

NATIONS AND NATIONALISM

HISTORY, THEORIES AND DEBATES



MODULE HANDBOOK

2026/2027

MODULE LEADER

Alejandro Quiroga Fernández de Soto holds a PhD in Government from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is Profesor Titular at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. His research focuses on twentieth and twenty-first century nationalisms and national identities in Spain and Europe. He is the author of *Los orígenes del Nacionalcatolicismo* (Comares 2006), *Making Spaniards. Primo de Rivera and the Nationalization of the Masses (1923-1930)* (Palgrave 2007), *The Reinvention of Spain. Nation and Identity since Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 2007), with Sebastian Balfour, and *Football and National Identities in Spain. The Strange Death of Don Quixote* (Palgrave 2013). His latest book is *The People's Dictator. The Life of General Miguel Primo de Rivera* (Routledge 2025).

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MODULE ABSTRACT:

The module explores the main theoretical and historiographical debates on nationalism and national identities. The course covers the classical disputes on the nature of nationalism, the different schools dealing with the origins of nations, together with new interpretations on the transmissions of national identities. The latter includes nationalism from below, the local turn and the geographical dimensions of nation-building. The module also explores the relationship between nation, gender and class and delves into current debates on nationalism, postcolonialism and globalization.

OBJECTIVES:

1. Providing students with an advanced knowledge of theoretical approaches to the study of national identities and nationalism.
2. Providing students with the conceptual tools to explore the phenomena of national identities and nationalism.
3. Providing students with the analytical tools for investigating current issues related to nationalism.

ECTS Credits: 6

TEACHING: Semester 1

REQUIREMENTS: No specific requirements.

MODULE CONTENTS

1. What is nationalism? Early debates and theories.
2. When was the nation? Primordialism, perennialism, ethno-symbolism and modernism.
3. Nation-building and the nationalization of the masses.
4. Nationhood from below.
5. Banal nationalism and everyday nationhood.
6. The spatial turn and the three spheres of nationalization.
7. Gender and nation.
8. Narration and imagology.
9. Current debates: Nationalism in the era of globalization.

TEACHING ACTIVITIES

The module will combine synchronic and diachronic activities. The synchronic activities will include seminars, student presentations and debates. Diachronic tasks will include reading secondary and primary sources, taking part in the student fora, writing essays, book reviews and reports, together with some other online academic tasks.

Contact hours: 3 hours per week, including synchronic and diachronic activities.

ASSESSMENTS

Seminar presentations: 20%

Fora participation: 20%

Final assessment: 60%

The final assessment consists of two assignments:

- Book review. An 800-word review of a book of your choice. 20%. To be submitted on 30 October 2026.
- Essay. A 2000-word essay applying theories of nationalism to a particular case study of your choice. 40%. To be submitted on 12 January 2027.

TIMETABLE

WEEK 1 INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

22 September

WEEK 2 WHAT IS NATIONALISM?

29 September

Questions:

Is nationalism about culture or politics?

Is nationalism mainly a discursive construct?

Readings:

Umut Özkirimli, “What is Nationalism?”, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism. A Critical Engagement*, Palgrave, 2005, 13-33.

Erika Harris, *Nationalism. Theories and cases*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2009, 20-40.

WEEK 3 WHEN WAS THE NATION? (I)

6 October

Questions:

What are the different schools of thought on the origin of nations?

Which school do you find more convincing?

Readings:

Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, Routledge, London, 2001, 221-228.

Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism. A Critical Introduction*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2017, 81-105.

WEEK 4 WHEN WAS THE NATION? (II)

13 October

Questions

What was the role of culture in the creation of nations according to modernist scholars?

What are the main problems of the modernist paradigm?

Readings:

Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism. A Critical Introduction*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2017, 106-153.

WEEK 5 NATION-BUILDING AND THE NATIONALIZATION OF THE MASSES

20 October

Questions:

What agencies acted in the nationalization of French peasants according to Eugen Weber?

What are the main problems of Eugen Weber's approach to the nationalization of the masses?

Readings:

Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France (1870-1914)*, 485-496.

Molina, Fernando and Cabo, Miguel, “The Long and Winding Road of Nationalization: Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen* in Modern European History (1976—2006)”, *European History Quarterly*, 2009 vol. 39 n. 2, 264-286.

WEEK 6 READING WEEK

27 October

No seminar.

WEEK 7 NATIONHOOD FROM BELOW

3 November

Questions:

How useful is history from below to understand the nationalization of the masses?

How did popular conceptions of nationhood differ from the elites' perceptions?

Readings:

Maarten van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen, “General Introduction: Writing the Mass into a Mass Phenomenon”, in Maarten van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen (eds.), *Nationhood from below Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2012), 3-22.

Maarten van Ginderachter, “Nationhood from below: Some Historiographic Notes on Great Britain, France and Germany in the Long Nineteenth Century”, 120-136.

Maarten van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen, “General Conclusion: Popular Nationhood – A companion of European others”, in Maarten van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen (eds.), *Nationhood from below Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2012), 250-260.

WEEK 8 BANAL NATIONALISM AND EVERYDAY NATIONHOOD

10 November

Questions:

What is banal nationalism?

How do everyday processes influence the creation and recreation of nationhood?

Readings:

Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, SAGE, London, 1995, 1-12; 93-127.

Michael Skey, *National Belonging and Everyday Life. The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2011, 1-36.

WEEK 9 THE SPATIAL TURN AND THE THREE SPHERES OF NATIONALIZATION

17 November

Questions

How has the 'spatial turn' influenced our understanding of national identity-building?

How do the 'three spheres of nationalization' operate to nationalize individuals?

Readings

Eric Storm, "The Spatial Turn and the History of Nationalism: Nationalism between Regionalism and Transnational Approaches", in Stefan Berger and Eric Storm eds., *Writing the History of Nationalism*, London, Bloomsbury, 2019, 215-239.

Alejandro Quiroga, "The three spheres. A theoretical model of mass nationalisation: the case of Spain", *Nations and Nationalism*, 20 (4), (2013), 683-700.

WEEK 10 NATIONALISM, NATIONS AND GENDER

24 November

Questions:

How does gender intersect with violence, sexuality, race and migration in nationalist understandings?

How has feminist scholarship challenged the masculinist ‘universalist’ constructions of the phenomena of nationalisms and nations?

Readings:

Jennifer Thomson, “Gender and Nationalism”, *Nationalities Papers* (2020), 48: 1, 3–11.

Nura Yuval-Davies, “Nationalism, feminism and gender relations”, Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson (ed.), *Understanding Nationalism*, Oxford, Polity, 2001, 120-141.

WEEK 11 NARRATION AND IMAGIOLOGY

1 December

Questions:

How were national narratives disseminated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

What is the role of stereotypes in the creation of national identities?

Readings:

Berger, Stefan, “Introduction. Narrating the Nation. Historiography and Other Genres” in S. Berger, L. Eriksonas and A. Mycock (eds.), *Narrating the Nation. Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, New York, Berghahn, 2011, 1-16.

Manfred Beller and Joep Leerssen (ed.) *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters. A critical survey*, Rodopi, Amsterdam – New York, 2007, xiii-32.

WEEK 12 CURRENT DEBATES: NATIONALISM IN THE GLOBAL ERA

15 December

Questions:

What is methodological nationalism?

How has the internet changed the acquisition of national identities?

Readings:

Daniel Chernilo, “Beyond the Nation? Or Back to It? Current Trends in the Sociology of Nations and Nationalism”, *Sociology*, (2020) 54 (6), 1072–108.

Szulc, L. “Banal nationalism in the Internet Age: Rethinking the relationship between nations, nationalisms and the media”. In: M. Skey & M. Antonsich (eds.) *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, (2017), 53-75.

The second part of the seminar will be devoted to essay writing. Students will comment on the historiographical and theoretical approaches and will discuss their case studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Key works

- Anderson, Benedict: *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, 1991.
- Berger, Stefan and Chris Lorenz (eds.): *Nationalizing the Past Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe*, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2010.
- Billig, Michael, *Banal Nationalism*, SAGE, London, 1995, 1-12; 93-127.
- Breuilly, John: *Nationalism and the State*, Manchester University Press, 1993.
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- Brubaker, Rogers: *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Gellner, Ernst: *Nationalism*, New York University Press, 1997.
- Harris, Erika: *Nationalism. Theories and Cases*, Edinburgh University Press, 2009.
- Hobsbawm, Eric: *Nations and Nationalism since 1870*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hroch, Miroslav: *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski and Andrzej Marcin Suszycki, *The Nation and Nationalism in Europe. An Introduction*, Edinburgh University Press, 2011.
- Özkirimli, Umut, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism. A Critical Engagement*, Palgrave, 2005.
- Özkirimli, Umut, *Theories of Nationalism. A Critical Introduction*, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2017.
- Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*, University of Nevada Press, 1991.
- Smith, Anthony D.: *Nationalism and Modernism. A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*, Routledge, 1998.
- Skey, Michael, *National Belonging and Everyday Life. The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World*, Palgrave, Basingstoke
- Storm, Eric, *Nationalism. A World History*, Princeton, 2025.
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, *Gender and Nation*, SAGE, 1997.

Other readings

- Abromeit, John, Bridget María Chesterton, Gary Marotta and York Norman, *Transformations of Populism in Europe and the Americas*, New York, Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Álvarez Junco, José, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations*, Manchester, MUP, 2011.
- Balfour, Sebastian and Alejandro Quiroga, *The Reinvention of Spain. Nation and Identity since Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Baycroft, Timothy and Mark Hewitson, *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*, OUP, Oxford, 2005.
- Bell, D. A, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680-1800*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Berger, Stefan, (ed.), *Writing the Nation. A Global Perspective*. Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007.
- Berger, S., Lorenz, C. (eds.), *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2008.
- Berger, Stefan and Christoph Conrad, *The Past as History: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe* (Basingstoke 2015).
- Berger, Stefan and Miller, Alexei (eds.), *Nationalizing Empires* (Budapest 2015).
- Bieber, Florian, *Debating Nationalism. The Global Spread of Nations*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.
- Breuilly, John, *The Formation of the First German Nation-State, 1800-1871*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Breuilly, John, "On the Principle of Nationality" in Jones, G. S. and Clays, G. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Political Thought*, CUP, Cambridge, 2011.
- Breuilly, John, *the Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Breunig, Charles and Levinger, Matthew, *The Revolutionary Era, 1789-1850*, New York, 2002.
- Brooke, John L., Julia C. Strauss, Greg Anderson (eds.), *State Formations. Global Histories and Cultures of Statehood*, 2018, CUP, Cambridge.

- Broomhall, Susan (ed.), *Spaces for Feeling. Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850*, London, Routledge, 2015.
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- Brubaker, Rogers, "Ethnicity without groups", *European Journal of Sociology*. 2002;43(2):163-189.
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- Brubaker, Rogers, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, Princeton University Press, 2008.
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- Brubaker, Rogers, *Gender Identity: The Career of a Category*, Oxford, Polity, 2026.
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- Cabo, Miguel and Molina, Fernando, "The Long and Winding Road of Nationalization: Eugen Weber's Peasants into Frenchmen in Modern European History", *European History Quarterly*, 39, 2009, 264-286.
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- Déloye, Yves, "National Identity and Everyday Life", John Breuilly (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, Oxford, OUP, 615-631.
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- Ederson, Tim, *National Identity. Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, Oxford, Berg, 2002.
- Eiranen, Reeta. "Emotions and Nationalism", Katie Barclay, Peter N. Stearns, *The Routledge History of Emotions in the Modern World*, London, Routledge, 2022, 407-422.
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- Farris, Sara, *In the Name of Women's Rights. The Rise of Femonationalism*, Duke University Press, 2017.
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- Fox, Jon, "The edges of the nation: a research agenda for uncovering the taken-for-granted foundations of everyday nationhood", *Nations and Nationalism* 23 (1), 2017, 26–47.
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- Ginderachter, M. V. and Beyen, M. (eds.), *Nationalism from Below: Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2012.
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ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE FOR ACADEMIC USE

Perplexity: Produces reports with references and analyses PDFs and images.

<https://www.perplexity.ai>

Connected Papers: Produces graphics connecting papers dealing with similar academic topics and fields.

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Consensus: You can ask a question and the site produces a list of academic papers related to that specific question.

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Scite: Similar to Connected Papers, but it also analyses the papers and the cross-references.

<https://scite.ai/home>

Elicit: Research assistant. It reads and summarizes PDFs and searches for academic papers by topic.

<https://elicit.com/>

Jenni.ai: Writing assistant. It helps writing in different styles and also edits, cites and translates texts.

<https://app.jenni.ai/>

Trinka: Writing assistant.

<https://cloud.trinka.ai/dashboard/mydrive/files>

DeepL: Translator.

<https://www.deepl.com/es/translator>

Paperpal: Writing assistant.

<https://paperpal.com/>

Gamma: Assistant for producing PPTs and other visual files.

<https://gamma.app/es>