

# **GVPT 459Q: NATIONALISM – PAST, PERSISTENCE, PROSPECTS**

University of Maryland  
Spring 2019

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Office Hours: By appointment

Mon 6:30-9:15pm  
Tydings 2110

## **Course Overview**

This course examines the impact of nationalism on domestic and international politics. In light of Brexit and reactions to the crisis of migration in Europe, nationalism has received renewed attention in the media, where it has often been paired with terms like ‘tribalism’ or ‘patriotism.’ Studying nationalism as an identity and an idea, this course avoids a monolithic view of the subject, instead exploring different forms of nationalist identity and the relationship between political and economic developments and changes in the form and intensity of nationalist identity espoused by leaders and citizens. Along the way, we will discuss the conceptual boundaries of nationalism and alternate forms of state and group identity.

The initial part of the course explores theories of the nature and causes of nationalism and the close links between nationalism and both ethnic and religious identity. We will then look at the principal different forms of nationalism - civic, territorial, ethnic, and religious - before examining how and why leaders and citizens come to favor one form over another. Following an examination of the compatibility between liberal democracy and nationalism, the course explores the relationship between elites and masses in shaping nationalist identity within states, a topic which frames our subsequent study of the interplay between nationalism and armed conflict and nationalism and economics. The course concludes with a comparison of nationalism and populism and a discussion of the impact of migration on nationalism.

The following questions will guide our readings and discussions in the course:

- To what extent is nationalism fixed or flexible? How persistent is nationalism as a political identity?
- Under what conditions do governments and groups come to identify with a particular form of nationalism?
- To what degree are different forms of nationalism discrete categories?
- What sorts of methods and evidence can we use to study different forms of nationalism and shifts in nationalist identity?
- How do political elites shape and use nationalist identity? What are the political consequences of this? How do the consequences vary according to different contexts (e.g., cultural factors; institutional variables)?
- How does nationalism constrain the choices political leaders can make in domestic and foreign policy?

Please note that this course is not designed as a study of individual countries; it is a theme-based course. However, in exploring the themes linking nationalism and politics around the world, we will draw empirical evidence and examples from countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the Middle East, as well as the U.S.

### **Course Goals/Learning Outcomes**

The overarching goal for the course is to have students engage in critical and creative thinking about nationalism. Students should also be able to contrast nationalism in different countries and analyze its political role and impact in different contexts. In addition, students should apply their knowledge of nationalism in class discussion and produce their own research questions concerning the relationship between nationalism and politics. By the end of the course, students should feel confident undertaking independent research on the topic and have an understanding of different approaches for researching nationalism.

### **Required Texts/Materials**

The readings for this course are essential for understanding the themes discussed in class; to do well and to get as much as possible out of the course, you will have to complete all of them. All readings will be provided via the course website on Elms or as hyperlinks.

### **Assignments**

The course is taught in one lecture each week, on Monday from 6:30 – 9:15pm in Tydings Hall 2110. In registering for the course, students make a commitment to attend all of these meetings.

Course grades will consist of four components. First, students are expected to come to each class and participate actively in the course. Participation includes listening actively, contributing to class discussions, and taking an active role in any group activities during class.

Second, choosing from three prompts, students will write a four to five page response paper on the topics and readings in the first part of the course, particularly the origins of nationalism and the different forms of nationalism.

Third, students will deliver a group presentation in which they examine how nationalism shaped a major international political event after 1945. Examples of such events include armed conflicts, changes in regimes, economic crises, and international treaties. Consideration should be given to which form(s) of nationalist identity were featured, how nationalism shaped leaders' and/or citizens' choices during the event, and how the event impacted nationalist identity within the country or countries involved.

Finally, students will write a six to eight page final paper in which they research the predominant contemporary form of nationalist identity in one country outside the US and its relationship with that country's politics. The paper should examine the sources of this form of nationalism, its stability over time, and its impact on a specific area of the country's domestic or foreign policy.

Topics for both the group presentation and final paper must be approved in advance.

The relative percentages of these grade components are:

- |                             |      |
|-----------------------------|------|
| • Response Paper (March 11) | 30 % |
| • Presentation (April 15)   | 25%  |
| • Final Paper (May 13)      | 35%  |
| • Participation             | 10 % |

### **Grading**

Grades will not be curved, but based on a straight scale, as follows:

93-100 = A

90-92 = A-

87-89 = B+

83-86 = B

80-82 = B-

77-79 = C+

73-76 = C

70-72 = C-

67-69 = D+

63-66 = D

60-62 = D-

59 & below = F

### **Course Policies**

If you would like your absence to be excused, you are required to email me regarding your absence in advance of the class and bring documentation to support your excused absence on the day you return. The university policy for medically related absences (one absence with a self-signed note) does not apply to days on which assignments are due or the group presentation is scheduled. Late papers will be penalized.

All students are expected to observe and honor the provisions of the University's Code of Academic Integrity. Academic dishonesty, including cheating, fabrication, facilitating academic dishonesty, and plagiarism will not be tolerated. Any abridgement of academic integrity standards will be referred directly to the campus judiciary. Confirmation of such incidents will result in the earning of an "XF" grade for the course, and may result in more severe consequences such as expulsion.

Guidelines on academic dishonesty are available at:  
<https://www.studentconduct.umd.edu/academic-dishonesty>

The Code of Academic Integrity is available at:  
<https://www.president.umd.edu/administration/policies/section-iii-academic-affairs/iii-100a>

Any evidence of academic dishonesty will be forwarded to the Dean's office.

Students requiring special assistance should alert me at the beginning of the semester. Laptops may be used for the purpose of taking notes. Any other use of laptops is not acceptable. Please silence all phones and electronic devices. If you absolutely must make a call or send a text, please step out of the room discreetly.

Given the course topic, we may disagree with some of the things we hear and read and feel strongly about our own positions. In our class discussions, it is critical that we treat our classmates with the utmost respect. It is a great skill to be able to evaluate all sides of an argument and to approach and discuss controversial topics with honest analysis.

### **University Policies**

For more information on UMD course-related policies please visit the following link:  
<http://ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html>

## **Tentative Course Schedule and Required Readings**

### **Jan. 28: Introduction**

- Read this syllabus.
- Connor, W. (1990). When is a Nation? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13(1), 92-103.
- Macron, E. 2018. Speech at the commemoration of the centenary of the Armistice. November 11.

### **Feb. 4: The Origins of Nationalism**

- Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. Chapter 1, all; Chapter 3, all.
- Gellner, E. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1, all; Chapter 3, pp. 23-37; Chapter 5, all.
- Smith, A. D. 1988. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. Chapter 1, pp. 13-18; Chapter 2, pp. 21-30.
- Greenfeld, L. (1996). Nationalism and Modernity. *Social Research*, 63(1), 3-40. Read pp. 8-20.

### **Feb. 11: Nationalism – Fixed or Constructed?**

- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (2000). Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization*, 54(4), 845-877. Read pp. 845-857.
- Hale, H. E. (2004). Explaining Ethnicity. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(4), 458-485 – Read pp. 458-463.
- Van Evera, S. (2001). Primordialism Lives!. *APSA-CP: Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association*, 12(1), 20-22.
- Rudolph, S. H. and L. I. Rudolph. 1993. “Modern Hate.” *The New Republic*. March 22.

### **Feb. 18: Forms of Nationalism I: Civic and Ethnic**

- Smith, A. D. 1988. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. Chapter 3, pp. 134-138.

- Brubaker, W. R. (1990). Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis. *International Sociology*, 5(4), 379-407.
- Shulman, S. (2002). Challenging the Civic/ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(5), 554-585.
- Brown, D. (1999). Are There Good and Bad Nationalisms?. *Nations and Nationalism*, 5(2), 281-302.
- Timsit, A. 2018. "A Gap Ad with a Girl in a Hijab Shows How Differently the US and France View Personal Liberty." *Quartz*. August 24.
- Hajdari, U, and M. Colborne. 2018. "Why Ethnic Nationalism Still Rules Bosnia, and Why It Could Get Worse." *The Nation*. October 12.

### **Feb. 25: Forms of Nationalism II: Religious Nationalism**

- Juergensmeyer, M. (1995). The New Religious State. *Comparative Politics*, 27(4), 379-391.
- Friedland, R. (2002). Money, Sex, and God: The Erotic Logic of Religious Nationalism. *Sociological Theory*, 20(3), 381-425. Read pp. 381-388.
- Brubaker, R. (2012). Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches. *Nations and Nationalism*, 18(1), 2-20.
- Kasaba, R. 2018. "Nationalism and Piety Dominate Turkey's Election." *The Conversation*. June 22.
- Sarkar, R. 2019. "Clashing Nationalisms in North-Eastern India." *Policy Forum*. January 25.

### **March 4: Changes in the Dominant Form of Nationalist Identity**

- Robinson, A. L. (2014). National versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of Territorial Nationalism. *World Politics*, 66(4), 709-746.
- Breton, R. (1988). From Ethnic to Civic Nationalism: English Canada and Quebec. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 11(1), 85-102.
- Mirel, J. (2002). Civic Education and Changing Definitions of American Identity, 1900–1950. *Educational Review*, 54(2), 143-152.
- Al Yafai, F. 2012. "The Death of Arab Secularism." *The National*. November 3.

- Halbfinger, D. and I. Kershner. 2018. "Israeli Law Declares the Country the 'Nation-State of the Jewish People.'" *New York Times*. July 19.

### **March 11: Liberal Nationalism**

#### RESPONSE PAPER DUE

- Kymlicka, W. (1998). Introduction: An Emerging Consensus?. *Ethical Theory & Moral Practice*, 1(2), 143-157.
- Lind, M. (1994). In Defense of Liberal Nationalism. *Foreign Affairs*, 73(3) 87-99.
- Paris, E. 2018. "Canada's Multiculturalism is Our Identity." *The Globe and Mail*. April 27.

### **March 25: Mobilizing Nationalism**

- Beissinger, M. R. (1996). How Nationalisms Spread: Eastern Europe Adrift the Tides and Cycles of Nationalist Contention. *Social Research*, 63(1) 97-146.
- Zhao, S. (1998). A State-Led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 31(3), 287-302.
- Giuliano, E. (2000). Who Determines the Self in the Politics of Self-Determination? Identity and Preference Formation in Tatarstan's Nationalist Mobilization. *Comparative Politics*, 32(3), 295-316.

### **April 1: Nationalism and Democratization**

- Snyder, J., & Ballentine, K. (1996). Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas. *International Security*, 21(2), 5-40.
- Mansfield, E. D., & Snyder, J. (1995). Democratization and War. *Foreign Affairs*, 74(3) 79-97.
- Fisher, M. 2017. "Myanmar, Once a Hope for Democracy, Is Now a Study in How It Fails." *New York Times*. October 19.
- Heijmans, P. 2017. "Recalling a Velvet Divorce." *U.S. News & World Report*. December 29.

### **April 8: Nationalism and Armed Conflict I**

- Posen, B. R. (1993). The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict. *Survival*, 35(1), 27-47.

- Van Evera, S. (1994). Hypotheses on Nationalism and War. *International Security*, 18(4), 5-39.
- Gagnon, V. P. (1994). Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia. *International Security*, 19(3), 130-166.
- Hale, H. E. (2004). Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse. *World Politics*, 56(2), 165-193.
- McKay, S. 2018. "How Old Ghosts are Haunting Ireland." *The Guardian*. March 25.

### **April 15: Nationalism and Armed Conflict II**

#### GROUP PRESENTATION

- Hayden, R. M. (1996). Imagined Communities and Real Victims: Self-Determination and Ethnic Cleansing in Yugoslavia. *American Ethnologist*, 23(4), 783-801.
- Arnold, D. and A. Turner. 2018. "Why Are We Surprised When Buddhists Are Violent?" *New York Times*. March 5.

### **April 22: Nationalism and the Economy**

- Colley, L. (1986). Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830. *Past & Present*, 113, 97-117.
- Cederman, L. E., Weidmann, N. B., & Gleditsch, K. S. (2011). Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison. *American Political Science Review*, 105(3), 478-495.
- Mansfield, E. D., & Mutz, D. C. (2013). US versus Them: Mass Attitudes toward Offshore Outsourcing. *World Politics*, 65(4), 571-608.
- Shulman, S. (2000). Nationalist Sources of International Economic Integration. *International Studies Quarterly*, 44(3), 365-390.
- Wong, K. 2018. "Anxieties About Mahathir's New Malaysia Go Deeper Than Race." *South China Morning Post*. December 14.

### **April 29: Nationalism, Migration, and Populism I**

- Hopkins, D. J. (2010). Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition. *American Political Science Review*, 104(1), 40-60.



- Staab, A. (1998). Xenophobia, Ethnicity and National Identity in Eastern Germany. *German Politics*, 7(2): 31-46.
- McLaren, L. M. (2012). The Cultural Divide in Europe: Migration, Multiculturalism, and Political Trust. *World Politics*, 64(2), 199-241.
- McPhillips, D. 2017. "UAE No Paradise for Migrant Workers." *U.S. News & World Report*. July 10.
- Than, K. 2018. "Fear of Migrants Galvanizes PM Orban's Supporters in Rural Hungary." *Reuters*. March 21.

### **May 6: Nationalism, Migration, and Populism II**

- Joppke, C. (2008). Immigration and the Identity of Citizenship: The Paradox of Universalism. *Citizenship Studies*, 12 (6): 533-546.
- Weldon, S. A. (2006). The Institutional Context of Tolerance for Ethnic Minorities: A Comparative, Multilevel Analysis of Western Europe. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 331-349.
- Goodman, S. W. (2012). Fortifying Citizenship: Policy Strategies for Civic Integration in Western Europe. *World Politics*, 64(4), 659-698.
- Johnson, S. 2018. "Immigration and Welfare Fears Merge as Sweden Lurches to the Right." September 5.

### **May 13: Concluding Discussion**

- FINAL PAPER DUE
- No Readings