

POLI 435
Winter 2024
Tue, Thur 4:05 – 5:25 p.m.
MacDonald Engineering 280

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IDENTITY AND INEQUALITY

Course Description

Deep social, economic, and political inequalities exist in many societies between ethnic, racial, caste, religious, national, gender, and sexuality-based groups. Moreover, certain ethnic, racial, religious, and nationalist discourses have shaped and justified the unequal rights and resources of these groups in different contexts. This is particularly the case with the relations between the major racial groups of the Americas, southern Africa, and other former European settler colonies, and between caste groups in South Asia. The course examines some ways in which ethnic and racial politics have been connected to the formation, reproduction, and change of deep group inequalities. We consider race relations in the United States and caste relations in India in greatest detail, but also discuss similar phenomena elsewhere.

Readings

Extensive readings are drawn from the following books, which are available for purchase from the bookstore:

Charles Tilly, *Durable Inequality* (Berkeley & LA: University of California Press, 1998)

Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000)

Anthony W. Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Oliver Mendelsohn & Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

These books are also available as e-books through the McGill library and links to them are available on MyCourses. Electronic copies of the other readings are also available through MyCourses. You are expected to do the readings for a class before the lectures at which they are discussed.

Course Requirements

The prerequisite for the course is a 300-level course in comparative politics or related social science course.

Students will be expected to write a take-home midterm exam, a take-home final exam, and five to ten reading responses on the readings for specific weeks, and to attend lectures and participate in class discussion. The midterm will be based on the required readings and lecture material, before and on Thursday, February 8. The longer questions will be placed on MyCourses by Tuesday, February 6. All the midterm questions will be uploaded on MyCourses by 10 p.m. on Thursday, February 8. You will need to upload your exam answers using the Assignments Tool on MyCourses by 11 p.m. on Sunday, February 11. Once you start on the test, you will have 2 hours (120 minutes) to answer the questions. This is one and a half times the 80 minutes the test is designed to take if written in person, meant to provide for possible delays in internet access. To access the exam, you will be asked to sign the following Honor Pledge: "I affirm that I will not give or receive any unauthorized help on this exam, and that all the work will be my own."

The five to ten reading responses should summarize and briefly comment on the readings for the relevant week. They should each be 250 to 300 words long. The grader or instructor will provide brief comments on them. So long as these responses address the relevant reading(s) and accompanying questions, they will receive full credit. (A rough indicator is that a response that usually merits a C+ or above would receive a grade of A. But responses worth more than a C+ would prepare you better for other course assignments). You will receive an A for your reading responses if you submit ten responses that credibly address the relevant reading, and a third of a grade less for each response below ten (nine responses: A-, eight responses: B+, seven responses: B, six responses: B-, five responses: C+). You need to submit at least five such responses to pass the course. They should be submitted using the Assignments tool by 8 p.m. on these Thursdays: January 11 (on the Tilly reading), Jan 18 (Taylor or Telles), Jan 25 (Viswanath, Berreman and Sharma), February 1 (Nobles), Feb 8 (Dirks), Feb 15 (Marx or Telles), Feb 22 (Valelly), Feb 29 (McAdam or Frymer-Williams-Johnson), March 14 (Parker-Heaney or Mendelsohn-Vicziany), March 21 (Bayly, Rao), March 28 (Jaffrelot), April 4 (Chandra), April 11 (Subramanian).

The final exam will be based mainly on material covered after the midterm, but also address some material from the course's first half. The longer essay questions will be placed on MyCourses by the start of the final exam period, on Monday, April 15. All the final examination questions will be available through a 3-day (72-hour) window determined by the Exams Office through the final exam period, from April 15 to April 30, on MyCourses through the Assignments tool. You will need to upload your exam answers using this tool by the end of the 72-hour period determined by the Exams Office. Once you start the exam, you will have between 210 and 270 minutes to answer the questions. (The exact length of time will be determined by the Exams Office). You will in other words have at least 30 minutes more than the amount of time the exam would take if written in person, to provide for possible delays in internet access. To access the exam, you will be asked to sign the following Honor Pledge: "I affirm that I will not give or receive any unauthorized help on this exam, and that all the work will be my own."

Grading

The course grade will be determined in the following way:

Midterm Exam (take-home)	30%
Final Exam (take-home)	45%
Reading Responses	25%

Students must write the midterm and final exams and submit five reading responses to pass the course. A supplemental take-home final exam will be offered and will be worth 45% of the total course grade. All regrade requests must be accompanied by a short, written justification. Marks on regraded assignments may go up, down, or remain the same.

Circumstances through this term

The current plan is for the lectures to be in person for this term. As the pandemic is not over, you are however welcome to take due care of your health and that of your fellow-students by wearing procedural masks when entering and leaving the class as well as when seated in the classroom. The pandemic's future course remains uncertain. Restrictions may be introduced as the term proceeds. I ask for everyone's collaboration to ensure effective learning under whatever constraints we face. Thank you very much for your help with this. The lectures will be recorded if this is possible in the classroom and the recordings will be made available on MyCourses. However, you are expected to attend the lectures in person, which would be best for your learning experience. The recordings are only meant to provide complementary pedagogical support if you miss a class or wish to hear segments of a lecture again.

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In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control especially related to the ongoing pandemic, the format, content and/or evaluation scheme in this course may be changed.

Netiquette

The University recognizes the importance of maintaining teaching spaces that are respectful and inclusive for all involved.

Academic Integrity

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures [Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures](#)." (Approved by Senate on 29 January 2003) (See McGill's [guide to academic honesty](#) for more information.)

L'université McGill attache une haute importance à l'honnêteté académique. Il incombe par conséquent à tous les étudiants de comprendre ce que l'on entend par tricherie, plagiat et autres infractions académiques, ainsi que les conséquences que peuvent avoir de telles actions, selon le Code de conduite de l'étudiant et des procédures disciplinaires (pour de plus amples renseignements, veuillez consulter le [guide pour l'honnêteté académique de McGill](#)).

Language

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté.

I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you have a disability or experience barriers to learning and anticipate problems related to the format or requirements of the course, please contact me to discuss your situation and ensure your full participation in the course. It would be helpful if you also contact the **Office for Students with Disabilities** at 514-398-6009. If you have difficulty affording food or if you lack a safe and stable living space, I encourage you to contact the **Dean of Students** who can connect you with support services. If you feel comfortable doing so, please let me know as well so we can discuss how I can best support your learning. Please try to reach out for support when you need it; many **resources** are available on-campus, off-campus and online.

Text-Matching

Please note that to support academic integrity, your assignments may be submitted to text-matching software within MyCourses.

Course Evaluations

Course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works to maintain and improve the quality of courses and the student's learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for results to be available to students.

Indigenous Land Statement

McGill University is on land which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. We acknowledge and thank the diverse Indigenous people whose footsteps have marked this territory on which peoples of the world now gather. L'Université McGill est sur un emplacement qui a longtemps servi de lieu de rencontre et d'échange entre les peuples autochtones, y compris les nations Haudenosaunee et Anishinabeg. Nous reconnaissons et remercions les divers peuples autochtones dont les pas ont marqué ce territoire sur lequel les peuples du monde entier se réunissent maintenant.

A: The Formation of Groups and Group Inequalities

I Groups, Inequalities

Jan 4, 9: Charles Tilly, *Durable Inequality* (Berkeley & LA: University of California Press, 2002): 1-15, 74-146, 193-204, 212-228.

Recommended: Ashwini Deshpande & William Darity, Jr., "Boundaries of Clan and Color: An Introduction" in Darity & Deshpande, eds. *Boundaries of Clan and Color: Transnational Comparisons of Inter-Group Disparity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003): 1-13. (Skim)

Jan 11: Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016): 1-17, 21-50.

Recommended: Avidit Acharya, A., Matthew Blackwell and Maya Sen, "The Political Legacy of American Slavery," *The Journal of Politics* 78.3 (July 2016): 621-641.

Jan 16: Edward Telles and the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA), *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014): 1-34, 218-238, 252.

Jan 18: Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 1-21, 29-43.

Rupa Viswanath, "Caste and Untouchability" in Brian A. Hatcher, ed., *Hinduism in the Modern World* (New York & London: Routledge, 2016): 257-274.

Jan 23: Gerald D. Berreman, "Caste in India and the United States", *American Journal of Sociology*, 66.2 (1960): 120-127.

Ursula Sharma, "Berreman Revisited; Caste and the Comparative Method", *Sociological Review* 41.1 Supplement (May 1993): 72-91.

Langston Hughes, "Passing" in *The Ways of White Folks* (New York: Vintage Classics, 1990): 51-56.

Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000): 1-24.

II Classification

Jan 25: Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship*: 25-84, 179-184.

Jan 30: Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001): 3-18, 43-52, 198-227.

B: Race, Pigment, Nation-State: The United States in Comparison

IA Comparative Perspective

Feb 1, 6: Anthony W. Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 1-64, 77-79, 81-83, 120-157, 178-190, 217-249, 267-278.

Feb 8: Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004): 1-23, 77-106.

Online Midterm Exam: Feb 8-11; duration: 120 minutes (2 hours)

II Formation, Mobilization, Incorporation: The United States

Feb 13, 15: Richard M. Valelly, *The Two Reconstructions: The Struggle for Black Enfranchisement* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004): 1-22, 173-250.

Feb 15, 20: Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition, 1999): 117-180, 230-234.

II After Franchise and Civil Rights

Feb 22, 27: Paul Frymer, *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 1-23, 87-119.

Linda Faye Williams, *The Constraint of Race: Legacies of White Skin Privilege in America* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003): 341-365.

Kevin Gaines, "The End of the Second Reconstruction", *Modern American History*. 1.1 (March 2018): 113-119.

Richard Johnson, "Racial Policy under Trump" in Mara Oliva and Mark Shanahan, eds., *The Trump Presidency: From Campaign Trail to World Stage* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2019): 111-135.

Feb 29: Christopher Sebastian Parker, "An American Paradox: Progress or Regress? BLM, Race, and Black Politics." *Perspectives on Politics*. 20(4), December 2022: 1167-9.

Michael T. Heaney, "Who are Black Lives Matter Activists? Niche Realization in a Multimovement Environment." *Perspectives on Politics*. 20(4), December 2022: 1362-1385.

Reading Break: March 4 – 8

C: Caste Relations in India

I Formation

March 12: Anupama Rao, *The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009): 1-27.

Rupa Viswanath, *The Pariah Problem: Caste, Religion, and the Social in Modern India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014): 1-20, 240-258.

II Distribution

March 14: Mendelsohn and Vicziany, *The Untouchables*: 118-175.

III Mobilization and Democratization

March 19: Mendelsohn and Vicziany, *The Untouchables*: 258-271.

Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 233-265.

March 21: Rao, *The Caste Question*: 68-107, 114-117.

March 26: Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Low Castes in North India* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003): 1-31, 89-114, 492-496.

March 28, April 2: Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 143-158, 172-221.

Kanchan Chandra, "Elite Incorporation in Multi-Ethnic Societies", *Asian Survey*, XL.5 (October 2000): 836-855.

April 4, 9: Narendra Subramanian, "From Bondage to Citizenship: A Comparison of African American and Indian Lower-Caste Mobilization in Two Regions of Deep Inequality", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 62.4 (Oct 2020): 770–809.

Recommended: Narendra Subramanian, "Redistributive Multiracial and Multiethnic Populisms in India and the United States" in Cathy Cohen, Andreja Zevnik and Andrew Russell, eds., *Race and Populism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

Online Final Exam: available through a 72-hour period over three days during the final exam period (April 15-30; duration: between 210 and 270 minutes - length determined by Exams Office)