

Deprivation, Violence, and Identities: Mapping Contemporary World Conflicts

October 3-4, 2003 Mershon Center

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ENTER



Deprivation, Violence, and Identities: *Mapping Contemporary World Conflicts*

An Area Studies Interdisciplinary Conference

Mershon Center, The Ohio State University

October 3-4, 2003

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from S-21
a play by
Catherine Filloux](#)

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*Are deprivation, violence, and identity conflicts symbolic
of the tensions and ambiguities that arise as locally defined
interests clash with the ideologies of transnationalism?*

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, many anticipated the advent of a “new world order” of global capitalism, or even an “end to history,” implying that conflicts based on ideology and competing national interests and identities would lose their political relevance in the post-Cold War era. Quite to the contrary, the 1990s saw an upwelling of ethnic and religious violence in locations as disparate as the former Yugoslavia, Central Africa, South Asia, and the Middle East. Prior to the events of 9/11, the structure of international relations had still made it possible to imagine that such conflicts had local roots and were thus exclusively of regional consequence. The events of 9/11, however, rendered undeniable the global significance of local ethnic and religious-based differences. It is now an inescapable conclusion that social identities are everywhere threatened from within by local and ethnic formations, conditioned in their response by the prerogatives and ambitions of the state and its actors, and transformed from without by the global flows of capital, popular culture, and transnational ideologies and populations. As features of the contemporary world, deprivation, violence, and identities are but the local manifestations of the conflict between global systems of thought, power, and authority.

Made possible with funding from the [Mershon Center](#), the Ohio State University’s [Area Studies Centers](#) and the [Office of International Affairs](#) are hosting a two-day conference on the topic of *Deprivation, Violence, and Identities*. The conference does not presuppose a cause and effect relationship among the identified phenomena, but seeks, instead, to provide a forum in which to consider the dynamics of the relationships linking perceived and imposed deprivation, the attendant violence of social conflict, and the resultant manifestation of social identities.

The conference stands at the conceptual intersection of two distinct forms of organizing intellectual knowledge and debate – that of the area studies model, on the one hand, and of the thematic approach of the social sciences, on the other. From within the context of an area studies perspective, the conference will examine the mutual implications of deprivation, violence, and identities under three thematic rubrics: “Identities of Dispossession,” “Borders and State Authority,” and “Transnationalism.”

[Neil J. Smelser](#) (University of California, Berkeley), will deliver the conference keynote address. Internationally recognized [scholars](#) have been invited to present on the three panels and [OSU faculty](#) will serve as panel discussants. Conference papers will be edited as a published volume. OSU Professor [Craig Jenkins](#) (Department of Sociology) is guiding this effort.

Conference Planning Committee: Esther Gottlieb, Craig Jenkins, Joanna Kukielka-Blaser, Ahmad Sikainga, Frank Spaulding, and Halina Stephan.

For more information, please contact: cirit@osu.edu

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A JOINT OFFICE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS — MERSHON CENTER CONFERENCE

Deprivation, Violence, and Identities:
Mapping Contemporary World Conflicts
October 3-4, 2003 Mershon Center



PROGRAM

October 2, 2003

*The Drake Performance and Event Center
Roy Bowen Theatre
1849 Cannon Drive
Columbus, OH 43210*

October 3-4, 2003

*The Mershon Center
1501 Neil Ave.
Columbus, OH 43201*

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2

ARRIVALS

8:00 p.m.

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM S-2 1

A play by Catherine Filloux

Directed by Lesley Ferris

Roy Bowen Theatre

1849 Cannon Drive

Columbus, OH 43210

PANEL DISCUSSION

Alan Woods *Jerome Lawrence & Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute,
The Ohio State University*

Lesley Ferris *Dept. of Theatre, The Ohio State University*

Catherine Filloux *Playwright, New Dramatists*

John B. Quigley *Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University*

Ara Wilson *Dept. of Women's Studies, The Ohio State University*

RECEPTION

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3

8:00 –
8:30 a.m.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

Mershon Center

1501 Neil Ave.

Columbus, OH 43201

8:30 –
9:00 a.m.

WELCOME REMARKS

Richard K. Herrmann *Director, Mershon Center, The Ohio State University*

Jerry Ladman *Associate Provost of International Affairs, The Ohio State University*

J. Craig Jenkins *Dept. of Sociology, The Ohio State University*

9:00 –
9:40 a.m.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Uncertain Connections: Globalization, Localization, Identities, and Violence

Neil J. Smelser *Dept. of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley*

9:40–
10:00 a.m.

Q&A

Moderator: J. Craig Jenkins *Dept. of Sociology, The Ohio State University*

10:00–
10:15 a.m.

Break

10:15 –
12:00 p.m.

IDENTITIES OF DISPOSSESSION: PANEL I – SESSION I

The Musha Rebellion as the Unthinkable: Coloniality, Aboriginality and the Epistemology of Colonial Difference

Leo T.S. Ching *Dept. of Asian and African Languages and Literature, Duke University*

Dispossession and Possession: The Maya, Duplicity, and “Post” War Guatemala

Diane M. Nelson *Dept. of Cultural Anthropology, Duke University*

DISCUSSANT PANEL

Christopher Reed *Dept. of History, The Ohio State University*

Daniel Reff *Dept. of Comparative Studies, The Ohio State University*

Q&A

Moderator: Halina Stephan *Center for Slavic and East European Studies, The Ohio State University*

12:00 –
1:00 p.m.

Lunch

1:00 –
3:00 p.m.

IDENTITIES OF DISPOSSESSION: PANEL I – SESSION II

Inventing Authenticity: Reviving The Heritage and Preserving The Traditional In Post-War Beirut

Aseel Sawalha *Dept. of Criminal Justice & Sociology, Pace University*

States of Mind and the State of War: Public Attitudes and Ethnic Violence in Macedonia

Robert Hislope *Dept. of Political Science, Union College*

Recognizing Guerrillas' Sacrifices in Post-Independent Zimbabwe: Law, Politics, and Justice

Norma Kriger *Visiting Scholar, Mershon Center, The Ohio State University*

DISCUSSANT PANEL

Sabra Webber *Dept. of Comparative Studies, The Ohio State University*

Alexander Pantsov *Dept. of History, Capital University*

Ivy Pike *Dept. of Anthropology, The Ohio State University*

Q&A

Moderator: Ahmad Sikainga *African Studies Center, The Ohio State University*

Break

3:00 –
3:15 p.m.

BORDERS AND STATE AUTHORITY: PANEL II – SESSION I

The Kurdish Question in Perspective

Michael M. Gunter *Dept. of Political Science, Tennessee Technological University*

Abkhazia: Can Social Theory Provide Therapy?

Georgi Derluguian *Dept. of Sociology, Northwestern University*

3:15 –
5:00 p.m.

DISCUSSANT PANEL

Nina Berman *Dept. of Germanic Languages & Literatures, The Ohio State University*
John B. Quigley *Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University*

Q&A

Moderator: Fernando Unzueta *Center for Latin American Studies, The Ohio State University*

5:00 –
6:00 p.m.

RECEPTION

Mershon Center

6:30 –
8:30 p.m.

DINNER

The Blackwell - Ballroom A
2110 Tuttle Park Place, Columbus, OH 43210

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4

8:00 –
10:15 a.m.

BORDERS AND STATE AUTHORITY: PANEL II – SESSION II

The Intercultural Construction of Public Authority in Latin America

Donna Lee Van Cott *Dept. of Political Science, University of Tennessee*

Factors in Africa’s Crisis of State Building

Kidane Mengisteab *Dept. of African and African-American Studies,
Pennsylvania State University*

State Authority over Korean Buddhism during the “Purification Movement”

Pori Park *Dept. of Religious Studies, Arizona State University*

DISCUSSANT PANEL

Abril Trigo *Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, The Ohio State University*

Antoinette Errante *School of Educational Policy and Leadership,
The Ohio State University*

Philip Brown *Dept. of History, The Ohio State University*

Q&A

Moderator: Fernando Unzueta *Center for Latin American Studies, The Ohio State University*

10:15 –
10:30 a.m.

Break

10:30 –
12:10 p.m.

TRANSNATIONALISM: PANEL III – SESSION I

Cyber-Separatism, Islam, and the State in China

Dru C. Gladney *Dept. of Asian Studies and Anthropology,
University of Hawaii at Manoa*

Ethnic/Religious Conflicts and Democratic Transitions in West Africa: A Nigerian Case-Study

M. Sani Umar *Dept. of Religious Studies, Arizona State University*

DISCUSSANT PANEL

Kevin R. Cox *Dept. of Geography, The Ohio State University*

John Mueller *Dept. of Political Science, The Ohio State University*

12:10 –
1:10 p.m.

Q&A

Moderator: J. Craig Jenkins *Dept. of Sociology, The Ohio State University*

Lunch

1:10 –
3:25 p.m.

TRANSNATIONALISM: PANEL III- SESSION II

The Twentieth Century's Legacy to the Twenty-First: Is Communism Dead?

Karen Dawisha *Dept. of Political Science and Havighurst Center for Russian and Post Soviet Studies, Miami University*

Bolivia's Vulnerability to Socio-Political Conflict

Eduardo A. Gamarra *Dept. of Political Science, Florida International University*

Public Islam and the Common Good

Dale F. Eickelman *Dept. of Anthropology, Dartmouth College*

Armando Salvatore* *Institute of Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Berlin*

DISCUSSANT PANEL

Kazimierz M. Slomczynski *Dept. of Sociology, The Ohio State University*

Ileana Rodriguez *Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, The Ohio State University*

Richard K. Herrmann *Mershon Center and Dept. of Political Science, The Ohio State University*

Q&A

Moderator: J. Craig Jenkins *Dept. of Sociology, The Ohio State University*

3:25 –
3:40 p.m.

Break

3:40 –
5:00 p.m.

PLENARY SESSION

J. Craig Jenkins *Dept. of Sociology, The Ohio State University*

Neil J. Smelser *Dept. of Sociology, University of California, Berkley*

5:00 –
5:15 p.m.

CONFERENCE CLOSING

6:00 –
8:00 p.m.

DINNER & DISCUSSION

Lindsey's Mohawk Room

169 E. Beck Street

Columbus, OH 43206

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 5

DEPARTURES

* Armando Salvatore will not be in attendance



Neil J. Smelser

Professor Emeritus, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley

Professor Smelser's interests include sociological theory, economic sociology, sociology of education and comparative methods. He has been a member of the faculty of the University of California-Berkeley since 1958. He earned bachelor's degrees from Harvard University in 1952 and Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1954 and a doctorate from Harvard in 1958. He is also a graduate of the San Francisco Psychoanalytic Institute. Prof. Smelser has received many honors and awards, including election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1968, the American Philosophical Society in 1976 and the National Academy of Sciences in 1993.

- Latest publications: "Pressures for Continuity in the Context of Globalization" in *Current Sociology*. (March 2003), vol. 51, issue 2; "Sociological and Interdisciplinary Adventures: A Personal Odyssey" in *American Sociologist*. (2000), vol. 31, part 4.

Website

Keynote Address

**PANEL I:
IDENTITIES OF DISPOSSESSION**

Leo T.S. Ching (*Duke University*) **Bio**

Robert Hislope (*Union College*) **Bio**

Norma Kriger (*Visiting Scholar, Mershon Center*) **Bio**

Diane M. Nelson (*Duke University*) **Bio**

Aseel Sawalha (*Pace University*) **Bio**

**PANEL II:
BORDERS AND STATE AUTHORITY:
CHALLENGES TO CONSOLIDATION**

Georgi Derluguian (*Northwestern University*) **Bio**

Michael Gunter (*Tennessee Tech*) **Bio**

Kidane Mengisteab (*Pennsylvania State University*) **Bio**

Pori Park (*Arizona State University*) **Bio**

Donna Lee Van Cott (*University of Tennessee*) **Bio**

**PANEL III:
TRANSNATIONALISM**

Karen Dawisha (*Miami University*) **Bio**

Dale F. Eickelman (*Dartmouth College*) **Bio**

& Armando Salvatore (*Humboldt University, Berlin*) **Bio**

Prof. Salvatore will not be attending this conference

Eduardo A. Gamarra (*Florida International University*) **Bio**


Dru C. Gladney (*University of Hawaii*) **Bio**

M. Sani Umar (*Arizona State University*) **Bio**

PANEL I: IDENTITIES OF DISPOSSESSION

Alexander Pantsov (*Department of History, Capital University*) 


Ivy Pike (*Department of Anthropology*) 

Christopher Reed (*Department of History*) 

Daniel Reff (*Department of Comparative Studies*) 

Sabra Webber (*Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures*) 

PANEL II: BORDERS AND STATE AUTHORITY: CHALLENGES TO CONSOLIDATION

Nina Berman (*Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures*) 

Philip Brown (*Department of History*) 


Antoinette Errante (*School of Educational Policy and Leadership*) 


Abril Trigo (*Department of Spanish and Portuguese*) 


John B. Quigley (*Moritz College of Law*) 

PANEL III: TRANSNATIONALISM

Kevin R. Cox (*Department of Geography*) 

Richard K. Herrmann (*Mershon Center*) 

John Mueller (*Department of Political Science*) 

Ileana Rodriguez (*Department of Spanish and Portuguese*) 

Kazimierz Slomczynski (*Department of Sociology*) 

**PANEL I:
IDENTITIES OF DISPOSSESSION**

The Musha Rebellion as the Unthinkable: Coloniality, Aboriginality and the Epistemology of Colonial Difference

Leo T.S. Ching

[Bio](#)

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

State of Mind and the State of War: Public Attitudes and Ethnic Violence in Macedonia

Robert Hislope

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[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

Recognizing Guerrillas' Sacrifices in Post-Independent Zimbabwe: Law, Politics, and Justice

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[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

Dispossession and Possession: The Maya, Duplicity, and “Post” War Guatemala

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[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

Inventing Authenticity: Reviving the Heritage and Preserving the Traditional In Post-War Beirut

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[Bio](#)

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[Paper](#)

**PANEL II:
BORDERS AND STATE AUTHORITY:
CHALLENGES TO CONSOLIDATION**

Abkhazia: Can Social Theory Provide Therapy

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State Authority over Korean Buddhists in Contemporary Korea

Pori Park

[Bio](#) [Abstract](#) [Paper](#)

The Intercultural Construction of Public Authority in Latin America

Donna Lee Van Cott

[Bio](#) [Abstract](#) [Paper](#)

PANEL III: TRANSNATIONALISM

The Power of Ideas in Promoting and Solving Conflict in Post-Communist Politics

Karen Dawisha

[Bio](#) [Abstract](#) [Paper](#)

Public Islam and the Common Good

Dale F. Eickelman [Bio](#)

Armando Salvatore [Bio](#)

[Abstract](#) [Paper](#)

Bolivia's Vulnerability to Socio-Political Conflict

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A Nigerian Case-Study

Muhammad Sani Umar

[Bio](#)

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

Photographs from S-21

a short play
by *Catherine Filloux*
Directed by *Lesley Ferris*

October 2, 2003
8:00 p.m.
Play, Panel, and Reception

Roy Bowen Theatre
The Ohio State University

A short play, "Photographs from S-21," is based on the detainment, torture and execution of Cambodians in a secret prison during the Khmer Rouge Regime. The Khmer Rouge seized power in Cambodia in 1975, after five years of civil war. For four years, they held more than 14,000 Cambodians captive in a secret prison called S-21. Catherine Filloux's powerful play draws its inspiration from photos of prisoners held in S-21, during an art exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, and addresses the emotional devastation experienced by the survivors.

The play has been produced around the U.S. and the world: Published by Smith & Kraus in HB Playwrights Short Play Festival 1998 "The Museum Plays" and by Playscripts, Inc. 2003. Finalist for 1999 Heideman Award at Actors Theatre of Louisville.

The play will be followed by a [panel discussion](#) and a reception.

This event is co-sponsored by the [Mershon Center](#), the [Office of International Affairs](#), and the [Department of Theatre](#)

Information & Images about Prison S-21

["Our History Too" by Lindsay French \(article\)](#)

[Facing Death: Portraits from Cambodia's Killing Fields](#)

Prisoners at S-21 Prison





J. Craig Jenkins

Professor, Department of Sociology, Research Fellow, Center for African Studies, Faculty Associate, Mershon Center, The Ohio State University

J. Craig Jenkins received his Ph.D. from State University of New York at Stony Brook in 1975. His research specializations lie in political sociology and social movements. He is the author of *The Politics of Insurgency* (Columbia University, 1985), *The Politics of Social Protest* (University of Minnesota, 1995), and numerous articles on social movements, nonprofit political advocacy, comparative studies of political conflict and instability, and the early warning of humanitarian disasters and political crises. His current research projects include *The World Handbook of Political Indicators IV* (w/ Charles Taylor), the early warning of political crises, and the sources of international terrorism.

- Latest publications: “Conflict Carrying Capacity, Political Crisis, and Reconstruction: A Framework for the Early Warning of Political System Vulnerability” in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2001); “Deforestation and the Environmental Kuznet’s Curve: Cross-National Evaluation of Intervening Mechanisms” [with Erhardt-Martinez, K. and E. Crenshaw] in *Social Science Quarterly*. (2002) 83: 1-17; “Food Security in Less Developed Countries, 1970-1990” [with Scanlan, S.J] in *American Sociological Review*. (2001), 66: 718-744; “Social Movement Philanthropy and the Growth of Nonprofit Political Advocacy: Scope, Legitimacy and Impact” in *Nonprofit Advocacy and the Policy Process: II*. (2001) Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute. “Integrated Data for Events Analysis (IDEA): An Event Typology for Automated Event Data Development” in *Journal of Peace Research* (2003).

Website

Conference on
Deprivation, Violence and Identities
Ohio State University
October 3-4, 2003

UNCERTAIN CONNECTIONS:
GLOBALIZATION, LOCALIZATION, IDENTITIES, AND VIOLENCE

by Neil J. Smelser

University of California, Berkeley

Given the conceptual and geographical breadth of the papers prepared for this conference, providing a keynote for it has proved to be a formidable challenge. In the end I chose a strategy that is congenial for me but runs the risk of self-embarrassment. The strategy is to struggle with the issue of breadth by taking an even broader view. That is to say, I believe I can serve this occasion best by taking a critical look at the main conceptual frameworks around which the conference has been formulated. Among these are identities of dispossession, the state, borders, transnationalism (including globalization), and violence. Each of these frameworks is itself complex, and the relations among the phenomena identified are even more so. In my remarks I hope to contribute to the theoretical clarification of the frameworks, to raise some skeptical observations about some dominant presuppositions relating them to one another, and to point toward more adequate formulations and explanations. My mission is therefore both ambitious and modest—ambitious in that I intend to venture into very uncertain seas as though I have confidence that they may be made more certain, and modest in that I hope to provide a conceptual apparatus that will not challenge but will rather tease out some of the general implications of the many case studies that constitute the real meat of this conference. For documentation I have relied on a general search of the literature on the

relevant topics, but also I have exploited the recently-accumulated treasure of synthesized knowledge available in the International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, in which I had a major editorial role.

A Loose Model Linking Globalization, Localization, Identity, and Violence

To facilitate my tasks, I begin by creating what some might regard as a straw person—a kind of explanatory model (perspective or sketch might be a better terms) that ties together many of the ingredients listed above. This model is based on widely but not universally shared assumptions (that is why it is straw). Nevertheless, it represents a more or less coherent set of connections and serves as a foil for the more complex and contextualized discussion I wish to introduce.

The model begins with the world-phenomenon of globalization, which might be defined at the most general level as “the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interaction” (Held and McGrew, 2002, p. 1). To some commentators the process has the form of an “irresistible lava flow” (Langhorne, 2001, p. 1) that is transforming the world. There are disagreements about the essence of the process, but the common dimensions are the most commonly stressed:

- technological , which have “given human beings the ability to conduct their affairs across the world without reference to nationality, governmental authority, time of day or physical environment” (Langhorne, 2001, p. 2). Among these the information and communication revolutions are paramount
- economic, including the explosion in international trade, internationalization of production, and the galloping internationalization of capital and financial institutions.

- political, involving the rise of new but incomplete and inadequate forms of global governance—including international non-governmental organizations—which is “an array of formal legal arrangements, informal codes of conduct, and habitual practices based on shared expectations about legitimate action” (Benedict, 2001, p.6233).
- migration, the movement of increasing numbers of peoples across national lines
- cultural, or the spread and homogenization of a global culture, dominated by American and/or Western content and accomplished through the mass media.

An evidently complex process, globalization nevertheless is represented as an admittedly diffuse independent variable that produces two clear consequences. The first has to do with the declining the sovereignty of the nation-state occasioned by re-locating of decisive events and constellations of decision-making beyond the realm of national control (Held, 1995). Though this thesis is disputed by “anti-globalists” (Held and McGrew, 2002), it has had a certain staying power. The forces undermining the nation-state include “multinational companies, common markets, satellite communications and global environmental concerns, none of which have much respect for traditional political boundaries and the integrity of the sovereign state” (Samarasinghe, 1990, p. 1).

The second consequence of globalization is thought to excite various local, often but not always sub-national tendencies, represented as antagonistic to global tendencies which intrude in various ways—economic, political, cultural—on the autonomy and integrity of the local. In fact “most of the debates about globalization, whether scholarly or popular, have

centered around the relation and even polarity between the global and the local” (Beyer, 2001, p. 6287). On the cultural side, the tension is between homogenization of an international culture on the one hand and the reassertion of social and cultural diversity on the other (*ibid.*). These tendencies have been represented, albeit very simplistically, as opposites (Robertson, 2001, p. 6255). The “local” is not only regional as the term literally implies, but it subsumes groups that are ethnic, racial, indigenous, ethnonationalistic, religious, linguistic, cultural or style of life—often some mix of these. These are the foci of resistance to globalizing tendencies and the reassertion of local autonomy. In the extreme, this takes the form of “globaphobia,” or resistance to globalizing economic trends such as free trade and competition as alien and “threatening the integrity of primordiality of a particular collectivity” (*ibid.* p. 6256; see also Burtless, Lawrence, Litan and Shapiro, 1998).

This antagonism affects the nation-state as well, as these local assertions come to constitute claims against sovereignty as well; the nation-state is being challenged by a new wave of ethnic nationalism that has manifested itself across the globe” (Samarasinghe, 1990, p. 1). At an earlier time I myself voiced these relations as follows: nationally-based systems of political-legal and territorial integration are being increasingly besieged by economic and political developments mainly ‘from above’ and by cultural developments mainly ‘from below’ the nation-state level (Smelser, 1997, p.70). As my subsequent remarks will demonstrate, I am now in a position of wishing to recant partially on that formulation, because of its unacceptable simplicity. In all events, the drift of the reasoning I have summarized is to posit a set of zero-sum relations between globalization,

national sovereignty, and localist tendencies—that is, the more you have of the one, the more you are subtracting from the others.

The next ingredient in the complex is the group identity. The various “local” bases noted in fact constitute the major bases of identity and identity politics with which nation-states have to contend. As the local is made more salient by contemporary global developments, so are identities associated with localism. Those now writing on identity focus on (and often quietly laud) mainly the identities of minorities which involve claims for political rights or redress of past and present wrongs (Hardin, 2001, p. 7169). Identity movements defend the interest and promote the rights of these groups. There is also, frequently, “the search for symbolic recognition by a significant other” (Langlois, 2001, p. 7166).

The final and least certain connection is between identity and violence. The working assumption is that groups based on the particularistic identities may be particularly prone to violence. The bases for this assumption are two. First, even though identity groups certainly often behave like interest groups, the ideological bases of their claims are typically primordial and absolute. The further assumption is that these characteristics provide a ready legitimization for violence, containing as they do such a powerful distinction of a righteous “we” and an evil “they.” The second basis is more political in nature. Because of the ideological commitments of identity groups, they are—or at least present a posture that they are—unfriendly to compromise in a give-and take in democratic polities which find their existence in fashioning compromises among conflict groups. Democratic regimes, in their turn, are taxed by identity groups for the very same reason, and are likely to give them short treatment because they insist on playing on the edges of the political rules of the game. The net result is

to rule out many options for accommodation of identity groups, and thereby to increase their alienation and their willingness to turn toward more desperate measures.

The reader will have little trouble in discerning from my language that I am dissatisfied with the somewhat simplified connections I have described. However simplified, they do inform much of the literature. By and large, the rendition I have given takes whole complexes of variables and treats them as undifferentiated causes. As such, the connections come up short with respect to specific mechanisms involved and, consequently, explanatory adequacy. My aim in the remainder of these remarks will be to visit each one of the supposed connections and specify the contingent variables that should be consulted in order to make our understanding of the connections more realistic and adequate.

Transition #1: Subglobal Effects of Globalization

Under this heading I will discuss, first, the issue of the impact of globalization on the system of nation-states—briefly, because this is somewhat peripheral to the topic of the conference—and, second, the impact of globalization on what I referred to above as “locality.”

The Nation-state. A certain case can be made for the argument that states are weakened by the global economic system. With respect to the familiar kinds of economic penetrations—arising from the economic impact of decisions made by powerful nations, world inflation, shocks such as the OPEC price crisis of 1973, and fluctuations in international currency rates—it is true that these are “external” to states and that state governments are often unable to prevent or control them. At the same time it must be remembered that the responsibility for dealing with these penetrations remains with nation-states. That is to say, national governments are the

agencies that have to cope with the consequences (for their domestic populations) of the vicissitudes of the world economy. The correct diagnosis is that sovereignty of nation-states is increasingly taxed in the context of globalization. However, states retain their sovereign power. The difference is that its ability to control events affecting its people is increasingly diminished. There has been, however, very little by way of handing over or transfer of sovereignty to supranational groups and agencies.

Similarly, the decisions made by supranational agencies continue, by and large, to be filtered through the apparatus of the nation-state. The extent to which such international agencies have spread is remarkable. Working from figures presented in the 1998-9 Yearbook of International Organizations, Haas (2001) counted some 6,000 international organizations at the end of the twentieth century. Of these, some 264 (170 in 1962) were organizations whose members were states (international governmental organizations, or IGOs), such as the United Nations and the Caribbean Community, another 5,766 (1,542 in 1962) were private associations with international objectives (NGOs), such as Doctors without Borders and the European Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Some 72 per cent of these organizations represented a regional rather than a universal constituency.

What are the normative relations of these organizations to the nation-state? As for the NGOs, they are by and large cooperative associations, many of which do not make collective decisions, and when they do these decisions are not even binding on their own members, much less anyone else. IGOs, however, vary along a dimension, which Haas describes as extending from “organizations” to “institutions.” Organizations are interest-based collectivities without power; institutions assume a certain level of

autonomy and an ability to bind their members by majority vote. The most remarkable transition from organization to institution is the European Union, but that is almost the only example. A few others, such as the International Monetary Fund, rely on strictures, which, if not adhered to, result in very adverse economic and political consequences; for this reason, these can be regarded as semi-coercive in character. Most other international governmental organizations are voluntary and rely on their members' willingness to conform. A true world government would clearly be a fully developed institution, with a capacity to exercise binding power over its member units, but the world, as yet, has produced nothing close to that.

Even when cooperation at the national level is obtained, different states adapt the policies to their own economic circumstances, cultures, and political systems and evolve their own "policy styles"(see Jänick and Weidner, 1997; Richardson, 1982). In all cases, however, the state mediates in a de facto way—i.e., as the effective agency of normative control—between the supranational agencies and the people and groups who are affected by the influence locally, even though the origin of the normative influence originates externally to the state.

In all events, the "impact" of supra-national economic and political trends and events is highly variable according to the maturity and strength of the nation-state itself. To remind ourselves of the obvious, strong and mature modernized states surely have more control over the effects of global phenomena—indeed, they are the more active agents in engineering these phenomena—than the large number of post-colonial, weak, partially developed states, mainly in Africa and Asia. In a word, the impact of globalization is selective, both according to type of international penetration involved and according to the capacity of the "receiving" state.

“Local” Impacts. The last third of the twentieth century has witnessed a dramatic increase in the development of quasi-religious, sub-nationalist, local movements based on a mix of ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural considerations (Gurr, 2000). Examples are the “nationalistic” movements in Wales and Scotland, the Basque phenomenon, the resurfacing of fissiparous ethnic tendencies in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and similar phenomena in other areas of the world. We have also witnessed a growth of solidary groupings based on social movements pressing for recognition, status and rights, or advocating a cause such as women’s rights, peace, or antagonism to nuclear power. In exploring the determinants of these developments, I hope to throw light on the first orienting question for the conference—why are there so many identity conflicts in the world today?

This explosion in local political contentiousness is a remarkable turn of historical events, in part because it was unanticipated by (and an embarrassment for) most of the social-science paradigms that reigned at mid-century. Modernization theory (particularly of the “convergence” variety) anticipated a social and cultural homogenization; Marxian theory had always downplayed particularistic loyalties in favor of the dynamics of class; secularization theory in the sociology of religion posited a long-term decline in religious forces; and “liberal” political theory tended to treat particularistic loyalties as subject to processes of assimilation.

Since this explosion has coincided with the very rapid pace of world globalizing tendencies, it seems reasonable to regard the localist impulse as a counteractive response to them. What might be the mechanisms of such a response? Nearly a quarter of a century ago, Rokkan and Urwin suggested such a mechanism. Referring to Western Europe, they pointed first to

“globalizing” tendencies associated with the common market and the corresponding “erosion of inter-state boundaries.” These in turn constituted demands on the resources and manpower have increased by needs to expand welfare and education services. This relative “weakening” of the state led to “the multiplication of efforts to mobilize peripheries, regions and even localities against the national centres, and an assertion (or reassertion) of minority claims for cultural autonomy and for separate decision-making” (1982, p. 3). To generalize this formulation, global tendencies and events subtract from the ability of states to meet demands from local and particularistic constituencies, and this neglect heightens the political activity of these constituencies.

To focus on powers of the state in relation to sub-state particularistic groups seems a good lead, but the link to “globalization” seems problematical. It seems more profitable to look at the fate of the state as it has been conditioned by specific international processes, all of which can be subsumed under “globalization” only by an unhelpful stretching of the connotations of that term. The “international processes” I have in mind are long-term historical trends that have heightened the disjunction between the nation-state (and nationalism) and ethnic particularism throughout the world. The following trends are the major ones:

- The colonial heritage, in which the world’s major colonial powers divided up the colonized world into colonial territories that took little or no account of the tribal, religious, and other characteristics of those territories, except sometimes to exploit them for political purposes. As a result, they generated political units that were constituted by a multiplicity of particularistic groups.

- The post-colonial heritage, in which most of the colonies adopted the model of the nation-state—the mode of political organization represented by their former colonizers and the political mode preferred by the diplomatic communities and the United Nations for membership in the world system. In most cases this adaptation perpetuated the internal particularistic diversity (Gurr and Harff, 1994)
- The formal adoption of the traditional characteristics of nation-states by the new states (self-sufficiency, insistence on monopoly of violence, the focus of a national identity) but their actual ineffectiveness in developing the nation-state form, which had, in fact, been realized in the West only after a long and irregular historical process. In some cases the result was “failed states,” and in other cases “the insistence on the right to conduct internal affairs without outside interference gave unscrupulous dictators like Macias and Amin freedom to commit atrocities against their subjects in the name of ‘nation-building’” (ibid. p. 12).
- The dramatic “third wave” of democratization (Huntington, 1991), beginning in 1974, affecting dozens of nations throughout the world. The general shift was toward the dismantling of authoritarian regimes and the development of democratic institutions, but the results of this movement have been mixed in terms of the actual institutionalization of stable democracies. The transition to democracy implies a formal commitment to deal with contending opposition voices (including particularistic groups), thus giving them, legitimately, more political salience, but the

transition did not guarantee effectiveness in dealing with conflicts among such groups or between them and the state.

- The even more dramatic dismantling of the communist and socialist countries in 1989-90, which not only permitted the emergence of multiple ethnic, religious, and local forces held under by repression for decades, but also resulted in the formation of a significant number of new states. Almost all these states, moreover, did not “solve” issues of internal diversity, because in almost all cases residual minorities remained (e.g., Russians in Latvia).
- An accelerating process of international migration (this is the factor most closely associated with the concept of globalization). While international migrants make up only two percent of the world’s population, their absolute numbers have accelerated from approximately 75 million in 1965 to perhaps 140 million at the end of the 1990s (Castles, 2001, p. 9826). The occasions for migration have been both economic and political, and the process inevitably results in some kind of multiculturalism both for the receiving country and for the migrant populations who are caught in the struggle between inherited particularistic loyalties and the “pressures of the varied ideologies of cultural and legal inclusion which characterize their new homes” (Appadurai, 2001, p. 6269).
- The final factor is a kind of internal political dynamic. Countries in North America and Western Europe have gradually evolved from political aspirations for individual assimilation of minorities (an evolution dictated mainly because the those aspirations were not realized), to policies of recognition of cultural difference

through policies of pluralism and multiculturalism (Castles, 2001, p. 9827). Once the political system has made a commitment to recognize and respond to the demands of particularistic groups, this creates a kind of informal “invitation” or “hope” that politics based on claims of particularistic groups have a degree of political legitimacy.

This extended catalogue of (mainly political) developments provides much of the answer to the question of why there are so many more identity conflicts in the world. The answer is that all the preconditions for generating them have been moving in the same direction. The world has seen the immense growth in numbers of nation-states (185 in the United Nations in 2000). Almost all are multi-ethnic (or multi-particularistic) and many are multi-homeland (Said and Simmons, 1976, Connor, 2002). The number of multiply-oriented “border” populations at nations’ edges has increased correspondingly (Donnan and Wilson, 1999). Most of the nations have not been able to create political machinery for contending with particularistic conflict, and in those that have, the machinery is fragile.

While these general conditions together have produced the worldwide growth in particularistic conflicts, the combination of these conditions varies in specific cases. To explain multiculturalist politics in the United States, for example, one would look at the heritage of repressing indigenous peoples, slavery, and unprecedented waves of migration; the failure of class-based organizations (particularly labor unions) to subordinate ethnic to class loyalties; the recent weakening of the major political parties as conduits for channeling particularistic groups and the increased salience of the social movement as a mode of political expression; and the legitimization of particularistic groups by the governmental response to racial disturbances of

the 1960s in racial/political terms (including affirmative action), and the subsequent adoption of collectivist/solidarity rhetoric by other such groups. The multiculturalism of Western Europe is a combination of the incomplete absorption of new immigrant groups and the excitation of long-standing regional loyalties. In the new nations the glaring contradictions between the nation-state structure and sub-national groups and the relative weakness of the state would be the beginning point for analysis. In all these cases “globalization” may have something to do with the changing conditions, but in and of itself it cannot be profitably regarded as a generalized, undifferentiated explanation.

Transition #2: From Localism to Identity

To speak of the relationship between any given, racial, ethnic, religious, regional or other particularistic group and that group’s identity as a “transition” in a causal sense is somewhat meaningless, because the one virtually implies the other. Such a group would not be a group if it were not, already by definition set off by boundaries that are imposed on it both by others and by members of the group itself (Scherrer, 2002, p. 7). One inevitable ingredient of group identity is that it contains a usually dichotomous reference to “we” and “they,” though the “theys” may be multiple according to how different they are from the “we”, how friendly or how inimical they are, the degree to which they may be trusted, etc.

One initial conceptual clarification: Under the influence of scholars preoccupied with group oppression (including some post-modernist scholars), the contemporary literature tends to treat “identity” and “identity movements” in somewhat moral terms, i.e., focussing on the dispossessed, downtrodden, third world populations, minorities and subaltern peoples of the world—in short, wronged groups. Their identities tend to be taken for

granted, and are thought to be a positive asset for mobilizing such groups (Hardin, 2001, p. 7168). As Hardin notes, “actual supporters of group identity in many contexts would blanch at the thought of support for, say, Caucasian-American, Anglo-Saxon, or German identity, although each of these historically has been asserted against immigrant groups and, in the US, former slaves” (*ibid.*). My own view, consistent with Hardin’s expression, is that the question of identity is not a property of any one class of groups, but is a generic category applicable to all. It plays a significant role of regimes that perpetrate ethnic cleansings and genocides as well as their victims and potential victims, and reference to questions of identity are called for in the analysis of all of them.

The key question about identity, then, is not whether it is a characteristic of groups, but how salient it is for different kinds of groups, how this salience is likely to change over time, and under what conditions it is activated as a basis for a group’s behavior. Gurr has provided a very helpful list of factors affecting the salience of identity, which I present in schematic and somewhat modified form:

- how much of people’s lives are wrapped up in their “home” group
- whether invoking their identity is thought to contribute to its advantage or disadvantage
- open conflict with states or other ethnic groups, especially recent conflict
- “group capacity” including territorial concentration and coalitions among diverse segments and contending leaders

- “opportunity factors,” such as the political instability associated with the breakup of old states and establishment of new ones, transitions from one type of regime to another
- international factors, especially transnational networks and foreign interventions (Gurr, 2000, pp. 67-70).

Gurr lists these as “objective” factors, but analysis of the activation of identity calls for reference to two more dynamic and interactive elements.

The first issue has to do with fact that group identity often involves some kind of ideology, the elements of which include references to the glory and dignity of the group itself, threats to it, including its past and present mistreatment or victimization, grievances, and a vision of a better world. These ingredients provide the standards by which the group’s sense of relative deprivation is represented. Inevitably there are differences between group members, who go about their day-by-day business, and leaders who designate themselves and are sometimes designated by others as spokespeople or prolocutors for the group in the political arena. Tilly argues that such differences are omnipresent (Tilly, 2002). Furthermore, it is typical that leaders tend to “push” identity issues more than followers, both because their leadership depends on “representing” the group, and they are in competition with one another as expressers of the group’s identity and interests. The salience of group identity, then, is a function of two sets of negotiations—between leaders and group members on the one hand and between leaders and the outside publics to whom they represent their groups.

To frame the issue in this way, incidentally, shows the intellectual fruitlessness of the polemic opposition among scholars who define ethnic and related groups in “primordial” terms versus those who define them in “instrumental” terms, i.e., as groups seeking their own interest in the

political and economic arenas (Gurr and Harff, 1994, pp. 78-79). The evident resolution of this issue is that they are both primordial and instrumental, and both elements enter both into the dynamics of group behavior and into the larger political process.

Second, in connection with “opportunity factors”, I would extend the list of factors that augment group identity to the active intervention of authorities, especially the state. I give one example, dealing with the indigenous population of the United States. The fact that the American government drew up treaties with distinctive American encouraged a certain solidification of their identity as tribes, and this went counter to other strong tendencies to erase these distinctive identities—tendencies to decimate the tribes themselves through violence, famine, and disease, and tendencies for the dominant population to homogenize them into a population of “Indians” or “Native Americans”. More recently the United States government has held out positive economic incentives to tribes in the form of extending rights to organize gambling enterprises. This has proven to be an “invitation to identity,” in effect, asking tribes—some of which have long been dispersed—to declare their identity in hopes of economic gain (Wilkins and Vine, 1999; Wilkins, 2002).

Transition #3: From Identity to Identity Movement and Identity Politics

Earlier I observed that the existence of any kind of particularistic group more or less entails some notion of boundaries between that group and others and at least a minimum level of identity, self-imposed or imposed from outside (typically both). No such entailment is involved in the relationship between particularistic group identity and mobilization into some kind of movement. In fact, it may be more realistic to assume the opposite: that the identities remain latent and mobilizable but are not often

mobilized. Olzak speaks of “the seemingly natural resistance of individuals to sustain collective action” (2001, p. 4796). Moreover, there are good theoretical reasons for supposing that individuals will not be motivated to participate in social movements, including identity movements (Olson, 1965; Oberschall, 1973). Williams (2001) reminds us that the vast majority of ethnic groups in the world do not engage in collective violence or civil war. “Of some 1600 major cultural groupings, less than 300 have been recently mobilized in politicized protest or rebellion and only some 3050 wars are ongoing in a particular year” (p. 4809).

Despite this observation, collective mobilization remains a sufficiently frequent phenomenon to attempt to specify the major variables that affect its appearance and vicissitudes. As a general rule, an intensification of the conditions augmenting the identity of a group will also serve as conditions increasing the probability of mobilization into some kind of collective action. To make this observation more specific, I would mention three sets of variables that come to mind as especially salient in this transition:

(1) The occurrence of a visible historical event that (a) augments the perceived adversity or threat under which the group sees itself as living—an intensification of discrimination, a notable political failure; (b) contrariwise, increases the hope of the group to improve its situation—a concession by a ruling government, a law that relieves their situation, a promise of help to the group from friendly outside forces. Such events raise the consciousness of identity groups and provide the occasion for them to reassess and perhaps act on their political situation. In an earlier characterization of these kinds of events I used the term “precipitating factor” (Smelser, 1962)

(2) The capacity of leaders to integrate such events into a call for collective mobilization and action. This involves their ability to interpret

convincingly the event or situation at hand in terms as “evidence” threatening or encouraging (or both) the identity group, articulating this evidence with the world-view, and convincing the group that collective action rather than some other form of response is the most important.

(3) The behavior of authorities in relation to group demands, which may be considered as part of the opportunity structure for potentially mobilizing groups (Tarrow, 1994). At the one extreme, violent repression of a group by an effective state diminishes its power to mobilize, and tends to force it into a latent state or drive it underground. At the other extreme the collapse of a state authority—not infrequent in weak, new states, and strikingly evident in the communist and socialist world in 1989-90, frees up the political situation, permits long-passive groups to become activated, and excites competitive political striving among them (Gurr, 2000, p. 70). Between these two extremes, there is a particularly notable sequence of vacillating behavior on the part of regimes that appears to be strong invitation to political mobilization—a period of accommodation or reform (raising expectations of the group), followed by a reversal of these policies accompanied by a repressive posture (dashing those expectations), followed by evidence of weakness, ineffectiveness, or vacillation on the part of authorities (Smelser, 1962).

Transition #4: From Identity Movement to Violence

As indicated, the perpetration of social violence by collective movements is not well understood, and, correspondingly, my reflections on this will have to be the most tentative of all.

In his review of social violence, Tilly identifies three main, competing views of violence:

- “propensity-driven behavior [which locates] its causes within the actor, calling attention to genetic, motional, or cognitive peculiarities”
- “instrumental interaction [which] characterize [violence] as means to power, wealth, prestige, or other ends
- “a cultural form—as in the claim that because of the frontier, slavery, or capitalist competition the USA has an exceptionally violent culture—argues that the ready availability of certain ideas, practices, models, and beliefs itself promotes violent action (Tilly, 2001, p. 16207)

All three views share a common frailty, namely that they formulated as constants that predispose individuals and groups to violence, but they are not framed in a way that would account for systematic variation in its occurrence. As a rule, it is analytically unsatisfactory to try to explain variations by reference to constants. In my own estimation, it is more fruitful to turn research in the direction of seeking variables that combine to produce empirically identifiable episodes of violence. In particular I would suggest that research look for the confluence of the four following sets of variables to increase our precision in explaining the occurrence of violence:

(1) A facilitating ideology, many instances of which are found in the world-view of identity groups. Ingredients of such an ideology are a profound sense on the part of a “we” group of a “they” that are responsible for the threat, accompanied by a righteous rage and perhaps a glorification of the we-group’s culture and history. The reason why such an ideology is facilitative of violence is that it legitimates extreme violence against a perceived evil in the name of high moral purpose, which serves to blunt what otherwise might be inhibitions to destructive behavior.

(2) The actual or perceived (usually some mix) unavailability of alternative political means to achieve one's ends. The capacity to work through political parties or potentially effective social movements presumably "tames" groups and draws them into the polity. I would not push this insight so far as some, who suggest that "the more democratic the political environment, the more likely ethnopolitical groups will be to voice opposition nonviolently" (Gurr and Harff, 1994, p. 85), because democratic societies, as political systems, historically have experienced a great deal of political violence (Rapoport and Weinberg, 2001), but in specific historical situations the availability of non-violent options is an important consideration.

(3) Opportunities for the use of violence. Under effective totalitarian regimes, the state itself is able to repress not only violence but also political protest in general. Less repressive regimes are relatively more open to group violence, but the operative presumption—just enunciated—is that they provide more alternatives to it. The collapse of political regimes is also means a failure in their ability to stem violence and therefore a greater opportunity for groups to rely on it. Finally, one of the observations made is that some of the characteristics of globalization—open borders and points of entry, increased migration and geographical mobility—also constitute a greater opportunity for violence, in that the ease of movement also increases difficulty of detection and prevention.

(4) Access to the means of violence. This might be regarded as a subtype of "opportunity," but it deserves special mention. One of the characteristics of the episodes of genocide and ethnic cleansing in the past century is a regime that trumpets an ideology that is both nationalistic and ethnically or religiously specific, identifies "others" as inferior or

treacherous (Naimark, 2001, p. 4801). As a state regime the ruling group typically enjoys a monopoly on “legitimate” violence, as well as control of army and police forces. Minorities that are typically victims of genocide or cleaning are typically weaker in their capacity for violence, and when they do possess access to the means of violence the result is more likely to be civil war than cleansing.

As with other formulations contained in these remarks, I regard the several points made not so much as established social-science principles but rather as the most likely leads into systematic historical and comparative research.

A Concluding Note

My strategy in these remarks has probably been self-evident, but in the interests of intellectual closure I will make this strategy explicit in concluding. For the complex package of ingredients of interest on this occasion—globalization, localization, dispossession, identities and identity politics, and violence—I have tried to engage in an unpacking operation. Many dozens of explanatory variables have been assembled in the literature in the effort to establish connections among these ingredients. I have taken a critical attitude toward the adequacy of many of these diverse variables—concentrating especially on their vagueness and diffuseness—but above all I have attempted to pinpoint the precise locations in these connections where the respective variables assume their most salient roles. I have carried out this strategy in the context of an article of faith: that to disaggregate large classes of variables and to specify their respective roles is the most fruitful role in generating understandings and explanations of the great cultural and social forces with which we are concerned in this concerned in this conference.

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Dr. Sawalha is an urban anthropologist. She conducted fieldwork for her Ph.D. dissertation in the city of Beirut, Lebanon, wherein her research explores the ways in which various readings of the past inform and shape debates over identity, ethnicity, culture and gender relations in the context of urban reconstruction and recovery in postwar Beirut. Before Beirut, her research was among Palestinian Refugees women in Amman, Jordan and in a nomadic (Bedouin) community in south Jordan.

- Latest publications: “Healing the wounds of war: placing the war-displaced in postwar Beirut” in Schneider, J. and I. Susser [eds] *Wounded Cities: Destruction and Reconstruction in a Globalized World*. (2003) London: Berg; “Place Attachment and Interest Groups in Ayn Al-Mreisi” in Shami, S. [ed] *Capital Cities: Ethnographies of Urban Governance in the Middle East*. (2002) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



Georgi Derluguian_

*Assistant Professor, [joint appointment] Department of Sociology and International Studies Program,
Northwestern University*

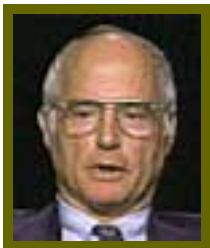
Georgi Derluguian is a historical sociologist. His broadly diverse interests are reflected in the forthcoming books *Bourdieu's Secret Admirer in the Caucasus: A Biography in World-System Perspective* and *A World History of Ichkeria, From Bronze Age to Globalization*.

- Latest publications: *Questioning Geopolitics: Political Projects in a Changing World-System* [with Greer, S.L.]. (2001) New York: Praeger; "The Capitalist World-System and Socialism" in Motyl, A, [ed] *The Encyclopedia of Nationalism, Vol. I Fundamental Themes*. (2001) New York: Academic Press.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



Michael M. Gunter

Professor, Department of Political Science, Tennessee Technological University

Michael Gunter is a professor of political science at Tennessee Technological University in Cookeville, Tennessee. He is the author of four critically praised scholarly books on the Kurdish question, the most recent being *The Kurds and the Future of Turkey* (1997), and *The Kurdish Predicament in Iraq: A Political Analysis* (1999). He has also published numerous scholarly articles on the Kurds in such leading periodicals as the *Middle East Journal*, *Middle East Quarterly*, and *Orient*, among others and is a former Senior Fulbright Lecturer in International Relations in Turkey.

- Latest publications: *Kurdish Historical Dictionary* (forthcoming). Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press; *The Kurdish Question and International Law: An Analysis of the legal rights of the Kurdish people* [co-edited with Ahmed, M.]. (2000) Oakton, VA: Ahmed Foundation for Kurdish Studies; *The Kurdish Predicament in Iraq: A Political Dilemma* (1999) New York: St. Martin's Press.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



Kidane Mengisteab_

Professor, African Studies and Political Science, Head of the Department of African and African-American Studies, Pennsylvania State University

Kidane Mengisteab received his Ph.D. in International Studies from University of Denver in June 1984. His research and teaching interests include African politics, ethnic conflict, and globalization and its implications. He has published extensively on the effects of globalization and liberalization in Africa.

- Latest publications: "Ethiopia's Ethnic - Based Federalism: 10 Years After," in *African Issues* vol. XXIX, Nos. 1&2, 2001:20-25. "Renewing the State" in *UNESCO Courier* (2000), vol. 53, Sep.; *State building and democratization in Africa: faith, hope and realities* [with Daddieh C.]. (1999) Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



**Pori
Park**

Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Religious Studies, Arizona State University

Pori Park received her Ph.D. from UCLA in 1998 from the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures. She arrived as a visiting assistant professor in ASU in 2002. Her research interests include Buddhism; Korean Religions and the interaction between Buddhism, modernity, and nationalism.

- Latest publications: "Sowang ka [Songs of the Pure Land] by Master Naong (1220-1376). Translation in Lee, P. H. and M. Peterson [eds] *Columbia Anthology of Traditional Korean Literature*. (Forthcoming); "The Modern Remaking of Korean Buddhism: The Development of Buddhist Nationalism during Japanese Colonial Rule (1910-1945," in Hyuk-Rae Kim [eds] *Korean Studies Forum*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 2002.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



Donna Lee Van Cott

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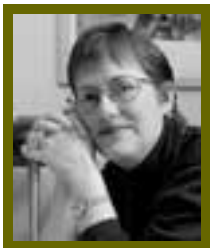
Donna Lee Van Cott's research focuses on ethnic politics in Latin America, in particular with respect to constitutional reform, minority rights, and political representation. She is author of *The Friendly Liquidation of the Past: The Politics of Diversity in Latin America*, editor of *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*, and has just completed a book on ethnic parties in South America.

- Latest publications: "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America" in *Latin American Politics and Society* (2003), vol. 45, part 2; "Explaining Ethnic Autonomy Regimes in Latin America" in *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2001) vol. 35, part 2.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

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Karen Dawisha

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Director, Havighurst Center for Russian and Post Soviet Studies

Karen Dawisha received her Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. She has served as an advisor to the British House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee and as an International Affairs Fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations; she was a member of the Policy Planning Staff and the Bureau of Political Military Affairs of the U.S. State Department (1985-7). Professor Dawisha has received Fellowships from the MacArthur Foundation, the Council on Foreign Relations, the British Council, and the Rockefeller Foundation. She was awarded the Distinguished Research Professor prize by the University of Maryland.

- Latest publications: “How to build a democratic Iraq’ [with Dawisha, A] in *Foreign Affairs*. (2003), vol. 82, part 3; “Electocracies and the Hobbesian Fishbowl of Postcommunist politics” in Antohi, S and V. Tismaneanu (2000) *Between past and future: the revolutions of 1989 and their aftermath*. Budapest, Hungary; New York: Central European University Press.

[Abstract](#)

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[Website](#)



Dale F. Eickelman

Lazarus Professor of Anthropology and Human Relations, Dartmouth College

Dale Eickelman obtained his Ph.D. from University of Chicago in 1971, and has conducted ethnographic field research in the Middle East, particularly North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, since 1968. His interests include religion and politics in the Muslim world, the role of intellectuals in society, education, media, and the ideas of knowledge. He was a member of the Academic Advisory Board of the International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World, Leiden, from 1999 until 2003.

- Latest publications: *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, [2nd edition] (2003) [co-edited with Jon W. Anderson](Indiana University Press); "The Arab 'Street' and the Middle East's Democracy Deficit" in *Naval War College Review*. (Autumn 2002), vol. 55, issue 4; "The Coming Transformation in the Muslim World" in *Current History* (2000), vol. 99, issue 633.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



Armando Salvatore

Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Berlin

He received his Ph.D. in Social and Political Studies at the European University Institute, Florence. His dissertation was granted the 1994 Malcolm Kerr Dissertation Award in the Social Sciences by the Middle East Studies Association of North America. It was later published as *Islam and the Political Discourse of Modernity* (1997, paperback 1999). He edited three volumes, *Between Europe and Islam: Shaping Modernity in a Transcultural Space* (co-edited with Almut Höfert, 2000) and *Muslim Traditions and Modern Techniques of Power* (2001). He is completing a manuscript on "Religion, Social Practice, Contested Hegemonies: Reconstructing the Public Sphere."

- Latest publications: *Muslim Traditions and Modern Techniques of Power* (*Yearbook of the Sociology of Islam*, Vol. 3) [ed]. (June 2002) Lit Verlag; "Social differentiation, moral authority and public Islam in Egypt" in *Anthropology Today*. (April 2000) vol. 16, issue 2.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



Eduardo A. Gamarra

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Eduardo A. Gamarra received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Pittsburgh in 1987. He has been affiliated with Florida International University since 1986 where he is currently the director of the Latin American and Caribbean Center, a full professor in the department of political science, and the editor of *Hemisphere*, a magazine on Latin American and Caribbean affairs. Gamarra is the author, co-author, and editor of several books including *Revolution and Reaction: Bolivia 1964-1985* (Transaction Publishers, 1988); three volumes of the *Latin America and Caribbean Contemporary Record* (Holmes and Meier Press); *Latin American Political Economy in the Age of Neoliberal Reform* (Lyne Rienner Publishers 1994); *Democracy Markets and Structural Reform in Latin America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico* (Lyne Rienner Publishers, 1995); and *Entre la Droga y la Democracia* (Freiderich Ebert Foundation, 1994). The author of over forty articles on Latin America, he has testified in the US Congress on drug policy toward Latin America. His current research focuses on the political economy of narcotics trafficking in the Andean region and the Caribbean, democratization, and civil-military relations.

- Latest publications: “The United States and Bolivia: Fighting the Drug War” in Bulmer-Thomas, V. and J. Dunkerly [eds] *The United States and Latin America: the new agenda*. (1999) University of London and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies: Harvard University; “Transnational Criminal Organizations in Bolivia” in Farer, T. [ed] *Transnational crime in the Americas: an inter-American dialogue book*. (1999) New York: Routledge.

[Abstract](#)[Paper](#)[Website](#)



Dru C. Gladney_

Professor, Department of Asian Studies and Anthropology, University of Hawaii at Manoa

A Ph.D. in Social Anthropology from the University of Washington, Seattle, Dru Gladney has been a Fulbright Research Scholar twice, and has conducted long-term field research in China, Central Asia, and Turkey. He has authored over 50 academic articles and chapters. A consultant to the World Bank, UNHCR, the Ford Foundation, National Academy of Sciences, the European Center for Conflict Prevention, and UNESCO, Dr. Gladney has been regularly featured on CNN, BBC, National Public Radio, al-Jazeera, and in Newsweek, Time Magazine, Washington Post, Honolulu Advertiser, International Herald Tribune, Los Angeles Times, and The New York Times.

- Latest publications: “Xinjiang: China’s Future West Bank?” in *Current History*. (Sept. 2002) vol. 101, issue 656; “On the border of visibility” in *Media Studies Journal*. (Winter 1999) vol. 13, issue 1.

[Abstract](#)

[Paper](#)

[Website](#)



M. Sani Umar

Associate Professor, Department of Religious Studies, Arizona State University

M. Sani Umar received his Ph.D. from Northwestern University. He joined ASU in 1996. Dr. Umar has taught at Lawrence University and Northwestern University, as well as the University of Jos in Jos, Nigeria. He has also been a Consultant on Arabic Manuscripts for the Center for Historical Research and Documentation at Ahmadu Bello University, in Zaria, Nigeria. Professor Umar was on research leave for the fall of 1999. Professor Umar has been named a Global Fellow at UCLA's prestigious International Institute. His project as a Global Fellow centers on modern Islam and Liberalism and he will be on leave for 2003-2004. His research interests include Modern Islam and Liberalism, Islam and Colonialism, Islamic Jurisprudence and theories and methodologies of religion.

- Latest publications: “Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria: 1970s-1990s” in *Africa Today*. (2001), vol. 48, part 2; “Muslims Eschatological Discourses on Colonialism in Northern Nigeria” in *Journal of American Academy of Religion*. (1999), vol. 67, number 1.

[Abstract](#)[Paper](#)[Website](#)



Alexander Pantsov_

Professor, Department of History, Capital University

Alexander Pantsov's areas of specialization lie in Russian history and Chinese history. He has published on the Bolshevik concepts of the Chinese revolution and their reception in China. He has a particular interest in the role of the three Bolshevik leaders - Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky - and their involvement in trying to lead the Chinese Communists to victory. He currently serves as a member of the Editorial Board of *Listnost (Personality)* and also on *The International Newsletter of Historical Studies on Comintern, Communism and Stalinism*.

- Latest publications: "Stalinization of the People's Republic of China" [with Meliksetov, A.] in *Realms of Freedom in the Modern Chinese World*. (2002) Stanford University Press [forthcoming]; *China: Problems of Modern History: Essays in Honor of Arlen Meliksetov* [co-edited with Graushyants, Y.]. (2002) Moscow State University Institute of Asian and African Studies Press [forthcoming].

Website



Ivy Pike_

Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology; Adjunct Assistant Professor, Department of Evolutionary Ecology and Organismal Biology, The Ohio State University

Ivy Pike is a physical anthropologist whose interests include Biological Anthropology, Nutrition and Reproduction, Neonatal and Infant Survival Growth, Human Ecology, Reproductive Ecology and East African Pastoralism. She received her Ph.D. in Biological Anthropology from State University of New York in 1996. She joined the faculty of The Ohio State University in 1997.

- Latest publications: “Cattle raiding and human population biology of East African pastoralists” [with Gray, S.J., M.A. Little, P.W. Leslie, M. Sundal and B. Wiebusch] in *Current Anthropology* [under revision]; “Age, reproductive history, seasonality and maternal body composition during pregnancy for nomadic Turkana pastoralists of Kenya” in *American Journal of Human Biology* (1999), 11 (5): 658-672.

Website



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Associate Professor of Modern Chinese History, Department History

Dr. Reed received his Ph.D. from University of California, Berkeley in 1996. He joined the faculty of OSU in 1997. He is a specialist in the history of modern China. Prior to joining OSU, he served on the faculties of the University of Oklahoma and of Reed College. He is the recipient of two Fulbright awards, and has lived in China and Taiwan for nearly five years.

- Latest publications: *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876-1937*. (2003) Vancouver, Toronto, London: University of British Columbia Press [forthcoming]; “Re/Collecting the Sources: Shanghai’s Dianshizhai Pictorial & it’s role in the citing/siting of historical memories, 1884-1949” in *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*. Spring 2001.

Website



Daniel Reff

Associate Professor, Department of Comparative Studies, The Ohio State University

Daniel Reff is anthropologist and ethnohistorian of colonial Latin America with a particular interest in Spanish missionary and Indian relations and Spanish colonial literature. Professor Reff is the author of *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764* (University of Utah Press, 1991), and co-editor of the first critical, English-language edition of Perez de Ribas' *Historia de los triumphos de nuestra Santa Fee (1645)*, published in 1999 by the University of Arizona Press. He has a book forthcoming from Cambridge University Press titled *Plagues, Priests, and Demons, Sacred Narratives and The Rise of Christianity in the Old World and the New*. Professor Reff is currently directing a project preparing a critical, English-language edition of Luis Frois' *Some Striking Contrasts in the Customs of Europe and Japan (1585)*.

- Latest publications: *Plagues, Priests and Demons, Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity in the Old World and the New*. Cambridge University Press [forthcoming]; *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith (1645)* [with Andrés de Ribas]. (1999) University of Arizona Press; *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain 1518-1764*. (1991) University of Utah Press.

Website



Sabra Webber

Associate Professor, Department of Comparative Studies and Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, The Ohio State University

Associate Professor Sabra Webber (Ph.D. in Anthropology, Folklore, University of Texas) served from 1990-95 as a Chair of Comparative Studies. She is a specialist in folklore, ethnography, and the Arab world, especially Egypt and the Maghrib. Her most recent book, the award-winning *Romancing the Real: Folklore and Ethnographic Representation in North Africa* (University of Pennsylvania Press), demonstrates the crucial role contemporary folklore theory plays in both historical and ethnographic studies, including studies in the third and postcolonial world. She has published articles on a range of issues, including canonicity, subaltern studies, and the position of women in the Middle East, and is the recipient of numerous national research awards.

- Latest Publications: “Tunisian Storytelling Today” in MacDonald, M.R. [ed] *Traditional Storytelling Today: An International Sourcebook*. (1999) Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers; “Middle East Studies and Subaltern Studies” in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*. (1998) 31(1).

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Nina Berman_

Associate Professor, Department of Germanic Languages & Literatures, The Ohio State University

Nina Berman received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley in 1994. Her research interests include 20th-century culture and literature (modernity, minority literature, drama); nationalism, colonialism, orientalism; Germany and the Middle East, Middle Ages to present; 19th and 20th century Germany and Africa; and comparative literature (the postcolonial novel).

- Latest publications: *Impossible Missions? German Economic, Military, and Humanitarian Efforts in Africa*. (2004) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press [forthcoming]; “Colonization or Globalization? Ernst Udet’s Account of East Africa from 1932” in Falola, T. and C. Jennings [eds] *Africanizing Knowledge: African Studies Across the Disciplines*. (2002) Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers Rutgers.

Website



Philip Brown_

Associate Professor, Department of History, The Ohio State University

Philip Brown received his Ph.D. from University of Pennsylvania in 1981. He is an expert in Early Modern Japanese History with special interest in domain formation and the Early Modern Japanese state and corporate land holding systems (warichi). He organized a major multidisciplinary seminar, "Early Modern Japan: The State of the Field," held in Columbus, Ohio, April 21-23, 2000. He is the editor of *Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, and is a founding Editor of *H-Japan on-line discussion group* (part of H-Net Humanities on Line). He is the coordinator of the *Early Modern Japan Network*, a subcommittee of the Association for Asian Studies. From September 1997 to March 1998 he was the first scholar appointed as Visiting International Research Scholar of the Division of Historical Manuscripts at the National Institute of Japanese Literature in Tokyo. In the fall of 2000, Professor Brown was a visiting professor in the Department of History, University of Michigan.

- Publications: "The Political and Institutional History of Early Modern Japan" in *Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. (Spring 2003), 11:1, 3-30; "Summary of Discussions: The State of the Field in Early Modern Japanese Studies" in *Early Modern Japan: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. (Spring 2003), 11:1, 54-63.

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Antoinette Errante

Associate Professor, School of Educational Policy and Leadership, The Ohio State University

Antoinette Errante joined the faculty of OSU in 1993. She received her BS in Luso-Brazilian studies from Georgetown University, and her master's and doctoral degrees in International Development Education from the University of Minnesota. Dr. Errante's comparative research has focused on colonial and post-colonial education in lusophone and sub-saharan countries, as well as on the psycho-socio-cultural dynamics of violence, healing and reconciliation. Most recently, her work has examined the impact of the post-war policy context on the socialization of youth for protracted global violence.

- Latest Publications: “Where in the World do Children Learn ‘Bloody Revenge’?: Cults of Terror and Counter-Terror and their Implications for Child Socialization” in *Globalisation, Societies and Education*. (2003) [in press]; “Kindersoldaten und Traumata Der Fall Mosamik” [with Efraime Junior, B.] in Holm, K. and U. Schulz [eds] *Kindheit in Armut welheit*. (2002) Leverkusen, Germany: Leske & Budrich; “Peace Work as Grief Work in Mozambique and South Africa: Postconflict Communities as Context for Youth Socialization” in *Peace and Conflict*. (1999) vol. 5, issue 3.

Website



Abril Trigo

Associate Professor, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, The Ohio State University

Abril Trigo (Ph.D. University of Maryland) is Associate Professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. His research is in Latin American cultural studies, with particular interests in critical theory, national and post-national literatures, and popular cultures. His main publications include *Caudillo, estado, nación. Literatura, historia, e ideología en el Uruguay* (Gaithersburg, MD: Ediciones Hispamérica, 1990) and *¿Cultura uruguaya o cultural linyeras? (Para una cartografía de la neomodernidad posuruguaya)* (Montevideo: Vintén Editor, 1997). His latest book, *Memorias migrantes. Testimonios y ensayos de la diáspora uruguaya*, is forthcoming from Editorial Viterbo and Editorial Trilce, as well as *The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader*, written in collaboration with Ana Del Sarto and Alicia Ríos, forthcoming from Duke University Press. He is currently working on a book on *Globalización y cultura en América Latina*.

- Latest publications: *Latin American Cultural Studies: A Reader* [with Ríos, A and A. del Sarto]. Duke University Press, contract under process.

Website



John B. Quigley

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Professor Quigley joined the OSU faculty in 1969. Previous to this he was a research scholar at Moscow State University, and a research associate in comparative law at Harvard Law School. He is active in international human rights work. His specializations include human rights, the United Nations, war and peace, east European law, African law and the Arab-Israeli conflict

- Latest publications: *Genocide in Cambodia: Documents from the trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary* [co-edited with De Nike, H. J. and K.J. Robinson]. (2000) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Website



Kevin R. Cox_

Professor, Department of Geography, The Ohio State University

Professor Cox holds a B.A. from Cambridge and graduate degrees from the University of Illinois. His main interest is in the relation between social theory, particularly political economy, and geography. More specific interests are critical realism and historical geographical materialism. Areas of application include the politics of urbanization in advanced capitalist societies; and the political economy, in its spatial aspects, of South Africa. Professor Cox is a political geographer with strong interests in theory and method.

- Latest publications: “Urbanization in South Africa and the Changing Character of Migrant Labor” in *South African Geographical Journal* (2004) [forthcoming]; *Political Geography: Territory, State and Society*. (2002) Oxford: Blackwell; “Territoriality, Politics and the ‘Urban’” in *Political Geography*. (2001) 20:6.

Website



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Richard K. Herrmann received his Ph.D. in Political Science from University of Pittsburgh in August and joined the faculty of OSU in September 1981. His specializations include psychological approaches to international relations, Russian and Soviet foreign policy, and politics in the Middle East. He served on the policy planning staff at the U.S. department of State from 1989-91 and was co-editor of *International Studies Quarterly* from 1990-95.

- Latest Publications: Defending International Norms: Perceptions and the logics of normative appropriateness and utilitarian consequences,” [with Vaughn Shannon] in *International Organization* (Summer 2001), Vol. 55, no. 3, pp. 621-654; “How Americans Think About Trade: Reconciling Conflicts Among Money, Power, and Principles,” [with Philip E. Tetlock and Matthew N. Diascro] in *International Studies Quarterly*,(June 2001), Vol. 45 no. 2 , pp. 191-218; “Mass Public Decisions to Go to War: A Cognitive-Interactionist Framework.” [with Philip Tetlock and Penny Visser] in *American Political Science Review*. (September 1999), Vol. 93 no. 3: pp. 553-573.

Website



John Mueller

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John Mueller holds the Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies, Mershon Center, and is professor of Political Science at Ohio State University. He specializes in international relations. He is the author of *War, Presidents and Public Opinion* (1973, Wiley), which has been described as a ‘classic’ by *American Political Science Review*. His more recent publications include *Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War* (1994, University of Chicago Press) and *Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph’s Pretty Good Grocery* (1999, Princeton University Press). He is a member of the American Academy of Sciences, has been a John Simon Guggenheim Fellow, and has received grants from the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

- Latest Publications: “Public Support for Military Ventures Abroad: Evidence from the Polls” in Turner, R.T. [ed] *The Real Lessons of the Vietnam War: Reflections Twenty-Five Years after the Fall of Saigon*. (2002) Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press; “American Foreign Policy and Public Opinion in a New Era: Eleven Propositions” in Norrander, B. and C. Wilcox [eds] *Understanding Public Opinion* [2nd ed.]. (2002) Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Website



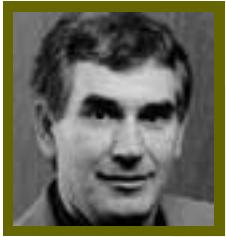
Ileana Rodriguez_

Professor, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, The Ohio State University

Ileana Rodriguez (Ph.D. University of California, San Diego) is a professor of Latin American Literatures and Cultures at the Ohio State University. She has published extensively on the literatures, cultures, and politics of Central America and the Caribbean and has authored several books including *Women Guerrillas, and Love: Understanding War in Central America* (U of Minnesota P, 1999); *House, Garden, Nation*, (Duke UP, 199); *Registradas en la Historia: 10 años de quehacer feminista en Nicaragua* (CIAM: Nicaragua, 1990); *Primer Inventario del Invasor* (Editorial Nueva Nicaragua, 1984). She has also co-edited two volumes: with Marc Zimmerman, *The Process of Unity in Caribbean Society* (Institute for the Study of Ideologies and Literatures, 1983); with William L. Rowe, *Marxism and New Left Ideology*. (Marxist Educational Press, 1977). Her last publications are *The Latin American Subaltern Reader* (Duke UP 2002); *Convergencia de Tiempos: Estudios Subalternos, Contextos Latinoamericanos: Cultura, Estado, Subalternidad* (Rodopi, 2002); and *Canones literarios masculinos y relecturas transculturales: Lo trans-femenino/masculino/queer*. (Anthropos, 2002). Her current book, *Islands, Highland, Jungle: Topographies of Miscognition in Transatlantic Interactions* will be published by the University of Minnesota Press.

- Latest publications: *Latin American Subaltern Studies Reader*. [Ed.](2001) Durham: Duke University Press. *Islands, Highlands, Jungles: Topographies of Miscognition in Transatlantic Interactions*. (2001) [Under contract with University of Minnesota Press].

Website



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He received his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Warsaw in 1971. His current research interests include comparative methods, social inequality, and social psychology. He is a member of the Center of Slavic and East European Studies, Ohio State University. He is also affiliated with the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences.

- Latest Publications: "Dynamics of Support for European Integration in Post-Communist Poland" [with Shabad, G.] in *European Journal of Political Research*. (2003) 42: 503-539; *Social Structure: Changes and Linkages* (2002) [ed]. Warsaw: IFiS Publishers; *Social Patterns of Being Political* (2000) [ed]. Warsaw: IFiS Publishers.

Website

The Musha Rebellion as the Unthinkable: Coloniality, Aboriginality and the Epistemology of Colonial Difference

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Abstract

This essay is an attempt to disrupt and displace the all-knowing coloniality of power regarding the 1930 Musha Rebellion in colonial Taiwan and the subsequent voluntarism by introducing the notion of what Michel-Rolph Trouillot calls “unthinkability” regarding historical events. I want to suggest that the Musha Rebellion constituted an unthinkable within Japanese colonial epistemology. The Rebellion was unthinkable in two temporalities: the event itself and the subsequent “volunteerism.” The event itself was beyond the comprehensibility of Japanese colonial knowledge because it was instigated by a relatively “enlightened” and “assimilated” aboriginal group. The event was unthinkable because it was incommensurable with the discourse of colonial benevolence. A decade later, despite the near elimination of its entire population, some descendants of the aborigines “volunteered” for the Japanese war effort. This volunteerism constituted a second unthinkable from the perspective of postcoloniality where postwar Japanese intellectuals could not fathom the motivation of the aborigines. Volunteerism was unthinkable because it was incomprehensible in light of colonial violence. The unthinkable of colonial benevolence and violence, despite their apparent difference in relation to Japanese colonial rule, converges in the epistemology of colonial difference. Colonial difference refers to the radical incommensurability between the colonizers and the colonized, not as essentialized categories, but as a structural cleavage and irreconcilable condition of being within the colonial system. The unthinkable points to a Japan-centrism that is unable to think beyond the limit of its own colonial design, that its mode of knowing is always already delimited by colonial difference. Colonial difference embodies the general contradiction of Japanese colonial discourse as it vacillates between the politics of difference and the politics of sameness.

[Bio](#)[Paper](#)

**States of Mind and the State of War:
Public Attitudes and Ethnic Violence in Macedonia**

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abstract

This essay explores the relationship between public opinion and ethnic conflict. What is the character of mass attitudes in society prior to the onset of war? How is this collective disposition related to the instigation of violence? There are two fundamental points of reference for scholars who study these questions, primordialism and constructivism. Primordialists argue that ethnic stereotypes are deeply embedded in society and are sources of group mobilization. Constructivists contend that the source of mobilization comes from above as ethnic entrepreneurs construct out-group enmities. Despite the considerable amount of literature that revolves around these two concepts, there exists very little reliable data on the distribution of public attitudes in pre-war, post-communist societies. The one notable exception is Macedonia. Ten years of peace (1991-2001) enabled international and domestic organizations to conduct numerous public opinion polls. An analysis of this data leads to several conclusions: (1) the constructivist emphasis on nefarious elites fails to explain political patterns in Macedonia and why the conflict had an ethnic character; (2) public opinion in Macedonia matches the primordial image, but no direct linkage between general interethnic animosities and violence can be found; and (3) the most important finding to emerge is that young, rural-concentrated, Albanian men constitute a social cohort that is favorably disposed, both attitudinally and behaviorally, to politics-as-violence. The mobilization of this demographic enabled the National Liberation Army to turn an assault into an insurgency.

Dispossession and Possession: the Maya, Duplicity, and “Post”-war Guatemala

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Department of Cultural Anthropology
Duke University

abstract

The indigenous people of Guatemala have been dispossessed of their land, means of production, languages and other identificatory practices through colonization, their family and community members through genocidal violence, their homes through counterinsurgency policies of displacement, and even their voices when they are accused of lying (as with critiques of Rigoberta Menchú Tum’s testimonial or charges of inauthenticity leveled at the Mayan revitalization movement). Given this dispossession, I have found it strange that, after peace accords ending 35 years of civil war were signed in 1996, indigenous people were frequently accused of being possessed, of acting not on their own initiative, but instead as puppets or dupes of others’ interests. This is most frequent with Mayan members of the revolutionary movement who are described, and also sometimes describe themselves, as fooled by utopian promises and the subtle manipulation by non-indigenous activists – acted on by outside forces. People who were not taught a Mayan language by their parents and are studying one at University, or who read ethnographic accounts from the 1930s as how-to guides for dances and rituals, are also accused of being duped by the desire to be Indian when they are “really” ladino (mestizo). Accounts of the savage lynchings of suspected thieves in highland villages also often describe the mobs as if they were possessed by an atavistic primitiveness that suddenly rises to the surface and makes usually well-behaved people into bloodthirsty murderers. People also attempt to explain the way community members collaborated with the security forces by killing, raping, and injuring their neighbors through the Civil Patrols as a form of possession, the person was taken over by a will other than their own. Some who participated in the Patrols deploy a similar story of doubleness/duplicity – they say they were two-faced, showing one face (of obedience) to the army and another to the people (who knew he did not want to carry out acts of violence). As the implementation period for the peace accords ends and the UN peacekeepers pull out, many people also describe the state as two-faced and duplicitous, possessed by corruption, or acting on the

demands of an external will (the IMF or US policy) rather than its own. The Post in post war is increasingly ephemeral nationally and certainly transnationally. In this paper I will explore these understandings of possession in the midst of increasing dispossession, as Guatemala experiences the global economic downturn and increasing delegitimation of the neo-liberal paradigm. I ask why this story of duplicity and doubleness seems so useful for understanding the current moment and what it contributes to understandings of identification and struggles for justice.

Bio

Paper

Inventing Authenticity: Reviving The Heritage and Preserving The Traditional In Post-War Beirut

Aseel Sawalha
Department of Criminal Justice and Sociology
Pace University

Abstract

Since the end of its protracted civil war in 1992, Beirut has been rebuilding its war-torn downtown area and negotiating to regain its cherished prominence as the cosmopolitan center of the Middle East. Regional and international investors and developers are shaping the future Beirut by erecting modern buildings and structures that will be able to compete in the international global market. In response to these reconstruction schemes, Lebanese intellectuals and concerned groups have developed alternative discourses about the rebuilding of Beirut. In these discourses, the multiple histories of Beirut are revisited and the city's identities are contested and debated. This has led to a genre of writings that invoke ideas heritage, nostalgia, authenticity and memory. This paper discusses and analyzes the emergence of what I name "*discourses of authenticity*" in response to developmental plans of westernization and the modernization of the future city, considering the questions: Is it possible to read these counter-development discourses as anti-modernist and anti-global? Are the concepts of the local, heritage and the authentic themselves rooted within the "local" or are they rather outcomes of the modern, the western and the global?

Bio

Paper

ABKHAZIA: CAN SOCIAL THEORY PROVIDE THERAPY?

Georgi Derluquian
Department of Sociology
Northwestern University

ABSTRACT

The paper outlines what the social scientists can know today about the origins of ethnic civil wars compared to what is remembered in the collectively construed memories of the ethnic groups that are involved in such wars. The central claim is that the actual history is more contingent and chaotic during the moments of rapid transitions, contrary to the widespread conspiracy theories. Yet the deep causes of conflicts are structural and therefore need to be revealed by scholarly techniques because the structures are not evident from daily life perspective. But once revealed and rationally analyzed, structures could be changed through politically negotiated process. In all instances, social theory can significantly contribute to rationalizing what actually happened when the human minds went aflame.

Bio

Paper

THE KURDISH QUESTION IN PERSPECTIVE

Michael M. Gunter
Department of Political Science
Tennessee Technological University

ABSTRACT

Although a large majority within the mountainous Middle East where Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria meet, the Kurds have been gerrymandered into being mere minorities within the existing states they inhabit. The desire of many Kurds for statehood or at least cultural autonomy within the states they now inhabit has led to an almost continuous series of Kurdish revolts since the creation of the modern Middle East following World War I and constitutes the Kurdish question. The approximately 25 million Kurds are the largest nation in the world without its own independent state. Since the end of the first Gulf War in 1991 and the creation of a de facto state of Kurdistan in northern Iraq, the Kurdish problem has become increasingly important in Middle Eastern and even international politics. The U.S. victory in the second Gulf War in 2003 has further highlighted the Kurdish role because of their crucial role as a successful model for democracy and federalism in post-Saddam Iraq. Turkey and Iran, however, will contest this Kurdish self-expression in Iraq because they see it as encouragement to their own Kurds to divide Turkey and Iran. Turkey's application for admission to the European Union (EU) has also served to make the Kurdish issue more significant. Since the Kurds sit on a great deal of the Middle East's oil and possibly even more important water resources, the Kurdish question will become even more important in the 21st century.

Bio

Paper

Factors in Africa's Crisis of State building

Kidane Mengisteab
African Studies and Political Science
Head of the Department of African and African-American Studies
Pennsylvania State University

Abstract

Many African countries are facing a crisis of state building manifested by the collapse of some states, such as Somalia, Sierra Leone, and Liberia, and the widespread chronic regional, ethnic, and religious conflicts and gross violations of human rights in many others, including the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, the Sudan, Ethiopia, and the Ivory coast. The factors contributing to the crisis are complex and vary from country to country. There are, however, two common factors. One is the nature of the post-independence African state. The other is the nature of global economic system. At the time of their independence Africans expected their state to be an agent of their liberation and empowerment. Instead, the state in many cases has become an apparatus that dictators use for self-enrichment in the midst of abject poverty of their people and for self preservation in power. Such dictators often place themselves above the law and violate the rights of citizens with little restraint. In other cases the state identifies with the interests and cultural values of dominant ethnic groups and marginalizes other entities. Such oppressive states that behave like private clubs are incapable of building a community of citizens that share political and economic systems. The continued neo-colonial grip of African countries by the advanced countries has also compounded the crisis of state building by undermining the development process of African countries. The neo-liberal ideology that governs the global system also promotes an economic system that neglects social justice, which is an essential component of state building in the African context, where severe inequality of opportunity between social classes and ethnic entities is rampant. This paper examines how the interplay between these two general factors has contributed to the crisis of state building in Africa with emphasis on the Horn of Africa.

Bio

Paper

State Authority over Korean Buddhists in Contemporary Korea

Pori Park
Department of Religious Studies
Arizona State University

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the close ties of Korean Buddhism and the state after Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule. During colonial rule, the Japanese government implemented a "temple-ordinance" in which they established 30 independent monastery districts, which were placed under the direct control of the state. After liberation in 1945, Korean Buddhists focused on the decolonization of the religion. The elevated anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans helped the Sangha liquidate their colonial past. During the colonial period, the majority of Korean clerics gave up their traditional practice of celibacy and got married. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Sangha spent most of their energy on the internal division between the celibate and married clerics. After vigorous attacks and counter-attacks, resulting in physical fights and litigation, the celibates claimed their final victory in 1970, while the married monks formed their own sect. Korean Buddhism's dependency on government support during this internal conflict, however, led the Sangha to fall under the control of secular power. The celibates sided with the Yi S•ngman's government, which became virtually the major force behind the victory of this minority faction. Korean Buddhists' dependence on politics made them subject to the vicissitudes of political power. After the fall of the Yi regime, Korean Buddhism was subjected to the mercy of the succeeding governments. The infamous military regime of Pak Ch•ngh•i, during the 1960s and 1970s, wielded great power and control over Korean Buddhism, while directly intervening in the internal conflict of the Sangha. The Sangha were put under the secular laws, such as the laws of National Parks and of Forests, which were quite similar to those of the colonial occupation. In 1980, the Ch•n Tuwhan regime, another military regime, inflicted great violence on and damage to the clerics and temples in the name of cleansing the corruptions of the Sangha and Korean society in general. Again, Buddhism became an easy target of those in power. This paper presents the major issues and conflicts of the so-called "Purification Movement" of Korean Buddhism and the government's intervention in this long battle. It includes an investigation of the intricate political maneuvers over the religion and Buddhist response to political control.

[Bio](#)[Paper](#)

THE INTERCULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC AUTHORITY IN LATIN AMERICA

Donna Lee Van Cott
Department of Political Science
University of Tennessee

ABSTRACT

In the 1990s Latin American states experienced steep declines in public support, attributable to severe crises of legitimacy and authority for democratic institutions, politicians, and the state. Most undertook radical constitutional reforms to address these and other related crises. Throughout the region indigenous peoples' organizations, which formed and became consolidated in the 1980s, took advantage of their increasing mobilizational strength and public support, and the weakening of traditional political and social actors, to demand and secure collective constitutional rights that carve out a space of politico-territorial autonomy, while easing access for this once-excluded group to the formal political system. Focusing mainly on the Andean region, I examine how indigenous movements are using these new constitutional rights to construct intercultural forms of public authority to fill the vacuum created by the failure of traditional politicians to respond to pressing societal needs. I concentrate on three spheres of activity: (1) the construction of a pluralistic legal system that recognizes indigenous customary law as public and binding, while connecting it to the larger national legal system; (2) the formation of political movement-parties that, although based on consolidated indigenous social movement organizations, incorporate non-indigenous militants and organizations in a multi-ethnic coalition guided by traditional indigenous values; and (3) experiments by indigenous party-dominated local governments to create alternative models of participatory, inter-cultural government based on traditional indigenous forms of self-government. In sum, I argue, these activities are improving the quality of democracy in the Andes.

Bio

Paper

Public Islam and the Common Good

Dale F. Eickelman
Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College and
and

Armando Salvatore
Institute of Social Sciences, Humboldt University, Berlin

Abstract

“9/11” and the subsequent regime change in Iraq have not in themselves been the catalyst for major social and political transformations in how authority and community are understood and practiced in Arab and Muslim-majority societies, but they have directed attention to long-term trends that suggest the opportunities for and constraints limiting democracy and public participation. Authoritarian regimes notwithstanding, we argue that the historical and contemporary development of certain informal, formal, and transnational social and political identities and forms of association in Muslim-majority and Arab societies has facilitated the emergence of a public sphere and limited the coercive power of state authority. This presentation suggests how a greater focus on religious ideas and forms of association, both religious and secular, can enhance the concept of the public sphere so that it better accounts for developments in Muslim-majority societies, as well as in European ones.

Bio

Paper

“Cyber-Separatism, Islam and the State in China”

Dru C. Gladney
Department of Asian Studies and Anthropology
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Abstract

National identities never arise in a vacuum. Rather than purely cultural or primordial bases for identity, national identities are constructed in relation to the interpretation of one's own myths of nostalgic descent from a common ancestry. This imagined identity, to use Benedict Anderson's (1991) phrase, is formed in the context of changing socioeconomic circumstances -- situations most often defined by the nation-state in the modern world, which has regularly abrogated to itself the task of identifying, labeling, and objectifying ethnic identities. The Uyghur provide an excellent illustration of this process in which a group of oasis-dwelling Turkic-speaking people shared a general historical experience but did not begin to think of themselves as a single national identity until the early part of this century, when Soviet and Chinese states identified them as one of several Turkic nationalities. Foreigner travel accounts of Xinjiang from the mid-16th century to the early 20th century, by famous explorers such as Muhammad Haidar, Sven Hedin, and Owen Lattimore, contained no references to any collective group referred to as Uyghur, but instead found people identifying themselves as Turki (from their language family), Sart (meaning "carvaneer" in old Persian), and other oasis-based ethnonyms, such as Kashgarlik, Turpanlik, and Kotanlik. I have described elsewhere the process of ethnogenesis in which these separate identities crystallized into the people now known as the Uyghur, with a population of 8.4 million according to the reasonably-accurate 2000 census. While this process is not unique to the Uyghur, and indeed has been documented by other case studies of ethnogenesis in China, such as the Hui (Gladney 1996), the Yi (Harrell 1998), the Naxi (Mckhann 1989), and the Miao (Diamond 1988), it is also a natural process of identity formation experienced by many groups of peoples who are often registered and incorporated into the modern nation-state (see Bentley 1989; Cohn 1987; Keyes 1984). For the Uyghur it has meant both their subjection to Chinese rule as well as their rise as a transnational ethnic group, their coalescence as an entity of 8.4 million that is recognized across China, and now the world -- the not entirely unwilling subjects of tourist brochures, religious and political tracts, and academic investigations. In this paper I explore a widespread movement largely among the Uyghur diaspora via the internet that has contributed to a "cyber-separatism" campaign which is anything but virtual. In this paper I will be arguing, therefore, that the nationalization and transnationalization of a Turkic-speaking, oasis-dwelling people in the Tarim basin of Northwest China, now known as the Uyghur, has contributed to the contemporary construction of Chinese national identity in general, and served the specific interests of the Chinese state in its Middle Eastern relations, as well as engendering a diasporic Uyghur response, which can best be described as cyber-separatism.

Ethnic/Religious Conflicts and Democratic Transitions in West Africa:

A Nigerian Case-Study

Muhammad S. Umar
Department of Religious Studies
Arizona State University

Abstract

During the 1990s, the ‘Third Wave of Democratization’ swept across West Africa, with each of the countries in the region taking various steps toward democratization: ending the tenures of many presidents-for-life, introducing multi-party elections, and making successful handovers from one administration to another via democratic elections. However, the 1990s also witnessed numerous violent conflicts: ethnic/religious conflicts, riots and violent protests in urban centers, bloody military coups and political assassinations, civil wars and anarchy in collapsed states. In this paper, I address the questions: Does democratic transition help to resolve or aggravate violent conflicts in general, and ethnic/religious conflicts in particular? To answer this question, the paper begins with brief regional overview of political developments in West Africa during the 1990s, with particular focus on analyzing the possible relationships between democratic transitions and violent conflicts that have ethnic and religious dimension, as well as the rise of Islamist movements in the West African region and their impact on the issues of identity, conflict, and political stability. Next, the paper focuses on Nigeria for a case-study of the complexities of these issues. From its national (Nigeria) and regional (West Africa) perspectives, this paper contributes to the larger debates on the future of nation-states in the era of globalization, the prospects of the “democratic peace,” and the tensions between local and global identities and loyalties.

[Bio](#)

[Paper](#)



Catherine Filloux

Catherine Filloux's play, *SILENCE OF GOD*, was commissioned by Contemporary American Theater Festival and premiered there in 2002. Her play *MARY AND MYRA* was produced in CATF's 2000 season and appeared in 2002 at Todd Mountain Theater Project. Her short play, *PHOTOGRAPHS FROM S-21*, has toured the world. Catherine was selected for the 2002 Bay Area Playwrights Festival and as the 2003 James Thurber Playwright-in-Residence. In 2003 her newest play *THE BEAUTY INSIDE* was in the HotINK2 Festival in NY, and at OSU Theater's New Works Lab in Columbus, Ohio. She was commissioned by Theatreworks/USA for a new play with music, *ARTHUR'S WAR*. Her libretto for the opera *THE FLOATING BOX: A STORY IN CHINATOWN* (composer Jason Kao Hwang) premiered at the re-opening of the Asia Society in 2001; the CD will be released by New World Records. Catherine's other plays have been produced around the U.S. She has received awards from the Kennedy Center Fund for New American Plays, the O'Neill, the Rockefeller MAP Fund, and the Asian Cultural Council. She is a Fulbright Senior Specialist in playwriting in Cambodia in 2003. Her plays are published by Smith and Kraus and Playscripts, Inc. She is a member of New Dramatists.



Lesley Ferris

Professor and Chair, Department of Theatre, The Ohio State University

Lesley Ferris obtained her Ph.D. from University of Minnesota in 1979. She is a director and scholar. Her research interests are focused on gender and performance, carnival, and the use of masks. She has served as the Resident Director for the London Theatre Program in summer of 2000, 2001, 2003. The Office of International Education awarded her an Outstanding Faculty Award in 2002 for her contributions to international education.

- Latest Publications: “Cooking up the Self: Booby Baker and Blondell Cummings ‘Do’ the Kitchen” in Smith, S. and J. Watson [eds] *Interfaces: Women/Autobiography/ Performance/Image*. (2002) University of Michigan Press.

Website

Photographs from S-21

Panel Discussants:

Lesley Ferris (*Department of Theatre*) [Bio](#)

Catherine Filloux (*Playwright*) [Bio](#)

John Quigley (*Moritz College of Law*) [Bio](#)

Ara Wilson (*Department of Women's Studies*)
[Bio](#)

Alan Woods (*Jerome Lawrence and Robert E.
Lee Theatre Research Institute*) [Bio](#)

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Richard Herrmann



Craig Jenkins, Neil Smelser, Richard Herrmann, Jerry Ladman
(sitting left to right)



Craig Jenkins, Neil Smelser, Richard Herrmann, Jerry Ladman
(sitting left to right)



Richard Herrmann, Jerry Ladman
(sitting left to right)



Neil Smelser



Panel I - Session I
Leo Ching, Diane Nelson, Christopher Reed, Daniel Reff
(sitting left to right)



Leo Ching



Halina Stephan



Panel I - Session II
Ahmad Sikainga

Aseel Sawalha, Robert Hislope, Norma Kriger, Ivy Pike, Alexander Pantsov
(sitting left to right)



Aseel Sawalha



Robert Hislope
Aseel Sawalha, Norma Kriger, Ivy Pike
(sitting left to right)



Norma Kriger



Ahmad Sikainga



Sabra Webber



Panel II - Session I
Micheal Gunter
Georgi Derluguian, Nina Berman, John Quigley
(sitting left to right)



Michael Gunter



Georgi Derluguian
Fernando Unzueta, Michael Gunter
(sitting left to right)



Nina Berman



John Quigley



Fernando Unzueta



**Panel II - Session I
Pori Park**

**Fernando Unzueta, Donn Lee Van Cott, Kidane Mengisteab
(sitting left to right)**



Donna Lee Van Cott



Kidane Mengisteab



Panel II - Session II
Donna Lee Van Cott

Fernando Unzueta, Kidane Mengisteab, Pori Park, Abril Trigo, Antoinette Errante
(sitting left to right)



Panel II - Session II
Philip Brown

Fernando Unzueta, Donna Lee Van Cott, Kidane Mengisteab, Pori Park, Anotoinette Errante
(sitting left to right)



Antoinette Errante



Panel II - Session I
M. Sani Umar
Dru Gladney, John Mueller, Kevin Cox
(sitting left to right)



Dru Gladney



John Mueller



Kevin Cox



Panel III - Session II

Karen Dawisha, Dale Eickelman, Eduardo Gamarra, Kazimierz Slomczynski, Ileana Rodriguez
(sitting left to right)



Karen Dawisha



Eduardo Gamarra



Dale Eickelman







