

The Politics of Multiculturalism, Winter 2014

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Office Hours: Thursdays 10AM – 12PM

Additional Office Hours

- Skype (tomkwong_ucsd) Hours: by appointment (email me to set up a date and time)
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Introduction

Diversity remains one of the most important characteristics of contemporary societies. Not only does it describe society, but how states respond to diversity – be it cultural, racial, ethnic, religious, or linguistic diversity – can define the boundaries and limits of belonging in a country. Diversity thus presents pressing societal and political challenges – some normative, some practical – and how states address these challenges forms the basis of the politics of multiculturalism. This course examines the core debates in the politics of multiculturalism, including normative questions over how states ought to respond to varying forms of diversity and whether minority groups have the right to recognition or accommodation, as well as empirical debates about the implications of diversity, the linkages between immigration and either the embrace or retreat from multiculturalism, the sources of anti-“other” sentiment, and the political utility that concepts such as “culture,” “race,” and “ethnicity” have.

Requirements

- Midterm, 2/7/14, (multiple-choice and short-answer questions) 30%
- Final Exam, 3/17/14, (multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions) 40% (Comprehensive)
- Paper 20%
- Lecture Participation 10%
- Note: please check your emails and TED often – I send updates throughout the quarter

Readings (all readings and other course materials will be posted on TED)

Note on readings: The majority of what you will need to know for your exams will come from lecture. I thus recommend skimming through the readings prior to each unit (e.g., review the *Race, Ethnicity, and the Categorization of Difference* readings before week 3). As we go through each lecture, note to yourself which readings are discussed most prominently. When it comes time for your exams – (1) attending lecture, (2) reviewing the lecture slides (which will be posted on TED), and (3) carefully reviewing the readings that feature most prominently in the lectures – provides one recipe for success.

Culture, Difference, and The Politics of Multiculturalism

Week 1-2 |

Sarah Song. 2009. “What Does it Mean to be an American?” *Daedalus* 182 (2): 31-40.

Will Kymlicka. 1995. “Introduction,” “The Politics of Multiculturalism,” “Freedom and Culture,” and “Justice and Minority Rights.” In *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford University Press.

Seyla Benhabib. 2002. "On the Use and Abuse of Culture" (pages 1-11, 17-23), and "From Redistribution to Recognition" (pages 59-81). In *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton University Press.

Sarah Song. 2008. "The Subject of Multiculturalism: Culture, Religion, Ethnicity, Nationality, and Race?" In *New Waves in Political Philosophy*.

Recommended

Charles Taylor. 1994. "The Politics of Recognition." In *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton University Press.

Amy Gutmann. 1994. "Introduction." In *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton University Press.

Tariq Modood. 2013. "A Liberal's Bias?" In *Multiculturalism*. Polity Press.

David A. Hollinger. 2006. *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. Basic Books.

Craig Calhoun. 1994. "Social Theory and the Politics of Identity." In *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Craig Calhoun. 2003. "'Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary." *Ethnicities* 3 (4): 531-553.

Rogers Brubaker. 2003. "Neither Individualism Nor 'Groupism': A Reply to Craig Calhoun." *Ethnicities* 3 (4): 553-557.

Anne Phillips. 2009. *Multiculturalism Without Culture*. Princeton University Press.

Clifford Geertz. 1973. "Thick Description: Toward An Interpretive Theory of Culture." In *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: NY: Basic Books.

Thierry Devos and Mahzarin R. Banaji. 2005. "American = White?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 88 (3): 447-466.

Seth J. Schwartz, et al. 2012. "The American Identity Measure: Development and Validation across Ethnic Group and Immigrant Generation." *Identity* 12 (2): 93-128.

No Class 1/20/13

Race, Ethnicity, and the Categorization of Difference

Week 3 |

David I. Kertzer and Dominique Arel. 2002. "Censuses, Identity Formation, and the Struggle for Political Power." In *Census and Identity*. Cambridge University Press.

Alain Blum. 2002. "Resistance to Identity Categorization in France." In *Census and Identity*. Cambridge University Press.

Recommended

Patrick Simon and Victor Piche. 2012. "Accounting for Ethnic and Racial Diversity: The Challenge of Enumeration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (8): 1357-1365.

Peter J. Aspinall. 2009. "The Future of Ethnicity Classifications." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35 (9): 1417-1435.

Office of Management and Budget. 1997. Recommendations from the Interagency Committee for the Review of the Racial and Ethnic Standards. http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/inforeg_statpolicy#dr.

Rodney L. Terry and Marissa Fond. 2013. "Experimental US Census Bureau Race and Hispanic Origin Survey Questions: Reactions from Spanish Speakers." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 35 (4): 524-541.

Sharon M. Lee. 1993. "Racial Classifications in the US Census: 1890-1990." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (1): 75-94.

The Council of Economic Advisors. 2000. *The Uses of Census Data: An Analytical Review*. <http://clinton4.nara.gov/media/pdf/censusreview.pdf>.

U.S. Census Bureau. 2009. *Use of Population and Income Statistics in Federal Funds Distribution.*
The Leadership Conference. N.d. *The Census & Civil Rights.*
<http://www.civilrights.org/census/civil-rights.html>.
Laurent Mucchielli. 2009. "Autumn 2005: A Review of the Most Important Riot in the History of French Contemporary Society." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35 (5): 731.
Joel Kotkin. 2005. "Why Immigrants Don't Riot Here." *Wall Street Journal*.

Race, Ethnicity, and the Immutability of Difference?

Week 4-5 | **Michael Omi and Howard Winant.** 1994. "Racial Formation." In *Racial Formation in the United States*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Ian Haney-Lopez. 1994. "The Social Construction of Race: Some Observations on Illusion, Fabrication, and Choice." *Harvard Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Law Review* 29 (1): 1-62.
Aliya Saperstein, Andrew M. Penner, and Ryan Light. 2013. "Racial Formation in Perspective: Connecting Individuals, Institutions, and Power Relations." *Annual Review of Sociology* 39 (1): 359-378.

Recommended

Melissa Nobles. 2002. "Racial Categorization and Censuses." In *Census and Identity*. Cambridge University Press.
Howard Winant. 2000. "Race and Race Theory." *Annual Review of Sociology* 26(1): 169-185.
Rogers Brubaker, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov. 2004. "Ethnicity as Cognition." *Theory and Society* 33 (1): 31-64.
Kanchan Chandra. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 397-424.
Donald Horowitz. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press.
Rogers Brubaker. 2009. "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35(1): 21-42.
Debra Thompson. 2012. "Making (Mixed-) Race: Census Politics and the Emergence of Multiracial Multiculturalism in the United States, Great Britain and Canada." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (8): 1409-1426.
Kevin Johnson. 1996. "'Aliens' and the US Immigration Laws: The Social and Legal Construction of Noncitizens." *University of Miami Inter-American Law Review* 28 (2): 263-292.

Midterm Review, 2/5/14

Midterm, 2/7/14

Multiculturalism in Practice: The State and Society (the empirical implications of week 3)

Week 6-7 | **Will Kymlicka.** 2012. *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*. Washington, D.C.: Migration Policy Institute.
Erin Tolley. 2011. *Multiculturalism Policy Index: Immigrant Minority Policies*. School of Policy Studies, Queen's University of Kingston, Canada.
Jennifer A. Richeson and Richard J. Nussbaum. 2004. "The Impact of Multiculturalism Versus Color-Blindness on Racial Bias." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 40 (3): 417-423.
Aneeta Rattan and Nalini Ambady. 2013. "Diversity Ideologies and Intergroup Relations: An Examination of Colorblindness and Multiculturalism." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 43 (1): 12-21.

- Kimberly Rios Morrison, Victoria C. Plaut, and Oscar Ybarra.** 2010. "Predicting Whether Multiculturalism Positively or Negatively Influences White Americans' Intergroup Attitudes: The Role of Ethnic Identification." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 36 (12): 1648-1661.
- Richard J. Crisp and Rose Meleady.** 2012. "Adapting to a Multicultural Future." *Science* 336 (6083): 853-855.
- Evan P. Apfelbaum, Samuel R. Sommers, and Michael I. Norton.** 2008. "Seeing Race and Seeming Racist? Evaluating Strategic Colorblindness in Social Interaction." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 95 (4): 918.

Recommended

- Tariq Modood.** "The Strange Non-Death of Multiculturalism." In *Multiculturalism*. Polity Press.
- Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka.** 2013. "Is There Really a Retreat From Multiculturalism Policies New Evidence From the Multiculturalism Policy Index." *Comparative European Politics* 11(5): 577-598.
- Will Kymlicka.** 2010. "The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism? New Debates on Inclusion and Accommodation in Diverse Societies." *International Social Science Journal* 61 (199): 97-112.
- Jeffrey C. Alexander.** 2013. "Struggling Over the Mode of Incorporation: Backlash Against Multiculturalism in Europe." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (4): 531-556.
- Zachery Elkins and John Sides.** 2007. "Can Institutions Build Unity in Multiethnic States?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 693-708.
- Jeffrey C. Alexander.** 2001. "Theorizing the 'Modes of Incorporation': Assimilation, Hyphenation, and Multiculturalism as Varieties of Civil Participation." *Sociological Theory* 19 (3): 237-249.
- Roger Hewitt.** 2005. *White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf eds.** 2010. *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*. Routledge.
- Arun Kundnani.** 2012. "Multiculturalism and its Discontents: Left, Right and Liberal." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15 (2): 155-166.
- Philip Oreopoulos.** 2011. "Why Do Skilled Immigrants Struggle in the Labor Market? A Field Experiment with Thirteen Thousand Resumes." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 3 (4): 148-171.
- Redzo Mujcic and Paul Frijters.** 2013. "Still Not Allowed on the Bus: It Matters If You're Black or White!"
- Jonathan Guryan and Kerwin Kofi Charles.** 2013. "Taste-Based or Statistical Discrimination: The Economics of Discrimination Returns to its Roots." *The Economic Journal* 123 (572): 417-432.
- Peter A. Riach and Judith Rich.** 2002. "Field Experiments of Discrimination in the Market Place." *The Economic Journal* 112 (483): 480-518.

No Class 2/17/14

Group Identity, Political Participation, and Democratic Representation (the empirical implications of weeks 4-5)

- Week 7-8 | **Michael C. Dawson.** 1994. "Part 1." In *Behind the Mule-Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Taeku Lee.** 2008. "Race, Immigration, and the Identity-to-Politics Link." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1): 457-478.
- Pew Hispanic Center.** 2012. *When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and Their Views of Identity*. Pew

Hispanic Center.

Gabriel R. Sanchez and Natalie Masuoka. 2010. "Brown-Utility Heuristic? The Presence and Contributing Factors of Latino Linked Fate." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 32 (4): 519-531.

Jane Junn. 2007. "From Coolie to Model Minority." *Du Bois Review* 4 (2): 355-373.

Jane Junn. 2008. "Asian American Identity: Shared Racial Status and Political Context." *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (4): 729-740.

Aliya Saperstein. 2012. "Capturing Complexity in the United States: Which Aspects of Race Matter and When?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35 (8): 1484-1502.

Zoltan J. Hajnal. 2009. "Who Loses in American Democracy? A Count of Votes Demonstrates the Limited Representation of African Americans." *American Political Science Review* 103 (1): 37-57.

Recommended

Rodney E. Hero and Caroline J. Tolbert. 1996. "A Racial/Ethnic Diversity Interpretation of Politics and Policy in the States of the US." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(3): 851-871.

Gary M. Segura and Helena Alves Rodrigues. 2006. "Comparative Ethnic Politics in the United States: Beyond Black and White." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 375-395.

Lawrence Bobo and Franklin D. Gilliam Jr. 1990. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." *The American Political Science Review* 377-393.

Suzanne Dovi. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 729-744.

Jan Leighley. 2001. *Strength in Numbers? The Political Mobilization of Racial and Ethnic Minorities.* Princeton University Press.

Pew Hispanic Center. 2012. *A Record 24 Million Latinos Are Eligible to Vote, But Turnout Rate Has Lagged That of Whites, Blacks.* Pew Hispanic Center.

Marisa Abrajano and R. Michael Alvarez. 2010. "Hispanic Political Identity" and "The Complexity of Studying Hispanic Political Behavior." In *New Faces, New Voices: The Hispanic Electorate in America.* Princeton University Press.

Min Zhou and Yang Sao Xiong. 2005. "The Multifaceted American Experiences of the Children of Asian Immigrants: Lessons for Segmented Assimilation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (6): 1119-1152.

Janelle Wong et al. 2011. "Making Visible: Political Participation" and "Settling In: Immigrant Adaptation." In *Asian American Political Participation.* Russell Sage Foundation.

Pew Research Center. 2012. *The Rise of Asian Americans.* Pew Research Center.

Aliya Saperstein and Andrew M. Penner. 2012. "Racial Fluidity and Inequality in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 118 (3): 676-727.

Dennis Chong and Dukhong Kim. 2006. "The Experiences and Effects of Economic Status Among Racial and Ethnic Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 100 (3): 335.

Immigration and Multiculturalism

Week 8-9 |

Samuel P. Huntington. 2004. "The Hispanic Challenge." *Foreign policy* 141 (2): 30-45.

Jack Citrin, Amy Lerman, Michael Murakami, and Kathryn Pearson. 2007. "Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity?" *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 31-48.

Karthick Ramakrishnan. 2013. "Incorporation versus Assimilation: The Need for Conceptual Differentiation." In *Outsiders No More: Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation.* Oxford University Press.

Ted Brader, Nicholas Valentino, and Elizabeth Suhay. 2008. "What Triggers Public Opposition to Immigration? Anxiety, Group Cues, and Immigration Threat." *American Journal*

of Political Science 52(4): 959-978.

Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon. 1999. "Why Islam is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States." *Politics & Society* 27(1): 5-38.

Ruud Koopmans. 2013. "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Contested Field in Cross-National Comparison." *Annual Review of Sociology* 39(1): 147-169.

Matthew Wright and Irene Bloemraad. 2012. "Is There a Trade-Off Between Multiculturalism and Socio-Political Integration? Policy Regimes and Immigrant Incorporation in Comparative Perspective." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(1): 77-95.

Ruud Koopmans. 2010. "Trade-Offs Between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36(1): 1-26.

Recommended

Michael Zuckerman. 2010. "Constitutional Clash: When English-Only Meets Voting Rights." *Yale Law & Policy Review* 28.

Samuel Scheffler. 2007. "Immigration and the Significance of Culture." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35 (2): 93-125.

Stephen Castles. 1995. "How Nation-States Respond to Immigration and Ethnic Diversity." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 21 (3): 293-308.

Paul Sniderman, Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. "Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities." *American Political Science Review* 98(1): 35-49.

Rui De Figueiredo and Zachary Elkins. 2003. "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry Into the Vices of In-Group Pride." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 171-188.

Anna Zamora-Kapoor, Petar Kovincic, and Charles Causey. 2013. "Anti-Foreigner Sentiment: State of the Art." *Sociology Compass* 7(4): 303-314.

John Sides and Jack Citrin. 2007. "European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information." *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (3): 477-504.

Herbert Kitschelt. 2007. "Growth and Persistence of the Radical Right in Postindustrial Democracies: Advances and Challenges in Comparative Research." *Comparative Political Studies* 30(5): 1176-1206.

Kai Arzheimer. 2009. "Contextual Factors and the Extreme Right Vote in Western Europe, 1980-2002." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 259-275.

Wrap Up

Week 10 |

TBA