

POLI 522
Winter 2023
Thursday 2:35 – 5:25 p.m.
Leacock 424

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THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY

Course Description

The course examines various features of the politics of identity and different theoretical approaches to understanding identity politics with reference to experiences in different world regions. It explores the politics of nationalism and its engagements with race, ethnicity, gender, and religion; the formation and recognition of cultural difference; mobilization and conflict along identity boundaries; and the efforts of republics to engage ascriptive inequalities with long histories. The course is primarily meant for political science honours and joint-honours students, but is also open to political science graduate students.

Readings

The following books are available for purchase at the bookstore:

- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006)
- 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)
- Narendra Subramanian, *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014)
- Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000)

These books are also available as e-books through the McGill library and links to them are provided on MyCourses. Electronic copies of most other readings are also available through MyCourses. Links to the others are also provided on MyCourses, through the McGill library catalogue. All the readings can thus be done online or using downloaded readings if you wish.

Course Requirements

Students are required to do the readings before the class in which they will be discussed; participate actively in class discussion; make two class presentations - one on some of the readings for a week of their choice, and another regarding their term papers; write two notes (each three to four pages long, double-spaced, on 12-point Times Roman font with 1” margins)

on a substantial amount of the required readings for any two weeks of their choice; and write a 20-page research paper (double-spaced, on 12-point Times Roman font with 1" margins). Please choose the readings about which you plan to make class presentations early in the term. The critical literature reviews will be due the week after the relevant readings are discussed. The term paper should use various materials beyond the required course readings, contain both theoretical and empirical discussion, and connect its theoretical and empirical aspects. The paper topic may be chosen in consultation with the instructor. The paper will be due on April 13, the day of the last class.

Three students will share the presentations on the readings on most weeks when readings are discussed. Each presentation on the readings should be about 20 minutes long, and it will be followed by an open discussion of those readings for about 30 minutes during which I will offer my comments and guide the discussion. After five-minute breaks, we will have similar presentations followed by discussion of the second and third sets of readings for the week.

The paper should discuss one or more important cases of identity politics based on empirical research using library resources and perhaps internet resources, and in the light of major relevant theoretical approaches. The paper topic should be chosen in consultation with the instructor. During the class of February 23 and those from March 9 to April 6, students will in turn present their ideas for their research papers in 20 minutes each. The presentations should indicate the topic, provide a critical analysis of the relevant literature (both on the specific topic and the broader themes), outline the main relevant empirical trends, and sketch a tentative line of argumentation. The later in the term the presentation is made the more complete the ideas would be expected to be. There will be three paper presentations on most of these weeks and a fourth as well on some weeks. The other students and I will raise questions and offer constructive criticisms and suggestions, and the presenter will have the opportunity to respond. 15 to 20 minutes will be allocated to discuss each paper presentation. We will take a 10-minute break after the first two presentations and discussion of them.

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 (see <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity> 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 site <http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity>).

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.

Grading

The grades will be determined in the following way:

Notes on the reading	15% each
Presentation on Readings	7.5%
Paper Presentation	7.5%
Other Class Participation	10%
Paper	45%

Aside from being worth 25% of the marks, class participation (Presentation on Readings, Other Class Participation, and Paper Presentation) will influence the grades in cases where students are on the borderline between two letter grades. “Other class participation” refers to all contributions other than your own presentations: i.e., contributions to the discussion of the readings and of other students’ presentations.

Circumstances through this term

The current plan is for classes 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 classes will not be recorded as they rely largely on discussion rather than following a lecture format. You are expected to attend all classes in person if this is at all possible.

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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

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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.

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.

Readings

The readings combine analysis and empirical description and vary in their level of conceptual complexity and style. The readings for each week between January 5 and February 16 range between 195 pages (January 5) and 303 pages (February 16). No readings are assigned for the seven other weeks when students will make presentations about their papers, and we will discuss the ideas outlined (during the class of February 23 and those from March 9 to April 6). On weeks when there are less readings such as the weeks of January 5 and February 9, you may choose to do some readings to be discussed in later weeks.

A. Nationalism

I Certain Major Theories of Nationalism

Jan 5: **Note: Readings for this class should be done before the class meets.**

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), p. 1-7, 19-52

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 2006), p. 1-140

Anthony D. Smith, "The Ethnic Sources of Nationalism" in Michael E. Brown, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), p. 27-41

II Nation's Engagements with Race, Gender, Religion and Other Fragments

Jan 12: 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), p. 1-64, 77-79, 81-83, 120-157, 178-193, 217-249, 264-278

Deniz Kandiyoti, "Identity and Its Discontents: Women and the Nation", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 20.3 (1991), p. 429-443

Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 3-34, 116-134

Maya Tudor and Dan Slater, "Nationalist Parties and Inclusive Ideologies in India and Indonesia" in Nancy G. Bermeo and Deborah J. Yashar, *Parties, Movements and Democracy in the Developing World* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 28-60

Jonathan Fox, "The Secular-Religious Competition Perspective in Comparative Perspective", *Politics and Religion*, 12.3 (Sept 2019), p. 524-534

B. Pluralism and Its Recognition

I Identities, Traditions

Jan 19: Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa" in Eric J. Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 211-262

Crawford Young, "Africanism, Nationalism, and Ethnicity: The Ambiguous Triple Helix of Identity" in *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960-2010* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), p. 291-333

Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism", *Annual Review of Sociology* (2009), p. 29-42

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 3-32

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

Mounira M. Charrad, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), p. 1-13, 28-50.

Mounira M. Charrad, "Policy Shifts: State, Islam, and Gender in Tunisia, 1930s–1990s", *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 4.2 (1997), p. 284-319.

Mala Htun and S. Laurel Weldon. "Religious Power, the State, Women's Rights, and Family Law," *Politics & Gender* 11.3 (2015), p. 451–477.

II Ethnic Power Sharing and Multiculturalism

Jan 26: Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), p. 1-3, 6-52, 142-176.

Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Power Sharing: Three Big Problems," *Journal of Democracy* 25.2 (April 2014), p. 5-20.

Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*. Transatlantic Council on Migration, Migration Policy Institute, February 2012, p. 1-31.

Ayelet Shachar, "On Citizenship and Multicultural Vulnerability," *Political Theory* (2000), p. 64-89.

Narendra Subramanian, *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 1-8, 18-90, 137-142, 262-296

Narendra Subramanian, *Nation and Family: Personal Law, Cultural Pluralism, and Gendered Citizenship in India, with a New Introduction*, revised edition (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2022), p. xxiii-xxx.

C. Identities, Mobilization and Conflict

Feb 2: Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict" in Carles Boix & Susan C. Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 274-294.

Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict" in Michael E. Brown, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), p. 103-124.

Stuart Kaufman, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice: Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence," *International Security*, 30.4 (Spring 2006), p. 45-86.

Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 3-14, 185-233.

Karen Ferree, "How Fluid is Fluid? The Mutability of Ethnic Identities and Electoral Volatility in Africa" in Kanchan Chandra, ed., *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 312-340.

Roger Petersen, "Identity, Rationality, and Emotion in the Processes of State Disintegration and Reconstruction" in Chandra, ed., *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*, p. 387-421.

Steven I. Wilkinson, "A Constructivist Model of Ethnic Riots" in Chandra, ed., *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*, p. 359-386.

D. Republics and Ascriptive Inequalities

Feb 9: Kimberley S. Johnson, "The Color Line and the State: Race and American Political Development" in Richard Valelley et. al., eds., *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 593-624.

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

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

Melissa Nobles, *Shades of Citizenship: Race and the Census in Modern Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 1-84, 179-184.

Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 3-18, 43-52, 79-80, 198-227.

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

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

Feb 16: Richard M. Valelly, *The Two Reconstructions*, p. 173-250

Paul Frymer, *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2nd edition, 2010), p. 1-23, 87-119.

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.

Oliver Mendelsohn & Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 118-175.

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

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

Narendra Subramanian, "From Bondage to Citizenship: Dalit and African American Mobilization in Two Deeply Unequal Regions", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 62.4 (Oct 2020): 770–809.

Reading Break: February 27-March 3

Feb 23, March 9, March 16, March 23, March 30, April 6: Paper Presentations and Discussion

Papers Due: April 13 (date of last classes for term, though not in this course)