

Ethno-Nationalism: Theories and the Dynamics of the Demand for the New Federating Units



| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Muhammad Shoaib Malik | Associate Professor, Department of Pakistan Studies, National University of Modern Language (NUML), Islamabad, Pakistan. Email: msmalik@numl.edu.pk |
| Azhar Mahmood Abbasi | Lecturer, Department of Pakistan Studies, National University of Modern Language (NUML), Islamabad, Pakistan. |
| Umair Arshad | MPhil. Scholar, Department of Education, National University of Modern Languages Islamabad, Pakistan. |

Abstract: Ethnicity has been not only the source of diversity but also social and political tensions across the globe. The socio-economic and political alienation and sense of deprivation trigger ethnonationalism that manifests itself into different forms and manifestations ranging from armed struggles to political movements. The failure to establish a vibrant and pluralist society with social and economic justice at its heart paves the way for ethnic strife that attracts different responses and reactions from the states faced with the ethnic conflict. Based on the qualitative research methods, this scholarly endeavor seeks to dissect the dynamics and drivers of ethnic-nationalism and how the countries like India, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Switzerland, the Philippines and South Africa have tried to address the problem. Further, it analyses the different theoretical approaches, notably primordialism, constructivism, instrumentalist, language and power, religion, race and culture have been employed by the countries to tackle the non-traditional threat posed by ethnonationalism.

Key Words: Ethno-Nationalism, Sub-Nationalism, Primordialism, Language, Constructivism Religion, Instrumentalism, Re-demarcation and Re-organization

Introduction

Indexes of ethnic nationalism have been described as religious or linguistic problems, conflict of economic or class development. On the other hand, it has been perceived that "national identity may continue considerable changes in religion, language, economic status or any other tangible indicators of its culture. Even social deviations inspired by transformation could not exclude ethnic group identity but only modernize it. Such kinds of societies, diverged by twofold identities (ethnic versus national) which could cut across modernity and tradition, instigated substantial political strain in the new state when it could not function over established political channels or the internalization of national ideals. This frequently triggered in-house political crises frightening the political existence of the state. These kinds of examples are common in different parts of the world, and such a disaster is so clearly established as in South Asia as well, where a one-state (Bangladesh) appeared out of a state (Pakistan) in 1971. (Asif Hussain, 1976)

Generally, ethno nationalist movements can be defined as "ideological movements which are based on conjoint meanings of common descent, imagined or real that elites privileged the suitable group eloquent in order to unify political support for numerous objectives extending from secession to statehood to the autonomy." A common difference between a nationalist and an ethnic movement is that the goal of an ethnic politician is to gain some advantage within a current state whereas the nationalist seeks to maintain or maintain his own state." (Tahir Amin, 1988)

In general, there could be various grounds for the formation of new states or provinces in different parts of the world. There are many examples available which successfully demarcated the states or provinces on ethnic or linguistic lines, on geographical or administrative, and on a cultural or economic basis; the current example is India, which had created 15 new states both on an ethnic or administrative and lingual basis. There was a major territorial reorganization on the geographical grounds of Lander in Germany. In addition, the Philippines is another fine

example that created 30 new provinces, all on cultural, lingual, geographical, and administrative grounds. Likewise, Nigeria, South Africa, Iran, Ethiopia, Switzerland, Afghanistan, and the United States of America demarcated their states on similar grounds.

Similarly, many young federations of the world have been faced challenges to create a federal region around the globe. There are two types of competing objectives at play with the creation of new states or regions: (a) to protect the rights of an ethnic group, (b) the wish to limit the maximum number of states for the resources of economic, financial, administrative affordability. History is replete with many examples of re-demarcation of states after a few years after their independence by young federations. India, Ethiopia, South Africa, Nigeria and the Philippines are some examples. ([Bertus De Villiers, 2012](#))

The rise of ethnonational movements as a worldwide phenomenon since the primary 1970s has been inviting significant courtesy from policy-makers as well social scientists. Both empirical and theoretical literature commerce with these movements remains to proliferate. The Quebec movement in Canada, the Biafran movement in Nigeria, the Walloon movement in Belgium and the Pushtunistan movement in Pakistan are some of the salient cases of ethno-nationalist movement in the world. ([Tahir Amin, 1988](#))

Review of the Literature

[Tahir Amin, \(1988\)](#) study highlights ethno-nationalist movements in different parts of the world and mainly focused on Pakistan. He also talked about the rise and fall of the ethno-nationalist movement in different regions of the world. He presented two sets of arguments in this dissertation: (1) In an analytic-empirical mode, our argument is that the explanation for the rise and decline of the movements primarily lies in the domestic and international political context. Among the domestic factors, it is the political policy of the state elite that is the most important factor in determining both the rise and decline of the movements. If the policy of the state elite leads to greater power-sharing among the ethnic groups, the movements are likely to decline. Conversely, if the policy aims at the monopolization of power by certain ethnic groups, the groups excluded from the power-sharing arrangements begin to formulate secessionist

ideologies leading to the rise of the movement. ([Tahir Amin, 1988](#))

[Bertus De Villiers \(2012\)](#) discuss the basis of creation of new states or province and sub-nationalisms in different parts of the world, like India, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa. He argues all four countries had created the new states on all ethnic, lingual, administrative, economic, and geographical bases. The writer provided the sub-rational example of different states in South Asia. ([Bertus De Villiers, 2012](#))

Victorino Manalo (2013) stated that there are many examples are available which clearly shown that ethno-nationalist movements led to the political and social identities in the different parts of the world. She also talked about the Philippines case, and evolution of the ethno-nationalist movement, and the emergence of demand for new federating units. In crux, the author concluded that the Philippines created 30 new provinces on different grounds such as ethnic, lingual, and administrative after 1960. (Victorino Manalo, 2013)

Research Methodology

The present research work is normative, qualitative, and descriptive in nature. In fact, primary and secondary sources both have been used for the collection of data. Primary data has been collected from Government official reports, archives etc., and some interviews of politicians, intellectuals, political activists, while secondary data has been collected from different books, research journals, newspapers and the internet.

Identity Formation and the Ethno-Nationalism

An ethnically diverse society has multiple identities. With time by replacing the previous identities, people can change their identity. To gain several interests, multiple identities can be formed.

“As Paul Brass states, an ethnic group can be defined in the words as it’s a group of people that has a common traditions and culture, which are not shared by others. Paul Brass defined the ‘Ethnic identity’ Ethnic identity creation of a group includes efforts within the group for control over symbolic and material resources, and brawl with other sets of people for resources, rights, and struggle with the

groups dominating it and with the state.” ([Paul Brass, 1991](#)) 46.

There are several bases for Ethnic identity formation, including culture, language, religion and race. There are multiple aims to empower identity politics the people who are worried through a procedure of identifying and raising their self-consciousness. Some factors which can be helpful in making identity politics are: religion, class, culture, race, tradition and language. (Vira Bhaskar, *Identity and Politics*, 389.)

Language, Culture and Power

Language and culture is the most important feature of ethnic identity. This construction of identity can be seen in multilingual and multicultural, and multi-religious areas.

Language is the main distinctive feature of any ethnic group in Pakistan. Many cultural values and norms are mutual all over the country but being a multilingual state, and those languages form various identities, Baluchi, Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashtoon, Saraiki, and Hindko etc., are the few identities formed on the lingual basis, not a race, religion and culture. ([Tariq Rahman, 1996](#), 2.)

Different people wrote different opinions about the initiation of various ethnic movements; people do not want to be governed by people speaking other languages and feel worried about their language. Therefore, Loyalty to some languages can act as a uniting point for some ethnic or language movements. In addition, there may be other rallying points like race, culture, or religion etc. The main assembling point for the mission to power has remained to be religion and language. ([Rahman, 1996](#), 2.)

From the historical point of view, language has performed as a stage for the mission of power against other language speakers. Ethnic identity has been constructed on the basis of language from the Ancient Greeks construct it or difference from the Barbarians. Greeks, on the basis of their language, called them ‘Barbarians’ because they found their language speech meaningless and nonsense. ([Kanavillil Rajagopalan, 2001](#))

There are two types of nationalist movements regarding their conflicts. First, they wanted to get complete separation from the existing state. Second, they want a larger part of recognition and autonomy within the present state. ([Feroz Ahmed, 1998](#), 6.)

Language and Power

“Language is carefully connected with politics, quest of power, identity construction and ethnicity. Mostly, the language of the elites is to be considered as the language of power in the world. Nevertheless, there are many language movements had been initiated in the world in order to gain importance and power. Power permits anyone to struggle the obligation of other’s will on himself and execute his own will on others.” (Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, 8.)

According to Lukes, the presence of power is actually “Shaping people’s preferences, cognitions perceptions and cognition in such a way that they take their role in the prevailing order of things.” ([Steven Lukes, 2005](#)), 24)

Areas of power include networks of military, judiciary, media, bureaucracy, and education. These fields control the dissemination of services and goods. ([Tariq, Rahman, 1996](#), 9.)

Some areas of power like culture, ideology and commerce research lie under private and governmental control.

The official language is usually the domain of power all over the world. In addition, in interaction and private business, any native language may be used. Similarly, power and language may be used to gain access to the sphere of power.

As Tariq Rahman states, “people do believe that the present order will not alteration so they communicate their children to learn the English language, the language of areas of power so that they can get a chance to achieve power. Among numerous groups, the struggle exists to access the area of power in various societies, which are called proto-elites and elites. Those who have access and power to the domain of power are known as elites. Elites exercise power and decision-makers.” ([Tariq, Rahman, 1996](#))

English is the domain of power and also the language of power in Pakistan. Since the inception of Pakistan, the elites have been tilted to English. In fact, English is considered a high intellectual ability and a symbol of status. Hence, to get access to higher positions, people teach English to their children. ([Tariq, Rahman, 1996](#), 9.)

Religion

In a multi-national country, many people use religion as an identity. However, religion is more contentious

than racial, regional, and ethnic identities. ([Sandra F. Joireman, 2007](#)), 3.)

Religion has been used by some religious elites as the first symbol, and language used as a secondary symbol. Moreover, for the promotion of religion, religious elites also use language by publishing various religious pamphlets and articles. (Paul Brass, 1997, 30.)

When a controlling exterior religious group attempts to enforce its religion and overpower the indigenous population, inter-ethnic conflicts can occur. In such conditions, the few native religious people together under cover of religious identity and attempt to defend their attention by inspirational ethnic consciousness. This kind of example has been part of history, not only in Eastern European countries but also in South Asia among Sikhs, Christian, Muslim Hindus, especially during the British period (in conflicts among catholic orthodox and Islamic groups). ([Tariq, Rahman, 1996](#), 27.)

When a national, local type of competition and national aristocracy organizes with colonial and an external expert without accepting its religion but almost moving a great danger for native leaders. ([Tariq, Rahman, 1996](#), 27.)

Race

According to Sandra F. Joireman, “race is a separate case of ethnic identities. It mostly deals with the appearance of ethnic groups; that’s why it is very strange. Their types of Jewelry, style of dress, presence and absence of facial hair in men”. ([Sandra Joireman, 2007](#), 4.)

The various examples are available in several countries where ethnic identities are formed on the basis of race. The case identity formation and racial differences in the United States and South Africa are some good examples of the construction of identity on a race basis. ([Sandra Joireman, 2007](#), 4.)

Ethnic Identities

One can define the Ethnic group as it’s a group of people having the same culture, language, norms, values, traditions, religion, experience, history, region, and biological kinship. A man belonging to some group has an identity; that identity is called an ethnic identity. (Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 19.)

According to De Vos, “ethnicity is based on subjective, emblematic or symbolic, use by a group in the framework of cultural to differentiate their norms

and customs from other groups.” (Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 19.)

There are several stages of ethnicity such as ethnic self-evaluation, self-awareness, demand for political autonomy, demand for equality, and succession etc. As Clifford Geertz stated, ethnicity was related to religion, culture, regional, tradition, blood ties, class, language and custom. ([Clifford Geertz, 1963](#))

According to Joseph Rothschild, several ethnic groups practice the situational and circumstantial nature of ethnic coherence, which is worried upon by the competition and instruction. Moreover, he said that an ethnicity is a tool that may be used in order to get joint advantages of many groups or a single group. ([Joseph Rothschild, 1991](#))

According to Daniel Bell, ethnicity becomes more actual in terms of economic improvement than class because it may be comprised both in the context of interest and with effective ties. ([Nathan lit Glazer and Daniel Patrick, 1975](#))

Karl Deutch, explaining the difference between nationalism and ethnicity, states the nationalism is an umbrella term while ethnicity is a sub-branch of nationalism. Nationalism makes maximum efforts to get maximum advantages and also demands a separate state for a single group or a nation. On the other hand, ethnicity strives for maximum provincial autonomy within the state. ([Karl –W- Deutch, 1966](#))

Myron Weiner states that when ethnic conflict arises, and its social mobility is blocked, the ethnic group is formed. In such situations, the educated middle class works for the shared interest and proceeds the banner of ethnicity for the indigenous population. ([Myron Weiner, 1978](#)) Subjective feelings, objective attributes, and in relation to Behavior are three different angles presented by Paul Brass. (Paul Brass, 1997, 30, 18.)

According to Paul Brass, an ethnic group is different from other people in terms of its membership, the element for complete division of production and labor objective cultural attributes, both in principle and practice and in principle. (Paul Brass, 1997, 30, 18.)

Dialect, language, race, and religion, different customs, dress or different kinds of diet can be objective cultural markers of that ethnic group. Ethnic groups use ethnicity for alteration in their status by putting their demand front of the political arena, in the context of civil or educational rights, good economic opportunities, and also demand the maximum of

political autonomy in forms of interest groups. (Paul Brass, 1997, 30, 18.)

Paul Brass further argues ethnic group that uses any spot of cultural difference as a symbol to create inner firmness and to differentiate it from other cultural groups is called ethnic community. (Paul Brass, 1997, 30, 18.)

As Fredrik Barth states, the “ethnic group is like a social union with their boundaries. Moreover, he argues that ethnic group is a population which make up the field of communication and interaction, biologically self-perpetuating, and membership identified by itself and by others and shares some fundamental cultural values.” (Fredrik Barth, 1770)

According to Socio-biologists, the ethnic group is the human assessment of kin selection for survival. In that sense, people grow stronger and stronger by favoring their relatives. (Sandra Joireman, 1997)

It is a weak concept and cannot be applicable in any case in the current situation because of intermingling in the forms of trade warfare, intermarriages, exploration and migrations. Max Weber manufactured the subjective and objective features of ethnic group and their cultural and political roots.

According to Max Weber, an ethnic group is a “group of people that amuse a subjective belief in their shared descent because of resemblances of physical types of customs of both, or because of remembrances of colonization or migration. For the promulgation of group formation, this belief is very valuable; equally, it does not matter whether or not same blood relationship exists”. (Max Weber, 1996)

Smith contended an ethnic group as having a common language, culture, and common ancestry link with the territory. (Anthony D Smith, 2006)

In the light of the above-discussed definitions, one of the basic features of an ethnic group is the myth of common ancestry. However, in some cases, this myth of common ancestry create more confusion when its tries to differentiate between social categories and ethnic category.

Components of Ethnic Construction

There are three major schools of thought regarding ethnicity construction.

1. Primordialists
2. Instrumentalists
3. Constructivists

Primordialists

Primordialists school of thought states that ethnicity cannot be changed as it is a fixed phenomenon, and it cannot be changed. Furthermore, they argue nations are the natural division of the world. According to them, ethnicity cannot be changed as it's by birth; it is the same as religion, kinship, blood relations, culture and shared paternity. (Tariq, Rahman, 1996, 14.) “Kanchan Chandra contends “, Each of us belongs to one and only one ethnic group, and that group membership remains fixed over a lifetime; and it is passed down intact across generations.” (Kanchan Chandra, 2012)

Primordialists argue that nationalism is not a modern phenomenon but primordial.

According to Clifford Geertz, “by a primordial attachment, it is meant that one that stems from the “givens”- or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed “givens”- of social existence... one is bound to one’s kinsman-one’s neighbor, one’s fellow believer, ipso factor as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself.” (Clifford Geertz, 1965, 109.)

According to Primordialist, persons have a much stronger attachment with their blood ties, race, language, custom, region, culture and consider them as important pillars of group formation. (Clifford Geertz, 1965, 109.)

Primordialists also argue that nations are not a creation of modernism. According to A.D. Smith, “nations are perennial and have been shaped in every period of history, in every part of the world and ethnicity and nationalism in modern times is just a revival of pre-modern political ideology.” (John Htchinson and Anthony D Smith, 1997)

Furthermore, ideological movements were raised by some nations in order to maintain and gain their unity, identity and autonomy, and those movements are called nationalism.

As Smith points out that some nations are formed on the basis of pre-modern, and some are modern. (A.D.Smith) Fundamentally, Smith’s place is somewhere between pre-modernist and modernist. Common homeland, common economy, common historical territory and mass cultures, subjective elements like shared recollections have played very significant roles in making nations. As Sandra F

Joirman states that ethnicity has great linkages with blood ties or kinship. (Paul Brass, 1991) 46.

Primordialists contends that ethnicity is a fundamental identity as by birth and fixed, it cannot be changed. Its lies in family ties and is historically rooted in the past. Primordialists are of the view that nationalism and ethnic identification is not a modern phenomenon. Nations are old rooted in both human biology and historical antiquity. (Sandra Joireman, 2007),35)

Instrumentalists

According to Instrumentalists, schools believe that ethnicity is not fixed and can be changed over time. They further argue that in order to gain access to wealth and power, ethnicity can be used. (Tariq, Rahman, 1996) As Horowitz states that “ethnicity... entails not the collective will to exist but the existing will to collect” (Sandra Joireman, 2007, 35.)

Instrumentalists are of the view that ethnic groups have some specific political end. Ethnicity is not focused on the origin of the group; rather, it is focused only on the goals of that ethnic group. Ethnicity is a weapon to gain a larger, typically material end. Furthermore, instrumentalists believe that in order to gain political interest, ethnicity is used by political elites. (Sandra Joireman, 2007),35.)

Paul R Brass is a famous instrumentalist, argues that when the urban-rural distribution of resources is disturbed by the educational administrative and technological requirements of industrialization and by the domestic demands of disadvantaged groups as a result of industrialization, hence nationalism emerged (Paul Brass, 1991) 46.)

When new elites are emerged who did exploitation both religiously and culturally and got dominant racially, and depressed groups start a movement in order to gain political and economic interest. Hence, nationalism emerged as the conflicts between elites were started over resources distribution and political power. (Paul Brass, 1991) 46.

According to Ernest Gellner, nationalism and nations are the products of modernity and associates modernity with the spread of capitalism, industrialization, secularization, urbanization, and the bureaucratic states. (Martin Axmann, 2008) Benedict Anderson argues that the nation is an imagined political community that is inherently limited and sovereign. (Benedict Anderson, 1991)

Constructivists

According to the constructivist's school of thought, ethnicity is not fixed and singular. They further argue that ethnic identity may be changed, and occasionally, the change is on a very great scale. Moreover, they believe that a new ethnic identity may be constructed.

As Bell states, “If one looks down to dark ravines of history, one sees that men in social groups need some other group to hate” (Paul Brass, 1991) 46.

According to Social constructivists that religion, language, and physical features are a set of identities from which one can choose national affiliation and one’s identities. They further argue that people set their own preferences and also select their own identity, which is shaped by economic and political conditions. Social constructivists consider that ethnicity is partly violated and partly ascribed. (Paul Brass, 1991) 46.

Daniel Bell contends social constructivist’s views of ethnicity by saying,

“In the larger blending of people, with the growth of more inclusive, yet attenuated elites, in the simultaneous development of culture.... And a social structure that is more bureaucratic... the breakup of the traditional authority structure and the politicization of the decisions that affect the communal lives of persons makes the need for group organization more necessary.... As planned choice by of ahead some power and pleasure. (Daniel Bell,1976) Nevertheless, it does not mean it is just a matter of intellectual choice. As Amartya Sen points out, not only is reason involved in the choice of identity, but the reasoning may have to take note of the contingent relevance and social context of being in one category or another. (Amartya Sen, 2006)

Conclusion

Ethnicity is part and parcel of the social fabric across the world. It is as old as human civilization. It is a strength if a country’s policies are integrative and inclusive. It turns out to be a threat to national integrity and unity if ethnicity is not managed and accommodated through constitutional and legal measures that may include the re-demarcation of a country in the light of ethnic composition: social injustice, economic deprivation, and political exclusion fuel ethnic tensions. A harmonious society needs an inclusive and pluralistic approach critical to creating ethnic harmony. Ethnicity and sub-nationalism refer to rather a complex combination of

cultural, racial, and historical features by which societies are occasionally divided into distinct and perhaps hostile political families. South Asia is a multilingual, multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious continent of the world. The Ethno national politics is the cause of these countries not moving forward in eliminating socio-economic deprivation. Language, Culture, Ethnicity and Religion and Language-based identities are the important issues in the evolution of multi-ethnic states in the world. Some countries of the world like India, Ethiopia, South Africa, Switzerland, and the Philippines have adopted the approach of re-demarcation to permanently respond to the ethnic question. It is important to

differentiate between the politics of ethnicity in progressive societies, where it is somewhat comfortable, given the overall power of national identity and the comparative importance of other basic political issues associated with an organized and thriving economy. The third world countries, where ethnic divisions may be central to the problems of establishing a working political system. Some countries of the world have played a significant role by accommodating various ethnonational groups by providing them separate states, protecting their identity and giving them their due rights and constitutional guarantees.

References

- Ahmed, F. (1999). Ethnicity and Politics in Pakistan. *Pakistan Horizon*, 52(1), 67–69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41394421>
- Amin, T. (1988). *Rise and Decline of Ethno-national movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors, International Relations*. Carleton University, Ottawa, p, 1.
- Amin, T. (1988). *Rise and Decline of Ethno-national movements of Pakistan: Domestic and International Factors, International Relations*. Carleton University, Ottawa, p, 2.
- Ayaz, B. (2010). *Renaming of NWFP:II*, Daily Times. 19.
- Barth, F. (1970). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: Social Organization of Culture Differences*. Allen & Unwin.
- Bell, D. (1976). *Ethnicity and Social Change* in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Brass, P. R. (1991). *Ethnicity and Nationalism Theory and Comparison*, Sage pp. 1-358 pp.18
- Brass, P. R. (1991). *Ethnicity and Nationalism Theory and Comparison*, Sage pp. 1-358 pp.19
- Chandra, K. (2012). *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (1st ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Deutsch, K. W. (1966). *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. MIT Press. P100-110.
- Geertz, C. (1963). *Old Societies and New States: A Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, Pp. viii, 310.
- Glazer, N. L., & Patrick, D., ed., (1975). *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 40.
- Hussain, A. (1976). Ethnicity, National Identity and Praetorianism: The Case of Pakistan. *Asian Survey*, 16(10), 918–930. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2643533>
- Hutchinson, J., & Smith, A. D. (1994). *Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hutchinson, J., & Smith, A. D. (1996). *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press.
- Joireman, S. F. (2007). *Nationalism and Political Identity*. London: Continuum.
- Lukes, S. (2005). *Power: A Radical View, 2nd ed.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rahman, T. (1996b). *Language and Politics in Pakistan*. Oxford University Press. pp. 320.
- Rajagopalan, K. (2001). The Politics of Language and the Concept of Linguistic Identity. *Revista de Filologia y su Didactia*, 24, 17-28.
- Rothschild, J. (191). *Ethno Politics: A Conceptual Framework*. New York Columbia University Press, 15-20.
- Sen, A. (2006). *Identity and violence: The illusion of destiny*. New Delhi: Ailen Lane.
- Smith, A. D. (1996). Culture, community and territory: the politics of ethnicity and nationalism. *International Affairs*, 72(3), 445–458. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2625550>.
- Villiers, B. d. (2012). Creating Federal Regions: Minority Protection Verses Sustainability. *ZaöRV*, 72, 309-351.
- Weiner, M. (1978). *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*. Princeton University Press.