

Fall 2003
sln51630

Gender, Ethnic and Immigrant Politics in Contemporary Western Europe

Professor Warner
Matthews Center 203L
phone: 480.965.5201
office hours: Weds. 1-3 pm, and by appointment
e-mail: cwarner@asu.edu

Course description

The course will provide an introduction to gender, ethnic and immigrant politics in Western Europe, and a more in-depth analysis of those politics in several countries. The course begins with ethnic politics. We will study two ethnic groups in each of four countries (Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy), asking whether ethnic differences might have a role in how the groups behave, or whether “structural” factors common to their settings do. We then turn to immigrant politics, concentrating on the Muslims in three countries (the Arabs in France, the Turks in Germany, and the Pakistanis in Great Britain). Do the different nationalities organize differently, and if so, is it because of something specific to their background, or is it because of the country they are in? Some comparisons with ethno-nationalist groups’ politicization may help. The backlash against immigrants has been particularly harsh in France and Germany; we consider why. Finally, we address the women’s movements of various countries, and the dilemmas of immigrant women, as well as women in post-Communist countries. When did women’s movements develop, become politicized, and why? What strategies have they used, and to what avail? What are their options? Several questions concerning the political activities of the three types of groups will be analyzed comparatively to see whether we will be able to develop some general statements. Do the same general factors account for the mobilization and politicization of the groups, or does each “type” (ethnic, immigrant, gender) require its own set of explanatory variables?

Evaluation of student performance in this course will be based on the following **four** criteria. **First**, students are expected to attend class and to be prepared for each class meeting by having read, in advance, the materials assigned for that day; this will serve as preparation for class discussion, in which all students are expected to participate (15% of your grade). Because this is a seminar, you cannot get an ‘A’ without regular verbal participation in class, accompanied by intelligent comments. You are expected to have done the readings each week and to have some commentary of your own to offer on them. I encourage you to think critically, and, as part of that, to think of some of the positive aspects of the works we are reading, and to develop your own logical analysis of the subject under consideration.

Second, each student will complete one short paper (2-3 pages) responding to specific questions about the first assigned reading of the course. This is worth 5% of the overall grade.

Third, each student will do two 6-8 page take-home mid-term exams (each worth 30% of the course grade), consisting each of an essay based on readings, class lectures and discussions, **OR** a 20-30 page

research paper (worth 60% of grade). Each mid-term essay question will be posted on the course Blackboard, which you access via my.asu.edu, a week before each paper is due (due dates are 29 Sept. and 10 Nov, 2003). The research paper should be on a substantive and/or theoretical question or set of questions which are related to the topics covered in the course, and approximately 25-35 pages in length, using a variety of academic sources (refereed journals, books, some internet documentation if necessary, and perhaps statistical data). By **29 September**, you must have turned in to me a short paragraph describing your proposed topic. The research paper is due 10 Dec. 2003 by 5pm in my mailbox. If you choose the mid-term option, do not assume you can coast after Nov. 10th: I will still expect quality participation from you.

For the short papers and the research paper, prose, organization, and style matter. Be focused, terse and selective, and use spell check and do your own, non-computer dependent proofreading. Late papers will be down-graded one full letter grade per day, unless lateness is excused by documented illness, official university or other academic function (e.g., a conference) or family emergency. Instances of plagiarism or other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and will result in, at least, failure for the assignment or exam, if not also failure for the course. If you do not know what plagiarism is, consult ASU regulations and also the professor.

Fourth, you are required to prepare a 15 minute presentation for the class on the subject of that week. This will count for 20% of the course grade.

For the in-class presentation, you are required to find additional relevant data and perhaps a short reading to distribute to the class one full week ahead of your presentation date. In other words, you need to do some independent research on the subject, from which the class can benefit, and present your own analysis of it. Keep the questions listed in the introductory paragraph of this syllabus in mind as guidelines, as well as some of the key variables and arguments highlighted by the Laitin and Zariski and Gourevitch articles.

In addition, for your in-class presentation, you need to identify the main issues and questions (methodological, empirical, theoretical) in the readings and the subject matter. You should expect to spend no more than 15 minutes presenting your analysis. Use of handouts and/or transparencies is welcome. Do not summarize the authors' arguments except to the extent necessary for making your critical points. Assume everyone has read the materials. Instead, deal with the following types of questions: what are the main questions arising from the articles/books, what are the main problems, and, if relevant, how do the works explain the origins or motivations of the "group" in question? What are directions for future research? What significant theories or findings are there in the works? You must also prepare a list of five to six questions which the entire class may discuss. It is imperative that you give that list to me on Wednesday by 4pm the day of the seminar (in my mailbox, Matthews Center 203). In your presentation, I look not just for content (critical analysis, well-organized, short introduction of theme) but also for how you present (audible, not reading from a script the entire time, confident presence).

Incompletes: Granted only in extreme circumstances (severe illness, family emergency, absolute overload with other course work/TAships) AND if your participation and written work has been satisfactory during the course.

**Course books available at the ASU bookstore (these will also be on reserve at Haydon Library):
Purchase those you want to own.**

Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds, The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1987)

Gilles Kepel, Allah in the West: Islamic Movements in America and Europe (Stanford Univ. Press, 1997)

Rogers Brubaker, (1992) Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ Press, 1992)

Gisela Brinker-Gabler and Sidonie Smith, eds. Writing New Identities (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1997).

Mark Kurlansky, the Basque History of the World New York: Walker & Co. 1999

Riva Kastoryano, Negotiating Identities Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2002

Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, eds Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union (New York, 1993)

Barbara Einhorn, Cinderella goes to Market Verso, 1993.

--Course Reader. Available at Alternative Copy (715 S. Forest, 480-829-7992).

Some readings are subject to change. This syllabus is not the final word on course readings.

I. Course Introduction,

Week 1: Aug. 27 NO CLASS-conference

Overview, and the Logic of the Comparative Method

Arend Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method", American Political Science Review 65 (Sept. 1971): 682-698.

Turn in short paper analysis of article by 2 September in my mailbox (2-3 pages). Have it date stamped. Paper instructions: read the Lijphart article, then Montesquieu, Spirit of the Laws, Book XIV (available on line at: http://www.constitution.org/cm/sol_14.htm) and answer the following questions:

What is the comparative method? Is it reasonable to say that Montesquieu is using the comparative method to develop his laws? Explain. Examine "chapter" 13 carefully ("Effects arising from the climate of England"). What is the dependent variable? What is the independent variable? What is the mechanism which makes Montesquieu's law operate? Is there evidence in the real world which undermines Montesquieu's law about the political effects of the English climate? Give one example. If you applied Lijphart's method to Montesquieu's chapter 13 law, what is one thing you would do to test further Montesquieu's theory? What is one other means of testing Montesquieu's theory?

Week 2: Sept. 3

Theories of the development and politicization of group identity

David Laitin, Hegemony and Culture pp. 1-20

Anthony Smith, ed. Ethnicity, chs. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15

Randall Calvert in "Identity, Expression, and Rational-Choice Theory" in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, eds. Political Science: The State of the Discipline, (NY: Norton, 2002), pp. 568-596

II. Ethnic Politics--the "traditional" politics?

Week 3: 10 Sept.

What accounts for their post-WWII resurgence?

Zariski, Raphael "Ethnic Extremism among Ethnoterritorial Minorities in Western Europe. Dimensions, Causes and Institutional Responses" Comparative Politics v. 21 # 3 (April 1989): 253-272.

Peter Alexis Gourevitch, "The Reemergence of 'Peripheral Nationalisms': Some Comparative Speculations on the Spatial Distribution of Political Leadership and Economic Growth" Comparative Studies in Society and History vol. 21 (1979): 303-322. Available on JSTOR.

Cirus Ernesto Zirakzadeh "Economic Changes and Surges in Micro-Nationalist Voting in Scotland and the Basque Region of Spain" Comparative Studies in Society and History 31/2 (Apr. 1989): 318-339. available on JSTOR

Week 4: 17 Sept.

Case Studies: Ethnic groups in France--the Bretons and Corsicans, and in Great Britain: the Welsh and the Scottish Nationalists:

Suzanne Berger, "Bretons and Jacobins: Reflections on French Regional Ethnicity" in Milton J. Esman, ed. Ethnic conflict in the Western World (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1977), pp. 159-178 . In CP

Maryon McDonald, 'We are not French!' Language, culture and identity in Brittany London: Routledge, 1989, pp. 44-69. In CP

"Bombing in France claims Life" Financial Times 20 April 2000. In CP

Eleonore Kofman, "Differential Modernization, Social Conflicts, and Ethno-Regionalism in Corsica" Ethnic and Racial Studies vol. 5 (July, 1982): 300-312. In Sheryl Durlak's office.

Michael Hechter, Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966 (Berkeley: Univ. Calif Press, 1975), pp. 3-43; 311-340. In CP

Dr Alys Thomas, "Language Policy and nationalism in Wales: a comparative analysis" Nations and

Nationalism 3/3 (1997): 323-44. In CP

Milton J. Esman, "Scottish Nationalism, North Sea Oil, and the British Response" in Esman, ed. Ethnic conflict in the Western World (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1977), 251-286 . In CP

Jonathan Hearn, "Narrative, Agency, and Mood: On the Social Construction of National History in Scotland" Comparative Studies in Society and History 44/4 (Oct. '02): 745-769. ASU e-journals.

recommended:

J. Merfyn Jones, "Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh" Journal of British Studies 31 (Oct. 1992): 330-357. on JSTOR

Joyce McMillan, "Scotland's Quiet Nationalism" in Richard Caplan and John Feffer, eds Europe's New Nationalism. States and Minorities in Conflict Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 75-84.

John Osmond, Welsh Europeans, (Bridgend: Seren, 1995), pp. 7-14, 93-110, 144-184

Ford, Caroline. Creating the Nation in Provincial France: religion and political identity in Brittany (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Week 5: 24 Sept.

Ethnic groups in Spain--The Basques and Catalans as two cases, and ethnic groups in Italy-- The Sud-Tyrol and The Imposters(?)--The Lega Nord

David D. Laitin, (1989) "Linguistic Revival: Politics and Culture in Catalonia" Comparative Studies in Society and History, v. 31 # 2 (April): 297-317. JSTOR

Oonagh O'Brien, "Ethnic Identity, Gender and Life Cycle in North Catalonia," in Victoria A. Goddard and Josep R. Llobera and Cris Shore, eds The Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict (Oxford: Berg, 1994): 191-208. In CP

Peter J. Katzenstein, "Ethnic Political Conflict in South Tyrol" in Milton J. Esman, ed. Ethnic conflict in the Western World (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1977), 287-323. In Cp

Mario Diani, "Linking Mobilization Frames and Political Opportunities: Insights from Regional Populism in Italy" American Sociological Review, v. 61 # 6 (Dec. 1996): 1053-1069. JSTOR

María J. Funes, "Social Responses to Political Violence in the Basque Country" Journal of Conflict Resolution 42/4 (Aug. 1998): 493-510. CP

William A. Douglass and Joseba Zulaika, "On the Interpretation of Terrorist Violence: ETA and the Basque Political Process" Comparative Studies in Society and History, 32/2 (Apr. 1990): 238-257. JSTOR

recommended:

Mark Kurlansky, The Basque History of the World New York: Walker & Co. 1999. In CP & at bookstore.

Daniela Gobetti, "La Lega: regularities and innovation in Italian politics" Politics and Society, vol. 24 # 1 (March, 1996): 57-82. CP

Goldie Shabad and Richard Gunther, "Language, Nationalism and Political Conflict in Spain" Comparative Politics, vol. 14 (July 1982): 443-477

David D. Laitin, Carlota Solé and Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Language and the Construction of States: The Case of Catalonia in Spain" Politics and Society, vol. 22 # 1 (March, 1994): 5-29

Davydd J. Greenwood, "Continuity in Change: Spanish Basque Ethnicity as a Historical Process" in Milton J. Esman, ed. Ethnic conflict in the Western World (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1977), 81-102

Katherine O'Sullivan See First World Nationalisms: Class and Ethnic Politics in Northern Ireland and Quebec (Chicago: Univ of Chicago Press, 1986), chs. 1, 2, 6

Stein Rokkan and Derek W. Urwin, eds, The Politics of Territorial Identity: Studies in european Regionalism (London : Sage Publications, 1982)

Louis Vos, "Nationalism, Democracy and the Belgian State" in Richard Caplan and John Feffer, eds Europe's New Nationalism. States and Minorities in Conflict Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996), pp. 85-100.

First mid-term due by 5pm Monday 29 September in my mailbox at Matthews Center

III. Immigrant Politics.

Week 6: 1 Oct.

The Relationship Between Europe and the Islamic World

Bernard Lewis , "Legal and historical reflections on the position of Muslim populations under non-Muslim rule" in B. Lewis and Dominique Schnapper, eds. (1994) Muslims in Europe New York: Pinter Publishers, pp 1-18 . CP

Bernard Lewis, "Europe and Islam" (ch1), "The Return of Islam" (ch. 8) in Lewis, Islam and the West (Oxford Univ. Press, 1993). CP

Carolyn Warner and Manfred Wenner, "Organizing Islam for Politics in Western Europe" article under review, Comparative Politics. In Sheryl Durlak's office.

Week 7: 8 Oct.

Immigration in Post-WWII Western Europe, and Contemporary Islam

Riva Kastoryano, Negotiating Identities Princeton: Princeton University Press

Jan Rath, "Political Action of Immigrants in the Netherlands: Class or Ethnicity?" European Journal of Political Research, v. 16 (1988): 623-644. In Sheryl Durlak's office.

Gilles Kepel, Allah in the West: Islamic Movements in America and Europe (Stanford Univ. Press, 1997) pp. 1-6

Week 8: 15 Oct.

Immigrant Politics in France (Arab Muslims)

Rogers Brubaker, (1992) Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Cambridge: Harvard Univ Press, 1992, Ch 7

Gilles Kepel, Allah in the West: Islamic Movements in America and Europe (Stanford Univ. Press, 1997) pp. 147-233

Olivier Roy, "Islam in France: religion, ethnic community or social ghetto?" in Lewis and Schnapper, eds. (1994) Muslims in Europe, pp. 54-66. CP

Week 9: 22 Oct.

No class-research and writing break.

Week 10: 29 Oct.

Immigrant Politics in Great Britain (Pakistani Muslims):

Pnina Werbner, "The Fiction of unity in ethnic politics: aspects of representation and the state among British Pakistanis" in Werbner and Anwar, Black and Ethnic Leadership. The Cultural dimensions of Political Action (London: Routledge, 1991): 113-145. CP

Gilles Kepel, Allah in the West: Islamic Movements in America and Europe (Stanford Univ. Press, 1997) pp. 81-146

Eric Bleich, "From International Ideas to Domestic Politics: Educational Multiculturalism in England and France" Comparative Politics 31/1 (Oct. 1998): 81-100. In Sheryl Durlak's office.

Film: possibly "Bend it Like Beckham"

recommended:

Charles Husband, "the political context of Muslim communities' participation in British Society" in Lewis and Schnapper, Muslims in Europe pp. 79-97

Miriam Feldblum, "Paradoxes of Ethnic Politics: the case of Franco-Maghrebis in France" Ethnic and Racial Studies v. 16 # 1 (Jan, 1993): 52-74

Week 11: 5 Nov.

Immigrant Politics in Germany (Turkish Muslims) & the European response

review Warner & Wenner, section on Germany

Rogers Brubaker, (1992) Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany. Cambridge: Harvard Univ Press, 1992, Ch 8

Ch. 7, "The Bridging Function of Social Capital: Transnational Social Spaces" in Thomas Faist, The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)

Virginie Giraudon, "European Integration and Migration Policy: Vertical Policy-making as Venue Shopping" Journal of Common Market Studies, 38/2 (June 2000): 251-71. available at ASU via electronic journals.

Second mid-term due 10 Nov. by 5pm in my department mailbox

IV. Gender Politics

Week 12: 12 Nov.

Introduction and Early launchings:

Mary Fainsod Katzenstein, "Introduction" in Katzenstein and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds, The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 3-20

Louise Ryan, "A Question of Loyalty: War, Nation, and Feminism in Early Twentieth Century Ireland" Women's Studies International Forum, v. 20 # 1 (1997): 21-32. ASU e-journals

Mary Nash, "Political Culture, Catalan Nationalism, and the Women's Movement in Early Twentieth Century Spain" Women's Studies International Forum v. 19 # 1/2 (1996): 45-54. ASU e journals

Week 13: 19 Nov. *Post-WWII Gender Politics. The rise of women's movements & what's left of it*

Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol McClurg Mueller, eds, The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1987), chs. 2, 3, 8, 11

Jane Jenson, "The Modern Women's Movement in Italy, France and Great Britain: Differences in Life Cycles" Comparative Social Research, v. 5 (March, 1982): 341-375. CP

Monica Threlfall, "The Women's Movement in Spain" New Left Review # 151 (May-June, 1985): 44-73 CP

Monique Leijenaar, "Political empowerment of women in the Netherlands" in Jet Bussemaker and Rian Voet (eds) Participation, Citizenship and Gender. Contributions from the Netherlands (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 91-107. CP

Joyce Outshoorn, "Furthering the 'cause': femocrat strategies in national government" in Jet Bussemaker

and Rian Voet (eds) Participation, Citizenship and Gender. Contributions from the Netherlands (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 108-121 . CP

recommended:

Gisela Kaplan, Contemporary Western European Feminism (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1992), 67-78, 103-128, 138-141, 151-161.

Week 14: 26 Nov. No class: Thanksgiving

Week 15: 3 Dec. *Gender after the Wall & Minority within a Minority--Immigrant Women in Europe*

Nanette Funk and Magda Mueller, eds Gender Politics and Post-Communism: Reflections from Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union (New York, 1993), chs. 15, 17, 22, 25, 29

or

Barbara Einhorn, Cinderella goes to Market Verso, 1993.

And

Gisela Brinker-Gabler and Sidonie Smith, eds. Writing New Identities. Gender, Nation and Immigration in Contemporary Europe (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1997), chs. 1, 10, 11, 12, 15

NYT, 9 Nov. 2002, on Muslim woman formerly of the Netherlands. photocopy.

recommended:

Philomena Essed, "Gender, Migration and Cross-Ethnic Coalition Building" in Helma Lutz, Ann Phoenix and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds. Crossfires. Nationalism, Racism and Gender in Europe. (London: Pluto Press, 1995), pp. 48-64

Women in the Material World pp 130-140 (Italy)

K. Beckwith, "Feminism and Leftist Politics in Italy: The Case of UDI-PCI Relations" West European Politics vol. 8 # 4 (1985): 19-37

Catherine Hoskyns, "The European Community's Policy on Women in the Context of 1992" Women's Studies International Forum v. 15 # 1 (1992) : 21-28

Jill M. Bystydzienski, ed. Women transforming politics: worldwide strategies for empowerment (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1992).