

POLITICS 589. STATES, DEMOCRACIES, NATIONS

Fall 2023, Thursdays, 1:30-4:20.

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Course Design and Objectives

This course surveys current theoretical and empirical contributions on a central question of politics: national identity and nationalism. We will devote the course to explore: the canonical literature on national identity formation; potential microfoundations of national identity; empirical work on the particular paths taken by different countries; national identity and resentment; nationalism and revolutionary action in the 20th century; institutional accommodation of national heterogeneity. The course assigns readings from both traditional macrohistorical and qualitative research and more recent analytical and empirical research.

Course Procedures and Evaluation

Each student is expected to read (before class) the items listed as 'required readings' for each session.

In addition, students are expected to complete:

(1) Four short papers (around 3 pages) answering one of the week's discussion questions. Papers will be due by 4:30pm the day before class (with answers to the questions of that week's session). No exceptions will be made and no extensions will be granted. The answers should not just summarize readings, but show reflection on how the readings address important issues, are flawed in particular dimensions, or can be developed or improved in specific directions.

(2) A final take-home exam to be set by the instructor or a research paper with a topic to be determined in advance with the instructor. Due date: January 20, 2020.

Grades: 25% participation, 35% papers, 40% final exam (paper).

Readings

Books marked with an (*) have been ordered at the Labyrinth and put on reserve. All other readings have been put on electronic reserve.

Week 1. Theory: Building Blocks. (September 7)

Required reading

Elster, Jon. 1983. *Explaining Technical Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pages 9-88.

James S. Coleman. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press. Pages 1-44.

Weber, Max. *Economy and Society*. University of California Press. Volume 1, pages 4-40, 63-71.

Elster, Jon. 2007. *Explaining Social Behavior: More Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*, Cambridge University Press. Pages 65-81, 138-156, 266-268.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Part 1, "Of Man". Editors Karl Schuhmann and G. A. J. Rogers. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc Volume 2, pp. 13-132.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/princeton/reader.action?docID=1749471>

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *A Discourse on Inequality*. Open Road Integrated Media, Inc. Pages 28-41.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/princeton/reader.action?docID=4499606>

Further reading

J. Donald Moon. 1975. "The Logic of Political Inquiry," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, vol. 1, pp. 131-228.

Gary Cox. 2004. "Lies, damned lies, and rational choice analyses." In Ian Shapiro, Rogers M. Smith and Tarek E. Masoud, eds. *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8, pages 167-85.

Donald Green and Ian Shapiro. 1994. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*. Yale University Press. Chapter 2.

James S. Coleman. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press. Pages 27-37, 45-90, 119-174.

Yack, Bernard. 2012. *Nationalism and the moral psychology of community*. University of Chicago Press.

McClendon, Gwyneth H. 2018. *Envy in Politics*. Princeton University Press.

Week 2. Nations and National Identity. The Canonical Literature (I). (September 14)

Required reading

Ernest Gellner. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-6. (*)

Keith Darden. 2011. *Resisting Occupation: Mass Literacy and the Creation of Durable National Loyalties*. Cambridge University Press. Read chapters 1-5; skim chapter 6.

David Laitin. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-3, 7-11. (*)

Further reading

Hobsbawn, E.. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Peisakhin, Leonid. *The Invisible Boundary. Cultural Legacies and Long Term Persistence of Political Identities*. Book manuscript.

Plokhy, Serhii. *The Lost Kingdom: The Quest for Empire and the Making of the Russian Nation from 1470 to the Present*. New York: Basic Books.

Week 3. Nations and National Identity. The Canonical Literature (II). (September 21)

Required reading

Benedict Anderson. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. Chapter 1-6. (*)

Turner, John C. 2010. "Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group." In Henri Tajfel, ed. *Social identity and intergroup relations* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pages 15-40.

Alexander Motyl. 2002. "Inventing Invention: The Limits of National Identity Formation." In Ronald Grigor Suny and Michael D. Kennedy, eds. *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pages 57-75.

Andrzej Walicki. 1997. "Intellectual Elites and the Vicissitudes of 'Imagined Nation' in Poland," in *East European Politics and Society* 11 (3): 227-53.

Further reading

Tajfel, Henri, ed. 2010. *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawn, E.. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kedourie, Elie. 1960. *Nationalism*. London: Hutchinson.

H. Schulze. 1996. *States, Nations, and Nationalism: from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Simon Schama. *Citizens*.

Peter Sahlins. 1989. *Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Anthony D. Smith. 1989. "The Origins of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12 (July): 340-367.

Alberto Alesina. 2002. "The Size of Countries: Does It Matter?" Harvard University.

Thucydides. "The Pericles' Funeral Oration." *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Volume 2, 34-46.

Week 4. Recognition, Emancipation, and the Liberal Deal. (September 28)

Required reading

Furet, François. 1981. *Interpreting the French Revolution*. Cambridge University Press. Part II, chapter 3 (“Augustin Cochin: the theory of Jacobinism”).

Kojève, A. 1969. *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel*. Chapter 1: “In Place of an Introduction”. Basic Books. Pages 1-20.

Fukuyama, Francis. 1992. *The end of history and the last man*. New York: Free Press. Chapters 13 (“In the Beginning, a Battle to the Death for Pure Prestige”), 18 (“Lordship and Bondage”), and 19 (“The Universal and Homogeneous State”).

Weber, Eugen. 1977. *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press. Chapters 1, 4, 6, 7, 15, 17, 18 and 29 (*).

Further reading

Smith, Steven. 1999. *Hegel’s Critique of Liberalism*. University of Chicago Press. Chapter 4 (pages 98-131).

Tajfel, Henri, ed. 2010. *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Abrams, Dominic, and Michael A. Hogg. 2006. *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. Routledge.

Rousseau. *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*.

Week 5. ‘Reactionary’ Nationalism. The Problem of “Ressentiment.” (October 5)

Required reading

Scheff, Thomas. 1990. *Microsociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 2, 5 and 7.

Liah Greenfeld. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Chapters 3 (The Scythian House”).

Alexei Miller. 2015. “The Romanov Empire and the Russian Nation,” in *Nationalizing empires*, edited by Alexei Miller and Stefan Berger. Central European University Press. Pages 309-68.

Alvarez-Junco, Jose. 1996. “The Nation-Building Process in Nineteenth-Century Spain.” In *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian Peninsula : competing and conflicting identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith. Washington, DC: Berg. Chapter 5, pages 89-106.

Krause, Javier. 2013. “Fin-de-Siècle Imperial Melancholia: Angel Ganivet’s Idearium español”. In *Imperial Emotions: Cultural Responses to Myths of Empire in Fin-de-Siècle Spain*. Chapter 3. Liverpool University Press.

De Juan, Alexander, Felix Haass, Carlo Koos, Sascha Riaz, and Thomas Tichelbaecker. 2023. "War and Nationalism: How WW1 battle deaths fueled civilians’ support for the Nazi Party." *American Political Science Review*: 1-19.

Further reading

Richards, Michael. 1996. “Constructing the Nationalist State: Self-Sufficiency and Regeneration in the Early Franco Years.” In *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian Peninsula : competing and conflicting identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith. Washington, DC: Berg. Chapter 9, pages 149-167.

Richard Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), vol. 2.

Alexey Miller, “Natsiia, Narod, Narodnost’ in Russia in the 19th Century: Some Introductory Remarks to the History of Concepts,” *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas* 56, no. 3 (2008): 379–90

Maureen Perrie, “Narodnost’: Notions of National Identity,” in *Constructing Russian Culture in the Age of Revolution: 1881–1940*, eds. C. Kelly and D. Shepherd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 28–37.

N. Knight, “Ethnicity, Nationality and the Masses: Narodnost’ and Modernity in Imperial Russia,” in *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices*, eds. D. L. Hoffmann and Y. Kotsonis (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2000), 41–65.

Herbert Grabes, ed., *Writing the Early Modern English Nation: the Transformation of National Identity in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001).

Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

James Loughlin, *Ulster Unionism and British National Identity since 1885* (London: Pinter, 1995).

James McMillan, ed. 2003. *Modern France, 1880-2002*. New York : Oxford University Press.
“Introduction: Republic and Nation in the belle époque.”

Week 6. National Minorities. (October 12)

Required reading

Hroch, Miroslav. 2000. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press. (First edition in English was published by Cambridge University Press in 1985.) Pages 3-17, 22-30, 127-191. (*)

Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, eds. 1995. *Paths of emancipation: Jews, states, and citizenship*. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1995. Chapters 1, 4, 6 and 9. Available through Firestone: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvptv>

Boix, Carles. 2023. "Political Emancipation and the Formation of Jewish National Identity." Working Paper.

Further reading

Clermont-Tonnerre. 1789. *Discourse on the Assimilation of the Jewish People*.

Lacqueur, Walter. 1972. *A History of Zionism*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Chapters 1-3. Pages 3-135.

Eisenstadt, S. N. 1992. *Jewish Civilization: The Jewish Historical Experience in a Comparative Perspective*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Pages 95-159.

Avineri, Shlomo. 1981. *The making of modern Zionism: intellectual origins of the Jewish state*. Pages TBA.

Himka, John-Paul. *Religion and nationality in Western Ukraine: The Greek Catholic church and the Ruthenian national movement in Galicia, 1870-1900*. Vol. 7. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1999.

John-Paul Himka, James T. Flynn, James Niessen. 1993, *Religious compromise, political salvation : the Greek Catholic Church and nation-building in Eastern Europe*. Pittsburgh : Center for Russian & East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh. 68 pages.

Himka, John-Paul. 1988. *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement*. Springer.

J. Reinharz & A. Shapira (Eds.) *Essential Paper on Zionism* (pp. 63-93). New York University Press.

Halpern, B. & J. Reinharz. (1998). *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society*. Oxford University Press.

Hertzberg, A. (1997) *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society.

Schwartz, D. (2003). *Religious Zionism: History and Ideology*. Jerusalem: Ministry of Defense.

Shavit, Y. (1988). *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement 1925-1948*. London: Frank Cass.

Week 7. From Colonialism to Nationalism (I). (October 26)

Required reading

Zhao, Suisheng. 2004. *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Pages 16-29, 46-60, 95-119.

Callahan, William A. "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism." *Alternatives* 29, no. 2 (2004): 199-218.

Dawisha, Adeed. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pages 14-48, 64-106, 107-134, 152-159.

Tibi, Bassam. 1998. *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*. Chapter 6 ("The Crisis of the Nation-State: Islamic, Pan-Arab, Ethnic, and Sectarian Identities in Conflict"). Reading in the following order: pages 132-136 and then 116-128.

Further reading

Marx, Karl. 1843. *On the Jewish Question*.

J. V. Stalin. 1913. *Marxism and the National Question*.

Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The wretched of the earth*. New York, Grove Press

Césaire, Aimé. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.

Week 8. From Colonialism to Nationalism (II). (November 2)

Required reading

Benedict Anderson. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. Chapters 7-11.

Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (*)

Herbst, Jeffrey I. 2000. *States and power in Africa: comparative lessons in authority and control*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapter 4 ("The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa"), pages 97-136.

Pengl, Yannick I., Philip Roessler, and Valeria Rueda. "Cash crops, print technologies, and the politicization of ethnicity in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 116, no. 1 (2022): 181-199.

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, no. 4 (2004): 529-545.

Further reading

Ajami, Fouad. 1992. *The Arab predicament: Arab political thought and practice since 1967*. Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

Gelvin, James L. 1999. *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire*. Univ of California Press.

Gelvin, J.L., 1994. The social origins of popular nationalism in Syria: evidence for a new framework. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26(04): 645-661.

Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds. 2007. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. Cornell University Press.

Week 9. Understanding Oneself as a Nation. (November 9)

Required reading

Bonikowski, Bart, and Paul DiMaggio. "Varieties of American popular nationalism." *American Sociological Review* 81, no. 5 (2016): 949-980.

Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth. 2009. *Who counts as an American? The boundaries of national identity*. Cambridge University Press. (*)

Caprettini, Bruno and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2022. "New Deal, New Patriots: How 1930s Government Spending Boosted Patriotism during WW II." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

Galofré-Vilà, Gregori, Christopher M. Meissner, Martin McKee, and David Stuckler. "Austerity and the Rise of the Nazi Party." *The Journal of Economic History* 81, no. 1 (2021): 81-113.

Further reading

Smith R. 1997. *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of American Citizenship in U.S. History*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press

Week 10. Understanding Oneself as a Nation (II). (November 16)

Required reading

Michael C. Dawson. 2001. *Black Visions: The Roots of Contemporary African-American Political Ideologies*. The University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-3, 5-7. (*)

Vine Deloria. 1969 (1988). *Custer Died For Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Later edition with new preface: Norman, University of Oklahoma Press. Chapters TBA.

Joane Nagel. 1997. *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*. Oxford University Press. Chapters 6 and 8

Further reading

Eric Schickler. 2016. *Racial Realignment*. Princeton University Press.

Hertzberg, Hazel W. 1971. *The search for an American Indian identity: modern Pan-Indian movements*. Syracuse : Syracuse University Press.

Week 11. Consequences. (November 30)

Required reading

Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. "Public goods and ethnic divisions." *The Quarterly journal of economics* 114, no. 4 (1999): 1243-1284.

Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Why does ethnic diversity undermine public goods provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 709-725.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2018. *Nation Building: Why Some Countries Come Together While Others Fall Apart*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 6 ("Identifying with the Nation: Evidence from a Global Survey") (pp. 209-228) and 7 ("Is Diversity Detrimental?") (pp. 229-248).

Lyall, Jason. *Divided armies: Inequality and battlefield performance in modern war*. Princeton University Press, 2020. Chapters 2 to 4.

Week 12. Managing Fragmentation (December 7)

Required reading

Weingast, Barry. 1999. Political Stability and Civil War: Institutions, Commitment, and American Democracy. In Bates, Robert H., Greif, Avner, Levi, Margaret, Rosenthal, Jean-Laurent and Weingast, Barry R. eds. *Analytic Narratives*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.princeton.edu/10.1515/9780691216232>. Chapter 4. Pages 148-193.

McGarry, John, and Brendan O'leary. 2006a. "Consociational theory, Northern Ireland's conflict, and its agreement. Part 1: What consociationalists can learn from Northern Ireland." *Government and Opposition* 41 (1): 43-63.

McGarry, John, and Brendan O'Leary. 2006b. "Consociational theory, Northern Ireland's conflict, and its agreement 2.-what critics of consociation can learn from Northern Ireland." *Government and Opposition* 41 (2): 249-277.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Julian Wucherpfennig. "Predicting the decline of ethnic civil war: Was Gurr right and for the right reasons?" *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 2 (2017): 262-274.

Cederman, Lars-Erik et al. 2023. *Nationalism and the Transformation of the State*. Book manuscript. Chapters 2-9, pages 9-161.

Further reading

McGarry, John, and Brendan O'Leary. "Must pluri-national federations fail?" *Ethnopolitics* 8, no. 1 (2009): 5-25.

Mittal, Sonia, and Barry R. Weingast. "Self-enforcing constitutions: With an application to democratic stability in America's first century." *The Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization* 29, no. 2 (2013): 278-302.

Abizadeh, Arash. 2021. "Counter-majoritarian democracy: Persistent minorities, federalism, and the power of numbers." *American Political Science Review* 115 (3): 742-756.

Knight, Jack. 1992. *Institutions and social conflict*. Cambridge University Press.