

Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in the United States and Europe: Multiple Multiculturalisms

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Office hours: Mondays and Wednesdays, 5:00-6:00 pm, in my office in H&SS 4086-A, and by appointment

Aims of the course:

(1) to explain, through a historical perspective, how government policy in the United States has variously fostered or hindered the inclusion of members of diverse groups in American society and determined the outcome of efforts to define and promote social equity;

(2) to set the US case in a larger comparative context by exploring the differences between American policy and the multiculturalist policies pursued by various European states and by the Canadian government; and

(3) to familiarize students with the main lines of contemporary debates in the United States and abroad about key policies oriented toward concerns of diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Readings

The following text is required for the course:

Ali Rattansi, *Multiculturalism: A Very Short Introduction*.

Other readings will be available as pdf files on the course Ted site (ted.ucsd.edu) or as otherwise noted in the syllabus.

Course Requirements:

In-class quizzes (9 quizzes, lowest two scores dropped) 70%

Final exam (or: final paper for ERC or INTL credit*) 30%

* Paper option: Students who wish to take the course to satisfy the INTL 190 requirement or to satisfy ERC's upper-division writing requirement may submit a research paper in place of the final exam. Please see me immediately to get started with a paper project. Your paper should analyze important issues raised in the course through focused research concerning a topic agreed upon with me in advance. You will have great freedom with regard to the choice of topics. The International Studies Program requires that the paper written for a course for which INTL 190 credit is granted be at least 20 pages long, though longer papers will certainly be acceptable, and welcome. The paper should be submitted in 12-point Times New Roman with no more than one-inch margins on all sides. The paper will be due at the end of time of the scheduled final exam for the course (see TritonLink). I may require that all students submit an electronic version of their final papers to turnitin.com.

**NOTE: To pass this class you must reasonably satisfy *all* the course requirements with a reasonable and good-faith effort. This means you have to show up, do the work, and be engaged. Failure to satisfy *any* one of the course requirements, including but not limited to failure to take a majority of the in-class quizzes, will result in a grade of F for the course. Regular attendance is required to pass the course.

Exams and Quizzes:

In-class quizzes: There will be a number of brief (approximately 10-12 minutes) in-class quizzes on a daily basis. These quizzes will be designed to gauge your comprehension of the readings and/or viewings or other assignments (e.g., web assignments) assigned for the *current* class session, so that everyone will always be prepared for class. If you have attended class and done all the assignments in advance of the class meeting, you are likely to do very well on the exams, which represent a significant fraction of your grade. There will be a total of nine in-class exams administered; the lowest grade on two of the exams will be dropped.

Final exam: The exam will be in the form of a substantial, wide-ranging essay that will ask you to analyze the assigned course material in light of the major themes of the course, the varying methodological perspectives from which we will approach those issues, and the critical interpretative problems that we will study. About a week to ten days before the exam, I will distribute a list of four possible questions that could appear on the exam. From this set of four possible questions, two will appear on the exam form, and you will answer just ONE of the two. (This means that if you have an outline in your head for *three* of them, you are entirely safe and will definitely be able to answer at least one of the two that appear!) I will discuss the exams in more detail in class. Unless otherwise stated, no aids of any kind will be permitted during the administration of these exams.

****Make up exams:** Make-up exams will be given only in the case of a valid, documented excuse based on circumstances beyond the student's control (e.g., medical problems). Any make-up exam may be given in a different form and include different content. For example, the make-up test may be in the form of an oral exam!

****We cannot make arrangements for alternate exam times due to multiple exams scheduled closely together, plans to leave campus early, etc. Check your exam schedule now -- they're available to you through TritonLink -- and make sure you've chosen a course schedule that you can live with throughout the course and at finals time!!**

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism:

It is your responsibility to know and observe all university rules concerning academic integrity and plagiarism. Any student found to have committed a substantial violation of the university rules concerning academic integrity will fail the entire course. I view it as one of my chief responsibilities to help each of you produce first-rate academic work that reflects your own original thinking about the course themes and material. If you have any questions whatsoever about what constitutes plagiarism, how to properly credit the work and ideas of others, how to evaluate sources for quality and reliability, and so forth, please feel free to talk to your TA and to come see me. I reserve the right to require students to submit any assignment to turnitin.com for investigation of possible plagiarism or other academic misconduct.

SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS

WHERE:
WHY TRANSNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE APPROACHES MATTER

MONDAY, 1 AUGUST

Topic 1:

Europe ≠ America: Difference, Indifference, and What Governments Can Do

Assignments:

Ali Rattansi, *Multiculturalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Read Introduction and ch. 1, "What Is Multiculturalism?"; ch. 3 "Has Multiculturalism Created Ghettos and 'Parallel Lives?'"

Recommended/optional:

Ali Rattansi, *Multiculturalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Read ch. 4, " 'Integration,' Class Inequality, and Community Cohesion"

Michael Murphy, *Multiculturalism: A Critical Introduction*. Read ch. 3, "A Typology of Multicultural Policies"

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (1995). Read ch. 6, "Justice and Minority Rights"

Topic 2:

Differences: Melting Pots, Mosaics, Salad Bowls, Ethnic Enclaves, Parallel Societies

Assignments:

David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. Read ch. 1, "Introduction" and ch. 6, "The Ethnos, the Nation, the World," pp. 1-17 and 131-163

Will Kymlicka, "American Multiculturalism in the International Arena," *Dissent*, Fall 1998, 73-79.

Recommended/optional:

Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in Taylor et al., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. Amy Gutmann. **PDF TO BE ADDED TO TED SITE**

Christian Joppke, "Multicultural Citizenship: A Critique," *European Journal of Sociology* 42, no. 2 (November 2001): 431-447.

Tariq Modood, *Multiculturalism*, 2d ed. Read: ch. 1, "Is Multiculturalism Appropriate for the 21st Century?" and ch. 7, "The Strange Non-Death of Multiculturalism"
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ucsd/docDetail.action?docID=10695854>

HERE:
MULTICULTURAL POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, 3 AUGUST

NOTE: IN-CLASS QUIZZES BEGIN WITH TODAY'S CLASS, COVERING THE READINGS BELOW

Topic 3:

Already Here: U.S. Multicultural Policy and Native Americans

Assignments:

Franke Wilmer, "First Nations in the USA," in *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. eds. Maria Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, 184-197.

The Harvard Project On American Indian Economic Development, *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. Read: "Education" and "Culture" chapters, pp. 199-218 and 277-298.

Recommended/optional:

Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. Read: ch. 3, "The Organization of the Reservations"; ch. 15, "The Cry for Self-Determination"; ch. 17, "The Future of Indian Nations," pp. 28-36, 215-231, and 244-264.

K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty, "When Tribal Sovereignty Challenges Democracy: American Indian Education and the Democratic Ideal," *American Educational Research Journal*, 39, no. 2 (Summer, 2002): 279-305.

The Harvard Project On American Indian Economic Development, *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. Read: ch.7, "Economic Development"

Topic 4:

Brought Here: U.S. Multicultural Policy and African Americans, Part I

Assignments:

J. Edward Kellough, *Understanding Affirmative Action: Politics, Discrimination, and the Search for Justice* (2006). Read: ch. 1, "Affirmative Action: The Concept and the Controversy"; ch. 7, "Evidence on the Effectiveness of Affirmative Action," pp. 3-19 and 131-143.

Recommended/optional:

Ronald Takaki, *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America*. Read ch. 15, "Out of the War: Clamors for Change"

Christopher M. Span, Rashid V. Robinson, and Trinidad Molina Villegas, "Education, American Style: Race-Based School Policies and Practices in the United States," in *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States*, eds. Reva Joshee and Lauri Johnson, 146-158.

Nathan Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*. Read ch. 7 "Can We Be Brought Together?" pp. 122-146.

Topic 5:

Brought Here: U.S. Multicultural Policy and African Americans, Part II

Assignments:

Orlando Patterson, *The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's "Racial" Crisis*. Read ch. 5, "Why We Still Need Affirmative Action," pp. 147-169.

Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Case for Reparations," *The Atlantic*, 21 May 2014. Read online at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2014/05/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>
**Note: be sure to use all the interactive features such as the photograph galleries and the interactive maps.

Recommended/optional:

Kevin Fox Gotham, "Residential Segregation and Federal Housing Policy: A Comparative Analysis of Section 235 and Section 8," in Peter Kivisto and Georgeanne Rundbland, eds., *Multiculturalism in the United States: Current Issues, Contemporary Voices* (2000), pp. 295-308.

Edward G. Goetz, *New Deal Ruins: Race, Economic Justice, and Public Housing Policy*. Read ch. 4, "Negro Removal Revisited"
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ucsd/docDetail.action?docID=10666307>

David M.P. Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America*. Read ch. 5, "A Free Market for Housing: Policy, Growth, and Exclusion in Suburbia, 1940-1970," 176-240.

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=acls;idno=heb07802>

Leland Saito, *The Politics of Exclusion: The Failure of Race-Neutral Policies in Urban America* (2009), ch. 1, "Introduction: The Racialized Outcomes of Race-Neutral Policies"

Topic 6:

Moved Here: U.S. Multicultural Policy and Latino and Asian Immigrants, Part I

Assignments:

Bill Ong Hing, *Defining America through Immigration Policy*. Read ch. 7, "Politicizing the Southwest Border," pp. 115-133.

Kee Warner, "Placing Barrios in Housing Policy," in David R. Diaz and Rodolfo D. Torres, eds., *Latino Urbanism: The Politics of Planning, Policy and Redevelopment* (2012), pp. 65-85
<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ucsd/docDetail.action?docID=10621317>

Recommended/optional:

Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, ch. 11 and ch. 13.

Topic 7:

Moved Here: U.S. Multicultural Policy and Latino and Asian Immigrants, Part II

Assignments:

Christian Joppke, "Multiculturalism and Immigration: A Comparison of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain," in David Jacobson, ed., *The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective* (1998), pp. 285-319. *** Skim the introductory part; focus on the comparative discussion that begins at the bottom of p. 290 with "This chapter examines"

Michael R. Olneck, "Terms of Inclusion: Has Multiculturalism Redefined Equality in American Education?," *American Journal of Education* 101, no. 3 (May 1993): 234-260.

Recommended/optional:

Irene Bloemraad, "The Limits of de Tocqueville: How Government Facilitates Organisational Capacity in Newcomer Communities," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 5 (2005): 865-887.

Deborah J. Schildkraut, *Press "ONE" for English: Language Policy, Public Opinion, and American Identity*. Read ch. 1, "Introduction"

Topic 8:

Happening Here: The Present State of U.S. Multicultural Policy toward Historically Underrepresented Minority Groups

Assignments:

Banting and Kymlicka project, Multiculturalism Policy Index, country-specific data reports (2011) on:

- a. Indigenous Peoples Policies (Veldon Coburn)
- b. National Minority Policies (Caroline Duvieusart-Déry); and
- c. Immigrant Minority Policies (Erin Tolley)

>> *From each of these documents, read (1) the "Decision Rules" section and (2) the section on the United States*

Recommended/optional:

Alan Wolfe, "Benign Multiculturalism," in Peter Kivisto and Georgeanne Rundbland, eds., *Multiculturalism in the United States: Current Issues, Contemporary Voices* (2000), pp. 455-464.

Jamin B. Raskin, "From Colorblind White Supremacy to American Multiculturalism," 19 *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 19 (1995-1996): 743.

Ramon A. Gutierrez, "Ethnic Studies: Its Evolution in American Colleges and Universities," in David Theo Goldberg, ed., *Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader*.

MONDAY, 15 AUGUST

Topic 9:

Believing in This Place: U.S. Multicultural Policy and Religious Differences

Assignments:

Patrick Hyder Patterson, "A Kinder, Gentler Europe? Islam, Christianity, and the Divergent Multiculturalisms of the New West," *American Multiculturalism after 9/11: Transatlantic Perspectives*, eds. Derek Rubin and Jaap Verheul, 147-164.

Prema A. Kurien, "Multiculturalism and 'American' Religion: The Case of Hindu Indian Americans," *Social Forces* 85, no. 2 (2006): 723-741.

Recommended/optional:

Tariq Modood, *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*, 2d ed. Read ch. 8, "Multiculturalism and 'The Crisis of Secularism'"

<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/ucsd/docDetail.action?docID=10695854>

THERE:

MULTICULTURAL POLICY AND PRACTICE BEYOND THE US — LESSONS FROM EUROPE AND CANADA

Topic 10:

Not Really Here: Canada ≠ America

Assignments:

Banting and Kymlicka project, Multiculturalism Policy Index, country-specific data reports (2011) on:

- a. Indigenous Peoples Policies (Veldon Coburn)
- b. National Minority Policies (Caroline Duvieusart-Déry); and
- c. Immigrant Minority Policies (Erin Tolley)

>> *From each of these documents, read the section on Canada*

Recommended/optional:

Will Kymlicka, "American Multiculturalism in the International Arena," *Dissent*, Fall 1998, 73-79.

John Biles, "Integration Policies in English-Speaking Canada," in *Immigration and Integration in Canada in the Twenty-first Century*, John Biles, Meyer Burstein and James Frideres, eds. (2008), 140-186.

Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, "Canadian Multiculturalism: Global Anxieties and Local Debates," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 1 (2010): 43-72.

Elke Winter, "Neither 'America' nor 'Québec': Constructing the Canadian Multicultural Nation," *Nations and Nationalism* 13, no. 3 (July 2007): 481-503.

Darren E. Lund, "Waking Up the Neighbors: Surveying Multicultural and Antiracist Education in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States," *Multicultural Perspectives* 8, no. 1 (2006)

David Ley, "Multiculturalism: A Canadian Defence," in Steven Vertovec and Susanne Vessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (2010), pp. 190-206.

Topic 11:

Already There: The Problem of Indigenous Minorities in Europe's "National" States

Assignments:

Banting and Kymlicka project, Multiculturalism Policy Index (2011), report on Indigenous Peoples Policies (Veldon Coburn). Read: country-specific data reports (2011) on treatment of indigenous populations in Finland, Norway, and Sweden.

Recommended/optional:

Patrick Thornberry, María Amor Martín Estébanez, *Minority Rights in Europe: A Review of the Work and Standards of the Council of Europe*, read "Introduction: Perspectives on Minorities and Minority Rights" and ch. 2, "The Framework Convention"
Mikael Luciak, "Minority schooling and intercultural education: a comparison of recent developments in the old and new EU member states," *Intercultural Education* 17, no. 1 (2006): 73-80.

Topic 12:

Moved There: Post-Colonial Immigrants/Descendants in Multiculturalist Britain

Assignments:

Banting and Kymlicka project, Multiculturalism Policy Index, country-specific data reports (2011) on:

- a. ~~Indigenous Peoples Policies (Veldon Coburn)~~
- b. National Minority Policies (Caroline Duvieusart-Déry); and
- c. Immigrant Minority Policies (Erin Tolley)

>> *From each of these documents, read the section on the United Kingdom (Britain)*
[note: no report for Indigenous Peoples]

Erik Bleich, "From International Ideas to Domestic Policies: Educational Multiculturalism in England and France," *Comparative Politics* 31, no. 10 (1998): 81-100.

Peter Taylor-Gooby and Edmund Waite, "Toward a More Pragmatic Multiculturalism? How the U.K. Policy Community Sees the Future of Ethnic Diversity Policies," *Governance* 27, no. 2 (April 2014): 267-289.

Recommended/optional:

Daniele Joly, "Race, Ethnicity and Religion: Emerging Policies in Britain," *Patterns of Prejudice* 46, no. 5 (2012): 467-485.

MONDAY, 22 AUGUST

Topic 13:

Moved There: Black and Arab Immigrants and the Ideal of the Citizen in France

Assignments:

Banting and Kymlicka project, Multiculturalism Policy Index, country-specific data reports (2011) on:

- a. ~~Indigenous Peoples Policies (Veldon Coburn)~~
- b. National Minority Policies (Caroline Duvieusart-Déry); and
- c. Immigrant Minority Policies (Erin Tolley)

>> *From each of these documents, read the section on France [note: no report for Indigenous Peoples]*

Patrick Simon and Valeria Sala Pala, "We're Not All Multiculturalists Yet: France Swings between Hard Integration and Soft Anti-Discrimination," in Steven Vertovec and Susanne Vessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (2010), pp. 92-110.

Recommended/optional:

Martin Schain, "Managing Difference: Immigrant Integration Policy in France, Britain, and the United States," *Social Research* 77, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 205-236.

Nancy L. Green, "Le Melting-Pot: Made in America, Produced in France," *Journal of American History* 86, no. 3, (December 1999): 1188-1208 [The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History: A Special Issue]

Topic 14:

Moved There: Turkish "Guest Workers" in Germany

Assignments:

Banting and Kymlicka project, Multiculturalism Policy Index, country-specific data reports (2011) on:

- a. ~~Indigenous Peoples Policies (Veldon Coburn)~~
- b. ~~National Minority Policies (Caroline Duvieusart-Déry); and~~
- c. Immigrant Minority Policies (Erin Tolley)

>> *From each of these documents, read the section on Germany [note: no report for Indigenous Peoples or National Minorities]*

Karen Schönwälder, "Germany: Integration Policy and Pluralism in a Self-Conscious Country of Immigration," in Steven Vertovec and Susanne Vessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (2010), pp. 152-169.

Recommended/optional:

Frank Eckardt, "Multiculturalism in Germany: From Ideology to Pragmatism—and Back?" *National Identities* 9, no. 3 (2007): 235-245.

Hans-Jürgen Pühle, "Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and the Political Consensus in the United States and in Germany," in Klaus J. Milich and Jeffrey M. Peck, eds., *Multiculturalism in Transit: A German-American Exchange*.

Topic 15:

Moved There: The Tolerant Dutch and "the Limits of Tolerance"

Assignments:

Banting and Kymlicka project, Multiculturalism Policy Index, country-specific data reports (2011) on:

- a. ~~Indigenous Peoples Policies (Veldon Coburn)~~
- b. ~~National Minority Policies (Caroline Duvieusart-Déry);~~ and
- c. Immigrant Minority Policies (Erin Tolley)

>> *From each of these documents, read the section on **the Netherlands** [note: no report for Indigenous Peoples or National Minorities]*

Baukje Prins and Sawitri Saharso, "From Toleration to Repression: The Dutch Backlash against Multiculturalism," in Steven Vertovec and Susanne Vessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (2010), pp. 72-91.

Recommended/optional:

Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance*, read ch. 2, "Thank you, Pim," pp. 37-70.

Ellie Vasta, "From Ethnic minorities to Ethnic Majority Policy: Multiculturalism and the Shift to Assimilationism in the Netherlands," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 5 (2007): 713-740.

Elke Winter, "Trajectories of Multiculturalism in Germany, the Netherlands and Canada: In Search of Common Patterns," *Government and Opposition* 45, no. 2 (April 2010): 166-186.

Topic 16:

Believing in Europe: European Multicultural Policy and Religious Differences

Assignments:

Ali Rattansi, *Multiculturalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Read ch. 2, "Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?"; ch. 5, "National Identity, Belonging, and the 'Muslim Question'"

Ralph Grillo, "British and Others: From 'Race' to 'Faith'," in Steven Vertovec and Susanne Vessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (2010), pp. 50-71.

Recommended/optional:

Tariq Modood, "Multiculturalism, Liberal Citizenship, and National Identity: On British Muslims," in *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*. eds. Maria Montserrat Guibernau and John Rex, 243-250.

Paul Snidermann and Louk Hagendoorn, *When Ways of Life Collide: Multiculturalism and Its Discontents in the Netherlands*. Read ch. 2, "Muslims"

MONDAY, 29 AUGUST

Topic 17:

Everywhere, Gypsies: The Special Case of Europe's Roma Populations

Assignments:

Amnesty International report, *Europe: Human Rights Here, Roma Rights Now: A Wake-up Call to the European Union*, 2013

Recommended/optional:

Dena Ringold, Mitchell Alexander Orenstein, Erika Wilkens, *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle*. Read ch. 1, "Introduction," ch. 5, "Project Experience in Hungary,"; and ch. 7, "The Road Ahead" [pdf of entire book is on Ted site]

Topic 18:

Where Is Europe Now? The State of European Multicultural Policy and Debate

Assignments:

Christian Joppke, "The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy," *British Journal of Sociology* 55, no. 2 (June 2004): 237–257.

Keith Banting and Will Kymlicka, "Is there really a retreat from multiculturalism policies? New evidence from the multiculturalism policy index," *Comparative European Politics* 11 (2013): 577–598.

Recommended/optional:

Irene Bloemraad, "We the People" in an Age of Migration: Multiculturalism and Immigrants' Political Integration in Comparative Perspective." Pp. 250-272 in *Citizenship, Borders and Human Needs*, edited by Rogers Smith (2011), pp. 250-272.

WEDNESDAY, 31 AUGUST

WHERE?

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS OF MULTICULTURALISM

Topic 19:

**Where Is America Now? Where Is America Going?
The State of U.S. Multicultural Policy and Debate**

Assignments:

Nathan Glazer, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*, ch. 6, "Where Assimilation Failed," pp. 96-121.

Recommended/optional:

David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. Read ch. 4, "Pluralism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Diversification of Diversity"

Topic 20:

**Where Are We Now? Where Will We Be Going?
Comparing and Competing Multiculturalisms in the US, Europe and Canada**

Assignments:

Irene Bloemraad, "We the People" in an Age of Migration: Multiculturalism and Immigrants' Political Integration in Comparative Perspective," in *Citizenship, Borders and Human Needs*, edited by Rogers Smith (2011), pp. 250-272.

Ali Rattansi, *Multiculturalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Read: "Conclusion: Moving On: Multiculturalism, Interculturalism, and Transnationalism in a Global Era"

Recommended/optional:

Phil Parvin, "Integration and Identity in an International Context: Problems and Ambiguities in the New Politics of Multiculturalism," *Political Studies Review* 7, no. 3 (September 2009): 351–363.