

SYLLABUS
Academic Year 2021-2022

Course Title:	Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict – GROUP 1`
Language:	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>English</u>
	<input type="checkbox"/> Spanish
ECTS Credits:	4
Semester:	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>1st Semester</u>
	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 nd Semester
Type of Course:	<input type="checkbox"/> Compulsory course
	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Elective course</u>
	<input type="checkbox"/> Pathway core course
Master	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Master's in International Relations</u>
	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Master's in International Security</u>
	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Master's in International Development</u>
	<input type="checkbox"/> <u>Erasmus Mundus Master's in Public Policy (Mundus MAPP)</u>
Professor/s:	Emre Amasyali, Matthias vom Hau
Email:	eamasyali@ibei.org, mvomhau@ibei.org
Office Hours:	By appointment, Room 24.223 (Emre) or 24.222 (Matthias)
<p>Nationalism—pronounced dead already by many commentators, whether by Marxists, neoliberals, and cosmopolitans—continues to exert major influence, even in a world characterized by expanding transnational connections, global-local interactions, and an ever increasing global flow of goods, people, and ideas. In fact, contemporary world society remains profoundly nationalized. National states, whose legitimacy derives from the nationalist principle of self rule, continue to be the dominant form of political organization and cultural identification around the globe. Almost in a mirror image, state-challenging forces, whether secessionist parties or ethnic autonomy movements, contest dominant understandings of nationhood and often advance their own alternative understandings of national identity. And many, if not most of the current ethnic conflicts, ranging from Israel/Palestine to East Timor to Kashmir, are to an important extent motivated by struggles over the boundaries of national inclusion.</p> <p>This course is about the rise and resilience of nationalism, and its role in conflict and war, but also in other fields, including economic development and public goods provision. Accordingly, the course will explore contrasting perspectives on why nationalism proliferated around the globe and how it became institutionalized as a dominant source of political organization, collective identification, and ethnic exclusion. Building on these insights, the course reviews different approaches that link nationalism to conflict and violence, and explores different theoretical arguments about the origins and contours of ethnic conflict across a variety of contexts. Another focal point are possible implications of nationalism and ethnic conflict for state building, but also for trajectories of economic and social development. The course also discusses the insights and limitations of arguments about the “new nationalism” and examines new patterns of nationalist exclusion organized around claims for gender equality and gay rights.</p>	

Class Schedule

Thursday, 9:00 – 10.45 hrs

- October: 7, 14, 21, 28
- November: 4, 11, 18
- December: 2, 9, 16
- January: 13, 20

The goal of the course is to familiarize students with different approaches that seek to explain why nationalism has become and continues to be such a powerful political and cultural force, and how nationalism is implicated in a variety of issues, ranging from war to state-building to development. Students will also learn about how different forms of ethnic conflict and ethnic violence come about, and what possible mechanisms to contain nationalism and ethnic conflict are. Taking a comparative and historical perspective, the course employs a variety of theoretical approaches to tackle the issues at hand, including primordial, constructivist, and instrumental approaches to identity, and economic, institutionalist, political and culturalist approaches to ethnic conflict. Thus, the course aims to support students to become more savvy in understanding, appreciating, and critiquing existing works on the topic, skills that in turn should help them to pursue your own research on nationalism and ethnic conflict, if they so choose.

COVID-19 and Class Format. Given the current social distancing measures and restrictions on classroom occupancy, this course will be initially taught in a hybrid format. This means that the instructor and part of the students will be physically present in the classroom during individual sessions, while other students will join in via Blackboard Collaborate or Zoom. Depending on the pandemic situation, the aim is to move from the hybrid format to face-to-face instruction, with all students attending sessions in person, and any existing COVID-19-related regulations of classroom interactions (e.g., about social distancing and mask wearing) being respected.

The course is co-taught by Emre Amasyali and Matthias vom Hau. From Session 2 onwards, there will be two student groups that are taught simultaneously, Group 1 in classroom 24.130 and Group 2 in classroom 24.S05. While each group stays the same and has the same classroom throughout the semester, Emre and Matthias will rotate between the groups, sometimes every week, sometimes every two weeks. This means that by the end of the course both Group 1 and Group 2 will have attended the same classes taught by the same professor, just in a slightly different temporal order.

Class Attendance and Readings. The course puts a strong emphasis on active student participation. It will use about half of each week's time for lectures to situate the weekly readings within the broader context of the course and clarify concepts and arguments. There will also be ample of time for classroom discussion and work in smaller groups (the latter pending on class format [hybrid vs. f2f], and COVID-19-related regulations of classroom interactions). The content of the lectures and the structure of the discussions presume that you have done the readings assigned for that week carefully, though you should also hone your speed-reading skills and try not to spend more than 2-2.5 hours on getting through the required readings for each week.

There will be some sessions when students are assigned to different "reading groups" in preparation of class. This means that you are expected to do the reading assigned to your group in a particularly careful manner, so that you are able to summarize and explain it to the rest of the class. For example, when preparing for Session 2, Group A will focus on Text A (Anderson), Group B will concentrate on Text B (Gellner), and so on, and I will randomly call on members of Group A to provide us with a summary of what you got out of Text A.

In any case, the expectation is that you come prepared to every class in order to make our conversations lively, provocative, interesting and fun. Class attendance is required and participation will count for 10% of your final grade. The instructor reserves the right to do short, unannounced pop quizzes on the weekly readings in case he feels that students are not doing the readings. Those quizzes may affect the participation grade.

In-Class Presentation of Research Project (Group Work). To complement the instructor's more general lectures parts of class will be dedicated to case studies that relate to and deepen each week's theme. From Session 3 onwards teams of three to four students will therefore be in charge of preparing a sharp and concise 15-20 minute presentation that answers (one of) the research question(s) provided for that session (e.g., "Why has nationalist mobilization turned violent in the Basque Country, but not in Catalonia?" for the session on economic approaches to ethnic conflict). Teams are formed in Session 1 based on students' thematic preferences. The instructor will provide two-three readings as "initial pointers" for each research question, but it is expected that group members conduct independent research on the topic. This assignment will count for 20% of your final grade.

Short Blog/Media Piece for Wider Audience (Individual Work).

Each student selects one of the course readings (either from the required readings, recommended readings, or "initial pointers," but not one of the pointers she already presented on in class) and writes a 800 words (max.) piece for a blog or an online media of their choice, following the correspondent style. The piece has to present both the paper and its findings in a language that is understandable to a broader audience. If they choose so, students are also invited to use a non-text based communication strategy and to develop an oral piece that explains the article to a wider audience (e.g. a radio program or YouTube) video. This assignment counts towards 25% of the final grade and should be delivered to the course instructor by November 15, via email to mvomhau@ibeio.org and eamasyali@ibeio.org.

Final Paper (Individual Work). A research paper (double-spaced, 3,500 words, excluding bibliography) that makes a succinct and well-researched argument about a topic related to nationalism and/or ethnic conflict. The final paper will count 45% of the final grade. It is due on January 31.

In order to facilitate its writing of the final paper and allow the incorporation feedback along the way, students will submit a discussion of their topic/case (2 paragraphs) and a brief bibliography of existing literature via email to eamasyali@ibeio.org on December 13, to be discussed in small groups during class on December 16. This preparatory assignment will count towards your class participation.

Evaluation (overview).

- Class participation 10%
- In-class research project presentation 20%
- Short blog/media piece 25%
- Final research paper 45%.



Part 1: Conceptual and Theoretical Tools

Session 1 (Oct 7): Approaching Nations and Nationalism (Matthias vom Hau)

What is nationalism? What is a nation? What is an ethnic group? And how are they related to each other?

Required Readings:

- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Books, pp 1-9.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1991. *National identity*. University of Nevada Press, pp. 1-42
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism reframed: nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 13-22.

Recommended Readings:

- Gellner, Ernest. 2008 [1983]. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell. SELECTIONS
- Cornell, Stephen, and Douglas Hartman. 2007. *Ethnicity and Race: Making Identities in a Changing World*. Pine Forge Press. Chapter 2.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is ethnic identity and does it matter?." *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 9: 397-424.

Session 2 (Oct 14): The Origins of Nationalism (Emre Amasyali)

How can we explain the rise of nationalism as a dominant source of political organization and collective identification?

Required Readings:

- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Books, pp. 37-81. **[GROUP A]**
- Gellner, Ernest. 2008 [1983]. *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell, pp. 8-52. **[GROUP B]**

Recommended Readings:

- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*. Cambridge University Press, chapters 3 and 4.
- Ozkirimli, Umut. 2010. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 72-198.
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press, pp. ix-xiii, 303-338

Session 3 (Oct 21): Varieties of Nationalism (Matthias vom Hau)

How does nationalism vary? What is the difference between civic and ethnic nationalism? How is nationalism rooted in everyday life? How is nationalism gendered?

Required Readings:

- Brubaker, Rogers, Feischmidt, Margit, Fox, Jon and Grancea, Liana. 2006. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter on schooling

- Skey, Michael. 2011. *National Belonging and Everyday Life: The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. [SELECTIONS]

Recommended Readings:

- Surak, Kristin. 2012. *Making Tea, Making Japan: Cultural Nationalism in Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. SELECTIONS
- Nagel, Joane (1998) Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21:2, 242-269.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira. (2004). Gender and Nation. In Rick Wilford and Robert L. Miller (eds). *Women, Ethnicity, and Nationalism. The Politics of Transitions*. Routledge.

Student Presentation (suggested articles below are initial pointers for students' own research):

** How does Catalan identity vary between Spain and France? What could explain those variations?

- Balcells, Laia. 2013. "Mass schooling and Catalan nationalism." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19.4 (2013): 467-486.
- Laitin, David D. 1989. "Linguistic revival: Politics and culture in Catalonia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31.2: 297-317.

Presenters:

Part 2: Explaining (Violent) Ethnic Conflict

Session 4 (Oct 28): Nationalism and War (Emre Amasyali)

How and when does nationalism cause war? And how does war effect nationalism?

Required Readings:

- Malešević, Siniša. 2013. "Obliterating Heterogeneity Through Peace: Nationalisms, States and Wars, in the Balkans." In *Nationalism and War*, edited by John A. Hall, and Siniša Malešević, 255–76. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hutchison, J. 2007. "Warfare, Remembrance and National Identity." Pp. 42–54 in *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, edited by A. Leoussi and S. Crosby. Edinburgh University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Clausewitz, C. 1976. *On War*. Princeton University Press.
- Aron, R. 1958. *War and Industrial Society*. Oxford University Press.

Session 5 (Nov 4): Institutional Approaches to Ethnic Conflict (Emre Amasyali)

Once established as independent nation-states, why do some countries manage to build national unity, while others are destabilized by ethnic conflict?

Required Readings:

- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62(1): 87-119.

Recommended Readings:

- Lieberman, Evan., & Prena Singh. 2017. Census Enumeration and Group Conflict: A Global Analysis of the Consequences of Counting. *World Politics*, 69(1), 1-53.
- Bakke, Kristin M., and Erik Wibbels. 2006. "Diversity, disparity, and civil conflict in federal states." *World Politics* 59(1): 1-50.

Student Presentation (suggested articles below are initial pointers for students' own research):

****What explains the recent intensification of the Kurdish-Turkish conflict in Turkey?**

- Tezcür, Güneş Murat, and Mehmet Gurses. 2017. "Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey." *Comparative Politics* 49(2): 213-230.
- Aslan, Senem., 2014. *Nation Building in Turkey and Morocco*. Cambridge University Press.

Presenters:

Session 6 (Nov 11): Political Approaches to Ethnic Conflict (Matthias vom Hau)

What role do political forces beyond the state play in ethnic conflict? Is competition among politicians (and their parties) necessarily conflict-enhancing, and a flourishing civil society necessarily conflict-reducing?

Required Readings:

- Eifert, Benn, Edward Miguel, and Daniel N. Posner. 2010. "Political competition and ethnic identification in Africa." *American Journal of Political Science* 54. 2: 494-510.
- Marx, Anthony W. 1998. *Making race and nation: A comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge University Press (1996 article version).

Recommended Readings:

- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-18, 204-235.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53(3): 362-398.

Student Presentation (articles/books below are just initial pointers for students' own research):

****What explains the rise of ethnic violence in India?**

Debate, based on Wilkinson and Varshney

- ****Group 1:** Electoral competition explains the intensification of ethnic violence in certain parts of India (and beyond). The role of civil society is vastly overestimated.
Presenters:
- ****Group 2:** The structure of civil society explains the intensification of ethnic violence in certain parts of India (and beyond). The role of electoral competition is vastly overestimated.
Presenters:

Session 7 (Nov 18): Economic Approaches to Ethnic Conflict (Matthias vom Hau)

What are the economic causes of ethnic conflict? How far does an economic approach takes us to explain inter-group violence and violence between states and ethnic minorities?

Required Readings:

- Cederman, L., Weidmann, N., and Gleditsch, K. 2011. Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison. *American Political Science Review*, 105(3), 478-495.
- Langer, Arnim. 2005. Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Group Mobilization in Côte d'Ivoire. *Oxford Development Studies* 33:1, 25-45,

Recommended Readings:

- Olzak, Susan. 1994. *The dynamics of ethnic competition and conflict*. Stanford University Press.
- Medrano, Juan Díez. 1994. "Patterns of development and nationalism: Basque and Catalan nationalism before the Spanish Civil War." *Theory and Society* 23.4: 541-569.
- Comaroff, John, and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Student Presentation (articles/books below are just initial pointers for students' own research):

**Debate on the recent rise of anti-migration movements and political parties in Western Europe (understood here as a manifestation of ethnic conflict)

- **Group 1: This rise can be best explained by economic factors. The role of culture and history is vastly overestimated.
Presenters:
- **Group 2: This difference can be best explained by other than economic factors.
Presenters:

Recommended Readings:

- Dancygier, Rafaela M. 2010. *Immigration and conflict in Europe*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-62.
- Karapin, Roger. 2002. "Antiminority riots in unified Germany: Cultural conflicts and mischanneled political participation." *Comparative Politics* 35 (1): 147-167.
- Falk, Armin, Andreas Kuhn, and Josef Zweimüller. 2011. "Unemployment and Right-wing Extremist Crime." *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 113.2: 260-285

Session 8 (Dec 2): The Role of Ethnic Fears and Security Concerns in Ethnic Conflict (Emre Amasyali)

When do perceptions of fear and threat lead to ethnic violence? And how are fears and threats constructed through narratives, myths, rituals, and other cultural representations?

Required Readings:

- Rogers Petersen. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chaps. 1-2.
- Posen, Barry R. 1993. "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict." *Survival* 35.1: 27-47.

Recommended Readings:

- Lake, David A., and Donald Rothchild. 1996. "Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict." *International security* 21. 2: 41-75.



- Toft, Monica. 2002. "Indivisible territory, geographic concentration, and ethnic war." *Security Studies* 12. 2: 82-119.
- Erin Jenne; A Bargaining Theory of Minority Demands: Explaining the Dog that Did not Bite in 1990s Yugoslavia, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 48, Issue 4, 1 December 2004, Pages 729–754.

Student Presentation (articles/books below are just initial pointers for students' own research):
**Why does ethnic violence spread among people who have lived cooperatively for many years?
The case of Yugoslavia

- Oberschall, Anthony. 2000. "The manipulation of ethnicity: from ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia." *Ethnic and racial studies* 23.6 : 982-1001.
- Slack, J. Andrew, and Roy R. Doyon. 2001. "Population dynamics and susceptibility for ethnic conflict: The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Journal of Peace Research* 38.2: 139-161.

Presenters:

Session 9 (Dec 9): Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing (Matthias vom Hau)

What makes genocide distinct from ethnic conflict? How to explain the occurrence of genocide?

Required Readings:

- Shaw, Martin. 2012. "From comparative to international genocide studies: The international production of genocide in 20th-century Europe." *European journal of international relations* 18. 4: 645-668.
- Harff, Barbara. 2003. "No lessons learned from the Holocaust? Assessing risks of genocide and political mass murder since 1955." *American Political Science Review* 97. 1: 57-73.

Recommended Readings:

- Mann, Michael. 2005. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Straus, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Student Presentation (articles/books below are just initial pointers for students' own research):
**The politics of naming: Was Darfur a genocide, a civil war, a violent ethnic conflict?

- Mamdani, Mahmood. *Saviors and survivors: Darfur, politics, and the war on terror*. Three Rivers Press, 2010.
- Totten, Samuel, and Eric Markusen, eds. *Genocide in Darfur: Investigating the atrocities in the Sudan*. Routledge, 2013.
- Straus, Scott. 2005. "Darfur and the genocide debate." *Foreign Aff.* 84: 123-133.

Presenters:

Part 3: Issues and Actors in the Study of Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

Session 10 (Dec 16): Colonialism and Ethnic Conflict (Emre Amasyali)

How and when does colonialism instigate ethnic conflict?

Required Readings:

- Blanton, Robert, T. David Mason, and Brian Athow. 2001. "Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research*, 38(4): 473-491.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 1997. "Who Owns the State? Understanding Ethnic Conflict in Post-Colonial Societies." *Nations and Nationalism* 3 (4): 631-66.

Recommended Readings:

- Lange, Jeong, Amasyali. 2021. The colonial origins of ethnic warfare: Re-examining the impact of communalizing colonial policies in the British and French Empires. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 62 (2): 141-165
- Ray, Subhasish. 2018. "Beyond Divide and Rule: Explaining the Link Between British Colonialism and Ethnic Violence." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 24 (4): 367-88.

Session 11 (Jan 13): Secessionist Nationalism and Brexit (Matthias vom Hau)

What explains the rise of secessionism? How useful are theories of secessionism to account for Brexit?

Required Readings:

- Sorens J. 2005. The Cross-Sectional Determinants of Secessionism in Advanced Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies*. 2005;38(3):304-326.
- Brancati, Dawn. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60, no. 3 (2006): 651-85.

Student Presentation (articles/books below are just initial pointers for students' own research):

****What explains Brexit? Do theories of secessionism and ethnic conflict provide a viable answer?**

Presenters:

Session 12 (Jan 20): How to Respond? The Management and Settlement of Ethnic Conflict (Emre Amasyali)

Required Readings:

- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 136-175 **[GROUP A]**
- Brancati, D. (2006). Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism? *International Organization*, 60(3), 651-685. **[GROUP B]**
- Erin K. Jenne (2009) The Paradox of Ethnic Partition: Lessons from *de facto* Partition in Bosnia and Kosovo, *Regional & Federal Studies*, 19:2, 273-289 **[GROUP C]**

Recommended Readings:

- Wolff, Stefan. 2006. *Ethnic conflict: A Global Perspective*. Oxford, pp. 58-88, 123-158.

Student Presentation (articles/books below are just initial pointers for students' own research):



**Open, group chooses question/topic it wants to pursue, but needs to be related to conflict management/settlement