

## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

### Political Science 225b

Seminar: The Nation-State

Philip G. Roeder

Fall Quarter 2007

- I. The Origins and End of the Nation-State
  - A. Origins of the State and Its Possible Demise
  - B. Origins of the Nation and Its Possible Demise
- II. Attributes of the Nation-State
  - A. Sovereignty and Territoriality
  - B. A People
- III. Nations Seeking Sovereign States
  - A. Nationalist Mobilization and Movements
  - B. Wars of National Liberation
  - C. Institutional Alternatives to Independence
- IV. Nations with States

**Instructor:** Philip G. Roeder  
**Office:** Social Sciences Building 382  
**Telephone:** 534-6000 (Office) 534-3548 (Department)  
**Office Hours:** Tuesdays, 10:30-11:30 a.m. and by appointment.

**Participation.** Please come prepared to contribute to each week's discussion. If you periodically find that you can only complete all readings for a week by skimming, then read fewer of the assigned readings that week and set aside some time for reflection on these.

**Writing Assignment.** You should complete a ten-page sketch of an empirical research article. This is the beginning of a thirty-page article that you would write if you had the time to complete the empirical research. You should also prepare a one-page summary of the article and distribute copies to every member of the seminar before finals week. This assignment is described in a separate document. You will present your project to the seminar during a special meeting in finals week. The complete twelve-page sketch is due on the Friday of finals week.

**Readings.** You may want to order copies of the assigned books from one of the commercial internet sources. I will make electronic copies or a master photocopy available for individual chapters and articles.

For background reading you might pick up these two compendia of excerpts from some of the most important, traditional writings from a variety of disciplines:

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Ethnicity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

You should probably also become familiar with the history of at least one successful or unsuccessful nation-state project. There is a bibliography appended to this syllabus.

If you wonder about my own views on some of these topics—not a very profitable use of your time—you may consult the following. I will not assign these (except for a couple of chapters from the first), but inevitably my own views will creep into seminar discussions:

Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds. 2005. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Philip G. Roeder. 2007. *Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Thomas Chapman and Philip G. Roeder. 2007. "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 101 (November).

**Week 2. ORIGINS OF THE STATE AND ITS POSSIBLE DEMISE. (October 9)**

***Read for this meeting:***

Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Spruyt, Hendrik. 2002. "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5, 127-49.

Herz, John. 1957. "The Rise and Demise of the Territorial State." *World Politics* 9 (July), 473-93.

Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Particularly see pp. 116-23.

Drezner, Daniel. 1998. "Globalizers of the World, Unite!" *Washington Quarterly* 21 (Winter), 209-25.

**A. What is a state? Why were there no modern states before the modern era?  
Why did the modern state prevail over alternative forms of political organization?**

Cox, Michael, Tim Dunne, and Ken Booth, ed. 2002. *Empires, Systems, and States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tilly, Charles, ed. 1975. *Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

**B. Which state projects succeeded?**

Alesina, Alberto, and Enrico Spolaore. 2003. *The Size of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**C. What does this predict for the future?**

Ansell, Christopher K., and Giuseppe diPalma. 2004. *Restructuring Territoriality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Crevel, Martin. 1999. *The Rise and Decline of the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deudney, Daniel. 1995. "Nuclear Weapons and the Waning of the Real-State." *Daedalus* 124, 209-31.

Ferguson, Yale H., and Richard W. Mansbach. 2004. *Remapping Global Politics: History's Revenge and Future Shock*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobson, John M. 2000. *The State and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paul, T. V., G. John Ikenberry, and John A. Hall, ed. 2003. *The Nation-State in Question*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rosecrance, Richard N., and Arthur Stein, ed. 2006. *No More States? Globalization, National Self-determination, and Terrorism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield. Particularly Chapters 1 and 16.

Strange, Susan. 1996. *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weiss, Linda. 2003. *States in the Global Economy: Bringing Domestic Institutions Back In*.  
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Week 3. ORIGINS OF THE NATION AND ITS POSSIBLE DEMISE. (October 16)**

***Read for this meeting:***

Renan, Ernest. "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" (Excerpt)

Weber, Max. "The Nation." (Excerpt)

Breuilly, John. 1993. *Nationalism and the State*, 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1, Appendix.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Particularly Chapters 1-5.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. Chapters 1, 3-5.

Greenfeld, Leah. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1.

Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.

**A. What is a nation? What is nationalism?**

Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carr, Edward Hallett. 1945. *Nationalism and After*. New York: Macmillan Company.

Gellner, Ernest. 1997. *Nationalism*. New York: New York University Press.

Grosby, Steven. 2005. *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haas, Ernst B. 1997-2000. *Nationalism, Liberalism, and Progress*. 2 vols. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hall, John A., ed. 1998. *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrence O. Ranger, eds. 1992 [1983]. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Kohn, Hans. 1945. *The Idea of Nationalism*. New York: MacMillan.

Mann, Michael. 1995. "A Political Theory of Nationalism and Its Excesses." In *Notions of Nationalism*, edited by Sukumar Periwal. Budapest: Central European University Press. Pp. 44-64.

Marx, Anthony W. 2005. *Faith in Nation: The Exclusionary Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McNeill, William H. 1986. *Polyethnicity and National Unity in World History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Minogue, Kenneth R. 1967. *Nationalism*. New York: Basic Books.

Smith, Anthony D. 1995. *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Smith, Anthony D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*. London: Routledge.

Smith, Anthony D. 2003. *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**B. Histories of the idea of nationalism and philosophical treatments**

Abizadeh, Arash. 2002. "Does Liberal Democracy Presuppose a Cultural Nation? Four Arguments." *American Political Science Review* 96 (September), 495-509.

Beiner, Ronald. 2003. *Liberalism, Nationalism, Citizenship: Essays on the Problem of Political Community*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Beran, Harry. 1987. *The Consent Theory of Political Obligation*. London: Croom Helm.

Berlin, Isaiah. 1980. "Nationalism: Past Neglect and Present Power." In *Against the Current*, by Isaiah Berlin. New York: Viking Press.

Canovan, Margaret. 1995. *Nationhood and Political Thought*. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar.

Calhoun, Craig. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Calhoun, Craig. 2007. *Nations Matter: Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream*. New York: Routledge.

Guibernau i Berdun, Maria Montserrat. 1996. *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Guibernau i Berdun, Maria Montserrat. 1999. *Nations Without States: Political Communities in a Global Age*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Mack Smith, Denis. 1994. *Mazzini*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

McKim, Robert, and Jeff McMahan. 1997. *The Morality of Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miller, David. 1995. *On Nationality*. New York: Clarendon Press.

Moore, Margaret. 2001. *The Ethics of Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nussbaum, Martha C. 2002. *For Love of Country? Boston*: Beacon Press.

Plamenatz, John. 1976. "Two Types of Nationalism." In *Nationalism: The Nature and Evolution of an Idea*, edited by Eugene Kamenka, 22-36. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Smith, Rogers. 2003. *Stories of Peoplehood: The Politics and Morals of Political Membership*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tamir, Yael. 1993. *Liberal Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**C. Were there nations before the modern era?**

Armstrong, John. 1982. *Nations Before Nationalism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina.

Geary, Patrick J. 2002. *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hastings, Adrian. 1997. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ray, Rajat Kanta. 2002. *The Felt Community: Commonality and Mentality Before the Emergence of Indian Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reynolds, Susan. 1997. *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Particularly Chapter 8.

#### **D. Origins of the first nations and nationalisms**

- Armitage, David. 2007. *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bell, David A. 2001. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism 1680-1800*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Caramani, Daniele. 2004. *The Nationalization of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Colley, Linda. 1992. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Green, Abigail. 2001. *Fatherlands: State-building and Nationhood in Nineteenth Century Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, Rodney Bruce. 1999. *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hayes, Carlton. 1926. *Essays on Nationalism*. New York: Macmillan Co.
- Hayes, Carlton. 1931. *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*. New York: Macmillan.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jusdanis, Gregory. 2001. *The Necessary Nation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mann, Michael. 1990. *The Rise and Decline of the Nation-State*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. 1977. *Nations and States*. London: Methuen.
- Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

#### **E. Does the European notion of nationalism travel well to other parts of the world?**

- Blaut, James M. 1987. *The National Question: Decolonizing the Theory of Nationalism*. London: ZED Books.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: ZED Books.
- Emerson, Rupert. 1960. *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gillis, John R., ed. 1994. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rothschild, Joseph. 1981. *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Said, Edward. 1994 [1978]. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Segal, Daniel A., and R. Handler. 1992. "How European Is Nationalism?" *Social Analysis* 32 (December), 1-15.

#### **F. What does this predict for the future? What are the major alternatives to the nation today?**

- Archibugi, Daniele, David Held, and Martin Köhler, ed. 1998. *Re-Imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Barber, Benjamin R. 1995. *Jihad versus McWorld*. New York: Times Books.
- Blum, Douglas W. 2007. *National Identity and Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1993. *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kaplan, Robert D. 2000. *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dream of the Post-Cold War*. New York: Random House.
- Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Niezen, Ronald. 2003. *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pfaff, William. 1993. *The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Future of Nationalism*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Walzer, Michael. 1992. "The New Tribalism: Notes on a Difficult Problem." *Dissent* 39 (Spring), 164-72.
- Young, Crawford, ed. 1993. *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Zürn, Michael, and Jeffrey T. Checkel. 2005. "Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State." *International Organization* 59 (Fall), 1045-79.

**Week 4. SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIALITY. (October 23)**

***Read for this meeting:***

Jackson, Robert H. 1987. "Quasi-States, Dual Regimes, and Neo-Classical Theory: International Jurisprudence and the Third World." *International Organization* 41, 519-49.

Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Ruggie, John. 1993. "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations." *International Organization* 47, 139-74.

Philpott, Daniel. 2001. "Usurping the Sovereignty of Sovereignty?" [Review Essay]. *World Politics* 53 (April), 297-324.

***Also read this recent research article:***

Senese, Paul D. 2005. "Territory, Contiguity, and International Conflict: Assessing a New Joint Explanation." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (October), 769-79.

**A. *Sovereignty: What is the relationship between territorial sovereignty and popular sovereignty?***

Bartelson, Jens. 1995. *A Genealogy of Sovereignty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biersteker, Thomas J. 1996. *State Sovereignty as a Social Construct*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hinsley, F. H. 1986. *Sovereignty*, 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jackson, Robert H. 1990. *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krasner, Stephen D., ed. 2001. *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rules and Political Possibilities*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rabkin, Jeremy A. 2005. *Law Without Nations? Why Constitutional Government Requires Sovereign States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**B. *Recent research articles on sovereignty***

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2004. "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States." *International Security* 28 (Spring), 5-43.

Krasner, Stephen D. 2004. "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States." *International Security* 29 (Fall), 85-120.

Osiander, Andreas. 2001. "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth." *International Organization* 55 (Spring), 251-87.

**C. *Territoriality: Is a homeland just territory?***

Buchanan, Allen, and Margaret Moore, ed. 2003. *States, Nations, and Borders: The Ethics of Making Boundaries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kahler, Miles, and Barbara F. Walter, ed. 2006. *Territoriality and Conflict in an Era of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toft, Monica Duffy. 2003. *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**D. Boundaries and identities: Do states create nations?**

- Anderson, Malcolm. 1996. *Frontiers: Territory and State Formation in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Donnan, Hastings, and Thomas M. Wilson. 1999. *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation, and State*. New York: Berg.
- Migdal, Joel S. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miles, William F. S. and David A. Rochefort. 1991. "Nationalism versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa," *American Political Science Review* 85 (June), 393-403.
- Rae, Heather. 2002. *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sahlins, Peter. 1989. *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wilson, Thomas M., and Hastings Donnan, eds. 1998. *Border Identities: Nation and State at International Frontiers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**E. Recent research articles on territoriality**

- Atzili, Boaz. 2006/7. "When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors: Fixed Borders, State Weakness, and International Conflict." *International Security* 31 (Winter), 139-73.
- Goddard, Stacie E. 2006. "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60 (Winter), 35-68.
- Hassner, Ron E. 2006/7. "The Path to Intractability: Time and Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes." *International Security* 31 (Winter), 107-38.
- Kornprobst, Markus. 2007. "Argumentation and Compromise: Ireland's Selection of the Territorial Status Quo Norm." *International Organization* 61 (Winter), 69-98.
- Zacher, Mark W. 2001. "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 55 (Spring), 215-50.

**Week 5. A PEOPLE. (October 30)**

***Read for this meeting:***

Geertz, Clifford. 1963. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States." In *Old Societies and New States*, edited by Clifford Geertz. New York: Free Press. Chapter 10.

Connor, Walker. 1993. "Man Is a National Animal." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (July). Reprinted in Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Chapter 8.

Abdelal, Rawi et al. 2006. "Identity as a Variable." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (December), 695-711.

Eller, Jack David and Reed M. Coughlan. 1993. "The Poverty of Primordialism: The Demystification of Ethnic Attachments." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (April), 183-201.

Nagel, Joane. 1994. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture." *Social Problems* 41 (February), 152-176.

Laitin, David. 1996. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1.

***Also read these recent research articles:***

Barrington, Lowell W., Erik S. Herron, and Brian D. Silver. 2003. "The Motherland Is Calling: Views of Homeland Among Russians in the Near Abroad." *World Politics* 55 (January), 290-313.

Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56 (April), 327-62.

Posner, Daniel N. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98 (November), 529-45.

**A. National identity**

Breton, Albert et. al, ed. 1995. *Nationalism and Rationality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1996. *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers et al. 2006. *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Charney, Evan. 2003. "Identity and Liberal Nationalism." *American Political Science Review* 97 (May), 295-310.

Migdal, Joel S. 2004. *Boundaries and Belonging*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**B. How does national identity differ from other forms of identity?**

Barth, Frederick, ed. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Boston: Little Brown, and Company.

Bonacich, Edna, and John Modell. 1980. *The Economic Basis for Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese-American Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Collins, Kathleen. 2006. *Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Connor, Walker. 1994. *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2002. *Ethnicity and Nationalism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds. 1975. *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hardin, Russell. 1995. *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Khoury, Philip, and Joseph Kostiner, eds. 1990. *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Krebs, Ronald R. 2004. "A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might." *International Security* 28 (Spring), 85-124.
- Mann, Michael. 2004. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marx, Anthony W. 1998. *Making Race and Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mayall, James. 1990. *Nationalism and International Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nash, Manning. 1989. *The Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Olzak, Susan. 1992. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Van den Berghe, Pierre. 1979. *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. New York: Elsevier.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1991. "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity." In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, edited by Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallertsein, 71-85. New York: Verso.
- Waters, Mary C. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

### **C. Recent research articles**

- Abizadeh, Arash. 2005. "Does Collective Identity Presuppose an 'Other'? On the Alleged Incoherence of Global Solidarity." *American Political Science Review* 99 (February), 45-60.
- Cornell, Svante E. 2002. "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective." *World Politics* 54 (January), 245-76.

**Week 6. NATIONALIST MOBILIZATION AND MOVEMENTS. (November 6)**

***Read for this meeting:***

- Deutsch, Karl W. 1953 [1966]. *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationalism*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. Chapter 4.
- Connor, Walker. 1972. "Nation-building or Nation-destroying?" *World Politics* 24 (April), 319-355. Reprinted in Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Chapter 2.
- Brass, Paul R. 1991. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage Publications. Chapters 1-2. Skim Chapter 3.
- Hechter, Michael. 1975. *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 2, 10.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1985. "Causes and Varieties of Nationalism—A Rationalist Account." In *New Nationalisms of the Developed West: Toward Explanation*, edited by Edward A. Tiryakian and Ronald Rogowski. Boston: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 87-108.
- Gourevitch, Peter. 1979. "The Re-emergence of 'Peripheral Nationalism': Some Comparative Speculations on the Spatial Distribution of Political Leadership and Economic Growth." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21, 303-322.

***Also read this recent research article:***

- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53 (April), 362-98.

**A. Mobilization**

- Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hroch, Miroslav. 2000. *The Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Keating, Michael, and John McGarry. 2001. *Minority Nationalism and the Changing International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Melson, Robert, and Howard Wolpe. 1971. *Nigeria: Modernization and the Politics of Communalism*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Smith, Anthony D. 1981. *The Ethnic Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**B. Recent research articles**

- Bahry, Donna. 2005. "Ethnicity and Trust: Evidence from Russia." *American Political Science Review* 99 (November), 521-532.
- Kasara, Kimuli. 2007. "Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 101 (February), 159-72.

**Week 7. WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION. (November 13)**

***Read for this meeting:***

Laitin, David D. 2007. *Nations, States, and Violence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

***Also read these recent research articles:***

Cederman, Larks-Erik, and Luc Girardin. 2007. "Beyond Fractionalization: Mapping Ethnicity onto Nationalist Insurgencies." *American Political Science Review* 101 (February), 173-85.

Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97 (August), 343-61.

Walter, Barbara F. 2006. "Information, Uncertainty, and the Decision to Secede." *International Organization* 60 (Winter), 105-35.

**A. State failure**

Fazal, Tanisha. 2007. *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation and Annexation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rotberg, Robert I., ed. 2004. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Spruyt, Hendrik. 2005. *Ending Empire: Contested Sovereignty and Territorial Partition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

**B. Secession and national self-determination**

Bartkus, Viva Ona. 1999. *The Dynamic of Secession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buchheit, Lee C. 1978. *Secession: The Legitimacy of Self-Determination*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Cassese, Antonio. 1999. *Self-Determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cobban, Alfred. 1951. *National Self-Determination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Coppieters, Bruno, and Richard Sakwa, ed. 2003. *Contextualizing Secession: Normative Studies in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kellas, John. 1998. *The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, rev. ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Kohen, Marcelo G., ed. 2006. *Secession: International Law Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ronen, Dov. 1979. *The Quest for Self-Determination*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

**C. Are wars of national liberation different from civil wars and ethnic wars?**

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90 (December), 715-735.

Gurr, Ted Robert. 2000. *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Laitin, David D. 1994. "The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana." *American Political Science Review* 88 (September), 622-634.

Lake, David A. and Donald Rothchild. 1996. "Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict." *International Security* 21 (Fall), 41-75.

- Lustick, Ian S. 1993. *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West-Bank-Gaza*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Peterson, Roger D. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, Marc Howard. 2007. *Cultural Contestation in Ethnic Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Saideman, Stephen M. 2001. *The Ties That Divide: Ethnic Politics, Foreign Policy, and International Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.

***D. Recent research articles***

- Fearon, James D., Kimuli Kasara, and David D. Laitin. 2007. "Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset." *American Political Science Review* 101 (February), 187-93.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (February), 75-90.
- King, Charles. 2001. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States." *World Politics* 53 (July), 534-52.
- Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56 (Spring), 263-96.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization* 58 (Winter), 35-67.
- Walter, Barbara F. 2006. "Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists But Not Others." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (April), 313-30.

***Note: No meeting during the week of Thanksgiving. We will make up this meeting during finals week.***

**Week 9. INSTITUTIONAL ALTERNATIVES TO INDEPENDENCE. (November 27)**

***Read for this meeting:***

- Rabushka, Alvin and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1972. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company. Chapter 3.
- Arend Lijphart, 1995. "Multiethnic Democracy." In *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*, volume 3, edited by Seymour Martin Lipset. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. Pp. 853-865.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2002. "The Wave of Power-Sharing Democracy." In *The Architecture of Democracy: Institutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 15
- Lake, David, and Donald Rothchild. 2005. "Political Decentralization and Civil War Settlements." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, edited by Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 5
- Roeder, Philip G.. 2005. "Power-Sharing versus Power-Dividing: Institutional Constraints on the Escalation of Ethnonational Conflicts." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, edited by Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 3.

***Also read these recent research articles:***

- Brancati, Dawn. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60 (Summer), 651-85.
- Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal Survival and Collapse." *World Politics* 56 (January), 165-93.
- Lustick, Ian S., Dan Miodownik, and Roy J. Eidelson. 2004. "Secessionism in Multicultural States: Does Sharing Power Prevent or Encourage It?" *American Political Science Review* 98 (May), 209-29.

***A. Is it impossible to accommodate national diversity in a single state?***

- Mill, John Stuart. 1861. *Considerations on Representative Government*. Chapter 16.
- Furnivall, J. S. 1944. *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy*. New York: The Macmillan Company. Chapter 13.
- Smith, M. G. 1965. *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 4.
- Bunce, Valerie. 1999. *Subversive Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coombs, Herbert Cole. 1995. *Aboriginal Autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gagnon, Alain, and James Tully. 2001. *Multinational Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gerrits, Andre W. M., and Dirk Jan Wolfram. 2005. *Political Democracy and Ethnic Diversity in Modern European History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ghai, Yash. 2000. *Autonomy and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gottlieb, Gidon. 1993. *Nation against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflict and the Decline of Sovereignty*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.

- Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keating, Michael. 2002. *Plurinational Democracy: Stateless Nations in a Post-Sovereignty Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, Will, and Alan Patten. 2003. *Language Rights and Political Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- LaPonce, J. A. 1987. *Languages and Their Territories*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- O'Leary, Brendan. 2001. "The Elements of Right-Sizing and Right-Peopling the State." In *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*, edited by Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2.
- Tierney, Stephen. 2006. *Constitutional Law and National Pluralism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**B. Can consociationalism accommodate national diversity?**

- Barry, Brian. 1975. "The Consociational Model and Its Dangers." *European Journal of Political Research* 3 (December), 393-415.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 1998. "The Favourable Factors for Consociational Democracy: A Review," *European Journal of Political Research* 33, 475-496.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lustick, Ian. 1979. "Stability in Deeply Divided Societies: Consociationalism versus Control." *World Politics* 31 (April), 325-344.
- Lustick, Ian S. 1997. "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism." *World Politics* 50 (October), 88-117.
- Norman, Wayne. 2006. *Negotiating Nationalism: Nation-Building, Federalism, and Secession in the Multinational State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sisk, Timothy D. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

**C. Are there better alternatives than consociationalism?**

- Rothchild, Donald. 1986. "Hegemonial Exchange: An Alternative Model for Managing Conflict in Middle Africa." In *Ethnicity, Politics, and Development*, edited by Dennis L. Thompson and Dov Ronen. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. Chapter 4.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52 (July), 437-483.
- Tully, James. 2001. "Introduction." In *Multinational Democracies*, edited by Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**D. Electoral systems and elections: Are electoral systems powerful enough to make a difference?**

- Amorim Neto, Octavio, and Gary W. Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (January), 149-174.
- Birbir, Johannina Kristin. 2006. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2002. "Ballots Not Bullets: Testing Consociational Theories of Ethnic Conflict, Electoral Systems, and Democratization." In *The Architecture of Democracy: Institutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 8.
- Ordeshook, Peter C., and Olga V. Shvetsova. 1994. "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (February), 100-123.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2001. *Democracy in Divided Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reilly, Ben, and Andrew Reynolds. 1999. *Electoral Systems and Conflict in Divided Societies*. Washington, DC: National Research Council.
- Saideman, Stephen M. et al. 2002. "Democratization, Political Institutions, and Ethnic Conflict: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1985-1998." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (February), 103-129.
- Sisk, Timothy D., and Andrew Reynolds, eds. 1998. *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

#### **E. Recent research articles**

- Bakke, Kristin, and Erik Wibbels. 2006. "Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States." *World Politics* 59 (October), 1-50.
- Giuliano, Elise. 2006. "Secessionism From the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Accountability in the Russian Transition." *World Politics* 58 (January), 276-310.
- Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Powersharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (April), 318-32.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2003. "Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance." *American Political Science Review* 97 (May), 233-43.
- Levy, Jacob T. 2007. "Federalism, Liberalism, and the Separation of Loyalties." *American Political Science Review* 101 (August), 459-77.
- Mozaffar, Shaheen, James R. Scarritt, and Glen Galaich. 2003. "Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 97 (August), 379-90.
- Weldon, Steven A. 2006. "The Institutional Context for Tolerance for Ethnic Minorities: A Comparative Multi-level Analysis of Western Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (April). 331-49.

**Week 10. NATIONS WITH STATES. (December 4)**

***Read for this meeting:***

Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. *Who Are We? The Challenges to American National Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Howard, Marc Morje. 2006. "Comparative Citizenship: An Agenda for Cross-National Research." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (September), 443-55.

***Also read these recent research articles:***

de Figueiredo, Rui J. P., and Zachary Elkins. 2003. "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry into the Vices of In-group Pride." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (January), 171-88.

Huddy, Leonie, and Nadia Khatib. 2007. "American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (January), 63-77.

Transue, John E. 2007. "Identity Salience, Identity Acceptance, and Racial Policy Preferences: American National Identity as a Uniting Force." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (January), 78-91.

**A. Citizens, patriots, and others**

Bodnar, John, ed. 1996. *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bodnar, John. 2001. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Heater, Derek. 2004. *A Brief History of Citizenship*. New York: NYU Press.

Kateb, George. 2006. *Patriotism and Other Mistakes*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Porter, Brian. 2001. *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Viroli, Maurizio. 1995. *For Love of Country*. New York: Clarendon Press.

**B. Are Americans a nation? What does it mean to be an American?**

Earle, Robert L., and John D. Worth, ed. 1995. *Identities in North America: The Search for Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

McKenna, George. 2007. *The Puritan Origins of American Patriotism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pickus, Noah. 2005. *True Faith and Allegiance: Immigration and American Civic Nationalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rieder, Jonathan, ed. 2003. *The Fractious Nation? Unity and Division in Contemporary American Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schildkraut, Deborah J. 2005. *Press One for English: Language Policy, Public Opinion, and American Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Shklar, Judith. 1998. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

King, Desmond. 2005. *The Liberty of Strangers: Making the American Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lieven, Anatol. 2005. *America Right or Wrong: An Anatomy of American Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

***C. Nationalism and foreign policy: hypernationalism, irredentism, and diasporas***

Prizel, Ilya. 1998. *National Identity and Foreign Policy: Nationalism and Leadership in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shain, Yossi, and Aharon Barth. 2003. "Diasporas and International Relations Theory." *International Organization* 57 (Summer), 449-79.

## Noteworthy Monographs on Nationalism in Specific Regions or Countries

### **Europe—General or comparative**

- Barbour, Stephen, and Cathie Carmichael, ed. 2001. *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Caplan, Richard, and John Feffer. 1996. *Europe's New Nationalism: States and Minorities in Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cesarani, David, and Mary Fulbrook. 1996. *Citizenship, Nationality, and Migration in Europe*. New York: Routledge.
- Coakley, John, ed. 1991. *The Social Origins of Nationalist Movements: The Contemporary Western European Experience*. London: Sage Publications.
- Kupchan, Charles. ed. 1995. *Nationalism and Nationalities in the New Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mommsen, Wolfgang J. 1990. "The Varieties of the Nation-State in Modern History: Liberal, Imperialist, Fascist, and Contemporary Notions of Nation and Nationality." In *The Rise and Decline of the Nation-State*, ed. by Michael Mann, 210-26. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Pagden, Anthony. 1995. "The Effacement of Difference: Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism in Diderot and Herder." In *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, edited by G. Prakash, 129-52. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

### **Great Britain**

- Birch, Anthony. 1989. *Nationalism and National Integration*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Brand, Jack. 1978. *The National Movement in Scotland*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harvie, Christopher. 2004. *Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707 to the Present*. New York: Routledge.
- Heater, Derek. 2006. *Citizenship in Britain: A History*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Morgan, Kenneth O. 1981. *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales, 1880-1980*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nairn, Tom. 2003. *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-nationalism*, 3rd ed. Altona: Common Ground Publishers.
- Newman, Gerald. 1997. *The Rise of English Nationalism*, rev. ed. New York: St. Martin's Press.

### **Ireland**

- Bew, Paul. 1998. *Ideology and the Irish Question: Ulster Unionism and Irish Nationalism, 1912-1918*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boyce, David George. 1995. *Nationalism in Ireland*, 3d ed. New York: Routledge.
- Cronin, Sean. 1980. *Irish Nationalism: A History of Its Roots and Ideology*. Dublin: Academy Press.
- Garvin, Tom. 1986. "The Anatomy of a Nationalist Revolution: Ireland, 1858-1928." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28 (July), 468-501.
- Garvin, Tom. 1987. *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hutchinson, John. 1987. *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation-State*. Winchester, MA: Allen and Unwin.
- Kiberd, Declan. 1995. *Inventing Ireland*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Philpin, C. H. E., ed. 2002. *Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **Western Europe**

- Clough, Shepard B. 1930. *A History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium: A Study in Nationalism*. New York: Octagon Books.
- Hoffman, Stanley. 1994. "The Nation, Nationalism, and After: The Case of France." In *Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, edited by Grethe B. Peterson, 15, 215-82. Salt Lake City: University of Utah. [Available on-line]
- Jenkins, Brian, ed. 1996. *Nation and Identity in Contemporary France*. New York: Routledge.

- Kristeva, Julia. 1993. *Nations without Nationalism* [France]. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mitchison, Rosalind, ed. 1980. *The Roots of Nationalism: Studies in Northern Europe* [Scandinavia]. Edinburgh: Donald.

### **Germany**

- Breuilly, John. 1996. *The Formation of the First German Nation-State 1800-1871*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Forsythe, Diana. 1989. "German Identity and the Problems of History." In *History and Ethnicity*, edited by Elizabeth Tonkin, Malcolm Chapman, and Maryon McDonald, 137-56. New York: Routledge.
- Hughes, Michael. 1988. *Nationalism and Society: Germany 1800-1945*. London: E. Arnold.
- Sheehan, James J. 1981. "What is German History? Reflections on the Role of the Nation in German History and Historiography." *Journal of Modern History* 53 (March), 1-23.
- Smith, Helmut Walser. 1995. *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, and Politics 1870-1914*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

### **Iberia**

- Boyd, Carolyn P. 1997. *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain 1875-1975*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Diez Medrano, Juan. 1995. *Divided Nations: Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Heiberg, Marianne. 1989. *The Making of the Basque Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Llobera, Josep. 1989. "Catalan National Identity: The Dialectics of Past and Present." In *History and Ethnicity*, edited by Elizabeth Tonkin, Malcolm Chapman, and Maryon McDonald, 247-61. New York: Routledge.

### **Eastern Europe**

- Skendi, Stavro. 1967. *The Albanian National Awakening, 1878-1912*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Danforth, Loring M. 1995. *The Macedonian Conflict: Ethnic Nationalism in a Transnational World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Djilas, Aleksa. 1996. *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919-1953*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Greenberg, Robert D. 2007. *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jelavich, Charles. 1990. *South Slav Nationalisms: Textbooks and the Yugoslav Union Before 1914*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Wachtel, Andrew. 1998. *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation* [Yugoslavia]. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Verdery, Katherine. 1991. *National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pynsent, Robert. 1994. *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Slezkine, Yuri. 1994. "The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism." *Slavic Review* 53 (Summer), 414-52.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor, and Michael D. Kennedy, eds. 1999. *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
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- Breer, T. H. 1997. "Ideology and Nationalism on the Eve of the American Revolution: Revisions Once More in Need of Revising." *Journal of American History* 84 (June), 13-39.
- Gerstle, Gary. 1997. "Liberty, Coercion, and the Making of Americans." *Journal of American History* 84 (September), 524-58.
- Hollinger, David A. 1995. *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kohn, Hans. 1957. *American Nationalism: An Interpretive Essay*. New York: Macmillan.
- Lerner, Max. 1964 [1957]. *America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States Today*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- McClymer, John F. 1982. "The Americanization Movement and the Education of Foreign-Born Adults, 1914-25." In *American Education and the European Immigrant 1849-1940*, edited by Bernard J. Weiss, 96-116. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
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- O'Leary, Cecilia Elizabeth. 1999. *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Shumway, David R. 1994. *Creating American Civilization: A Genealogy of American Literature as an Academic Discipline*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Travers, Len. 1997. *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Waldstreicher, David. 1997. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism 1776-1820*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Waltzer, Michael. 1992. *What It Means to be an American*. New York: Marsilio.
- Craven, Avery O. 1953. *Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. 1988. *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University.
- Genovese, Eugene. 1965. *The World the Slaveholders Made*. New York: Pantheon Press.
- McCardell, John. 1979. *The Idea of a Southern Nation: Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism 1830-1860*. New York: Norton.
- Link, Arthur S. 1957. *Wilson the Diplomatist: A Look at His Major Foreign Policies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Levin, N. Gordon. 1968. *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics: America's Response to War and Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.

### ***Latin America***

- Anna, Timothy E. 1998. *Forging Mexico 1821-35*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Brading, D. A. 1985 [1973]. *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, Center for Latin American Studies.
- Heath, Shirley Brice. 1972. *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico, Colony to Nation*. New York: Teachers' College Press.
- Mallon, Florencia E. 1995. *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

### ***East Asia***

- Dittmer, Lowell, and Samuel S. Kim, eds. 1993. *China's Quest for National Identity*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Duara, Prasenjit. 1995. *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gries, Peter Hays. 2004. *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Hoston, Germaine A. 1994. *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Johnson, Chalmers A. 1967 [1962]. *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bulag, Uradyn E. 1998. *Nationalism and Hybridity in Mongolia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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- Yoshino, Kosaku. 1992. *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry*. New York: Routledge.

### **South Asia**

- Bayly, C. A. 1998. *Origins of Nationality in South Asia: Patriotism and Ethical Government in the Making of Modern India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Chadda, Maya. 1997. *Ethnicity, Security, and Separatism in India*. New York: Columbia University Press.
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- Rotberg, Robert I., ed. 1999. *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka: Civil War and Reconciliation*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. Particularly 1-56.

### **Southwest Asia**

- Farah, Tawfic E., ed. 1987. *Pan-Arabism and Arab Nationalism: The Contemporary Debate*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Kedourie, Sylvia G., ed. 1974 [1962]. *Arab Nationalism, An Anthology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
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- Tibi, Bassam. 1997. *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Khalidi, Rashid. 1997. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Smith, Charles D. 2004. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, 5th ed. Boston: St. Martin's.
- Gelvin, James L. 1999. *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Media in Syria at the Close of Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Davis, Eric. 2005. *Memories of State: Politics, History, and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
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### ***Africa***

- Coleman, James S. 1994. *Nationalism and Development in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Davidson, Basil. 1992. *The Blackman's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. New York: Times Books.
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- Young, Crawford. 1976. *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.