

Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi 110067

Course:	PhD
Course Title:	State and Nation-Building in Central Asia
Course type:	Optional
Course teacher:	Dr. Pramod Kumar
Credits:	Three
Semester:	Monsoon Semester

Course Objectives:

This course aims at providing insights on state and nation-building in the Central Asian Region. The course discusses the nation-building process in five Central Asian states namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. An emphasis on both political institutions and identity construction will provide a comprehensive view of a new type of statehood which has been formed after collapse of the Soviet system. The course will focus on historical, socio-cultural and political aspect of transformation trajectories and broad range of political regimes. The main objective of the course is to provide an analytical understanding and evaluation of post-Soviet politics of statehood and nation-building.

The Course will also discuss modern approaches and will try to analyse its impact on the process of state and nation-building in general and Central Asia in particular. Further, an attempt will be made to highlight historical evolution of state in Central Asian context from the Khanates period till the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Present dynamics of state and nation-building in Central Asia includes language policy and modernisation process will also be discussed. It focuses on the politics of modernisation and its impact on nation-building processes in Central Asian countries in comparative perspective. The course will also examine the challenges to state and nation-building processes in region. The Role of Clan and religious radicalism will be taken into account. This course also analyse the interdependence between patterns of historical legacy, political institutions, modernisation process and civic participation in the post-Soviet Central Asia.

Learning outcomes:

By the end of course students are expected to learn about-

- The theoretical framework and approaches to state and nation-building in Central Asian context.
- Nature of State in Central Asia in the context of nation-building process.
- Specific features of the political institutions, evolution and regime transformation in Central Asia.
- Present dynamics of nation-building process in Central Asian region and societal responses.
- Politics of modernisation and nation-building in the comparative perspective.
- The problems and challenges to State and Nation Building in Central Asia.

Evaluation method:

Class performance 10%, Seminar Presentation 10%, Term paper/ Mid semester Exam 20%, and End Semester Examinations 60%.

Course Content

Unit 1. Approaches to Nation-Building

This unit will deal with the conceptual understanding about State and nation-building. It discusses with State –building and nation –building as concept and its approaches. The theoretical contribution of nationalism, Marxian approach and modern approaches to nation-building will also be discussed. In this unit the discussion revolves around:

- A. Conceptual understanding
- B. State Building and Nation-Building
- C. Approaches to Nationalism.

Essential Readings:

- Anderson, Benedict (2016), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso.
- Brubaker, Rogers (1996), “Nationhood and the national question in the Soviet Union and its successor states: an institutionalist account” in *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (2004). The imperative of state-building. *Journal of Democracy*, 15(2), 17–31.
- Gellner, Ernest (2006), *Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric J.(1990), *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kothari, Rajani (1976), *State and Nation Building: A Third World Perspective*. Bombay: Allied Publishers.
- Phadnis, Urmila (2001), *Ethnicity and Nation-building in South Asia*: New Delhi, Sage Publications.
- Ubiria, Grigol (2016), “Theorising Modern Nationalism: general paradigms and concepts” in *Soviet Nation-Building in Central Asia: The Making of the Kazakh and Uzbek Nations*. New York: Routledge.

Unit 2. Nature of State in Central Asia

This unit will focus on the evolution and nature of state and nation building in Central Asia in historical perspective. It begins with the Khanates period till the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The Soviet federal system and the national territorial delimitation in Central Asia during the period of 1924-36, will also be taken into account. While dealing with national territorial delimitation in Central Asia, the Soviet nationality policy will also be discussed. The discussion covers:

- A. Pre-Tsarist period.
- B. The Tsarist Period.
- C. The Soviet period.

Essential Readings:

- Fourniau, V. and Poujol, C. (2005), "The States of central Asia" in Adle, Chahryar, Madhavan K. Palat (eds.) *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Towards the Contemporary Period: From the Mid-Nineteenth to the End of the Twentieth Century*, UNESCO: UNESCO Publishing.
- Geoffrey, Wheeler (1964), *The Modern History of Soviet Central Asia*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Heathershaw, John (2016), "Central Asian Statehood in Post-Colonial Perspective." In Emilian Kavalski (ed.) *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside? Post-Soviet Statehood in Central Asia*, New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Jeroen, Van den Bosch (2021), "Political regimes in Central Asia: Tracing Personalist Rule from the Khanates to the Present" in Van den Bosch, Jeroen JJ, Adrien Fauve, and Bruno De Cordier (eds.) *The European Handbook of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics, and Societies*, ibidem Verlag: Stuttgart.
- Kaushik, Devendra, (1970), *Central Asia in Modern Times A history from the early 19th Century*, Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Pierce, Richard A. (1960), *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Vaidyanath. R (1967), "National Territorial Delimitation of Central Asia" in *The Formation of The Soviet Central Asian Republics: A Study in Soviet Nationalities Policy 1917-1936*, New Delhi: Peoples Publishing House.

Unit 3. State and Nation-Building in Contemporary Central Asia

This unit will focus on nature of society, new political institutions and identity construction and border consolidation. Issues like language, ethnicity, multiple nationality and modernisation process related to socio-cultural and statehood will also be taken into account. This unit also highlights various factors influencing nation building:

- A. Strategies of Nation-Building.
- B. State Institutions in Nation-Building process.
- C. Responses from Society.

Essential Readings:

- Akchurina, Viktoria (2022), "Understanding State-Building in Central Asia" in *Incomplete State-Building in Central Asia: The State as Social Practice*, Switzerland: Springer Nature.
- Ferrando, Olivier, (2019), "Policies and Practice of Language education in post-Soviet Central Asia: between ethnic identities and civic consciousness" in *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dina Sharipova and Aziz Burkhanov (2022), "Nation-building in Central Asia: Policy and discourse" in Isaacs, Rico, and Erica Marat (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Central Asia*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Kamrava, Mehran (2019), "Nation-Building in Central Asia: Institutions, Politics, and Culture." *Muslim World* 110, (1):6-23.
- Sergei, Abasin (2012), "Nation-construction in post-Soviet Central Asia" in Bassin, Mark, and Catriona Kelly (eds.) *Soviet and Post-Soviet Identities*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Isaacs, Rico, and Abel Polese (2015), "Between 'Imagined' and 'Real' Nation-Building: Identities and Nationhood in Post-Soviet Central Asia." *Nationalities Papers* 43, no. 3: 371–82.
- Qubek, Paul,(2016), "Applying Democratization Literature to Post-Soviet Central Asian Statehood", in Emilian Kavalski (ed.) *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside? Post-Soviet Statehood in Central Asia*, NewYork: Routledge.

Unit 4. State and Nation- Building in Comparative Perspective

This unit explain national identity as a construct, and Identity narratives as a key instrument of national self-determination. This unit will also examine how politics of modernisation is shaping the present discourse on state and nation- building in Central Asian states in comparative perspectives:

- A. National identity: Symbols and Images
- B. Nature of politics of modernisation.
- C. Impact of politics of modernisation on consolidation of state and nation building in Central Asia.

Essential readings

- Akchurina, Viktoria (2022), "The Incomplete State: Fifty Shades of Failure" in *Incomplete State-Building in Central Asia: The State as Social Practice*, Switzerland: Springer Nature.
- Geremy, Smith (2021), "Clan, Class and Ethnicity in Post- Soviet Central Asia" in Van den Bosch, Jeroen JJ, Adrien Fauve, and Bruno De Cordier (eds.) *The European Handbook of Central Asian Studies: History, Politics, and Societies*, ibidem Verlag: Stuttgart.
- Hanova,Selbi, (2019), "State Identities in Post-Soviet Foreign Policy: Theories and Cases in Central Asia" in *Isaacs, Rico, and Alessandro Frigerio* (eds.) *Theorizing Central Asian Politics: The State, Ideology and Power*, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Liga Rudzite and Karolina Kluczewska (2021), "Modernisation and Development in Central Asia" in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Central Asia*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Sengupta, Anita (2017), *Symbols and the Image of the State in Eurasia. Springer Briefs in Political Science*, Springer, Singapore.
- Smith, Graham (1998), "The Central Asian states as nationalising regimes" in *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Unit 5. Challenges to State and Nation-Building in Central Asia

This unit examines clan politics, ethnic issues; radicalisation of religion and its consequences to the process of nation-building in Central Asia. This unit will also focus on the influence of the external actors such as Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia on one hand and Russia and China on other to the state consolidation and nation,building in Central Asia.

- A. Clan Politics and Nation Building.
- B. Religious Radicalism and threat to civic nationalism.
- C. Role of External Actors

Essential Readings:

- Akchurina, Viktoria (2022), "Impact of External Actors on States and Societies" in *incomplete State-Building in Central Asia: The State as Social Practice*, Switzerland: Springer Nature.
- Akchurina, Victoria, (2019), "The Incomplete State: Re-conceptualizing State and Society Relations in Central Asia" in Isaacs, Rico, and Alessandro Frigerio (eds.) *Theorizing Central Asian Politics: The State, Ideology and Power*, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cummings, Sally N (2012), "Islam, nation and multiple identities in Central Asia" in *Understanding Central Asia: Politics and Contested Transformations*, New York: Routledge.
- Gullette, David, (2016), "The Problem of 'Clan' Politics Model of Central Asian Statehood: A call for alternative pathways for research" in in Emilian Kavalski (ed.) *Stable Outside, Fragile Inside? Post-Soviet Statehood in Central Asia*, New York: Routledge.
- Kavalski, Emilian (2010), *The New Central Asia: The Regional Impact of International Actors*, Singapore: World Scientific.
- Morgan, y. Liu (2023), "Theorising Central Asian neighbourhoods as social interdependence, state encounter and narratives" in *The Central Asian World*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis.

Suggested Readings:

- Amineh, Mehdi Parvizi, and Henk Houweling (2005), *Central Eurasia in Global Politics*, London: Boston: Brill. (Chapter 3 and 4).
- Carney, Christopher P. and John P. Moran (2000), "Imagining Communities in Central Asia: Nationalism and Interstate Affect in the Post-Soviet Era." *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 26, (4): 179–98.
- Collins, Kathleen (2004), "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories." *World Politics* 56, no. 2: 224–61.
- Croix, Jeanne Féaux de la, and Madeleine Reeves (2023), *The Central Asian World*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Cummings, Sally N (2010), *Symbolism and Power in Central Asia*, London: Routledge.
- Dadabaev, Timur, and Hisao Komatsu (2016), *Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan: Life and Politics during the Soviet Era*, Springer.
- Ferran Izquierdo-Brichs (2021), "Neopatrimonialism, Power and Regimes in Central Asia: A Sociology of Power Analysis" in Izquierdo-Brichs, Ferran, and Francesc Serra-Massansalvador (eds.) *Political Regimes and Neopatrimonialism in Central Asia: A Sociology of Power Perspective. The Steppe and Beyond: Studies on Central Asia*, Singapore: Springer.
- Isaacs, Rico, and Abel Polese (2016), *Nation-Building and Identity in the Post-Soviet Space*, London and New York: Taylor & Francis. (Chapters 2, 7, 8 and 10)
- Kavalski, Emilian (2010), *The New Central Asia: The Regional Impact of International Actors*, World Scientific.

- Laruelle, Marlene (2021), *Central Peripheries: Nationhood in Central Asia*, UCL Press.
- Lottholz, Philipp (2022), "From Imaginary to Practice: Capturing the Multiple Meanings of Peace, Security and Order" in Lottholz, Philipp, *Post-Liberal State-building in Central Asia: Imaginaries, Discourses and Practices of Social Ordering*, Bristol: Bristol University Press,
- Madhavan, K. Palat, (2005), "The British in Central Asia", Adle, Chahryar, Madhavan K. Palat (eds.) *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Towards the Contemporary Period: From the Mid-Nineteenth to the End of the Twentieth Century*, UNESCO: UNESCO Publishing.
- Marlene Laruelle (2016), *Kazakhstan in the Making: Legitimacy, Symbols, and Social Changes*, London: Lexington Books.
- Marlene Laruelle (2018), *Tajikistan on the Move: State-building and Societal Transformations*. London: Lexington Books.
- Omelicheva, Mariya Y. (2015), *Nationalism and Identity Construction in Central Asia: Dimensions, Dynamics, and Directions*. London and New York: Lexington Books.
- Park, JeongWonBourdais, AigulAdibayeva, and Danial Saari (2023), *Politics of Regionalism in Central Asia: Multilateralism, Institutions, and Local Perception*, Singapore: Springer Nature.
- Patnaik, Ajay (2003), *Nations, Minorities, and States in Central Asia*, Delhi: Anamika Pub & Distributors.
- Peyrouse, Sebastien (2024), "Turkmenistan: Authoritarianism, Nation Building and Cult of Personality." In *Research Handbook on Authoritarianism*, 356–69, Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Roy, Olivier (2005), *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations*. New York: University Press.(Chapter 9 and 10)
- Sabol, Steven (1995) "The Creation of Soviet Central Asia: The 1924 National Delimitation." *Central Asian Survey* 14, no. 2: 225–41.
- Sengupta, Anita(2017), *Symbols and the Image of the State in Eurasia. Springer Briefs in Political Science*. Singapore: Springer Singapore. (Chapter 1 and 6)
- Smith, Anthony D.(1998), "Primordialism and perennialism" in *Nationalism and Modernism*. London: Routledge.