

Carleton University
Department of Political Science
Winter 2019

PSCI 5201 A
POLITICS IN PLURAL SOCIETIES

Tuesday 8.35 am - 11.25 am
Pl. confirm location on Carleton Central.

Instructor: Gopika Solanki
Office: Loeb C674
Office Hours: Tuesday 1.30 pm- 3.00 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

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. In tandem with goals of experiential learning, you are expected to participate in group exercises that will be regularly conducted in class. Class participation and attendance together are worth 20 percent of the final grade.

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 21st 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.

Agrama, Hussein Ali. 2012. "Reflections on Secularism, Democracy and Politics in Egypt." *American Ethnologist* 39(1): 26-31.

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) Laxer, Emily and Anna Korteweg. 2018. "Party Competition and the Production of Nationhood in the Immigration Context: Particularizing the Universal for Political Gain in France and Quebec." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (11): 1915-1933.

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) R. William Liddle. 1996. "The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55(3): 613-634.

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.

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

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

(W) Kaufman, Stuart. 2006. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security* 30(4): 45-86.

(W) Menkhaus, Ken. 2007. "The Crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in Five Acts." *African Affairs* 106 (424): 357-390.

February 12
Agency and Ethnic Conflict
Group Exercise 1

(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) 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.

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

Malkki, Liisa. 1995. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.19-51; 197-231.

February 19
Winter Break.

February 26
The Aftermath of Violence: Debates over Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation
Group Exercise 2

(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.

Philpott, Daniel. 2006. "Beyond Politics as Usual: Is Reconciliation Compatible with Liberalism?" In *The Politics of Past Evil: Religion, Reconciliation, and the Dilemmas of Transitional Justice*. Ed. Philpott, Daniel. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 11-44.

March 5

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 12

Debating 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) Vertovec, Steven. 2007. "Super-Diversity and Its Implications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6): 1024-1054.
- (W) Jimenez, Tomas, Julie Park and Juan Pedrosa. Forthcoming. The New Third Generation: Post-1965 Immigration and the Next Chapter in the Long Story of Assimilation. *International Migration Review*
- (W) Wise, Amanda and Selvaraj Velayutham. 2014. "Conviviality in Everyday Multiculturalism: Some Brief Comparisons between Singapore and Sydney." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 17(4): 406-430.
- (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.

March 19

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 26

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) Tockman, Jason and John Cameron. 2014. "Indigenous Autonomy and the Contradictions of Plurinationalism in Bolivia." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56(3): 46-69.
- (W) John Bowen. 2003. *Islam, Law and Equality in Indonesia: An Anthropology of Public Reasoning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 3-43; 253-261.
- (W) Borrows, John. 2005. "Creating an Indigenous Legal Community." *McGill Law Journal* 50: 153-179.
- (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.

April 2

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 9

Partition

Student Presentations and Reflections

(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.

Academic Accommodations

Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You

must also contact the PMC 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 your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. carleton.ca/pmc

Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support

Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist.

<https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline

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.