

European University Institute
Department of Social and Political Sciences
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THE POLITICS OF DIFFERENCE

Virginie Guiraudon

Please register with Gabriella Unger: Gabriella.Unger@IUE.it

MONDAYS 3-5pm

BADIA FIESOLANA
Seminar room 2

This seminar focuses on the analysis of the so-called “politics of difference.” The contemporary research agenda has been spurred both by sociological change (eg the growing cultural diversity of European societies due to immigration) and political developments i.e. mobilization by groups seeking the recognition of their cultural specificities, counter-mobilizations and institutional responses by state and civil society actors.

During the course of the seminar, we seek to identify what is new about the contemporary politics of difference compared to older issues such as the politics of accommodation, demands for devolution, and traditional socio-political cleavages eg based on religion. We will analyze the current situation in Europe and beyond using the traditional tools of comparative political science and sociology (attitudinal surveys, the analysis of socioeconomic indicators, in-depth interviews revealing interaction among social groups and with street-level bureaucrats) and addressing existing subfields (eg the dynamics of party systems and public policy analysis). The import of other disciplines to this field of study is taken into account in the reading list as historians, legal scholars, anthropologists, have contributed to the debate. We also address the normative aspects of the often highly politicized issues at hand by commenting upon the readings of political and social theorists.

Each week, researchers must read the assigned articles and books with the help of reading notes and questions distributed a week in advance. There will also be a light “research assignment” which consists in gathering data that will help give some empirical richness to our theoretical discussions and provide new testing ground for existing models. Each participant will be required to act as a *rappporteur* on the key research questions raised in the discussion once during the semester. Researchers will take turn in leading the discussion of the articles after a short introductory lecture.

The objective of the seminar is two-fold: first, we critically assess the key concepts and debates in the literature and we seek to understand the theoretical underpinnings of alternative explanations and evaluate the research design and methods of various studies; second, we seek to identify new empirical puzzles and venues for research.

Here is a week-by-week overview of topics and readings. Participants are expected to have received and read the literature listed under the first seminar meeting on October 10.

Session 1. October 10

Introduction: Becoming mainstream

In this session, after a brief introductory lecture and a discussion of the syllabus and seminar organization, we discuss two seminal texts that focus on the United States written respectively by a political scientist and a historian that both discuss the dynamics whereby migrant ethnic groups “became white” i.e. joined the dominant groups in society and entered politics. In brief, before reading about the politics of difference, we reflect on the pressure for sameness.

Assigned readings:

Robert A. Dahl, *Who governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*, chapter 4, 5, 7 (p. 32-62, p. 85-6) *Second Edition*, New Haven, YUP, 2005 (first published in 1961)

Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, New York: Routledge, 1995, pp. 66-144

Session 2. October 17

Who are we? The politics of the census

In this session, we read about the ways in which nation-states categorize their populations and the reasons that explain differences across time and nations. This will be our first look at the mobilizations that led to the recognition of differences as well as the policy consequences of the classification of populations.

Research Assignment: choose a country (could be your own) and find out whether the national census (or national statistics based on registers) asks question that give information on a person’s ethnicity, race, and/or religion.

Assigned readings:

David Kerzer and Dominique Arel, *Census and Identity. The Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Language in National Censuses*. Read introduction by editors and chapter 1 (Melissa nobles, “Racial categorizations and censuses”), p. 1-70.

Patrick Simon et al. “Comparative analysis of the collection of data to measure the extent and impact of discrimination in the United States, Canada, Australia, United Kingdom and the Netherlands,” MEDIS project commissioned by the European Commission in 2003 published in December 2004.

http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/fundamental_rights/policy/aneval/data_en.htm

Please note: the report also exists in French

Ann Morning and Daniel Sabbagh, “From Sword to Plowshare. Using race for Discrimination and antidiscrimination in the United States,” *International Social Science Journal* (2005)57/183: 57-73.

Session 3. October 24

Why are we different? Attitudes and opinions

This week focuses on public attitudes towards other ethnic groups (immigrants in Europe and Blacks in the United States). Two key questions underlie our discussion: what are the factors that explain positive and negative attitudes towards other ethnic groups? And how do people themselves justify their attitude and the hierarchies and stereotypes that they believe in in fine. Authors use a comparative approach using qualitative and quantitative methods.

Research assignment: Find the latest comparative survey in Europe with a question on attitudes towards immigration/immigrants. Bring to the seminar and be ready to comment on the question and how to explain the answers given.

Assigned readings:

Michèle Lamont, *The Dignity of Working Men. Morality, and the Boundaries of Race, Class and Immigration*, Cambridge, MA, HUP, 2000. Read introduction (1-13), chapter 2 (55-96), read introduction to part II (149-151) and chapter 5 (169-214). Annexes (251-268)

Lincoln Quillian, “Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-Immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe,” *American Sociological Review*, 60, 4 (August 1995), p. 586-611

Gallya Lahav, *Immigration and Politics in the New Europe*, Cambridge: CUP, 2004, chapter 3, p. 69-112

Invited expert : professor Gallya Lahav, RSCAS

Session 4. date TBA (Monday 31st is a holiday and the IUE is closed)

Mobilizing Difference (1) Right-wing extremism, populism

Throughout (Western) Europe, support for radical xenophobic parties has grown dramatically since the early 1980s. This week we examine the success and impact of parties that are diverse yet all develop a strong “us vs. them” discourse of difference. We will discuss variation in the rise of the Radical Right and in its political and policy impact.

Research assignment: Read the country profiles in Schain et al. (after the Perlmutter reading). List variables that could explain differences in manifestations of extremism across countries and reasons behind your hypotheses and type of research that could help verify their causal role.

Assigned readings:

Cas Mudde, “The Populist Zeitgeist”, *Government and Opposition*, 2004, 39/4: 542-563

Ted Perlmutter, “The Politics of Restriction: The effect of Xenophobic Parties on Italian Immigration Policy and Asylum Policy in Martin Schain et al., *Shadows over Europe*, New York, Palgrave, 2002.

Patrick Hossay, “Country profiles” in Schain et al.

For additional readings see references in Mudde (2004) and full bibliography of *Shadows over Europe*.

Session 5. November 7

“Multicultural citizenship”: Political theory debates “identity politics”

Political theorists are still debating the challenge posed by the new politics of recognition referred to by its critics as “identity politics” i.e. political demands by social groups feeling oppressed that do not call for inclusion as part of universal mankind nor for respect in spite of one’s differences but that ask for recognition as different, qua women, qua blacks qua lesbians. In the past two decades, a vast literature has emerged often spurred by controversies (the Rushdie affair or the foulard affair) and on-going struggles (for indigenous rights or Quebec independence). This week we review the issues raised by multiculturalism in liberal democracies.

Research assignment: Choose a particular controversy and analyze the problems that it raises from a political theory perspective: Write down the various arguments on each side of the polemic (ask me for references if need be).

Assigned Readings:

Kukathas, Chandran (1992). "Are there any Cultural Rights?" *Political Theory* 20: 105-139

Iris Marion Young, “Polity and Group Difference: a critique of the ideal of universal citizenship” and Bhikhu Parekh, “Contemporary Liberal Responses to Diversity” and Brian Barry, “Theories of Group Rights” in *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy* edited by Derek Matravers and Jon Pike, London, Routledge, 2003 (part 4, pp. 213-263).

Session 6. November 14

Mobilization from below: the case of indigenous movements in Latin America

We leave Europe and the United States this week to read about one important aspect of the contentious politics of difference: the claims of indigenous movements. As we discuss Yashar’s comparative study of movements in South America, we seek to understand how movements arise and how they vary across countries. We focus on the multi-levelled aspect of mobilization and the reality or fiction of transnational contention in this area.

Assigned reading:

Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: the Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005. (excerpts)

Session 7. November 21

The politics of Islam

Moslems have been making the headlines of European newspapers in recent months, notably in the Netherlands, France and the UK. We examine this week how social scientists have entered the debate. We focus on the comparative study of the relationship between European Moslems and the state and how it is reflected in the academic debates as well. One underlying issue that we address has policy relevance given the new EU antidiscrimination policy: is religious discrimination different from racial discrimination? How would one study the extent of both direct and indirect religious discrimination?

Research assignment: What are the differences in Europe with respect to the status of religions and their relationship to the state? Find figures on church membership and attendance. Find figures on the number of Moslems in your country of origin. How are they counted? What are the issues linked to the presence of Moslems in Europe? Are they country-specific or religion-specific?

Assigned readings:

Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper, *Muslims and the State in Britain, France and Germany*, Cambridge UP, 2005.

John R. Bowen, "Muslims and Citizens," *Boston Review*, March-April 2004. <http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~anthro/articles/Boston%20Review%20article.pdf>

Gilles, Kepel, "Europe's answer to Londonistan," *Open Democracy*, 24 August 2005. online at http://www.opendemocracy.net/conflict-terrorism/londonistan_2775.jsp

Rajeev Bhargava, "India' model: faith, secularism and democracy," *Open Democracy*, 3 November 2004. http://www.opendemocracy.net/arts-multiculturalism/article_2204.jsp

Invited expert: Valérie Amiraux, RSCAS (additional reading by our guest speaker will be circulated)

Session 8. November 28

The politics of rights: difference, diversity and the law

Readings (that our guest speaker will build upon):

Excerpts of US Supreme Court Decision, *Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke*, 438 US 265 (1978), opinion of Justice Lewis Powell.

URL: http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/printer_friendly.pl?page=us/438/265.html

Anthony Kronman, "Is Diversity a Value in American Higher Education?" *Florida Law Review* (2000) 52 : 861-928.

Invited expert: Daniel Sabbagh, research fellow at the CERI, Paris.

Reading by speaker: "The Judicial Uses of Subterfuge: On Affirmative Action in the United States", *Political Science Quarterly*, 118 (3), 2003

Session 9. December 5

Studying difference on the ground: the incorporation of migrants in society and politics

Immigrants as they enter a new nation-state enter a number of private and public subsystems of society (the educational system, the labor market, the housing market, the healthcare system, the justice system etc...), studying their interaction with domestic institutions, we want to identify the beliefs and practices, the organizational routines that guide private actors and street-level bureaucrats in their dealings with these newcomers.

Assigned readings:

Joanne van der Leun, "Loopholes and ambivalence: immigration policy implementation by human service professionals in the Netherlands," *West European Politics* (forthcoming special issue edited by Virginie Guiraudon and Gallya Lahav)

Valérie Sala Pala, "The French 'republican model of integration' from theory to practice: the case of housing policy" in Iseult Donohan and Jeremy Jennings, *Republicanism in Theory and Practice*, Routledge, ECPR series in political science, forthcoming.

Session 10. December 12

Topic chosen by students: regional nationalism.

1. What factors explain the variation in the manifestation and intensity of regional minority nationalisms across European states?
2. What are the implications of the claims of regional minority nationalities for the state? How are they distinct, both empirically and normatively, from the claims of ethnic minorities? Are they more or less likely to be accommodated? What explains the variation in the degree of accommodation across states?
3. What has been the effect of the progressive increase of regional integration in Europe on the claims and nationalist discourses of minority nationalities? What is effect on the predisposition of policy-makers at the centre to accommodate regional minorities?

Readings

Brubaker, R "National Minorities, Nationalising states and external homelands in the new europe" in Roger Brubaker (1996) *Nationalism Reframed*. Cambridge University Press, 55-78

McCrone, D "In and Out of the State: the rise and rise of neo-nationalism" in McCrone, D (1998) *The Sociology of Nationalism*. Routledge. 125-148

Keating, M (2004). "European Integration and the nationalities question". *Politics and Society*. 31.1. 367-388

(Wrap-up session as well)

Session 11 (extra). December 13th (1:20pm-2:30pm)

Discussion of the two films shown during term *La Haine* (Kassovitz, France, 1995) and *My beautiful Laundrette* (Frears, UK, 1985)