Political Science 136A is an introduction to nationalism in politics. In this course nationalism will be defined as an umbrella term that brackets the variety of phenomena associated with the political claim that certain groups of individuals constitute nations with a right to sovereign states of their own. The approach to the questions of sources, causes, strategies, and consequences of nationalism will be empirical rather than normative. That is, the purpose of the course is to analyze the observable evidence rather than to reach judgments about justice. Along the way, we will encounter a variety of analytic perspectives and theories that approach the evidence in diverging ways. We will find that many of the important questions do not have uncontested answers.

**Topics.** The course is organized as follows:

I. Basics: What is Nationalism?
   A. What Do We Mean by “Nation” and “Nationalism”?
   B. What Do We Mean by “Sovereignty”? Does This Exist in the Real World?

II. Origins: Where Do Nation-States Come From?
   A. Background: A Brief History of Sovereignty and the Nation-State
   B. What Was Behind the Emergence of the Original Nation-States?
   C. Which Nations Actually Get States of their Own Today? And Why Not Others?

III. Processes: How to Build Nations In and Out of Power?
   A. Building Nations in Existing States: Which Came First—Nations or States?
   B. How Do Nationalists Campaign for the Independence of an Imagined State?

IV. Alleged Consequences
   A. International Change
      1. Background: Projects to Change International Boundaries
      2. Is There a Right of Self-Determination in International Law?
   B. Violence
      1. Civil Wars: Does Nationalism Fuel Political Violence?
      2. Conflict-Resolution Strategies: Can National Disputes Resolve Peacefully?
   C. Autocracy
      1. The Democratic-Impossibility Theorem: Is Democracy Possible?
      2. Can Ethnic Autonomy and Ethnofederal Institutions Support Democracy?
      3. Are There Better Institutional Arrangements Than Power Sharing?
      4. Is Populism the Consequence of Nationalism?
      5. Is Fascism the Natural Outcome of Too Much Nationalism?
   D. Bad Policies
      1. The Diversity-Debit Theorem: Can Plurinational States Serve the Public Good?
      2. Does Nationalism Drive Aggressive Foreign Policy Behaviors?

**Learning Objectives.** Upon successful completion of this course, you should be able to do the following:

- Render an informed analysis of major nationalist projects and campaigns in the contemporary world
- Formulate a research question that could be answered with the empirical tools available to political science
- Design a productive research strategy for answering your own research questions about nationalism

Throughout the course the emphasis will be on empirical analysis rather than normative judgments.
Instructor: Philip G. Roeder proeder@ucsd.edu
In-person office hours: SSB 382 Mondays 11:00 am - 12:00 pm
Zoom office hours: Fridays, April 19, May 10, and May 31, 9:00 – 10:00 am
at Zoom address 947 0866 8220

Teaching Assistant: Roberto Bonilla SSB 341 robonilla@ucsd.edu

E-mail Communications with the Instructor and TAs. Please begin the subject line of any e-mail message with POLI 136A. This will reduce the chances that your message will become lost in the flurry of non-course e-mail messages that come in each day.

Canvas Course Site. The key link to this course and all course materials is the Canvas Course Website (https://coursefinder.ucsd.edu). Please up-date your personal settings in Canvas so that you receive any announcements and e-mail correspondence for this course. If you encounter problems in accessing any of the materials for this course, please contact the instructor immediately by e-mail.

Readings. All assigned readings are available through the Canvas course page. The reading is very light, but you should read each closely and pay attention to the methodologies used by each analyst. That is, note the ways the authors frame their research questions, develop a theory-based answer, formulate testable hypotheses, and design research to test the hypotheses and so to answer the question.

Perusall Assignments on the Readings. You should complete all four Perusall assignments on the readings, as indicated in the Schedule of Lectures and Readings that begins on page 4 of this syllabus. You should access these assignments on the Canvas course website through “Assignments” on the left sidebar. (Do not use the “Perusall” tab on the left sidebar.) Only access the Perusall assignment through your VPN, because Perusall will not credit you for submissions outside your VPN. I recommend that you complete the Perusall assignments by the suggested submission dates, but you may complete these at any time before the end of the tenth week for full credit.

In each Perusall assignment you should make at least five separate comments on the substantive claims and methodologies of the assigned reading. You may respond to comments made by other students. Each Perusall assignment is graded on whether your comments engage the material in the article. Perusall may subtract a point or two if you spend less than 90 minutes on the entire article.

Lectures and Podcasts. Lectures are an essential part of this course. Lectures provide the background and the larger context for the analysis of nationalism. You should either attend all lectures or listen to the podcasts.

The lectures will be delivered in person on most Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 9:00 am. They will be available as Podcasts posted to the Canvas course website under “Media Gallery” on the left-hand sidebar. The Podcast usually will be available later on the day of the lecture. The PowerPoint will be available on the Canvas course website prior to the lecture.

Quizzes. Three quizzes will test your knowledge of the materials covered in lectures. Quiz #1 covers lectures #2 through #8; Quiz #2 covers lectures #9 through #14; and Quiz #3 covers lectures #15 through #23. Each will consist of thirty-two multiple-choice questions and last forty minutes. You may take each Quiz remotely and use your notes during the Quiz. Only your two best Quiz scores will count in your course grade and so, if you miss one quiz, that score will be dropped. There will be no lectures on Quiz days.

Videos and Research Proposals. We will view three on-line videos on three different Fridays—although you may view these at different times at your convenience. After each you will write a proposal for a research project suggested by that video. This assignment is described more fully in the document
“Research Proposals” posted on the Canvas course website. Each Research Proposal will be two double-spaced pages (about 500 to 600 words). It should state the research question suggested by the video, advance at least one testable hypothesis, briefly explain the theoretical logic that gives rise to that hypothesis, and describe a research strategy for testing the hypothesis and so answering the research question. Only your two best scores will count in your course grade and so, if you fail to submit one of the Research Proposals, that grade will be dropped.

**Grades.** Your course grade will weight each type of assignment equally:

- Perusall Assignments on Readings 33.3%  
- Quizzes on Lectures 33.3%  
- Research Proposals 33.3%

All four assignments:  
Best two of three quizzes:  
Best two of three proposals:

There are no other assignments.

Grades will be recorded on a 16-point scale (the familiar 4.0 GPA scale times 4) as follows:

- ≥16.1 = A+  
- 15.0-16.0 = A  
- 14.0-14.9 = A-  
- 13.0-13.9 = B+  
- 11.0-12.9 = B  
- 10.0-10.9 = B-  
- 9.0-9.9 = C+  
- 7.0-8.9 = C  
- 6.0-6.9 = C-  
- 2.0-5.9 = D  
- 0.0-1.9 = F

Canvas will show these scores for your Perusall assignments and Research proposals. Canvas will show the number of correct answers on each quiz, but not convert this to the 16-point scale. Please ignore other numbers such as percentage of points that Canvas may generate; these other numbers are totally irrelevant.

**Missed Assignments.** The course assignments are designed to minimize the likelihood that you will need to request an extension of a deadline or a make-up Quiz. The Perusall and Research Proposals should be submitted on or before the suggested due date, but can be submitted without penalty before Friday, June 7, the last day of classes. If you submit your assignment after the suggested due date, it probably will not receive much feedback from the TA, who must get on to grading the next assignments.

The Quizzes must be taken on the days and time (9:00 to 9:50 am) shown on the syllabus. Since you can drop one Quiz score, you should not ever need to request a make-up Quiz. I strongly suggest that you not skip an earlier Quiz without considering the risk that you may also need to miss a later quiz due to health or other emergency.

**Plagiarism.** You may discuss your research proposals with others. Indeed, I encourage you to present your ideas to others and to solicit critical feedback as you develop your proposal. Nonetheless, the written work that you submit must be your own. Please do not jeopardize your academic career and your professional reputation by academic dishonesty. The payoff to dishonesty is very small, the costs—both immediate and long term—can be very high.

**Note:** By enrolling in this course, you agree to submit your final paper for textual-similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the terms-of-use agreement posted on the Turnitin.com website.
SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READINGS

I. Basics: Course Mechanics and Definitions of the Scope of the Course
   Mo Apr  1. Lecture #1. Introduction to the Course
   We Apr  3. Lecture #2. What Do We Mean by “Nations” and “Nationalism”?
   Fr Apr  5. Lecture #3. Other Concepts that Use the Labels “Nation” and “Nationalism”

   Perusal Reading (Suggested submission is April 5):
   Introduction.

II. Origins: Where Do Nation-States Come From?
   Mo Apr  8. Lecture #4. What Do We Mean by “Sovereignty”? Does This Exist in the Real World?
   We Apr 10. Lecture #5. Background: A Brief History of Sovereignty and the Nation-State
   Fr Apr 12. Lecture #6. What Was Behind the Emergence of the Original Nation-States?, I

   Perusal Reading (Suggested submission is April 12):
   *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21:3 (July), 303-22.

III. Origins: Where Do Nation-States Come From?
   Mo Apr 15. Lecture #7. What Was Behind the Emergence of the Original Nation-States?, II
   We Apr 17. Lecture #8. Which Nations Get States of Their Own Today? And Why Not Others?
   Fr Apr 19. Video #1. “Reconquering the Conquest: Quebec.”
   This video presents a case study of a national-secession project that was intense from the late 1960s and up to the 1990s but has subsequently found its support wane.
   [You may view the video at any time. I will be available on Zoom at 947 0866 8220 during the class time to answer individual questions about your research proposal.]

IV. Processes: How to Build Nations In and Out of Power?
   Mo Apr 22. Lecture #9. Building Nations in Existing States: Which Came First—Nations or States?
   Tu Apr 23. Due: Research Proposal #1 (Suggested Submission Date)
   We Apr 24. Lecture #10. How Do Nationalists Campaign for the Independence of an Imagined State?
   Fr Apr 26. Quiz #1. Covers Lectures #2 through #8.

V. Alleged Consequences: International Change and Violence?
   Mo Apr 29. Lecture #11. Background: Projects to Change International Boundaries
   We May  1. Lecture #12. Is There a Right to Self-Determination in International Law?
   Fr May  3. Lecture #13. When Do Independence Campaigns Become Violent?

   Perusal Reading (Suggested submission is May 3):
VI. Alleged Consequences: Violence?

We May 8. Lecture #15. Conflict-Resolution Strategies: Can National Disputes Resolve Peacefully?
This video presents a case study of the division between Croats and Serbs that continued even after the formal break-up of Yugoslavia.
[You may view the video at any time. I will be available on Zoom at 947 0866 8220 during the class time to answer individual questions about your research proposal.]

VII. Alleged Consequences: Autocracy?

Mo May 13. Lecture #16. The Democratic-Impossibility Theorem: Is Democracy Possible?
Tu May 14. Due: Research Proposal #2 (Suggested Submission Date)
We May 15. Lecture #17. Can Ethnic Autonomy and Ethnofederal Institutions Support Democracy?
Fr May 17. Quiz #2. Covers Lectures #9 through #14.

VIII. Alleged Consequences: Autocracy?

Mo May 20. Lecture #18. Are There Better Institutional Arrangements Than Power Sharing?
We May 22. Lecture #19. Is Populism the Consequence of Nationalism?
Fr May 24. Lecture #20. Is Fascism the Natural Outcome of Too Much Nationalism?
Perusal Reading (Suggested submission is May 24):

IX. Alleged Consequences: Bad Policy?

Mo May 27. Memorial Day [No lecture]
We May 29. Lecture #21. Domestic Policies: Can Plurinational States Serve the Public Good?
This video presents a case study of the Kurdish movements in four different states that imagine a Kurdistan state that is yet to become a reality.
[You may view the video at any time. I will be available on Zoom at 947 0866 8220 during the class time to answer individual questions about your research proposal.]

X. Alleged Consequences: Bad Policy?

Mo Jun 3. Lecture #22. Does Nationalism Drive Aggressive Foreign Policy Behaviors?
Tu Jun 4. Due: Research Proposal #3 (Suggested Submission Date)
We Jun 5. Lecture #23. Wrap Up.
Fr Jun 7. Quiz #3. Covers Lectures #15 through #23.
GENERAL UNIVERSITY AND DEPARTMENT POLICIES AND RESOURCES
that are Very Important to this Course

First Day Survey: Attestation of Attendance for Financial Aid
If you receive financial aid through the University, you should complete the First Day Survey on the Canvas course website. This should automatically certify to the Financial Aid Office that you are attending class this quarter and so meet the Federal Government requirement for this certification.

Resources to Support Student Learning
Library assistance: https://library.ucsd.edu/ask-us
Supplemental instruction and writing assistance: https://commons.ucsd.edu
Mental health services: https://caps.ucsd.edu
Peer support for student communities: https://students.ucsd.edu/student-life/diversity

Student Accessibility. Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (https://osd.ucsd.edu). Please discuss accommodation arrangements with the Instructor well in advance. If you are dissatisfied with the accommodation provided by the Instructor, please contact as soon as possible the OSD liaison for the Department of Political Science, Zain Sharifi, through the Virtual Advising Center (VAC).

Academic Advising. Students with academic advising questions related to the Political Science major, should contact the Department’s Undergraduate Advisor, Zain Sharifi, through the Virtual Advising Center (VAC).

Maintaining Academic Integrity. UCSD takes academic integrity very seriously. This ensures that all students will be evaluated equally and fairly on the basis of the work they do for the class. For more information on University policies and programs, click on the Academic Integrity module on the left-hand sidebar of the Canvas course website.

Inclusive Classroom. The instructor is fully committed to creating a learning environment that supports diversity of thought, perspectives, experiences, and identities. I urge each of you to contribute your unique perspectives to discussions of course questions, themes, and materials so that we can learn from one another. As we encounter different points of view in the course, there is no Party line, and you should not waste your time trying to figure out what the instructor wants you to believe. The instructor wants you to use the variety of views as an opportunity to interrogate your own preconceived notions and first impressions and to develop well-thought-out perspectives on the important questions raised in this course. An important message of this course is that reasonable, well-informed, and well-intentioned individuals may come to different conclusions about the important questions we will examine.

To be productive, exchanges of views require that we be respectful of one another, even when we disagree. If you should ever feel excluded, or unable to participate fully in class, please let the instructor know, or submit concerns to the Political Science Department’s Undergraduate Advisor. Our goal is to realize in this course UCSD’s Principles of Community (https://ucsd.edu/about/principles.html) and to empower you to develop your individual potentialities in directions that you choose.