

**2013 Summer School in Comparative Conflict Studies**

July 1-8, 2013

**Center for Comparative Conflict Studies (CFCCS)**  
**at the Faculty of Media and Communications**

**The Politics of Land and Identity: States and Minorities in  
Conflict**

**Prof. Oren Yiftachel**

**Course Description**

The course will deal with the interaction between states, framework of power and the geography of ethnic relations. It will engage with three main themes: theories and concepts of minority-majority conflicts in post-colonial modern states, with a special emphasis on spatial aspects of land, settlement, borders and development. The second theme will compare and contrast the case of Israel/Palestine, as a hyper-example of forces reshaping ethnic and social relations, with international cases of ethnocratic states, such as Canada, Northern Ireland, Serbia, Cyprus, Lebanon, Sudan, Sri Lanka, Estonia and Malaysia, and draw lessons and insights from such comparisons. It will then study two main challenges to the prevailing majority-minority relations within the current nation-state order: the rise of indigenous peoples, and the rapid urbanization and subsequent making of 'gray spaces' and new urban regimes, reshaping relations between groups, states and space.

**Course Structure**

The course will cover briefly three main themes:

- a. Scholarly knowledge about the legal, political and historical geography of the modern nation-state and conflicts with its minorities;
- b. The case of Palestine/Israel, within a comparative framework; and
- c. New arenas of shaping ethnic relations, namely indigenous mobilization and the ascent of urban regimes and the 'gray spacing' of the contemporary city.

**- Course Outline by Day -**

**Day 1 – The Making of the Nation-States**

We shall establish the foundations for understanding the roots and evolution of the modern, (post-colonial) nation-state and its key institutions – territory, sovereignty, borders, identity, economy, and minorities.

Readings:

Taylor, P. (1994). "The State as a Container: Territoriality in the Modern World-System." Progress in Human Geography 18(2): 151-162.

Zacher, M. 2001. The territorial integrity norm: international boundaries and the use of force', International Organization 55: 2: 215-250

Paasi, A. 2011. Bounded Space in a borderless world

Murphy, A. (2002). "The Territorial Underpinnings of National Identity." Geopolitics 7(2): 193-214.

Movie and discussion – "Partition" (India, Pakistan)

**Day 2 – States and the Place of Minorities**

Having established the normative state model, we'll explore key aberrations to that model, first and foremost – the question of minorities and diasporas as well as old and new colonialism, immigration and globalization.

Readings:

Demmers, J. (2002). "Diaspora and Conflict: Locality, long-distance Nationalism and Conflict Dynamics." The Public 9(1): 85-96.

Lustick, I. et al (eds) 2000, Rightsizing the state, Indiana Press (Introduction)

McGarry, J., & O'Leary, B. (1993). The politics of ethnic conflict regulation. London: Routledge.

Peleg, I. 2008. Democratizing the Hegemonic State Political Transformation in the Age of Identity, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (introduction).

Yiftachel, O. (2000). 'The Homeland and Nationalism'. Encyclopedia of Nationalism; Vol. 1 (Opening Essays). New York, Academic Press. 359-383.

Movie and discussion: "The Syrian Bride" (Syria, Israel)

### **Day 3 – Ethnocracies: Israel/Palestine in a comparative framework**

The day will be devoted to understanding the nature of 'ethnocratic' regimes, their structure, trajectories, and plight of minorities. It will focus on Israel/Palestine as a key example, and enrich the discussion with comparative analyses of other ethnocratic states.

#### Readings:

Howard, L. M. (October 2012). "The Ethnocracy Trap". *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 23, No. 4, p.p. 155-169., N. 2008. 'Redrawing the Lines of Citizenship: Israel's New Hegemony', *Journal of Palestine Studies*.

Peleg, I. 2008. Democratizing the Hegemonic State Political Transformation in the Age of Identity, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (Chapter 3).

Yiftachel, O. and Ghanem, A. (2005), 'Understanding Ethnocratic Regimes: the Politics of Seizing Contested Territories', Political Geography, Vol. 23: 4: 647-676 (Hebrew version in State and Society, 2005, vol. 4, 761-788).

### **Day 4 – The Indigenous Challenge**

The day will be devoted to a new force that has emerged recently within the field of minority politics and conflict -- the rise of indigenous politics. This trend has seen indigenous groups, colonized by colonial and post-colonial states, beginning to reclaim their resources, identity and power. The day will be devoted to their struggle and assess its international and local impacts.

#### Readings:

Amara, A., abu-Saad, I., Yiftachel, O. Eds. 2012. Indigenous (In)Justice: Human Rights, Law and the Arab Bedouins in Israel/Palestine, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

Tsosie, R. 2001. 'Land, culture and Community: Native sovereignty and National Identity...', in "Hagar: International Social Science Review" Vol. 2 (2001): pp. 183-200.

Waldron, J. (2003). Indigeneity? First Peoples and Last Occupancy. *New Zealand Journal of Public Law*, 55(1): 1-28.

Wolfe, P. (2007). Discussion: The concept of indigeneity. *Social Anthropology*, 14(1): 25–27.

Roy, A. 2009. Power politics

Movie and discussion: "Mabo" (Australian)

## Day 5 – Urban Regimes and 'Gray Spaces'

Globalization, immigration and urbanization have reached unprecedented levels. These processes have created vast 'gray space' – areas of informal developments and unlicensed groups – which have come to typify many urban regions, with massive implications to ethnic and state politics. The day will be devoted to an international review of this process, which provides new challenges for conflict resolution and development.

### Readings:

Bauman, Z. 2002. Living and Dying at the Frontier – End of Space.

Bayat, A. (2007). 'The Quiet Encroachment of the Ordinary.' *Chimrenge*: 8-15.

Marcuse, P. (1997). The enclave, the citadel and the ghetto. *Urban Affairs Review*, 33(2), 228-264

Roy, A. 2009. "The 21st Century Metropolis: New Geographies of Theory" *Regional Studies*, 43:6, 819-830.

Roy, A. 2011. "Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35:2, 223-238

Taylor, p. (2000). World cities and territorial states under conditions of contemporary Globalization, *Political Geography* 19 (1): 5 – 32

Yiftachel, O. 2009 Theorizing 'Gray Space': the Coming of Urban Apartheid?', *Planning Theory*, 8: 1: 88-100.

Yiftachel, O. 2011. 'Critical Theory and Gray Space: Mobilization of the Colonized', in Brenner, N. et al (eds, 2011) *Cities for People, not Profit: Critical Theory and the Right to the City*, London: Routledge, pp. 94-112.

## Day 6 – Student Presentations and Future Trajectories

The date will be devoted to presentations of students draft projects with feedback from the teacher and other students; and for the collective drawing of future scenarios, drawing on the material of the previous six days.

### Student Requirements

The students will have to prepare three small pieces of work for the course:

- a. **Media review** – each person will summarize two media pieces (op-ed, interview., TV article, blogs etc.) to be briefly presented to the class. The two pieces should address the same issue -- relevant to state-minority conflicts. They could be drawn from their home countries or be international. The list of topics for reviews will be presented to the student on the first day.
- b. **Presentation of artwork** (music, paintings, literature, poetry; short movie) which sheds light on the topics at hand. Each student will choose one notable artistic item relevant to the understanding of ethnic relations and analyze it in the class.
- c. **A personal paper:** each student will submit a 1500-2000 word long paper, reflecting and explaining two main issues: (a) the most important theoretical concept(s) studied during the course; (b) the most important empirical/comparative material reviewed during the course. The importance of the material (academic and otherwise) could be argued in terms of their explanatory power or relevance to the conflict in which the person is involved. More explanation about the paper will be provided during the course.