

MGIMO University
School of Government and International Affairs

Syllabus approved
Dean, The MGIMO School of Government and International Affairs
Mikhail Troitskiy
« » 2021

Nationalism and Nation-Building

Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Instructor
Dr. Vladimir A. Zhdanov

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This syllabus is designed in accordance with the MGIMO Educational Standard for the Bachelor Program in International Affairs.

Author _____ Vladimir A. Zhdanov

Director MGIMO Library _____ Marina Reshetnikova

PART 1:
INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION AND COURSE DESCRIPTION

1.1 General information

- Full course title: Nationalism and Nation-Building
- Type of course: Elective
- Level of course B.A.
- Year of study: 3rd
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 2
- Name of the instructor: Dr. Vladimir A. Zhdanov
- E-mail: zhdanov.v@my.mgimo.ru

1.2 Course aims and learning outcomes

The course examines the theoretical and historical evolution of nationalism and nation-building by providing a survey of the major theoretical approaches, such as instrumentalist, constructivist, and primordialist. It discusses the impact of nationalism on state formation and on patterns of political violence. The definitions of national identity and citizenship will be analyzed as well. At the end the course will address the effects of globalization and the resurgence of nationalism in the post-Cold War era.

Learning outcomes

By the end of this course students should be able to understand the current explanations of nationalism and state formation. Students will develop an in-depth knowledge of major topics within the field of nationalism studies.

1.3 Course requirements and grading plan

Course requirements

Students are required to attend no less than 75% of classes and be prepared for class discussions. Reading of the required materials and active engagement in class discussions is mandatory.

Grading plan

Required reading materials in the form of the instructor's handouts (about 7-8 single spaced pages) will be uploaded to the corresponding Google Classroom site.

The semester grades will be based on three 30-minute tests – 100% in total.

Participation in class discussions – additional 10%.

There will be a final exam at the end of the semester.

PART 2. COURSE CONTENT

2.1 Types of work

Types of work	Academic hours	ECTS credits
Total	72	2
Total for lectures and discussions	32	
Lectures	16	
Discussions	16	
Homework	40	
Reading assignments	13	
Preparation for the first test	9	
Preparation for the second test	9	
Preparation for the third test	9	

2.2. Course content and readings by topic

Topic 1: Introduction (lecture and discussion)

Different meanings of nationalism. Nationalism as ideology. The results of classification policy in different states. Ethnic (“Eastern”) and civic (“Western”) nationalisms. Two-dimensional model of nationalism.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. Clark C. ‘The Nation-state, civic and ethnic dimensions.’ – Cordell K., Wolff S. (eds.). *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 45-52.
2. Grosby S. *Nations and Nationalism in World History*. New York: Routledge, 2022. Chapter 2 (‘Categories: Nation, National State, Nationalism, Patriotism’).
3. Larsen C.A. ‘Revitalizing the ‘civic’ and ‘ethnic’ distinction. Perceptions of nationhood across two dimensions, 44 countries and two decades.’ – *Nations and nationalism*. Vol. 24 (2017), no. 4, p. 970-993.
4. Smith A.D. *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Chapter 1 (‘Concepts’) & Chapter 2 (‘Ideologies’).
5. Tamir Y. *Why Nationalism?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Topic 2: Main approaches to the study of nationalism: Primordialism, perennialism and ethnosymbolism (lecture and discussion)

Four types of primordialist approach. The socio-biological and culturalist discourses. Continuous and recurrent perennialisms. Ethnosymbolism. *La long durée*. The patterns of *ethnies*’ formation. The mechanisms of ethnic self-renewal. The lateral and vernacular routes to becoming a nation.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. Armstrong J.A. ‘Definitions, periodization, and prospects for the ‘long durée’.’ – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 10 (2004), no. 1/2, p. 9-18.

2. *Connor W.* 'The Timelessness of Nations.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 10 (2004), no. 1/2, p. 35-48.
3. *Roshwald A.* 'Nations are (occasionally) forever: Alternatives to the modernist perspective.' – *Berger S., Storm E.* (ed.). *Writing the History of Nationalism*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019, p. 83-103.
4. *Smith A.D.* *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. Chapter 3 ('Paradigms', p.49-56) & Chapter 4 ('Theories', p. 78-86).
5. *Smith A.D.* 'Nations before Nationalism? Myth and Symbolism in John Armstrong's Perspective.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 21 (2015), no. 1, p. 165-170.

Topic 3: Main approaches to the study of nationalism: Modernism (lecture and discussion)

The varieties of modernist paradigm (socioeconomic, sociocultural, political, ideological, constructivist). The invention of tradition. The role of elites. Three stages of nationalism. The alliance of state and culture. Five stages to nation-states' formation. An imagined, limited and sovereign political community. The Christian conception of simultaneity-along-time. The modern conception of homogeneous empty time. Print-capitalism. The impact of the Reformation. The rise of 'official nationalism'.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Anderson B.* *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised edition. London: Verso, 2006. Chapter 2 ('Cultural Roots') & Chapter 3 ('The Origins of National Consciousness').
2. *Breuilly J.* 'Modernism and writing the history of nationalism' – *Berger S., Storm E.* (ed.). *Writing the History of Nationalism*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019, p. 61-82.
3. *Cox L.* *Nationalism: Themes, Theories, and Controversies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021. Chapter 3 ('The Modern Origins of Nations, Nationality and Nationalism?').
4. *Gellner E.* *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.
5. *Hobsbawm E.J.* *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. 2nd. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Chapter 2 ('Popular proto-nationalism') & Chapter 3 ('The government perspective').

Topic 4: The origin and historic forms of the state (lecture and discussion)

Three basic forms of world politics. The Roman Republic and the Empire. The sources of republican imperialism. The causes of imperial decline. Feudalism. "Roving bandits" and "stationary bandits". City-states and multi-ethnic empires. The rise of the centralized states. The Reformation. The Peace of Westphalia. Absolutism.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Fukuyama F.* *The Origins of Political Order. From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.
2. *Greenfeld L.* *Nationalism*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2019.

3. *Mann M.* The Sources of Social Power. The Rise of Classes and Nation-States. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Chapter 3 ('A theory of the modern state').
4. *Olson M.* 'Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development.' – *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 87 (1993), no. 3, p. 567-574.
5. *Steinberger P.J.* The Idea of the State. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Topic 5. The nation-state (lecture and discussion)

The four greatest modern state crystallizations. The Military Revolution: 'War made states and states made war.' The West European and Central European models of national development. Unification nationalism and separatist nationalism. State-centered and *volk*-centered routes to nation-statehood. Imperialism.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Hutchinson J.* 'Bringing the study of warfare into theories of nationalism' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 24 (2018), no. 1, p. 6–21.
2. *Schwartzwald J.L.* The Rise of the Nation-State in Europe. Absolutism, Enlightenment and Revolution, 1603-1815. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Publishers, 2017.
3. *Tilly C.* 'Reflections on the History of European State-Making.' – *Tilly C.* (ed.). The Formation of National States in Western Europe. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975, p. 3-83.
4. *Tilly C.* 'Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation.' – *Tilly C.* (ed.). The Formation of National States in Western Europe, p. 601-638.
5. *Tilly C.* 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime.' – *Evans P.B., Rueschemeyer D., Skocpol T.* (eds.). Bringing the State Back In. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 169-191.

Topic 6. Social identity (lecture and discussion)

Social identity theory. The minimal group studies. In-groups and out-groups. Social categorization. Social comparison. Social identification. The individual mobility belief system. The social change belief system. A group distinctiveness threat. A categorization threat. An acceptance threat.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Billig M.* 'Henri Tajfel's 'Cognitive aspects of prejudice' and the psychology of bigotry' – *British Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol. 41, 2002, p. 171-178.
2. *van Knippenberg A.F.M.* 'Intergroup Differences in Group Perceptions.' – *Tajfel H.* (ed.). The Social Dimension. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 560-578.
3. *Phinney J. S.* 'Identity Formation across Cultures: The Interaction of Personal, Societal, and Historical Change.' – *Human Development*. Vol. 43, 2000, p. 27–31.

4. Sidanius J., Haley H., Molina L., Pratto F. 'Vladimir's Choice and the Distribution of Social Resources: A Group Dominance Perspective' – *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, vol. 10, 2007, no. 2, p. 257-265.
5. Tajfel H. 'Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice' – *Journal of Biosocial Science*. Vol. 1 (1969), S. 1, p. 173-191.

Topic 7. National identity (lecture and discussion)

Awareness of differences. Stages of ethnic identity development. Forms of social creativity strategy. Criteria of ethnic identification. The linear bipolar model and the two-dimensional model of ethnic identity. Zero ethnic identity.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. Erhardt J., Wamsler S., Freitag M. 'National identity between democracy and autocracy: a comparative analysis of 24 countries' – *European Political Science Review*. Vol. 13 (2021), no. 1, p. 59-76.
2. McCrone D., Bechhofer F. *Understanding National Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
3. Smith A.D. *National Identity*. London: Penguin Books, 1991. Chapter 1 ('National and other identities', p. 8-18).
4. Uberoi V. 'National Identity – A Multiculturalist's Approach.' – *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*. Vol. 21 (2018), no. 1, p. 46-64.
5. Zhou M., Bankston C.L. 'The model minority stereotype and the national identity question: the challenges facing Asian immigrants and their children.' – *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. Vol. 43 (2020), no.1, p. 233-253.

Topic 8. Sovereignty (lecture and discussion)

Authority and power. Territorial sovereignty. International legal sovereignty. Westphalian sovereignty. Domestic sovereignty. Interdependence sovereignty. Popular sovereignty. Self-determination.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. Boli J. 'Sovereignty from a World Policy Perspective' – Krasner S.D. (ed.). *Problematic Sovereignty. Contested Rules and Political Possibilities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 53-82.
2. Krasner S.D. *Sovereignty. Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
3. Nootens G. 'Liberal nationalism and the sovereign territorial ideal.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 12 (2006), no.1, p. 35-50.
4. Sluga G. 'What is national self-determination? Nationality and psychology during the apogee of nationalism.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 11 (2005), no.1, p. 1-20.

5. *Stråth B.* 'Identity and social solidarity: an ignored connection. A historical perspective on the state of Europe and its nations.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 23 (2017), no.2, p. 227-247.

Topic 9: Citizenship (lecture and discussion).

Ancient and modern citizenship. The liberal and civic-republican conceptions of citizenship. Liberal democratic citizenship. The phases of modern democratic citizenship (the state-building phase, the industrial economy phase, the nation-making phase). *Jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*. The rise of *idiotes*. Citizenship and the welfare state.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Bellami R.* 'The Making of Modern Citizenship' – *Bellami R., Castiglione D., Santoro E.* (eds.). *Lineages of European Citizenship. Rights, Belonging and Participation in Eleven Nation-States*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 3-19.
2. *Brown D.* 'Why is the nation-state so vulnerable to ethnic nationalism?' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 4 (1998), no.1, p. 1-15.
3. *Kissane B., Sitter N.* 'The marriage of state and nation in European constitutions' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 16 (2010), no.1, p. 49-67.
4. *Reeskens T., Hooghe M.* 'Beyond the civic-ethnic dichotomy: investigating the structure of citizenship concepts across thirty-three countries' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 16 (2010), no. 4, p. 579-597.
5. *Stoker G. et al.* (eds.) *Prospects for Citizenship*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011.

Topic 10. Post-Communist nationalism (lecture and discussion)

The imperial stateness. The peculiarities of the Ottoman, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian empires. The peculiarities of the Soviet imperial model. The impact of structural constraints. The failure of "Communist nationalism". The re-emergence of civil society. The revolutions of 1989.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Darden K., Grzymala-Busse A.* 'The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse,' – *World Politics*. Vol. 59 (2006), no.1, p. 83-115.
2. *Hastings D.* *Nationalism in Modern Europe. Politics, Identity, and Belonging since the French Revolution*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. Chapter 8 ('The Politics of Belonging in Europe after the Cold War').
3. *McCrone D.* *The Sociology of Nationalism*. Chapter 8 ('The unforeseen revolution: Post-communist nationalism' p. 149-166).
4. *Mentzel P.C.* 'Nationalism, civil society, and the revolution of 1989.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 18 (2012), no.4, p. 624-642.
5. *Mevius M.* 'Reappraising Communism and Nationalism.' – *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 37 (2009), no. 4, p. 377-400.

Topic 11. Far-right nationalism and xenophobia (lecture and discussion)

The process of modernization and the rise of populist radical right parties. Changing class structures and the emergence of post-materialist values. New political cleavages. The end of the Cold War and the decline of support for mainstream center-left and center-right parties. The LET hypothesis.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Bonikowski B., Halikiopoulou D., Kaufmann E., Rooduijn M.* 'Populism and nationalism in a comparative perspective: a scholarly exchange.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 25 (2019), no. 1, p. 58-81.
2. *Eatwell R., Goodwin M.* *National Populism. The Revolt against Liberal Democracy*. London: Penguin Random House, 2018.
3. *Halikiopoulou D., Vlandas T.* 'What is new and what is nationalist about Europe's new nationalism? Explaining the rise of the far right in Europe. – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 25 (2019), no. 2, p. 409–434.
4. *Hosking G.* 'Why has nationalism revived in Europe?' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 22 (2016), no. 2, p. 210-221.
5. *Mudde C.* 'Europe's Populist Surge. A Long Time in the Making.' – *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 95 (2016), no. 6, p. 25-30.

Topic 12. The nationalism of the rich (lecture and discussion)

Sub-state nationalism. Catalonia, the Basque Country, Northern Italy, Scotland. The rhetoric of economic and cultural victimization. The economic marker of national identity. The fiscal burden of welfare state. Regionalism and regionalization. Devolution. The Spanish State of Autonomies. The PNV and the ETA. The Third Italy and the Northern League. The SNP. 'Democratic deficit.' The SNP's conception of democracy.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Dalle Mulle E.* *The Nationalism of the Rich. Discourses and Strategies of Separatist Parties in Catalonia, Flanders, Northern Italy and Scotland*. London: Routledge, 2018.
2. *Duerr G.M.E.* *Secessionism and the European Union. The Future of Flanders, Scotland, and Catalonia*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015.
3. *Paul D.E.* 'The "Civic" Road to Secession: Political Ideology as an Ethnic Boundary Marker in Contemporary Scotland.' – *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 26 (2020), no. 2, p. 167-182.
4. *Show J.* 'Unions and Citizens: Membership Status and Political Rights in Scotland, the UK and the EU.' – *Closa C.* (ed.). *Secession from a Member State and Withdrawal from the European Union. Troubled Membership*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, p. 153-186.
5. *Swan C.B., Cetrà D.* 'Why Stay Together? State Nationalism and Justifications for State Unity in Spain and the UK.' – *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 26 (2020), no. 1, p. 46-65.

Topic 13. Post-colonialism and the nation (lecture and discussion)

Colonial legacies. The key institutions for the codification of colonial dominion (the census, the map and the museum). The conception of the anti-colonial nation as the mirror image of colonialism. The politicization of ethnic difference. The ethnicization of the bureaucracy. Ethnic clientelist networks. Administrative rent. The ethnicization of political conflicts.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Brownlee J.* 'Can America Nation-Build?' – *World Politics*. Vol. 59, no. 2 (2007), p. 314-340.
2. *Doran C.* 'Postcolonialism, Anti-colonialism, Nationalism and History.' – *International Studies*. Vol. 56 (2019), no. 2–3, p. 92–108.
3. *Go J., Watson J.* 'Anticolonial Nationalism from Imagined Communities to Colonial Conflict.' – *European Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 60 (2019), no. 1, p. 31–68.
4. *Koter D.* 'Presidents' Ethnic Identity and Citizens' National Attachment in Africa.' – *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 25 (2019), no. 2, p. 133-151.
5. *Wimmer A.* 'Who owns the state? Understanding ethnic conflict in post-colonial societies.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 3 (1997), no. 4, p. 635-653.

Topic 14. Modern ethnic conflicts and state breaking (lecture and discussion)

Basic approaches to study of ethnic conflicts (social structural theory, rational choice theory, realistic group conflict theory, socio-biological theory). Crosscutting and reinforcing social ties. Identity theories of ethnic conflict (social identity theory, relative deprivation and reference group theory, psycho-cultural interpretation theory, prejudice and discrimination theory). Ethnic cleansing and genocide. Trust-building mechanisms. Forms of external intervention.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Cederman L.E., Weideman N.B., Gleditsch K.S.* 'Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison.' – *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 105 (2011), no. 3, 478-495.
2. *Ishiyama J., Shliek I.* 'Rethinking the Relationship between Inclusive Institutions and Political Violence.' – *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 26 (2020), no. 3, p. 240-259.
3. *Powers K.E.* *Nationalism in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022. Chapter 2 ('Varieties of Nationalism and Attitudes about Conflict and Cooperation') & Chapter 3 ('Nationalisms, Support for Conflict Escalation, and Militarism').
4. *Ray S.* 'Beyond Divide and Rule: Explaining the Link between British Colonialism and Ethnic Violence.' – *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 24 (2018), no. 4, p. 367-388.
5. *Visoka G.* 'Everyday peace capture: Nationalism and the dynamics of peace after violent conflict.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 26 (2020), no. 2, p. 431–446.

Topic 15. Nationalism and globalization (lecture and discussion)

Economic interconnectedness. The “nomadic” tendencies of modern capitalism. New information technologies. Transnationalism. Globalization and national identity. The exclusive nature of new nationalism. Restless young men. Violence as the central strategy for political mobilization. The ideology of global Islam as a new phenomenon. Cosmopolitanism. Multiculturalism.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Ariely G.* ‘Globalisation and the decline of national identity? An exploration across sixty-three counties.’ – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 18 (2012), no. 3, p. 461-482.
2. *Cox L.* *Nationalism: Themes, Theories, and Controversies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021. Chapter 5 (‘Nationalism and Populism in the Age of Globalization’).
3. *Croucher S.L.* *Globalization and Belonging. The Politics of Identity in a Changing World*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004
4. *Kaldor M.* ‘Nationalism and Globalisation.’ – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 10 (2004), no. 1/2, p. 161-176.
5. *Tønnesson S.* ‘Globalising national states.’ – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 10 (2004), no. 1/2, p. 179-194.

Topic 16: Conclusion (lecture and discussion)

The decline of the welfare state. The ‘internationalization of the state’. The challenges from above and below. The evolution of wars from national to global. The EU as an economic giant, a political dwarf, and a military worm. The loss of coherence between nation and state. A new kind of multiple citizenship. The pluralist, territorial and inclusivist Europeanness. The future of nationalism.

Required readings: Handout

Suggested readings:

1. *Flew T.* Globalization, neo-globalization and post-globalization: The challenge of populism and the return of the national. – *Global Media and Communication*. Vol. 16 (2020), no. 1, p. 19-39.
2. *McCrone D.* *The Sociology of Nationalism*. London: Routledge, 1998. Chapter 9 (‘Nationalism and its Futures’).
3. *Newman S.* ‘Nationalism in Postindustrial Societies: Why States Still Matter.’ – *Comparative Politics*. Vol. 33, no. 1 (2000), p. 21-41.
4. *Smith A.D.* *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. Chapter 6 (‘Prospects’).
5. *Woods E.T.; Schertzer R.; Greenfeld L.; Hughes C.; Miller-Idriss C.* ‘COVID-19, nationalism, and the politics of crisis: A scholarly exchange’ – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 26 (2020), no. 4, p. 807-825.

Readings

Anderson B. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Revised edition. London: Verso, 2006.

Ariely G. 'Globalisation and the decline of national identity? An exploration across sixty-three counties.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 18 (2012), no. 3, p. 461-482

Armstrong J.A. 'Definitions, periodization, and prospects for the 'long durée'.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 10 (2004), no. 1-2, p. 9-18.

Bellami R. 'The Making of Modern Citizenship' – *Bellami R., Castiglione D., Santoro E.* (eds.). *Lineages of European Citizenship. Rights, Belonging and Participation in Eleven Nation-States.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, p. 3-19.

Billig M. 'Henri Tajfel's 'Cognitive aspects of prejudice' and the psychology of bigotry' – *British Journal of Social Psychology*. Vol. 41, 2002, p. 171-178.

Boli J. 'Sovereignty from a World Policy Perspective' – *Krasner S.D.* (ed.). *Problematic Sovereignty. Contested Rules and Political Possibilities.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 53-82.

Bonikowski B., Halikiopoulou D., Kaufmann E., Rooduijn M. 'Populism and nationalism in a comparative perspective: a scholarly exchange.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 25 (2019), no. 1, p. 58-81.

Breuilly J. 'Modernism and writing the history of nationalism' – *Berger S., Storm E.* (ed.). *Writing the History of Nationalism.* London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019, p. 61-82.

Brown D. 'Why is the nation-state so vulnerable to ethnic nationalism?' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 4 (1998), no.1, p. 1-15.

Brownlee J. 'Can America Nation-Build?' – *World Politics*. Vol. 59, no. 2 (2007), p. 314-340.

Cederman L.E., Weideman N.B., Gleditsch K.S. 'Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison.' – *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 105 (2011), no. 3, p. 478-495.

Clark C. 'The Nation-state, civic and ethnic dimensions.' – *Cordell K., Wolff S.* (eds.). *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict.* New York: Routledge, 2011.

Connor W. 'The Timelessness of Nations.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 10 (2004), no. 1-2, p. 35-48.

Cox L. *Nationalism: Themes, Theories, and Controversies.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

Croucher S.L. *Globalization and Belonging. The Politics of Identity in a Changing World.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004.

Dalle Mulle E. *The Nationalism of the Rich. Discourses and Strategies of Separatist Parties in Catalonia, Flanders, Northern Italy and Scotland.* London: Routledge, 2018.

Darden K., Grzymala-Busse A. 'The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse,' *World Politics*. Vol. 59 (2006), no.1, p. 83-115.

Doran C. 'Postcolonialism, Anti-colonialism, Nationalism and History.' – *International Studies*. Vol. 56 (2019), no. 2-3, p. 92-108.

- Duerr G.M.E.* Secessionism and the European Union. The Future of Flanders, Scotland, and Catalonia. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015.
- Eatwell R., Goodwin M.* National Populism. The Revolt against Liberal Democracy. London: Penguin Random House, 2018.
- Erhardt J., Wamsler S., Freitag M.* 'National identity between democracy and autocracy: a comparative analysis of 24 countries' – *European Political Science Review*. Vol. 13 (2021), no. 1, p. 59-76.
- Flew T.* Globalization, neo-globalization and post-globalization: The challenge of populism and the return of the national. – *Global Media and Communication*. Vol. 16 (2020), no. 1, p. 19-39.
- Fukuyama F.* The Origins of Political Order. From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011.
- Gellner E.* Nations and Nationalism. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.
- Go J., Watson J.* 'Anticolonial Nationalism from Imagined Communities to Colonial Conflict.' – *European Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 60 (2019), no. 1, p. 31–68.
- Greenfeld L.* Nationalism. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2019.
- Grosby S.* Nations and Nationalism in World History. New York: Routledge, 2022.
- Halikiopoulou D., Vlandas T.* 'What is new and what is nationalist about Europe's new nationalism? Explaining the rise of the far right in Europe. – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 25 (2019), no. 2, p. 409–434.
- Hastings D.* Nationalism in Modern Europe. Politics, Identity, and Belonging since the French Revolution. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018.
- Hobsbawm E.J.* Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality. 2nd. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Hosking G.* 'Why has nationalism revived in Europe?' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 22 (2016), no.2, p. 210-221.
- Hutchinson J.* 'Bringing the study of warfare into theories of nationalism' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 24 (2018), no. 1, p. 6–21.
- Ishiyama J., Shliek I.* 'Rethinking the Relationship between Inclusive Institutions and Political Violence.' – *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 26 (2020), no. 3, p. 240-259.
- Kaldor M.* 'Nationalism and Globalisation.' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 10 (2004), no. 1-2, p. 161-176.
- Kissane B., Sitter N.* 'The marriage of state and nation in European constitutions' – *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 16 (2010), no.1, p. 49-67.
- Koter D.* 'Presidents' Ethnic Identity and Citizens' National Attachment in Africa.' – *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. Vol. 25 (2019), no. 2, p. 133-151.
- van Knippenberg A.F.M.* 'Intergroup Differences in Group Perceptions.' – *Tajfel H. (ed.). The Social Dimension*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 560-578.
- Krasner S.D.* Sovereignty. Organized Hypocrisy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Larsen C.A. 'Revitalizing the 'civic' and 'ethnic' distinction. Perceptions of nationhood across two dimensions, 44 countries and two decades.' – *Nations and nationalism*. Vol. 24 (2017), no. 4, p. 970-993.

Mann M. *The Sources of Social Power. The Rise of Classes and Nation-States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

McCrone D. *The Sociology of Nationalism*. London: Routledge, 1998.

McCrone D., Bechhofer F. *Understanding National Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

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