

POLI 423
Fall 2025
Wed, Fri 4:05 - 5:25 p.m.
Trottier Building 1090

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THE POLITICS OF ETHNO-NATIONALISM

IN DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Course Description

The course examines the politics of nationalism, ethnicity and religion with reference to experiences in developing societies in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa in colonial and postcolonial contexts. It explores various ways in which the politics of nationalism, ethnicity and religion has influenced political competition, social conflict, democracy, and gender relations.

Readings

Extensive readings are drawn from the following books, available for purchase at the bookstore:

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006)

Narendra Subramanian, *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014)

These books are also available as e-books through the McGill library catalogue and links to them are provided on MyCourses. Electronic copies of the other readings can be accessed at the course website in MyCourses in the Content section, “Readings” sub-section. All the readings can thus be done online or using downloaded readings if you wish. The readings should be done before the lectures that discuss them.

Course Requirements

Students will be expected to take a midterm exam and a final exam, write a research paper and participate actively in classes. The midterm and the final exams will be based on the required readings and lecture material. The midterm exam will cover the first half of the course. The final exam will be cumulative in scope, with an emphasis on material covered in the second half of the course.

The research paper should explore issues central to the course in depth, using both required readings and additional pertinent materials. It should examine one or a few cases in detail (e.g., one or a few movements or parties) or one or a few themes with reference to many cases (e.g., ethnic violence in two or more countries). The paper should focus on explaining particular political outcomes, and in the process discuss political processes crucial to these outcomes. It should contain both theoretical and empirical discussion, and the theoretical and empirical aspects should be related to each other. The paper should be fifteen pages long (double-spaced,

with 1” fonts and margins) and will be due on Friday, November 21 (a week before the last class), through MyCourses.

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity> for more information). L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le site <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity>).

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté.

If you have a disability, please contact the instructor to arrange a time to discuss your situation. It would be helpful if you contact the [Office for Students with Disabilities](#) at 514-398-6009 before you do this.

Grading

The course grade will be determined in the following way:

Midterm Exam	25%
Paper	35%
Final Exam	35%
Attendance & Participation	5%

Students must write the midterm and final exams as well as the paper to pass the course. Attendance and class participation will influence the course grade if a student's cumulative course marks are on the borderline between two letter grades. A supplemental final exam will be offered, and it will be worth 35% of the total course grade. The deadline for the paper is firm. Extensions will not be given unless there are serious problems preventing the student from completing the paper on time. There is penalty of 3 marks out of 100 per weekday that the paper is late unless an extension is given. No papers will be accepted after Friday, November 28, the day of the last class, unless the student is given an incomplete. Incompletes will be given only if the concerned student has serious problems that interfere with academic work.

Part A: Cultural Pluralism: An Overview of Trends and Analytical Approaches

Aug 27: Introduction to the Course

Aug 29: Crawford Young, “The Dialectics of Cultural Pluralism: Concept and Reality” in Young, ed., *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation-State at Bay?* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press): 3-35.

Part A: Nations

I Major Theories of Nation-Formation

Sept 3, 5, 10: Ernest Gellner, “Nationalism and Modernization” and “Nationalism and High Cultures” in John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds., *Nationalism*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): 55-70.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006): Ch. I-III (1-46), VII (113-140), X (163-186).

Anthony D. Smith, “The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism” in Michael E. Brown, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018): 7-41.

Recommended:

Anderson, *Imagined Communities*: Ch. IV-VI (47-140).

Harry Mylonas and Maya Tudor, “Nationalism: What We Know and What We Still need to Know.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2021. 24: 109-124

II Nationalisms of Settler and Enslaver Colonies

Sept 12, 17: Anthony W. Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 1-10, 81-119, 191-216, 267-278.

Vusi Gumede, “Inequality in Democratic South Africa.” Xolela Mangcu, ed. *The Color of our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2015): 91-106.

Recommended

Steven Friedman, “The Janus Face of the Past: Preserving and Resisting South African Path Dependence.” Xolela Mangcu, ed. *The Color of our Future: Does Race Matter in Post-Apartheid South Africa?* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2015): 45-64.

Ellen Wesemüller, *African nationalism from apartheid to post-apartheid South Africa: a critical analysis of ANC party political discourse* (Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2014): 105-110.

III Imperial Nations, Colonized Identities

Sept 19: Terence Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa” in Eric J. Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983): 211-262

Recommended:

Terence Ranger, "Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The Invention of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe" in Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989): 118-150.

Crawford Young, "Africanism, Nationalism, and Ethnicity: The Ambiguous Triple Helix of Identity" in *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960-2010* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012): 291-333.

IV Nationalism in Later Colonies

Sept 24, 26: Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): 3-13.

Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986): 85-129.

Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments*: 14-27, 220-239.

Recommended:

Pratap Bhanu Mehta, "The Nationalist Movement" in Sumit Ganguly and Neil DeVotta, eds., *Understanding Contemporary India*. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003): 41-60.

Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*. (London: Routledge, 2004): Chapters 11-16.

Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885-1947*. (New York: St. Martin's Press): 1989.

Part C: Nations and Cultural Difference

I The State and National Integration

Oct 1: Crawford Young, "Indonesia and the Philippines: Integration and Cultural Pluralism in the Archipelago Republics" in *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), p. 327-328, 339-348, 361-372.

Jacques Bertrand, *State and Sub-State Nationalism in Southeast Asia*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024): iii, 1-4, 10-18, 31-41.

Recommended:

Young, "Indonesia and the Philippines": 328-339, 348-361.

Bertrand, *State and Sub-State Nationalism in Southeast Asia*: 18-31.

Asia Source Interview with Thomas McKenna on Muslim identity politics in the Philippines (<http://www.islamawareness.net/Asia/Philippines/mckenna.html>)

II Nation-Formation Through Ethnic Power-Sharing and Power-Dividing

Oct 3, 8: Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977): 1-3, 6-52.

Arend Lijphart, 2018. "Consociationalism after half a century" in Michaelina Jakala et al. eds., *Consociationalism and power-sharing in Europe: Arend Lijphart's theory of political accommodation*. Palgrave MacMillan: xv-xvi, 1-9.

Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000): 566-576.

Donald Horowitz, "Ethnic Power Sharing: Three Big Problems", *Journal of Democracy*, 25.2 (April 2014): 5-20.

Ohannes Guekjian, "Political Instability and Conflict after the Syrian Withdrawal from Lebanon." *Middle East Journal*, 68.4 (Autumn 2014): 521-545.

Recommended

Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies*: 142-176.

Michael C. Hudson, "The Problem of Authoritative Power in Lebanese Politics: Why Consociationalism Failed" in Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills, eds., *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988): 224-239.

Ohannes Geukjian, *Lebanon after the Syrian Withdrawal: External Intervention, Power-Sharing and Political Instability*. Routledge, 2016.

Oct 10: Midterm Exam

Oct 15, 17: Fall Reading Break (no classes or office hours)

III Party Competition and Ethnic Conflict

Oct 22: Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*: 298-311, 318-326, 365-369, 396-427

Noriyuki Segawa, "Double-layered ethnic politics in Malaysia: national integration, ethnic unity and social stability", *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 55.1 (2017): 63-81.

Recommended:

Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*: 291-8, 311-332.

Kumaran Rajandran & Charity Lee, "Politics in Malaysia: A Discourse Perspective" and Ahmad F.A. Hameed & Noorulhafidzah Zawawi, "The Interplay of Race, Religion and Royalty in Contemporary Malaysian Politics" in Rajandran & Lee, eds., *Discursive Approaches to Politics in Malaysia: Legitimising Governance* (Singapore: Springer, 2023): 1-5, 17-28. [skim for recent information]

Milton Esman, "Malaysia: Native Sons and Immigrants" in *Ethnic Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994): 49-74.

David Seah, "Malaysia: Dilemmas of Integration", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 53:1 (January 2000): 189-197.

Oct 24, 29: Kanchan Chandra, "Elite Incorporation in Multi-Ethnic Societies", *Asian Survey*, XL.5 (October 2000): 836-855.

Narendra Subramanian, "Ethnicity and Pluralism: An Exploration with Reference to Indian Cases", *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, XXXII.4 (December 1999): 715-744.

October 31: Steven Wilkinson, "Which Group Identities lead to most Violence? Evidence from India." in Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro and Tarek Masoud, eds., *Order, Conflict, and Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 271-300.

Rochona Bajpai, "Multiculturalism in India: An Exception?" in Richard T Ashcroft & Mark Bevir, eds., *Multiculturalism in the British Commonwealth: Comparative Perspectives on Theory and Practice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019): 127-149.

Recommended:

Narendra Subramanian, Ch. I ("Heretics, Heroes, and Citizens: Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization in Tamil Nadu, South India") and Ch. II ("Indian Ethno-Populisms in Comparative-Theoretical Perspective") in *Identity Politics, Inequality, and Democracy in India: Subnational and Intercontinental Comparative Perspectives*. (forthcoming; on MyCourses)

Harihar Bhattacharyya, "Multiculturalism in Contemporary India." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (UNESCO)* 5.2 (2003): 151-164.

Part D: Religion, Gender and Nation

I The Incorporation of Religion into Public Life

Nov 5, 7: Gary Jeffrey Jacobsohn, "Three Models of Secular Constitutional Development: India, Israel and the United States", *Studies in American Political Development*, X:1 (1996): 1-68.

Ayelet Shachar, "On Citizenship and Multicultural Vulnerability." *Political Theory* (2000): 64-89.

II The Recognition of Religion and Gender Relations

Nov 12: Deniz Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 20:3 (1991): 429-443.

Mounira M. Charrad, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), p. 1-13, 28-50.

Nov 14, 19: Mounira M. Charrad, "Policy Shifts: State, Islam, and Gender in Tunisia, 1930s–1990s", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 4.2 (1997): 284-319.

Dörthe Engelcke, "The Process of Family Law Reform in Morocco" and "Contested Issues of Moroccan Family Law" in *Reforming Family Law: Social and Political Change in Jordan and Morocco*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 133-155, 180-198.

Dörthe Engelcke, "Interpreting the 2004 Moroccan Family Law: Street-Level Bureaucrats, Women's Groups, and the Preservation of Multiple Normativities" *Law & Social Inquiry* 43.4 (Fall 2018): 1514-1541.

Recommended:

Sylvia Walby, "Woman and Nation." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. XXXIII 1-2 (1992): 81-100.

Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics", 1989 *U. of Chicago Legal Forum*. 139.

Nov 21: Papers due

Nov 21, 26: Narendra Subramanian, *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 1-8, 18-93, 131-142, 196-206, 262-296, xxxv-xxxviii.

Angana P. Chatterji, Thomas Blom Hansen and Christophe Jaffrelot, "Introduction" in Angana P. Chatterji, Thomas Blom Hansen, and Christophe Jaffrelot, eds., *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India* (Oxford University Press, 2020): 1-13.