

POL 321Y1F
ETHNIC POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
Summer 2014

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, 10:00 AM-12:00 PM
Bahen Centre for Information Technology, Room 1200

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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 29	20%
▪ Midterm Test	June 2	20%
▪ Research Essay	Due in class June 12	25%
▪ Final Test	June 19	25%

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). There is no penalty for late reading responses: assignments that are not submitted on time will receive a grade of zero (0). 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.

Outline of Lecture Topics and Readings

May 12: General Course Introduction

- No readings

May 13: 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 14: 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 21: 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>.
- 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.

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.

May 22: 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.

Recommended:

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

May 29: 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.

June 2: Midterm Test and Film (TBA)

June 3: 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.

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 10: 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 11: 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 17: 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 18: 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 19: In-Class Final Test