

Indigenous Politics and Citizenship
POLS Y657
AMST G620
#17667

GRADUATE SEMINAR

Fall 2014
Wednesday 10:10 a.m. -12:10 p.m.
Woodburn Hall 204

Professor Lauren M. MacLean

Office: 404 Woodburn Hall

Office tel.: 812-856-2376

E-mail: macleanl@indiana.edu

Office hours: Mondays 12:15 – 2:15 p.m. and by appointment

Course Description:

The objective of the course is to explore theories of citizenship and representation and examine how these theories help us understand ethnic and indigenous politics around the world. The course is designed to be explicitly comparative both theoretically and empirically. We will be pairing scholarship in political theory with empirical applications from a wide range of areas in the world including possibly Brazil, Mexico, Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay, the U.S., Canada, Lebanon, the Netherlands, Cameroun, Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, and Tanzania. Thus, we will read Kymlicka and Iris Marion Young the same week that we read a book on indigenous movements in Bolivia that engages with multicultural theory.

Some of the themes covered in the course will include but are not limited to: colonialism and concepts of indigeneity; concepts of ethnicity and distinctions with indigeneity; ethnicity and democracy and indigenous concepts of democracy; theories of sovereignty; liberal, Marxist, multicultural and constructivist theories of citizenship; theories of representation, including bureaucratic representation; ethnicity and state capacity; the historical role of state-building on indigenous movements; ethnicity/indigeneity and the distributional politics of public service provision; federalism and ethnic/indigenous politics; transnational networks, ethnic/indigenous politics and citizenship; and globalization and ethnic/indigenous politics.

This course will be valuable for political science students studying comparative politics, political philosophy, and/or public policy. The course readings will be primarily political science but may also include works in history, anthropology, sociology, and geography.

The course will be jointly listed with the African Studies Program, the Center on Latin American and Caribbean Studies, and American Studies (and counts towards the Native American and Indigenous Studies (NAIS) minor).

Course Requirements:

The course is primarily a reading seminar. Students are required to: attend all classes; do all assigned reading; participate energetically in class discussion; serve twice as reading question facilitator; and, complete 2 short written assignments that use theory in different ways. The written assignments will be useful to students at a variety of stages of their careers.

Class Attendance, Participation and Reading.

Attendance and participation is obviously a critical component of this class. No matter what your background or area of expertise, your participation is important and valued. Every one of us needs to listen respectfully and tolerate the differences of opinion that will undoubtedly be present in our group. This mutual respect and tolerance does not preclude lively debate, questions, and even challenges, but all of this should be done appropriately.

In order for any of this to happen, you must come to class PREPARED to discuss the readings. While there are many, many more articles and books that I think are terrific, I have tried very hard to trim the reading to several good pieces so that we can better focus our time and effort.

The readings will be relatively diverse including “classics” of several decades ago as well as “cutting-edge” research from the past several years. The course readings will be dominated by scholarship in political science but will also include works in history, legal studies, anthropology, sociology, and geography. A few excerpts from films may be shown at different points throughout the course depending on our time constraints.

At the end of class each week, I will give you a “sneak preview” of what to expect and look for in the next week’s readings. Generally, as you read, think about the following: 1) what is the question being asked?; 2) what is the argument put forth by the author? 3) what types of methods/data does the author use to support their argument; 4) is it convincing and why? does it fit with what you thought or know about these issues? 5) how does this compare to what we have read or seen earlier in the course? 6) how does this compare to what you might know about other time periods or places?; and, 7) what are the policy implications emerging from the analysis/argument presented?

My advice in general would be to take some kind of notes as you read, either in a bibliographic database such as EndNote (which is offered FREE at IU), or literally scrawled at the top/bottom of the article itself. The idea is to create a record of your reading that will be useful later on when you are studying for your exams, writing your proposal/dissertation, and, most especially, if you are writing, teaching, or advising students long after grad school and your classes are a distant memory.

In order to facilitate your own digestion of the reading, you may want to consider organizing reading groups of ideally three to five people. Members might share reading notes and summaries, and then meet and discuss in an even smaller group prior to our seminar meeting. Remember: the reading is explicitly the purpose of this seminar so do not shortchange yourself by not giving yourself enough time to engage with the material.

Reading Question Facilitator Role. You will sign up on the first day of the seminar to assist our class in developing and posting in advance five reading questions. As reading question facilitator, you will distribute a list of five questions about the readings via e-mail to the entire class at least 24 hours in advance of our meeting, i.e., by Tuesday 10 a.m. at the latest. The facilitator will present the list in the

order he/she believes will stimulate and build the most productive discussion. If there are two facilitators assigned for the week, they will coordinate and produce one question list.

The questions can range from mundane and minute to extraordinary and cosmic. In devising your list, think about the sorts of questions (and question order) that help guide your reading and stimulate your thinking and discussion in other classes. Be sure that the questions are answerable, for example, by thinking through your own responses to your own queries.

Some broad themes to consider for your questions include: what is the puzzle being explained in this work?; what is the hypothesis or rival explanations considered?; what types of data are used? what was the logic of the research design? which cases (people, places, time periods, policies, etc.) were selected and why? how does the empirical context of this work shape the theory generated? how is X key concept theorized or measured?; how does this theoretical work support or challenge this empirical work? How does the empirical study approach theory? How does this work relate to X or Y other that we have already discussed? What is left unexplained? How would you do X or Y (or address X or Y critique) in a more efficient, effective or compelling manner?

These reading questions will both serve as a guide for all of us to the reading's key points or contributions as well as a provocation for our discussion. All classmates should read the reading questions before attending class, and I will use them when possible to facilitate our discussion.

Choice of Two Short Written Assignments.

The skills that we will be practicing throughout the course are the foundation of any original research project. We will be talking about how to read critically and use the literature, not just review it passively or destroy it aggressively. We will be thinking constructively about how to build!

In recognition of the demanding reading load, only two short (approximately 5-6 pages) written assignments will be required. The assignments are described briefly below but we will discuss the assignment in more detail in class. You may choose whichever two of the three assignments below that are most useful to you.

You have a choice of assignments, but each written assignment is due in hard copy in class. Please do not send your paper via e-mail. Late papers will be penalized at a rate of one-half grade per day. There are always legitimate exceptions to this rule but I would like you to know from the beginning that I strongly discourage incompletes. This is for your benefit.

1) IDENTIFYING ARGUMENTS IN THE LITERATURE.

Due WEEK SIX on 10/1/14.

The first assignment will concentrate on how to locate arguments and explanations in the literature. You will identify the puzzle being solved and the main explanatory factors identified by the author. You will highlight what types of evidence are presented to buttress the argument and evaluate whether the evidence is convincing and why/why not. Finally you will attempt to locate this argument in a broader set of debates or theoretical approaches to the research question. For this, it might be helpful to think about whom (what set of theories) is this author building on, and/or whom are they arguing against?

2) CONCEPT DEFINITION AND MEASUREMENT.

Due WEEK ELEVEN on 11/5/14.

The second assignment will focus on using the literature to define and measure concepts. You will identify one core concept in a book or article and describe how the author uses the literature to

conceptualize and possibly measure this concept. You will then explore how you might conceptualize this same concept similarly or differently in your own empirical research project.

3) USING THEORY AS THE BACKBONE FOR YOUR RESEARCH DESIGN

Due WEEK FIFTEEN on 12/10/14 (the last day of class).

The third assignment will investigate how we use the literature to select cases and construct a solid research design. You will deconstruct the logic of one of the empirical article or book's research design. How did the author use theory to develop a hypothesis and rival explanations, and then, how was this connected to their research design? Why did the author(s) choose X case and/or Y time period? How did theory inform the construction of this research design? Is there another theory that we have considered during the course that was not included in the article/book? What would the implications be for an additional rival explanation, and how might you change the research design to evaluate the importance of that explanation?

OnCourse system/E-mail Combo. In this class, we will be using the IU OnCourse system to post the syllabus, any shared materials from class, and any outside articles/resources as they appear (i.e., newspaper articles). To disseminate any class announcements or information of potential interest to the class, I will use e-mail (and not Oncourse mail). Please let me know if you are having any trouble using and accessing this system.

Required Books and Readings:

The books that you are suggested to purchase for this class are:

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

Hodgson, Dorothy. 2011. *Becoming Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Jung, Courtney. 2008. *The Moral Force of Indigenous Politics: Critical Liberalism and the Zapatistas*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Yashar, Deborah. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Geschiere, Peter. 2009. *The Perils of Belonging. Autochtony, Citizenship and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Evans, Laura. 2011. *Power from Powerlessness: Tribal Governments, Institutional Niches, and American Federalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John. 2008. *Ethnicity, Inc*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [about commodification of cultural identity in South Africa]

The above books will be available for purchase at the IU Bookstore, but if you have the time and energy, less expensive, used copies can also be found pretty readily. A wonderful website that I use to compare and find the least expensive price for books is AddAll [<http://www.addall.com/>].

In an effort to reduce the cost burden of the course, I will also put a copy of each book (if at all possible) on reserve at the Kent Cooper room in the basement of the Wells library.

All other readings are article and book chapters that will be available on the resources tab of Oncourse.

If you have trouble downloading a reading, please search for it yourself. Then, ask a friend in the class. If you are still having troubles after demonstrating this initiative and resourcefulness, please contact me WELL IN ADVANCE of the class session.

Academic Integrity: All Indiana University policies regarding academic honesty will be strictly enforced. Plagiarism, cheating or academic misconduct in any manner will not be tolerated. I have and will continue to uphold IU's Code of Conduct. Any violations can result in a range of disciplinary action, including any combination of the following: a failing grade on the assignment; failing grade for the course; filing an official report for the student's academic record. Depending on the nature of the case, my sanction for the course may also be followed up at higher levels with broader university sanctions which include academic probation and expulsion. This is serious. I would encourage you to read Section 3 of IU's Code of Student Rights, Responsibilities and Conduct, which describes what constitutes academic misconduct and can be found at: <http://dsa.indiana.edu/Code/index1.html>.

While most examples of misconduct are blatantly obvious (i.e., you may not pay someone to take your final exam for you!), knowing when and how to acknowledge and appropriately cite sources is something you may have to learn. For example, even if you acknowledge the source, you can not stay too close to the language of the original source when paraphrasing. If you are not sure about anything, please do not hesitate to see me, and we can go over it together. Additionally, you may find the Campus Writing Program's information useful: <http://www.indiana.edu/~wts/wts/plagiarism.html>.

Grading:

Overall Class Participation (30%)

Reading Question Facilitator I (10%)

Reading Question Facilitator II (10%)

Written Assignment I (25%)

Written Assignment II (25%)

** Please note. I reserve the right to change any readings, dates and requirements listed in this syllabus. If this occurs, every effort will be made to announce the changes well in advance. You are responsible for any changes made and announced in class or via e-mail. **

Course Reading and Class Schedule:

Section 1: Introduction to Concepts and Debates

1. August 27

INTRODUCTION TO COURSE MATERIAL, OBJECTIVES AND REQUIREMENTS

In-Class Methods Discussion:

Political Science as a discipline; Subfield boundaries and transgressions between political theory, comparative politics and public policy; How to read an Article/Book;

Readings:

Fung, Archon. 2007. "Democratic Theory and Political Science: A Pragmatic Method of Constructive Engagement." *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 443-458.

2011. "Letter from the Outgoing Editors: What We've Learned" and "Symposium: Synergies Between Comparative Politics and Political Theory." APSA-Comparative Politics Newsletter, vol. 22, no. 1, Winter 2011.

2. September 3

CONCEPTS OF ETHNICITY AND CITIZENSHIP

In-class methods discussion:

What is a concept? Why is conceptualization hard but critical work? And how can concepts be measured empirically?

Readings:

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is ethnicity and does it matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:397-424.

Lieberman, Evan, and Prerna Singh. 2012. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Ethnic Politics: An Institutional Complement to Demographic, Behavioral, and Cognitive Approaches." *Studies in Comparative International Development (SCID)* 47(3):255-86.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. "Introduction." In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, p. 1-8.

Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation?" *World Politics* 56:327-62.

Marx, Anthony. 1996. "Race Making and the Nation-State." *World Politics* 48 (2): 180-208.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90.

3. September 10

CONCEPTS OF INDIGENEITY AND CITIZENSHIP

In-Class Methods Discussion:

What is a theory? What is a hypothesis and rival explanation?

Readings:

Kymlicka, Will and Wayne Norman. 1994. "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory." *Ethics* 104 (2): 352-381.

Iverson, Duncan. 2002. "Introduction: Why Postcolonial Liberalism?" (p. 1-13) and "The Postcolonial State" (p. 112-139) in *Postcolonial Liberalism*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

United Nations. 2007. *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

United Nations Department of Social and Economic Affairs. 2004. "The Concept of Indigenous Peoples." (one page)

Van Ginkel, Rob. 2004. "The Makah Whale Hunt and Leviathan's Death: Reinventing Tradition and Disputing Authenticity in the Age of Modernity." *Ethnoforum* 17 (1/2), (journal of anthropology from the Netherlands; special issue on authenticity), p. 58-89.

4. September 17

MARSHALL'S THEORY OF CITIZENSHIP AND POST-COLONIAL AFRICA

Readings:

Marshall, T.H. 1954. "Citizenship and Social Class." P. 71-134.

Ekeh, Peter. 1975. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1): 91-112.

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

5. September 24 INDIGENEITY IN AFRICA

Readings:

Hodgson, Dorothy. 2011. *Becoming Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mosime, Sethunya T. 2005. "NEPAD and the Digital Divide: The Case of Botswana and the Silent Marginalised Minorities." *Africa Development* 30 (1/2), p. 152-162.

6. October 1
LIBERALISM AND INDIGENOUS POLITICS

Written Assignment #1 Due at Beginning of Class if chosen.

Readings:

Rawls, John. "Lecture IV: The Idea of an Overlapping Consensus." In *Political Liberalism*, pages 133-173.

Jung, Courtney. *The Moral Force of Indigenous Politics: Critical Liberalism and the Zapatistas*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

7. October 8
STRUCTURALIST THEORIES AND INDIGENOUS POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

Readings:

Marx, Karl. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." In *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert Tucker, 594-595 only. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

_____. "The German Ideology." In *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert Tucker, 146-202. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Tilly, Charles. 1984. "Social Movements and National Politics." In Charles Bright and Susan Harding, eds., *Statemaking and Social Movements*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 297-317.

Yashar, Deborah. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

8. October 15
POST-STRUCTURALIST AND CONSTRUCTIVIST THEORIES OF CITIZENSHIP AND INDIGENOUS POLITICS:

Readings:

Foucault, Michel. 1982. "Afterword: The Subject and Power." In Michel Foucault: *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, ed., H.L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow. Brighton: Harvester, p. 208-226.

_____. 1991. "Governmentality." In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, eds by G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Geschiere, Peter. 2009. *The Perils of Belonging. Autochtony, Citizenship and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

9. October 22

MULTICULTURAL THEORIES AND INDIGENOUS POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

Readings:

Kymlicka, Will. "Multicultural Citizenship" in the Shafir reader *The Citizenship Debates* too. P. 167-188.

Young, Iris Marion. "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," p. 175-208.

Charles Hale. 1994. "Does Multiculturalism Menace: Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Studies*. Vol. 34: 485-524.-

Donna Van Cott. 2006. "Multiculturalism against Neoliberalism in Latin America." In *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State*, ed. Keith Bantig and Will Kymlicka, p. 272-96. Oxford U Press.

Charles Taylor. "The Politics of Recognition." In Taylor, Appiah et.al., *Multiculturalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press?, 25-73.

Section 2: Contemporary Challenges to Classical Theories of Citizenship

10. October 29

ETHNIC AND INDIGENOUS POLITICS IN FEDERAL SYSTEMS

In-class discussion: Data collection techniques.

Readings:

Evans, Laura. 2011. *Power from Powerlessness: Tribal Governments, Institutional Niches, and American Federalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

[recipient of the 2012 award for Best Book on Race, Ethnicity, and Public Policy from the Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section of the American Political Science Association; and recipient of the 2006 Best Dissertation Award from the Urban Politics Section of the American Political Science Association]

11. November 5**THEORIES OF REPRESENTATION AND ETHNIC AND INDIGENOUS POLITICS**

Written Assignment #2 due at beginning of class if chosen.

Readings:

Pitkin, Hanna. 1972. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 1-37.

Manbridge, Jane. 2000. "What Does a Representative Do? Descriptive Representation in Communicative Settings of Distrust, Uncrystallized Interests, and Historically Denigrated Status." In Kymlicka and Norman, eds., *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*. New York: Oxford University Press: 100-123.

Williams, Melissa S. "The Uneasy Alliance of Group Representation and Deliberative Democracy." In Kymlicka and Norman eds., p. 124-152.

MacLean, Lauren M. 2014. "Why Cowboys Have to Talk to the Indians: Policy Feedback Effects and the Origins of Institutional Change in US Federal Indian Policy." Working paper to be submitted to *Studies in American Political Development*.

12. November 12**ETHNICITY, STATE CAPACITY AND THE DISTRIBUTIONAL POLITICS OF PUBLIC SERVICE PROVISION****In-class discussion:**

More on conceptualization and measurement.

Readings:

Habyrimana, et al. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (4): 709-725.

Miguel, Edward, and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2005. "Ethnic diversity, social sanctions, and public goods in Kenya." *Journal of Public Economics* 89(11-12):2325-68.

Cammett, Melani and Sukriti Issar. 2010. "Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon." *World Politics* 62 (3): 381-421.

Singh, Prerna and Matthias vom Hau. 2014. "Bringing Politics Back In: A State-Centered Approach to Ethnicity." Introduction to a proposed special issue of *Comparative Political Studies*.

MacLean, Lauren M. "Ethnic Mobilization and the Expansion of the U.S. State's Capacity to Provide American Indian Health." Working paper to be submitted as part of the above special issue to *Comparative Political Studies*.

13. November 19, 2009

RACE, GENDER AND URBAN IDENTITIES AND INDIGENOUS POLITICS IN CANADA

In-class discussion:

The logic of research design.

Readings:

Rogers Smith. 1997. "Hidden Lessons of American Citizenship Laws", In *Civic Ideals*, Chapter 1, p. 13-39.

Sturm, Circe. 1998. "Blood Politics, Racial Classification, and Cherokee National Identity: The Trials and Tribulations of the Cherokee Freedmen." *American Indian Quarterly* 22 (1-2): 230-X.

Ng'weno, Bettina. 2007. "Can Ethnicity Replace Race? Afro-Columbians, Indigeneity and the Columbian Multicultural State." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 12 (2): 414-440.

Green, Joyce. 2001. "Canaries in the Mines of Citizenship: Indian Women in Canada." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 34 (4): 715-738.

Patricia Wood. 2003. "A Road Runs Through It: Aboriginal Citizenship at the Edge of Urban Development." *Citizenship Studies* 7 (4): 463-479.

Wednesday, November 26, 2009 – CLASS CANCELLED THE WEEK OF THANKSGIVING

Section 3: Globalization and Indigenous Politics and Citizenship

14. December 3, 2014

TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS AND ETHNIC AND INDIGENOUS MOBILIZATION

In-class methods discussion:

More on how theory informs research design.

Readings:

Aiwha Ong. Ong, Aihwa. 1993. "On the Edge of Empires: Flexible Citizenship Among Chinese in Diaspora." *Positions* 1(3): 745-778.

Ostergaard-Nielsen, Eva. 2006. "The Politics of Migrants' Transnational Political Practices." *International Migration Review* 37 (3): 760-786.

Rogers, Reuel R. 2009. "Political Institutions and Rainbow Coalitions: Immigrant Minority Relations in New York and Hartford." In Jennifer Hochschild, and J. Mollenkopf, eds. *The Future of Immigrant Political Incorporation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Rogers, Reuel. 2013. "Using Interviews to Understand Racial Group Identity and Political Behavior." In Layna Mosley, ed., *Interviewing Research in Political Science*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

15. December 10, 2014

THE GLOBALIZATION OF CITIZENSHIP?: NEOLIBERALISM, COSMOPOLITANISM, AND AUTHENTICITY

Written Assignment #3 Due at Beginning of Class if chosen.

Readings:

Benhabib, Seyla. 2007. "Twilight of Sovereignty or the Emergence of Cosmopolitan Norms? Rethinking Citizenship in Volatile Times." *Citizenship Studies* 11(1): 19-36.

Bruner, Edward M. 2001. "The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism and Globalization in African Tourism." *American Ethnologist*, vol. 28, no. 4 (November): p. 881-908.

Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John. 2008. *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. [about commodification of cultural identity in South Africa]