UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Political Science 225b   **Philip G. Roeder**
Seminar: The Nation-State   Fall Quarter 2017

   I. Sovereignty—Territorial or Popular? (Week 2)
  II. Origins and End of the Nation-State System (Week 3)
  III. Why Some Nations Get States and Others Do Not (Week 4)
  IV. Minority Nations Inside or Under Others' States
      A. Campaigns for National Independence—Becoming and Mobilizing Nations (Week 5)
      B. Wars of Independence (Week 6)
      C. Institutional Accommodation of Minority Nations within States (Week 7)
  V. States Without Nations—Nation-Building (Week 8)
  VI. Majority Nations with States
      A. Nationalists in Opposition Seeking Power (Week 9)
      B. Nationalists in Power (Week 10)

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Participation. Please come prepared to contribute to each week's discussion. Each week, we will discuss the readings listed under "Read for this meeting." For weeks 4 and 6 we will divide the readings and each prepare a precis for distribution to the other seminar members.

Research proposals. Over the course of the quarter, you should submit three brief (approximately four pages apiece) research proposals in response to the reading. Please follow the format in the assignment handed out on the first day of the seminar.

Week 2.   **SOVEREIGNTY—TERRITORIAL OR POPULAR?**

Read for this meeting:

Krasner, Stephen D. 1999. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1.

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

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

Roeder, Philip G. Forthcoming. *National Secession: Programmatic Coordination in Independence Campaigns*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Chapter 6 (pp. 160-167, 190-202).

A. Sovereignty

Barkin, Samuel J., and Bruce Cronin. 1994. "The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations." *International Organization* 48(1):107-130.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

B. Territoriality

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

Goddard, Stacie E. 2006. "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60 (Winter), 35-68.

Hassner, Ron E. 2006/7. "The Path to Intractability: Time and Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes." *International Security* 31 (Winter), 107-38.

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

Kornprobst, Markus. 2007. "Argumentation and Compromise: Ireland's Selection of the Territorial Status Quo Norm." *International Organization* 61 (Winter), 69-98.

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

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

Zacher, Mark W. 2001. "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 55 (Spring), 215-50.

Week 3. ORIGINS AND END OF THE NATION-STATE SYSTEM.

Read for this meeting:

Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 8-9.

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

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

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

Bendix, Reinhard. 1978. *Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 1, 8.

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

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

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

A. States

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

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

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

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

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

B. Nations and nationalism

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

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

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

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

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

Conversi, Daniele, ed. 2004. *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism*. New York: Routledge.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2002. *Ethnicity and Nationalism*. London: Pluto Press.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1972. *Language and Nationalism*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Khoury, Philip, and Joseph Kostiner, eds. 1990. *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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

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

Mann, Michael. 1990. *The Rise and Decline of the Nation-State*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

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

Marx, Anthony W. 1998. *Making Race and Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. Were there nations before the modern era?

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

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

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

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

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

D. What are the contemporary alternatives to the nation-state system?

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

Archibugi, Daniele, David Held, and Martin Köhler, ed. 1998. *Re-Imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Barber, Benjamin R. 1995. *Jihad versus McWorld*. New York: Times Books.

Blum, Douglas W. 2007. *National Identity and Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

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

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

Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1993. *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kaplan, Robert D. 2000. *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dream of the Post-Cold War*. New York: Random House.

Mattli, Walter. 1999. *The Logic of Regional Integration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Niezen, Ronald. 2003. *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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

Pfaff, William. 1993. *The Wrath of Nations: Civilization and the Future of Nationalism*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

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

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

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

Walzer, Michael. 1992. "The New Tribalism: Notes on a Difficult Problem." *Dissent* 39 (Spring), 164-72.

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

Young, Crawford, ed. 1993. *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Zürn, Michael, and Jeffrey T. Checkel. 2005. "Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State." *International Organization* 59 (Fall), 1045-79.

Week 4. WHY DO SOME NATIONS GET STATES AND OTHERS DO NOT?

Read one of these for this meeting (and prepare a precis for the seminar members):

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

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.

Coggins, Bridget. 2014. *Power Politics and State Formation in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fabry, Mikulas. 2010. *Recognizing States: International Society and the Establishment of New States.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Griffiths, Ryan D. 2016. *Age of Secession: The International and Domestic Determinants of State Birth*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

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

A. Origins of the first nations and nationalisms

Armitage, David. 2007. *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bell, David A. 2001. *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism 1680-1800.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Caramani, Daniele. 2004. *The Nationalization of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Colley, Linda. 1992. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Green, Abigail. 2001. *Fatherlands: State-building and Nationhood in Nineteenth Century Germany.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hall, Rodney Bruce. 1999. *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hayes, Carlton. 1931. *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*. New York: Macmillan.

Jusdanis, Gregory. 2001. *The Necessary Nation.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Seton-Watson, Hugh. 1977. *Nations and States.* London: Methuen.

Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

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

B. Does the European notion of nationalism travel well to other parts of the world?

Blaut, James M. 1987. *The National Question: Decolonizing the Theory of Nationalism*. London: ZED Books.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1986. *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: ZED Books.

Emerson, Rupert. 1960. *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gillis, John R., ed. 1994. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rothschild, Joseph. 1981. *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Said, Edward. 1994 [1978]. *Orientelism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Segal, Daniel A., and R. Handler. 1992. "How European Is Nationalism?" *Social Analysis* 32 (December), 1-15.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Yuval Feinstein. 2010. "The Rise of the Nation-State Across the World, 1816 to 2001. *American Sociological Review* 75(5):764-790.

Week 5.   CAMPAIGNS FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Read for this meeting:

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Brass, Paul R. 1991. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison.* New Delhi: Sage Publications. Chapters 1-2. Skim Chapter 3.

Hechter, Michael. 1975. *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development.* Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapters 2, 10.

Lawrence, Adria K. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Roeder, Philip G. Forthcoming. *National Secession: Programmatic Coordination in Independence Campaigns*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Chapters 3-4.

A. Mobilization

Hroch, Miroslav. 2000. *The Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Keating, Michael, and John McGarry. 2001. *Minority Nationalism and the Changing International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

B. State failure

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

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

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

C. Secession and national self-determination

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

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

Caspersen, Nina. 2012. *Unrecognized States: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Modern International System.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

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

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

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

Gourevitch, Peter. 1979. "The Re-emergence of 'Peripheral Nationalism': Some Comparative Speculations on the Spatial Distribution of Political Leadership and Economic Growth." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21, 303-322.

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

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

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

Week 6.   WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION.

Read one of these for this meeting (and prepare a precis for the seminar members):

Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2014. *Inside the Politics of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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

Walter, Barbara F. 2009. *Reputation and Civil War: Why Separatist Conflicts are so Violent*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2013. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (February), 75-90.

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

King, Charles. 2001. "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States." *World Politics* 53 (July), 534-52.

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

Lustick, Ian S. 1993. *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain and Ireland, France and Algeria, Israel and the West-Bank-Gaza*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Peterson, Roger D. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 7.   INSTITUTIONAL ACCOMMODATION OF MINORITY NATIONS.

Read for this meeting:

Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration.* New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 2.

Rabushka, Alvin and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1972. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability.* Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company. Chapter 3.

Roeder, Philip G. 2012. "Power-dividing: The Multiple-majorities Approach." In *Conflict Management in Divided Societies: Theories and Practice*, ed. by Stefan Wolff and Christalla Yakinthou, 66-83. New York: Routledge.

Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal Survival and Collapse." *World Politics* 56 (January), 165-93.

McGarry, John, and O'Leary, Brendan. 2015. "Territorial Pluralism: Taxonomizing Its Forms, Virtues, and Flaws." In *Territorial Pluralism: Managing Differences in Multinational States*, ed. Basta, K., McGarry, J., and Simeon, R., 13-53. Vancouver: UBCPress.

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

Sambanis, Nicholas, and Schulhofer-Wohl, J. 2009. "What's In a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?" *International Security* 34(2): 82-118.

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

Bunce, Valerie. 1999. *Subversive Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coombs, Herbert Cole. 1995. *Aboriginal Autonomy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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

Fearon, James D., Kimuli Kasara, and David D. Laitin. 2007. "Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset." *American Political Science Review* 101 (February), 187-93.

Furnivall, J. S. 1944. *Netherlands India: A Study of Plural Economy.* New York: The Macmillan Company. Chapter 13.

Gagnon, Alain, and James Tully. 2001. *Multinational Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gerrits, Andre W. M., and Dirk Jan Wolffram. 2005. *Political Democracy and Ethnic Diversity in Modern European History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gottlieb, Gidon. 1993. *Nation against State: A New Approach to Ethnic Conflict and the Decline of Sovereignty*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.

Hechter, Michael. 2000. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keating, Michael. 2002. *Plurinational Democracy: Stateless Nations in a Post-Sovereignty Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will. 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kymlicka, Will, and Alan Patten. 2003. *Language Rights and Political Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

LaPonce, J. A. 1987. *Languages and Their Territories*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mill, John Stuart. 1861. *Considerations on Representative Government.* Chapter 16.

Nordlinger, Eric A. 1972. *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Center for International Affairs.

O'Leary, Brendan. 2001. "The Elements of Right-Sizing and Right-Peopling the State." In *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*, edited by Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2.

Smith, M. G. 1965. *The Plural Society in the British West Indies.* Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 4.

Tierney, Stephen. 2006. *Constitutional Law and National Pluralism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

B. Can consociationalism accommodate national diversity?

Barry, Brian. 1975. "The Consociational Model and Its Dangers." *European Journal of Political Research* 3 (December), 393-415.

Bogaards, Matthijs. 1998. "The Favourable Factors for Consociational Democracy: A Review," *European Journal of Political Research* 33, 475-496.

Lijphart, Arend. 1995. "Multiethnic Democracy." In *The Encyclopedia of Democracy,* volume 3, edited by Seymour Martin Lipset. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. Pp. 853-865.

Lijphart, Arend. 2002. "The Wave of Power-Sharing Democracy." In *The Architecture of Democracy: Institutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2.

Lustick, Ian. 1979. "Stability in Deeply Divided Societies: Consociationalism versus Control." *World Politics* 31 (April), 325-344.

Lustick, Ian S. 1997. "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism." *World Politics* 50 (October), 88-117.

Norman, Wayne. 2006. *Negotiating Nationalism: Nation-Building, Federalism, and Secession in the Multinational State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Roeder, Philip G. 2005. "Power-Sharing versus Power-Dividing: Institutional Constraints on the Escalation of Ethnonational Conflicts." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars,* edited by Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapter 3.

Sisk, Timothy D. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts.* Washington: United States Institute of Peace.

C. Are there better constitutional alternatives to consociationalism?

Anderson, Liam. 2014. "Ethnofederalism: The Worst Form on Institutional Arrangement. . .?" *International Security* 39(1): 165-204.

Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Powersharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (April), 318-32.

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict.* Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 15.

Rothchild, Donald. 1986. "Hegemonial Exchange: An Alternative Model for Managing Conflict in Middle Africa." In *Ethnicity, Politics, and Development,* edited by Dennis L. Thompson and Dov Ronen. Boulder: Lynne Reinner. Chapter 4.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52 (July), 437-483.

Tully, James. 2001. "Introduction." In *Multinational Democracies*, edited by Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

D. Specific institutions: Electoral systems and elections

Amorim Neto, Octavio, and Gary W. Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (January),149-174.

Birnir, Johanna Kristin. 2006. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mozaffar, Shaheen, James R. Scarritt, and Glen Galaich. 2003. "Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 97 (August), 379-90.

Norris, Pippa. 2002. "Ballots Not Bullets: Testing Consociational Theories of Ethnic Conflict, Electoral Systems, and Democratization." In *The Architecture of Democracy: Institutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy in the Late Twentieth Century.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 8.

Ordeshook, Peter C., and Olga V. Shvetsova. 1994. "Ethnic Heterogeneity, District Magnitude, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 38 (February), 100-123.

Reilly, Ben. 2001. *Democracy in Divided Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reilly, Ben, and Andrew Reynolds. 1999. *Electoral Systems and Conflict in Divided Societies.* Washington, DC: National Research Council.

Saideman, Stephen M. et al. 2002. "Democratization, Political Institutions, and Ethnic Conflict: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1985-1998." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (February), 103-129.

Sisk, Timothy D., and Andrew Reynolds, eds. 1998. *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

E. Specific institutions: Federalism and decentralization

Bakke, Kristin, and Erik Wibbels. 2006. "Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States." *World Politics* 59 (October), 1-50.

Brancati, Dawn. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60 (Summer), 651-85.

Coakley, John, ed. 2003. *The Territorial Management of Ethnic Conflict*, 2d ed. London: Frank Cass.

Cornell, Svante E. 2002. "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict: Caucasian Conflicts in Theoretical Perspective." *World Politics* 54 (January), 245-76.

Ghai, Yash. 2000. *Autonomy and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giuliano, Elise. 2006. "Secessionism From the Bottom Up: Democratization, Nationalism, and Accountability in the Russian Transition." *World Politics* 58 (January), 276-310.

Hoddie, Matthew, and Hartzell, Caroline A. 2014. Segment States in the Developing World: Conflict's Cause or Cure? [Special issue] *Ethnopolitics* 13(1): 1-104.

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Week 8.   NATION-BUILDING AND STATE-BUILDING

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

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

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

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

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Week 9.   MAJORITY NATIONS IN OPPOSITION

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Mudde, Cas. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

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Carter, Elisabeth. 2005. *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success of Failure?* Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

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Week 10.   MAJORITY NATIONS IN POWER

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Comaroff, John, and Paul Stern, eds. *Perspectives on Nationalism and War*. Luxembourg: Gordon and Breach.

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