

PSCI 5201W
POLITICS IN PLURAL SOCIETIES
Tuesdays 8.35-11.25am
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Professor: Gopika Solanki
Office: C674 Loeb
Office Hours: Mondays 11.30-12.30
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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

The readings for this course can be accessed in Loeb C666. All assigned readings are also available on library reserve. 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. 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 one or more readings covered in other weeks. You should hand in your first paper before February 3.

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 3. I will be holding special office hours on April 3rd to accommodate the submission of the papers from 12.30-2.30pm. Late papers and essays will be penalised by

2.5 marks per day. Late papers will only be exempted from penalty if supported by a medical certificate or other documentary evidence. The departmental drop box cut off time is 4pm, any assignments submitted after 4pm will be date stamped for the following weekday. 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. You will be responsible for presenting on two themes of your choice. Class participation and presentations together are worth 30 percent of the final grade.

Grading

2 Short Paper (first due before Feb 3 rd)	2x15%	30%
Research Paper (due April 3 rd)		40%
Participation		30%

COURSE SCHEDULE

January 6

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.

Rabushka, Alvin, and Kenneth Sheple. 1972. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Columbus: Charles E. Merrill.

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

January 13

Modernization, Religion, and Secularism

Harrison, Lawrence and Samuel Huntington, eds. 2000. *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*. New York: Basic Books. xvii-xxii; 1-13; 296-307. Skim.

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.

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 215-241. Skim.

Stepan, Alfred. 2001. The World's Religious Systems and Democracy: Crafting the "Twin Tolerations". In *Arguing Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 213-253.

Jacobsohn, Gary. 2003. *The Wheel of Law: India's Secularism in Comparative Constitutional Context*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 21-121.

(W) Bellin, Eva. 2008. "Faith in Politics: New Trends in the Study of Religion and Politics." *World Politics* 60(2): 315- 349.Skim.

January 20

Nationalism, State Formation, and Group Formation

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

Smith, Anthony. 2000. *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 62-77.

Cohn, Bernard. 1996. *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 3-15.

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. 285-301.

Young, Crawford. 1993. *The Rising Tide of Cultural Pluralism: The Nation State at Bay?* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 66-97.

(W) Chakravarty, Dipesh. 1992. "Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the Critique of History." *Cultural Studies* 6(3): 337-357.

January 27

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.

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) Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54(4): 845-877.

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.

Laitin, David. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 10-35; 300-321.

February 3

Mobilising Diverse Identities

Subramanian, Narendra. 1999. *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy in India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. 1-81.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 143- 171.

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) Collins, Katherine. 2007. Ideas, Networks and Islamist Movements: Evidence from Central Asia and the Caucasus. *World Politics* 60(1): 64-96.
- Wickham, Carrie. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam: Government, Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1-20; 119-175; 200-213.
- 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 10
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) Kaufman, Stuart. 2006. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security* 30(4): 45-86.
- (W) Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53(April): 362-398.
- (W-E Book) Wilkinson, Steven. 2006. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 8.
- Horowitz, Donald. 2001. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 522-565.
- (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 17
Winter Break. No Classes.

February 24
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.

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

Chatterjee, Partha. 1994. "Secularism and Toleration." *Economic and Political Weekly*. 29(28): 1768- 1777.

Parekh, Bhikhu. 2000. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 264-294.

March 3

Tensions between Individual Rights and Group Equality

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

Okin, Susan. 1999. "Reply." In *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Eds. Cohen, Joshua, Matthew Howard, and Martha Nussbaum. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 117-131.

Woods, Patricia. 2004. "Gender and Reproduction and Maintenance of Group Boundaries: Why the 'Secular' State Matters to Religious Authorities in Israel." In *Boundaries and Belongings: States and Societies in the Struggle to Shape Identities*. Ed. Migdal, Joel. 226-248

Deveux, 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.

March 10

Ongoing Debates on Cultural Pluralism and Legal Pluralism

Hart, H. L. A. 1961. *The Concept of Law*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 49-76.

Peletz, Michael. 2002. "Judicial Process and Dilemmas of Legitimacy and Sovereignty: The Malaysian Case in Comparative Perspective." In *Sovereignty under*

- Challenge: How Governments Respond*. Eds. Montgomery, John and Nathan Glazer. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. 221-258.
- (W) Bowen, John. 2006. "Normative Pluralism in Indonesia: Regions, Religions and Ethnicities." In *Multiculturalism in Asia*. Eds. Kymlicka, Will and Baogang Ho. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 7.
- (W) Santos, Boa Ventura De Sousa. 2006. "The Heterogeneous State and Legal Pluralism in Mozambique." *Law and Society Review* 40(1): 39-75.
- (W) Teubner, Gunther. 1983. "Substantive and Reflexive Elements in Modern Law." *Law and Society Review* 17 (2): 239-285.

March 17

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) 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.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1991. "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.

March 24
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.

March 31
Student Presentations

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your letter of accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April examinations**.

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).

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 include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Department's Style Guide is available at:

<http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor 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. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

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.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science only communicates with students via Connect accounts. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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 in the after-hours academic life 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, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, 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.

