

**Ethnic Politics and Citizenship**  
**Woodrow Wilson 572d/ Politics 524**  
**Princeton University**  
**Spring 2005**

Professor: Deborah J. Yashar  
Time: Tuesday 1:30-4:30  
Location: Robertson 14

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Course Description

Ethnicity and citizenship are commonly discussed as both sources of pride and of conflict. This course explores the intersection of ethnic politics and citizenship. It analyzes the different ways in which states have granted citizenship, catalogued membership, and structured social relations along ethno-national lines. Moreover, it compares state efforts to prevent or accommodate ethnic conflict through various institutional and policy reforms – including federalism, affirmative action, and autonomy arrangements. To that end, the course is divided into four parts:

- 1) Part I introduces competing arguments about citizenship and political membership. What is citizenship? What rights and responsibilities are associated with this form of political membership? Why do different states allocate citizenship differently? We first explore conceptual debates about citizenship and then compare cases where states have granted citizenship along ethno-national lines.
- 2) Part II introduces key debates about ethnicity. While it is commonly argued that ethnic identities are primordial, a substantial scholarship questions this position. We will debate primordial, rational choice, and constructivist arguments about identity, with an eye to thinking about the political/policy implications for citizenship and ethnic conflict.
- 3) Part III addresses ethnic conflict and the various ways in which states have tried to prevent ethnic conflict and accommodate diverse citizens. In this section we analyze both primary and secondary sources.
- 4) Part IV concludes by debating the impact of “globalization” for citizenship, migration, ethnic identities, and national borders.

## Course Requirements and Grading.

- 1) Weekly Participation (50% of grade): The course depends on active and ongoing participation by all seminar participants.
  - a. Seminar participants are expected to read and discuss the readings on a weekly basis.
  - b. Each week 1-2 students will take responsibility for presenting the readings. This includes writing a 2-page synopsis of the readings that a) lays out the main argument(s), b) indicates what you found provocative and/or mundane, and c) poses questions for class discussion. These handouts will be distributed via email to the rest of the class by midnight on Monday, the evening before class. In class on Tuesday, you will then make an informal 5-minute presentation designed to initiate focused and critical discussion of the readings.
- 2) Papers (50% of grade): There are two options
  - Option 1: Write a 25 page research paper for the class.
    - a. Inform me of decision to write this paper by **February 28**.
    - b. Turn in a 3-page paper that outlines the question, import, and relevant sources by **March 28**.
    - c. Final Paper due on **May 10**.

Option 2: Write three papers – one paper for each part of the course.

The papers do not require any outside reading. Rather they are intended to provide you with the forum to critically address, analyze, and compare the readings discussed in each part of the course. Hand papers in to Edna Lloyd in 318 Bendheim by noon on the dates mentioned below. Please do *not* send your paper as an email attachment.

Due Dates are:

- a. 7-8 page paper on Part I (Citizenship Debates) – **Due February 28**
- b. 7-8 page paper on Part II (Ethnicity Debates) – **Due March 28**
- c. 10 page paper drawing on Parts III & IV (Diversity, Conflict, and Accommodation)– **Due May 10**

Late Policy. Extensions will only be granted in case of emergency. This is out of respect to those in the class who have abided by deadlines, despite equally hectic schedules.

## Course Materials

All books and articles are on reserve at the Woodrow Wilson School Library: articles are accessible through e-reserves and blackboard.

Required Reading: Should you so choose, you can purchase the books listed below at the Princeton University Bookstore. These books will also be on regular reserve at the WWS library.

Benedict Anderson. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1991. (0860915468)

Roger Brubaker. Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992. (0674131789)

David D. Laitin. Identity in Formation: The Russian Speaking Populations in the Near-Abroad. Cornell University Press, 1998. (0801484952)

Anthony W. Marx. Making Race and Nation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. (0521585902)

Douglas Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan Maloney. Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration. Russell Sage, 2002. (087154590X)

Andrew Reynolds, ed., The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy. Oxford UP, 2002. (0199246467)

Thomas Sowell. Affirmative Action around the World: An Empirical Study. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004. (0300107757)

Yasemin N. Soysal. Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994. (0226768422)

UNDP. 2004. Human Development Report: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World. Oxford UP, 2004. (019522146X)

Ashutosh Varshney. Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims, 2<sup>nd</sup>, ed., New Haven: Yale UP, 2003. (0300100132)

Other Classic Texts that are Highly Recommended:

Ted Robert Gurr with Barbara Harff et al, Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1993.

Donald L. Horowitz. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Berkley: University of California Press, 1985.

Arend Lijphart. Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

There is a rich and growing literature on ethnic conflict, multiculturalism and citizenship. For those interested in this topic, I highly recommend the following readings in political theory:

Michael Walzer. "Multiculturalism & Individualism." Dissent (Spring 1994): pp.185-193.

Will Kymlicka. Multicultural Citizenship. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Will Kymlicka, ed., The Rights of Minority Cultures. Oxford UP, 1995.

Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka. Ethnicity and Group Rights. NOMOS XXXIX. NY: NYU Press, 1997.

Amy Gutmann, ed., Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition. Princeton UP, 1994.

Amy Gutmann. Identity in Democracy. Princeton UP, 2003.

James Tully. Strange multiplicity; constitutionalism in an age of diversity. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.

Joseph. H. Carens. Culture, Citizenship, and Community: A Contextual Exploration of Justice as Evenhandedness. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

## Part I: Citizenship and Nation States

### Week 1. Introduction (February 1)

No Required Readings

### Week 2. Conceptualizing Citizenship (February 8)

Barbara Crossette. "Citizenship is a Malleable Concept." New York Times. August 18, 1996. p.E3.

T.H. Marshall. "Citizenship and Social Class." Class, Citizenship, and Social Development. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 65-122. Exact page numbers may vary depending on your edition.

Karl Marx. "On The Jewish Question." In Robert C. Tucker, ed., The Marx-Engels Reader. New York: Norton, 1978, pp. 26-52.

Michael Walzer. "Exclusion, Injustice, and the Democratic State." Dissent (Winter 1993): pp. 55-64.

Iris Marion Young. "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship." In Ronald Biener, ed. Theorizing Citizenship. Albany: State University of NY Press, 1995, pp. 175-207.

Recommended:

Ronald Biener, ed. Theorizing Citizenship. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.

Paul Barry Clarke. "Citizen Human." Citizenship. London: Pluto Press, 1994, pp. 3-33.

Gershon Shafir, ed., The Citizenship Debates: A Reader. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Derek Heater. What is Citizenship? Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.

### **Week 3. Citizenship, Membership, and Ethnic/Nation-States (February 15)**

Rogers Brubaker. Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992.

Thomas Faist. "Ethnicization and racialization of welfare-state politics in Germany and the USA." Ethnic and Racial Studies 18, no. 2 (April 1995): pp. 219-250.

Deborah J. Yashar. Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005/forthcoming, chapter 2.

#### Recommended:

Rogers Brubaker. "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis." International Sociology 5, no. 4 (December 1990).

Joseph Carens. "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders." The Review of Politics 49, no. 2 (Spring 1987): pp. 251-273.

### **Week 4. Comparing Citizenships, Color, and Inclusion/Exclusion (February 22)**

Ted Robert Gurr. Peoples Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2000, pp. 151-171.

Anthony W. Marx. Making Race and Nation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Evan S. Lieberman. Race and Regionalism in the Politics of Taxation in Brazil and South Africa. Cambridge UP, 2003, chapters 1 and 7 (pp.1-37; 271-283 required; the entire book, however, is strongly recommended).

#### Recommended:

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

Deborah J. Yashar. Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge: Cambridge UP, 2005.

## Part II: To Wit, What's an Ethnicity?

### Week 5. Blood Ties and Primordialism (March 1)

Harold Isaacs. "Basic Group Identity." In Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., Ethnicity: Theory and Experience. Cambridge, Harvard UP, 1975, pp. 29-52.

Clifford Geertz. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in New States." In Old Societies and New States. New York: Basic Books, 1973, pp. 255-310.

Samuel P. Huntington. "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993): pp. 22-49.

Walker Connor. "A Nation is a Nation, A State is a State, An Ethnic Group is ...." Ethnic and Racial Studies 1, no. 4 (October 1978): pp. 377-400. Also, reprinted in Connor, Ethnonationalism: the Quest for Understanding. Princeton UP, 1994, pp. 89-117.

Donald Horowitz. "The primordialists." In Daniele Conversi, ed., Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism. London and NY: Routledge, 2002.

#### Recommended:

Jack Edward Shils. "Primordial, Personal, Sacred, and Civil Rights." British Journal of Sociology 8 (1957): pp. 130-145.

David Eller and Reed M. Coughlan. "The poverty and primordialism: the demystification of ethnic attachments." Ethnic and Racial Studies 16, no. 2 (1993): pp. 183-202.

## Week 6. Rational Choice and Instrumental Ethnicities (March 8)

Robert Bates. "Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa." Comparative Political Studies 6 (January 1974).

David D. Laitin. Identity in Formation: The Russian Speaking Populations in the Near-Abroad. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." American Political Science Review 90, no. 4 (December 1996): pp. 715(21).

### Recommended:

Alvin Rabushka and Ken Shepsle. Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability. Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill Publishing Co., 1972.

John Rex and David Mason, eds., Theories of Race and Ethnic Relations. New York: Cambridge UP, 1986.

Michael Banton. "Modeling Ethnic and Racial Relations." Ethnic and Racial Studies 17, no. 1 (January 1994): pp. 1-19.

Russell Hardin. "Self-interest, group identity." In Albert Breton, Gianluigi Galeotti, Pierre Salmon, & Ronald Wintrob, eds., Nationalism and Rationality. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995, pp.14-42. [Hardin has also written a book that elaborates on the arguments presented here].

SPRING RECESS: March 12-20

## Week 7. Constructing Social Identities (March 22)

Eric Hobsbawn. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." In Eric Hobsbawn and Terrance Ranger, eds., The Invention of Tradition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 1-14.

Benedict Anderson. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. London: Verso, 1991.

Craig Calhoun. "Social Theory and the Politics of Identity." In Craig Calhoun, ed., Social Theory and the Politics of Identity. Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1994, pp. 9-36.

### Recommended:

Frederik Barth. "Introduction." In Frederik Barth, ed., Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1969, pp. 9-38. (Strongly Recommended)

Paul R. Brass, ed., Ethnic Groups and the State. London: Croom Helm, 1985.

Cynthia Enloe. Ethnic Conflict and Political Development. Lanham: University Press of America, 1986.

Joane Nagel. "The Political Construction of Ethnicity." In Susan Olzak and Joane Nagel, eds., Competitive Ethnic Relations. Orlando FLA: Academic Press, 1986, pp. 93-112.

Joane Nagel and Susan Olzak. "Ethnic Mobilization in Old and New States: An Extension of the Competition Model." Social Problems 30, no. 2 (December 1982): pp.127-143.

Joane Nagel. American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture. NY: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Mahmood Mamdani. Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Princeton: Princeton University, 1996.

Mahmood Mamdani. "Indirect Rule, Civil Society, and Ethnicity." Social Justice 23, no. 1-2 (Spring-Summer 1996): pp. 145(6)

Mahmood Mamdani. "From Conquest to Consent as the Basis of State Formation: Reflections on Rwanda." New Left Review no. 216 (March-April 1996): pp. 3 (34).

Partha Chatterjee. The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Ashutosh Varshney. "Postmodernism, Civic Engagement, and Ethnic Conflict: A Passage to India." Comparative Politics 30, no. 1 (October 1997): pp. 1-20.

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. "Violence and Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." International Organization 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000).

### **Part III: Ethnic Politics**

#### **Week 8. Ethnic Conflict (March 29)**

James Fearon and David Laitin. "Map: A World at War." Harper's Magazine. NY; March 2002, Vol 304, Iss 1822, pg. 84 (1 page).

Paul Collier. "The Market for Civil War." Foreign Policy 136 (May/June 2003). [for academic version, see Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Oxford Economic Papers 56 (2004), 563-595.]

Ashutosh Varshney. Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New Haven: Yale UP, 2003.

Donald L. Horowitz. The Deadly Ethnic Riot. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapters 1, 2, and 13 (pp. 1-71, 522-567).

Rogers D. Petersen. Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe. Cambridge UP, 2002, Chapters 1, 2, and 11 (pp. 1-40 and 254-272).

Jack Snyder. From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict. NY: Columbia University Press, 2000, Chapters 1-2 (pp. 15-91).

#### **Recommended:**

Donald L. Horowitz. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, pp. 3-228. *Very strongly recommended. This is a classic book on ethnic politics and conflict.*

Ted Robert Gurr, with contributions by Barbara Harff, Monty G. Marshall, James R. Scarritt. Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993.

Ted Robert Gurr and James R. Scarritt. "Minorities Rights at Risk: A Global Survey." Human Rights Quarterly 11 no.3 (August 1989): pp. 375-405.

Ted Robert Gurr. "People Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System." International Studies Quarterly 38, no. 3 (September 1994): pp. 347-377.

Ted Robert Gurr. Peoples Versus States : Minorities at Risk in the New Century, 2000.

Barbara F. Walker and Jack Snyder, eds., Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention. NY: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Donald Rothchild. Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997.

Rene Lemarchand. Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide. Woodrow Wilson Center and Cambridge University Press, 1995.

David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict. Princeton UP, 1998.

Michael E. Brown, eds., Ethnic Conflict and International Security. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993, especially chapter by Barry Posen.

Peter Uvin. "Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence." Comparative Politics 31, no. 3 (April 1999), pp.253-272.

Monica Duffy Toft. The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory. Princeton UP, 2004.

Steven Wilkinson. Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Amy Chua. World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability. Doubleday Press, 2003.

## **Week 9. Accommodation I -- Institutional Responses: Consociationalism, Federalism, and Electoral Rules (April 5)**

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. "Stateness, Nationalism, and Democratization." Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins UP, 1996, pp.16-37.

Andrew Reynolds, ed., The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy. Oxford UP, 2002. [earlier versions of these papers are online at <http://www.nd.edu/%7Ekelloeg/CD.html>.]

- Donald Horowitz. "Constitutional Design: Proposals versus Processes." Pp. 15-36
- Arend Lijphart. "The Wave of Power-Sharing Democracy." Pp. 37-54.
- Pippa Norris. "Ballots not Bullets: Testing Consociational Theories of Ethnic Conflict, Electoral Systems and Democratization, pp. 206-247.
- Rotimi T. Suberu and Larry Diamond. "Institutional Design, Ethnic Conflict Management, and Democracy in Nigeria." Pp. 400-428.
- David Stuligrass and Ashutosh Varshney. "Ethnic Diversities, Constitutional Designs, and Public Policies in India." Pp. 429-458.

Brendan O'Leary. "Building Inclusive States." Background Paper for HDR 2004, 2004 ([http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background\\_papers/2004/HDR2004\\_Brendan\\_OLeary.pdf](http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background_papers/2004/HDR2004_Brendan_OLeary.pdf))

Nancy Bermeo: "The Import of Institutions." Journal of Democracy. April 2002. Volume 13, number 2, 96-110.

Alfred Stepan. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the US Model." Journal of Democracy 10, no. 4 (October 99), pp. 19-34.

Lani Guinier. "The Miner's Canary: Race and the Democratic Process." Dissent (Fall 1995): pp. 521-526. And David Plotke. "Response to Guinier." Dissent (Fall 1995) pp. 526-529.

### **Recommended:**

Hans Daalder. "The Consociational Democracy Theme." World Politics 26 (October 1973): pp. 604-621.

Donald Horowitz. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. pp. 291-442. (Strongly Recommended)

Arend Lijphart. Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary. "Regulating Nations and Ethnic Communities." In Albert Breton et al, eds., Nationalism and rationality. Cambridge UP, 1995, pp. 245-289.

Donald Horowitz. "Democracy in Divided Societies: The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict." Journal of Democracy 4 (October 1993): pp. 18-33.

Arend Lijphart. "The political consequences of electoral law, 1945-85." American Political Science Review 84, no. 2, (June 1990): p. 481(16).

Daniel J. Elazar, ed., Federal Systems of the World: A Handbook of Confederal and Autonomy Arrangements. 2<sup>nd</sup>, ed., London: Longman, 1994.

Graham Smith, ed., Federalism: The Multiethnic Challenge. NY: Longman Publishing, 1995.

Daniel Elazar. "Federalism v. Decentralization: The Drift from Authenticity." Publius: The Journal of Federalism 6 (1976): pp. 9-19.

Arend Lijphart. "The framework document on Northern Ireland and the theory of power-sharing." Government and Opposition 31, no. 3 (Summer 1996): pp. 267 (8).

John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, eds., The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation. London: Routledge, 1993.

Melissa S. Williams. Voice, Trust, and Memory: Marginalized Groups and the Failings of Liberal Representation. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 177-243.

## Week 10: Accommodation II -- Social Policy: Debates about Affirmative Action (April 12)

Donald Horowitz. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Chapter 16, pp. 653-680.

Myron Weiner. "The Political Consequences and Preferential Policies: India in Comparative Perspective." The Indian Paradox: Essays in Indian Politics. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1989, pp. 152-175. Originally published in Comparative Politics (October 1983).

Thomas Sowell. Affirmative Action around the World: An Empirical Study. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Mala Htun. "From Racial Democracy to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil." Latin American Research Review 39, no. 1 (February 2004), pp. 60-98.

Mala Htun. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity." Perspectives on Politics 2, no3. (2004).

Daniel Sabbagh. "Affirmative Action Policies: An International Perspective." Background Paper for HDR 2004, 2004 ([http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background\\_papers/2004/HDR2004\\_Daniel\\_Sabbagh.pdf](http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background_papers/2004/HDR2004_Daniel_Sabbagh.pdf))

Thomas Boston, Usha Nair-Reichert. "Affirmative Action: Perspectives from the United States, India and Brazil." Western Journal of Black Studies 27 no. 1 (Spring 2003).

### Recommended:

Myron Weiner and Mary Fainsod Katzenstien. India's Preferential Policies: Migrants, the Middle Classes and Ethnic Equality.

Marc Galanter Competing Equalities. Berkeley: UC Press, Part I, pp. 7-117.

Rita Jalai. "Preferential policies and the movement of the disadvantaged: the case of the Scheduled Castes in India." Ethnic and Racial Studies 16, no. 1 (January 1993).

Devanesan Nesiiah. Discrimination with reason?: the policy of reservations in the United States, India, and Malaysia. Delhi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Michael L. Wyzan, ed., The Political economy of ethnic discrimination and affirmative action: a comparative perspective.

Sunita Parikh. The politics of preference: democratic institutions and affirmative action in the United States and India. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

William G. Bowen and Derek Bok. The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Martin Kilson. "Affirmative Action." Dissent 42, no. 4 (Fall 1995): pp.469 (2)

Elazar Barkan. The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices. W.W. Norton & Co., 2000, Read Introduction (xv-xli); and Chapter 12 and conclusion (283-349).

### **Week 11. Accommodation III: Multicultural Democracy, Self-Determination, and Autonomy (April 19)**

UNDP. 2004. Human Development Report: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World. Oxford UP, 2004.

Will Kymlicka. "Culturally Responsive Policies." Background Paper for HDR 2004, 2004  
([http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background\\_papers/2004/HDR2004\\_Will\\_Kymlicka.pdf](http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background_papers/2004/HDR2004_Will_Kymlicka.pdf))

Rodolfo Stavenhagen. "Indigenous Peoples in Comparative Perspective – Problems and Policies." Background Paper for HDR 2004, 2004  
([http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background\\_papers/2004/HDR2004\\_Rodolfo\\_Stavenhagen.pdf](http://.hdr.undp.org/docs/publications/background_papers/2004/HDR2004_Rodolfo_Stavenhagen.pdf))

Hurst Hannum. "Rethinking Self-Determination." Virginia Journal of International Law 34, no. 1 (Fall 1993): pp. 1-70.

Benedict Kingsbury. "Claims by Non-State Groups in International Law." Cornell International Law Journal 25, no. 3 (1992): pp. 481-514.

Ruth Lapidot. "Autonomy: potential and limitations." International Journal on Group Rights 1 (1994): pp. 269-290.

Amitai Etzioni. "The Evils of Self -Determination." Foreign Policy no. 89 (Winter 1992-1993).

Deborah J. Yashar. Contesting Citizenship in Latin America. Cambridge UP, 2005. Chapter 7.

Important Documents:

Hurst Hannum, ed., Documents on Autonomy and Minority Rights. Dordrecht, Boston, and London: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1993 (ILO 169; Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to ... Minorities; and Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People) pp. 46-59, 78-83, 102-112.

Wolfgang Danspeckgruber, ed., with Authur Watts, Self-Determination and Self-Administration: A Sourcebook. Boulder: Westview Press, 1997 (Appendices 5 & 7: pp. 465-474, 479-482).

Also look at related documents at the ILO and UN websites. At the ILO, for example, see <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/employment/strat/poldev/papers/1998/169guide/index.htm>

<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/norm/whatare/stndards/indig.htm>

At the UN website , for example, see

[http://www.un.org/partners/civil\\_society/docs/d-indig.htm#indig](http://www.un.org/partners/civil_society/docs/d-indig.htm#indig)

Recommended:

Donald L. Horowitz. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. pp. 229-288 (Strongly Recommended).

Hurst Hannum. Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation Conflict in Rights. Revised Edition. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Thomas D. Musgrave. Self-Determination and National Minorities. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Donald Clark and Robert Williamson, eds., Self-Determination: International Perspectives. New York: St Martin's Press, 1997.

Patrick Thornbery. "Self-Determination, Minorities, Human Rights: A Review of International Instruments." International and Comparative Law Quarterly 38 (1989): pp. 867-889.

Brolmann et al, eds., Peoples and Minorities in International Law.

Rupert Emerson. "Self-Determination." American Journal of International Law 65 (1971): pp. 459-475.

Max M. Kampelmann. "Secession and Self-Determination." The Washington Quarterly 16, no. 3 (Summer 1993).

Richard Schweder, Martha Minow, Hazel Rose Markus, eds., Engaging Cultural Differences: The Multicultural Challenge in Liberal Democracies. Russell Sage, 2004.

#### **Part IV: Whither the Nation-State?**

Week 12: Debates about Borders and Citizenship: Migration and Refugee Flows (April 26)

Yasemin N. Soysal. Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994.

Doug Massey, Jorge Durand, and Nolan Maloney. Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration. Russell Sage, 2002.

Benedict Anderson. "Exodus." Critical Inquiry 20, no. 2 (Winter 1994): pp. 314-328.

Samuel P. Huntington. "The Hispanic Challenge." Foreign Policy Issue 141 (March/April 2004).

Thomas Faist. "Social Citizenship in the European Union." Journal of Common Market Studies 39, no. 1 (March 2001).

Thomas Faist, Jurgen Gerdes, and Beate Rieple. "Dual Citizenship as a Path Dependent Process." The International Migration Review 38, no.3 (Fall 2004).

Peggy Levitt and Rafael de la Dehesa. "Transnational Migration and the Redefinition of the State: Variations and Explanations." Ethnic and Racial Studies 26, no. 4 (July 2003): 587-611.

#### Recommended:

Rainer Baubock, Agnes Heller, Aristide R. Zolberg, eds., The challenge of diversity: integration and pluralism in societies of immigration. Aldershot, England: Brookfield, Vt. Avebury: 1996.

David Jacobson, ed., The Immigration Reader: America in a Multidisciplinary Perspective. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998.

James F. Hollifield. "Immigration and integration in Western Europe: a comparative analysis." In Emek M. Ucarer and Donald J. Puchala, eds., Immigration in Western Societies: Problems and Policies. London and Washington: Pinter Press, 1997, pp. 28-69.

Myron Weiner, General Editor of 5 Volume Series on Migration and Refugee. Oxford: Bergahn Books, 1997.

William Roger Brubaker, ed., Immigration and the politics of citizenship in Europe and North America. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989.

Keith Fitzgerald. The Face of the Nation: Immigration, the State, and the National Identity. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996.

David Jacobson. Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996

Russell King. "European international migration 1945-1990: a statistic and geographical overview." In King, ed., Mass Migration in Europe: The Legacy and the Future. London: Belhaven Press, 1993, pp. 19-39.

Myron Weiner. "Bad Neighbors, Bad Neighborhoods: An Inquiry into the Causes of Refugee Flows, 1969-1992." In Rainer Munz and Myron Weiner, eds., Migrants, Refugees, and Foreign Policy: U.S. and German Policies Towards Countries of Origin. Oxford: Bergahn Books, 1997, pp. 182-230.

Joseph Carens. "Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders." The Review of Politics 49, no. 2 (Spring 1987): pp. 251-273.