

INTL 8280 70552 Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

Spring 2025

Monday 3:00-6:10 PM, Candler Hall B04

Dr. Jangai Jap

Office: IA Building Rm. 329

Office Hours: T/Th 11:00 am to 12:30 pm, or by appointment

Email: jangai.jap@uga.edu

Course Overview

Nationalism and ethnic identity are among the most influential forces in contemporary politics but often carry a negative reputation. Nationalism is frequently seen as a dangerous ideology, while ethnic divides are blamed for issues ranging from inefficient public service delivery to chronic political instability and protracted violent conflicts. But are these concerns warranted? Are national and ethnic divides inherently conflictual? This course engages with both classic and contemporary research on the politics of nationalism and ethnic identity to better understand *how* these forces shape our socio-political world and conditions under which they cause conflict. Key topics include the origins of national consciousness, nationalist mobilization, electoral violence, civil war and immigrant integration.

This course is designed as a PhD-level course and emphasizes the development of research skills, including formulating compelling research questions, synthesizing existing theoretical frameworks, theory-building, and designing a robust research methodology.

Learning Objectives

The objectives of this course are twofold: (1) to develop a deep understanding of existing explanations for how nationalism and ethnic identity shape our socio-political world and (2) to enhance critical thinking, analytical writing, and research skills through the study of nationalism and ethnic conflict. By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- Demonstrate mastery of the key theories and interpretations in the realm of nationalism and ethnic conflict covered in the course;
- Critically evaluate the strengths and limitations of these theories;
- Effectively apply theoretical insights and critiques in both oral discussions and written assignments; and
- Assess the strengths and limitations of different empirical approaches to studying politics of nationalism and ethnic conflict.

Course Requirements

Students are expected to read approximately six academic articles, or equivalent, each week. Two or more chapters from the following books are assigned as required readings for the course.

- Adida, Claire L., Laitin, David. D., and Valfort, Marie-Anne. 2016. *Why Muslim integration fails in Christian-heritage societies*. Harvard University Press.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*.
- Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist mobilization and the collapse of the Soviet state*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brass, Paul R. 1997. *Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*.
- Chandra, Kachan. 2013. "What is Ethnic Identity? A Minimalist Definition" in *Constructivist theories of ethnic politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance formation in civil wars*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*.
- Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: Anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. Cambridge University Press.
- Roeder, Phillip G. 2012. *Where nation-states come from: Institutional change in the age of nationalism*. Princeton University Press. [Ebook available]
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2013. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. Oxford University Press.

The final course grade will be based on the following components:

1. **Participation** – 20%

Students are expected to come to class fully prepared to discuss the assigned readings and actively contribute to the discussion. Being prepared means completing all assigned readings *and* bringing thoughtful comments, discussion points, and questions based on them.

2. **Reading response** – 25%

Over the course of the semester, there are twelve weeks with a full reading load (beginning in Week 2). Students are required to select eight of these weeks to write a short analytical response paper. Each paper should be one single-spaced page (Times New Roman, 12-point font) and based on at least two of the required readings for that week. Papers must be uploaded to ELC by 10:00 AM ET on Mondays. The lowest two grades will be dropped.

The response paper should include:

1. A brief overview of the main takeaways from the readings, focusing on how the selected works relate to one another (e.g., Do they present competing or complementary arguments?).
2. Your own analysis and perspectives, going beyond reading summary. The primary focus should be on critically engaging with the readings and generating original ideas based on your reactions.

To guide your analysis, consider the following questions:

- Is the theoretical argument logically consistent? What are its limitations (e.g., temporal, cultural, or geographical)?
- Does the argument rely on assumptions? If so, what are they, and are they plausible?
- Can you propose an alternative argument or theory to that of the author?
- Are the data appropriate for addressing the research question?
- Are the results interpreted correctly?
- How are key concepts measured? Do these measures adequately correspond to the theoretical concepts? If not, what are the implications for interpretation of results?
- Does the author make a causal argument? Is it convincing?
- What are some potential directions for future research?

You are not expected to address all of these questions in your paper. Instead, prioritize depth of analysis over breadth.

3. **Research paper** – 55%

Students will write a research paper (20-30 pages, double-spaced, 12-point font, 1-inch margins) that answers a general question related to the politics of nationalism and ethnic conflict. The project will be broken up into several components:

- **March 10 – Paper proposal with literature review (10%)**
This should: (1) identify an important *general* (theoretical) question (e.g., “do ethnic grievances increase the likelihood of civil war onset?” not “why did civil war begin in Myanmar?”); (2) systematically synthesize existing literature that addresses that proposed question; (3) identify limitations or gaps in the existing literature, *arguing* on logical and/or empirical grounds that further research is needed to answer the proposed question; (4) describe how the paper will address the identified gaps in the literature and how it will advance knowledge; and (5) provide a brief overview of a *new* theoretical argument. This assignment should be 8-10-pages long (double-spaced, 12-point font, 1-inch margins) not including bibliography.
- **March 17 – Peer review**
We will workshop the proposals in class. As part of the workshop, each student will be assigned to read and write a one-page peer review report on three proposals. Detailed instructions will be given by March 10.
- **April 28 – Presentation**
Students will give a 15-minute presentation of their research paper.

- May 5 – Final Draft (45%)

The following scale will be used to determine your overall grade in the course: A: >94%, A-: 90-93.9%, B+: 87-89.9%, B: 84-86.9%, B-: 80-83.9%, C+: 77-79.9%, C: 74-76.9%; C-: 70-73.9%; D+: 67-69.9%; D: 64-66.9%; D-: 60-63.9%; F: <60%.

Course Policies & Statements

Attendance

Attendance is not taken, but students are highly encouraged to attend class. It should be clear from course requirements specified above that class attendance is necessary to do well in this course.

Emails and office hours

For administrative questions and clarifications, the best way to contact me is via email. I aim to answer emails within 24 hours during the week. If you have not received a response in 24 hours, email me again. For substantive issues related to course materials, stop by during my office (drop-in) hours. If you are unable to stop by at the regular time, email me so that we can find a time that works for you.

Appeals

If you believe a grade you are given does not reflect your performance, you may dispute the grade in writing, explaining why you should receive a higher grade. This should be done within a week after the grade is announced and submitted after class or in office hours. I reserve the right to raise or lower your grade.

UGA Honor Code

You have agreed to the 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.

Cheating, plagiarism, and all forms of academic dishonesty are expressly forbidden in this class, and by the university's Academic Honesty Policy. Plagiarism includes reprinting the words of others without both the use of quotation marks and citation.

Generative AI Tools

To ensure you develop and master the foundational knowledge and skills in this course, the use of generative AI (GAI) tools is prohibited when completing written assignments for this course. This includes all stages of your work process, even the preliminary ones. This prohibition extends to AI writing tools like Grammarly and Wordtune, as well as GAI tools like ChatGPT. If you are uncertain about using a particular tool to support your work, please consult with me before using it.

Accommodation for disabilities

If you plan to request accommodations for a disability, please register with the Disability Resource Center. They can be reached by visiting Clark Howell Hall, calling 706-542-8719 (voice) or 706-542-8778 (TTY), or by visiting <http://drc.uga.edu>.

UGA Well-being Resources

UGA Well-being Resources promote student success by cultivating a culture that supports a more active, healthy, and engaged student community.

Anyone needing assistance is encouraged to contact Student Care & Outreach (SCO) in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-8479 or visit sco.uga.edu. Student Care & Outreach helps students navigate difficult circumstances by connecting them with the most appropriate resources or services. They also administer the Embark@UGA program which supports students experiencing, or who have experienced, homelessness, foster care, or housing insecurity.

UGA provides both clinical and non-clinical options to support student well-being and mental health, any time, any place. Whether on campus, or studying from home or abroad, UGA Well-being Resources are here to help.

- Well-being Resources: well-being.uga.edu
- Student Care and Outreach: sco.uga.edu
- University Health Center: healthcenter.uga.edu
- Counseling and Psychiatric Services: caps.uga.edu or CAPS 24/7 crisis support at 706-542-2273
- Health Promotion/ Fontaine Center: healthpromotion.uga.edu
- Disability Resource Center and Testing Services: drc.uga.edu

Additional information, including free digital well-being resources, can be accessed through the UGA app or by visiting <https://well-being.uga.edu>.

Disclaimer

The course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

Class Schedule

Week 1

January 6

Introduction & Overview

Required

- Clark, William Roberts, Matt Golder, and Sona Nadenichek Golder. 2012. *Principles of Comparative Politics, 2nd Edition*. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Read Box 1.1 titled “What is Comparative Politics?” on pp. 5-7.
- Laitin, David. 2000. “Comparative politics: The state of the subdiscipline.” in *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, ed. Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner. New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 630-659.
- Souva, Mark. 2007. Fostering theoretical thinking in undergraduate classes. *PS: Political Science & Politics* 40(3): 557-561.

January 13

Martin Luther King Jr. Day (no class, UGA holiday)

Week 2

January 20

Ethnic Identity

Required

- Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3
- Chandra, Kachan. 2013. *Constructivist theories of ethnic politics*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 and 4
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2013. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 and 3

Week 3

January 27

(Some) Properties of Ethnic Identity

Required

- Posner, Daniel 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.
- Habyarimana, James, Humphreys, Macartan, Posner, Daniel N., & Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. "Why does ethnic diversity undermine public goods provision?." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 709-725.
- Adida, Claire. L., Ferree, Karen. E., Posner, Daniel N., & Robinson, Amanda L. 2016. "Who's asking? Interviewer coethnicity effects in African survey data." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(12): 1630-1660.
- Nathan, Noah L. 2016. "Local ethnic geography, expectations of favoritism, and voting in urban Ghana." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(14): 1896-1929.
- Wamble, Julian. J., Laird, Chryl. N., McConnaughy, Corrine. M., & White, Ismail. K. 2022. "We are one: the social maintenance of black democratic party loyalty." *The Journal of Politics* 84(2): 682-697.
- Robinson, Amanda. L. 2024. "Ethnic visibility." *American Journal of Political Science* 68(4): 1234-1251.

Week 4

February 3

Are Ethnic Divides Inherently Conflictual?

Required

- Allie, Feyaad. 2023. "Sacred Time and Religious Violence: Evidence from Hindu-Muslim Riots in India." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 68(10): 1968-1993.
- Brass, Paul R. 1997. *Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*. Chapters TBD

- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 5 and 6.

Week 5
February 10

Why (ethnic) civil war begin - part 1

Required

- Gurr, Ted R. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Chapter 2.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Chapter TBD
- Fearon, James D., and Laitin, David D. 2003. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Wimmer, Andreas, and Min, Brian. 2010. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis." *World Politics* 62(1): 87-119.
- Selway, Joel. S. 2011. "Cross-cuttingness, cleavage structures and civil war onset." *British Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 111-138. [27]
- Lewis, Janet I. 2017. "How does ethnic rebellion start?." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(10): 1420-1450.

Skim

- Project description and codebook for the Ethnic Power Relations - EPR core dataset (<https://icr.ethz.ch/data/epr/>)
- Project description and codebook for the (All) Minorities-at-Risk dataset (<http://www.mar.umd.edu/>)

Week 6
February 17

Why (ethnic) civil war begin - part 2

Required

- Sarbahi, Anoop. 2021. "The structure of religion, ethnicity, and insurgent mobilization: Evidence from India." *World Politics* 73(1): 82-127.
- Capoccia, Giovanni, Sáez, Lawrence, & De Rooij, Eline. 2012. "When state responses fail: religion and secessionism in India 1952–2002." *The Journal of Politics* 74(4): 1010-1022.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Hug, Simon, Schädel, Andreas, & Wucherpfennig, Julian. 2015. "Territorial autonomy in the shadow of conflict: Too little, too late?." *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 354-370.
- Kelle, Friederike L. 2017. "To claim or not to claim? How territorial value shapes demands for self-determination." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(7): 992-1020.
- Juon, Andreas. 2024. "Territorial Autonomy and the Trade-Off between Civil and Communal Violence." *American Political Science Review* 1-17.

Week 7
February 24

(How) Does ethnic identity shape civil war dynamics?

Required

- Kalyvas, Stathis. N. 2003. “The ontology of ‘political violence’: action and identity in civil wars.” *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475-494.
- Lyall, Jason. 2010. “Are coethnics more effective counterinsurgents? Evidence from the second Chechen war.” *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 1-20.
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance formation in civil wars*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters TBD
- Birnir, Johanna. K., and Satana, Nil S. 2023. “The Challenger’s Winning Coalition: Mobilization of Religion in Ethnic Civil War.” *The Journal of Politics* 85(4): 1352-1367.

March 3

Spring Break

Week 8
March 10

DUE: Paper proposal with literature review

Origins of National Consciousness

Required

- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. Chapters 1 to 4
- Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Chapters 1 to 5
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: the modernization of rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press. Chapters 7, 17 and 18
- Mylonas, Harris and Maya Tudor. 2021. “Nationalism: What We Know and What We Still Need to Know.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 24(1): 109-132.

Week 9
March 17

Paper workshop

Required

- Read the paper drafts assigned to you and write a one-page review of each paper.

Week 10
March 24

Nationalist mobilization

Required

- Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist mobilization and the collapse of the Soviet state*. Cambridge University Press.
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: Anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 11
March 31

Origins of Nation-States

Required

- Roeder, Phillip G. 2012. *Where nation-states come from: Institutional change in the age of nationalism*. Princeton University Press. Chapters TBD

Week 12
April 7

From Fluid to Fixed Identities

Required

- Laitin, David. D. 1995. "Marginality: a microperspective." *Rationality and Society* 7(1): 31-57.
- Balcells, Laia. 2013. Mass schooling and Catalan nationalism. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19(4): 467-486.
- Darden, Keith, and Mylonas, Harris. 2016. "Threats to territorial integrity, national mass schooling, and linguistic commonality." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(11): 1446-1479.
- Posner, Daniel. N. 2003. "The colonial origins of ethnic cleavages: The case of linguistic divisions in Zambia." *Comparative Politics*, 127-146.

Week 13
April 14

Nationalism as Behavior

Required

- Elkins, Zachary, and Sides, John. 2007. "Can institutions build unity in multiethnic states?." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 693-708.
- Robinson, Amanda L. 2014. "National versus ethnic identification in Africa: Modernization, colonial legacy, and the origins of territorial nationalism." *World Politics* 66(4): 709-746.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2017. "Power and pride: National identity and ethnopolitical inequality around the world." *World Politics* 69(4): 605-639.
- Green, Elliott. 2020. "Ethnicity, national identity and the state: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa." *British Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 757-779.
- Working paper– TBD

Skim

- World Values Survey

- Afrobarometer Survey

Week 14
April 21

Immigrant Integration

Required

- Helbling, Marc, and Traunmüller, Richard. 2016. "How state support of religion shapes attitudes toward Muslim immigrants: New evidence from a sub-national comparison." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(3): 391-424.
- Adida, Claire L., Laitin, David. D., and Valfort, Marie-Anne. 2016. *Why Muslim integration fails in Christian-heritage societies*. Harvard University Press. Chapters 1 and 2
- Williamson, S., Adida, Claire L., Lo, Adeline, Platas, Melina R., Prather, Lauren, and Werfel, Seth H. 2021. "Family matters: How immigrant histories can promote inclusion." *American Political Science Review* 115(2): 686-693.
- d'Urso, Amanda S. 2024. "A boundary of white inclusion: The role of religion in Ethnoracial assignment." *Perspectives on Politics* 22(2): 559-576.
- Larson, Jennifer. M., and Lewis, Janet I. 2024. "Reducing Prejudice toward Refugees: Evidence That Social Networks Influence Attitude Change in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 1-19.

Suggested

- Dancygier, Rafaela M. 2017. *Dilemmas of inclusion: Muslims in European politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Dazey, Margot, & Gay, Victor. 2024. "The Mosque Nearby: Visible Minorities and Far-Right Support in France." *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Suntay, Osman. 2024. "Government Religious Discrimination, Support of Religion, and Muslim Minority-Related Societal Violence in Western Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Week 15
April 28

Research Presentations

Final paper due by noon, Monday, May 5