



School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Programme
Trimester 2, 2008

**INTP/POLS 365: SPECIAL TOPIC:
CHALLENGES TO THE NATION-STATE**

COURSE ORGANISATION:

Lecturer:	Dr Fiona Barker
Room:	MY505
Phone:	463 5759
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Lecture Times:	Wednesdays 11.00 – 12.50
Venue:	Hunter Lecture Theatre 220 (HU220)
Office Hours:	Office hours will be announced at the first lecture and posted on my office door. You may also email me to arrange meetings.

Information about changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures and posted on the Political Science and International Relations notice board.

Course aims:

This course examines how contemporary nation-states have responded to challenges from above and below, such as immigration, sub-state nationalism, globalization and the rise in importance of supranational political arenas. After reviewing theories of nationalism and the rise of the nation-state historically, we ask whether social cohesion, national identity and the political and economic structures of the nation-state are threatened by domestic and international forces as some authors have suggested. Are nation-states passive victims of “threats” from above and below or are they able actively to turn potential threats to their advantage?

Course objectives:

After passing this course you should be able to do the following:

- Describe the evolution and functioning of the nation-state system, the relationship between nationalism and state, as well as the characteristics of nation-states
- Understand the various historical and contemporary phenomena that are argued to threaten the strength and functioning of nation-states
- Evaluate critically different theories and empirical arguments about the extent to which nation-states’ strength is under threat, why states adopt varied responses to challenges from the domestic and international arena, and what determines the success of nation-state responses.

Assessment:

- Essay 1 - Response to theories of the nation/nationalism (1,000-1,500 words) worth **20%** of your total course mark, due Friday 1 August 2008
- Essay 2 - Free choice on topics from 2nd half of course (2,000- 2,500 words) worth **35%** of your total course mark, due Friday 19 September 2008
- Exam worth **45%** of your total course mark. **The date, time and venue of the final three hour exam will be determined when the University completes its timetable during the second half of the trimester. The examination period runs from 17 October to 8 November 2008**

Assessment for this course comprises three elements. The **first essay** is designed to give you the opportunity to reflect upon different theories of nationalism and concepts of the nation and state. The goal is for you to show that you have understood the theoretical literature we cover in the first part of the course. In consultation with me, you will choose your own essay topic for the second essay. This **research essay** should relate to one of the core themes from the second part of the course, discussing in depth a particular challenge to the nation-state and how nation-states respond to this.

Essential texts:

The prescribed textbook for the course, *POLS/INTP 365 Course book 2008*, will be available at Student Notes on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. I will distribute in the first weeks a supplementary reading list to provide you with further background reading and to guide you in your essay writing.

Mandatory Course Requirements:

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)
- b) Sit the final exam at the end of the course.
- c) Attend at least 8 of the 12 classes.

Penalties:

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of **5% for the first day late**, and **2% per day** thereafter, up to a **maximum of 8 days**. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

Turnitin:

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <<http://www.turnitin.com>>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

Workload:

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 16 hours per week to INTP/POLS 365. This includes 2 hours of lectures per week.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were ones own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct. All cases will be recorded on a central database and severe penalties may be imposed. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx

GENERAL UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENTS

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general>

- Student and Staff Conduct
- Academic Grievances
- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

COURSE OUTLINE:

PART I	CONCEPTS & HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE NATION STATE
Week 1 July 9	Introducing the concepts
Week 2 Jul 16	<i>Theories of Nationalism</i>
Week 3 Jul 23	<i>The emergence of the international community of (nation-) states</i>
PART II	CHALLENGES TO – AND RESPONSES FROM – THE NATION STATE
Week 4 Jul 30	<i>An overview of challenges to the nation-state</i> ESSAY 1 DUE AUGUST 1, 5PM
Week 5 Aug 6	<i>The political dimension – transnational governance</i>
Week 6 Aug 13	<i>Supranational governance: the European Union</i>
	MID-SEMESTER BREAK: Monday 18 August to Friday 29 August
Week 7 Sep 3	<i>Immigration and Transnationalism I</i>
Week 8 Sep 10	<i>Immigration and Transnationalism II</i>
Week 9 Sep 17	<i>Stateless nations and regionalist challenges I</i> ESSAY 2 DUE SEPTEMBER 22, 5PM
Week 10 Sep 24	<i>Stateless nations and regionalist challenges II</i>
Week 11 Oct 1	<i>Indigenous movements</i>
Week 12 Oct 8	<i>Resilience of the nation state?</i>

COURSE READING LIST:

PART I: CONCEPTS & HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE NATION STATE

Questions – What is a nation, what is a state and how are they connected theoretically and historically? What are the characteristics (form, functions) of the nation-state?

Required reading:

Connor, W. (1978) "A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a ...", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1: 4, 379-388.

Hutchinson, J. & A. Smith (eds.) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 3-13.

Gerth, H. & C. W. Mills (eds.) (1946) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford: OUP, 171-180.

Further reading:

Hutchinson, J. & A. Smith (eds.) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: OUP. pp. 26-29 (Karl Deutsch); 76-83 (Eric Hobsbawm)

Renan, E. (1999) "What is a Nation?", in Dahbour, O. & M. Ishay (eds.) (1999) *The Nationalism Reader*. Humanity Books, 143-155.

Trevor-Roper, H. (1983) "The invention of tradition: the Highland tradition of Scotland", in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: CUP, 15-42.

Hechter, M. (2000) *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: OUP. [Ch. 1, pp. 1-17]

Brubaker, R. (1996) *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe*. Cambridge University Press. [Ch. 1, pp. 13-22.]

Week 2 (July 16): Theories of Nationalism

Questions – What is nationalism as an ideology and as a movement? When and how did it emerge historically? Is it a modern or an ancient phenomenon? What is the relationship between nationalism and the state?

Required reading:

Anderson, B. (1997) "The nation and the origins of national consciousness", in Guibernau, M. & J. Rex (eds.) *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. Cambridge: Polity, 43-51.

Smith, A. D. (1986) *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell, 6-18.

Gellner, E. (2005) "Nationalism and modernity", in P. Spencer & H. Wollman (eds.) *Nations and Nationalism. A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 40-47.

Breuilly, J. (2001) "The state and nationalism", in Guibernau, M. & J. Hutchinson (eds.) *Understanding Nationalism*. Cambridge: Polity, 32-52.

Ignatieff, M. (1994) *Blood and Belonging. Journeys into the New Nationalism*. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux. [Read pp. 5-9 only].

Further reading:

Breuilly, J. (1996) "Approaches to Nationalism", in G. Balakrishnan (ed.) *Mapping the Nation*. London: Verso, 146-174.

Spencer, P. & H. Wollman (2005) "Good and Bad Nationalisms", in P. Spencer & H. Wollman (eds.) *Nations and Nationalism. A Reader*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 197-217.

Rogers Brubaker (1999)., "The Manichaen Myth: Rethinking the Distinction Between 'Civic' and 'Ethnic' Nationalism", in Hanspeter Kriesi et al., *Nation and National Identity: The European Experience in Perspective*. Chur: Rüegger, 55-71.

Week 3 (July 23): The emergence of the international community of (nation-) states

Questions – How and why did the *nation*-state evolve historically as the dominant form of societal organization?

Required reading:

Held, D. & McGrew, A. (2003) *Global Transformations*, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 32-49

Guibernau, M. (1996) *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Polity. [Ch. 6, 115-127]

Further reading:

Hutchinson, J. & A. Smith (eds.) (1994) *Nationalism*, Oxford: OUP, pp. 245-250 (Alfred Cobban).

Mayall, James (1999) "Sovereignty, nationalism, and self-determination", in R. Jackson (ed.) *Sovereignty at the Millennium*, Oxford: Blackwell, 52-80.

PART II: CHALLENGES TO – AND RESPONSES FROM – THE NATION STATE

Week 4 (July 30): An overview of challenges to the nation-state

Questions – What does it mean for the nation-state to be challenged? How would we recognize a decline in its strength? Where might challenges come from? In the following weeks we consider possible challenges to the nation-state from within (regionalist movements, indigenous movements) and from without (globalization, immigration, transnational civil society and supranational decision making arenas).

Required reading:

Held, D. & A. McGrew (1997) "The Great Globalization Debate: An Introduction", in Held, D. & A. McGrew (eds.) *The Global Transformations Reader*. Cambridge: Polity, pp. 1-50.

Further reading:

Barber, B. (1992) "Jihad vs McWorld", *The Atlantic*. 269: 3, 53-65.

Guibernau, M. (1996) *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Polity. [Chaps. 5, 7]

Week 5 (August 6): The political dimension – transnational governance

Questions – Have nation-states lost the ability to control decisions affecting their domestic sphere? Which kinds of supranational arenas and non-state actors influence nation-state decision making and identities?

Required reading:

Mathews, J. (1997) "Power Shift", *Foreign Affairs* 76: 1 (Jan/Feb), 50-66.

Slaughter, A-M (1997) "The Real New World Order", *Foreign Affairs* 76: 5 (Sept/Oct), 183-197.

Held, D. & McGrew, A. (2003) *Global Transformations*, Cambridge: Polity, pp. 49-81.

Further reading:

Meyer, J. "Globalization: Sources and effects on national states and societies", *International Sociology* 15: 2, 233-248.

Week 6 (August 13): Supranational governance: the European Union

Questions – For some, the European Union is a political and economic project conducted and controlled by nation-state governments, while for others it has developed a life of its own as a state or federation in the making. How much sovereignty have nation-states given up to the European Union? What are the implications for the evolution of the EU for nation-state *identities* and *functioning*?

Required reading:

Wallace, W. (1997) "The nation-state – rescue or retreat?", in Gowan, P. and P. Anderson (eds.), *The Question of Europe*. London: Verso, 21-50.

Judt, Tony (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, pp. 713-736; 796-800.

Further reading:

Hoffman, S. (2003) "Obstinate or obsolete? The fate of the nation-state and the case of Western Europe", in Nelsen, B. and A. Stubb (eds.) *The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. London: Lynne Rienner, 163-178.

MID-SEMESTER BREAK: Monday 18 August to Friday 29 August

Week 7 (September 3): Immigration and Transnationalism I

Questions – International migration can have multiple effects on both sending and receiving societies – do states have a reduced ability to control their borders and flows of migrants? Does the cultural, religious and ethnic diversity introduced by migration threaten the core national identity of receiving societies?

Required reading:

Joppke, Christian (1998) "Immigration Challenges the Nation-State", in C. Joppke (ed.) *Challenge to the Nation-State - Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 5-46.

Sassen, S. (1998) *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: The New Press, pp. 5-30 (Ch. 2, "The De Facto Transnationalizing of Immigration Policy")

Further reading:

Castles, S. and M. Miller, (2003) *The Age of Migration* (3rd ed.). New York: Guilford Press. [pp. 255-290]

Joppke, C. (ed.) *Challenge to the Nation-State - Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*. Oxford: OUP. [Ch. 3]

Week 8 (September 10): Immigration and Transnationalism II

Questions – Do migrants' transnational practices and political participation threaten the traditional citizenship model of the nation-state? To what extent do civil society actors' use of international fora to pursue their goals (e.g. European Court of Justice) challenge nation-states' control over their domestic realms? We consider immigrants' claims making.

Required reading:

Keck, M. & K. Sikkink (1999) "Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics", *International Social Science Journal* 51: 1, 89-101.

Koopmans, R. and P. Statham (1999) "Challenging the liberal nation-state? Postnationalism, multiculturalism and the collective claims making of migrants and ethnic minorities in Britain and Germany", *American Journal of Sociology*, 105: 3, 652-696.

Bauböck, R. (2005) "Expansive citizenship – voting beyond territory and membership", *PS: Political Science and Politics* 38: 4, 763-767.

Further reading:

- Joppke, C. (1999) *Immigration and the Nation-State*. Oxford: OUP. [Ch. 8, 260-280]
 Soysal, Y. (1994) *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [Chaps. 6 and 8]
 Foner, N. (1997) "What's new about transnationalism? New York Immigrants today and at the turn of the century", *Diaspora* 6: 3, 355-371.

Week 9 (September 17): Stateless nations and regionalist challenges I

Questions – One of the most direct challenges to the nation-state has come from regional or nationalist movements within countries seeking more autonomy or even independence. What accounts for the re-emergence of stateless nations and autonomy movements in the latter half of the 20th century? What are the different ways in which nation-states have responded, and is state sovereignty genuinely threatened by these movements?

Required reading:

- Judt, Tony (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, pp. 701-713.
 McGarry, J., M. Keating & M. Moore (2006) "Introduction: European integration and the nationalities question", in McGarry, J. & M. Keating (eds.) *European Integration and the Nationalities Question*. New York: Routledge, 1-20.
 Aldecoa, F and M. Keating (eds.) (1999) *Paradiplomacy in action: the foreign relations of subnational governments*. Portland, OR: Frank Cass. [Ch. 1, pp. 1-16]

Further reading:

- Keating, M. (2001) *Plurinational Democracy. Stateless Nations in a Post-sovereignty Era*. Oxford: OUP. [Ch. 3-5]
 Hutchinson, J. & A. Smith (eds.) (1994) *Nationalism*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 184-195 (M. Hechter & M. Levi).
 Guibernau, M. (1999) *Nations without States: Political Communities in a Global Age* Cambridge: Polity. [Ch. 2, 6, 7]

Week 10 (September 24): Stateless nations and regionalist challenges II

Questions – Having surveyed the (re-) emergence of stateless nationalist movements from the 1970s onward, the various forms and success of these movements in particular cases. To what extent have the nationalist/regional autonomy challenges and nation-state responses been similar or different in Canada, Spain, Belgium and the United Kingdom? What accounts for differences in their trajectories?

Required reading:

- Ignatieff, M. (1994) *Blood and Belonging. Journeys into the New Nationalism*. New York: Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, pp. 143-177 [Ch. 4 on Quebec]
 Keating, M. (2001) *Nations Against the State*. 2nd ed. Palgrave Macmillan. [Ch. 5 on Catalonia]

Further reading:

- Guibernau, M. (2004) *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition and Democracy*. New York: Routledge.
 McCrone, D. (2002) "Who do you say you are? Making sense of national identities in modern Britain", *Ethnicities* 2: 3, 301-320.

Week 11 (October 1): Indigenous movements

Questions – Do the claims of indigenous peoples worldwide threaten the integrity of the nation-state or do they in fact contribute to its long term health by having an integrative function? Was the rise of transnational civil society and supranational arenas a pre-requisite for the emergence and success of rights claims by some indigenous peoples?

Required reading:

Yashar, D. (1998) "Contesting Citizenship: indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America", *Comparative Politics* 34: 3, 355-375.

Guibernau, M. (1999) *Nations without States: Political Communities in a Global Age* Cambridge: Polity. [Ch. 3]

Salée, D. (1995) "Identities in conflict: the Aboriginal question and the politics of recognition in Quebec", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18: 2, 277-314.

Further reading:

Maaka, R. and A. Fleras (2005) *The Politics of Indigeneity: Challenging the State in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Jenson, J. and M. Papillon (2000) "Challenging the citizenship regime: the James Bay Cree and Transnational Action", *Politics and Society* 28: 2, 245-264.

Week 12 (October 8): Resilience of the nation state and the exaggerated reports of its death

Questions – On balance, are nation-states undermined or strengthened by the various challenges that we have examined? How have nation-states actively reconfigured their powers and institutional arrangements or controlled the very processes often seen as challenging them?

Required reading:

Mann, M. (1997) "Has globalization ended the rise and rise of the nation-state?", *Review of International Political Economy*. 4: 3, 472-496.

Thompson, Helen (2006) "The modern state and its adversaries", *Government and Opposition* 41: 1, 23-42.

Further reading:

Held, D. (2002) "Cultural and political community – national, global and cosmopolitan", in Vertovec, S. and R. Cohen (eds.) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford: OUP.