INTL 4280: Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict Spring 2023

Instructor Aman Bekmagambetov Email: aman@uga.edu Office Hours: Monday and Wednesday, 10:30-11:20AM B01 Candler Hall

Class Schedule Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays 11:30AM – 12:20PM Sanford Hall 313

This syllabus is subject to change throughout the semester.

Course Description and Objectives

How do we define the concepts of nation and ethnicity? Why nationalism and ethnicity are such powerful motivators of inter-group conflict? Why do we observe such an upsurge of inter-ethnic conflict after the end of the Cold War? What theories and paradigms can help us understand such conflicts? This course explores potential answers to these and related questions through the combination of the theoretic analysis, paper presentation, and extensive group discussion.

This course's reading load is intentionally ambitious. After exploring general concepts of identity, nation, and ethnicity, we will learn about some of the main theories and paradigms of the field. In order to develop our intuition, we will delve into five main -isms (Realism, Primordialism, Instrumentalism, Constructivism, and Institutionalism), which will be supplemented with their modern extensions and modifications. This course, among other things, will specifically focus on the role of rationality, media, and religion in ethnic conflict/nationalism. Finally, we will explore the application of the learned theories to the instructor's area of expertise, namely, the post-Soviet space ethnic conflicts more generally, and Central Asian issues more specifically.

Required Books

The main text for this course that need to be obtained by students:

• Smith, Anthony D. Nationalism: Theory, ideology, history. John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Some of the additional readings will be provided to you through eLC, so make sure to check the course page before each week.

Please NOTE: The readings that will be posted on the course page are for use by students in this course ONLY! Please do not share these copyrighted materials with others.

ALL READINGS ARE TO BE COMPLETED BEFORE MONDAY EACH WEEK.

Course Grading

Your grade in this class will be composed of the following items:

1. Discussion post (10% of final grade). You are required to post one discussion post every week on eLC expressing in a few paragraphs what you found interesting or intriguing. Then pose a good question about on the readings at the end of your post. Additionally, you will need to produce at least one thoughtful response to your classmates' post. This must be done by the middle point of each week (Wednesday 11:30 AM).

2. Discussion participation and class attendance (15% of final grade). Participation from you will be expected during Monday, Wednesday, and Friday as only part of each class will include a brief lecture by the instructor; the rest of the time will be spent in discussion or your own presentation. You are expected to participate, not just attend every class. That means you need to come to class and be ready to discuss the assigned readings.

3. Two Midterm Tests (15% each with 30% of final grade total). The exams will be testing the core concepts, theories, paradigms and ideas from the first and middle parts of the course. It will consist of several short-response questions, and the prompts will be distributed randomly among the students. Each exam will be closed note, closed book. You will have the allotted 50 minutes to complete each exam. The exams are scheduled for February 8 and March 22. Further details will be announced in class.

4. Leading two presentation-discussions (20% of final grade). Each presentation will be worth 10% of the final grade and should be done with the aid of PowerPoint. The students will be asked to pick two recommended readings (from different weeks) and prepare a presentation according to the rubric. The sign-up sheet for the cases will be administered after the first week of classes.

5. Final Paper (25% of final grade). You will be required to write a 5 to 10-page paper (double spaced) on an ethnic conflict of your choosing. Find the rubric to follow on eLC. Send the paper in a pdf format (upload to eLC or via email) no later than 3 PM on May 3.

Course grades will be assigned as follows: 94-100% = A, 90-93% = A-, 87-89% = B+, 84-87% = B, 80-83% = B-, 77-79% = C+, 74-77% = C, 70-73% = C-, 67-69% = D+, 64-67% = D, 60-63% = D-, 0-59% = F.

Other Issues

1. Disabilities: Students with disabilities of any kind are strongly encouraged to tell me at the beginning of the semester, so appropriate accommodations can be made. Students with disabilities that have been certified by the UGA Disabilities Services Office will be accommodated according to university policy. Contact Disabilities Services for more information.

2. Instructor Availability: I am available to meet with students by appointment if anyone cannot attend my posted office hours. Please email me to schedule a meeting.

3. Classroom Behavior: Students should behave professionally throughout the course. Disruptive behavior in discussion sections will not be tolerated. Laptops may be used to take notes in class, but not in a way that is disruptive to other students. Texting is never appropriate in class. Be respectful of other students' thoughts and opinions.

4. Cheating and Plagiarism: All course work must meet the standards put forth in the University of Georgia's Student Honor Code. See the Academic Honesty Policy for details on what is expected of you:

https://honesty.uga.edu/Academic-Honesty-Policy/Student-Honor-Code/.

5. Covid 19: Information related to Covid 19 and how this will impact our course and the University of Georgia more generally can be found at the end of this syllabus.

Course Schedule

Week One (January 9, January 11, January 13)

- Huntington, S. P., & Dunn, S. (2004). Who are we?: The challenges to America's national identity. Simon and Schuster. Chapter 1 The Crisis of National Identity.
- Kalin, M., & Sambanis, N. (2018). How to think about social identity. Annual Review of Political Science, 21, 239-257.
- Parsons, C. (2007). How to map arguments in political science. OUP Oxford. Introduction.
- Landis, D., & Albert, R. D. (2012). Handbook of Ethnic conflict (Vol. 10, pp. 978-1). Boston, MA, USA: Springer. Introduction: Models and Theories of Ethnic Conflict

Week Two (January 16-Martin Luther King Jr. Day-no class, January 18, January 20)

- Shepsle, K. A. (2010). Analyzing politics: rationality, behavior, and institutions. WW Norton. Chapter 2 Rationality: Model of Choice.
- Varshney, A. (2003). Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and rationality. Perspectives on politics, 1(1), 85-99.
- Kaufmann, C. (2005). Rational choice and progress in the study of ethnic conflict: A review essay. Security Studies, 14(1), 178-207.

Week Three (January 23, January 25, January 27)

- Smith Chapter 1 Concepts
- Smith Chapter 2 Ideologies

Recommended Reading:

- Abashin, S. (2012). Nation-Construction in Post-Soviet Central Asia. Soviet and post-Soviet identities, 150-168.
- Mac Ginty, Roger, Orla T. Muldoon, and Neil Ferguson. "No war, no peace: Northern Ireland after the agreement." Political psychology 28.1 (2007): 1-11.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. "Why minorities rebel: A global analysis of communal mobilization and conflict since 1945." International political science review 14.2 (1993): 161-201.
- Heraclides, Alexis. "The Cyprus gordian knot: An intractable ethnic conflict." Nationalism and Ethnic Politics 17.2 (2011): 117-139.

Week Four (January 30, February 1, February 3)

- Smith Chapter 3 Paradigms
- Smith Chapter 4 Theories

Recommended Reading:

- Kaufman, S. J. (1996). Spiraling to ethnic war: elites, masses, and Moscow in Moldova's civil war. International Security, 21(2), 108-138.
- Mihelj, S., & Jiménez-Martínez, C. (2021). Digital nationalism: Understanding the role of digital media in the rise of 'new' nationalism. Nations and nationalism, 27(2), 331-346.
- Brubaker, R. (2012). Religion and nationalism: Four approaches. Nations and nationalism, 18(1), 2-20.
- Safran, W. (2008). Language, ethnicity and religion: a complex and persistent linkage. Nations and Nationalism, 14(1), 171-190.
- Ruane, J., & Todd, J. (2010). Ethnicity and religion: Redefining the research agenda. Ethnopolitics, 9(1), 1-8.

Week Five (February 6, February 8 - Exam 1, February 10)

- Varshney, Ashutosh. "Ethnicity and ethnic conflict." (2009).
- Ubiria, G. (2015). Soviet nation-building in Central Asia: the making of the Kazakh and Uzbek nations. Routledge. Chapter 1 - Theorizing Modern Nationalism.

Recommended Reading:

- Harris, E. (2020). What is the role of nationalism and ethnicity in the Russia-Ukraine crisis?. Europe-Asia Studies, 72(4), 593-613.
- Wimmer, A. (1997). Who owns the state? Understanding ethnic conflict in post-colonial societies. Nations and nationalism, 3(4), 631-666.
- Duffy Toft, M. (2002). Indivisible territory, geographic concentration, and ethnic war. Security Studies, 12(2), 82-119.
- Kalyvas, S. N. (2008). Ethnic defection in civil war. Comparative Political Studies, 41(8), 1043-1068.

Week Six (February 13, February 15, February 17)

- Posen, B. R. (1993). The security dilemma and ethnic conflict. Survival, 35(1), 27-47.
- Tang, S. (2011). The security dilemma and ethnic conflict: toward a dynamic and integrative theory of ethnic conflict. Review of International Studies, 37(2), 511-536.

Recommended Reading:

- Minasyan, S. (2017). The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict in the context of South Caucasus regional security issues: An Armenian perspective. Nationalities Papers, 45(1), 131-139.
- Horowitz, S. (2001). Explaining Post-Soviet Ethnic Conflicts: Using Regime Type to Discern the Impact and Relative Importance of Objective Antecedents. Nationalities Papers, 29(4), 633-660.
- Cotter, J. (1999). Cultural security dilemmas and ethnic conflict in Georgia. Journal of Conflict Studies, 19(1), 106-131.
- Rose, W. (2000). The security dilemma and ethnic conflict: Some new hypotheses. Security Studies, 9(4), 1-51.

Week Seven (February 20, February 22, February 24)

- Van Evera, S. (2001). Primordialism lives! APSA-CP: Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association, 12, 20-22.
- Bayar, M. (2009). Reconsidering primordialism: an alternative approach to the study of ethnicity. Ethnic and racial studies, 32(9), 1639-1657.
- Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. International journal of intercultural relations, 35(3), 271-280.

Recommended Reading:

- Giannakos, S. (2019). Chinese Nationalism: Myths, Reality, and Security Implications. Nationalities Papers, 47(1), 149-161.
- Gil-White, F. J. (1999). How thick is blood? The plot thickens...: If ethnic actors are primordialists, what remains of the circumstantialist/primordialist controversy?. Ethnic and racial studies, 22(5), 789-820.

- McKay, J. (1982). An exploratory synthesis of primordial and mobilizationist approaches to ethnic phenomena. Ethnic and Racial studies, 5(4), 395-420.
- Lake, D. A., & Rothchild, D. (1996). Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict. International security, 21(2), 41-75.

Week Eight (February 27, March 1, March 3)

- Anderson, B. (2006). Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism. Verso books. Chapter 3: The Origins of National Consciousness.
- Smith, A. D. (1991). The nation: invented, imagined, reconstructed?. Millennium, 20(3), 353-368. Recommended Reading:
- Ferrando, O. (2008). Manipulating the Census: Ethnic Minorities in the Nationalizing States of Central Asia. Nationalities Papers, 36(3), 489-520.
- Rutland, P.. (2022). Racism and Nationalism. Nationalities Papers, 50(4), 629-642.
- Chatterjee, S. (2005). Ethnic conflicts in South Asia: a constructivist reading. South Asian Survey, 12(1), 75-89.
- Hutchinson, J. (2004). Myth against myth: the nation as ethnic overlay. Nations and nationalism, 10(1-2), 109-123.

Week Nine (Spring Break - No Classes)

Week Ten (March 13, March 15, March 17)

- Fearon, J. D., & Laitin, D. D. (1996). Explaining interethnic cooperation. American political science review, 90(4), 715-735.
- Hager, A., Krakowski, K., & Schaub, M. (2019). Ethnic riots and prosocial behavior: Evidence from Kyrgyzstan. American Political Science Review, 113(4), 1029-1044.
 Recommended Reading:
- Larys, M. (2022). Failing to Fight for the "Russian World": Pre-War Social Origins of the Pro-Russian Secessionist Organizations in Ukraine. Nationalities Papers, 1-20.
- Dzutsati, V. (2021). Ethnicity or Religion? A Theory of Identity Choice with Evidence from the Russian North Caucasus. Nationalities Papers, 49(1), 30-53.
- Dukalskis, A., & Lee, J. (2020). Everyday Nationalism and Authoritarian Rule: A Case Study of North Korea. Nationalities Papers, 48(6), 1052-1068.
- D'Orazio, V., & Salehyan, I. (2018). Who is a terrorist? Ethnicity, group affiliation, and understandings of political violence. International Interactions, 44(6), 1017-1039.

Week Eleven (March 20, March 22 - Exam 2, March 24)

- Bogaards, M. (2019). Consociationalism and centripetalism: Friends or foes?. Swiss Political Science Review, 25(4), 519-537.
- Ubiria, G. (2015). Soviet nation-building in Central Asia: the making of the Kazakh and Uzbek nations. Routledge. Chapter 7 - Soviet census and passport policies.
- Lustick, I. (1979). Stability in deeply divided societies: Consociationalism versus control. World politics, 31(3), 325-344.

Recommended Reading:

- Umaner-Duba, G. (2021). Managing Ethno-National Diversity in Cyprus: Asymmetrical Federalism. Nationalities Papers, 49(1), 180-198.
- Raffoul, A. W. (2020). The politics of association: Power-sharing and the depoliticization of ethnicity in post-war Burundi. Ethnopolitics, 19(1), 1-18.
- Kendhammer, B. (2015). Getting our piece of the national cake: Consociational power sharing and Neopatrimonialism in Nigeria. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 21(2), 143-165.
- Onditi, F., Sabala, K., & Wassara, S. (2018). Power-sharing consociationalism in resolving South Sudan's ethnopolitical conflict in the post-Comprehensive Peace Agreement era. African Journal on Conflict Resolution, 18(1), 37-64.

Week Twelve (March 27, March 29, March 31)

- Posner, D. N. (2003). The colonial origins of ethnic cleavages: The case of linguistic divisions in Zambia. Comparative Politics, 127-146.
- Reynal-Querol, M. (2002). Ethnicity, political systems, and civil wars. Journal of conflict resolution, 46(1), 29-54.

Recommended Reading:

- Kuperman, A. J. (2004). Is partition really the only hope? Reconciling contradictory findings about ethnic civil wars. Security Studies, 13(4), 314-349.
- Posner, D. N. (2004). The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi. American Political Science Review, 98(4), 529-545.
- Kuzio, T. (2022). Imperial nationalism as the driver behind Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Nations and Nationalism.
- Vujacic, V. (2007). Stalinism and Russian nationalism: a reconceptualization. Post-Soviet Affairs, 23(2), 156-183.

Week Thirteen (April 3, April 5, April 7)

- Mattingly, D., & Yao, E. (2020). How Propaganda Manipulates Emotion to Fuel Nationalism: Experimental Evidence from China. Available at SSRN 3514716.
- Adena, M., Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., Santarosa, V., & Zhuravskaya, E. (2015). Radio and the Rise of the Nazis in Prewar Germany. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 130(4), 1885-1939.
- DellaVigna, S., Enikolopov, R., Mironova, V., Petrova, M., & Zhuravskaya, E. (2014). Cross-border media and nationalism: Evidence from Serbian radio in Croatia. American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 6(3), 103-32.

Recommended Reading:

- Kellow, C. L., & Steeves, H. L. (1998). The role of radio in the Rwandan genocide. Journal of communication, 48(3), 107-128.
- Berinsky, A. J., & Kinder, D. R. (2006). Making sense of issues through media frames: Understanding the Kosovo crisis. The Journal of Politics, 68(3), 640-656.
- Kellner, D. (2004). Media propaganda and spectacle in the war on Iraq: A critique of US broadcasting networks. Cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies, 4(3), 329-338.
- Shevtsova, M. (2022). Looking for Stepan Bandera: The Myth of Ukrainian Nationalism and the Russian 'Special Operation'. Central European Journal of International and Security Studies, 16(3), 132-150.
- Foxall, A. (2013). Photographing Vladimir Putin: Masculinity, nationalism and visuality in Russian political culture. Geopolitics, 18(1), 132-156.

Week Fourteen (April 10, April 12, April 14)

- Fox, J. (2000). The ethnic-religious nexus: The impact of religion on ethnic conflict. Civil Wars, 3(3), 1-22.
- Ubiria, G. (2015). Soviet nation-building in Central Asia: the making of the Kazakh and Uzbek nations. Routledge. Chapter 9 - Soviet policy toward Islam.
- Dowd, R. A. (2016). Religious diversity and religious tolerance: lessons from Nigeria. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 60(4), 617-644.

Recommended Reading:

- Fox, J. (2004). The rise of religious nationalism and conflict: Ethnic conflict and revolutionary wars, 1945-2001. Journal of peace Research, 41(6), 715-731.
- Basedau, M., Pfeiffer, B., & Vüllers, J. (2016). Bad religion? Religion, collective action, and the onset of armed conflict in developing countries. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 60(2), 226-255.
- Isaacs, M. (2016). Sacred violence or strategic faith? Disentangling the relationship between religion and violence in armed conflict. Journal of Peace Research, 53(2), 211-225.
- Cornell, S. E. (1998). Religion as a factor in Caucasian conflicts. Civil Wars, 1(3), 46-64.
- Deitch, M. (2022). Is religion a barrier to peace? Religious influence on violent intrastate conflict termination. Terrorism and political violence, 34(7), 1454-1470.
- Dingley, J. (2011). Sacred communities: Religion and national identities. National Identities, 13(4), 389-402.

Week Fifteen (April 17, April 19, April 21)

- Tishkov, V. (1997). Ethnicity, nationalism and conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The mind aflame (Vol. 15). Sage. Chapter 1 Ethnicity in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Context.
- Hale, H. (2008). The Foundations of Ethnic Politics: Separatism of States and Nations in Eurasia and the World. Chapter 5, 93-118.
- Matveeva, A. (2022). Donbas: the post-Soviet conflict that changed Europe. European Politics and Society, 1-32.

Recommended Reading:

• Nizamova, L. (2016). Ethnic Tatars in contention for recognition and autonomy: Bilingualism and pluricultural education policies in Tatarstan. Nationalities Papers, 44(1), 71-91.

- Hughes, J., & Sasse, G. (2001). Comparing regional and ethnic conflicts in post-Soviet transition states. Regional & Federal Studies, 11(3), 1-35.
- Horowitz, S. (2001). Explaining post-Soviet ethnic conflicts: Using regime type to discern the impact and relative importance of objective antecedents. Nationalities Papers, 29(4), 633-660.
- Hughes, J. (2001). Chechnya: The causes of a protracted post-soviet conflict. Civil Wars, 4(4), 11-48.
- Sasse, G. (2002). Conflict-prevention in a transition state: The Crimean issue in post-Soviet Ukraine. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 8(2), 1-26.
- Sahakyan, N. (2022). The rhetorical face of enmity: the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and the dehumanization of Armenians in the speeches by Ilham Aliyev. Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, 1-20.

Week Sixteen (April 24, April 26, April 28)

- Keller, S. (2019). Russia and Central Asia: Coexistence, Conquest, Convergence. University of Toronto Press. Chapter 6 - Founding Soviet Central Asia.
- Tishkov, V. (1997). Ethnicity, nationalism and conflict in and after the Soviet Union: The mind aflame (Vol. 15). Sage. Chapter 6 The Russians are Leaving: Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Recommended Reading:

- Kesici, Ö. (2017). The Alash movement and the question of Kazakh ethnicity. Nationalities Papers, 45(6), 1135-1149.
- Abashin, S. (2014). Migration from Central Asia to Russia in the new model of world order. Russian Politics & Law, 52(6), 8-23.
- Collins, K. (2003). The political role of clans in Central Asia. Comparative Politics, 171-190.
- Yerekesheva, L. G. (2020). Functions of Religion and Dynamics of Nation-Building in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. The Muslim World, 110(1), 64-88.

Week Seventeen (May 1) Review

CORONAVIRUS INFORMATION FOR STUDENTS

UGA adheres to guidance from the University System of Georgia and the recommendations from Georgia Department of Public Health (DPH) related to quarantine and isolation. Since this may be updated periodically, we encourage you to review the latest guidance here. The following information is based on guidance last updated on December 29, 2021.

Face coverings:

Following guidance from the University System of Georgia, face coverings are recommended for all individuals while inside campus facilities.

How can I obtain the COVID-19 vaccine?

University Health Center is scheduling appointments for students through the UHC Patient Portal. Learn more here .

The Georgia Department of Health, pharmacy chains and local providers also offer the COVID- 19 vaccine at no cost to you. To find a COVID-19 vaccination location near you, click here.

In addition, the University System of Georgia has made COVID-19 vaccines available at 15 campuses statewide and you can locate one here.

What do I do if I have COVID-19 symptoms?

Students showing COVID-19 symptoms should self-isolate and get tested. You can schedule an appointment with the University Health Center by calling 706-542-1162 (Monday-Friday, 8 a.m.-5p.m.). Please DO NOT walk-in. For emergencies and after-hours care, see https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies.

What do I do if I test positive for COVID-19? (Isolation guidance)

If you test positive for COVID-19 at any time, either through a PCR test, an Antigen test, or a home test kit, you are required to report it through the DawgCheck Test Reporting Survey. Follow the instructions provided to you when you report your positive test result in DawgCheck.

As of December 29, 2021, when an individual receive a positive COVID-19 test: Everyone, regardless of vaccination status, should:

- Stay home for 5 days
- If you have no symptoms or your symptoms are resolving after 5 days, you can leave your house and return to class.
- Continue to wear a mask around others for 5 additional days.

What do I do if I have been exposed to COVID-19? (Quarantine guidance)

If you have been exposed (within 6 feet for a cumulative total of 15 minutes or more over a 24- hour period – unmasked^{**}) to someone with COVID-19 or to someone with a positive COVID- 19 test and you are:

- Boosted, or have become fully vaccinated within the last 6 months (Moderna or Pfizer vaccine) or within the last 2 months (J&J vaccine)
 - You do not need to quarantine at home and may come to class.
 - You should wear a mask around others for 10 days.
 - If possible, get tested on day 5.
 - If you develop symptoms, get tested and isolate at home until test results are received, then proceed in accordance with the test results.
- Unvaccinated, or became fully vaccinated more than 6 months ago (Moderna or Pfizer vaccine) or more than 2 months ago (J&J vaccine) and have not received a booster:
 - You must quarantine at home for 5 days. After that you may return to class but continue to wear a mask around others for 5 additional days.
 - If possible, get tested on day 5.
 - If you develop symptoms, get tested and isolate at home until test results are received, then proceed in accordance with the test results.

** "Masked-to-masked" encounters are not currently considered an exposure; this type of interaction would not warrant quarantine.

You should report the need to quarantine on DawgCheck(https://dawgcheck.uga.edu/), and communicate directly with your faculty to coordinate your coursework while in quarantine. If you need additional help, reach out to Student Care and Outreach (sco@uga.edu) for assistance.

Well-being, mental health, and student support

If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care & Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit https://sco.uga.edu/. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services. UGA has several resources to support your well-being and mental health: https://well-being.uga.edu/

Counseling and Psychiatric Services (CAPS) is your go-to, on-campus resource for emotional, social and behavioralhealth support: https://caps.uga.edu/, TAO Online Support (https://caps.uga.edu/tao/), 24/7 support at 706-542-2273. For crisis support: https://healthcenter.uga.edu/emergencies/.

The University Health Center offers FREE workshops, classes, mentoring and health coaching led by licensed clinicians or health educators: https://healthcenter.uga.edu/bewelluga/

Monitoring conditions:

Note that the guidance referenced in this syllabus is subject to change based on recommendations from the Georgia Department of Public Health, the University System of Georgia, or the Governor's Office. For the latest on UGA policy, you can visit coronavirus.uga.edu.