-185 (Chp 7 and 10)

Chatterjee, Partha. 1996. "Whose Imagined Community?" In *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan. New York: Verso, p 214-225.

Kedourie, Elie. 1971. "Dark Gods and their Rites." In *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p 205-209.

Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press, p. 1-49 (Introduction)

Week 9. Mar 19. Sub-state nationalism

Keating, Michael. 1999. "Asymmetrical Government: Multinational States in an Integrating Europe." *Publius* Vol. 29, no. 1 (Winter 1999): 71-86.

Singh, Prerna. 2015. *How Solidarity Works for Welfare: Sub-nationalism and Social Development in India*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, p 27-31,64-111 (Chp 2 excerpt and Chp 3)

Hechter, Michael, and Margaret Levi. "The Comparative Analysis of Ethnoregional Movements." *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 2, no. 3 (July 1979): 260-274.

■ **Paper proposal due by March 20th**

Mar. 21st - 29th Spring break

Part III: Consequences of nationalism

Week 10. Apr 2. Immigration, diversity and toleration

Mylonas, Harris. 2013. *The politics of nation-building: making of co-nationals, refugees, and minorities*. Cambridge University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1, p. 1-52

Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth. 2009. *Who counts as an American? The boundaries of national identity*. Cambridge University Press, chp. 1 and 6

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven: Yale University Press, chp. 3-4

Week 11. Apr 9. Public goods and social solidarity

Lieberman, Evan. 2001. "National Political Community and the Politics of Income Taxation in Brazil and South Africa in the 20th Century." *Politics and Society* 29(4): 515-55

Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56 (3):327-362

Robinson, Amanda. 2016. "Nationalism and Ethnic-Based Trust: Evidence from an African Border Region." *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 49(14) 1819-1854

Transue, J. E. 2007. "Identity salience, identity acceptance, and racial policy attitudes: American national identity as a uniting force." *American Journal of Political Science*, 51, 78-91

Week 12. Apr 16. Federation and power-sharing

Horowitz, Donald L. 2002. "Explaining the Northern Ireland Agreement: the sources of an unlikely constitutional consensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 32, no. 2: 193-220

Lijphart, Arend. 1996. "The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation," *American Political Science Review*, v. 90, no. 2, June, p. 258-68

Stepan, Alfred. 2005. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the US model." In *Theories of federalism: A reader*, p. 255-268. Palgrave Macmillan, New York

Roeder, Philip G. 1991. "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization," *World Politics* 43: 196-232

Week 13. Apr 23. Secession and partition

Horowitz, Donald. 1994. "The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas." In *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* p. 229-288

Bunce, Valerie. 1999. "Peaceful Versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia." *Politics and Society*, 27 (June): 217-237

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security*, 20, no. 4: 136-175

Sambanis, Nicholas. "Partition as a Solution to Civil War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics* vol. 52, no. 4, July, 2000, p. 437-483

Apr 24th - May 5th reading period

■ ***Final paper due on May 5th***