SEMINAR: NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Spring 2024
Mondays 09:00am - 11:30am
Naftali 004

Instructor: Dr. Evgeni Klauber   **Email:** Klaubere@tauex.tau.ac.il
Office: Naftali, 734   **Office Hours**: Sundays, 12:00-13:00

I. Overview:

Nationalism and ethnic conflict are among the defining phenomena of the modern era, yet our understanding of these phenomena remains very limited. What is nation? Where is the nation's homeland? Who is part of "us" and who is part of "them"? Why some ethnic groups mobilize to civil wars while others remain silent? How are these questions answered? Why do these answers alter? These and other questions stand at the center of inter- and intra-national conflicts around the globe. This seminar will unfold the main theoretical approaches to understand them and will try to provide possible solutions for ethnic conflicts. It will then investigate the interactions between state-building and nation-building, the relationship between nationalism, citizenship and minority rights, the nexus between nationalism, ethnicity and conflict, the colonial legacies of nationalism (especially among Post-Soviet newly emerged states), the religious nationalism, and the impact of globalization on ethnicity and nationalism. We will also try to integrating ideas of culture, ethnicity, and multiculturalism into conflict resolution**.**

II. Learning Objectives
This course should prepare students to:
1. Develop a critical understanding of the leading analytical and theoretical frameworks in ethnicity and nationalism;
2. Understand the key issues and dilemmas faced by comparatists who study nationalism and ethnic conflicts; to gain a better appreciation of the political challenges faced by leaders, politicians and governments of conflictual states in the current media-affected globalized world.
3. To become able to read, understand, and analyze articles of varying complexity on topics related to ethnicity and nationalism; become familiar with the resources on ethnicity and nationalism available through the World Wide Web.

III. Course Requirements

This class strongly requires students' attendance and participation. In order to participate actively in the class and to follow up with lectures, you will have to complete the assigned readings before each class. Also, attendance will be taken at the beginning of most classes. I expect you to come to class regularly, and to be on time, while your cellular phones are silenced. Attending at least 85% of lectures is a necessary condition to pass the course. 15% of the grade will be composed from your attendance and participation.

Students will give presentations (15% of your grade), each lasting no longer than 20 minutes. Each class will begin with at least one student presentation on the readings of that week. The purpose is to offer creative, analytical insights on the readings and to start the class with smart questions about them.

Another part of your grade (10%) will be a short paper (approximately 2-3 double-spaced pages). The purpose of the assignment is to focus on using the logics of the theories learned in class in order to diagnose a problem related to ethnic conflict, determine its causes, and suggest potential solutions.

And finally, your seminar paper: Students will write a substantial (15-20 pages) research paper. This paper may either be a critical review essay, a "long prospectus" for a doctoral dissertation, or a research paper on a topic relevant to the course. In order to discuss and approve paper topics, students should schedule and have individual meetings with me by the end of week 8 of the semester. I encourage you to do it earlier. Seminar papers should be printed in letter-sized paper, double-spaced, with wide margins, using a size 12 standard font such as Arial, Calibri, or Times New Roman. You can use any citation style you wish, as long as you stick to it throughout the paper. The topic of the paper will cover issues, or key relationships between concepts of ethnicity and nationalism that interest you. This assignment will count as 60% of the course grade. Further instructions about the organization and format of the paper will be announced in a timely manner through the Moodle TAU's website. All assignments must be printed out (not e-mailed) and submitted to me before the lectures or to my mailbox in Naftali building, fifth floor.

Students are required to submit an electronic copy of final assignments, rather than a hard copy. Electronic submission is possible via email to the lecturer and/or Moodle. In this class there will be no late submissions and no incompletes will be given.

Grading Summary:

- Presentation: 15%
- Short paper (2-3 pages): 10%
- Final Assignment - Seminar Paper: (20 pages): 60%
- Attendance and participation: 15% (As per Tel Aviv University policy, students will receive a failing grade in the course if they miss more than 20% of the class meetings).

Assignment extensions:
Requests for extensions for assignments throughout the semester can go directly to the lecturer and is at the discretion of the lecturer
There are no extensions given for final assignments. 60 is the passing grade for a course.

IV. Class Schedule and Readings (note: additional readings may be added)
Reading assignments should be completed before the class for which they are assigned.

V. Academic Fraud
Any person found guilty of academic fraud will be subject to severe sanctions. Some examples of academic fraud include:
•   Plagiarism or cheating of any kind;
•   submitting work of which the student is not the author, in whole or in part (except for duly cited quotations or references);
•   presenting research data that has been falsified or concocted in any way; and
•   submitting, without written prior approval from the professors concerned, the same work for more than one course.

Course Schedule and Reading Assignments:[1]

1. <u>Introduction: What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study It?</u>

Required reading:

- Abdelai, Rawi, Yoshiko Herrera, Alastair Johnston and Rose McDermott, December 2006. "Identity as a Variable," in *Perspectives on Politics*, 4(4): 695-711.
- Haas, Ernst B. 1986. "What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study It?" in *International Organization*, 30(3): 707-744.
- Connor, Walker. 1978. "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group is a...," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1(4): 377-397.
- Verdery, Katherine. 1993. "Whither 'Nation' and 'Nationalism'?" in *Daedalus* 122(3): 37-46.
- Lichbach, M. I., & Zuckerman, A. S. (1997). *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 3-16.

Recommended reading:

- Collier, D. & Mahon, J. "Conceptual "Stretching" Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 4, December 1993.
- Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Ethnicity* (1996).
- Fukuyama, F. (2005) How Academia Failed the Nation: The Decline of Regional Studies, in *Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, Volume 1, Number 1, (Spring 2005), pp. 21-23.
- Green, S. (2002). Rational Choice Theory: An Overview, in *Baylor University Faculty Development Seminar on Rational Choice Theory*, 2002.
- Kohli, A. (1995). The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics: A Symposium, in *World Politics*, Volume 48, Number 1.
- Danforth, L. (1997) *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*. Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Just, R. (1996) Book Review The Macedonian Conflict. Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World, in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 14.2 (1996) 355-357

2. <u>Nationalism and the state: What Makes "Us" and What Makes "Them"</u>

Required reading:

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[1] The course schedule and reading assignments are subject to change under certain circumstances. Any changes will be announced timely in class, and posted on TAU website. It is the student's responsibility to check regularly Moodle TAU website to follow up with updates.

- Tilly, C., Evans, P. B., Rueschemeyer, D., & Skocpol, T. (1985). *War Making and State Making as Organized Crime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Poggi, G. (1978). *The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press. Introduction.
- Sorensen, G. (2001). War and State Making - Why doesn't it Work in the Third World? in *Failed States Conference*, Florence, April 2001.
- Schmitt, C., 1922 (1985) *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*

Recommended reading:
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe, 23-106.

3. <u>What Makes Nation into a Nation? The Primordial and Perennial Answer.</u>
Required reading:
- Van den Berghe, Pierre. 1978. "Race and Ethnicity: a Socio Biological Perspective," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1(4):401-411.
- Smith, Anthony. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 21-46, 129-173.
- Grosby, Stephen 1994. "The Verdict of History: The Inexpungeable Tie of Primordiality - A Response to Eller and Coughlan," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1 (1): 164-171.
- Gil-White, Franscisco J. September 1999. "How Thick is Blood? The Plot Thickens . . . : If Ethnic Actors are Primordialists, What Remains of the Circumstantialist/Primordialist Controversy?" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, pp. 78 -820.
- Connor, Walker. July 1993. "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond," in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 16(3): 373-389.

Recommended reading:
- Shils, Edward. "Primordial, Personal, Sacred, and Civil Ties," British *Journal of Sociology*, (1957), pp. 113-45.
- Smith, Anthony. 1998 Nationalism and Modernism, London: Routledge.

4. <u>What Makes Nation into a Nation? The Modernist Answer.</u>
Required reading:
- Gellner, Ernst. Nations and Nationalism. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- "The nation: real or imagined? The Warwick Debates on Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism*, 2(3):357-370.

- Greenfeld, Leah. 1996. "Nationalism and Modernity," *Social Research*, 63(1): 3 35.

Recommended reading:
- Connor, Walker "The Timelessness of Nations," *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no. 1/2 (2004): 35-48.
- Nairn, Tom. 1997. *Faces of Nationalism*. New York: Verso
- Hobsbawm, E. J. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

5. <u>What Makes Nation into a Nation? The Constructivist Answer.</u>

Required reading:
- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.*

Recommended reading:
- Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (1966).
- Babha, Homi ed., Nation and Narration (1990).
- Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (1966).
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1985. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups," *Theory and Society*, 14(6): 723-744.

6. <u>Nationalism in the Twentieth Century</u>

Required reading:
- Arendt, H. (1966). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. (Introduction)
- Linz, J. J., & Stepan, A. C. (1978). *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes, Latin America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 1 Introduction
- Linz, J. J., & Stepan, A. C. (1978). *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes, Latin America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 2, Elements of Breakdown.
- Smith, A. D. (1979). *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: New York University Press. Chapter 5, Communist Nationalisms

Recommended reading:
- Linz, J. J., & Stepan, A. C. (1996). *Modern Non-Democratic Regimes, in Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe,*

South America, and post-communist Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

7. <u>Challenges to the Newly Democratized Countries: Processes of Globalization, Ethnic Conflicts, Civil Wars, Terrorism, and Religion – Part I</u>

Required reading:
- Laitin, D. D. (1998). *Identity in Formation: The Russian-speaking Populations in the Near Abroad.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Hale, H. (2004). Explaining Ethnicity, in *Comparative Political Studies*, Volume 37, Number 4, pp. 458-485.

Recommended reading:
- Robert M. Price, "Race and Reconciliation in the New South Africa," *Politics and Society* 25, 2 (June 1997), pp. 149-78.
- Kymlicka, W., & Opalski, M. (2001). *Can Liberal Pluralism be Exported? : Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaufman, S. J. (1996). Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War. *International Security*, 21(2), 108-138.
- Roeder, P. (2009). Ethnofederalism and the Mismanagement of Conflicting Nationalisms, in *Regional & Federal Studies*, Volume 19, Number 2, pp. 203-219.

Recommended Websites:
- The Nationalism Project is [here](#).

Recommended Lectures:
- Professor Lisa Anderson (Columbia University), "Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict," is [here](#).

Case Studies:
- (1) Ukrainian "East-West" Confrontation; (2) Ethnic Question in Bosnia

8. <u>Challenges to the Newly Democratized Countries: Processes of Globalization, Ethnic Conflicts, Civil Wars, Terrorism, and Religion – Part II</u>

Required reading:
- Laitin, D. D. (2001). Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union, in *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(8), 839- 861.
- Menon, R., & Fuller, G. (2000). Russia's Ruinous Chechen War, in *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 79, Number 2.

- Cornell, S. E. (2002). Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective, in *World Politics*, Volume 54, Number 2, pp. 245-276.

Recommended reading:
- Roessler, P. (2011). The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa, in *World Politics*, Volume 63, Number 2 (April 2011), 300–346.
- Kaufman, S. J. (2006). Symbolic politics or rational choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence, in *International Security*, 30(4), 45-86.
- Kaufman, S. J. (1996). Spiraling to Ethnic War: Elites, Masses, and Moscow in Moldova's Civil War, in *International Security*, 21(2), 108-138.
- Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, Oxford University Press, Ch. 1.

9. Israel as a Case Study: The National Issue: Israeli Jews, Palestinians and the Arab World

Required reading:
- Gavison, R. (November 01, 1999). Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the "Ethnic Democracy" Debate. *Israel Studies*, 4, 1, pp. 44-72.
- Kook, R. (1995). Dilemmas of Ethnic Minorities in Democracies: The Effect of Peace on the Palestinians in Israel. *Politics & Society*, 23, 3, pp. 309-336.
- Smooha, S. (1990). Minority Status in an Ethnic Democracy: The Status of the Arab Minority in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13, 3, pp. 389-413.
- Smooha, S. (1997). Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype. *Israel Studies*, 2(2), 198-241.
- Peled, Y. (1992). Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State. *The American Political Science Review*, 86, 2, pp. 432-443.

Recommended reading:
- Sorek, T., & Ceobanu, A. M. (2009). Religiosity, National Identity and Legitimacy: Israel as an Extreme Case. *Sociology*, 43, 3, pp. 477-496
- Avineri, S. (1981). *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*. New York: Basic Books.

10. Immigration, Political Culture and Israel's Society

Required reading:
- Arian, A. (1989). *Politics in Israel: the Second Generation*, Chaham House, N.J., 1989, Chapter 1, pp. 1-29.

- Yoav Peled (1998): Towards a redefinition of Jewish nationalism in Israel? The enigma of Shas, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21:4, 703-727
- Goldstein, K. & Gitelman, Z. (2003) "From 'Russians' to Israelis?" in Arian, A. & Shamir, M. (eds.), *The Elections in Israel – 2003*, Transaction, New Brunswick (US) & London (UK), pp. 245-260.
- Hacohen, D. (2003). *Immigrants in Turmoil*, Syracuse University Press. Chapter 8: Immigration during 1948-1998 and its Ramifications on Israeli Society, pp. 251-263.
- Horowitz, T. (2005). The Integration of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union. *Israel Affairs*, 11, 1, pp. 117-136.
- Lissak, M. (2001). "The Unique Approach to Military-Societal Relations in Israel and its Impact on Foreign and Security Policy", in Sofer, S. (ed.), *Peacemaking in a Divided Society: Israel after Rabin*, Frank Cass, London, pp. 235-255.
- Peri, Y. (2004) *Telepopulism: Media and Politics in Israel*, Stanford University Press, California, Introduction, pp. 1-10.
- Yonah, Y. (2005). Israel as a Multicultural Democracy: Challenges and Obstacles. *Israel Affairs*, 11, 1, pp. 95-116.
- Zameret, Z. (2002) *The Melting Pot in Israel*, State University of New York. Chapter 14: Summing Up: Israel From a "Melting Pot" to a Pluralistic State, pp. 155-160.

11. Reflections on Ethnicity and Nationalism in Global Perspective

Required reading:
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 7, 2 (April 1996), pp. 14-33.
- Held, D., & McGrew, A. G. (2003). Introduction to the Globalization Debate, in *The Global Transformations Reader*, (2nd Ed.). Cambridge, U.K.; Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Evans, P. (1997). The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization, in *World Politics*, Volume 50, Number 1, Fiftieth Anniversary Special Issue), pp. 62-87.
- Henry S. Rowen, "The Tide Underneath the 'Third Wave'," chapter 25 in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- Philippe C. Schmitter, "More Liberal, Preliberal, or Postliberal?," chapter 27 in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- Harry Harding, "Will China Democratize? The Halting Advance of Pluralism," Journal of Democracy 9, 1 (January 1998), pp. 11-17.

- Juan J. Linz, "Some Thoughts on the Victory and Future of Democracy," chapter 17 in Axel Hadenius, ed., *Democracy's Victory and Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Huntington, Samuel (1993) The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*; Summer 1993; 72, 3; pg. 22.

Recommended reading:
- Barber, B. R. (1996). *Jihad vs. McWorld*. New York: Ballantine Books
- Kapstein, E. (2000). Winners and Losers in the Global Economy, in *International Organization*, Volume 54, (Spring 2000), pp. 359-384.
- Drezner, D (2003) *Globalization and its Discontents*, course's syllabus is [here](#).
- Stiglitz, J. (2002). *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Mallaby, S. (2011). Can the BRICs Take the IMF? The Emerging World's Chance to Break the IMF's Status Quo Sebastian Mallaby, in *Foreign Affairs*, June 9, 2011.

Recommended Lectures:
- Professor Jeffrey Sachs (Columbia University), "The Future of Globalization", is [here](#).

Additional Reading:

- Armstrong, John *Nations Before Nationalism* (1982).
- Biener, Ronald ed., *Theorizing Nationalism* (1999).
- Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, Pierre *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991).
- Brass, Paul *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (1991).
- Calhoun, Craig *Nationalism* (1997).
- Colley, Linda *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (1992).
- Connor, Walker *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*.(1994).
- Cooper, Robert *Language Planning and Social Change* (1989).
- Edwards, John *Multi-Lingualism* (1995).
- Fishman, Joshua *The Sociology of Language* (1972).
- Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1963).
- Glazer, Nathan and Daniel Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (1975).
- Greenfeld, Liah *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (1992).
- Grillo, R. D. *Pluralism and the Politics of Difference: State, Culture, and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective* (1998).
- Haas, Ernest *Nationalism, Liberalism, and Progress: The Rise and Decline of Nationalism* (1997).
- Hall, John A. (ed) *The state of the nation. Ernest Gellner and the theory of nationalism* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), pp.272-307
- Hall, John, a. "Nationalisms: Classified and Explained"
- Hall, Stuart. 1996. "Introduction: Who needs Identity?" in Stuart Hall and Paul DuGay, eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage publications.
- Hastings, Adrian *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (1997).
- Hobsbawm, Eric *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (1992).
- Hroch, Miroslav *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (1985).
- Huntington, Samuel *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York; Simon and Schuster, 2004), chapter 2 (pp. 21-33).
- Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Ethnicity* (1996).
- Hutchinson, John and Anthony Smith, eds., *Nationalism* (1994).
- Jenkins, Richard *Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explanations* (1997).
- Kedourie, Elie *Nationalism* (1961).
- Kohn, Hans *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of Its Origins and Background* (1945).
- Laponce, J. A. *Languages and Their Territories* (1987).
- Mosse, George L. *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (1975).

- Motyl, Alexander. Winter 1992. "The Modernity of Nationalism," *Journal of International Affairs*, 45(2): 307-323.
- Nash, Manning *The Cauldron of Ethnicity* (1989).
- Peterson, William *Ethnicity Counts* (1997).
- Porter, Brian *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth Century Poland* (2000).
- Renan, Ernst "What is a nation."
- Smith, Anthony *National Identity* (1991).
- Smith, Anthony *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (1987).
- Suny, Ronald and Geoff Eley, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (1996).
- Theo Goldberg, David "The Semantics of Race," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 15, no. 4 (October 1992), pp. 543-569
- Weber, Eugen *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (1976).
- Weber, Max. 1978 [1922]. *Economy and Society*, eds. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkeley: University of California Press, 385-398; 900-904, 910-912; 921-926.
- Weinstein, Brian *The Civic Tongue* (1983).
- Young, Crawford *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism* (1976).