

University of Georgia
INTL 4280: Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict
Fall 2023

Instructor: Pierre Naoufal

Class time: T-TR from 12:45 – 2 pm

Location: Sanford Hall 212

Class section: Call # 54687

Office: Candler Hall room 220

Office hours: Wednesdays from 10-11 am

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Course Description

What is a nation? What drives national sentiment? Does a nation serve a purpose? What are the different theories that attempt to explain why nations form in the first place? Furthermore, what is ethnicity? Is nationalism necessarily based on ethnic identity? And what drives ethnic conflict to begin with? This course attempts to answer these questions, among many others.

It is evident that nationalism and ethnic conflict overlap extensively, hence their grouping in one course. However, this class is divided into two sections, the first dealing with nationalism and the second with ethnic conflict, for the following reasons. “Classical” theories of nationalism do not necessarily focus on ethnicity as a uniting factor, but rather on the effects of modernity. Nevertheless, a number of similar themes guide debates in both the nationalism and ethnic conflict literatures, most notably the primordial/constructivist divide.

The course is organized as follows. First, a few sessions are dedicated to methods. Even though this is not a methods class, a lot of the discussions covered in class relate to the evaluation of arguments through an assessment of theory, conceptualization and even measurement strategies, among other things. Students are also reminded of the main difference between international relations (IR) and comparative politics (CP) as this course sits in between both disciplines.

The course then attempts to define the concepts of nation and nationalism. It compares the primordial as opposed to constructed versions of nationalism and the ethnic as opposed to civic nationalisms. It also examines a variety of theories connecting modernity to the rise of nations and nationalism; potential future directions of nationalism; American nationalism; nationalism and democracy; post-industrial nationalism; nationalism and the role of nation-states in a globalized world; and a case study of nationalism in developing settings, specifically the failures of Pan Arabism.

The second part of the course is dedicated to ethnic conflict. Again, as with nationalism, it asks if ethnic identity is driven by primordial links or if it is constructed. Realistic group conflict theory (RGCT) and social identity theory are explored and evaluated against the empirical record. We also look at the role of ethnic tensions in democratic erosion; the structural and institutional causes of ethnic conflict as well as potential institutional solutions; the relationship between colonialism and the creation and exacerbation of ethnic conflict. Finally, the course examines the relationship between the provision of public goods and ethnic diversity; whether immigration and diversity weaken social cohesion at the national level; and which of assimilation or multiculturalism is the better policy for creating social cohesion between citizens in countries with diverse communities.

Course Structure and Requirements

Since this is an upper-level undergraduate course, it will be structured as a seminar, that is a discussion between instructor and students. I will introduce the subject at the beginning of every class, but the majority of time will be dedicated to a discussion based on the week's readings. Discussion will not only focus on the content of the readings but also on the argument presented by the author, how that argument relates to other assigned readings and whether or not it is convincing.

Grading outline and due dates:

Discussion questions → (20%) due at 9 am the day of class on ELC.

Two analytical papers → (20% each) due on Friday October 13th and Monday November 20th.

Final paper outline → (10%) due Friday October 6th.

Final paper → (30%) due on Monday December 11th.

Attendance is NOT mandatory. If you think you already master the subject, can understand the readings by yourself and relate them to one another, feel free to skip class. Writing your analytical papers however might prove to be much more difficult if you do not attend class regularly. I guarantee you that if you skip class frequently, you will very probably not do well on assignments.

Readings and discussion questions (20%):

You are required to pose a question per reading (or per chapter) on ELC by 9 am the day of class. You will be graded on the quality of the questions you post. The goal here is to demonstrate that you have read and reflected on the assigned material before we discuss it in class. I will sometimes use these questions to stimulate class discussion. Some readings use advanced statistics. However, I do not expect you to understand most of the statistical models utilized in some of the readings.

Two analytical papers (20% each): You are required to write two analytical papers for this class, one based on the nationalism section of the course (All readings under part 1 of the course), the other on the ethnic conflict section (all readings under part 2 of the course). In each paper, you will discuss the strength and weaknesses of every work by comparing them with one another. Ask yourselves the following questions: What does one theory hold in advantage over another? How does the theory fare against the empirical record? Are the measurement strategies used by the authors convincing? These papers should be around 1000 words in length. You must mention every assigned reading in each section at least once. I often mention authors in class that are not assigned. You are not responsible for including those in the papers. Throughout my lectures, I engage in comparing the various readings and works we cover. Attending class regularly will give you a feel on how to engage in critical comparative thinking and do well on analytical papers.

Research paper outlines (10%): Use the Edicts of Candler covered in the 7th week of the course to construct an outline for your final paper. Give a 2-3 sentence description for every point of the Edicts

of Candler, except for points 13, 14 and 15 (since those cover results of your findings which you are not expected to do).

Research Design (30%): A research design is due on Monday December 11th at 11 pm. We will go over, in class and in detail, what a research design is (week 7 of the course). The paper's topic must be related to nationalism or ethnic conflict. Other than this only requirement, you are free to choose the subject of your liking. The last weeks of the semester will be dedicated to in class presentation/workshop. I will give you more detail towards the middle of the semester on what these sessions will include. Your research will have to include literature not covered in class but can rely on works covered during the semester. Papers should be approximately 2500 words long. You are welcome, and even encouraged, to start thinking of your papers early in the semester and discuss your ideas with me during office hours or after class.

File Format upload on ELC: Please upload only .doc, .docx or pdf. files on ELC. All other file formats including links to other platforms will not be accepted.

Late assignment policy: In order to be fair to your classmates who worked hard to commit to the set deadlines, late assignments will not be accepted, unless circumstances are extenuating. Being unable to upload the assignment on time because of no internet connection, uploading the wrong file or having simply forgotten about the deadline does not count as an extenuating circumstance.

Letter grades assignment will follow the scale below:

A: 93-100	C: 73-76
A-: 90-92	C-: 70-72
B+: 87-89	D+: 67-69
B: 83-86	D: 63-66
B-: 80-82	D-: 60-62
C+: 77-79	F: 59 and below.

Academic honesty: As a University of Georgia student, you have agreed to abide by the University's academic honesty policy, "A Culture of Honesty," and the Student Honor Code. All academic work must meet the standards described in "A Culture of Honesty" found at: <http://www.uga.edu/honesty>. Lack of knowledge of the academic honesty policy is not a reasonable explanation for a violation. Please review the definition of plagiarism in the Academic Honesty Policy: https://honesty.uga.edu/Academic-Honesty-Policy/Prohibited_Conduct/. Questions related to course assignments and the academic honesty policy should be directed to the instructor.

Academic Honesty – include this statement: UGA Student Honor Code: "I will be academically honest in all of my academic work and will not tolerate academic dishonesty of others." A Culture of Honesty, the University's policy and procedures for handling cases of suspected dishonesty, can be found at www.uga.edu/ovpi.

Students with disabilities: UGA is committed to the success of all enrolled students and strives to create an environment accessible to everyone. You may request accommodations for a disability through Disability Resource Center (DRC). DRC can be reached by visiting Clark Howell Hall, or by phone at 706-542-8719 or by visiting <http://drc.uga.edu>. Please register with the DRC before the start of classes.

Mental health and wellness resources:

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and 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 for a student seeking mental health services (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) or crisis support (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies>).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (<https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga>) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.
- Additional resources can be accessed through the UGA App.

Class schedule and readings

***Required book for course:** Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism*. Blackwell Publishing, 2nd edition, 2006.

All other readings can be found on ELC or through the UGA library website.

Course schedule is subject to change. Students will be notified in advance if schedule is altered.

Week 1- Introduction

Aug. 17th: Syllabus and course requirements.

Week 2- Definitions and concepts: What is the difference between international relations and comparative politics? What is political science? And how do we get a “science” of politics?

Aug. 22nd: Clark, William Roberts, Matt Golder, and Sona Nadenichek Golder. *Principles of comparative politics*. CQ Press, 2017: box 1.1:5; figure 1.1: 6; and box 2.2: 35-38.

Malici, Akan, and Elizabeth S. Smith. "Why Do We Need a Science of Politics?" *Political Science Research in Practice*. Routledge, 2019: 1-13.

Aug. 24th: Malici, Akan, and Elizabeth S. Smith. "How Do We Get a Science of Politics?" *Political Science Research in Practice*. Routledge, 2019: 57-84.

Part 1: Nationalism

Week 3- What is a nation and what is a state? What is nationalism? Are nations based on “natural” immutable traits that unite individuals of a same nation and that can be traced back to premodern and even prehistoric origins, or are they “invented” with no relation to kinship?

Aug. 29th: Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
Chapter 1: 1-7.

Renan, E. "What is a Nation?" trans. Snyder IM, reprinted in Hutchinson J and Smith AD (eds) *Nationalism*. (1882): 17-18.

Aug. 31st: Smith, Anthony D. "The origins of nations." *Ethnic and racial studies* 12.3 (1989): 340-367.

Week 4- Nationalism and Modernity. The "classical" nationalism literature portrays nationalism as being shaped by the forces of modernity. However, these theories differ in the mechanism through which modernity creates, or is created by, nations and nationalism.

Sep. 5th: Smith, Anthony D., and Anthony Smith. *Nationalism and modernism*. Routledge, 2013. Chapter 1: "The Rise of Classical Modernism": 8-24.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
Chapters 2, 3 and 4: 8-51.

Sep. 7th: Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
Chapter 5: 52-61.

Robinson, Amanda Lea. "National versus ethnic identification in Africa: Modernization, colonial legacy, and the origins of territorial nationalism." *World Politics* 66.4 (2014): 709-746.

Week 5- Nationalism and Modernity (continued).

Sep. 12th: Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism*. Cornell University Press, 2008.
Chapters 6, 7 and 9: 62-105; 118-130.

Sep. 14th: Nairn, Tom. "Scotland and Europe." *New Left Review* 83 (1974): 57-82.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso books, 2006. Chapter 3: 37-46.

Week 6- Ethnic and civic nationalisms; the future of nationalism; and the effect of globalization on nationalism and nation-states.

Sep. 19th: Smith, Anthony D., and Anthony Smith. *Nationalism and modernism*. Routledge, 1998. "Liberalism and Civic or Ethnic Nationalism": 210-220.

Reeskens, Tim, and Matthew Wright. "Nationalism and the cohesive society: A multilevel analysis of the interplay among diversity, national identity, and social capital across 27 European societies." *Comparative Political Studies* 46.2 (2013): 153-181.

Sep. 21st: Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and nationalism*. Cornell University Press, 2008. **Chapters 8 and introduction** (in that order): 106-117 and xiv to liii.

Hall, John A. "Nationalisms: classified and explained." *Daedalus* 122.3 (1993): 1-28.

Hall, John A. "Globalization and nationalism." *Thesis Eleven* 63.1 (2000): 63-79.

Week 7- Is nationalism only a western European phenomenon or does it occur elsewhere? If so, does it follow the same process as theories describing Western European nationalism? The case of Arab nationalism and the failure of Pan Arabism is examined. Furthermore, what is becoming of nationalism in post-industrial societies? Finally, we look at how to write a research design.

Sep. 26th: Brubaker, Rogers. *Nationalism reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the new Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chapter 1: 13-22.

Kramer, Martin. "Arab nationalism: mistaken identity." *Daedalus* 122.3 (1993): 171-206.

Studlar, Donley T., and Ian McAllister. "Nationalism in Scotland and Wales: A post-industrial phenomenon?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11.1 (1988): 48-62.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. "Trump and the populist authoritarian parties: The silent revolution in reverse." *Perspectives on Politics* 15.2 (2017): 443-454.

Sep. 28th: Edicts of Candler

Week-8: Nationalism and liberal Democracy: A tense relationship? And, what is American Nationalism based on? What is the future of American nationalism?

Oct. 3rd: Pešić, Vesna, "The Cruel Face of Nationalism", in Diamond, Larry Jay, and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994: 132-135.

Nodia Ghia, "Nationalism and Democracy", in Diamond, Larry Jay, and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994: 3-22.

Huntington, Samuel P. *Who are we? The challenges to America's national identity*. Simon and Schuster, 2004. Forward and Chapter 1: "The Crisis of National Identity: 1-20.

Pei, Minxin. "The paradoxes of American nationalism." *Paradoxes of Power*. Routledge, 2003. 153-159.

Oct. 5th: Q and A for 1st analytical paper.

**** Outline of final paper due Friday Oct. 6th at 5 pm through ELC****

Part 2: Ethnic Conflict

Week 9- What is ethnicity, and does it matter? Is ethnic diversity causing democratic erosion? Does diversity weaken social capital? (Social capital is introduced here and examined in more detail in week 13 of the course).

Oct. 10th: Chandra, Kanchan. "What is ethnic identity and does it matter?" *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 9 (2006): 397-424.

Oct. 12th: Levitsky, Steven, and Daniel Ziblatt. *How democracies die*. Crown, 2019. Chapter 9: 204-231

Jaffrelot, Christophe (2017). "India's Democracy at 70: Toward a Hindu State?", *Journal of Democracy* 28(3): 52-63.

Putnam, Robert D. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century the 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture." *Scandinavian political studies* 30.2 (2007): 137-174.

**** First analytical paper due on Oct. Friday 13th at 5pm through ELC****

Week 10- Are ethnic tensions due to cultural or economic differences? We evaluate social identity theory as well as realistic group conflict theory.

Oct. 17th: Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. "The social identity theory of intergroup behavior." *Political psychology*. Psychology Press, 2004. 276-293.

Samuel, Huntington. "The clash of civilizations." *Foreign affairs* 72.3 (1993): 22-49.

Oct. 19th: Kalin, Michael, and Nicholas Sambanis. "How to think about social identity." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 239-257.

Lucassen, Geertje, and Marcel Lubbers. "Who fears what? Explaining far-right-wing preference in Europe by distinguishing perceived cultural and economic ethnic threats." *Comparative political studies* 45.5 (2012): 547-574.

Week 11- The structural, institutional and colonial causes of ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflict is sometimes better predicted by the ability of rebels to organize rather than by the grievances they hold. Furthermore, the drawing of artificial borders by colonial powers and the newly created states can in themselves lead to ethnic conflict.

Oct. 24th: 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.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war." *American political science review* 97.1 (2003): 75-90.

Oct. 26th: Posner, Daniel N. "The colonial origins of ethnic cleavages: The case of linguistic divisions in Zambia." *Comparative Politics* (2003): 127-146.

Posner, Daniel N. "The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98.4 (2004): 529-545.

Week 12- Ethnic identity and overcoming the collective action problem for the provision of public goods; and possible institutional solutions to ethnic conflict: Majoritarian vs. proportional representation.

Oct. 31st: Olsen, Mansur. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Harvard Economic Studies. (1965). Introduction: 1-3.

Habyarimana, James, et al. "Why does ethnic diversity undermine public goods provision?" *American political science review* 101.4 (2007): 709-725.

Nov. 2nd: Baldwin, Kate, and John D. Huber. "Economic versus cultural differences: Forms of ethnic diversity and public goods provision." *American Political Science Review* 104.4 (2010): 644-662.

Cohen, Frank S. "Proportional versus majoritarian ethnic conflict management in democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 30.5 (1997): 607-630.

Week 13- Does immigration weaken social capital and national cohesion/solidarity; and is assimilation or multiculturalism better equipped at dealing with these issues? In addition, the puzzling case of Denmark is examined.

Nov. 7th: Cheong, Pauline Hope, et al. "Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: A critical review." *Critical social policy* 27.1 (2007): 24-49.

Ariely, Gal. "Does diversity erode social cohesion? Conceptual and methodological issues." *Political Studies* 62.3 (2014): 573-595.

Uslaner, Eric M. "The moral foundations of trust." *Available at SSRN 824504* (2002).

Nov. 9th: Herreros, Francisco, and Henar Criado. "Social trust, social capital and perceptions of immigration." *Political studies* 57.2 (2009): 337-355.

Mouritsen, Per, and Tore Vincents Olsen. "Denmark between liberalism and nationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36.4 (2013): 691-710.

Rodríguez-García, Dan. "Beyond assimilation and multiculturalism: A critical review of the debate on managing diversity." *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de l'integration et de la migration internationale* 11 (2010): 251-271.

Week 14- Explaining inter-ethnic cooperation and the Balkans case.

Nov. 14th: Oberschall, Anthony. "The manipulation of ethnicity: from ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia." *Ethnic and racial studies* 23.6 (2000): 982-1001.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Explaining interethnic cooperation." *American political science review* 90.4 (1996): 715-735.

Nov. 16th: 2nd analytical paper Q and A.

**** Second analytical papers due on Monday Nov. 20th at 5 pm through ELC****

Week 15- Final paper presentations/workshop

Nov. 21st: Final paper presentations/workshop

Nov. 23rd: **No class: Thanksgiving break**

Week 16- Final paper presentations/workshop

Nov. 28th: Paper presentations/workshop

Nov. 30th: Paper presentations/workshop

Week 17- No class

Dec. 5th: No class: Friday schedule in effect

****Final papers due: Monday December 11th at 11 pm to be uploaded on ELC****