Description

Many social scientists once argued that ethnic, nationalist, and religious sentiments would soon wither under the light of modernity. They were wrong. Ethnic, national, and religious identities are pervasive in contemporary politics. Moreover, these identities are strongly implicated in mass violence. Annually, tens of thousands of people are murdered in violent conflicts between ethnic, national, and religious communities. In Rwanda, within the span of 100 days in 1994, Hutu militias butchered 800,000 Tutsi civilians by hand. In Indonesia, over the several months in 1965 and 1966 that General Suharto took to secure power, Muslims helped to murder tens of thousands of presumed communist ethnic Chinese. In the late 1990s, a Hindu nationalist government in India gained, and then lost, control of the government through use of anti-Muslim violence. In Sri Lanka, a Tamil organization has used suicide bombings since 1988 in an attempt to establish a separate state while Sinhalese Buddhist governments of Sri Lanka have attacked and blockaded the Tamil community including civilians. Serbs, who are predominantly Christians, elected leaders who murdered and drove Muslim Albanians and Muslim Bosnians out of Yugoslavia. Christian ethics were used to justify mass murder in Nazi Germany and continue to be used to justify racial violence in the United States.

What are the causes of these kinds of violence? In what sense is this violence ethnic, nationalist, or religious? How do politics, history, and economics contribute to such violence?

This course addresses these questions by examining the political construction of ethnic, national, and religious identity under colonial and post-colonial states and the political, historical, and economic sources of inter-ethnic, inter-national, and
inter-religious violence. Close study of ethnic, nationalist, and religious violence in Sri Lanka since 1988, India and Pakistan in 1947, and Rwanda in 1994 (weeks 2 through 4) allow us to begin to engage with leading and emerging theories of ethnic, nationalist, and religious violence (weeks 5 through 7). These theories are assessed in case studies from ethnic, nationalist, and religious violence in India and Iraq (weeks 8 through 9). We attempt to develop explanations for ethnic, nationalist, and religious violence through presentations, discussions, and comments on final paper projects (weeks 10 through 13).

Course Requirements

Each student needs to master the assigned material and watch the assigned videos before the class in which they are discussed and to participate regularly and constructively in class discussion. Reading is lengthy. Most weeks involve more than 300 pages of reading. Class participation should give evidence of having mastered the assigned reading.

Each student is to make a class presentation analyzing ethnic, nationalist, or religious violence. The presentation (10 min) and question and subsequent discussion (10 min) will aid in developing the final paper. The final paper (no more than 4,000 words) is to be based on an approved description of the project. Papers are to present considered analysis in well written, carefully proof read, and properly cited essays. Below are guidelines for designing the final paper, writing the paper, and citing sources. Please read and follow these carefully. I also recommend reading Strunk and White’s Elements of Style and George Orwell’s “Politics and the English Language.”

Grades and Extensions

Informed participation in class discussion and the in-class presentations each constitute 25% of the course grade; the final paper constitutes 50%.

Extensions are not granted unless a doctor or your class dean lets me know of an illness or emergency. Grades on late work will fall by one third of a letter grade (e.g., an A- becomes a B+) each day after the deadline.

Deadlines

Your final paper is on a topic and question of your choice. The paper must be based on an approved one-page proposal – a short description of the project, identifying the question (or questions) that your paper will address, and the method and sources it will use. The proposal must be returned with your paper.

Final paper proposal Friday November 30, by 4:00 pm
Proposals are not graded, but you will benefit if you submit a proposal by the deadline so that I can help you to focus and design your paper.

Final paper  Friday, December 14, by 4:00 pm

**Core Reading**

All readings are available in a bound course reader, except those readings that are found in the books below. The course reader and the books are available from the Political Science Department for prices noted (new books, below-cost, cash only). These are also on reserve at Knapp Library.


The bibliography below includes additional resources that will be useful for the final paper.

**Students with Disabilities**

I encourage students eligible for disability-related accommodations to inform James Wice, Director of Disability Services (x2434), and me within the first two weeks of the semester.
Class Schedule

Please note that this course schedule and readings may be changed with little advance notice

4 September
Introduction
review of syllabus and requirements, introductions

Video: The Terrorist (Sivan 2000: 95 min)

11 September
Northern Sri Lanka

Trawick "The Past" (Trawick 2006: 14-55)
Buddhist Committee of Inquiry “Religion and State in Ceylon” (Buddhist Committee of Inquiry 1956: 1-41)
de Silva "1956 'Sinhala Only'" (de Silva )
Tambiah "Buddhism, Politics, and Violence in Sri Lanka," (Marty and Appleby 1993: 589-619)
Video: A Division of Hearts (Khanna and Chappell 1987: 57 min)

18 September
Western British India

Singh Train to Pakistan (1990: entire book)
Butalia "Honor" (Butalia 1998:133-184)
Video: Rwanda: How History Can Lead to Genocide (Genoud 1995: 52 min)

25 September
Rwanda

Young "The Colonial Creation of African Nations" (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 225-231)
Kapuscinski "A Lecture on Rwanda" (Kapuscinski 2001: 165-191)
Gourevitch, We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We will be Killed with Our Families (Gourevitch 1998: entire book)
Video: The Triumph of Evil (Robinson and Loeterman 1999: 60 mins)
2 October
Theories of Collective Identity

Hobson "Imperialism and the Lower Races" (Hobson 1902: 223-284)
Gellner "Nationalism and Modernization" (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 55- 62, 330-331)
Nairn "The Maladies of Development" (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 70-76)
Anderson "The Origins of National Consciousness" (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 89-96, 334-335)
Hobsbawm "Invention of Tradition" (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 76-83, 331-332)
Brass "Elite Competition and Nation Formation" (Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 82-89, 332-334)
Smith "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" (Smith 1991: 353-368)
Wolf "Ethnic Segmentation" (Wolf 1982: 379-381)
Seul "Religion, Identity, and Intergroup Conflict" (Seul 1999: 553-569)
Friedland "Religious Nationalism and The Problem of Collective Representation"
(Friedland 2001: 125-142)

9 October
No Classes

16 October
Theories of Collective Violence

Crawford "The Causes of Cultural Conflict" (Crawford and Lipshultz 1998: 3-43)
Tambiah "The Routinization and Ritualization of Violence," "Entering a Dark
Continent," and "The Moral Economy of Collective Violence" (Tambiah
Juergensmeyer "Why Religious Confrontations are Violent" (Juergensmeyer 1993:
153-170)
Candland "Religious Violence and the Subversions of Class: Communal
Organizations and Sectarian Violence in Bombay, Colombo, and Karachi"
(Candland 1998: 1-7)

23 October
Theories on "Islamic" Militancy

Gerges "Islam and Muslims in the Mind of America" (Gerges 1999: 73-89)
Ziring "Contemporary Islam and the Burden of History" (Ziring 2002: 715- 734)
Oberschall "Explaining Terrorism" (Oberschall 2004: 26-37)
Candland "Anti-Americanism in Indonesia and Pakistan" (Candland 2005: 1-10)
Esposito and Mogahed "Battle for Muslims' Hearts and Minds" (Esposito and Mogahed 2007: 27-41)

30 October
**Anti-Muslim Violence in India**

Hasan "Gender Politics, Legal Reform, and the Muslim Community in India" (Jeffery and Basu 1998: 71-88)
Tambiah "Hindu Nationalism, the Ayodhya Campaign, and the Babri Masjid" (Tambiah 1996: 244-265, 365-367)
Bellaigue “Bombay at War” (Bellaigue 1999: 48-50)
Walia "Hindu Genocide in South Asia" (Walia 1994)
Video: *Father, Son, and Holy War* (part II) (Patwardhan 1994: 60 min)

6 November
**Tanner Conference**

13 November
**Sectarian Violence in Iraq**

Jabbar "The Worldly Roots of Religiosity in Post-Saddam Iraq" (Jabbar 2003: 12-18)
Lifton "American Apocalypse" (2003: 11-17)
Khan "Iraq Turns Into a Holy War" (2006: 1-4)
West "Battle of the Narratives" (West 2007: 2007: 25-28)

20 November – 11 December
**Presentations**

4 students per class (15 minutes for presentation and 15 minutes for questions and comments)
Bibliography

This bibliography includes the major works in the field, works that will be useful for final papers, and the course reading.

Lawrence, Bruce, 1991. "The Islamic Idiom of Violence: The View from Indonesia"


**Strategy for Your Final Paper**

Please use this five-staged approach to plan and write your final paper.

1. **Articulate a question.**

   The most crucial and most difficult task in designing a good paper is posing a productive question. Take some time to figure out what is most puzzling or most unsatisfying about what you have read and learned in the study of ethnicity, nationalism, religion, and violence. It is not useful to pose a question the answer to which is presentation of information alone. A fruitful question is often posed as a puzzle; and a successful paper presents a new way of looking at or resolving that puzzle.

2. **Explain briefly why that question is important to study of ethnic, nationalist, or religious violence.**

   In the face of the literature, or in the face of common sense, briefly explain why the question or puzzle demands an answer.

3. **Defend briefly a strategy for addressing that question.**

   Different questions demand different methodological approaches. A case study can answer some questions. Others require explicit comparative analysis. Some questions require interpretive approaches; others statistical analysis. Explain briefly what your approach can deliver. (e.g., "Comparing policies toward the Chinese community in Indonesia from 1966 to 1997 and in Malaysia from 1970 to 1997 allows assessment as to whether political restrictions on cultural minorities may promote ethnic violence.")

4. **Apply that strategy.**

   Most of your paper should be devoted to analysis. Having done the difficult work of framing the paper with a question and devising a strategy for addressing that question, the analytical steps should be clear.

5. **Draw conclusions.**

   In your conclusion, state forcefully what you established. Avoid the temptations to make policy recommendations, to speculate on the future, or to introduce some last minute variable that explains everything.
Writing Suggestions for Your Final Paper

Focus. A narrower argument is usually more defensible and more interesting. Be succinct. It’s not merely a virtue; it’s a requirement. (The text of your final paper – not including footnotes and bibliography – must be fewer than 4,000 words.)

Write long rough drafts. As you prepare your final draft, eliminate nonessential material. Papers may be shorter than the word limit. Many excellent papers are. At the end of the paper, give a word count (e.g., 3,802 words).

In your introduction, state your question and your approach and state your argument. Use topic sentences. The contribution of each paragraph should be clear from its first sentence. Avoid lists, worn-out metaphors, and contractions. Give phrases and the acronym for these phrases in parentheses (e.g., non-governmental organizations (NGOs)) before using an acronym alone. Capitalize acronyms. But do not capitalize common nouns.

Avoid first person claims. A sentence such as "I believe that a theory of group violence requires attention to gender" leads the reader to divide attention between the authority of the writer and the truth of the claim being advanced. ("Hmm...? That's an interesting claim. But I wonder how she came to believes that.") Stating a claim directly usually gives it more credibility. (e.g., "A theory of group violence requires attention to gender.")

Distinguish between countries, states, political regimes, governments, and nations and be clear about the concept to which you refer. Do not use country names as substitutes for states, political regimes, governments, or nations. The claim that "India has used preferential policies to combat caste discrimination" may refer to the administrative apparatus (i.e., the state), to the particular system of recruitment into that apparatus (i.e., the political regime), or to a government (i.e., the people who manage the state). Do not conflate nations and states. A "nation-state," wherein the borders of national identity and state authority coincide perfectly, is a compelling notion and often used to legitimate government, but is very rare, arguably non-existent. Keep in mind that states, countries, and regimes, being inanimate, are not actors. Thus, the notion of a non-state actor is an unnecessary redundancy. All actors, including governments, are non-state.

Use one of the citation formats described below.

Double-space; do not use one and one half-space formatting. Paginate. Check your grammar; edit thoroughly; proof read carefully.
Citation and Bibliography Formats

Ideas, and the words that are used to express them, are authored. However independent they might appear on the printed page, ideas and words exist because of someone's effort. To represent another's ideas or words as yours, even if paraphrased rather than quoted, is a form of theft, known as plagiarism. Carefully citing all sources of ideas and words in your writing protects you from the charge of plagiarism. If you are found to have plagiarized, you will fail this course and might face more serious sanctions from the College. Carefully citing all sources of ideas and words in your writing also impresses your reader with the research and authority that you bring to your subject.

Use one of the following citation formats in your papers. At the conclusion of a sentence that reflects or reports someone else's opinion or information, use either an in-text citation or a footnote.

(1.) An in-text citation gives the author's last name, year of publication, and page, in parentheses. (Last Name of Author(s) year: page). Then, in an attached bibliography, each source is given like this:

Last Name, First name, year, *Title of Book*, Place of Publication: Publisher.
Last Name, First name, month year, "article title," *Title of Periodical*, (Volume: Number).
Last Name, First name, year, "chapter title," in *Title of Edited Book*, First and Last Name of Editor, ed., Place of Publication: Publisher.

For example:

Kerala's performance in economic and human development owes much to its religious diversity and its tradition of matrilineal property inheritance. (Drèze and Sen 1995: 200)

Then, in your bibliography, give the full citation, like this:


Following the in-text citation format, articles in periodicals or chapters in books should be listed in your bibliography like so:


(2) A footnote refers your reader to a complete citation at the bottom of the page. The footnote format is:

First name Last Name, *Title of Book*, Place of Publication: Publisher, Year, Page(s).
First name Last Name, "article title," *Title of Journal*, (Volume: Number), Month Year, Page(s).
First name Last Name, "chapter title," in *Title of Edited Book*, First and Last Name of Editor, ed., Place of Publication: Publisher, Year, Page(s).

For example:

Pakistan’s early development strategy intentionally promoted economic inequality as a technique for rapid economic growth.\(^1\) At the bottom of the page, appears the footnote.


Articles in periodicals or chapters in books should be listed in your footnote like so:


If you use footnotes, you may include a bibliography but are not obligated to do so. If you use footnotes, be sure to place citations at the bottom (foot) of the page, not at the end of the paper (which would make them endnotes).