

University of Toronto Department of Political Science

POL438H1F - L0101

Topics in Comparative Politics I

Nations without States in Europe and North America

Instructor: Sanjay Jeram

Schedule: Mondays and Wednesdays - 10am–12pm

Location: Sidney Smith Hall 2129

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Sub-state nationalism has had profound effects on the politics, societies, and institutions of multinational states in Europe and North America. It was once assumed that the forces of modernization would sweep away non-state national identities in countries such as Canada, Spain, Belgium, France, Italy, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Yet, the Québécois, Basque, Catalan, Flemish, Corsican, Padanian, Puerto Rican, Welsh, and Scottish nationalist movements continue to express demands for autonomy, symbolic recognition, and even independence.

This course has three primary aims: (a) to introduce students to the wide range of theories that attempt to explain the emergence and persistence of sub-state nationalism and examine their applicability in specific cases; (b) to familiarize students with some of the strengths and shortcomings of the institutional solutions designed to mitigate ‘conflict’ between sub-state nations and their respective states; and (c) to critically examine the relationship between sub-state nationalism and contemporary issues, such as the legality of secession, left-right ideologies, globalization, immigration, environmentalism, and the welfare state. These issues are changing the nature of sub-state nationalism and its relationship with the state and supranational institutions (e.g. European Union).

Seminar Format

Seminars during sections ‘A’ and ‘B’ of the course will have both a lecture and discussion component. Lectures will last approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour and will emphasize theoretical approaches to the study of sub-state nations. The required readings tend to focus more on empirical applications of the various theories and approaches, and thus complement rather than substitute for the lectures. Following the lecture component of class, one or two students will introduce the week’s required readings with a presentation (5-10 minutes). In addition to synthesizing the main points of the texts, these presentations should also raise questions about the author’s arguments, approach, method, conclusions, etc. The presenters for the week will then have partial responsibility (along with the instructor) for ensuring that the discussion remains on topic and is of high quality (e.g. examines the applicability of theory in various cases, suggests ‘gaps’ or issues with existing theory, debates current events in the politics of a ‘nation without a state’ that challenges the assumptions and arguments in the readings). During section ‘C’ of the course, seminars will be driven primarily by student presentations and discussion.

Course Requirements and Evaluation:

All written work should be double-spaced, 12-point Times New Roman font with standard margins, and should include your name and student ID number.

- *Research Paper Proposal (10%)* (Due: June 8th by 9:00am via email)
 - ❖ The major writing requirement for the course is a research paper. A paper proposal outlining your research plan is also required. The proposal should be 2-4 pages (typed, double-spaced Times New Roman font) and include:
 - A description of the research question and how it relates to the themes of the course;
 - An overview of some literature you have consulted;
 - A tentative thesis statement and outline of relevant sections of your paper; and
 - A bibliography of at least ten academic books and/or journals
- *Class Participation/Presentation (25%)*
 - ❖ The participation component of your grade is based on the quality of your contributions to the seminar discussion. A quality contribution to the discussion entails: a) reading all required materials; b) making thoughtful and relevant comments in the context of the discussion; c) being courteous to your classmates and respectful of opposing viewpoints; d) not sitting quietly; and e) not monopolizing seminar discussion.
- *Take-Home Exam (25%)* (Due: June 11th by 9:59am via email)
 - ❖ Six questions based on the lectures and readings from sections A and B of the course will be distributed in class (and posted on Blackboard) on June 6th. Students must select **four** of these questions and answer them using ONLY the required readings and lectures. It is acceptable to use the supplementary readings, but it is not necessary nor will it guarantee a higher grade. Each answer should be approximately 350–500 words and must not exceed 550 words. It is necessary to use citations for the exam.
No outside sources permitted.
- *Research Paper (40%)* (Due: June 22nd by 5:00pm via email and hardcopy)
 - ❖ Students are required to write a research essay (4000–5000 words, including all notes and references) on a topic related to the course themes. Since this is a 4th-year class, it is assumed that students are familiar with the research process (e.g., finding scholarly journals, books, newspaper articles, government reports). Students who are unsure about how to conduct research for a scholarly paper should consult with a librarian at Robarts Library early on in the course. A list of suggested essay topics and instructions is appended to the end of this syllabus.

Course Policies:

- *Readings*
 - Students are responsible to complete the designated required readings prior to each class. Since the reading for each seminar sometimes exceeds 60 pages, I understand that it may not be possible to complete all three readings for each class on time. I ask that students always complete at least **two of the three readings prior to class**. It is not to your advantage to exploit my leniency because you are responsible for all required readings on the take-home exam. Furthermore, reading less will make it more difficult to earn a high participation grade. Students are **NOT required** to read the supplementary readings nor cite them in the take-home exam. The supplementary readings are useful starting points for research essays and may be of interest to some students. There are no books to purchase; all required readings from academic journals are available through the library's holdings (hyperlinks in syllabus). Readings marked with an asterisk will be emailed to students on the first day of classes.
- *Late Penalties*
 - Late work is penalized by 4% each 24-hour period, the first of which begins one minute past the assignment deadline.
- *Extensions*
 - Barring extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances, no extensions will be granted on coursework.
- *Academic Integrity*
 - Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. Students are obliged to familiarize themselves with the University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (available at <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>), which outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from your instructor or from other institutional resources (see <http://www.utoronto.ca/academicintegrity/resourcesforstudents.html>).
- *Accommodation*
 - The University provides academic accommodations for students with disabilities in accordance with the terms of the Ontario Human Rights Code. This occurs through a collaborative process that acknowledges a

collective obligation to develop an accessible learning environment that both meets the needs of students and preserves the essential academic requirements of the University's courses and programs. If you require accommodation or have accessibility concerns, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: <http://accessibility.utoronto.ca/>

- *Blackboard*
 - Blackboard is a crucial component of this course. It will contain course information and announcements – some of which may not come up in class – as well course readings and assignments. It will also serve as a forum for virtual participation in course discussions. Students are required to check Blackboard regularly for updates.
- *Grade Appeals*
 - You need to wait at least three days after receiving a grade to appeal it (but no later than one month). Then you must schedule an appointment to see me. Bring the assignment and be prepared to address in detail the comments you were given.

Course Topics and Readings:

[May 14th]: Introduction: What is Nation? What is a State? What is a Nation without a State? How are Nations Different than Ethnic Groups? What is the Difference Between an ‘Ethnic’ and ‘Civic’ (Sub-state) Nation?

Required Reading:

- Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 90-117*.

Supplementary Reading:

- Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 29-66.
- Philip Spence and Howard Wollman, “Good and Bad Nationalism: A Critique of Dualism,” *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 3, 3 (1998), pp. 255-274.
- Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1995).

Section A - Explaining Minority Nationalism and its Variants

[May 16th]: Modernist Approaches: Is Minority Nationalism Triggered by Uneven Social and Economic Development?

Required Reading:

- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 63-87*.
- Kenneth McRoberts, “Internal Colonialism: The Case of Quebec,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 3 (1979), pp. 293-318.
<http://search.ebscohost.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=i3h&AN=10446691&site=ehost-live>

- Ludger Mees, “Politics, Economy or Culture: The Rise and Development of Basque Nationalism in the Light of Social Movement Theory,” *Theory and Society*, 33 (2004), pp. 311-331.
http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/03042421/v33i3-4/311_peocrtlosmt

Supplementary Reading:

- Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975).
- Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, (London: NLB, 1977).

[May 23rd]: Primordialism and Ethno-Symbolism vs. Instrumentalism: Are Minority Nations ‘Historical’ or Constructed by Elites?

Required Reading:

- Diego Muro, “Nationalism and Nostalgia: The Case of Radical Basque Nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalism*, 11, 4 (2005), pp. 571-589.
http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/13545078/v11i0004/571_nantcorbn
- J.D. Eller and R.M. Coughlan, “The Poverty of Primordialism: The Demystification of Ethnic Attachment,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16, 2 (1993), pp. 183-202.
<http://search.ebscohost.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=i3h&AN=9307095453&site=ehost-live>
- Amilcar Antonio Barreto, “Constructing Boundaries: Ethnic Boundaries and Elite Preferences in Puerto Rico,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 7, 1 (2001), pp. 21-40.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/13537110108428619>

Supplementary Reading:

- John A. Armstrong, “Definitions, Periodization and Prospects for the *Longue Duree*, *Nations and Nationalism*, 10, 1/2 (2004), pp. 9-18.
- John Coakley, “Mobilizing the Past: Nationalist Images of History,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 10, 4 (2004), pp. 531-560.

[May 28th]: (Historical) Institutionalism and Minority Nationalism

Required Reading:

- André Lecours, *Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State*, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2007), pp. 62-113*.
- André Lecours, “Political Institutions, Elites, and Territorial Identity Formation in Belgium,” *National Identities*, 3, 1 (2001), pp. 51-68.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/14608940020028493>

- Eve Hepburn, “Small Worlds in Canada and Europe: A Comparison of Regional Party Systems in Quebec, Bavaria and Scotland,” *Regional and Federal Studies*, 20, 4-5 (2010), pp. 527-544.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/13597566.2010.523637>

Supplementary Reading:

- Jacques Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 9-27.
- Siobhan Harty, “The Institutional Foundations of Substate National Movements,” *Comparative Politics*, 33, 2 (2001), pp. 191-210.
- Giovanni Capoccia and R. Daniel Kelemen, “The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism, *World Politics*, 59, 3 (2007), pp. 341-369.

[May 30th]: Globalization and Sub-state Nationalism: Does the Erosion of Traditional State Sovereignty Affect Minority Nationalism?

Required Reading:

- Daniel Latouche, “Globalization in a Very Small Place: From Ethnic to Civic Nationalism in Quebec” in Michael Keating and John McGarry (eds.), *Minority Nationalism and the Changing International Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 179-202*.
- Paul Hamilton, “Converging Nationalisms: Québec, Scotland and Wales in Comparative Perspective,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 10 (2004), pp. 657-685.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/13537110490900359>
- Donald McNeill, “McGuggenisation? National Identity and Globalization in the Basque Country,” *Political Geography*, 19, 4, (2000), pp. 473-494.
http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/09626298/v19i0004/473_mniagitbc

Supplementary Reading:

- David Laitin, “National Identities in the Emerging European State,” in Michael Keating and John McGarry (eds), *Minority Nationalism and the Changing International Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.84-113.
- Peter Graefe, “The Contradictory Political Economy of Minority Nationalism,” *Theory and Society*, 34 (2005), pp. 519-549.
- Michael Keating, “European Integration and the Nationalities Question,” *Politics & Society*, 32, 3 (2004), pp. 367-388.

Section B - ‘Conflict’ Management: Power Sharing and Power Dividing

[June 4th]: Federalism and Autonomy: A ‘Slippery Slope’ to Independence?

Required Reading:

- Daniele Conversi, “The Smooth Transition: Spain’s 1978 Constitution and the Nationalities Question,” *National Identities*, 4, 3 (2002), pp. 223-244.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/1460894022000026105>
- Stephen Tierney, “Federalism in a Unitary State: A Paradox too Far?” *Regional and Federal Studies*, 19, 2 (2009), pp. 237-253.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/13597560902753511>
- Jean-Francois Caron and Guy Laforest, “Canada and Multinational Federalism: From the Spirit of 1982 to Stephen Harper’s Open Federalism,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 15, 1 (2009), pp. 27-55.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/13537110802672370>

Supplementary Reading:

- Ugo M. Amoretti, “Federalism and Territorial Cleavages,” in Ugo M. Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo (eds.), *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 1-25.
- Richard Simeon, “Canada: Federalism, Language, and Regional Conflict,” in Ugo M. Amoretti and Nancy Bermeo (eds.), *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 93-122.
- Richard Simeon and Daniel-Patrick Conway, “Federalism and the Management of Conflict in Multinational Societies,” in Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully (eds.), *Multinational Democracies*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 338-365.

[June 6th]: Consociationalism: Can Minority Representation at the ‘Centre’ Keep a Multinational State Together?

Required Reading:

- James Kennedy, “A Switzerland of the North? The *Nationalistes* and a Bi-National Canada, *Nations and Nationalism*, 10, 4 (2004), pp. 499-518.
http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/13545078/v10i0004/499_asotntnaabc
- Stefan Wolff, “The Institutional Structure of Regional Consociations in Brussels, Northern Ireland and South Tyrol,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 10 (2004), pp. 387-414.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/13537110490518255>
- Nicola McEwen and André Lecours, “Voice or Recognition? Comparing Strategies for Accommodating Territorial Minorities in Multinational States,” *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 46, 2 (2008), pp. 220-243.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/14662040802005310>

Supplementary Reading:

- Arendt Lijphart, “Consociational Democracy,” *World Politics*, 21 (1969), pp. 207-225.
- Ian Lustick, “Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism,” *World Politics* 50 (1997), pp. 88-117.
- B. Guy Peters, “Consociationalism, Corruption and Chocolate: Belgian Exceptionalism,” *West European Politics*, 29, 5 (2006), pp. 1079-1092.
- James Tilley, Geoffrey Evans and Claire Mitchell, “Consociationalism and the Evolution of Political Cleavages in Northern Ireland, 1989-2004,” *British Journal of Political Science*, 38, 4 (2008), pp. 699-717.

Section C – Contemporary Issues and Trends in the Study of Sub-state Nationalism

[June 11th]: The Legal Foundations of Secession: Do Sub-state Nations Have the Right to Secede?

- Guest Discussant: Kenneth Grad, LL.B., (Osgoode Hall Law School), LL.M., (Harvard University)

Required Reading:

- Patrick J. Monahan, *Constitutional Law*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Irwin Law, 2006), pp. 169-173; pp. 207-228.
<http://site.ebrary.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/docDetail.action?docID=10200631>
- Robert A. Young, “A Most Politic Judgment,” in David Schneiderman (ed.), *The Québec Decision: Perspectives on the Supreme Court Ruling on Secession*, (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1999), pp. 107-112.
<http://site.ebrary.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/docDetail.action?docID=10214947>
- Josée Legault, “How to Deny Québec’s Right to Self-Determination,” in David Schneiderman (ed.), *The Québec Decision: Perspectives on the Supreme Court Ruling on Secession*, (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1999), pp. 113-115.
<http://site.ebrary.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/docDetail.action?docID=10214947>
- Eddie Goldenberg, “No, Kosovo is not on the St. Lawrence,” *Globe and Mail*, 1 March 2008 (A23). Available at
<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/opinions/article669986.ece>

Supplementary Reading:

- Steven C. Roach, “A Constitutional Right to Secede? Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State,” *International Studies Perspectives*, 8, 4 (2007), pp. 446-460.
- Peter Oliver, “Canada’s Two Solitudes: Constitutional and International Law in Reference re Secession of Quebec,” *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, 6, 1-2 (1999), 65-95.

[June 13th]: Is Sub-state Nationalism Ideologically ‘Left’ or ‘Right’? Why Does Flemish Nationalism have an Electorally Successful Extreme Right-Wing Party?

Required Reading:

- Jan Erk, “Sub-state Nationalism and the Left-Right Divide: Critical Junctures in the Formation of the Nationalist Labour Movements in Belgium,” *Nations and Nationalism*, 11, 4 (2005), pp. 551-570.
http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/13545078/v11i0004/551_snatldonlmib
- Peter Lynch, “From Social Democracy back to No Ideology? The Scottish National Party and Ideological Change in a Multi-Level Setting,” *Regional and Federal Studies*, 19, 4-5 (2009), pp. 619-637.
<http://dx.doi.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/10.1080/13597560903310402>
- Hilde Coffé, Bruno Heyndels and Jan Vermeir, “Fertile Grounds for Extreme Right-Wing Parties: Explaining Vlaams Blok’s Electoral Success,” *Electoral Studies*, 26 (2007), pp. 142-155.
http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/02613794/v26i0001/142_fgferpetvbes

Supplementary Reading:

- Marijke Breuning and John Ishiyama, “The Rhetoric of Nationalism: Rhetorical Strategies of the Volksunie and Vlaams Blok in Belgium, 1991-1995, *Political Communication*, 15, 1 (1998), pp. 5-26.
- Jan Erk, Is Nationalism Left or Right? Critical Junctures in Québécois Nationalism,” *Nations and Nationalism*, 16, 3 (2010), pp. 423-441.
- Nathalie Beck and Jean-Benoit Pilet, “One Country, Two Party Systems? The 2009 Belgian Regional Elections,” *Regional and Federal Studies*, 20, 4 (2010), pp. 549-559.

[June 18th]: Reconstructing the Sub-state Nation: Social Policy and Immigration as Nation-Building Tools?

Required Reading:

- Patrick Loobuyck and Dirk Jacobs, “Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Integration Policy in Belgium and Flanders,” *Canadian Journal of Social Research*, 3, 1 (2010), pp. 29-40.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/271096>
- Cory Blad and Philippe Couton, “The Rise of an Intercultural Nation: Immigration, Diversity, and Nationhood in Quebec,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35, 4 (2009), pp. 645-667.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/271097>
- André Lecours with Daniel Béland, “The Politics of Territorial Solidarity: Sub-State Nationalism and Social Policy Reform in Canada, the United Kingdom, and Belgium,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 38, 6 (2005), pp. 676-703.
http://resolver.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/resolve/00104140/v38i0006/676_tpots

Supplementary Reading:

- Keith Banting and Stuart Soroka, “Minority Nationalism and Immigrant Integration in Canada,” *Nations and Nationalism*, 18, 1 (2012), pp. 156-176.
- Paul Hamilton, “The Greening of Nationalism: Nationalizing and Nature in Europe,” *Environmental Politics*, 11, 2 (2002), pp. 27-48.
- Sanjay Jeram, “Immigrants and the Basque Nation: Diversity as a New Marker of Identity,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, DOI:10.1080/01419870.2012.664281 (2012), pp. 1-19.
- Eve Hepburn, “Regionalist Party Mobilization on Immigration,” *West European Politics*, 32, 3 (2009), pp. 514-535.

[June 20th]: Conclusion: What Have We Learned About Minority Nationalism in the West?

Required Reading:

- André Lecours, “Sub-state Nationalism in the Western World: Explaining Continued Appeal,” *Ethnopolitics*, DOI:10.1080/17449057.2010.507114 (2011), pp. 1-19.
<http://simplelink.library.utoronto.ca/url.cfm/271101>

Attendance and Participation:

This is an advanced, reading-intensive course. You are expected to complete each week's required readings and actively contribute to class discussions. Unexcused absences will be taken into account in calculating the class participation grade. Other factors to be taken into consideration in evaluating the quality of your participation include preparation for class, being attentive to class discussions and raising thoughtful comments and questions.

It might be helpful to keep the following questions in mind in preparing for class:

- What are the central points or arguments being made in the readings?
- What evidence and methods have they used to support their arguments?
- How does the week's reading relate to other material examined in the course?
- How do you evaluate the authors' positions?

You are expected to be an active participant in class discussions. Active participation entails:

- Initiating a topic or question
- Providing information and examples to clarify a point
- Trying to synthesize or summarize a part of the discussion
- Adding to and amending what others have said
- Respectfully offering positive and negative reactions to others' points

Class Presentation:

You will select a class session for which you will respond to the question of the week. Questions should be clear from title of each seminar, but I will clarify if necessary. Your presentation should be between 5 and 10 minutes long. You will also prepare a one-page handout (single-spaced) summarizing the key points of your presentation to be e-mailed to me by 8:30 AM of the day of your presentation. Presentations will be evaluated based on content (how effectively you draw on and analyze the week's required readings), style (how well you communicate your points to the class), and preparation (based, in part, on how you respond to question and the class after your presentation). Ideally, your presentation will catalyze discussion in that week's topic. Please be sure to see me during office hours if you have any questions about your presentation.

Research Paper Assignment:

The objective of the paper is to reflect on the usefulness of competing theoretical perspectives to answer a research question. There is no set structure for the paper, but the readings in the course should provide you with examples of good academic writing. It is important to make a clear argument and organize your paper in a manner that is easy to follow. The topics below are broad and can be adapted and/or narrowed to fit your interests. Alternatively, you are welcome and encouraged to develop your own topic as

long as it is related to the course material. The instructor must approve the topic well in advance of the deadline. Essays should range between 4,000 and 5,000 words including all references, notes, and the bibliography. **Essays must not exceed 5,000 words.** Any referencing style is acceptable (e.g. APA, Chicago, MLA), but please avoid using endnotes. Use in-text citations or footnotes. You are permitted to use a variety of sources (e.g. newspapers, government documents, NGO reports), but you are required to consult a minimum of **six academic sources** (i.e. peer-reviewed articles in academic journals or books from academic publishers).

1. Comparisons of Basque and Catalan nationalisms have often labelled the Basque case as an example of ‘ethnic’ nationalism and the Catalan case as more ‘civic’. Is this characterization still valid? What explains the divergence or convergence of these two nationalist movements?
2. A version of the modernist perspective suggests that Scottish nationalism is a result of uneven development that left Scotland economically ‘backwards’ in comparison with England. Can this perspective account for the emergence and trajectory of Scottish nationalism? Does another school of thought on minority nationalism do a better job?
3. Compare and contrast the role of elites in the development of two nationalist movements discussed in the course? Were elites more important in one case? Why? Why not?
4. Did Quebec nationalism emerge in response to the nation-building process carried out by the Canadian state?
5. Some followers of Belgian politics sometimes suggest that the country will eventually break-up. To what extent has federalism/autonomy led to the strength of nationalism in Flanders? In other words, is federalism leading Belgium down a ‘slippery slope’ to dissolution?
6. Immigration has the potential to dilute the culture of the minority nation, disrupt the demographic balance between historic majority and minority group, and weaken the electoral prospects of nationalist parties. Yet, Basque, Québécois and Scottish nationalist political parties have welcomed immigration and developed policies at the sub-state level that embrace multiculturalism and diversity to varying degrees. Why have these parties avoided xenophobic rhetoric and exclusionary policies?
7. The Basque case is an often thought of as an ‘outlier’ among minority nations in the advanced industrial world because of its violent stream (i.e., ETA). Is Basque nationalism very different from the Scottish or Catalan cases in terms of its articulation of group interests? Why or why not?
8. It has been argued that minority nationalism in the West is a reactionary movement against modernity (e.g., capitalist development, globalization). Evaluate this proposition in one or two cases discussed in the course.
9. Why is Scottish nationalism dominated by a left-wing party (Scottish National Party) whereas the strongest Catalan nationalist party (Convergència i Unió) has a more right-wing ideology?