

# Nationalism, Identity, and Ethnic Conflict

## PSC 32600 • Fall 2019

Tuesdays and Thursdays  
2:00-3:15 PM  
Location: NAC 4/130

Professor Diana Greenwald  
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 3:30-5:00 PM  
Office Location: NAC 4/138C  
Email: [dgreenwald@ccny.cuny.edu](mailto:dgreenwald@ccny.cuny.edu)

### 1. Course Description

What is ethnicity, and when and how does ethnic identity matter for the practice of politics? When do differences between groups promote cooperation, and when do they instead generate conflict? What makes a nation, what is its relationship to the state, and what are the causes and consequences of nationalism in global politics? This course will draw on conceptual and theoretical frameworks from comparative politics to understand ethnic politics, nationalism, and conflict around the world. Students will become acquainted with both qualitative and quantitative research methods and will learn how to formulate and assess causal claims. In a final research project, students will apply concepts and methods from the course to a particular state, region, conflict, political institution, popular movement, event, or another “case” of their choosing.

### 2. Assignments and Deadlines

<i>Item</i>	<i>Due</i>	<i>Percent of grade</i>
Attendance/participation		10%
Pop quizzes		10%
Discussion posts		20% (+up to 5% EC)
Midterm exam (October 10)		20%
Final project		
Topic approval (November 26)		5%
Oral presentation (December 3-12)		10%
Final paper (December 17)		25%
		<b>100%</b> (+up to 5% EC)

### 3. Class Attendance and Participation

- Attendance will be taken at the beginning of every class.
- You are permitted one (1) *unexcused* absence over the course of the semester. Subsequently, all unexcused absences will result in a deduction from your class attendance and participation grade.
- Absences due to illness or emergency will be excused with appropriate documentation (i.e. doctor’s note, flight/train/bus ticket, etc). If you are unsure of what constitutes appropriate documentation, please speak with me.
- Absences for professional development or career-related opportunities may also be excused in certain cases and with appropriate documentation.
- If you need to miss class for religious observance that is not during a university holiday or vacation period, please contact me at least two weeks prior to the date so that your absence may be excused.

Class participation is defined broadly, and includes speaking in class, asking questions, actively participating in classroom exercises, and listening attentively and respectfully to your peers. Cell phone use is not permitted in class. Laptops and other devices must be used exclusively for class purposes. If I observe laptop being used excessively for non-class-related purposes, they will be prohibited for the rest of the semester.<sup>1</sup> If you find it hard to ignore internet distractions, I highly recommend downloading an app such as [Freedom](#) that will temporarily block or limit your access to certain websites (i.e. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc).

#### **4. Readings**

Please consult the schedule below for the assigned readings. I do not require you to purchase any books. All assigned readings will be available either via Blackboard or for free online via the CCNY/CUNY libraries. Please bookmark CUNY OneSearch ([onesearch.cuny.edu](http://onesearch.cuny.edu)) so that you can access it easily throughout the semester.

You are unlikely to pass the course if you attend class but do not do the readings. Similarly, you are unlikely to pass the course if you do the readings but do not attend class. Additionally, it is important that you bring an electronic or paper copy of your readings to class on the day they are assigned.

Please note that this course deals with some difficult, sensitive, and potentially upsetting topics. I will do my best to provide content warnings for material that falls into these categories. I encourage you to speak to me if you need additional guidance with the reading materials or if you are struggling with the subject matter of the course.

#### **5. Pop Quizzes**

There will be three (3) pop quizzes over the course of the semester. Each quiz will count for 5% of your grade, but your lowest quiz grade will be dropped. The quiz will be distributed at the beginning of class and will cover the readings assigned for that day only. The quiz will take 10 minutes, and no notes or books will be permitted. If you do not attend class or if you arrive late on the day of a pop quiz, you will receive a zero grade on that quiz. (The only exception is for excused absences. In these cases, and only in these cases, you will have an opportunity to make up the quiz.)

#### **6. Discussion Posts**

You are required to submit four (4) discussion posts on Blackboard over the course of the semester, each of which will comprise 5% of your final grade. You may submit up to one (1) additional post for extra credit. There are three types of discussion posts, described in more detail below. Discussion posts should be 250-300 words in length. Please proofread your post before submitting it.

- 1) **A reading response:** This is a post in response to one of the assigned readings. Discussion posts must be submitted on Blackboard by 9:00 PM the day before the assigned reading is due. Reading responses posted after this time will not receive credit. In your reading response, you might consider:
  - a) What is the main question or “puzzle” that the reading addresses? Given what we already know, why is this an important question or puzzle to address?
  - b) What is the author’s main theory or argument? To what cases, or types of cases, does this argument apply? What assumptions does the author make in advancing their argument, and do you buy these assumptions?

---

<sup>1</sup> The only exceptions will be those students whose laptop usage is approved by the AccessAbility Center/Student Disability Services.

- c) Do they seek to test this theory or argument with data and/or evidence? If so, what kind of data and/or evidence is used? Do you find the data and/or evidence convincing? Why or why not?
  - d) What were some things you struggled with in this reading?
- 2) **A news analysis post:** This is a post in response to a recent news item or piece of analysis pertaining to ethnic politics and/or nationalism. Each post should contain a link to the original item. Following the link, include your own response. This is not a venue to share your personal opinions, rather, the goal is to provide your own analysis. Even better if you can link your post to a concept, theme, or historical development that we have covered in class! As a CUNY student, you can take advantage of free access to the *New York Times* [here](#) and the *Wall Street Journal* [here](#). Other sources of news and analysis include: [The Washington Post](#), [Los Angeles Times](#), [The Guardian](#), and [Vox](#).
- 3) **A peer response:** Instead of starting your own “thread”, you might choose to respond to something one of your peers has posted. If you choose this option, you should engage with what your peer has posted and you should link your response to a concept, theme, or development that we have covered in class.

All discussion posts will be graded on a 5-point scale. Posts that follow the instructions above and that demonstrate a high level of originality and thoughtfulness will receive full credit.

## 7. *Midterm Exam*

The midterm exam will take place on **October 10** during class time. You will have the full class period (75 minutes) to complete the exam. Please arrive on time with pencils/pens. You do not need blue books. The exam is closed-book: no notes or books are permitted. More details on the format of the exam will be provided in advance.

## 8. *Final Project*

The largest assignment of the course is your own research project. In the final research project, you will apply concepts and methods from the course to a particular state, region, conflict, political institution, popular movement, event, or another “case” of your choosing. More detailed instructions will be provided. In summary, the assignment has three (3) components:

1. You must send me a one-paragraph summary of the topic for approval by **November 26**.
2. You will provide an 6-minute presentation of your topic in front of the class **between December 3 and December 12**. I will provide more details about expectations for the presentation.
3. Your final paper should be 8-10 pages (double-spaced, 12 point font, 1” margins). Specific instructions for the paper will be provided in advance. **Papers must be submitted on Blackboard by December 17. Because of end-of-semester grading deadlines, late papers will not be accepted.** If you encounter a last-minute technical difficulty with Blackboard, please send your paper to me via email.

## 9. *Office Hours and E-Mail*

I encourage you to come to office hours early in the semester and as frequently as you’d like. If you cannot attend my regular office hours due to a scheduling conflict, please reach out so that we may schedule an alternative time to meet. I will make every effort to respond to e-mail within 24 hours (or, if over the weekend, the next business day). There are two exceptions: First, emails sent less than 48 hours prior to the midterm or final paper due date are not guaranteed a response. Second, questions whose answer is clearly stated on this syllabus are not guaranteed a response.

## ***10. Grade Grievances***

If you believe a grade you have received is unfair or in error, you will need to:

1. Wait 24 hours after receiving the grade before approaching me.
2. Within one week (7 days) of receiving the grade, provide an explanation in writing for why you believe the grade you received was unfair or in error and submit it with the original assignment.

The entire assignment will be re-graded, and note that this may raise or lower your grade.

For more information on appealing grades, please visit the Office of Academic Standards' website [here](#).

## ***11. Academic Integrity***

Plagiarism means presenting someone else's words or ideas as your own. It is one of the most frustrating and depressing things to discover as a professor. Cheating, including plagiarism, will not be tolerated in this class. Plagiarism is very easy to avoid by giving recognition to the original author or website from which the material came. In this class, we will review proper citation methods for your final paper. Academic misconduct such as cheating or plagiarism will result in a zero grade and possibly trigger disciplinary action. The CUNY Academic Integrity Policy is available [here](#). If you have made it this far through the syllabus, please [email](#) me a picture of a cute animal.

## ***12. Disability Accommodations***

The AccessAbility Center/Student Disability Services (AAC/SDS) ensures equal access and full participation to all of City College's programs, services, and activities by coordinating and implementing appropriate accommodations. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations and services, please visit the office in NAC 1/218, or contact AAC/SDS via email ([disabilityservices@ccny.cuny.edu](mailto:disabilityservices@ccny.cuny.edu)), or phone (212-650-5913 or TTY/TTD 212-650-8441).

## ***13. Student Mental Health and Well-Being***

Your health and well-being is important to me, your other professors, your colleagues and friends, and the City College community. Please do not hesitate to visit [Health and Wellness Services](#), where you can be linked to relevant services on campus, including the Counseling Center, Gender Resources, and other services. Note that both the Counseling Center and Gender Resources are temporarily located in NAC 8/213. Student Health Services is temporarily located in Marshak 418S. Sometime during the fall semester, all services are expected to return to Marshak J-15 after renovations are complete. Please also consult [this link](#) for mental health resources in the community.

## 14. Reading and Assignment Schedule

### August 27: Introductions

#### Part I: Conceptualizing and Measuring Ethnicity

##### August 29: Ethnic and Racial Identification in the United States

- Erica Czaja, Jane Junn, and Tali Mendelberg. 2016. "Race, Ethnicity, and the Group Bases of Public Opinion." In Adam Berinsky, ed. *New Directions in Public Opinion*. (pp. 104-123).
- Read the following pages from the U.S. Census Bureau:
  - "Race."
  - "American Community Survey: Race."
  - "Hispanic Origin."
  - "American Community Survey: Hispanic or Latino Origin."
  - "American Community Survey: Ancestry."
  - "Research to Improve Data on Race and Ethnicity."
- D'Vera Cohn. "Millions of Americans changed their racial or ethnic identity from one census to the next." *Pew Research Center*. May 5, 2014.

*Recommended:* Jennifer Hochschild and Vesla Mae Weaver. 2010. "There's No One as Irish as Barack O'Bama': The Policy and Politics of American Multiracialism." *Perspectives on Politics* 8(3): 737-759.

##### September 3: Primordialism

- Hutchinson and Smith, eds. *Ethnicity*. Introduction (pp. 3-14).
- Clifford Geertz. 1963. "Primordial Ties." In Hutchinson and Smith, eds. *Ethnicity*. (pp. 40-45).
- Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72. (pp. 22-49)

*Recommended:* Anthony Smith. 1998. "Primordialism and perennialism." *Nationalism and Modernism*. (pp. 145-169).

##### September 5: NO CLASS

##### September 10: Beyond Primordialism

- Colin Wayne Leach, Lisa M. Brown, and Ross E. Worden. 2008. "Ethnicity and Identity Politics." In *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict*. (pp. 758-768).
- Gabrielle Lynch. "The Politics of Ethnicity." In *Routledge Handbook of African Politics*. (pp. 95-107).

*Recommended:* Andreas Wimmer. 2012. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. Rogers Brubaker. 2004. *Ethnicity Without Groups*.

#### Part II: Nationalism and State Formation

##### September 12: Nationalism (I)

- Benedict Anderson. 2016 (1983 1<sup>st</sup> edition). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Chapters 1-3. (pp. 1-46)

##### September 17: Nationalism (II)

- Anthony D. Smith. 2006. "Ethnicity and Nationalism." In Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, eds. *The Sage Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*. (pp. 169-181.)

*Recommended:* Ernest Gellner. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Chapters 1-5.

**September 19: State Formation and Violence (I)**

- Robert Bates. 2001. "The Formation of States." *Prosperity and Violence*. (pp. 34-56)
- Charles Tilly. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. *Bringing the State Back In*. (pp. 169-191).

**September 24: State Formation and Violence (II)**

- Gloria Anzaldúa. 1999. "The Homeland, Aztlán." *Borderlands / La Frontera*. (pp. 23-35).
- Nikole Hannah-Jones. 2019. "Our democracy's founding ideals were false when they were written. Black Americans have fought to make them true." *New York Times*. [See the full 1619 project [here](#).]

**September 26: Decolonization, Nationalism, and the State (I)**

- Adria Lawrence. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism*. "Indigenes into Frenchmen? Seeking Political Equality in Morocco and Algeria." (pp. 50-90.)
- Begin: Frantz Fanon. 1961. *The Wretched of the Earth*. "On National Culture." (pp. 145-180).

**October 1: NO CLASS**

**October 3: Decolonization, Nationalism, and the State (II)**

- Finish: Frantz Fanon. 1961. *The Wretched of the Earth*. "On National Culture." (pp. 145-180).
- Ian Lustick. 1993. *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands*. "Where and What Is France? Three Failures of Hegemonic Construction." (pp. 81-120).

**October 8: NO CLASS**

**October 10: MIDTERM**

**Part III: Ethnic Mobilization, Contestation, and Violence**

**October 15: Ethnic Mobilization and Rebellion**

- Gunes Murat Tezcur. "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Participation in an Ethnic Rebellion." *American Political Science Review* 110(2). (pp. 247-264)
- Hannah Beech. "Buddhists Go to Battle: When Nationalism Overrides Pacifism." *New York Times*. July 8, 2019.

**October 17: Ethnic Mobilization and Genocide**

- Lee Ann Fujii. 2009. Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda. "Genocide among Neighbors." And "Violence and Identity in Historical Perspective."
- Additional reading TBD.

**October 22: Secession (I)**

- Donald L. Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. "The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas." (pp. 229-290).

**October 24: Secession (II)**

- Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "Information, Uncertainty, and the Decision to Secede." *International Organization* 60. (pp. 105-135).

**October 29: Case study I: Sri Lanka**

- Sumantra Bose. 2007. *Contested Lands: Israel-Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Cyprus, and Sri Lanka*. "Sri Lanka". (pp. 6-54).

**October 31: Case study I: Sri Lanka**

- \*Zachariah Cherian Mampilly. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War*. "The Two Faces of the Tiger: Sri Lanka's Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam." (pp. 93-128.)

**November 5: Case Study II: Israel/Palestine**

- Rashid Khalidi. 2010 (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1997). *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. "Contrasting Narratives of Palestinian Identity." (pp. 9-34).
- Nadav G. Shelef. 2010. *Evolving Nationalism: Homeland, Identity, and Religion in Israel, 1925-2005*. "Nationalism, Change, and Evolution." (pp. 1-22).

*Recommended:* Mark Tessler. 2017. "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." In Ellen Lust, ed. *The Middle East*. (pp. 288-368).

**November 7: Case Study II: Israel/Palestine**

- Adriana Kemp. 2004. "'Dangerous Populations': State Territoriality and the Constitution of National Minorities." In Joel Migdal, ed. *Boundaries and Belonging: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities and Local Practices*. (pp. 73-98).

**November 12: Settlers and Territory**

- Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides. 2015. "Settlers and Conflict over Contested Territories." In Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides, eds. *Settlers in Contested Lands: Territorial Disputes and Ethnic Conflicts*. (pp. 1-16).
- Denise Natali. 2015. "Settlers and State-Building: The Kirkuk Case." In *Settlers in Contested Lands*. (pp. 114-140).

**Part IV: Political Institutions and Cooperation****November 14: Ethnic Diversity and Cooperation**

- James Habyarimana et al. 2007. Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision? *American Political Science Review* 101(4). (pp. 709-725).
- Volha Charnysh, Christopher Lucas, and Prerna Singh. 2015. "The Ties That Bind: National Identity Salience and Pro-Social Behavior Toward the Ethnic Other." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(3). (pp. 267-300).

**November 19: Political Institutions (I)**

- Daniel N. Posner. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98(4). (pp. 529-545)

**November 21: Political Institutions (II)**

- Arendt Lijphart. 2001. "Consociational Democracy." In Joel Krieger, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World (2<sup>nd</sup> edition)*.
- Donald L. Horowitz. 2014. "Ethnic Power Sharing: Three Big Problems." *Journal of Democracy* 25(2). (pp. 5-20).

*Recommended:* Stef Vandeginste. 2014. "Governing ethnicity after genocide: ethnic amnesia in Rwanda versus ethnic power-sharing in Burundi." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8(2). Pp. 263-277.

**November 26: FINAL PROJECT TOPIC SUBMISSION DUE**

**Political Institutions (III)**

- John D. Huber and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2016. "Ethnic Inequality and the Ethnification of Political Parties: Evidence from India." *World Politics* 68(1). (pp. 149-188).

*Recommended:* Raul L. Madrid. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. "Ethnicity and Ethnopolitism in Latin America." (pp. 1-34.)

**November 28: NO CLASS**

**December 3, 5, 10, 12: ORAL PRESENTATIONS**

**December 17: FINAL PAPER DUE**