

POSC 247: Comparative Nationalism

Carleton College, Winter 2022



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Winter Term Office Hours:

• **Mondays**, 10am-2pm (*drop-in*)¹

• **Tuesdays**, 3-4:30pm (*drop-in*)²

• **Wednesdays**, 6:30-8pm (*by appointment, can be scheduled via course Moodle*)³

“A nation that does not honor its past has no future.” -- Johann Wolfgang von Goethe

“Nationalism is an infantile thing. It is the measles of mankind.” – Albert Einstein

Course Description

Nationalism is an ideology that political actors frequently harness to support a wide variety of policies, ranging from intensive economic development to genocide. In fact, nationalism is arguably one of the most powerful forces shaping modern political life. But what is nationalism? Where does it come from? What gives it such emotional and political power? Are there “good” forms of nationalism and “bad” forms of nationalism? In our contemporary political context, nationalism seems deeply connected to anti-democratic projects that support xenophobic, exclusionary, and belligerent politics; but does nationalism have the potential to be “recovered” and turned to more liberal, democratic, inclusive, and tolerant ends? Is it, as Albert Einstein once proclaimed, merely “an infantile disease” that humanity will eventually outgrow, or is it a political force that is with us for the long haul?

This course investigates these questions in a comparative perspective, drawing on both theoretical literatures on the sources and types of nationalism as well as case studies dealing with nationalism’s different manifestations and political uses.

Course Materials

Hooray, there are no books required for you to purchase!

All materials (articles, videos, etc.) are available on Moodle or via Gould Library’s e-books (e-books are linked through the syllabus). You may wish to order hard copies of some of these seminal books (in particular, Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*) via a retailer of your choice; I recommend Content Bookstore in Northfield and abe.com to source used copies from an international network of independent bookstores.

¹ in person (Willis 404), Zoom by request.

² in person, (Weitz Commons), Zoom by request.

³ by Zoom only.

Course Work

Your grade in this course will be based on five elements, which will be weighted as follows:

Participation	15%
Take-home midterm	20%
Case studies	25%
Virtual exhibit	15%
Final paper	25%

Participation (15%)

The participation grade is based on two components: (1) your **active contribution** to our shared learning as a class, and (2) your **good citizenship** in the classroom. Active contribution requires you to engage thoughtfully with the material, to attend respectfully to the ideas offered up by your peers, and to find ways to add to the substance of our conversations together – for example, by asking and answering questions, by providing examples and counter-examples, by building on ideas or offering a contrary point of view. You will have the chance to experiment with discussions online, in small groups, and in the class as a whole. Good citizenship involves the role you play in establishing an open environment where we can learn together, trying out ideas without fear and pushing ourselves intellectually in a spirit of generosity. Please be prompt, be respectful, pay attention, be kind, and just overall, be a good egg.

Take-home midterm (20%)

You will have a take-home midterm, handed out at the end of Week 5, and due at the end of Week 6. The take-home will consist of several prompts, from which you will choose two, and write a response no longer than eight total pages (double-spaced). The midterm will not require any outside research and should instead draw substantially from class readings, discussions, and lectures.

Case studies (25%)

Because the literature on nationalism can get a little theoretical — and because we have limited time in the term to delve into a wide variety of cases—this assignment gives you a chance to relate the concepts and ideas from our readings and lectures to a case that is particularly meaningful or interesting to you. You will focus on case study of your choosing for the entire term and conduct periodic, guided investigations of the case based on a series of prompts that will be posted on Moodle each week (starting in the second week). You will write a total of five entries/responses (each approximately 750- 1,000 words not including citations). Each entry will be worth 5% of your grade. Responses are due one week after the prompts are posted.

Virtual exhibit (15%)

Because nationalism is such a multi-faceted phenomenon, it is hard to explore all of the ways in which it manifests during the term. To supplement our investigations, we will put together an online class exhibit on nationalism where each of you will be responsible for curating one virtual room, organized around a particular theme, such as “nationalism and food,” “nationalism and art,” “nationalism in music,” and so forth. Each virtual room will be anchored with an introductory essay that you will write that provides some overall context for your piece of the exhibition, and then contain virtual objects (such as photos, paintings, music, poetry, video – this is where you can use your imagination!) that you select and for which you write exhibition notes. Your piece of the exhibition will be assessed for the quality of the information and the research you do on your topic/theme as well as the cohesiveness of the exhibition objects and how they help illustrate or provide context for your topic. The class exhibition will be hosted on a WordPress site and will be publicly viewable. You may choose to work in pairs or trios for this assignment if you so choose; small groups must collaborate on the same topic/theme and develop a more extensive exhibit involving a longer framing essay and more curated objects.

Final Paper (25%)

The final paper for this class will EITHER on a topic of your own choosing (which **must** involve outside research) OR as a take-home final similar to the midterm in structure (which **must** draw substantially on readings from the entire term). For those proposing a topic of their own: you will submit a brief (ungraded) paper proposal at the beginning of Week 7 so I can give you some feedback and advice on your intended topic. For those opting for the take-home final, you will receive your final prompts on the last day of class. All papers must be 12-15 pages (double-spaced, not including the bibliography) and are due on Moodle by 6pm on the final day of the exam period (March 16th).

Course Policies and COVID

As much as we are all exhausted from dealing with the pandemic and its side-effects, we still must consider how COVID can throw a wrench into our plans for the term. The only way we will be able to manage, given the many uncertainties that exist, is to be flexible and patient with each other as we work through the next ten weeks.

I will do my best to lead the course in a way that gives everyone a chance to be successful regardless of personal circumstances. **Communication will be key to making this work**; please keep me updated about your situation in addition to reaching out to other relevant sources of support on campus. I will plan to do the same if I feel adjustments are needed to make the class accessible.

Please refer to the Moodle page for this course for more detailed information about the policies related to the issues below and how they will work this coming term.

- COVID-specific policies (masks, seating in class, etc.)
- Attendance (including what to do if you must quarantine or isolate)
- Grading
- Late work and extensions
- Academic integrity
- Accommodations
- Use of computers, tablets, and phones in class

Schedule of Readings

The readings from this course come from a variety of sources, some of which are intended for a general audience of non-specialists and some for a more specialized, knowledgeable, and scholarly audience of political scientists. Depending on your background and prior experience with the social sciences, you may find some of these readings to be fairly straightforward. Others may be tougher going and will require more time and effort on your part. Regardless, it is your responsibility to read each piece with care.

Please engage in active, not passive reading: summarize main points for yourself as you go along, flag points that are unclear, write down questions that come to mind, note points where you agree and disagree with the author, assess whether the author has provided sufficient credible evidence to substantiate the argument, etc. The more work you put in ahead of time, the more productive class time will be. Remember: all readings and assignments are due for the day listed unless otherwise noted.

Titles with internet links connect you to the relevant e-book from Gould Library (login with your Carleton credentials required if you are off-campus). Numbers in parentheses give the rough number of pages assigned for that day, excluding notes/bibliographies.

Date	Topic	Readings and Assignments
Thursday, January 6	Introduction and course overview	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Familiarize yourself with the syllabus, review course policies, explore course Moodle page Record a short video introduction for the rest of the class and upload to Moodle (→ "Introductions Forum")
Tuesday, January 11	Conceptualizing the nation (32)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Watch video lecture, "States vs. Nations" Barrington, Lowell. 1997. "'Nation' and 'Nationalism': The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science." <i>PS: Political Science and Politics</i>, 30(4): 712-716. Özkirimli, Umut. 2017. <i>Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction</i>. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, ch. 3. Mazzini, Giuseppe. 1898. "Duties Towards your Country." Pp. 57-63 in <i>An Essay on the Duties of Man Addressed to Workingmen</i>. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. Renan, Ernest. 1992 [1882]. "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" In <i>Nationalism</i>, John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 17-18.
Thursday, January 13	Varieties of nationalism (32)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Watch video lecture, "Nationalism with Adjectives" Smith, Anthony. "Civic and Ethnic Nationalism." In <i>Nations and Nationalism: A Reader</i>, Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman, eds. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, pp. 177-183. Schwarzmantel, J. J. 1987. "Class and Nation: Problems of Socialist Nationalism." <i>Political Studies</i>, 35: 239-255. Juergensmeyer, Mark. 2010. "The Global Rise of Religious Nationalism." <i>Australian Journal of International Relations</i>, 64(3): 262-273. <p>First case study prompt posted</p>

What are the origins of nationalism?

Tuesday, January 18	Economic development (71)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Watch video lecture, "Nations and Modernity" Gellner, Ernest. 2008. <i>Nations and Nationalism</i>. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, ch. 2-4, 6.
Thursday, January 20	Statebuilding and war (59)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Watch video lecture, "The Origin of States" Tilly, Charles. 1994. "States and Nationalism in Europe, 1492-1992." <i>Theory and Society</i>, 23(1): 131-146. Posen, Barry R. 1993. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power." <i>International Security</i>, 18(2): 80-124. <p>First case study due, 7pm on Moodle; Second case study prompt posted.</p>
Tuesday, January 25	Literacy and media (82)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Watch video lecture, "Nations and Technology" Anderson, Benedict. 2006. <i>Imagined Communities</i>. London and New York: Verso, ch. 1- 5.

How does nationalism vary across contexts and peoples?

<p>Thursday, January 27</p>	<p>Nationalisms outside of Europe (57)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Statebuilding in the Global South" • Zhao, Suisheng. 1998. "A State-Led Nationalism: The Patriotic Education Campaign in Post-Tiananmen China." <i>Communist and Post-Communist Studies</i>, 31(3): 287-302. • Deng, Chao and Liza Lin. 2020. "In Xi Jinping's China, Nationalism Takes a Dark Turn." <i>Wall Street Journal</i>, October 22. • Kpessa, Michael, Daniel Béland, and André Lecours. 2011. "Nationalism, Development, and Social Policy: The Politics of Nation-Building in sub-Saharan Africa." <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>, 34(12): 2115-2133. • Bohl, Ryan. 2020. "A New Brand of Nationalism Takes Root in the Middle East." STRATFOR Worldview Briefing, September 4. • Doyle, Don H. and Eric Van Young. 2013. "Independence and Nationalism in the Americas." In <i>The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism</i>, John Breuilly, ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, selections. <p>Second case study due, 7pm on Moodle; Third case study prompt posted.</p>
<p>Tuesday, February 1</p>	<p>Nationalism and colonialism (91)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Colonialism and the Subaltern" • Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. <i>The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, ch. 1-4.
<p>Thursday, February 3</p>	<p>Nationalism and gender (52)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Queerness and the Nation" • Yuval-Davis, Nira. 1993. "Gender and Nation." <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>, 16(4): 621-632. • Nagel, Joane. 1998. "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations." <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>, 21(2): 242-269. • Robertson, Jennifer. 2001. "Japan's First Cyborg? Miss Nippon, Eugenics, and Wartime Technologies of Beauty, Body, and Blood." <i>Body & Society</i>, 7(1): 1-34. <p>Third case study due, 7pm on Moodle; Take-home midterm handed out.</p>
<p>Tuesday, February 8</p>	<p>Nationalism and indigeneity (60)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Multinationalism vs. Plurinationalism" • Sen, Udit. 2017. "Developing <i>Terra Nullius</i>: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Indigeneity in the Andaman Islands." <i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>, 59(4): 944-973. • Martinez, Julia. 1997. "Problematising Aboriginal Nationalism." <i>Aboriginal History</i>, 21: 133-147. • Oksanen, Aslak-Antii. 2020. "The Rise of Indigenous (Pluri-)Nationalism: The Case of the Sámi People." <i>Sociology</i>, 54(6): 1141-1158. <p>Submit form for online exhibit topics</p>

Thursday, February 10	In-class movie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gold</i> (2018) <p>Take-home midterm due, 7pm on Moodle; Fourth case study prompt posted.</p>
Tuesday, February 15	In-class movie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Gold</i> (2018) <p>Proposal for final paper topic due, 7pm on Moodle</p>

How is nationalism fostered, maintained, and perpetuated?

Thursday, February 17	Myths, memories, traditions (66)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Inventing Tradition" • Coakley, John. 2004. "Mobilizing the Past: Nationalist Images of History." <i>Nationalism and Ethnic Politics</i>, 10(4): 531-560. • Bell, Duncan S. A. 2003. "Mythsapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity." <i>British Journal of Sociology</i>, 54(1): 63-81. • Trevor-Roper, Hugh. 1983. "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland." In <i>The Invention of Tradition</i>, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-41. <p>Fourth case study due, 7pm on Moodle.</p>
Tuesday, February 22	Public spaces, memorials, museums (48)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Nationalism in the Landscape" • Till, Karen E. 2003. "Places of Memory." In <i>A Companion to Political Geography</i>, John A. Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell, and Gearóid Ó Tuathil, eds. Malden, MA and Oxford, UK: Blackwell, pp. 289-301. • Johnson, Nuala. 1995. "Cast in Stone: Monuments, Geography, and Nationalism." <i>Environment and Planning D: Society and Space</i>, 13: 51-65. • Bell, James. 1999. "Redefining National Identity in Uzbekistan: Symbolic Tensions in Tashkent's Official Public Landscape." <i>Cultural Geographies</i>, 6(2): 183-213.
Thursday, February 24	Education (55)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Public Education" • Nozaki, Yoshiko. 2008. War Memory, Nationalism, and Education in Postwar Japan, 1945-2007. <i>London and New York: Routledge</i>, ch. 1 and 7. • Chia, Yow Tong. 2014. "State Formation and Nation Building Through Education: The Origins and Introduction of the "National Education" Program in Singapore." In <i>(Re)Constructing Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation</i>, J.H. Williams, ed. Rotterdam and Boston: Sense, pp. 61-77. <p>Online exhibits due, 7pm; Fifth case study prompt posted.</p>

What is the future of nationalism?

Tuesday, March 1	Nationalism and globalization (36)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Globalization: An Overview" • Bieber, Florian. 2018. "Is Nationalism on the Rise? Assessing Global Trends." <i>Global Review of Ethnopolitics</i>, 17(5): 519-540. • Kaldor, Mary. 2004. "Nationalism and Globalization." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i>, 10(1-2): 161-177.
Thursday, March 3	Nationalism, populism, authoritarianism (36)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture, "Populism: An Overview" • Becker, Jo. 2019. "The Global Machine Behind the Rise of Far-Right Nationalism." <i>New York Times</i>, 10 August. • Miller-Idriss, Cynthia. 2019. "The Global Dimensions of Populist Nationalism." <i>The International Spectator</i>, 54(2): 17-34. <p>Fifth case study due, 7pm on Moodle; Sixth (optional) case study prompt posted.</p>
Tuesday, March 8	Redeeming nationalism? (47)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Watch video lecture: "Liberalism as a Political Value" • Tamir, Yael. 2019. <i>Why Nationalism</i>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, ch. 4, 7-8, 19-20.
Thursday, March 10	Wrap-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No reading! <p>Sixth (optional) case study due, 7pm on Moodle.</p>

Final paper due, 6pm on Moodle, Wednesday, March 16th

(please note: any extensions past this time must be granted by the Dean of Students Office. Please contact your class dean if you anticipate needing an extension past the exam period. I am happy to initiate this conversation with you, which will facilitate the next step with the dean's office).