

Nationalism

Political Science 2338.10, Spring 2020
Tuesday & Thursday 2:20-3:35pm
(1957 E street, B17)

Prof. Harris Mylonas
403 Hall of Government (2115 G St)
E-mail: mylonas@gwu.edu
Office hours: Tuesday 3:40 - 5:10pm or by appointment

Course Goals and Description

This is a class on the causes and the political effects of nationalism. The first half of the course is designed to provide you with an understanding of the most prominent explanations of the emergence of nationalism across the world, and the background knowledge and tools with which to evaluate them. We will discuss the importance of conceptualization in understanding social phenomena and confront terms such as: state, nation, nationalism, patriotism, minorities, identity, ethnicity, religion, class, and race. In the second half of the course, we will focus on the effects of nationalism on political identities, patterns of political violence as well as voting, and state policies toward minorities, diasporas, and immigrants. We are going to cover cases from around the world. Students will learn how to formulate research questions, develop arguments, and evaluate hypotheses.

Course Outline

January 14. Introduction
January 16. Definitions: Ethnicity, Race, Nation, and Nationalism
January 21. Varieties of Nationalism
January 23. Communism, Cosmopolitanism, and Nationalism
I. Causes
January 28. Primordialism/Ethnic Hatreds
January 30. Movie & Discussion
February 4. Modernization Theories I: Print Capitalism and Creole Pioneers
February 6. Empirics
February 11. Modernization Theories II: Industrialization, Urbanization, and Social Mobilization
February 13. Empirics
February 18. Modernization Theories III: Socialization: Family, Schooling, Army
[Assignment#1 due: Personal stories]
February 20. Empirics
February 25. International Involvement and the Politicization of Differences
February 27. Empirics
March 3. Cascades and Identity Change
March 5. Empirics
March 10. Review Session
March 12. Midterm Exam
II. Effects
March 24. Elites and the Politics of People-Building
March 26. Guest Lecture by *Elizabeth Grasmeder*
March 31. The Homogenizing Imperative and the Politics of Nation-Building
April 2. Nationalism and Political Violence I: Ethnic Cleansing
April 7. Nationalism and Political Violence II: Civil Wars

April 9. Defining the Homeland of Stateless Nationalist Movements
April 14. Nationalism and Political Mobilization
April 16. The Politics of ‘Long-Distance Nationalism’
April 21. The Present and Future of Nationalism
April 23. Review Session
Final exam May 8.

Films

During the semester, I will be suggesting/screening films related to the material covered in class. Attendance is not mandatory. However, watching the movies is highly recommended and will help you comprehend the class material.

Texts

There are 2 required books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore or online. They are also available online through Gelman Library.

Required:

Laitin, David D. 2007. *Nations, States, and Violence*. Oxford.

Mylonas, Harris. 2012. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

There are several recommended books, available for purchase at the GW Bookstore or online:
Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Balcells, Laia. 2017. *Rivalry and Revenge*. Cambridge University Press.

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brand, L. A. 2014. *Official Stories: Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria*. Palo Alto California: Stanford University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge University Press.

Bulutgil, Zeynep. 2016. *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 2006 [2nd edition]. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell

Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford.

Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge University Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2018. *Nation building: Why some countries come together while others fall apart*. Princeton University Press.

Blackboard:

This course will use Blackboard for announcements and readings (see “Electronic Reserves”). I strongly encourage you to ensure you have access to Blackboard as soon as possible. To log onto Blackboard, you will need to use your Net ID and e-mail password. If you have any questions about how to use the system, go to <http://helpdesk.gwu.edu>.

Course Requirements:

Midterm Exam: In-class midterm exam (March 12).

1 Short assignment

Final Exam/Paper: Take-Home Final exam (May 8)

Average minimum amount of independent, out-of-class, learning expected per week:

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2.5 hours per week in lecture (35 hours for the semester). Homework, assignments, and other out-of-class work is estimated to take up, on average, 5 hours per week (70 hours for the semester). The course includes a take-home final exam for which approximately 10 hours of work is assumed.

Learning Outcomes:

As a result of completing this course, students will be able to:

1. Understand the origins of national identities.
2. Understand events caused by nationalist ideas.
3. Critically assess writings on nationalism and be alert to propaganda.
4. Apply theories of political science to current events and issues in the news
5. Compose a publishable article/opinion piece on the topic.

Class Policies

The following policies are important. Read them carefully.

Attendance

Please come to class on time. Feel free to bring a cup of coffee/tea or water, but please **don't bring food**. Cell phones must be **turned off**. Laptops or other electronic devices are **not** allowed. (Hand writing **notes** is a more effective learning strategy than typing; see "[Ditch the laptop and pick up a pen, class. Researchers say it's better for note taking](#)" in the *Washington Post*.) Instead of attendance I will give occasional pop quizzes with difficult questions such as "what is your name?" or "what day of the week is it today?"

Grading

There are four components to your grade:

- **Class Participation: 10%** - Students will have to read 1-2 texts per class. They are academic articles or chapters. They aim to introduce the issues and debates for each class and they are the beginning and not the end of the discussion. Active participation in the class is strongly encouraged. You are encouraged to bring news stories that are relevant to our class.
- **In class midterm: 50%** - The midterm will consist of two parts. The first part will include 10 multiple-choice questions (40/100). In the second part you will be asked to choose 6 out of 10 IDs and write on them (60/100). Please do not bring with you any notes or reading materials. (**March 12**).
- **1 Short assignment: 10% of your grade.**
- **Final Exam: 30%** - You will be given two questions/topics and you will be expected to write on one of them (**May 8**).

I am using blackboard's default grading schema (see Table below). Please keep in mind that I do not round up grades.

Grades Scored Between	Will Equal
97 % and 100 %	A+
94 % and Less Than 97%	A
90 % and Less Than 94%	A-
87 % and Less Than 90%	B+
84 % and Less Than 87%	B
80 % and Less Than 84%	B-
77 % and Less Than 80%	C+
74 % and Less Than 77%	C
70 % and Less Than 74%	C-
67 % and Less Than 70%	D+
64 % and Less Than 67%	D
60 % and Less Than 64%	D-
0 % and Less Than 60%	F

- Participation (10%)
- Midterm (50%)
- 1 Short assignment (10%)
- Take-Home Final Exam (30%)

If you would like me to re-grade your midterm or the final paper, you must submit a *written* request, explaining why you believe you did not receive the proper grade. I reserve the right to raise *or* lower your grade. There will **not** be opportunities to do extra-credit work to improve your grade.

Late Work

Late assignments will lose one third of a full grade (e.g., from an A to a A-, to B+ etc.) for each day after the deadline. There are only two exceptions to the late-assignment policy: illness or family emergency. If either of these circumstances applies, you must provide *written documentation* (such as a doctor’s note if you are ill), **and** you must communicate with me *before the assignment is due* (i.e., emailing me on the morning the

assignment is due and saying you are sick is not acceptable for avoiding a penalty). I am willing to accommodate documented requests, but you must communicate with me *before* the assignment is due.

Participation and class environment

You are expected to come *prepared*. All lectures will involve discussion, and participation will account for 10% of your grade. This course is intended to create an active intellectual atmosphere that promotes participatory learning. Students are expected to have engaged with the readings in advance and participate by making comments, asking questions, and sharing constructive ideas. Students are always required to interact respectfully with each other.

An inclusive learning environment is critical to the goals and objectives of this course. We will be discussing sensitive, personal issues related to identity and politics. It is important that students from all backgrounds and experiences feel welcome, participate actively, and have the opportunity to excel in this course. Your reflections or suggestions on how to ensure an inclusive learning environment for you individually or for other students are welcome.

Make-up exams

Make-up exams are allowed only if you have consulted with me in advance.

University Policies & Services

Academic integrity code

Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For details and complete code, see: studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity

Writing Center

The GW Writing Center operates out of Gelman Library and Eckles Library. Their website, at <http://www.gwu.edu/~gwriter/>, provides general information on writing strategies. Online. The GW Language Center houses GW's English for Academic Purposes Program which provides support for non-native speakers of English; more information at <http://programs.columbian.gwu.edu/languagecenter/>

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. If you have an established accommodation, please let me know as soon as possible so that we can work together in planning for a successful semester. For additional information see: disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/

University policy on observance of religious holidays

In accordance with University policy, you should notify me during the first week of the semester of your intention to be absent from class on a day(s) of religious observance. If an assignment falls on a day you will be observing a religious holiday, we will work together to find an alternative time to complete the assignment. Please communicate with me about holidays in advance of the original due date. I do not intend to observe any religious holidays. For details and policy, see: <https://registrar.gwu.edu/university-policies#holidays>

Mental Health Services 202-994-5300

The University's Counseling Center offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information call 202-994-5300 or see: counselingcenter.gwu.edu/

Emergency Preparedness and Response Procedures

The University has asked all faculty to inform students of these procedures, prepared by the GW Office of Public Safety and Emergency Management in collaboration with the Office of the Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs.

To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity

Call the University Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon).

Shelter in Place – General Guidance

Although it is unlikely that we will ever need to shelter in place, it is helpful to know what to do just in case. No matter where you are, the basic steps of shelter in place will generally remain the same.

- If you are inside, stay where you are unless the building you are in is affected. If it is affected, you should evacuate. If you are outdoors, proceed into the closest building or follow instructions from emergency personnel on the scene.

- Locate an interior room to shelter inside. If possible, it should be above ground level and have the fewest number of windows. If sheltering in a room with windows, move away from the windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms maybe necessary.
- Shut and lock all windows (for a tighter seal) and close exterior doors.
- Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able. (University staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible).
- Make a list of the people with you and ask someone to call the list in to UPD so they know where you are sheltering and who is with you. If only students are present, one of the students should call in the list.
- Await further instructions. If possible, visit GW Campus Advisories for incident updates (<http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu>) or call the GW Information Line 202-994-5050.
- Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

Evacuation

An evacuation will be considered if the building we are in is affected or we must move to a location of greater safety. We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds. In the event of an evacuation, please gather your personal belongings quickly (purse, keys, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Every classroom has a map at the door designating both the shortest egress and an alternate egress. Anyone who is physically unable to walk down the stairs should wait in the stairwell, behind the closed doors. Firemen will check the stairwells upon entering the building.

Once you have evacuated the building, proceed to our primary rendezvous location: the court yard area between the GW Hospital and Ross Hall. In the event that this location is unavailable, we will meet on the ground level of the Visitors Parking Garage (I Street entrance, at 22nd Street). From our rendezvous location, we will await instructions to re-enter the School.

Alert DC

Alert DC provides free notification by e-mail or text message during an emergency. Visit GW Campus Advisories for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, you are encouraged to share the information immediately.

GW Alert

GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. In the event that we receive an alert to the computer in our classroom, we will follow the instructions given. You are also encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit GW Campus Advisories to learn how.

Additional Information

Additional information about emergency preparedness and response at GW or the University's operating status can be found on GW Campus Advisories (<http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu>) or by calling the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050.

Course Schedule:

January 14. **Introduction**

Renan, Ernest. 1995 [1882]. "What is a Nation?" in Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay (eds) *The Nationalism Reader*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, pp. 143-155.

Recommended:

John Stuart Mill. 1861. "Chapter XVI - Of Nationality, as connected with Representative Government" in *Considerations on Representative Government*. Parker, son, and Bourn.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. 2008. *Addresses to the German Nation* (1808), ed. and trans. Gregory Moore. Cambridge University Press.

Herder, Johann Gottfried. 2004. *Another Philosophy of History and Selected Political Writings*. Translated and edited by Ioannis Evrigenis and Daniel Pellerin. Indianapolis: Hackett.

I. Definitions and Historical Context

January 16. **Ethnicity, Race, Nation, and Nationalism**

Weber, Max. 1996. "Ethnic Groups," in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*. New York: New York University Press. pp. 52-56.

Gellner, Ernest. 2006. *Nations and Nationalism*. Pages 1-7.

Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Chapter 1, pages 5-17.

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, pages 5-7.

January 21. **Varieties of Nationalism**

Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Pages 35-93.

January 23. **Communism, Cosmopolitanism, and Nationalism**

Connor, Walker. 1984. *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. [Introduction and Chapter 1].

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2019. "The Importance of Elsewhere. In Defense of Cosmopolitanism." *Foreign Affairs*. February 12.

Suggested Films: Braveheart, The French Revolution, Exodus

II. Causes

January 28. **Primordialism/Ethnic Hatreds**

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 6-12, 21-54.

Recommended:

Kaplan, Robert. 1993. *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*. New York: Vintage Books, pp. 3-70.

Suggested Film: 15 Février 1839 [15 February 1839]

January 30. **Empirics** [[Whose is this song?](#)]

Suggested Films: The Patriot, Joaquim

February 4. **Print Capitalism and Creole Pioneers**

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. Chapter 3.

Suggested Films: The Battle of Algiers, The Patriot

February 6. **Empirics**

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. Chapter 4.

Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction.

February 11. **Industrialization, Urbanization, and Social Mobilization**

Karl W. Deutsch. 1961. "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 55, No. 3: 493-514.

Gellner, pp. 19-61, 131-136.

Suggested Films: Ziemia Obiecana [The Promised Land], Colonel Redl

February 13. **Empirics**

Posner, Dan. "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia," *Comparative Politics* 35, 2 (January 2003), pp. 127-146.

February 18. **Socialization: Family, Schooling, Army**

Darden, Keith A. Forthcoming. *Resisting Occupation: Mass Schooling and the Creation of Durable National Loyalties*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 1)

Suggested Films: The Wind that Shakes the Barley, Barry Lyndon, Under the Sun

February 20. **Empirics**

Balcells, Laia. 2013. Mass schooling and Catalan nationalism. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 19(4), pp.467-486

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

Assignment#1 due: Personal stories

Suggested Films: The Battle of Algiers, The Patriot

February 25. **International Involvement and the Politicization of Differences**

Mylonas, Chapter 1.

Recommended:
Jenne, Chapter 2

Suggested Film: Otac na sluzbenom putu [When Father was Away on Business]

February 27. **Empirics**

Darden, Keith and Harris Mylonas. 2016. "Threats to Territorial Integrity, National Mass Schooling, and Linguistic Commonality," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 11: 1446-1479.

Suggested Film: 44 Messages from Catalonia

March 3. **Cascades and Identity Change**

Laitin, 2007, pp. 29-59.

March 5. **Empirics**

Laitin, 2007, pp. 61-80.

March 10. **Review Session**

Suggested Film: Lawrence of Arabia

March 12. **Midterm Exam**

III. Effects

March 24. **Elites and the Politics of People-Building**

Smith, Rogers M. 2001. "Citizenship and the politics of people-building," *Citizenship Studies* 5, 1: 73-96.

Mylonas, Chapter 6.

Suggested Films: Malcolm X, Lumumba, Gandhi, Paths of Glory

March 26. **Guest Lecture** by *Elizabeth Grasmeder*, PhD candidate in Political Science at GW

Suggested Film: *Dances with Wolves*

March 31. **The Homogenizing Imperative and the Politics of Nation-Building**

Mylonas, Chapters 2, 7, and 9.

Recommended:

Han, Enze and Harris Mylonas. 2014. "Interstate Relations, Perceptions, And Power Balance: Explaining China's Policies Toward Ethnic Groups, 1949-1965," *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue 1, 148-181.

Mylonas, Harris. 2015. "Methodological Problems in the Study of Nation-Building: Behaviorism and Historicist Solutions in Political Science," *Social Science Quarterly*, Volume 96, Issue 3: 740-758.

Mylonas, Harris. 2017. "Nation-Building," *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*.

April 2. **Nationalism and Political Violence I: Ethnic Cleansing**

Bulutgil, Zeynep. 2015. "Social cleavages, wartime experience, and ethnic cleansing in Europe," *Journal of Peace Research*, Volume: 52.5: 577-590.

Recommended:

Bulutgil, H. Z. 2016. *The Roots of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Suggested Films: Sometimes in April, Hotel Rwanda

April 7. **Nationalism and Political Violence II: Civil Wars**

Wimmer, Andreas, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min. 2009. "Ethnic politics and armed conflict: A configurational analysis of a new global data set." *American Sociological Review* 74.2: 316-337.

Laitin, David. 2007. *Nations, states, and Violence*. Chapter 1, pp. 1-27.

Suggested Film: Lepa sela lepo gore [Pretty Village, Pretty Flame]

April 9. **Defining the Homeland of Stateless Nationalist Movements**

Mylonas, Harris and Nadav Shelef. 2014. "Which Land is Our Land? Domestic Politics and Change in the Territorial Claims of Stateless Nationalist Movements," *Security Studies*, Vol. 23, Issue 4, 754-786.

Recommended:

Mylonas, Harris and Nadav Shelef. 2017. "Methodological Challenges in the Study of Stateless Nationalist Territorial Claims," *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Volume 5, Issue 2: 145- 157.

Suggested Films: Attilas '74, Les Ordres [Orderers], Octobre [October]

April 14. **Nationalism and Political Mobilization**

Darden, Keith and Anna Maria Grzymała-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics* - Volume 59, Number 1: 83-115.

Suggested Film: Bloody Sunday, Ararat, Exodus, One Day in September

April 16. The Politics of ‘Long-Distance Nationalism’

Délano Alonso, Alexandra and Harris Mylonas. 2019. “The Microfoundations of Diaspora Politics: Unpacking the State and Disaggregating the Diaspora,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 45, Issue 4: 473-491

Mylonas, Harris and Marko Žilović. 2019. “Foreign Policy Priorities and Ethnic Return Migration Policies: Group-Level Variation in Greece and Serbia,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Volume 45, Issue 4: 613-635.

April 21. The Present and Future of Nationalism

Wimmer, Andreas. 2019. “Why Nationalism Works. And Why It Isn’t Going Away”. *Foreign Affairs*.

Tamir, Yael. 2019. “Building a Better Nationalism. The Nation’s Place in a Globalized World.” *Foreign Affairs*.

Kymlicka, Will. *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*

April 23. Review Session

Take-Home Final exam: May 8.