

W3619y. NATIONALISM AND CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS

Spring 2012 -- Mondays and Wednesdays, 2:40-3:55 in [TBA]

1/4/12

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office hours: Mondays, 4:10-5:10; Wednesdays, 11-12.

Teaching assistants: Jonathan Blake jsb2177, Andrew Cheon asc2159, and Kate Cronin-Furman krc2102.

Themes: The causes and consequences of nationalism. Nationalism as a cause of conflict in contemporary world politics. Strategies for mitigating nationalist and ethnic conflict.

Requirements: (1) a take-home exam due on March 5 (30% of your final grade), (2) a short, in-class final exam on April 30 (10%), (3) one paper, about 15 pages, due on May 4 (50%), and (4) active, informed participation in discussion sections, small group discussions, and class (10%). The normal format for the paper will be to use one or more case studies to test a theoretically grounded hypothesis about nationalism or ethnic conflict. Historical cases are appropriate, though their relevance to contemporary issues should be explained. Students may do policy options papers, though these should be informed by relevant theories. Paper proposals will be discussed in small groups with me or the teaching assistants after spring break. Rough drafts of part of the paper will be discussed in late April. Late midterms and papers will be penalized.

Readings: Required readings on reserve at Butler Library. Most supplementary readings are also on reserve either at Butler or Lehman. Asterisk (*) indicates a paperback ordered at the Book Culture bookstore, 536 W.112 St. Most required articles and some individual book chapters are on the Columbia library web course reserves. While doing the weekly readings, make sure that you are also getting a grounding in at least three of the case studies that we will refer to frequently in class. Depending on how much background knowledge you have, you may want to read ahead in some of the works assigned in future weeks, in particular:

Rwanda: Power (Jan. 18); De Figueiredo and Weingast (Feb. 13); Prunier (Feb. 13); Straus (Feb. 13).

Yugoslavia: Petersen (Feb. 1); Gagnon (Feb. 13); Woodward (March 26).

India: Rudolph (Jan. 18); Horowitz (Feb. 20); Brass (Feb. 20); Varshney (Apr. 9); Wilkinson (Feb. 13).

China: Gries (Feb. 1).

Jan. 18 and 23. THE NATIONALIST REVIVAL AND CONTEMPORARY ETHNIC CONFLICT.

National identity, ethnicity, and nationalism: definitions, causes, and consequences for conflict in today's world. Why were the 1990s fraught with ethnic conflict? What can be done about current and future conflicts?

REQUIRED:

*Michael Hechter, Containing Nationalism, ch. 1. What is nationalism?

S. and L. Rudolph, "Modern Hate," New Republic, March 22, 1993. The Ayodya mosque incident in India: it's not about ancient hatreds.

Samantha Power, A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide, chapter 10 on the Rwanda genocide—or read Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwanda Tragedy Happen," The Atlantic Monthly, September 2001.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Kanchan Chandra, "What is Ethnicity and Does It Matter?" Annual Review of Political Science, 2006, Vol. 9: 397-424.

Jan. 25 and 30. COMPETING EXPLANATIONS FOR THE RISE OF NATIONALISM

To what extent is national identity rooted in pre-modern ties of community and culture? To what extent is it a result of the transition to modernity? What features of modernity shape nationalism: capitalism, industrialization, mass literacy, mass armies, democratization, the modern state? How do those features interact with the pre-modern legacy?

REQUIRED:

*Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations, ch. 1-3; browse the rest. Pre-modern formative experiences that shape ethnic and national identities.

*Hechter, Containing Nationalism, ch. 2.

*Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, ch. 1-4 (7-8 supplementary). Modern economies need a homogeneous culture, triggering a Darwinian struggle to see which culture survives.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Philip Roeder, Where Nation-States Come From, chapters 1 and 2. The administrative apparatus of the state or a state-like segment comes first; preconditions for a successful nation (identity, resources, grievances, popular mobilization, and international recognition) follow.

E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, The Invention of Tradition, ch. 1 and 2. Nations seem old because nationalists rewrite their history.

John Hall and I. Jarvie, eds., Transition to Modernity, ch. by Michael Mann, "The Emergence of Modern European Nationalism," pp. 137-166. Repairs Gellner's theory: it's commercial capitalism, not industrialization.

E. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780, ch. 1. The modernity of nations.

B. Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power," International Security, fall 1993. How the state fomented popular nationalism to mobilize mass armies. See also Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital, and European States, and Lars-Erik Cederman, T.C. Warren, and D. Sornette, "Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War," International Organization, fall 2011.

Fredrik Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, read Barth's introduction. Divisions between groups are not caused by cultural differences, but the reverse: groups occupying different ecological niches produce cultural differences to help police boundaries.

Feb. 1 and 6. NATIONALISM: RATIONAL OR NON-RATIONAL?

Are national or ethnic political stances adopted for rational or non-rational reasons? What is the relationship between instrumental rationality and cultural motivations? Is ethnic war rational?

REQUIRED:

*Roger Petersen, Western Intervention in the Balkans: The Strategic Use of Emotion in Conflict, chapters [].

James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein, "Why Does Ethnicity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" American Political Science Review, November 2007.

James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," International Organization, summer 1995.

Benjamin Valentino, Final Solutions, ch. 3 and 5, condensed in Karen Mingst and Jack Snyder, eds., Essential Readings in International Relations, on library web. Strategic reasons for mass killing.

Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," American Political Science Review, August 2003, pp. 343-362. They try to undercut domestic political support for the military occupation forces of democracies, and he says it works. Or read Pape, Dying to Win.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Roger Petersen, Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, Resentment, ch. 1-4, 6, 10.
Critique of Pape in Scott Ashworth et al, "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," American Political Science Review, May 2008, and the rebuttal by Pape.

Marc Howard Ross, Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict. Importance of narrative, symbolism, and ritual performance in identity politics—parades, head scarves, statues, etc.

Russell Hardin, One for All, esp. ch. 3 (library web). Self-interested reasons why individuals come to identify with an ethnic group, and why cultural alignments can be rational. For background on the theory, see Mancur Olson, Logic of Collective Action.

Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," International Security, fall 2006. Max Abrahms, "Why Democracies Make Superior Counterterrorists," Security Studies 16:2 (April-June 2007), 223-253; also see special issue of Security Studies, Oct-Dec 2009, on motives for terrorism.

Jon Elster, "Motivations and Beliefs in Suicide Missions," in Diego Gambetta (ed.), Making Sense of Suicide Missions.

Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," International Security, summer 2006, 49-80. Rational bargaining and strategic approach. Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Politics of Extremist Violence," International Organization, spring 2002. Rationalist theory of conditions under which spoilers can wreck peace talks, leading to Palestinian-Israeli violence.

Peter Hays Gries, China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy, esp. chapters 1-3 (ch. 1 on library web). Face and humiliation. Also Suisheng Zhao, A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism; Susan Shirk, China: Fragile Superpower; Christopher Hughes, Chinese Nationalism in the Global Era.

Marilyn Brewer, "Ingroup Identification and Intergroup Conflict," in Richard Ashmore et al, Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Resolution, 17-41 (ch. 2 on library web). Outgroup comparisons may not cause conflict.

Donna Bahry et al, "Ethnicity and Trust: Evidence from Russia," American Political Science Review, November 2005. People who trust insiders also trust outsiders.

Daniel Druckman, "Nationalism, Patriotism and Group Loyalty: A Social Psychological Perspective," Mershon International Studies Review, April 1994. A host of hypotheses.

Walker Connor, Ethnonationalism, ch. 4 and 8. A cultural perspective stressing the non-rational, non-material basis of ethnic loyalty.

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

Robert Bates (1973). Ethnicity in Contemporary Africa. Political economy theory.

Feb. 8. INSECURITY: CAUSE OR EFFECT OF NATIONALISM?

What does realist international relations theory have to contribute to understanding contemporary nationalist conflict? Does anarchy cause nationalism, or vice-versa? What factors might mitigate the effects of anarchy on ethnic conflict?

REQUIRED:

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," Survival, spring 1993.

D. Lake and D. Rothchild, "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict," International Security, fall 1996.

Stuart Kaufman, "Symbols, Frames, and Violence: Studying Ethnic War in the Philippines," International Studies Quarterly, Dec. 2011.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

R. Jervis, "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma," World Politics, January 1978.

A. Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It," International Organization, spring 1992.
 J. Mercer, "Anarchy and Identity," International Organization, spring 1995, psychological interpretation of the security dilemma.

James Fearon, "Ethnic War as a Commitment Problem," <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/ethcprob.pdf>. Similar argument to Posen, but from a bargaining perspective.

Arthur Stein, "Conflict and Cohesion," Journal of Conflict Resolution, March 1976. Lit review: external conflict increases internal cohesion only when the threat affects all group members, some cohesion existed before the conflict, and group action can parry the threat.

Barbara Walter and J. Snyder, Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention. Predators' insecurity.

Virginia Page Fortna, Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War, chapters 1 and 5. How peacekeepers can solve the security dilemma.

Feb. 13 and 15. NATIONALISM: TOP DOWN OR BOTTOM UP?

Is nationalism sold to the masses by elites, or does it grow from grass roots sentiments? If the elites sell it, why do the masses buy? What is the interaction between top-down and bottom-up processes?

REQUIRED:

V. P. Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," International Security, winter 1994-95. Milosevic the cynical manipulator. Why did it work?

R. de Figueiredo and B. Weingast, "The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict," in B. Walter and J. Snyder, Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention, ch. 8 (library web). Why it can be a rational hedge to be loyal to manipulators.

J. Mueller, "The Banality of Ethnic War," International Security, summer 2000. The problem is neither elites nor masses, but gangs of thugs who profit from the fighting.

*Steven I. Wilkinson, Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India, chapters 1, 2, 5, and 6 (chapter 1 on library web).

*Scott Straus, The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda, ch. 2-6.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

J. Fearon and D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," International Organization, autumn 2000. Rationalists attempt an empirical assessment of constructivist arguments..

Stuart Kaufman, "Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War," International Security, 21, no. 2 (Fall 1996), pp. 108-38; or Stuart Kaufman, Modern Hatreds, ch. 3-5, Karabakh, Georgia, and Moldova cases.

M. Brown and S. Ganguly, eds., Government Policies and Ethnic Relations in Asia and the Pacific, ch. 1 on India, 3 on Sri Lanka, and/or 6 on Malaysia.

Gerard Prunier, Rwanda Crisis, esp. ch. 1, 5, and 7.

Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism, chapters 2 and 3. Popular proto-nationalism and state-led nationalism.

Suisheng Zhao, "A state-led nationalism: the patriotic education campaign in post-Tiananmen China," Communist and Post-Communist Studies, vol. 31:3, Sept. 1998.

Rogers Brubaker et al, Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town.

Feb. 20. MICRO-LEVEL CAUSES OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE

Donald Horowitz, The Deadly Ethnic Riot, ch. 13 and browse (library web).

Alexandra Scacco, "Poverty and Participation in Ethnic Violence: New Evidence from Nigeria," manuscript on library web.

Edward Aspinall, Islam and Nation: Separatism Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia, chapter 4, "Rural and Global Networks," on library web.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Paul Brass, Theft of an Idol. How local elites in India construct a system of ethnic violence.
J. Fearon and D. Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," American Political Science Review, December 1996. Ethnic groups' internal policing of their own thugs.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Who Fights?" American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 52, No. 2, April 2008, 436-455.

Gerry van Klinken, Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars (Routledge, 2007), esp. ch. 3, 5-7.

Feb. 22. NATIONALISM: MALLEABLE OR PERSISTENT

Once national identities and nationalism are forged, how malleable are they through the impact of changing circumstances, incentives, or discourse?

REQUIRED:

*Liisa Malkki, Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania, esp. ch. 3-5. After the 1972 genocide, refugees in camps reinforced their identity myths, but those in towns blended in. Chapters 1 and 2 provide conceptual and historical background; a postscript describes the 1993-94 massive ethnic violence in Burundi.

Daniel Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," American Political Science Review, 98, 4 (November 2004), pp. 529-545; or *Daniel Posner, Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa.

D. Byman, "Forever enemies? The Manipulation of Ethnic Identities to End Ethnic Wars," Security Studies, spring 2000, revised as Byman, Keeping the Peace, ch. 5. Middle Eastern cases.

Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," chapter 2, pp. 34-52, in Andreas Wimmer, ed., Facing Ethnic Conflicts.

Keith Darden, "Resisting Occupation: Mass Literacy and the Creation of Durable National Loyalties," chapters 1 and 2 on electronic reserve.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

David Laitin, Identity in Formation, chapters 1, 5, 6. Changing Russian identities in the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. A language-learning tipping game provides a formal, rational model of identity change, supplemented by survey research and first-hand story telling.

R. Suny, The Revenge of History. Historical construction of national identities in Russian and Soviet empires; their emergence during the Soviet collapse.

Rashid Khalidi, Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness.

Michael Barnett, Dialogues in Arab Politics: Negotiations in Regional Order.

Michael E. Brown and S. Ganguly, Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia.

Feb. 27. NATIONALISM AND INSTITUTIONS: ETHNOFEDERALISM

How state institutions can structure politics in ways that favor ethnic political identity and mobilization. Ethnofederal prescriptions in light of these findings.

REQUIRED:

*Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed, ch. 2, also in Brubaker, "Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia: An Institutional Account," Theory and Society, February 1994. Soviet ethnofederalism created the impetus of its own demise.

Valerie Bunce, Subversive Institutions, chapters 5 (on library web) and 6. Ethnofederal structure broke up the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, but why the varying amounts of wreckage?

*Hechter, Containing Nationalism, ch. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8. Direct rule over culturally alien groups is the problem; ethnofederal indirect rule is the solution.

Henry Hale, "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse," World Politics, January 2004.

Atul Kohli, ed. The Success of India's Democracy. Cambridge University Press, 2001. Read Kohli's introduction (on library web). Federalism's success in India.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

J. Gerring et al, "An Institutional Theory of Direct and Indirect Rule," World Politics, July 2011. It depends on whether the subunit was already institutionalized before its state was.

Ted Gurr, Peoples Versus States, ch. 6, on ethnic autonomy agreements.

S. Cornell, "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective," World Politics, January 2002.

P. Roeder, "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization," World Politics (January 1991). Similar argument to Brubaker's.

J. Linz and A. Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia," Daedalus, 121, Spring 1992. Founding elections, if done correctly, can create cross-cutting or inclusive identities that help federalism to be successful.

Dawn Brancati, "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" International Organization, summer 2006.

Check the websites of the International Crisis Group www.crisisgroup.org and Ted Gurr's Minorities at Risk project www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/ for information on the status of regional autonomy agreements.

TAKE-HOME MIDTERM EXAM: To be distributed at the end of class on Wednesday, Feb. 29, due at the beginning of class on Monday, March 5. Page limit: 10 double-spaced pages in 12-point Times New Roman font (i.e., exactly like this).

Feb. 29 and March 5. NATIONALISM: CIVIC OR ETHNIC

Types of nationalism, especially civic and ethnic nationalism; their causes and consequences. Religious nationalism, "fundamentalism," and secular nationalism. Multiculturalism versus cosmopolitanism. Civic integration of immigrants.

REQUIRED:

A. Smith, "Ethnic Identity and Territorial Nationalism in Comparative Perspective," in Alexander Motyl, Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities, ch. 3, pp. 45-51, 61-62 (library web). Western civic state-building vs. Eastern ethnocultural nationalism.

Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights, chapter 5, pp. 75-106 (library web). Chapter 3 is also relevant.

Jeremy Waldron, "Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative," in Will Kymlicka, ed., The Rights of Minority Cultures, 93-122.

Stephen Shulman, "Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism," Comparative Political Studies, June 2002.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

E. Gellner, "Nationalism in the Vacuum," in Motyl, Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities, ch. 10. In an institutional vacuum, people form groups based on ethnicity and culture by default.

Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Historical origins of civic France, ethnic Germany.

Gregory Jusdanis, The Necessary Nation. Civic nations are a myth.

Alan Patten, "Rethinking Culture: The Social Lineage Account," American Political Science Review, November 2011. Proposes a way to escape the paradox of multiculturalism: does it make sense unless it essentializes culture, in which case it's empirically and ethically unsustainable?

Paul M. Sniderman and Louk Hagendoorn, When Ways of Life Collide: Multiculturalism and Its Discontents in the Netherlands (Princeton University Press, 2007); Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities. American Political Science Review 98(1):35-49.

Rafaela Dancygier, Immigration and Conflict in Europe (Cambridge, 2010).

Jacobs, Dirk and Andrea Rea. 2007. "The end of national models? Integration courses and citizenship trajectories in Europe," International Journal on Multicultural Societies 9 (2): 264-283, and if you want underlying theory, also read Joppke, C. 2008. "Immigration and the identity of citizenship: The paradox of universalism." Citizenship Studies 12 (6): 533-546. Joppke, Christian. 2005. Exclusion in the Liberal State: the Case of Immigration and Citizenship Policy. European Journal of Social Theory 8(1):43-61. Steven A Weldon, "The Institutional Context of Tolerance for Ethnic Minorities: A Comparative, Multilevel Analysis of Western Europe," American Journal of Political Science 50:2 (2006), 331-49. Rogers Brubaker. 2001. "The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States." Ethnic and Racial Studies Vol. 24 No. 4 July 2001 pp. 531-548. Riva Kastoryano. 2002. Negotiating Identities: States and Immigrants in France and Germany. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Schiffauer, Werner. 2006, "Enemies Within the Gates: the Debate about the Citizenship of Muslims in Germany," in Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: a European Approach, eds. Tariq Modood, Anna Triandafyllidou, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero. Oxon: Routledge, p. 94-116.

Yael Tamir, Liberal Nationalism. Ethnic nationalism can be civic, too. And related empirical pieces: Yoav Peled, "Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State," American Political Science Review 86:2 (June 1992) 432-43; Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship (Cambridge University Press, 2002) chap. 4; Nadim Rouhana, Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict (Yale University Press, 1997); Sammy Smooha, "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype," Israel Studies 2:2 (Fall 1997), 198-241; Ruth Gavison, "Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate," Israel Studies 4:1 (1999) 44-52.

Judith Kelley, "International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions," International Organization, summer 2004, 425-458. Inducing states to adopt civic principles.

Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, "Diasporas and International Relations Theory," International Organization, summer 2003. Case studies: Armenians and Jews. See also Fiona B. Adamson and Madeleine Demetriou, "Remapping the Boundaries of 'State' and 'National Identity': Incorporating Diasporas into IR Theorizing," European Journal of International Relations, Vol. 13, No. 4, 489-526 (2007), Gabriel Sheffer, Diaspora Politics, ch. 8; Paul Hockenos, Homeland Calling: Exile Patriotism and the Balkan Wars. Riva Kastoryano. "Transnational Nationalism: Redefining Nation and Territory," pp. 159-178, in Seyla Benhabib, Ian Shapiro and Danilo Petranovich, eds. Identities, Affiliations, Allegiances. Cambridge University Press (2007).

March 7. SOCIAL SCIENCE METHODS AND THE STUDY OF NATIONALISM

Gary King, Robert Keohane, and Sidney Verba, Designing Social Inquiry, widely used social science methods text.

Henry Brady and David Collier, Rethinking Social Inquiry. Qualitative and mixed-methods critique of and amendment to KKV.

March 12 and 14. NO CLASS. SPRING BREAK.

March 19 and 21. NO CLASS. SMALL GROUP MEETINGS.

Meet in small groups with me or the TA at various times during this week to discuss your paper proposals. The proposal should be about three pages. Generally speaking, it should state (1) what question you are asking, (2) why it is important for theory and/or policy, (3) what hypothesis you expect to advance, (4) what alternative hypotheses you will address, and (5) what evidence you will examine to prove your argument.

March 26. NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRATIZATION.

President Clinton urged promoting democratization to promote peace, but might democratic transitions instead promote nationalism and war? Since its earliest appearance in 18th century England and France, nationalism has been associated with the idea of popular sovereignty. Increases in mass involvement in politics have been linked to aggressive nationalism, as in pre-1914 Germany. What effect is democratization having on nationalism in the former Soviet empire? Will “the democratic peace” survive in a world of ethnodemocracies?

REQUIRED:

F. Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy,” Foreign Affairs, Nov. 1997.

*J. Snyder, From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict, chapter 1. Watch out for the early stages of democratic transitions.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Carles Boix, “The Roots of Democracy,” Policy Review, February/March 2006, 3-21.

T. Gurr, Peoples Versus States, ch. 5. Successful democratic transitions have eased ethnic conflict in the 1990s, but failed transitions have exacerbated them.

S. Woodward, Balkan Tragedy, ch. 5 on democratization and the Yugoslav break-up.

M. McFaul, “The Precarious Peace,” International Security, winter 1997-98. Why nationalism has remained relatively tame in democratizing Russia.

Edward Freedman and B. McCormick, What If China Doesn’t Democratize? Implications for War and Peace. Contributors debate whether democratization or authoritarianism would pose a greater risk of war.

Michael Doyle, “Liberalism and World Politics,” American Political Science Review (December 1986).

Hurst Hannum, Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination. A lawyer looks at the right to national self-determination and ethnic conflict.

March 28. NATIONALISM AND THE MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS

The printing press, mass circulation newspapers, the railroads, and public education knit together the national consciousness. Often, nationalist propaganda exploited these tools to sell nationalist myths and aggressive foreign policies. Do present technologies of communication and propaganda promote or undermine nationalism? What role do intellectuals play? How should the marketplace of ideas be structured to make sure that nationalist arguments are scrutinized in open, fair public debate?

REQUIRED:

*Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, ch. 1-3.

*J. Snyder, From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict, chapter 2, and sections on media: pp. 121-128, 146-149, 154-157, 213-220, 235-237, 242-250, 334-338.

Scott Straus, “What Is the Relationship between Hate Radio and Violence? Rethinking Rwanda’s ‘Radio Machete,’” Politics & Society, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2007), 609-637.

SUPPLEMENTARY CASE STUDY: THE DEBATE ON THE IRAQ WAR

Chaim Kaufmann, “Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War,” International Security, summer 2004.

Ronald Krebs, “Selling the Market Short?” International Security, spring 2005, and rebuttal by Kaufmann.

SUPPLEMENTARY

Susan L. Shirk, ed., Changing Media, Changing China (Oxford, 2011), ch. 1.

Marc Lynch, "After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State," Perspectives on Politics, June 2011.

Jenifer Whitten-Woodring, "Watchdog or Lapdog? Media Freedom, Regime Type, and Government Respect for Human Rights," International Studies Quarterly, September 2009).

Eugene L. Meyer, "Media Codes of Ethics: The Difficulty of Defining Standards," National Endowment for Democracy, November 2011, at <http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/ned/0023616/index.html>.

S. Della Vigna et al, "Unintended Media Effects in a Conflict Environment: Serbian Radio and Croatian Nationalism," at http://elsa.berkeley.edu/~sdellavi/wp/Croatian_paper_11_04_20.pdf

Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," World Politics, October 2006.

Miroslav Hroch, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe, ch. 6-7 and browse. Stages in the development of nationalist movements in small European states: cultural revival by intellectuals, creating a political doctrine, and mass mobilization.

K. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication. The race between assimilation and mobilization during modernization.

P. Kennedy, "The Decline of Nationalistic History in the West, 1900-1970," Journal of Contemporary History (January 1973), pp. 77-100.

I. B. Colley, "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain, 1750-1830," Past and Present (November 1986), 97-117; also Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837. Penny press, railroads, war.

K. Verdery, National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania. Nationalism sold well in the marketplace, socialism didn't.

J. S. Mill, On Liberty, part 2. Structure the marketplace so that truth will emerge from open debate.

J. Habermas, "Discourse Ethics," in J. Thompson and D. Held, Habermas: Critical Debates. Rules of discourse for the emergence of consensus based on fair, reasonable discussion.

April 2. NATIONALISM, DOMINATION, INEQUALITY, AND ECONOMIC HARD TIMES.

REQUIRED:

Lars-Erik Cederman, N. Weidmann, and K. Gleditsch, "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison," American Political Science Review, August 2011.

*M. Hechter, Containing Nationalism, ch. 6.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min, "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?" World Politics, January 2010. When they're excluded from power and can mobilize to do something about it.

Anthony Marx, Making Race and Nation, chapters 1, 5, 7, on South Africa and Brazil. Coalition politics and the legal codification of racial domination.

Daniel J. Hopkins, "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition," American Political Science Review, February 2010.

T. Gurr, States Versus Peoples, ch. 3-4. Discrimination causes ethnic conflict, but only if disadvantaged groups have the capacity to take action.

W. Connor, Ethnonationalism, ch. 6. Also available as Connor, "Eco- or Ethno-Nationalism?" Ethnic and Racial Studies 7 (1984), 342-59. Why economic explanations fail.

Stephen Shulman, "Nationalist Sources of International Economic Integration," International Studies Quarterly, vol. 44 (2000), pp. 365-390. Free trade as a route to national autonomy in Quebec, Ukraine, and India.

D. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, ch. 3-6. Economic rivalry, cultural comparison, and other causes of ethnic conflict.

Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation, chapters 1-4, 18-21. How the contradiction between mass politics and unregulated markets gave rise to fascism and imperialism in the first half of the twentieth century.

Peter Gourevitch, Politics in Hard Times. Nationalist versus liberal, free-trading domestic political coalitions in times of depression in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Etel Solingen, Regional Orders at Century's Dawn, ch. 2. Internationalist versus nationalist coalitions, includes Middle East case.

April 4. MILITARY CONFLICT AND NATIONALIZING STATES.

When nationalist movements are mobilized, what strategic and demographic circumstances promote armed conflict? In cases where ethnonational states have pockets of co-ethnics abroad, what determines whether an irredentist conflict will occur?

REQUIRED:

Adria Lawrence, "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," International Security, Vol, 35, No. 2, Fall 2010, pp. 88-122.

*R. Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed, ch. 3, 4, and 6. Chapter 3 is also available as R. Brubaker, "National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External Homelands in the New Europe," Daedalus, spring 1995.

Timothy W. Crawford, "Pivotal Deterrence and the Kosovo War: Why the Holbrooke Agreement Failed," Political Science Quarterly, Winter 2001-2002, pp. 499-523. The difficulty of simultaneously deterring both sides in a conflict.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War," International Security, spring 1994. When does nationalism cause war, when not?

Monica Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," Security Studies, Winter 2002/2003, pp. 82-119. When both sides see a piece of territory as crucial to their survival, watch out.

Arman Grigoryan, "Third Party Intervention and the Escalation of State-Minority Conflicts," International Studies Quarterly, December 2010, vol. 54, pp. 1143-1174.

Timothy Crawford and Alan Kuperman, eds., Gambling on Humanitarian Intervention: Moral Hazard, Rebellion and Civil War.

April 9. RELIGION AND NATIONALISM.

*Mark Juergensmeyer, Global Rebellion: Religious Challenges to the Secular State, from Christian Militias to al Qaeda, esp. pp. 9-17, 26-36, 46-77, 205-211. What seems like fundamentalist transnationalism is actually state-building nationalism. Middle East and India.

Anthony Marx, Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism, chapter 3 on library web. Nationalism even in "civic" nations started off with 17th century religious exclusions.

Fredrik Barth, "Are Islamists Nationalists or Internationalists?" in Kjell Goldmann, U. Hannerz, and C. Westin, Nationalism and Internationalism in the Post-Cold War Era.

Ron Hassner, War on Sacred Grounds, chapter [].

April 11. POWERSHARING, CROSS-CUTTING ALIGNMENTS, OR REPRESSION?

To mitigate ethnic conflict within a society, is it better to give each ethnic group a share of state power, or is it better to create electoral incentives to forge political alliances that cut across cultural lines? Or is repression the less attractive, but more reliable route to stability?

REQUIRED:

J. Montville, Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies, ch. 25, Horowitz, "Making Moderation Pay," contrasting Malaysia and Sri Lanka (on library web), and ch. 27, Lijphart on powersharing.

Kanchan Chandra, "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability," Perspectives on Politics, June 2005, 235-252.

*Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild, Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil War, read overview chapters 1 and 2, and browse 5 (Lake and Rothchild on decentralization), 7 (Reilly on electoral rules), 9 (Lebanon), and 10 (Varshney on India).

SUPPLEMENTARY:

I. Lustick, "Stability in deeply divided societies: consociationalism versus control," World Politics, April 1979.

Mala Htun, "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups," Perspectives on Politics, September 2004, 439-458.

Thad Dunning and Lauren Harrison, "Cross-cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali," American Political Science Review, February 2010.

D. Byman, Keeping the Peace, ch. 3, on the control model, and ch. 9, on sequencing of different strategies of conflict prevention.

Donald Horowitz, A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society, ch. 5, 6. Electoral schemes for encouraging cross-ethnic coalitions. See also D. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, ch. 7-10.

Benjamin Reilly, "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies," Journal of Democracy, April 2002. Cases studies where Horowitz's prescription was tried; verdict: it worked where moderate factions already existed.

Arend Lijphart, "The Alternative Vote: A Realistic Alternative for South Africa?" Politikon: The South African Journal of Political Science 18:2 (June 1991), 91-101. Rebuttal to Horowitz.

Ian Lustick, "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism," World Politics, October 1997. Critique of Lijphart for making his theory non-falsifiable.

A. Lijphart, Democracy in Plural Societies. The classic statement on consociation.

Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India. Cities with cross-religious civic organization avoid riots, others don't.

Kanchan Chandra, Why Ethnic Parties Succeed. Argues that ethnic parties are most likely to succeed in "patronage-democracies" when they have competitive rules of intraparty advancement and when the size of the group they seek to mobilize is larger than the threshold of winning or leverage imposed by the electoral system. Case study of India.

April 16. ETHNIC PARTITION VS. ETHNIC INTEGRATION

Is it better to partition a war-torn multiethnic territory like Bosnia or to try to reintegrate it into a single, unified, multicultural state?

REQUIRED:

C. Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic War," International Security, spring 1996.

R. Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," Foreign Affairs, January/February 1997, rebuttal to Kaufmann.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Carter Johnson, "Partitioning to Peace," International Security, spring 2008, 140-170.

C. Kaufmann, "When All Else Fails: Ethnic Population Transfers and Partitions in the Twentieth Century," International Security, fall 1998; also in *Walter and Snyder, Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention. Surrebuttal to Kumar.

N. Sambanis and J. Schuler-Wohl, "What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?" International Security, fall 2009.

N. Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War," World Politics, July 2000. A statistical test of the partition hypothesis.

Alexander Downes, "The Holy Land Divided: Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars," Security Studies, summer 2001. General argument along Kaufmann's lines, rebuttal to Sambanis, Israel/Palestine case.

Check the website of the International Crisis Group <http://www.crisisgroup.org/> regarding Sudan and other current cases that are plausible candidates for partition.

April 18 and 23. NO CLASS: SMALL GROUP MEETINGS ON DRAFT PAPERS

April 25. POST-CONFLICT JUSTICE

Some people argue that establishing peace after ethnic conflict requires justice, and that perpetrators of crimes against humanity must be put on trial. Some people argue that amnesty is acceptable, but only if the truth comes out and the perpetrators admit to their actions. Others argue that it's better to forget the past, not obsess on it. Who's right under what conditions?

REQUIRED:

Rodman, Kenneth A., "Is Peace in the Interests of Justice? The Case for Broad Prosecutorial Discretion at the International Criminal Court," Leiden Journal of International Law 22 (2009), 99-126.

Henry Kissinger, "The Pitfalls of Universal Jurisdiction," Foreign Affairs 80:4 (July/August 2001), 86-96.

Kenneth Roth, "The Case for Universal Jurisdiction," Foreign Affairs 80:5 (September/October 2001), 150-54. Director of Human Rights Watch.

SUPPLEMENTARY:

Monika Nalepa, "Captured Commitments: An Analytic Narrative of Transitions with Transitional Justice," World Politics, April 2010.

Gary Bass, Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals, "Epilogue: Do War Crimes Tribunals Work?" pp. 284-310 (library web).

Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," International Security, winter 2003-04.

James L. Gibson, Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation? Priscilla Hayner, Unspeakable Truths (second edition 2010) on truth commissions.

April 30. **IN-CLASS FINAL EXAM.**