THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS 2011-2012

POL3007 NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

Level       BA  Credit Value  20
Semester Taught  1
Module Leader  Dr Katharine Adeney  Email  k.adeney@sheffield.ac.uk
Office       G.62  Tel Ext  21704

Description

Questions relating to nationalism and ethnic conflict have become more prominent in political debate since the end of the Cold War, and the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan have demonstrated the continuing importance of constitutional crafting as a means to manage ethnic diversity within states. This module evaluates differing definitions of the ‘nation’ and ‘ethnic group’, examines different state strategies to manage diversity such as multiculturalism, assimilation and integration, and considers different explanations of conflict between different ethnic groups. It then examines in more detail strategies adopted by particular states to manage their diversity. The countries of India, America, France, Afghanistan, the UK, and Germany are focused upon, but students are encouraged to use material relating to other countries if they have particular knowledge of these cases.

Objectives

This module aims to offer a critical overview for students of a range of approaches to understanding concepts of nationalism and ethnicity and to the management of these identities within multiethnic states by political elites. It aims to introduce students to the different strategies of ethnic conflict regulation and offers students the opportunity to assess critically how these strategies are applied in various states as well as to consider the comparative implications of the strategies discussed.

By the end of the unit, a candidate will be able to

- define a nation and an ethnic group;
- outline and critically assess the different theories of nationalism;
- formulate arguments relating to the logical consequences of the different theories of nationalism;
- demonstrate knowledge of the countries covered on this course;
- compare and contrast different country’s strategies of ethnic conflict regulation;
- assess the success or failure of different country’s strategies;

Organisation

Eleven two-hour weekly seminars to be held in weeks 1-6 and 8-12 on Monday 15:10 – 17:00 in Elmfield SR 113.

Requirements

- Attendance at all seminars;
- Sole presentation in one seminar;
- Preparation in advance of the seminars
- Participation in the seminar discussion
- Submission of two copies of essay to the office (no more than 3,000 words in length) by 12 noon on Tuesday 29th November (50%)
- Completion of two hour exam (50%)

Please note that an electronic version of your essay must be submitted via My Online Learning Environment (MOLE) prior to the deadline. If you fail to submit an electronic version of your
essay by the specified deadline, it will be deemed late/non-submitted and penalised accordingly.

Essay Titles

Choose one essay title. You will be expected to demonstrate reading from both halves of the course, the theoretical and the empirical. You should answer the essay with reference to at least one country explicitly covered on this course. These are the UK, France, Germany, India, America and Afghanistan (this is good practice for the exam which will require you to do the same).

1. Nations are modern constructions. Discuss
2. There is no such thing as a truly civic nation. Discuss.
3. Multicultural policies of ethnic conflict regulation are likely to increase conflict in the long run. Do you agree?
4. Federal autonomy is only meaningful if accompanied by representation in central government. Discuss.
5. Ethnic quotas will increase conflict between communities rather than reducing it. To what extent do you agree?
6. States divided along religious lines will experience more conflict than those divided along linguistic ones. Critically evaluate this statement.

Examination

The exam requires you to answer two questions from a list of six.

Study Hours

For a twenty-credit module, about twelve hours per week of private study are normally expected. (For guidance on study techniques see the UG Handbook.)

General Regulations

Students should refer to the current Department of Politics Undergraduate Handbook for guidance on essay writing and other academic skills, for details of marking criteria, and for rules governing submission of assessed work and attendance. Please note that students are required to perform satisfactorily in all components of assessment (assessed coursework and examination) before credits can be awarded for a module.

Seminar Attendance

Attendance at seminars is compulsory and all unauthorised absences are recorded. It is your responsibility to ensure you sign the attendance sheet when you are in the seminar. Students who miss seminars are required to provide either medical evidence or a satisfactory explanation to the Undergraduate Office.

Recommended Reading

There is no core text for this module. You are expected to investigate the appropriate literature for each topic, as set by seminar theme. **NOTE:** You are NOT expected to read everything on the reading list. A deliberately broad reading list has been created to enable students to focus on different areas of the topics, as well as providing a starting point for projects and dissertations. Suggestions for readings to add to this list are very welcome. Please notify Dr Adeney of any errors.

Please note that, as a matter of departmental policy, the library does not normally hold sufficient library copies of module texts 'recommended for purchase' to guarantee easy access.

Most of the relevant articles are in electronic journals which can be accessed electronically once you have logged into MUSE either through the Star Resource Page or the TALIS list on MOLE.
Key:

- **E Offprint** – indicates that this is a chapter or a journal article that has been scanned into a PDF and can be downloaded from the module resource list or from the link provided from MOLE.
- **E Journal** – indicates that there is an electronic version of the article provided either from the Star Resource List (available on MOLE) for this course, or it is available through FindIt@Sheffield [http://librarylinks.shef.ac.uk:3210/sfxlcl3/az](http://librarylinks.shef.ac.uk:3210/sfxlcl3/az)
- **E Text** – indicates that the text can be found online – there will usually be a direct link through the Star Resource List or TALIS link.
- **Web Source** – indicates that there is an online source
- **MOLE** – indicates that the material is available on the MOLE website.

Please notify Dr Katharine Adeney if there are any errors in the reading list so she can amend for next year’s students.

**MOLE**: MOLE will feature links to other students’ presentations, the case based learning assessment, access to an electronic form of this list, pictures, maps and links to useful material/web sites not included in this reading list including newspaper sources.

**Suggested books for purchase**: It is not obligatory to buy these texts but several readings across the weeks appear in these books and you may find it useful to purchase at least one of them.

K Cordell & S Wolff

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Conflict: Causes, Consequences and Responses, Polity, 2010</th>
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J Hearn

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<th>Rethinking nationalism, Palgrave, 2006</th>
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D Horowitz

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<th>Ethnic Groups in Conflict, University of California, 2001</th>
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J Hutchinson & A Smith (eds)

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<th>Nationalism: A Reader, OUP, 1994</th>
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B O’Leary and J McGarry (eds)

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<th>The politics of ethnic conflict regulation, Routledge, 1993</th>
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S Wolff

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**Seminar Topics**

1. Introduction: definitional issues.
2. Different types of nations
3. Modernism and Invention
4. Causes of ethnic conflict: elites
5. Causes of ethnic conflict: identities
6. Strategies to eliminate difference – assimilation (and integration)
7. Reading week
8. Strategies to manage difference – multiculturalism
9. Self-government rights: Is federal autonomy a prelude to secession?
10. Representation rights: affirmative action
11. Case study
12. Overview and revision session
1. Introduction: definition issues

Objectives

Introduction to structure of course. To discuss different definitions of an ethnic group. To discuss different definitions of a nation. To identify how these two concepts are different. To describe why a state is different from a nation.

Tasks:

Icebreaking session on definitions.

Assignment of presentations.

Essential reading

W Connor (E-Offprint)  
‘A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a…’ Ethnic and Racial Studies 1 (4) 1979, 377-400 reproduced as ‘Terminological Chaos…’ in his Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding, Princeton University Press. Ch.4

Recommended reading

K Adeney  

P Alter  
Nationalism, Edward Arnold, 1994 esp. Chapter One

M Banton (E Journal)  

M Bulmer and J Solomos (E Journal)  

D Conversi (E Journal)  
‘Can nationalism studies and ethnic/racial studies be brought together?’ Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 30 (4) 2004, 815-29

C Geertz  

M Guibernau & J Hutchinson (eds)  

J Hutchinson & A Smith (eds)  
Nationalism: A Reader, OUP, 1994 esp Section 1.

S Kauffman (E Book)  

E Kedourie  
‘Nationalism’ reproduced in J Hutchinson and A Smith (eds) Nationalism: A Reader OUP, 1994, 49-55

E Renan  
‘What is a Nation?’ reproduced in J Hutchinson and A Smith (eds) Nationalism: A Reader OUP, 1994,17-18

A Smith  
‘Theories of Nationalism: Alternative models of nation formation’ in M Leifer (ed) Asian Nationalism Routledge, 2000, 1-20

S Wolff  
Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective, OUP, 2006, Chapter 2
2. Different types of nations

Objectives

To demonstrate why the definition of a nation matters. To debate whether the distinction between civic and ethnic nations has any explanatory value. To evaluate different explanations of where nations come from, and to consider what the different explanations presuppose about the causes of ethnic conflict.

Case Studies: esp. Germany and France.

Seminar questions

1. What is the difference between a civic and an ethnic nation?

The class will be split into two groups to discuss the second question.

2. How do we know if a nation is civic or ethnic? Discuss with reference to the French and German cases.

Essential reading

R Brubaker (E Text) Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Harvard University Press, 1992 Chapters 1 and 4. *This reading is dated but remains the best statement of German and French national identity.*


Recommended reading


P Alter *Nationalism*, Edward Arnold, 1994 esp. Chapter One


D Cesarani and M Fullbrook Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe London, Routledge, 1996, esp Chs 5 and 6

W Connor (E-Offprint) ‘A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group, is a…’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1(4) 1979, 377-400 reproduced as ‘Terminological Chaos…’ in his *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton University Press. Ch.4


C Geertz

E Gellner

B Gökarıksel & K Mitchell (E Journal)

R Hayden (E Journal)

J Hearn

J Hutchinson (E Journal)
‘Re-interpreting cultural nationalism’ Australian Journal of Politics and History 45 (3) 1999, 392-409

T Jacoby (E Journal)
‘Immigration Dilemma. Germany is in the throes of a national debate about immigration’ Foreign Affairs 90(3), 2001, 8-14

H Kohn
‘Western and Eastern Nationalisms’ in Smith and Hutchinson, Nationalism: A Reader, Oxford University Press 1994, 162-165

U Ozkirimli
Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction Palgrave, 2000 Chapters 3-5 (esp. 127-143)

J Peck
‘Rac(e)ing the nation: Is there a German “home”’ in Eley and Suny (eds.) Becoming national: a reader, OUP, 1996, 481-94.

J Plamenatz

U Phadnis & R Ganguly

E Renan
‘What is a Nation?’ section reproduced in J Hutchinson and A Smith (eds) Nationalism: A Reader OUP, 1994, 17-18

P van den Berghe

K Verdery (E Journal)

Y Yvonne
‘The October Riots in France: A Failed Immigration Policy or the Empire Strikes Back?’, International Migration, 44(2), 2006, 23-34.

M Yun
‘Ethnonationalism, Ethnic Nationalism and Mini Nationalism’ Ethnic and Racial Studies 13 (4) 1990, 527-41

S Zubaida
3. Modernism and Invention

Objectives: To evaluate modernist explanations of where nations come from, and their critics. Are their explanations applicable to all societies? To evaluate whether it is possible to invent a nation.

Seminar questions.
1. Gellner argues that nations do not have ‘navels’. Why is this important for his argument?
2. Is it possible to invent a nation?

Essential Reading
E Hobsbawm (E-Offprint)  

A Smith & E Gellner (E Text)  
‘The Warwick Debate.’ Nations and Nationalism 2 (3) 1996, 357-365 available at www.lse.ac.uk/collections/gellner/Warwick0.html

A Smith (E-Offprint)  
‘Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?’ Millennium 20 (3) 1999, 353-68

Recommended Reading
B Anderson (Ch 3 E-Offprint)  
Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism Verso, 1983 especially Chapter 3

E Gellner  
Nations and Nationalism, Blackwell 1983 Esp Chs 1 & 5

J Hearn  
‘Chapter 4: Modernism’ in his Rethinking Nationalism: A critical introduction Palgrave, 2006

J Hutchinson (E Journal)  

A Motyl (E-Offprint)  
"Inventing invention: the limits of national identity formation” from Suny, RG and Kennedy, MD. (eds), Intellectuals and the articulation of the nation, University of Michigan Press, 1999, 57-75.

B O’Leary (E Journal)  

H Roper  

A Smith (E Journal)  

A Smith (E Journal)  

A Stepan  
4. Causes of ethnic conflict: elites

**Objectives**

Students will learn to distinguish between different types of causes of ethnic conflict. Evaluate how and why political entrepreneurs ‘use’ nationalism. Assess why they are so often successful and whether elites are important for the management of ethnic conflict. This seminar also introduces students to the Gujarat pogrom in 2002, which is covered in later weeks of the module.

**Case study: explanations of Hindu-Muslim violence in India**

**Seminar questions**

1. Outline the instrumentalists’ approach to explaining ethnic conflict.
2. What role have elites played in mobilising religious conflict in India?

**Essential reading**


**Recommended reading on instrumentalism**

- **J Breuilly** *Nationalism and the State*, Manchester University Press, 1982/1993
- **J Habyarimana et al** "Is ethnic conflict inevitable?" *Foreign Affairs* 87(4) 2008, 138-150.
- **J Hearn** *Rethinking Nationalism: A critical introduction* Palgrave, 2006, 47-9, 127-134
- **D Horowitz** ‘The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas’. In *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, University of California Press, 200, 229-90
U Ozkirimli ‘Political Transformation’ in his *Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction* Palgrave, 2000, 104-126


**Recommended reading on Indian case study**


P Brass (E Journal) ‘Response to Reviews by Thomas Hansen, A.R.Momin, and Roger Petersen’ *Ethnicities* 6 (1), 114-117 You should also read the reviews by Hansen, Momin and Pendersen which appear on pages 102-113 of the same edition of the journal.


S Wilkinson *Votes and Violence: electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*. CUP 2004


**Objectives**

Following on from last week’s discussion of theories of ethnic conflict and the role of elites, this week will appraise whether religious identities are more difficult to accommodate than linguistic ones and if so, ask why? In so doing it will consider whether culturalist arguments of political stability are viable. Question why some people are willing to die for their nation.

**Seminar questions**

1. Why are people willing to risk dying for their nation?

2. Is religion a more difficult identity to accommodate than other identities?


Recommended reading


S Grosby  ‘Nationality and religion’ in Understanding Nationalism M Guibenaau and J Hutchinson Polity, 2004, 97-119

J Hearn  Rethinking Nationalism: A critical introduction Palgrave, 2006, esp Ch 2


S Mihejl (E Journal)  ‘Faith in nation comes in different guises: modernist versions of religious nationalism’ Nations and Nationalism 13(2) 2007, 265-84


U Ozkirimli  ‘Chapter 3: Primordialism’ in his Theories of nationalism: a critical introduction Palgrave, 2000


Objectives

Distinguish between integration and assimilation. Identify the weaknesses and strengths of both strategies. Judge what policies are indicative of a particular strategy. Assess in what conditions these strategies are likely to be successful.

Case studies: France and US

Seminar questions

1. What is integration? How does it differ from assimilation, if at all?

2. ‘It is only defensible to seek to assimilate immigrants rather than minorities who have lived on the territory for hundreds of years’. Discuss.

Essential reading


Recommended reading, including material on contemporary debates in France and America


A Barras (E Journal) ‘A rights based discourse to contest the boundaries of state secularism? The case of the headscarf bans in France and Turkey’ Democratization 16(6) 2009, 1237-60

A Birch (E Journal) ‘Minority nationalist movements and theories of political integration’ World Politics 30 (3) 1978, 325-44


R Brubaker (E Text) Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Harvard University Press, 1992, Chapters 1 and 4

W Connor (E Journal) ‘Nation Building or Nation Destroying?’ World Politics 24 (3), 1972, 319-55


S Laegaard ‘Immigration, Social Cohesion and Naturalization’ Ethnicities, 10 (4), 2010, 452-469


7. Reading week

8. Strategies to manage difference – multiculturalism.

Objectives

Distinguish between different types of multiculturalism, particularly self government, representation rights and polyethnic rights. Identify the different types of state policies to give effect to these rights. Assess in what conditions these strategies are likely to be successful, and when they are likely to destabilise a state.

Case Studies: India and the UK

Seminar questions

1. What are the main types of multicultural policies a state can adopt?

2. ‘Multiculturalism destabilises states. Discuss.

The class this week will be split into two groups, to make the case for and against faith schools.

Essential reading


Recommended reading


N Glazer We Are All Multiculturalists Now. Harvard University Press, 1998


B Parekh Rethinking Multiculturalism Second edition, Palgrave, 2006, Chapters 7 and 8.) See also First edition if second not available.

C Taylor Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition or Multiculturalism examining the politics of recognition Princeton University Press, 1992/1994
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<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Journal/Publication Details</th>
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<tr>
<td>P van den Berghe</td>
<td>‘Multicultural democracy: can it work?’</td>
<td>Nations and Nationalism 8 (4) 2002, 433-49.</td>
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<td>T Asad</td>
<td>‘Multiculturalism and British Identity in the Wake of the Rushdie Affair.’</td>
<td>Politics and Society 18.4 (1990), 455-80</td>
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<tr>
<td>P Collins et al</td>
<td>‘Review Symposium of ‘Between Camps/Against Race’ by Paul Gilroy’,</td>
<td>Ethnicities, 539-560, 2002</td>
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<td>P Gilroy</td>
<td>‘One nation under a groove: The cultural politics of ‘race’ and racism in Britain’ in Eley and Suny (eds.)</td>
<td>Becoming national: a reader, OUP, 1996, 352-70.</td>
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<tr>
<td>K Adeney</td>
<td>‘Federal segregation or multiculturalism’ in her Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in India and Pakistan.</td>
<td>Palgrave 2007, 83-106</td>
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<td>A Harel-Shalev</td>
<td>‘The problematic nature of religious autonomy to minorities in Democracies – the case of India’s Muslims’</td>
<td>Democratization 16(6) 2009, 1261-81</td>
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<tr>
<td>J Jones</td>
<td>‘Signs of Churnung: Muslim personal law and public contestation in twenty-first century India’</td>
<td>Modern Asian Studies 44(1) 2008, 175-200</td>
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<tr>
<td>O Shani</td>
<td>‘Conceptions of Citizenship in India and the Muslim Question’</td>
<td>Modern Asian Studies 44(1) 2008, 145-174</td>
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Faith Schools


G Grace (E Journal) ‘Educational Studies and Faith-Based Schooling: Moving from Prejudice to Evidence-Based Argument’ British Journal of Educational Studies, 51(2), 2003, 149-167


9. Self-government rights: Is federal autonomy a prelude to secession?

Case study: India

Objectives

Identify the main features of a federation. Distinguish federal from unitary systems of government. Identify different types of federal government. Devise criteria to compare different federal governments. Appraise what are the advantages and disadvantages of different ways of structuring the federation.

Seminar questions

1. Is federal autonomy a prelude to secession? Discuss with reference to either Punjab or Kashmir


Essential reading

J McGarry and B O’Leary (E-Offprint) ‘Must pluri-national federations fail?’ Ethnopolitics 8(1) 2009, 5-26


Recommended reading

K Adeney Federalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation in India and Pakistan. Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2007, esp. chs.1 and 8

G Anderson Federalism: An Introduction OUP, 2008


R Chattopadhyay and A Karos (eds) Dialogues on diversity and unity in federal countries Forum of Federations, 2009

S Choudhry (E Journal) ‘Does the world need more Canada? The politics of the Canadian model in constitutional politics and political theory’,


E Nordlinger (E Offprint) Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies. Harvard University, 1972, 20-41.


Punjab and Kashmir


Asian Survey (E Journal) Special issue on Ethnic Subnationalist movements in Contemporary South Asia Asian Survey 49 (6) 2009 see in particular articles on Kashmir, Khalistan (Punjab)


G Mahajan ‘Federal accommodation of ethnocultural identities in India’ in B He et al Federalism in Asia Edward Elgar, 2007, 82-100

U Phadnis & R Ganguly  

S Rajagopalan (E Text)  

G Singh (E Journal)  

N Subramanian (E Journal)  

A Varshney (E Journal)  

Gujarat  
Human Rights Watch (E Text)  
‘We have no orders to save you.’ State Participation and Complicity in Communal Violence in Gujarat, 2002 http://www.hrw.org/en/reports/2002/04/30/we-have-no-orders-save-you

S Varadarajan (ed)  

S Wilkinson (Web Source)  


Objectives

Identify why affirmative action/reservation policies have been adopted. Discuss the specific mechanisms of the policies. Assess whether they have increased or decreased stability.

Case studies India and the United States

Seminar questions

1. Proportionality policies (especially preferential or affirmative action policies) are unjust, and so cannot help resolve ethno-national tensions’. Discuss.

The class this week will be split into two sections to discuss the second question.

2. Affirmative action policies should always be time limited. Discuss.

Essential Reading

G Combs & S Nadkarni (E Journal)  

D Horowitz (EOffprint)  
‘Preferential Policies to reduce ethnic conflicts’ in his Ethnic Groups in Conflict University of California Press, 1985/2001, 653-80 (Chapter 16)
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<tr>
<td><strong>Recommended Reading</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>T Weisskopf</td>
<td>Affirmative Action in the United States and India: A Comparative Perspective Routledge, 2004</td>
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<td><strong>US</strong></td>
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<td>C Edley</td>
<td>Not all black and white: affirmative action, race, and American values Hill and Wang, 1996</td>
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<td><strong>India</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>M Galanter (E- Offprint)</td>
<td>‘Pursuing equality in the land of hierarchy: An assessment of India’s policies of compensatory discrimination for historically disadvantaged groups in his Law and Society in Modern India, OUP, 1993, 185-207</td>
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11. The application of the knowledge gained on the course so far……

This week will be structured differently to previous weeks, and probably something that you have not come across before.

DON'T PANIC!

Objectives

- You will be able to apply critically the arguments made for and against multiculturalism and federal forms of government critically to the case study

Reading in advance of this week’s session (you should read at least one different reading from each section)

Federalism


Multiculturalism/Consociationalism


12. Revision and Overview session.

This week will feature a short overview of the course, pulling key themes together. We will also discuss exam techniques and strategies. It will also provide an opportunity for you to ask any questions and seek clarification.