



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME

INTP213: SPECIAL TOPIC: NATIONALISM IN WORLD POLITICS

2009 TRIMESTER 1

2 March to 1 July 2009

Course Delivery

Lecturer:	Dr Priya Chacko
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Lecture Times:	Wednesdays 11-11.50 Fridays 11-11.50 Venue: MYLT 102
Tutorials:	Wednesdays 12-12.50 Venue: MY806 Fridays 12-12.50 Venue: MY 301
Office Hours:	will posted on my office door and Blackboard. You are also welcome to telephone or email me.

This course consists of two lectures and one tutorial per week.

The course has a final examination. The mid-year examination period is from Friday 12 June to Wednesday 1 July 2009.

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in seminars and posted on the Political Science and International Relations and Philosophy notice boards

Outline of Course Content

WEEK 1 2 March – 6 March	Introduction
WEEK 2 9 March – 13 March	Approaches to understanding nationalism
WEEK 3 16 March – 20 March	Nationalism and International Relations
WEEK 4 23 March – 27 March	Nationalism in modern world history
WEEK 5 30 March – 3 April	Sex, gender, sexuality and nationalism
WEEK 6 6 April – 9 April	Good nationalism, bad nationalism
	MID-SEMESTER BREAK: Monday 13 April to Friday 24 April
WEEK 7 27 April – 1 May	Religious nationalism
WEEK 8 4 May – 8 May	National identity, the state and foreign policy
WEEK 9 11 May – 15 May	Nationalism, globalisation and cosmopolitanism
WEEK 10 18 May – 22 May	Sport and nationalism
WEEK 11 25 May – 29 May	Case study: the Israeli-Palestinian dispute
WEEK 12 2 June – 5 June	Revision and Review

Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, students passing the paper should be able to:

- Understand and critically evaluate the major theories, approaches, and debates in the study of nationalism
- Understand the role of nationalism in contemporary world politics
- Have an understanding of how the various theories and approaches to nationalism can help elucidate contemporary events and conflicts in world politics

- Have basic skills in researching and writing academic essays on nationalism in world politics (Pursuing and managing independent research, locating information, choosing an essay topic, critically engaging with the literature, assessing conflicting or different arguments, synthesising information in a clear and logical way).

Graduate Attributes

As with all POLS and INTP courses, learning objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of critical thinking, creative thinking, communication and leadership. Please consult the Programme Prospectus 2009, p. 10, for more details or on our website <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pols/>

Expected Workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 15 hours per week to INTP213. This includes 2 hours of lectures per week and a 1 hour tutorial.

Readings

Essential Texts

All the required readings have been placed in a course notes pack, *INTP213 Course book 2009*, which is available at Student Notes on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. You can order student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays) 10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays. Phone: 463 5515 (Kelburn campus)

Useful Resources

Specialised journals on nationalism include:

Nations and Nationalism

Ethnic and Racial Studies

National Identities

Other journals, such as, *Review of International Studies*, *Alternatives*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *Millennium* will also have relevant articles.

Useful overviews of nationalism can be found in:

Umut Ozkirimli *Theories of Nationalism: A critical introduction*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)

Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*, (London; New York: Routledge, 1998)

Paul Lawrence, *Nationalism: history and theory* (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Education, 2005)

Umut Ozkirimli *Contemporary debates on nationalism: a critical engagement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005)

A. Smith and J. Hutchinson (eds.), *Nationalism*, Series Oxford Readers, Oxford University Press, 1994

Assessment Requirements

1) Two research essays (each worth 25% of your total course mark)

You will find on the Blackboard course resources section a guide to essay writing. The aim of the research essays is to appraise the ability of students to conduct research and formulate an argument in **2000-2500 words**.

Essay questions can be found at the end of this course guide. You are also free to formulate your own question, however, you should okay the question with the lecturer.

To do well in these pieces of assessment you should read widely and well beyond the required readings.

The first essay is due by Monday 9 April

The second essay is due by Friday 5 June

Please attach a cover sheet to your completed essays and deposit them into the appropriate pigeon hole located outside the Programme office on the 5th floor of the Murphy building. Cover sheets can be found outside the Programme office on the 5th floor of the Murphy building

2) Presentation (worth 10% of your total course mark)

Each student is required to give a 10 minute presentation on a topic to be chosen at the first tutorial from the list of topics in the course outline. The aim of the presentation is to develop the ability of students to discuss complex ideas in a clear, coherent, succinct and engaging manner.

You will be marked on your understanding of the topic, your critical engagement with the readings and the clarity of your presentation.

3) Final Exam (worth 40% of your total course mark)

The aim of the examination is to assess the ability of students to integrate and use the knowledge they acquire during the course and their ability to organise ideas and thoughts in response to a question or problem.

There will be a **three hour** closed-book examination at the **end of the trimester**. Students will be required to write answers to **three essay questions**, all of which carry equal marks. **The mid-year examination period is from Friday 12 June to Wednesday 1 July 2009. The exact date and location will be announced nearer the time.**

Mandatory Course Requirements

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- a) **Submit all 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.**

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.

Academic integrity and plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

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

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

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* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

This website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates.

Course Content and Reading List

Week 1: Introduction and Overview

No readings

Week 2. Approaches to understanding nationalism

Required Reading

- Pierre L. Van den Berghe, "Race and Ethnicity: a Socio-Biological Perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Volume 1, Number 4 1978:401-414.
- Benedict Anderson, 'Ch.3. Origins of national consciousness', *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (London ; New York: Verso, 2006), pp. 37-46
- Anthony D. Smith, 'Ch. 8: Ethnosymbolism', *Nationalism and modernism: a critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism*, (London ; New York : Routledge, 1998), pp. 170-198

Questions to consider

- What is a nation? What is nationalism?
- Are nations ancient or modern? Does it matter?
- How does the modernist approach to the study of nationalism differ from the primordialist approach?
- How has modernist, and primordialist approaches been critiqued from an ethnosymbolist perspective?

Further reading

- Umut Ozkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A critical introduction*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)
- Paul Lawrence, *Nationalism: history and theory* (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Education, 2005)

Primordialism:

- Edward Shils, 'Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory', *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Jun., 1957), pp. 130-145
- Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments And Civil Politics In The New States" In *The Interpretation Of Cultures* New York: Basic Books, 1973: 255-311.
- Pierre L. Van den Berghe, "Race and Ethnicity: a Socio-Biological Perspective." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Volume 1, Number 4 1978:401-414.
- Walker Connor, "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnonational Bond," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, volume 16, Number 3, July 1993: 373-389.
- Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Ethnicity versus Nationalism." *Journal of Peace Research* Volume 28, Number 3, August 1991: 263-278.
- J. Eller and R. Coughlan, (1993). The poverty of primordialism: The demystification of ethnic attachments". *Ethnic and racial studies*, 16 (2), p. 183.
- Octavianus Mote and Danilyn Rutherford, 'From Irian Java to Papua: The Limits of Primordialism in Indonesia's Troubled East', *Indonesia*, Vol. 72, (Oct., 2001), pp. 115-140
- Bowen, JR (1996). "The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 3-14

Modernism:

- Ernest Gellner, 'Ch. 15: Do nations have navals?', *Nationalism*, (London: Phoenix, 1998), pp. 90-101.
- Michael Mann, 'Ch. 4: A political theory of nationalism and its excesses' in Sukumar Periwal (ed.) *Notions of nationalism* (Budapest; London: Central European University Press, 1995)

- Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1992.)
- John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State.*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.)
- Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Paul Brass, *Language, Religion And Politics In North India*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) *An instrumentalist approach*
- Tom Nairn, *The break-up of Britain: crisis and neo-nationalism* (London: NLB, 1977) *A neo-Marxist perspective*
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (London; New York: Verso, 2006)
- Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* London: Hutchinson University Library, 1960.
- Elie Kedourie, ed., *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, New York: Plume and Meridian, 1970.
- Edward Shils, “The Intellectuals in the Political Development of the New States.” In *World Politics* Volume 12, 1960:329-368.
- Ana Devic, “Ethnonationalism, Politics, and the Intellectuals: The Case of Yugoslavia,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, Volume 11, Number 3, 1998: 375-409.

Ethnosymbolism

- Umut Özkirimli (2003), ‘The nation as an artichoke? A critique of ethnosymbolist interpretations of nationalism’ *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 339–355
- John Hutchinson (2004) “Myth against myth: the nation as ethnic overlay”, *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 10, no. 1-2, pp. 109–123
- Anthony D. Smith (2003), ‘The poverty of anti-nationalist modernism’, *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 357–370

A response to Ozkirimli’s article above

- Anthony D. Smith, *The ethnic origins of nations* (Oxford, [England]; New York, N.Y: B. Blackwell, 1987, c1986)
- John A. Armstrong, *Nations before nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c1982)
- Adrian Hastings *The construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion, and nationalism* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- The journal *Nations and Nationalism* ran a special issue (vol. 7, no. 4) on ‘nationalism and archaeology’ which is relevant to the debate between modernists and ethno-symbolists.
- Gerard Delanty, John Hutchinson, Eric Kaufmann, Umut Özkirimli, Andreas Wimmer (2008), ‘Debate on John Hutchinson’s *Nations as Zones of Conflict*’, *Nations and Nationalism*, 14 (1), 1–28
- ***The summary of a debate held at the London School of Economics recently on John Hutchinson’s ethno-symbolist arguments in a recent book***
- Diego Muro (2005) “Nationalism and nostalgia: the case of radical Basque nationalism”, *Nations and Nationalism* 11 (4), 571–589
- Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

Week 3 – Nationalism and International Relations

Required Reading

- Jan Jindy Pettman (2001), 'Nationalism and After', *Review of International Studies*, vol.24, no.5, pp. 149-164
- Farrands, Chris (1996), 'Society, modernity and social change: approaches to nationalism and identity' in Krause, Jill and Neil Renwick (eds) *Identities in International Relations*, (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : Macmillan Press ; New York : St. Martin's Press,)

Questions to consider

- Why was nationalism seen as irrelevant to the study of International Relations until recently?
- Did the end of the Cold War result in resurgence of nationalism? Are we living in a world of proliferating nationalisms and nationalist conflicts?
- How does the study of nationalism help us make sense of world politics?

Further Reading

- James Mayall, "Nationalism in the Study of International Relations", in A. J. R. Groom and M. Light, eds., *Contemporary International Relations: A Guide to Theory* (London: Pinter, 1994), pp. 182-194
- For general overview on theories of International Relations see Baylis, John and Steve Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition, 2005). See also Fred Halliday, 'Nationalism', pp. 521-538
- James Mayall, 'Nationalism and international security after the Cold War' *Survival*, Volume 34, Issue 1 Spring 1992 , pp.19-35
- Martin Griffiths and Michael Sullivan (1997) "Nationalism and international relations theory" *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol.43, no.1, pp. 53-66
- James Mayall, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- R. William Ayres 'A World Flying Apart? Violent Nationalist Conflict and the End of the Cold War' *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan., 2000), pp. 105-117
- Gaddis, JL (1990). "Toward the Post-Cold War World". *Foreign affairs*, 70, p. 102.
- Stanley Hoffmann. *World disorders: troubled peace in the post-Cold War era* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)
- Von Hippel, K (1994). "The Resurgence of Nationalism and its International Implications". *The Washington quarterly*, 17, p. 185.
- Sanjay Seth, "Political Theory in the Age of Nationalism", *Ethics and International Affairs* 7 (1993): 79

Week 4. Nationalism in modern world history

Required reading

- Charles Tilly (1994), 'States and Nationalism in Europe 1492-1992', *Theory and Society*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 131-146
- Tamara Sivanandan 'Ch. 3: Anticolonialism, national liberation, and postcolonial nation formation', in Neil Lazarus, *The Cambridge companion to postcolonial literary studies* (Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 41-65

Questions to consider

- How has the rise of nationalism as an ideology and movement been explained?
- What are the features of anti-colonial nationalisms?
- Are there differences between Western and non-Western nationalisms?
- How has nationalism shaped the modern world order?

Further reading

- Benedict Anderson, 'Ch.4: Creole Nationalism', *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, (London; New York: Verso, 2006), pp. 47-65
- Partha Chatterjee, 'Whose imagined community?', in Gopal Balakrishnan, *Mapping the nation* (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 214-225
- **Historical writings on nationalism by Western and non-Western thinkers and political leaders can be found in** Omar Dahbour and Micheline R. Ishay (eds), *The nationalism reader* (New York: Humanities Books Press, 1995)
- E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and states: an enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism* (London: Methuen, 1977)
- Edward Carr, "States and Nationalism: The Nation in European History" in David Held et al., *States and Societies* (London: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 181-195.
- Hans Kohn, *The idea of nationalism: a study in its origins and background*. (N.Y.: Collier Books, 1967)
- Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: its meaning and history* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1965)
- Stuart Woolf (ed.), *Nationalism in Europe, 1815 to the present: a reader* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995)
- Roland Nathan (2001), 'African redemption: black nationalism and end of empire in Africa', *Exchange*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 125
- Brandon Kendhammer (2007), 'Du Bois the pan-Africanist and the development of African nationalism' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol 30, no. 1, pp. 51-71
- Partha Chatterjee, 'Nationalism as a problem in the history of political ideas', *Nationalist thought and the colonial world: a derivative discourse?* (London, U.K: Zed Books for the United Nations University; Totowa, N.J: US, distributor, Biblio Distribution Center, 1986), pp. 1-36
- Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian moment: self-determination and the international origins of anticolonial nationalism*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Elie Kedourie, ed., *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, (New York: Plume and Meridian, 1970)
- Sugata Bose, *A hundred horizons: the Indian Ocean in the age of global empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006)

Week 5. Gender, sex, sexuality and nationalism

Required reading

- Jan Jindy Pettman, 'Ch. 3: Women, gender and nationalism', *Worlding Women: A feminist international politics*, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1996), pp. 45-63
- Joane Nagel (1998), 'Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 21, Number 2, pp. 242-269

Questions to consider

- How are sex and gender implicated in nationalism?

- What is the role of women in nationalism? Do men and women experience nationalism in the same fashion?
- How is sexuality related to nationalism?

Further reading

- Nira Yuval Davis, 'Ch. 2: Gender and nation', in Rick Wilford and Robert L. Miller. *Women, ethnicity and nationalism: the politics of transition*, New York: Routledge, 1998, pp. 23-35
- George L. Mosse *Nationalism and sexuality: middle-class morality and sexual norms in modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, [1988], 1985)
- Jyoti Puri *Encountering nationalism* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004)

See Chapters 3 and 4

- Wendy Bracewell (1998), *Nations and Nationalism*, 'Rape in Kosovo: masculinity and Serbian nationalism', vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 563-90
- Anne McClintock (1993), 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, No. 44, pp. 61- 80
- Tricia Cusack (2000), 'Janus and gender: women and the nation's backward look', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 541-61.
- Brackette F. Williams (ed.) *Women out of place: the gender of agency and the race of nationality* (New York: Routledge, 1996)

See in particular, 'Ch 1: Gandhi and feminized nationalism in India' by Richard Fox on Mahatma Gandhi's distinctive uses of women and femininity in his brand of anti-colonial nationalism and 'Ch. 4: "Fit Citizens for the British Empire?": Class-ifying Racial and Gendered Subjects in "Godzone" (New Zealand)' by Jacqui True for the New Zealand context.

- Ida Blom, Karen Hagemann and Catherine Hall, *Gendered nations: nationalisms and gender order in the long nineteenth century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000)
- Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender & nation* (London: Sage, 1997)
- Sikata Banerjee, 'Make me a man!: masculinity, Hinduism, and nationalism in India', (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005)
- Sam Pryke (1998) 'Nationalism and Sexuality, What are the Issues?' *Nations and Nationalism* 4 (4) , 529-546
- Harris, R (2001). "The 'Child of The Barbarian': Rape, Race And Nationalism In France During The First World War". *Past & present*, 141 (1), p. 170

MID-SEMESTER BREAK

Week 6. Good nationalism, Bad nationalism

Required reading

- Michael Ignatieff, 'Introduction: The Last Refuge', *Blood and belonging: journeys into the new nationalism*, (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1994), pp. 3-16
- Phillip Spencer and Howard Wollman (1998). "Good and bad nationalisms: A critique of dualism". *Journal of political ideologies*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 255-274

Questions to consider

- What sort of dichotomies do some scholars make in the study of nationalism and what are the objections to this kind of approach?

- Can we make a clear distinction between civic and ethnic forms of nationalism?
- Has one been more destructive than the other?
- Is there a difference between patriotism and nationalism?

Further reading

- Maurizio Viroli, 'Introduction', *For love of country: an essay on patriotism and nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 1-17
- Ashis Nandy, 'Nationalism, Genuine and Spurious: Mourning Two Early Post-Nationalist Strains', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 12, 2006, pp. 3500-3504
- Brown, D (1999). "Are there Good and Bad Nationalisms?" *Nations and nationalism*, vol. 5, no. 2, p. 281-302
- Shulman, S (2002). "Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism". *Comparative political studies*, vol. 35, no. 5, pp. 554-585
- Lind, M (1994). "In Defense of Liberal Nationalism". *Foreign affairs*, 73 (3), p. 87.
- Kuzio, T (2002). "The myth of the civic state: a critical survey of Hans Kohn's framework for understanding nationalism". *Ethnic and racial studies*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 20-39
- Gledhill, J (2005). "The Power of Ethnic Nationalism: Foucault's Bio-power and the Development of Ethnic Nationalism in Eastern Europe". *National identities*, vol. 7, no. 4, pp. 347-368
- Robin Wilson (2001), 'The politics of contemporary ethno-nationalist conflicts', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 365–384
- Margaret Canovan (2000), 'Patriotism is Not Enough', *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 413-432
- David Pearson (2000) 'The Ties that Unwind: Civic and Ethnic Imaginings in New Zealand' *Nations and Nationalism* 6 (1), 91–110
- Maurizio Viroli, *For love of country: an essay on patriotism and nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)
- Hans Kohn, *The idea of nationalism: a study in its origins and background*. (N.Y.: Collier Books, 1967) *On Eastern and Western nationalisms*

Week 7. Religious nationalism

Required reading

- Mark Juergensmeyer, 'Ch. 1: The loss of faith in secular nationalism', *The new Cold War?: religious nationalism confronts the secular state*, (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 11-25
- Smith, A (2000). "The 'sacred' dimension of nationalism". *Millennium*, vol. 29, no. 3, pp. 791-814

Questions to consider

- What is religious nationalism? Is the term an oxymoron?
- Are we witnessing the rise of religious nationalisms around the world today? Or has religion and nationalism always been linked?
- Which approach to the study of nationalism (modernist, primordial etc.) best explains contemporary religious nationalisms?

Further reading

- Mansoor Moaddel, *Islamic modernism, nationalism, and fundamentalism: episode and discourse* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 240-264
- Mark Juergensmeyer, 'The worldwide rise of religious nationalism', *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 1-20
- Sabina Mihelj (2007), "'Faith in nation comes in different guises": modernist versions of religious nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 265-284
- Peter Van der Veer, 'Ch. 1: Religious nationalism', *Religious nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 1-24
- Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann, *Nation and religion: perspectives on Europe and Asia*. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999)
- Anthony D. Smith (1999) 'Ethnic Election and National Destiny: Some Religious Origins of Nationalist Ideals' *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 331–355
- John A. Armstrong (1997) 'Religious Nationalism and Collective Violence' *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 597–606
- Friedland, R (2002). "Money, Sex, and God: The Erotic Logic of Religious Nationalism". *Sociological theory*, vol. 20, no. 3, p. 381.
- Kurth, James. 'Religion and national identity in Europe and America', *Society*, Sep2007, Vol. 44 Issue 6, p.120-125,
- Canipe, Lee, 'Under God and Anti-Communist: How the Pledge of Allegiance Got Religion in Cold War America', *Journal of Church & State*, Spring 2003, Vol. 45 Issue 2, p305
- Mary Ann Tétreault, Robert A. Denemark (eds.) *Gods, guns, and globalization: religious radicalism and international political economy* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.)
- Adrian Hastings *The construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion, and nationalism* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press)

Week 8. National identity, the state and foreign policy

Required reading

- Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, 'Introduction: Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East', *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London, 2002), pp. 1-25
- Aviel Roshwald, 'Ch. 4: Chosenness and mission' *The endurance of nationalism: ancient roots and modern dilemmas* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 167-252 **(This is not included in the course packet but will be posted on Blackboard)**

Questions to consider

- Does nationalism and national identity have an impact on foreign policy?
- Does taking into account national identity help us to understand the behaviour of states?
- In what ways does the link between nationalism and foreign policy help us understand contemporary world conflict?

Further reading

- Callahan, WA (2004). "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism", *Alternatives*, Vol. 29, no. 2, p. 199-218
- Richard Devetak and Jacqui True, 'Diplomatic divergence in the Antipodes: Globalisation, foreign policy and state identity in Australia and New Zealand' *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 2, June, pp. 241–256

- Douglas Woodwell (ed.), *Nationalism in international relations: norms, foreign policy, and enmity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
- Callahan, WA (2005). "Nationalism, Civilization and Transnational Relations: the discourse of Greater China". *The Journal of contemporary China*, 14 (43), p. 269.
- Paul T. McCartney, *Power and progress: American national identity, the War of 1898, and the rise of American imperialism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006)
- Jutta Weldes et al. (eds.), *Cultures of insecurity: states, communities and the production of danger*, (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)
- David Campbell., *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992)
- Wallace, W (1991). "Foreign Policy and National Identity in the United Kingdom". *International affairs*, 67 (1), p. 65.
- Whiting, AS (1995). "Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy after Deng". *The China quarterly*, (142), p. 295.
- Peter J. Katzenstein, *The culture of national security: norms and identity in world politics* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1996)
- Brittingham, MA (2007). "The "Role" of Nationalism in Chinese Foreign Policy: A Reactive Model of Nationalism& Conflict". *Chinese journal of political science*, 12 (2), p. 147.
- Sankaran Krishna, *Postcolonial insecurities: India, Sri Lanka, and the question of nationhood*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999)
- Callahan, WA (2006). "War, Shame, and Time: Pastoral Governance and National Identity in England and America". *International studies quarterly*, 50 (2), p. 395.
- Bruce Caughen (2004) 'Covenant and continuity: ethno-symbolism and the myth of divine election' *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (1-2) , 19–33 *On 'chosenness' in American nationalism*

Week 9. Nationalism, globalisation and cosmopolitanism

Required reading

- Jan Aart Scholte.'Ch. 7: Globalization and identity: from nationalism to hybridization', *Globalization: a critical introduction* (Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 224-255
- Gi-Wook Shin, 'The Paradox of Korean Globalisation', Available at: <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/20125/Shin.pdf> (**This will also be posted on Blackboard**)
- Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2007) 'Nationalism and the Internet', *Nations and Nationalism*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 1–17
- Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" *Boston Review*, Oct.-Nov. 1994, pp. 3-6.

Questions to consider

- Does globalisation pose a challenge to nationalism?
- How have national identities been affected by globalisation?
- What is diaspora nationalism and has it played a role in sustaining conflicts?
- What is cosmopolitanism and is it a superior alternative to nationalism?

Further reading

Globalization:

- Sarah Wayland, "Ethnonationalist networks and transnational opportunities: the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora" *Review of International Studies*, Volume 30, Issue 03, July 2004, pp 405-426

- Yossi Shain and Aharon (2003), 'Barth Diasporas and International Relations Theory', *International Organization* 57, Summer, pp. 449–479
 - Christopher R. Hughes *Chinese nationalism in a global era* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006)
 - Kinnvall, C (2004). "Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security", *Political psychology*, 25 (5), p. 741.
 - Victoria Bernal (2004) 'Eritrea Goes Global: Reflections on Nationalism in a Transnational Era' *Cultural Anthropology* 19 (1), 3–25
 - Gavin O'Toole (2003) 'A New Nationalism for a New Era: The Political Ideology of Mexican Neoliberalism' *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 22 (3), 269–290
 - Kong, L (1999). "Globalisation and Singaporean transmigration: re-imagining and negotiating national identity". *Political geography*, 18 (5), p. 563.
 - Thomas Blom Hansen. *The saffron wave: democracy and Hindu nationalism in modern India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999)
- See ch. 7 on 'Nationalism, democracy and globalisation.'**
- Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Globalization: the key concepts* (Oxford, UK ; New York, NY: Berg, 2007)
 - See the special issue of the journal *Ethnic and racial studies* (vol. 23, no. 3) on Hindu nationalism in the South Asian diaspora
 - Pryke, S (2003). "British Serbs and long distance nationalism". *Ethnic and racial studies*, 26 (1), p. 152.
 - Wise, A (2004). "Nation, Transnation, Diaspora: Locating East Timorese Long-Distance Nationalism". *Sojourn*, 19 (2), p. 151.
 - Kaldor-Robinson, J (2002). "The Virtual and the Imaginary: The Role of Diasporic New Media in the Construction of a National Identity during the Break-up of Yugoslavia". *Oxford development studies*, 30 (2), p. 177.
 - Oivind Fuglerud *Life on the outside: the Tamil diaspora and long distance nationalism* (London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 1999)
 - Ranganathan, M (2002). "Nurturing a Nation on the Net: The Case of Tamil Eelam". *Nationalism & ethnic politics*, 8 (2), p. 51.

Cosmopolitanism:

- Bowden, B (2003). "Nationalism and cosmopolitanism: irreconcilable differences or possible bedfellows?*" *National identities*, 5 (3), pp. 235-249
- Gerard Delanty (1999), 'Self, Other and World: Discourses of Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism', *Cultural Values*, Volume 3, Number 3, pp. 365-75
- Umut Ozkirimli (ed.), *Nationalism and its Futures*. London: Palgrave, 2003.
- Appiah, KA (1997). "Cosmopolitan Patriots". *Critical inquiry*, 23 (3), p. 617-639
- Kok-Chor Tan., *Justice without borders: cosmopolitanism, nationalism, and patriotism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004)
- Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, editors. *Cosmopolitics: thinking and feeling beyond the nation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998)
- Joshua Cohen (ed.), *For Love of Country? Debating the Limits of Patriotism*. Beacon Press, 1996. Second edition, 2002.

A collection of responses to Nussbaum's essay

Week 10. Sport and nationalism

Required reading

- Allison, Lincoln. 'Sport and Nationalism' in Jay Coakley and Eric Dunning, (eds.) *Handbook of Sports Studies*. (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 344–355
- Adrian Smith, 'Black against gold: New Zealand-Australia sporting rivalry in the modern era' in Adrian Smith and Dilwyn Porter (eds.) *Sport and national identity in the post-war world* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 168-193

Questions to consider

- What sorts of relationships between sport and nationalism have arisen at the international and domestic levels?
- Is sport just 'war without shooting'?
- Is sport an example of nationalism or does it give rise to nationalism?
- How did nationalism manifest itself in the 2008 Olympic Games?

Further reading

- Barbara J. Keys, 'Sport, the state, and international politics', *Globalizing sport: national rivalry and international community in the 1930s*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 17-39
- Susan Brownell *Beijing's games: what the Olympics mean to China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008)
- Stephen Wagg, *Cricket and national identity in the postcolonial age: following on* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005)
- Joseph S. Alter, 'Kabaddi, a national sport of India: the internationalism of nationalism and the foreignness of Indianness', in Noel Dyck (ed.), *Games, sports and cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2000)
- John Hargreaves, Manuel Garcia Ferrando (1997) 'Public Opinion, National Integration and National Identity in Spain: The Case of the Barcelona Olympic Games' *Nations and Nationalism* 3 (1), 65–87
- Merkel, Udo, 'The Politics of Physical Culture and German Nationalism' *German Politics & Society*, Summer 2003, Vol. 21, Issue 2, pp. 69-96
- John Bale and Mike Cronin (eds.), *Sport and postcolonialism*, (Oxford: Berg, 2003)
- Grant Jarvie (2003), 'Internationalism and Sport in the Making of Nations', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 10: 537–551
- L. Allison (2002). "Sport, Prestige and International Relations". *Government and opposition*, 37 (1), p. 106.
- JM Bradley (2003). "Images of Scottishness and Otherness in International Football". *Social identities*, 9 (1), p. 7.
- Lechner, FJ (2007). "Imagined communities in the global game: soccer and the development of Dutch national identity". *Global networks*, 7 (2), p. 215
- Morin, KM (2001). "(Troubling) spaces of mountains and men: New Zealand's Mount Cook and Hermitage Lodge". *Social & cultural geography*, 2 (2), p. 117.
- David Hassan, 'A People Apart: Soccer, Identity and Irish Nationalists in Northern Ireland', *Soccer and society*, Volume 3, Number 3, Fall 2002, pp. 65-83 (19)
- Jason Tuck (2003), 'Making Sense of Emerald Commotion: Rugby Union, National Identity and Ireland', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 10: 495–515
- Farred, G (2004). "Fiaca and Veron-ismo: Race and Silence in Argentine Football". *Leisure studies*, 23 (1), p. 47.
- Stephen Wagg (ed.), *Cricket and national identity in the postcolonial age: following on* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005)

Week 11. Case study: the Israeli-Palestinian dispute

Required reading

- H. Baumgarten, (2005). "The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005". *Journal of Palestine studies*, vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 25-48.
- U. Ram, (2007). "Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and the Bifurcation of Israel". *International journal of politics, culture, and society*, vol. 19, no. 1-2, p. 21-33

Questions to consider

- Why has this conflict proven so intractable? Is there an end in sight?
- What sort of conflicting nationalist claims have driven the Israeli-Palestinian dispute?
- What sorts of contestations over national identity and nationalism have occurred within Israeli and Palestinian societies?

Further reading

- O. Yiftachel (2002), 'Territory as the Kernel of the Nation: Space, Time and Nationalism in Israel/Palestine', *Geopolitics*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 215-248
- James L. Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine conflict: one hundred years of war*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c2005)
- Massad, J (1995). "Conceiving the masculine: gender and Palestinian nationalism". *The Middle East journal* (0026-3141), 49 (3), p. 467.
- Fatma Müge Göçek. *Social constructions of nationalism in the Middle East* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002)
- Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian identity: the construction of modern national consciousness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997)
- Litvak, Meir (1998). "The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: The case of Hamas". *Middle Eastern studies*, 34 (1), p. 148.
- Elizabeth Mavroudi (2007) 'Learning to be Palestinian in Athens: constructing national identities in diaspora' *Global Networks* 7 (4), 392-411
- Uri Ram (1999) 'The State of the Nation: Contemporary Challenges to Zionism in Israel', *Constellations* 6 (3) , 325-338
- Tamir Sorek, 'Palestinian Nationalism Has Left The Field: A Shortened History Of Arab Soccer In Israel' *International. Journal of Middle East Studies*. 35 (2003), 417-437.
- Rabinowitz, D (2000). "Postnational Palestine/Israel? Globalization, Diaspora, Transnationalism, and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict". *Critical inquiry* (0093-1896), 26 (4), p. 757.
- Aviel Roshwald, *The endurance of nationalism: ancient roots and modern dilemmas* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, (eds.), *Palestine, Israel, and the politics of popular culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005)
- Anthony D. Smith., 'Ch. 8: Zionism and Diaspora Nationalism', *Myths and memories of the nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Herbert C Kelman (1999) 'The Interdependence of Israeli and Palestinian National Identities: The Role of the Other in Existential Conflicts' *Journal of Social Issues* 55 (3), 581-600
- Deniz Kandiyoti. *Gendering the Middle East: emerging perspectives* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996)
- John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel lobby and U.S. foreign policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007) *A controversial book on the 'long distance' nationalism of the some sections of the Jewish diaspora in the United States*

- Michael Massing, 'The storm over the Israel lobby', *New York Review of Books*, 8 June 2006, vol. 53, no. 10. *An overview of the response to the above book*

Essay Questions

Essay 1

1. Is patriotism distinct from nationalism?
2. Understanding international conflict today requires an analysis of identity and nationalism. Discuss.
3. Is nationalism a modern phenomenon? Did nationalism exist before the modern nation-state?
4. Many contemporary international conflicts today are the result of the resurgence of primordial nationalism. Discuss.
5. Has nationalism been a positive force in modern world history?
6. Are non-Western anti-colonial nationalisms the product of the infiltration of Western ideologies?
7. How are gender and nationalism linked?
8. Civic nationalism is more tolerant than ethnic nationalism. Discuss.
9. Do we live in a world of proliferating ethnic nationalisms? If so, why? If not, why not?

Essay 2

1. Religious nationalism is a growing force in the world and will lead to more conflict in the future. Discuss.
2. Does national identity have an impact on foreign policy?
3. Has globalisation eroded national identities?
4. What has been the impact of new communication technologies on nationalism and national identities?
5. Cosmopolitanism is superior to nationalism. Discuss.
6. Long-distance nationalism is a dangerous but growing phenomenon. Discuss.
7. The only solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a bi-national state. Discuss.
8. Religious nationalism lies at the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Discuss.
9. How are sport, nationalism and international politics linked?