

PSCI 5201 F
POLITICS IN PLURAL SOCIETIES

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

Instructor: Gopika Solanki
Office: Loeb C674
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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 available on Brightspace.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

To introduce students to canonical and contemporary debates on ethnic politics

To acquaint students with the state of the literature on the facilitation, management, and accommodation of cultural diversity

To familiarize students with the theoretical and conceptual innovations to the study of ethno-cultural pluralism in state and society

To introduce students to specific case studies and comparative methodology

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING CRITERIA

EVALUATION AT A GLANCE

Assignment	Due Date	Weight
Response Papers	Ongoing, first submission by October 20	30
Presentations	Ongoing	10
Attendance	Ongoing	10
Participation	Ongoing; cumulative	10
Presentation on Research Paper	Last three weeks	5
Final Research Paper	Due December 5	35

Response Papers (30%)

You are expected to hand in two short reading response papers (3-5 pages, double-spaced) on two different weeks during the semester, aligning with your oral presentations. Each paper is worth 15 percent of the final grade and should be handed in before the material is covered in class. The paper should focus on issues related to the particular theme of the week, outline various theoretical positions, compare points of agreements or tensions and respond critically to the discussion. In addition, your paper may also refer to themes across one or more readings covered in other weeks. You should hand in your first paper by October 20. You will be graded on your ability to grasp the main arguments, tensions, and inter-connections in the literature and on the clarity of the writing.

Presentations (10%)

You are expected to give two presentations based on your short response papers on two different class dates. Each presentation should not be longer than 15 minutes. The presentation should present an exposition and analysis of the content and provide criticism or points of reflection. Your presentation should identify key themes, arguments, and positions within the readings.

Attendance and Participation (20%)

You are expected to attend and participate actively in all class discussions and complete the readings for each week. Together, class participation and attendance are worth 20 percent of the final grade. You will be evaluated on the frequency and quality of participation.

Presentation to Class of Research in Progress (5%)

You are required to present the outline of your research paper to the class. These presentations will take place in the final week. Your presentation should be 10 minutes long. It should include the key research question, literature review, and an outline of how you plan to develop your paper.

Research Paper (35%)

You are required to write a 20–25 page research paper worth 35 percent of the final grade. Topics may include any issue relevant to the course; you are encouraged to select your topic in consultation with the instructor. Your paper should explore a research question and articulate an argument. You should use appropriate sources, methods, and evidence in the development of the project. You will be graded on the clarity of the research question, the use of appropriate methods and evidence in the development of the argument, the internal logical consistency of the paper, and the clarity of written expression (including writing style and citations).

Note:

Each class assignment is graded out of 100 marks. For late submissions, a penalty of two marks per day will be deducted from the assignment's grade. Each of the three assigned papers for this course must be on a different topic.

COURSE SCHEDULE

September 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.

September 15

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.

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.

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

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

Anthias, Penelope, and Kasper Hoffmann. 2021. "The Making of Ethnic Territories: Governmentality and Counter-Conducts." *Geoforum* 119: 218–226.

September 22

Mobilizing Diverse Identities

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

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.

Rørbæk, Lasse. 2019. "Religion, Political Power, and the 'Sectarian Surge': Middle Eastern Identity Politics in Comparative Perspective." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 19(1): 23-40.

Beaman, Jean, and Jennifer Fredette. 2022. "The U.S./France Contrast Frame and Black Lives Matter in France." *Perspectives on Politics* 20 (4): 1346–1361.

Minkenbergh, M. 2019. "Between Party and Movement: Conceptual and Empirical Considerations of the Radical Right's Organizational Boundaries and Mobilization Processes." *European Societies* 21(4): 463–486.

September 29

Race, Religion, Nationalism, and Postcoloniality

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.

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

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. 1992. Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the Critique of History. *Cultural Studies* 6(3): 337–357.

Thompson, Debra. 2013. "Through, Against and Beyond the Racial State: The Transnational Stratum of Race." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26(1): 133-151.

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

October 6

Understanding Ethnic Violence

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

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

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

Straus, Scott. 2012. "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2): 343-362.

Staniland, Paul. 2012. "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia." *International Security* 37(1): 142-177.

October 13

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

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

Loyle, Cyanne and Benjamin Appel. 2017. "Conflict Recurrence and Postconflict Justice: Addressing Motivations and for Sustainable Peace Opportunities." *International Studies Quarterly* 6 (3): 690-703.

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

Roy Chowdhury, Arnab, and Ahmed Abid. 2022. "Treading the Border of (Il)Legality: Statelessness, 'Amphibian Life,' and the Rohingya 'Boat People' of Asia." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 23(1): 68–85.

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.

October 20

Multiculturalism and Its Critiques

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

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.

Wise, Amanda. 2010. "Sensuous Multiculturalism: Emotional Landscapes of Inter-Ethnic Living in Australian Suburbia." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(6): 917–937.

Premdas, Ralph. 2016. "Social Justice and Affirmative Action." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39(3): 449–462.

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

October 27
Winter Break.

November 3
Tensions between Individual Rights and Group Equality

- Okin, Susan Moller. 1998. "Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions." *Ethics* 108 (July): 661–84.
- Melancon, Jerome. 2015. "Liberty, Equality, Laicity: Quebec's Charter of Values and the Reframing of Politics." *Canadian Political Science Review* 9(3): 35-71.
- Abdelgadir, Aala and Vasiliki Fouka, V. 2020. "Political Secularism and Muslim Integration in the West: Assessing the Effect of the French Headscarf Ban." *American Political Science Review* 114(3): 7070-723.
- Ayoub, Phillip and Kelly Kollman. 2021. "(Same)-sex in the City: Urbanisation and LGBTI Rights Expansion." *European Journal of Political Research* 60(3): 603–24.
- Perez, Nahshon, Jonathan Fox, and Jennifer M. McClure. 2017. "Unequal State Support of Religion: On Resentment, Equality, and the Separation of Religion and State." *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 18(4): 431–48.

November 10
Legal Pluralism

- Solanki, Gopika. 2011. *Adjudication in Religious Family Laws: Cultural Accommodation, Legal Pluralism, and Gender Equality in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Conclusion.
- 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.
- Bochmann, Annett. 2023. "Pluralism and Local Law in Extraterritorial Spaces." *Law & Society Review* 57(1): 83–102.
- Napoleon, Val, and Hadley Friedland. 2016. "An Inside Job: Engaging with Indigenous Legal Traditions through Stories." *McGill Law Journal* 61.4 (2016): 725–754.
- Tockman, Jason and John Cameron. 2014. "Indigenous Autonomy and the Contradictions of Plurinationalism in Bolivia." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56(3): 46-69.

November 17

Federalism and Consociationalism

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.

Anderson, Liam. 2014. "Ethnofederalism: The Worst Form of Institutional Arrangement...? *International Security* 39(1): 165-204.

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

Abizadeh, Arash. 2021. "Counter-Majoritarian Democracy: Persistent Minorities, Federalism, and the Power of Numbers." *American Political Science Review* 115(3): 742-756.

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.

November 24

Crafting Diverse Accommodative Arrangements: Constitutionalism, Electoral Arrangements, Affirmative Action

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.

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

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.

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.

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

Hankla, Charles et al. 2023. "Electing Women in Ethnically Divided Societies: Candidates, Campaigns, and Intersectionality in Bihar, India." *Comparative Political Studies* 56(9): 1433–1469.

Warikoo, Natasha and Utaukwa Alan. 2019. "A Solution to Multiple Problems: The Origins of Affirmative Action in Higher Education Around the World." *Studies in Higher Education* 45(12): 2398-2412.

December 1 Partition and Secession Student Presentations and Reflections

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

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.

de Waal, Alex. 2023. "Introduction: Making Sense of South Sudan." *African Affairs* 122 (486): 1-9.

Appendix

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

- **Carleton Resources:**
 - Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
 - Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
 - Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
 - Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
 - Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
 - Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

- **Off Campus Resources:**
 - Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
 - Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
 - Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
 - Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
 - The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

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 accommodation: 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 accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

Religious accommodation: 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 [click here](#).

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, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, [click here](#).

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who engage in student activities 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. For more information, please [click here](#).

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

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. 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.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

Plagiarism

The Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This includes 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. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- Any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- Using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- Using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- Submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question or a final grade of "F" for the course. More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: <https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>.

Intellectual property

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. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

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

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 Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/>.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.