

Ethnicity, Nationalism, Religion, and Violence

Political Science 309S
Wellesley College
Fall 2011

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Class hours: Thursdays 2:50 – 5:20
Office hours: Tuesdays and Fridays 11:10 – 12:20 and 1:30 – 3:00

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 used suicide bombings since 1988 in an attempt to establish a separate state while Sinhalese Buddhist governments of Sri Lanka 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 Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge from 1975 to 1979, Rwanda in 1994, and Sri Lanka since 1988, (weeks 2 through 4) allow us to begin to engage with leading and emerging theories of ethnic and nationalist identity and collective violence (weeks 5 through 6). We then consider two additional cases: the religious justifications for the attacks of September 11, 2001 and religious violence in Southwest Asia (specifically Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan) and theories related to religious violence and to Islamic militancy (weeks 8 through 11). We attempt to develop explanations for ethnic, nationalist, and religious violence through presentations, discussions, and comments on final paper projects (weeks 12 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. Readings are lengthy. Most weeks involve more than 200 pages of reading. Class participation should give evidence of having mastered the assigned reading.

The first two-thirds of the second through tenth classes (September 8 through November 3) will be led by groups of two to three students and the instructor. These classes will be discussion-oriented; the latter half of each of these classes will be lecture-oriented, to introduce themes and material for the next class.

During the first class, you will rank your preferences of classes for which you will guide discussion (together with one or two other students). I will match students and to classes. A short (i.e., no more than 1,200 words, typed, double-spaced), co-authored paper is to be distributed, via the Sakai electronic conference, by 5:00 pm on the Monday before the class in which your group will guide the discussion. You will need to meet with your discussion group partners and me (on Friday) before you submit your discussion paper. Discussion papers are to provide a framework and questions for discussion. They are not to summarize the reading.

In the final three classes, each student is to make a brief presentation about her final paper project. The presentation (5 minutes) and subsequent questions and comments from other students (20 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

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.

1 September

Introduction

review of syllabus and requirements, introductions

8 September

Cambodia 1965-1979

View: *S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (Panh 2002: 101 minutes) available on the Sakai course conference in the Resources folder at Access Video E-Reserves

Read: Waller "The Tonle Sap Massacre" (Waller 2007: 163-170)
Etcheson "The Thirty Years War" (Etcheson 2005: 1-11)
Keirnan "Introduction: A World Turned Upside Down" (Pran 1997: xi-xvii)
Him *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up under the Khmer Rouge* (Him 2000: whole book)
Chanda "Silkworms and Mice" and "Chronology of Events" (Chanda 1986: 46-73 and 418-421 and 411-414)
Hinton "Why People Kill" (Hinton 2005: 276-298 and 323-325)

15 September

Rwanda 1919-1994

View: *Rwanda: How History Can Lead to Genocide* (Genoud 1995: 52 minutes) and *The Triumph of Evil* (Robinson and Loeterman 1999: 60 minutes) available on the Sakai course conference in the Resources folder at Access Video E-Reserves. Note: Full transcripts of the interviews excerpted in *The Triumph of Evil* are available [here](#).

Read: Young "The Colonial Creation of African Nations" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 225-231)
Mamdani "The Origins of Hutu and Tutsi" and "The Racialization of the

Hutu / Tutsi Difference under Colonialism" (Mamdani 2001: 41-75 and 283-297 and 76-102 and 297-306)
Hatzfeld *Machete Season: The Killers in Rwanda Speak* (Hatzfeld 2005: whole book)

22 September

Sri Lanka 1956-2009

View: *The Terrorist* (Sivan 2000: 95 minutes) available on the Sakai course conference in the Resources folder at Access Video E-Reserves

Read: Trawick "The Past" (Trawick 2006: 14-55)
Buddhist Committee of Inquiry "Religion and State in Ceylon" (Buddhist Committee of Inquiry 1956: 1-41)
DeVotta, "The Official Language Act of 1956" (DeVotta 73-91)
Tambiah "Buddhism, Politics, and Violence in Sri Lanka" (Marty and Appleby 1993: 589-619)
Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism" (Pape 2003: 343-361)

29 September

Theories of Collective Identity

Read: Hobson "Imperialism and the Lower Races" (Hobson 1902: 223-284)
Gellner "Nationalism and Modernization" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 55- 62, 330-331)
Nairn "The Maladies of Development" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 70-76)
Anderson "The Origins of National Consciousness" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 89-96, 334-335)
Hobsbawm "Invention of Tradition" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 76-83, 331-332)
Brass "Elite Competition and Nation Formation" (in 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)
Friedland "Religious Nationalism and The Problem of Collective Representation" (Friedland 2001: 125-142)
Kippenberg "The Growth of Religious Communities in the Age of Globalization" (Kippenberg 2011: 19-39)

6 October

Theories of Collective Violence

Read: Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" (in Evans 1985: 169-186)
Crawford "The Causes of Cultural Conflict" (Crawford and Lipshultz 1998: 3-43)
Seul "Religion, Identity, and Intergroup Conflict" (Seul 1999: 553-569)
Tambiah "The Routinization and Ritualization of Violence," "Entering a Dark Continent," and "The Moral Economy of Collective Violence" (Tambiah 1996: 221-243, 266-296, 309-342, 363-365, 367-370, 371-373)

13 October

September 11, 2011 and the War on Terror

Read: Kippenberg, "September 11, 2001: A Raid on the Path of God" and "The U.S. War on Terror" (Kippenberg 2011: 158-195 and 236-242)
Debrix, "The Sublime Spectatorship of War: The Erasure of the Event in America's Politics of Terror and Aesthetics of Violence" (Debrix 2006: 767-791)
Ratner, "Predator and Prey: Seizing and Killing Terrorist Abroad" (Ratner 2007: 251-275)

20 October

No Class

27 October

Theories of Religious Violence

Read: Juergensmeyer "Why Religious Confrontations are Violent" (Juergensmeyer 1993: 153-170, 239-243)
Appleby, "Violence as a Sacred Duty: Patterns of Religious Extremism" (2000: 81-120)
Candland "Religious Violence and the Subversions of Class: Communal Organizations and Sectarian Violence in Bombay, Colombo, and Karachi" (Candland 1998: 1-7)
Kippenberg, "Conflicts with Alternative Religious Communities in the United States in 1978 and 1993" and "Concluding Reflections" (Kippenberg 2011: 40-55 and 197-212)

3 November

Theories of "Islamic" Militancy

Read: 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)

10 November

Southwest Asia: Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan 2001-2011

Read: Kiernan and Owen, "Roots of U.S. Troubles in Afghanistan: Civilian Bombing Casualties and the Cambodian Precedent," available [here](#)
Irfan, "Pakistan's Sectarian Violence: Between the 'Arabist Shift' and Indo-Persian Culture" (in Limaye, Malik, and Wirsing 2010: 147-169) available [here](#)

13 November (Sunday) 5-8 pm

at Apartment 10, Horton House, 666 Washington Street, Wellesley

Presentations

5 students (5 minutes for each presentation and 20 minutes for questions and comments on each presentation)

17 November

Presentations

5 students (5 minutes for each presentation and 20 minutes for questions and comments on each presentation)

24 November

Thanksgiving

1 December

Presentations

5 students (5 minutes for each presentation and 20 minutes for questions and comments on each presentation)

Bibliography

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

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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 believe 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 is conceived as a community that believes it is united by a collective identity, perhaps by citizenship, culture, ethnicity, history, language, religion, territory, or some mixture of these. 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:

Drèze, Jean, and Amartya Sen, 1995, *India: Economic Opportunity and Social Opportunity*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

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

McQueen, Cheryl, January 1992, "Pakistan: A Bold Agenda for Economic Reform," *Business America*, (113: 1).

Kemal, A. R., 1991, "Privatisation: The Experience of Pakistan," in V. Kanesalingam, ed., *Privatisation: Trends and Experiences in South Asia*, New Delhi: MacMillan India.

(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.

¹ Angus Maddison, *Class Structure and Economic Growth in India and Pakistan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973, 136.

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

² Cheryl McQueen, "Pakistan: A Bold Agenda for Economic Reform," *Business America*, (113: 1), 13 January 1992, 8.

³ A. R. Kemal, "Privatisation: The Experience of Pakistan," in V. Kanesalingam, ed., *Privatisation: Trends and Experiences in South Asia*, New Delhi: MacMillan India, 1991, 132.

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).