

Carleton University  
Department of Political Science  
Winter 2018

**PSCI 5201 W**  
**POLITICS IN PLURAL SOCIETIES**  
Monday 2.35 pm - 5.25 pm  
Pl. confirm location on Carleton Central.

**Instructor: Gopika Solanki**  
**Office: Loeb C674**  
**Office Hours: Monday 11.00 am- 12.30 pm or by appointment**  
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**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course explores the inter-relationship between the individual, the plurality of groups, and the state. We shall discuss theoretical approaches to the construction, mobilization, and accommodation of plural identities in diverse polities. The first part of the course discusses the relationship between state-formation, governance, public policies, and conflict through the lenses of gender, race and ethnicity. The second part of the course studies some of the responses to cultural diversity. Is recognition of cultural groups desirable? What should be the extent and scope of cultural rights? What factors explain the successes and failures of institutional arrangements in varied empirical locations? The course draws upon debates and literature across sub-fields and disciplines.

**READINGS**

There is no textbook for this course. All assigned readings are also available on library reserves. Readings marked with a (W) are available online.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

You are expected to hand in two short response papers during the semester. Each paper is worth 15 percent of the final grade and should be handed in on the day the material is covered in class. You will be responsible for presenting your paper in class and the presentation comprises 5 percent of the grade. The paper should focus on issues related to the particular theme of the week, and respond critically to the discussion. In addition,

your paper may also connect themes across readings covered in other weeks. You should hand in your first paper by February 12.

You are required to write a 20-25 page long research paper worth 40 percent of the grade. Paper topics may include any issue relevant to the course. You are encouraged to select your topic in consultation with the instructor. You may hand in your paper no later than April 13. Late papers and essays will be penalized by 2.5 marks per day. Late papers will only be exempted from penalty if supported by a medical certificate or other documentary evidence. For essays not returned in class, please attach a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted.

You should attend and participate actively in all class discussions and complete the readings for each week. Class participation and attendance together are worth 20 percent of the final grade.

Two Response Papers (15% each)	30%
Response Paper Presentations (5% each)	10%
Long Research Paper	40%
Class Participation	20%

## **COURSE SCHEDULE**

### **January 8 Introduction and Overview**

What are plural societies? How do we understand pluralism?

#### ***Recommended***

Galston, William. 2005. *Public Matters: Politics, Policy and Religion in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

Rawls, John. 1996. *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Connolly, William. 1991. *Identity/Difference: Democratic Negotiations of Political Paradox*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Walzer, Michael. 1983. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality*. New York: Basic Books.

Coetzee, J.M. 1999. *Disgrace*. New York: Viking.

## January 15

### Religion, Nationalism, State Formation

Asad, Talal. 1999. "Religion, Nation-State, Secularism". In *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. Eds. Peter van der Veer and Helmut Lehmann. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 178-196.

Casanova, José. 2006. "Rethinking Secularization: A Global Comparative Perspective." *The Hedgehog Review* 8: 1-2.

Stepan, Alfred. 2009. Multiple Secularisms. *Seminar*: 593:108-119.

Anderson, Ben. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. 1-102. Skim.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 3-75, 116-134.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 3-34, 285-301.

## January 22

### The Making and Unmaking of Group Boundaries

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States." In *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Ed. Geertz, Clifford. New York: Basic Books. 255-269. Skim.

Brass, Paul. 1991. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. Delhi: Sage. 69-102.

(W) Posner, Daniel. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 529-545.

(W) Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56(3): 327-362.

(W) Peletz, Michael. 2006. "Transgenderism and Gender Pluralism in Southeast Asia since Early Modern Times." *Current Anthropology* 47(2): 309-325.

Kertzer, David and Dominique Arel. 2002. "Censuses, Identity Formation and the Struggle for Political Power." In *Census and Identity: The Politics of Race*,

*Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses.* Eds. Kertzer, David and Dominique Arel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-42.

## **January 29**

### **Mobilising Diverse Identities**

(W) Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability." *Perspective on Politics* 3(2): 235-252.

(W) Bail, Christopher. 2012. "The Fringe Effect: Civil Society Organizations and the Evolution of Media Discourse about Islam since the September 11<sup>th</sup> Attacks." *American Sociological Review* 77(6): 855-879.

Jesudasan, James. 1996. "The Syncretic State and the Structuring of Oppositional Politics in Asia." In *Political Oppositions in Industrialising Asia*. Ed. Garry Rodan. London: Routledge. 128-160.

(W) Volpi, Frederic and Ewan Stein. "Islamism and the State after the Arab Uprisings: Between People Power and State Power." *Democratization* 22 (2):

Charrad, Munira. 2001. *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 17-27; 169-241.

(W) Marx, Anthony. 1996. "Race-Making and the Nation-State". *World Politics* 48(2): 180-208.

## **February 5**

### **Understanding Ethnic Violence**

(W) Fearon, James D. and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

(W) Walter, Barbara. 2017. "The New New Civil Wars." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 469-486.

De La Calle, Luis. 2015. *Nationalist Violence in Postwar Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4.

(W) Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53(April): 362-398.

(W) Brooten, Lisa and Yola Verbruggen. 2017. "Producing the News: Reporting on Myanmar's Rohingya Crisis." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 47(3): 440-460.

(W) Uvin, Peter. 2001. "Reading the Rwandan Genocide." *International Studies Review* 3(3): 75-99.

(W) Kalyvas, Stathis. 2003. "The Ontology of Political Violence: Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475-494.

## **February 12**

### **The Aftermath of Violence: Debates over Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation**

(W) Forst, Rainer. 2010. "The Justification of Human Rights and the Basic Right to Justification: A Reflexive Approach." *Ethics* 120(4): 711-740.

(W) Loyle, Cyanne and Benjamin Appel. 2017. "Conflict Recurrence and Postconflict Justice: Addressing Motivations and for Sustainable Peace Opportunities." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (3): 690-703.

Wilson, Richard. 2002. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 62-94; 223-230.

Gutmann, Amy and Dennis Thompson. 2002. "The Moral Foundations of Truth Commissions" In *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*. Eds. Rotberg, Robert and Dennis Thompson. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 22-44.

(W) Jansen, Bram. 2017. "The Humanitarian Protectorate of South Sudan?: Understanding Insecurity for Humanitarians in a Political Economy of Aid." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 55 (3): 349- 370.

(W) Chi, Mgbako. 2005. "Ingando Solidarity Camps: Reconciliation and Political Indoctrination in Post-Genocide Rwanda." *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 18: 201-224.

## **February 19**

**Winter Break. No Classes.**

## **February 26**

### **Multiculturalism and Its Critiques**

(W) Young, Iris Marion. 1989. "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship." *Ethics* 99 (2): 250-274.

(W) Kymlicka, Will. 1996. *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 2, 5.

(W) Wright, Matthew, Richard Johnston, Jack Citrin and Stuart Soroka. 2017. "Multiculturalism and Muslim Accommodation: Policy and Predisposition Across Three Political Contexts." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(1): 102-132.

(W) Fraser, Nancy. 1995. "From Redistribution to Recognition?: Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age." *New Left Review* 1/212.

Coulthard, Glen. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Chapters 5, 6.

### **March 5**

#### **Multiculturalism, Ethnicity and Diversity in Society**

Scott, David. 1999. *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Post Coloniality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 23-52; 158-189.

(W) Lentin, Alana. 2014. "Post-Race, Post Politics, the Paradoxical Rise of Culture after Multiculturalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(8): 1268-1285.

(W) Williams, Philippa. 2007. "Hindu-Muslim Brotherhood: Exploring the Dynamics of Communal Relations in Varanasi, North India." *Journal of South Asian Development* 2(2): 153-176.

(W) Vertovec, Steven. 2007. "Super-Diversity and Its Implications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024-1054.

(W) Wessendorf, Susanne. 2013. "Commonplace Diversity and the 'Ethos of Mixing': Perceptions of Difference in a London Neighbourhood." *Identities* 407-422.

(W) Krause, Jana. 2017. "Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War: Evidence from Jos, Nigeria." *African Affairs* 116 (462): 261-283.

### **March 12**

#### **Tensions between Individual Rights and Group Equality**

(W) Okin, Susan Moller. 1998. "Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions." *Ethics* 108 (July): 661-84.

(W) Song, Sarah. 2005. "Majority Norms, Multiculturalism, and Gender Equality." *American Political Science Review* 99 (4): 473-489.

Deveaux, Monique. 2005. "A Deliberative Approach to Conflicts of Culture." *In Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights and Diversity*. Eds. Eisenberg, Avigail and Jeff Spinner-Havel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 340-362.

Mahmood, Saba. 2005. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1-39; 153-188.

(W) Patel, David. 2012. "Concealing to Reveal: The Informational Role of Islamic Dress." *Rationality and Society* 24(3): 295-323.

### **March 19**

#### **Ongoing Debates on Cultural Pluralism and Legal Pluralism**

Solanki, Gopika. 2011. *Adjudication in Religious Family Laws: Cultural Accommodation, Legal Pluralism, and Gender Equality in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1-90.

(W) Shachar, Ayalet. 2008. "Privatizing Diversity: A Cautionary Tale from Religious Arbitration in Religious Family Law." *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 9(2): 573-607.

(W) Robertson, Sean. 2015. "Natives making Space: The Softwood Lumber Dispute and the Legal Geographies of Indigenous Property Rights." *Geoforum* 61: 138-147.

(W) George, Cherian. 2016. *Hate-Spin: The Manufacture of Religious Offense and its Threat to Democracy*. Boston: MIT Press. Chapter 6.

(W) Wilson, Richard. 2016. "Propaganda and History in International Criminal Trials." *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 14: 519-541.

(W) Comaroff, John L. and Jean Comaroff. 2004. "Criminal Justice, Cultural Justice: The Limits of Liberalism and the Pragmatics of Difference in the New South Africa." *American Ethnologist* 31 (2): 188-204.

### **March 26**

#### **Crafting Diverse Accommodative Arrangements**

Simeon, Richard and Christina Murray. 2004. "Multilevel Governance in South Africa." In *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*. Eds. Berman, Bruce, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka. Athens: Ohio University Press. 277-300.

(W) Miller, Lisa. 2010. "The Invisible Black Victim: How American Federalism Perpetuates Racial Inequality in Criminal Justice." *Law and Society Review* 44 (3-4): 805-842.

(W) Bariagaber, Assefaw. 2003. "Ethnicity and Constitutionalism in Ethiopia." In *Emancipating Cultural Pluralism*. Ed. Toffolo, Cris. Albany: State University of New York Press. 221-236.

Lijphart, Arendt. 1990. "The Power Sharing Approach." In *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. Ed. Montville, Joseph. Washington, D.C.: Lexington Books. 491-509.

(W) Ng, Jason, Gary Rangel, Santha Vaithilingam, and Subramaniam Pillay. 2015. "The 2013 Malaysian Elections: Ethnic Politics or Urban Wave?" *Journal of East Asian Studies* 15(2): 167-198.

Horowitz, Donald. Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management." In *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. Ed. Montville, Joseph V. New York: Lexington Books. 451-476.

Horowitz, Donald. 2000. "Constitutional Design: An Oxymoron?" In *Designing Democratic Institutions*. Eds. Shapiro, Ian and Stephen Macedo. Eds. New York: New York University Press. NOMOS XLII. 253- 284.

(W) Reilly, Ben. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 156-170.

## **April 2**

### **Partition**

#### **Student Presentations**

(W) Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52(July): 437-483.

(W) Chapman, Thomas and Philip Roeder. 2007. "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 677-691.

(W) de Waal, Alex. 2014. "When Kleptocracy Becomes Insolvent: Brute Causes of the Civil War in South Sudan." *African Affairs* 113 (452): 347-369.

## **April 9**

### **Student Presentations**

#### **Academic Accommodations**

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The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-

520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Grading:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Carleton E-mail Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/>

or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.