

# **Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Political Conflict**

POL 341

Fall 2019

Mo/We 8.05pm-9.20pm, Dooly Memorial 200

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Office Hours: Tu/Th 2pm-3pm, 1300 Campo Sano, Room 240 C

### **Description:**

This is an advanced undergraduate course on nationalism, ethnicity, and related forms of political conflict. The course explores the causes and consequences of ethnic identification and nationalism as well as the causes of ethno-nationalist conflict and policy approaches to its management. The course is run as a seminar, centered around student participation in class discussion.

### **Learning Objectives:**

The course has two main goals.

- Exposing students to and familiarizing them with the main theoretical debates and empirical findings on ethnicity, nationalism, and associated forms of political violence.
- Furthering students' critical and creative thinking on theoretical and policy questions related to ethnicity and nationalism, through class discussion and writing.

### **Pre-requisites:**

There is no formal pre-requisite for this class but having taken Introduction to International Relations or Introduction Comparative Politics is highly desirable.

### **Requirements:**

This course will be run as a seminar. Students are expected to do all the readings (approximately 100 pages a week, i.e., 50 pages per meeting) before the class meeting for which they are assigned and thoughtfully participate in class discussion.

There will be an in-class mid-term exam and a take-home final exam, both consisting of an essay (5 pages for the final exam).

For all assignments, students are expected to demonstrate familiarity with the assigned readings, not just their class notes.

**Grading:**

The course grade will be calculated according to the following formula:

Class participation: 25%

Midterm in-class 35%

Take-home paper: 40%

**Readings:**

All readings are on electronic reserve (see “Readings” folder in the “Course Documents” folder on Blackboard), unless they are available through the UM’s library website (<http://library.miami.edu/>) or freely online, which is indicated in the syllabus.

Students are strongly encouraged to read the world news section of a major daily—e.g. *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *Financial Times*, etc.—or their online equivalents.

**Rules and procedures:**

Phone and laptops. With an eye towards optimizing all students’ learning experience, I strongly recommend not using laptops and phones while in class.

There is quite a bit of evidence indicating that taking notes with pen and paper, rather than typing, facilitates student learning; moreover, laptops and cellphones are a source of distraction for both the students using them and their peers sitting nearby when inappropriately employed to surf the internet, watch videos etc. (see, for example, Pam A. Mueller and Daniel M. Oppenheimer, “The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking,” *Psychological Science*, 2014; Faria Sana et al., “Laptop Multitasking Hinders Classroom Learning for Both Users and Nearby Peers,” *Computer & Education*, 2013; “Attention Students: Put Your Laptops Away,” NPR, <http://www.npr.org/2016/04/17/474525392/attention-students-put-your-laptops-away>).

Email correspondence. I am happy to address any issue via email, but I prefer to meet in person during office hours or by appointment to discuss substantive course-related topics. Please allow 24/48 hours for me to respond.

Read your emails. From time to time, I will make announcements related to the course via email (in particular related to scheduling issues) and will assume you have read those emails.

Don’t cheat. The standard caveats about academic honesty obtain. Cheating on any assignment will result in the matter being turned over immediately to the Dean’s office, with a high risk of failing the class.

Please consult the UM’s honor code at:

[http://www.miami.edu/sa/index.php/policies\\_and\\_procedures/honor\\_code/](http://www.miami.edu/sa/index.php/policies_and_procedures/honor_code/)

Don't miss assignments. Prompt (within 24 hours from missed assignment) written notes from doctors, deans, and coaches may excuse absences, as would prior consent of the instructor. Once a make-up date is scheduled, students will have to stick to it.

Disabilities. Students with disabilities should contact the Office of Disability Services (ODS, <http://umarc.miami.edu/arc/ODS.html>) to obtain appropriate academic accommodations and support.

Appeals. I am happy to provide feedback on assignments during office hours. If you wish to appeal a grade, at least two days after you received, please write a petition (2 pages maximum) outlining your reasoning, and resubmit your work. It will then be marked with fresh eyes and receive a final grade, which may go up, go down, or remain unaltered.

## Introduction

*Nation*

*Ethnicity*

*Nationalism*

*Ethnic vs. civic nationalism*

### Class 1. Key Concepts (August 19)

35 pages of readings

- Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, ch. 1. (17 pp.)
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, ch. 1. (7 pp.)
- Jack L. Snyder, *From Voting to Violence*, pp. 15-25. (11 pp.)

### Class 2. Key Concepts (continued) (August 21)

57 pages of readings

- Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, pp. 41-54. (14 pp.)
- Walker Connor, “A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a ...”, in John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, 1995. (11 pp.)
- Stephen Shulman, “Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 2002. (32 pp.)

## Theories of the Rise of Nationalism

*Is national identity rooted in pre-modern ties of community and culture or the result of transition to modernity?*

*What features of modernity shape nationalism: industrialization, commercial capitalism, or the administrative apparatus of the modern state?*

*Did the state make the nation or the other way around?*

### Class 3. Modernization Theory (August 26)

45 pages of readings

- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, chs. 2-4. (45 pp.)

### Class 4. Modernization Theory (continued) (August 28)

61 pages of readings

- Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, ch. 1. (31 pp.)
- Michael Mann, “The Emergence of Modern European Nationalism,” in John Hall and I. Jarvie, eds., *Transition to Modernity*. (30 pp.)

**No class Monday September 2, Labor Day**

**Class 5. Critiques of Modernization (September 4)**

46 pages of readings

- Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, chs. 1-2. (46 pp.)

**Class 6. Critiques of Modernization (continued) (September 9)**

- Azar Gat, *Nations*, chs. 1-3. (66 pp.)

**Class 7. The Role of the State (September 11)**

45 pages of readings

- Barry Posen, "Nationalism, the Mass Army and Military Power," *International Security*, 1993. (45 pp.)

**Class 8. The Role of the State (continued) (September 16)**

58 pages of readings

- Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, ch. 3. (20 pp.)
- Philip Roeder, *Where Nation-States Come From*, ch. 1. (38 pp.)

**Malleable or Durable Ethno-national Identities?**

*Once ethnic and national identities emerge, how malleable are they to changes in incentives, policies, and discourse?*

**Class 9. Incentives, Mass Literacy, and Identity Change (September 18)**

64 pages of readings

- Daniel Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review*, 2004. (17 pp.)
- Keith Darden, *Resisting Occupation*, manuscript (47 pp.). (available at [https://www.gwu.edu/~igis/assets/docs/Darden\\_Paper.pdf](https://www.gwu.edu/~igis/assets/docs/Darden_Paper.pdf))

**Ethno-national Identities and Rationality**

*Individual rationality vs. organizational/leadership rationality*

*Information and sanctions*

*Symbols*

*Culture and norms*

*Emotions*

**Class 10. Strategic Rationality (September 23)**

57 pages of readings

- James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein, "Why Does Ethnicity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review*, 2007. (17 pp.)

- Stathis Kalyvas and M. Kocher, “How ‘Free’ Is Free Riding in Civil Wars?” *World Politics*, 2007. (40 pp.)

### **Class 11. Narratives and Emotions (September 25)**

49 pages of readings

- Ashutosh Varshney, “Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 2003. (15 pp.)
- Stuart J. Kaufman, “Narratives and Symbols in Violent Mobilization: The Palestinian-Israeli Case,” *Security Studies*, 2009. (34 pp.)

## **Ethno-nationalism, Democracy, and Mass Media**

### **Class 12. Democratization and the Marketplace of Ideas (September 30)**

36 pages of readings

- Jack Snyder and Karen Ballentine, “Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas,” *International Security*, 1996. (36 pp.).

### **Class 13. Ethno-national Identity, Information Technology, Collective Action (October 2)**

46 pages of readings.

- T. Camber Warren, “Not by the Sword Alone: Soft Power, Mass Media, and the Production of State Sovereignty,” *International Organization*, 2014. (31 pp.)
- T. Camber Warren, “Explosive connections? Mass Media, Social Media, and the Geography of Collective Violence in African states,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 2015. (15 pp.)

## **Contentious Collective Action**

### **Class 14. Civil Wars and Riots (October 7)**

77 pages of readings

- Donald Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, chap. 13. (44 pp.) (available at <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/journalism/stille/Politics%20Fall%202007/readings%20weeks%206-7/Horowitz,%20Calculus%20of%20Passion.pdf>)
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min, “Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?” *World Politics*, 2010. (33 pp.)

### **Class 15. Nonviolent Resistance (October 9)**

62 pages of readings

- Stephan, Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security*, 2008 (37 pp.)
- Costantino Pischedda, “Ethnic Conflict and the Limits of Nonviolent Resistance,” *Security Studies*, 2020. (25 pp.)

**Class 16. The Rwandan Genocide (October 14)**

67 pages of readings

- Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*, chs. 1-2. (47 pp.)

**Class 17. The Rwandan Genocide (continued) (October 16)**

- Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*, chs. 3 and 6. (52 pp.)

**Nationalism and the Economy****Class 18. Nationalism, Inequality, and Times of Economic Trouble (October 21)**

51 pages of readings

- Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, ch. 6. (19 pp.)
- Raphael Franck and Ilia Rainer, “Does the Leader’s Ethnicity Matter? Ethnic Favoritism, Education, and Health in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *American Political Science Review*, 2012. (32 pp.)

**Class 19. Nationalism, Inequality, and Times of Economic Trouble (October 23)**

48 pages of readings

- Jens Hainmueller<sup>1</sup> and Daniel J. Hopkins, “Public Attitudes Toward Immigration,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2014. (26 pp.)
- Italo Colantone and Piero Stanig, “Global Competition and Brexit,” *American Political Science Review*, 2018. (18 pp.)

**In-class Midterm Review, October 28****In-class Midterm Exam, October 30****Religion and Ethno-Nationalism****Class 20. What is the Relation between Religion and Nationalism? (November 4)**

47 pages of readings

- Monica Duffy Toft, “Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War,” *International Security*, 2007. (39 pp.)
- Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*, 1993, pp. 153-160. (8 pp.)

**Class 21. What is the Relation between Religion and Nationalism? (continued)  
(November 6)**

55 pages of readings

- Anthony D. Smith, “The ‘Sacred’ Dimension of Nationalism,” *Millennium*, 2000. (24 pp.)
- Nadav G. Shelef, “Unequal Ground: Homelands and Conflict,” *International Organization*, 2016. (31 pp.)

**Managing Violent Ethnic Conflict**

**Class 22. Diplomacy and Military Intervention (November 11)**

34 pages of readings

- Timothy W. Crawford, “Pivotal Deterrence and the Kosovo War: Why the Holbrooke Agreement Failed,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 2001-2002. (24 pp.)
- Richard K. Betts, “The Delusion of Impartial Intervention,” in Chester A. Crocker ed, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, 2001. (10 pp.).

**Class 23. Powersharing and Cross-cutting Alignments (November 13)**

Pages of readings

- Donald Horowitz, “Making Moderation Pay,” in J. Montville, *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (ch. 25). (24 pp.)
- Arend Lijphart, “The Power-sharing Approach,” in J. Montville, *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies* (ch. 27). (18 pp.)

**Class 24. Powersharing and Cross-cutting Alignments (continued) (November 18)**

50 pages of readings

- Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild, *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil War*, chs. 1-2. (50 pp.)

**Class 25. Partition (November 20)**

50 pages of readings

- Alexander B. Downes, “The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *Security Studies*, 2004. (50 pp.)

**Class 26. Decentralization (December 2)**

52 pages of readings

- Dawn Brancati, “Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?” *International Organization*, 2006. (35 pp.)
- Lars-Erik Cederman et al., “Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?”, *American Political Science Review*, 2015. (17 pp)

**Final Take-home Exam**