
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?

SUPPLEMENTARY:
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.
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 [ ].
  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:
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.
Jon Elster, “Motivations and Beliefs in Suicide Missions,” in Diego Gambetta (ed.), Making Sense of Suicide Missions.
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.
Walker Connor, Ethnonationalism, ch. 4 and 8. A cultural perspective stressing the non-rational, non-material basis of ethnic loyalty.

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:

SUPPLEMENTARY:


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.


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:


*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:


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.


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).


SUPPLEMENTARY:
- Paul Brass, *Theft of an Idol*. How local elites in India construct a system of ethnic violence.

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

SUPPLEMENTARY:
- 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:
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.


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.


J. Linz and A. Stepam, "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.


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:


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


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?


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.

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

SUPPLEMENTARY:
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.
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.

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.

SUPPLEMENTARY CASE STUDY: THE DEBATE ON THE IRAQ WAR

SUPPLEMENTARY


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.


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


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

REQUIRED:


*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.


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


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.
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:


SUPPLEMENTARY:


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.


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.


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.

*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:**


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


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:**


**SUPPLEMENTARY:**


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:

SUPPLEMENTARY:

April 30. IN-CLASS FINAL EXAM.