SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME

INTP213: SPECIAL TOPIC: NATIONALISM IN WORLD POLITICS

2009 TRIMESTER 1

2 March to 1 July 2009

Course Delivery

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

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

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

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

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### Learning Objectives

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

- Understand and critically evaluate the major theories, approaches, and debates in the study of nationalism
- Understand the role of nationalism in contemporary world politics
- Have an understanding of how the various theories and approaches to nationalism can help elucidate contemporary events and conflicts in world politics
• Have basic skills in researching and writing academic essays on nationalism in world politics (Pursuing and managing independent research, locating information, choosing an essay topic, critically engaging with the literature, assessing conflicting or different arguments, synthesising information in a clear and logical way).

Graduate Attributes

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

Expected Workload

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

Readings

Essential Texts

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

Useful Resources

Specialised journals on nationalism include:

Nations and Nationalism
Ethnic and Racial Studies
National Identities

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

Useful overviews of nationalism can be found in:

Umut Ozkirimli Theories of Nationalism: A critical introduction, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000)
Paul Lawrence, Nationalism: history and theory (Harlow, England; New York: Pearson Education, 2005)
A. Smith and J. Hutchinson (eds.), Nationalism, Series Oxford Readers, Oxford University Press, 1994
Assessment Requirements

1) Two research essays (each worth 25% of your total course mark)
You will find on the Blackboard course resources section a guide to essay writing. The aim of the research essays is to appraise the ability of students to conduct research and formulate an argument in 2000-2500 words.

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

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

The first essay is due by Monday 9 April
The second essay is due by Friday 5 June

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

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

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

3) Final Exam (worth 40% of your total course mark)
The aim of the examination is to assess the ability of students to integrate and use the knowledge they acquire during the course and their ability to organise ideas and thoughts in response to a question or problem.
There will be a three hour closed-book examination at the end of the trimester. Students will be required to write answers to three essay questions, all of which carry equal marks. The mid-year examination period is from Friday 12 June to Wednesday 1 July 2009. The exact date and location will be announced nearer the time.

Mandatory Course Requirements
To gain a pass in this course each student must:

a) Submit all the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).

b) Sit the final exam.

Penalties
Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be
accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

**Academic integrity and plagiarism**

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

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

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

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

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University’s website: [http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx)

**GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University’s policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

[http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy](http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy)

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

**Course Content and Reading List**

**Week 1: Introduction and Overview**

No readings
Week 2. Approaches to understanding nationalism

Required Reading


Questions to consider

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

Further reading


**Primordialism:**


**Modernism:**

• John Breuilly, Nationalism and the State. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.)
• Paul Brass, Language, Religion And Politics In North India, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) An instrumentalist approach

Ethnosymbolism
A response to Özkitimli’s article above
• John A. Armstrong, Nations before nationalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, c1982)
• Adrian Hastings The construction of nationhood: ethnicity, religion, and nationalism (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
• The journal Nations and Nationalism ran a special issue (vol. 7, no. 4) on ‘nationalism and archaeology’ which is relevant to the debate between modernists and ethno-symbolists.
The summary of a debate held at the London School of Economics recently on John Hutchinson’s ethno-symbolist arguments in a recent book
• Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby (eds.), Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006)

Week 3 – Nationalism and International Relations

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

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

**Further Reading**
• 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  
• Sanjay Seth, "Political Theory in the Age of Nationalism", *Ethics and International Affairs* 7 (1993): 79

**Week 4. Nationalism in modern world history**

**Required reading**

**Questions to consider**

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

Further reading
• 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)
• Hugh Seton-Watson, Nations and states: an enquiry into the origins of nations and the politics of nationalism (London: Methuen, 1977)
• 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)

Week 5. Gender, sex, sexuality and nationalism

Required reading

Questions to consider
• How are sex and gender implicated in nationalism?
• What is the role of women in nationalism? Do men and women experience nationalism in the same fashion?
• How is sexuality related to nationalism?

Further reading
• 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
• 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?”: Classifying 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)
• Harris, R (2001). "The ‘Child of The Barbarian’: Rape, Race And Nationalism In France During The First World War'. Past & present, 141 (1), p. 170

MID-SEMESTER BREAK

Week 6. Good nationalism, Bad nationalism

Required reading

Questions to consider
• What sort of dichotomies do some scholars make in the study of nationalism and what are the objections to this kind of approach?
• Can we make a clear distinction between civic and ethnic forms of nationalism?
• Has one been more destructive than the other?
• Is there a difference between patriotism and nationalism?

Further reading
• Ashis Nandy, ‘Nationalism, Genuine and Spurious: Mourning Two Early Post-Nationalist Strains’, Economic and Political Weekly, August 12, 2006, pp. 3500-3504
• Maurizio Viroli, For love of country: an essay on patriotism and nationalism (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995)

On Eastern and Western nationalisms

Week 7. Religious nationalism

Required reading
• Mark Juergensmeyer, ‘Ch. 1: The loss of faith in secular nationalism’, The new Cold War?: religious nationalism confronts the secular state, (Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 11-25

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

Further reading
Week 8. National identity, the state and foreign policy

Required reading

- Aviel Roshwald, ‘Ch. 4: Chosenness and mission’ *The endurance of nationalism: ancient roots and modern dilemmas* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 167-252 *(This is not included in the course packet but will be posted on Blackboard)*

Questions to consider

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

Further reading

• Douglas Woodwell (ed.), Nationalism in international relations: norms, foreign policy, and enmity (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)
• 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)
• Peter J. Katzenstein, The culture of national security: norms and identity in world politics (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1996)

Week 9. Nationalism, globalisation and cosmopolitanism

Required reading
• Gi-Wook Shin, ‘The Paradox of Korean Globalisation’, Available at: http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/20125/Shin.pdf (This will also be posted on Blackboard)

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

Further reading
Globalization:
• Christopher R. Hughes Chinese nationalism in a global era (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2006)

See ch. 7 on ‘Nationalism, democracy and globalisation.’
• See the special issue of the journal Ethnic and racial studies (vol. 23, no. 3) on Hindu nationalism in the South Asian diaspora
• Oivind Fuglerud Life on the outside: the Tamil diaspora and long distance nationalism (London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 1999)

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
• Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, editors. Cosmopolitics: thinking and feeling beyond the nation (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998)

A collection of responses to Nussbaum’s essay

Week 10. Sport and nationalism
Required reading


Questions to consider

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

Further reading

- Barbara J. Keys, ‘Sport, the state, and international politics’, Globalizing sport: national rivalry and international community in the 1930s, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 17-39
- Susan Brownell Beijing’s games: what the Olympics mean to China (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008)
- Merkel, Udo, 'The Politics of Physical Culture and German Nationalism' German Politics & Society, Summer 2003, Vol. 21, Issue 2, pp. 69-96
Week 11. Case study: the Israeli-Palestinian dispute

Required reading


Questions to consider

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

Further reading

- O. Yiftachel (2002), ‘Territory as the Kernel of the Nation: Space, Time and Nationalism in Israel/Palestine’, *Geopolitics*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 215-248
- Anthony D. Smith., ‘Ch. 8: Zionism and Diaspora Nationalism’, *Myths and memories of the nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)
Essay Questions

Essay 1

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

Essay 2

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