

POL 321Y1F
ETHNIC POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Summer 2016

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, 10:00 AM-12:00 PM
Bahen Centre for Information Technology, Room 1240

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Office Hours: Monday and Wednesday 12:00-1:00 PM, or by appointment

Course Description

This course considers the sources of ethnic politics and reflects on why some attempts to manage ethnic differences succeed while others fail. We begin by analyzing ethnicity, nationhood, and 'race' conceptually and go on to explore why and how the "management" of cultural differences by liberal-democratic states changed in the post-World War II era. We then examine multiculturalism, probing its theoretical foundations, practical manifestations, and limits. The second half of the course examines diasporas and transnationalism; citizenship in a world on the move; indigenous people's politics; language politics; sub-state nationalism; federalism and consociationalism; secession; ethnic cleansing; and genocide. Cases span a broad range of geographic regions and historical periods.

Required and Recommended Readings

All required and recommended readings are posted on the course Blackboard page.

Course Requirements and Grading

Grades for this course will be based on five requirements:

▪ Attendance and Participation	Cumulative	10%
▪ Research Essay Proposal	Due in class May 26	20%
▪ Midterm Test	May 30 in class	20%
▪ Research Essay	Due in class June 13	25%
▪ Final Test	June 16 in class	25%

Attendance and Participation:

The course is a combination of lecture and group discussion. You are responsible for completing the assigned required readings, thinking through the issues and questions raised by the readings, and participating in class discussions. Consistent attendance is essential. Unexcused absence from any class or test will result in a failing grade for that class or test. If you are unable to attend class, please inform me of your absence before or immediately after the missed class. Be prepared to provide appropriate written proof of medical emergencies, doctor's appointments, and death's in the family. I will arrange any make-up tests on a case-by-case basis.

Research Paper and Proposal:

The major writing requirement is a 2500-word research paper (approx. 10-pages, double-spaced, using Times New Roman [12-point] font, and 1 inch margins). You are expected to identify an issue relating to the themes covered in the course, formulate a research question, conduct the research needed to begin to answer this question, and present your answers in a paper. Please consult with me in person during office hours to ensure that your paper topic is appropriate.

A 1000-word research paper proposal (approx. 4-pages, double-spaced, using Times New Roman [12-point] font, and 1 inch margins) outlining your question and research plan is also required. The proposal should include:

- Your name and student number, the course code and title, and the date on which you are submitting your assignment
- A title that describes the research project
- An outline of the project which:
 - describes your topic
 - provides a review of the relevant literature (academic books and articles) you have consulted to date
 - provides a tentative thesis statement and a description of how you plan to defend your argument
 - discusses any problems you are having or foresee having with the research
- A working bibliography

You will receive detailed handouts for the essay proposal and essay assignments.

Midterm and Final Tests:

The midterm and final tests will feature short answer and essay questions. The midterm test will be one hour long and administered in class. The final test will be two hours long, cumulative, and also held in class. More information regarding the tests will be provided to you in class.

Policy on Absences

As noted above, you will receive a zero for any missed classes or tests, unless you provide proof of medical or familial emergency (a doctor's note or death certificate). Given that attendance and participation count for 10 per cent of your final grade, it is in your interest to attend all classes without fail.

Late Penalties for Written Work

Late proposals and research papers will be penalized **5 per cent per day** (including weekends) for up to 20 per cent of the assignment grade, at which point the assignment will not be accepted and the student will receive a grade of zero (0) for the assignment. You are strongly advised to keep electronic and hard copies of your responses, proposals, and papers. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

Academic Integrity

Please be aware of the importance of academic integrity and the seriousness of academic dishonesty, including plagiarism. The more obvious instances of plagiarism include copying material from another source (book, journal, another student, and so on) without acknowledging the source, presenting an argument as your own – whether or not it is a direct quotation – rather than fully acknowledging the true originator of the idea, having another person help you to write your essay, and buying an essay. Taking materials from the Internet without acknowledging the source is plagiarism. All of these are instances of academic dishonesty, which the university takes very seriously and they will result in academic penalty. Those penalties can range from failing the assignment, failing the course, having a notation on your academic transcript, and/or suspension from the university. For your information, an excellent website is “How Not to Plagiarize,” by Margaret Procter, Coordinator of Writing Support (U of T): <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Accessibility Services

Students requiring assistance because of a disability should inform me and contact U of T Accessibility Services (<http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/>) as soon as possible.

E-Mail Policy

Please be sure to use your University of Toronto e-mail accounts for all course related correspondence. Please also note the course code (POL321Y) in the subject line of your messages. I will do my best to respond to e-mail within 48 hours of receiving messages. E-mail received during weekends and holidays may take longer to answer. Please do not submit course assignments via e-mail; all assignments must be submitted to me in class and through Turnitin.com. If you are unable to submit your assignments in class, get in touch with me (during office hours, by phone, or via e-mail) to make alternative arrangements.

Blackboard

Please consult the course Blackboard site daily, as I will post the syllabus, required and recommended readings, discussion topics, media reports, announcements of relevant events, and important reminders.

Background Reading and Current Events

The following readers may be of interest to some of you:

- John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
- John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. *Ethnicity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

You can order copies through Amazon.ca or directly from the publisher, Oxford University Press.

Please also make a point of keeping abreast of current events that relate to issues addressed in our class: ethnic identity, nationalism, 'race' and racism, multiculturalism, ethnic conflict, secession, etc.

Here are a few good sources of news (there's many more so read widely):

- <http://www.nytimes.com/>
- <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/>
- <http://www.theguardian.com/uk>
- <http://www.spiegel.de/international/>
- <http://www.bbc.com/news/>
- <http://www.dw.de/>

Outline of Lecture Topics and Readings

May 9: General Course Introduction

- No readings

May 10: What is Ethnicity?

Required Reading:

- Max Weber, "The Origins of Ethnic Groups," in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): pp. 35-39.
- Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie* VOL. 43, No. 2 (2002): pp. 163-189.

Recommended:

- Frederick Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969): Introduction, pp. 9-38.

May 11: Nations and Nationalism

Required Reading:

- Joseph Stalin, "The Nation," Max Weber, "The Nation," in *Nationalism*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): pp. 18-25.
- Anthony D. Smith, "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism," in *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, ed. Michael E. Brown (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993): pp. 27-42.
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985): pp. 36-46.

Recommended:

- Ernest Renan, "What is a Nation?" in Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?* (Paris, Presses-Pocket, 1992). (Translated by Ethan Rundell).
- Ernst Gellner, "The Coming of Nationalism and Its Interpretation," in *Mapping the Nation*, ed. Gopal Balakrishnan and Benedict Anderson (London: Verso: 1996): pp. 98-111.

May 12: Ethnicity, Nation, 'Race' and Racism

- Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35 (2009): pp. 21-42.
- Carter, Robert. "Genes, Genomes and Genealogies: The Return of Scientific Racism?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, No. 4 (2007): pp. 546-556.

Recommended:

- Howard Winant, "Race and Race Theory," *Annual Review of Sociology* (2000): pp. 169-185.
- Debra Thompson, "Through, Against and Beyond the Racial State: The Transnational Stratum of Race," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* VOL. 26, No. 1 (2013): pp. 133-151.

May 16: Attitudes toward Diversity Before and After WWII

Required Readings:

- George M. Fredrickson, "Climax and Retreat: Racism in the Twentieth Century," chapter in *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002): pp. 97-138.
- Allan C. Cairns, "Empire, Globalization and the Fall and Rise of Diversity," in *Citizenship, Diversity, and Pluralism: Canadian and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Alan C. Cairns et al (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999): chapter 2, pp 23-57.

Recommended:

- Jürgen Habermas, "Learning From Catastrophe? A Look Back at the Short Twentieth Century," chapter in *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2001): 58-112.
- John Torpey, "'Making Whole What Has Been Smashed': Reflections on Reparations," *The Journal of Modern History* VOL. 73, No. 2 (June 2001): pp. 333-358.

May 17: Theoretical Foundations of Multiculturalism

Required Reading:

- Will Kymlicka, "Introduction," and "Justice and Minority Rights," chapters in *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995): pp. 1-9, 107-115.
- Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* ed. Amy Gutmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp 25-44, 51-61.

Recommended:

- Iris Marion Young, "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," *Ethics* VOL. 99, No. 2 (1989): pp. 250-274.

May 18: Official Multiculturalism Policy in Canada

Required Reading:

- Sarah V. Wayland, "Immigration, Multiculturalism and National Identity in Canada," *International Journal on Group Rights* VOL. 5 (1997): pp. 33-58.
- Michael Dewing and Marc Leman, "Canadian Multiculturalism," Parliamentary Research Branch, Current Issue Review, May 2013, available online: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/LOP/ResearchPublications/2009-20-e.pdf>.

Recommended:

- Yasmeen Abu-Laban and Christina Gabriel, "Multiculturalism and Nation-Building," chapter in *Selling Diversity: Immigration, Multiculturalism, Employment Equity, and Globalization* (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2002): pp. 105-128.
- Pierre Trudeau, Statement on Multiculturalism in the House of Commons, *Debates* (October 1971), pp. 8545-48 and 8580-85, available online at http://canadachannel.ca/HCO/index.php/Pierre_Trudeau_on_Multiculturalism.
- Canadian Multiculturalism Act, available online at: http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/policy/act_e.cfm.

May 19: Theoretical Critiques of Multiculturalism and Group Rights

Required Reading:

- Brian Barry, "The Limits of Cultural Politics," *Review of International Studies* VOL. 24, No. 3 (1998): pp. 307-319.
- Ayelet Shachar, "Two Critiques of Multiculturalism," *Cardozo Law Review* VOL. 23, No. 1 (2001): pp. 253-297.

Recommended:

- Gerald Doppelt, "Illiberal Cultures and Group Rights: A Critique of Multiculturalism in Kymlicka, Taylor, and Nussbaum," *Journal of Contemporary Legal Issues* 12 (2001): pp. 661-692.

May 23: Victoria Day – No Class

May 24: Feminism, Multiculturalism, and the "Limits of Toleration"

Required Reading:

- Susan Moller Okin, "Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions," *Ethics* VOL. 108, No. 4 (July 1998): pp. 661-684.
- Joseph H. Carens, "Muslim Minorities in Contemporary Democracies: The Limits of Liberal Toleration," chapter in *Culture, Citizenship, and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000): pp. 140-160.

Recommended:

- Ayelet Schachar "On Citizenship and Multicultural Vulnerability," *Political Theory* VOL. 28 (2000): pp. 64-89.

May 25: The Retreat of Multiculturalism?

Required Reading:

- Christian Joppke, "The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy," *The British Journal of Sociology* VOL. 55, No. 2 (2004): pp. 237-257.
- Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf, "Introduction: Assessing the Backlash against Multiculturalism in Europe," in *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European*

Discourses, Policies and Practices, ed. Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf (New York: Routledge, 2010): pp. 1-31.

Recommended:

- Ruud Koopmans, "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison," *Annual Review of Sociology* VOL. 39 (2013): pp. 147-169.

May 26: Governing Religious Diversity

- N.B.: Research Essay Proposal Due in Class!

- Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon "Why Islam is Like Spanish," *Politics and Society* 27 (1999): pp. 5-38.
- J. Christopher Soper and Joel S. Fetzer, "Religious Institutions, Church-State History and Muslim Mobilization in Britain, France and Germany," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* VOL. 33, No. 6 (2007): pp. 933-944.

Recommended:

- Micheline Milot, "Modus Co-Vivendi: Religious Diversity in Canada," in *International Migration and the Governance of Religious Diversity*, ed. Paul Bramadat and Matthias Koenig (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009): pp. 105-130.

May 30: Midterm Test (In-Class)

May 31: Citizenship in a World on the Move

- Rogers Brubaker, "Citizenship as Social Closure," chapter in *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 21-34.
- Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): pp. 136-162.
- Marc Morjé Howard, "The Impact of the Far Right on Citizenship Policy in Europe: Explaining Continuity and Change," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* VOL. 36, No. 5 (2010): pp. 735-751.

Recommended:

- Christian Joppke, "Citizenship Between De- and Re-Ethnicization," *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes de Sociologie* VOL. 44, No. 3 (2003): pp. 429-458.

June 2: Diasporas and Transnationalism

- Robin Cohen, "Diasporas and the State: From Victims to Challengers," *International Affairs* VOL. 72, No. 3 (July 1996): pp. 507-520.
- Fiona B. Adamson, "Globalisation, Transnational Political Mobilisation, and Networks of Violence." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* VOL. 18, No.1 (2005): pp. 31-49.

Recommended:

- Rogers Brubaker, "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* VOL. 28, No. 1 (2005): pp. 1-19.
- Wayland, Sarah. "Ethnonationalist Networks and Transnational Opportunities: The Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora." *Review of International Studies* VOL. 30 (2004): 405-426.

June 6: Aboriginal Peoples, Rights and Citizenship

Required Reading:

- Courtney Jung, "The Politics of Indigenous Identity: Neoliberalism, Cultural Rights, and the Mexican Zapatistas," *Social Research* VOL. 70, No. 2 (Summer 2003): pp. 433-462.
- Adam Kuper, "The Return of the Native," *Current Anthropology* VOL. 44, No. 3 (June 2003): pp. 389-401.
- Justin Kenrick and Jerome Lewis, "Indigenous Peoples' Rights and the Politics of the Term Indigenous," *Anthropology Today* VOL. 20, No 2 (2004): pp. 4-9.

Recommended:

- Margaret Carstens. "From Native Title to Self-Determination? Indigenous Rights in Australia and Canada," *Law and Anthropology* 11 (2001): pp. 248-281.

June 7: Language Politics and National Identity

Required Reading:

- Will Kymlicka and Alan Patten, "Language Rights and Political Theory," *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* VOL. 23 (2003): pp. 3-21.
- Aristide R. Zolberg "The Making of Flemings and Walloon: Belgium, 1830-1914," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* VOL. 5, No. 2 (Autumn 1974): pp. 179-235.

Recommended:

- Mohamed Benrabah, "Language and Politics in Algeria," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* VOL. 10, No. 1 (January 2004): pp. 59-78.
- David D. Laitin, "Language Games," *Comparative Politics* VOL. 20, No. 3 (April 1988): pp. 289-302.

June 8: Managing Divisions: Federalism and Consociationalism

- Will Kymlicka, "Minority Nationalism and Multination Federalism," chapter in *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001): pp. 91-119.
- Arend Lijphart, "Non-Majoritarian Democracy: A Comparison of Federal and Consociational Theories," *Publius* VOL. 15, No. 2 (Spring 1985): pp. 3-15.

Recommended:

- Rudy B. Andeweg, "Consociational Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): pp. 509-536.

June 9: Democratization and Ethno-Nationalist Conflict

Required Reading:

- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000): chapter 1, pp. 15-43.
- Rogers Brubaker, "National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External National Homelands in the New Europe." *Daedalus* VOL. 124, No. 2 (1995): pp. 107-132.

Recommended:

- Charles Taylor, "The Dynamics of Democratic Exclusion," *Journal of Democracy* VOL. 9, No. 4 (1998): pp. 143-156.
- Eghosa E. Osaghae, "Political Transitions and Ethnic Conflict in Africa," *Journal of Third World Studies* VOL. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2004): pp. 221-240.
- Andreas Wimmer, "Democracy and Ethno-religious Conflict in Iraq," *Survival* VOL. 45, No. 4 (Winter 2003-2004): pp. 111-133.

June 13: Secession

- N.B.: Research Essay Due in Class!

Required Reading:

- Valerie Bunce, "Peaceful versus Violent State Dismemberment: A Comparison of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia," *Politics and Society* VOL. 27, No. 2 (June 1999): pp. 217-237.
- David Laitin, "Secessionist Rebellion in the Former Soviet Union," *Comparative Political Studies* VOL. 34, No. 8 (October 2001): pp. 839-861.

Recommended:

- Donald Horowitz, "The Cracked Foundations of the Right to Secede," *Journal of Democracy* VOL. 14, No 2 (April 2003): pp. 5-17.
- Robert A. Young, "How Do Peaceful Secessions Happen?" in *Wars in the Midst of Peace: The International Politics of Ethnic Conflict*, ed. David Carment and Patrick James (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997): pp. 45-60.

June 14: Ethnic and Nationalist Violence

Required Reading:

- John Mueller, "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'," *International Security* VOL. 25, No. 1 (Summer 2000): pp. 42-70.
- Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality," *Perspectives on Politics* VOL. 1, No. 1 (March 2003): pp. 85-99.

Recommended:

- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnicity," *International Organization* VOL. 54, No. 4 (2000): pp. 845-887.
- Rogers Brubaker and David D. Laitin, "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): pp. 423-452.

June 15: Genocide

Required Reading:

- Scott Straus, "Contested Meanings and Conflicting Imperatives: A Conceptual Analysis of Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research* VOL. 3, No. 3 (2001): pp. 349-375.
- Eric D. Weitz, "The Modernity of Genocides: War, Race, and Revolutions in the Twentieth Century," in *The Specter of Genocide*, ed. Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): pp. 53-73.

Recommended:

- Ernesto Verdeja, "On Genocide: Five Contributing Factors," *Contemporary Politics* VOL. 8, No. 1 (2002): pp. 37-54.
- Michael Mann, "The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing," *New Left Review* 235 (May/June 1999): pp. 18-45.

June 16: International Responses to Violent Ethnic Conflict and Genocide

Required Reading:

- Samantha Power, "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen," *The Atlantic Monthly* VOL. 288, No. 2 (September 2001): pp. 84-116.
- Jack Donnelly, "Genocide and Humanitarian Intervention," *Journal of Human Rights* VOL. 1, No. 1 (March 2002): pp. 93-109.

Recommended:

- Benjamin Valentino, "Still Standing By: Why America and the International Community Fail to Prevent Genocide and Mass Killing," *Perspectives on Politics* VOL. 1, No.3 (September 2003): pp. 565-576.

June 17: Final Test (In-Class)