TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

VICTORIA
UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

School of History, Philosophy, Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Programme
Trimester 2, 2008

INTP213: SPECIAL TOPIC:
NATIONALISM IN WORLD POLITICS

Course Aims
In International Relations, nationalism was once seen as an irrational but necessary feature of a past era of great power politics and anti-colonialism. In an age of closer economic and political integration, it was expected that the role of nationalism in world politics would become much less prominent. Contrary to these assumptions, however, nationalism remains one of the most potent forces in the modern world. This course will examine both the theory and practice of nationalism. It aims to introduce students to the debates and contested theoretical approaches to the study of nations and nationalism and, through a consideration of topics such as nationalism and foreign policy, religious nationalism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, to foster an appreciation of the importance of the study of nationalism in the discipline of International Relations.

Course 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

Course Organisation

Lecturer:	Dr Priya Chacko
Room:	MY538
Phone:	463 5912
Email:	priya.chacko@vuw.ac.nz
Lecture Times:	Monday 2-3pm
	Friday 2-3pm
Venue:	Kirk 201
Office Hours:	will be announced at the first lecture and posted on my office door and Blackboard. You are also welcome to telephone or email me.

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

Assessment

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**.
One of the challenges in this course is learning to formulate your own essay question. This will allow you to develop specialised knowledge on issues of your interest. You should, however, okay the question with the lecturer. For the first essay your question can come from any topic in the weeks before the essay is due. The second essay can be on any topic covered in the course.
To do well in these pieces of assessment you should read widely and beyond the required readings.

The first essay is due by 15th August
The second essay is due by 3rd October

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 several short questions, all of which carry equal marks. **The exam will be held during the exam period, 17th October to 9th November. 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.

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.

Academic integrity and plagiarism

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

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

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

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

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct and may be penalized severely. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

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

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:
http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx

GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES

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

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

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

- Student and Staff Conduct

- Academic Grievances

- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments

- Student Support

Essential Texts

All the required readings have been placed in a course notes pack, *INTP213 Course book 2008*, 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

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK 1	Introduction: Nationalism and International Relations
WEEK 2	Theories of nationalism: Primordialism and Modernism
WEEK 3	Theories of nationalism: Ethnosymbolism
WEEK 4	Nationalism in modern world history
WEEK 5	Sex, gender, sexuality and nationalism
WEEK 6	Good nationalism, bad nationalism
WEEK 7	Religious nationalism
WEEK 8	National identity, the state and foreign policy
WEEK 9	Sport and nationalism
WEEK 10	Globalisation, cosmopolitanism and nationalism
WEEK 11	Case study: the Israeli-Palestinian dispute
WEEK 12	Course overview

TUTORIAL PROGRAM AND READING LIST

Week 1 [7 – 11 July]:   No tutorial

Week 2 [14 – 18 July]: Introduction: nationalism and International Relations

Questions to consider
• What is a nation? What is nationalism?
• Do you have a national identity? Is it an important part of your identity?
• Why was nationalism seen as irrelevant to the study of International Relations until recently?
• Did the end of the Cold War result in a resurgence of nationalism? Are we living in a world of proliferating nationalisms and nationalist conflicts?

Required Reading
• Jan Jindy Pettman (2001), 'Nationalism and After', *Review of International Studies*, vol.24, no.5, pp. 149-164
• 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

Further Reading
• 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 3 [21 – 25 July]: Theories of nationalism: Primordialism and Modernism

Questions to consider
• Are nations ancient or modern? Does it matter?
• What does a primordialist approach to the study of nationalism entail? What the variations within the primordialist approach?

• What does a modernist approach to the study of nationalism entail? Who are the key authors and what are their arguments?
• How has primordialism been critiqued from a modernist perspective?

<u>Required reading</u>
• Umut Ozkirimli, 'Ch. 3: Primordialism', *Theories of Nationalism: A critical introduction*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 64-84
• Paul Lawrence, *Nationalism: history and theory* (Harlow, England ; New York: Pearson Education, 2005), pp. 159-180
• Ernest Gellner, 'Ch. 15: Do nations have navals?', *Nationalism*, (London: Phoenix, 1998), pp. 90-101.

<u>Further reading</u>

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
• J. Eller and R. Coughlan,, (1993). The poverty of primordialism: The demystification of ethnic attachments". *Ethnic and racial studies*, 16 (2), p. 183.
• Octovianus 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:
• Umut Ozkirimli, 'Ch. 4: Modernism', *Theories of Nationalism: A critical introduction*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 85-166.
• 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)

Week 4 [28 July – 1 August]: Theories of nationalism: Ethnosymbolism

<u>Questions to consider</u>
• How does the ethno-symbolist approach differ from modernism and primordialism?
• How has modernist, and primordialist approaches been critiqued from an ethnosymbolist perspective?
• How has ethnosymbolism been critiqued?

<u>Required reading</u>
• 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
• Umut Özkirimli (2003), 'The nation as an artichoke? A critique of ethnosymbolist interpretations of nationalism*ˈ Nations and Nationalism,* vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 339–355

<u>Further reading</u>
• 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-symobolists.
• 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 5 [4 – 8 August]: Nationalism in modern world history

<u>Questions to consider</u>
• 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?

<u>Required reading</u>
• Benedict Anderson, 'Ch.4: Creole Nationalism', *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism,* (London; New York: Verso, 2006), pp. 47-65
• 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

<u>Further reading</u>
• Charles Tilly (1994), "States and Nationalism in Europe 1492-1992", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 131-146

• 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 6 [11 – 15 August]: Gender, sex, sexuality and nationalism

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?

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

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, Monday 18 August to Friday 30 August

Week 7 [1 – 5 September]: Good nationalism, Bad nationalism

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?

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

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 8 [8 – 12 September]: Religious nationalism

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?

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

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 T*he construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion, and nationalism* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press)

Week 9 [15 – 19 September]: National identity, the state and foreign policy

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?

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 – copies will be handed out by the lecturer)**

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 Cauthen (2004) 'Covenant and continuity: ethno-symbolism and the myth of divine election' *Nations and Nationalism* 10 (1-2) , 19–33 **On 'choseness' in American nationalism**

Week 10 [22 – 26 September]: Sport and nationalism

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 has nationalism manifested itself in the 2008 Olympic Games?

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

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
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•Grant Jarvie (2003), 'Internationalism and Sport in the Making of Nations', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 10: 537–551
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• 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 [29 September – 3 October]: Nationalism, globalisation and cosmopolitanism

Questions to consider
• Does globalisation pose a challenge to nationalism?
• What is diaspora nationalism and has it played a role in sustaining conflicts?
• What is cosmopolitanism and is it a superior alternative to nationalism?

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
• 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.

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.
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• Kaldor-Robinson, J (2002). "The Virtual and the Imaginary: The Role of Diasphoric 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 12 [6 – 10 October]: Case study: the Israeli-Palestinian dispute

Questions to consider
• 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?

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

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*