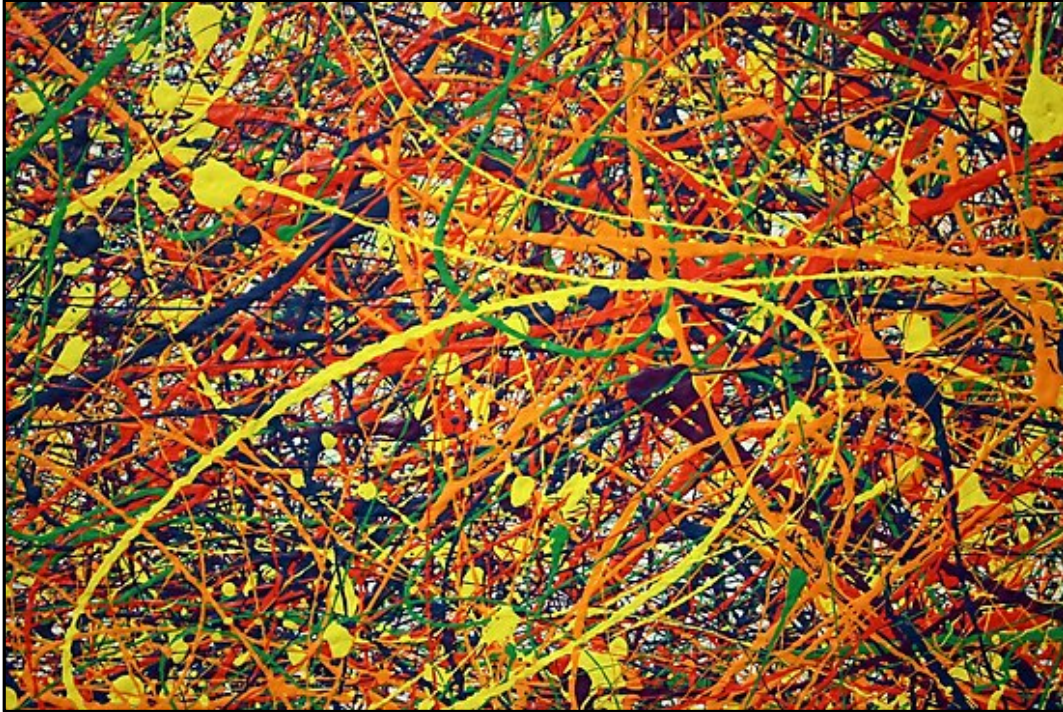




**Syllabus**  
**MULTICULTURALISM AND INTEGRATION IN EUROPE AND BEYOND**  
**(SOC.196)**



Jackson Pollock: Jump In

Teacher: Paul May, paulmay@fas.harvard.edu  
When? Wednesday, 12.00pm-1.59pm  
Where? WJH 450  
Office hours: Wednesday, 3.00pm-5.00pm, Room E202, 1737 Cambridge Street

**Course Summary**

Week 1: Introduction  
Week 2: Theories of Multiculturalism: The Liberal vs Communitarian Debate  
Week 3: Theories of Multiculturalism: Postcolonial Legacies  
Week 4: Theories of Multiculturalism: Liberalism Reconsidered  
Week 5: The Conservative and Liberal Critiques of Multiculturalism  
Week 6: The Feminist Critique of Multiculturalism  
Week 7: National Models of Citizenship across the West  
Week 8: The Case for Multinational States: Federalism and Power-Sharing  
Week 9: Muslims in the West: Public Controversies and Institutional Arrangements  
Week 10: The debate on affirmative action policies  
Week 11: The Rise of “Populist” Parties Across the West  
Week 12: The backlash against multiculturalism  
Week 13: Wrapping up

## **Course description and objectives**

The words "multiculturalism" and "integration", a prominent feature of public debates, are often used to refer to a variety of different and sometimes contradictory phenomena. Behind these concepts lies a crucial issue for the current political world: how to integrate citizens of different origins, languages and religions into a single political community? What tools do democracies use to achieve these goals? The majority of states in the world are home to "minority nations" that have a specific language or culture of their own (as is the case of Catalonia within Spain, Quebec within Canada, or Indigenous Peoples in many South American countries), or are impacted by migratory flows that increase the ethno-cultural heterogeneity of their population (in Europe, but also in South Africa, Australia, the United Arab Emirates, etc.). The rise of identity claims around the world and the increasing mobility of people make an analysis of these themes essential for anyone concerned with political matters.

The purpose of SOC.196 is to introduce students to the main topics relating to the integration of ethnic and national minorities in liberal democratic states: affirmative action policies, national models of integration, or linguistic rights in federal states, to name just those. We will analyze the practical implications of an increasingly diverse population in the context of postcolonial immigration and the rise of "minority nations" in Western countries. We will examine what "diversity" implies, and how political institutions at various levels have responded to it. To grasp the multiple aspects of these issues, the course is based on a blend of political science (weeks 8, 10, 11 for instance), political theory (weeks 2 and 3) and sociology (week 9). At the end of the semester, students will master the key concepts, and will have acquired the theoretical skills needed to make an informed judgment on these issues.

We will read texts by leading scholars who do not share the same point of view. The idea here is to be challenged by different perspectives in order to develop critical thinking. The course also utilizes case studies of various contemporary events that recently made the headlines: the Brexit referendum, indigenous movements in Australia and Canada, and controversies about free speech in Europe. It will include as primary sources newspaper reports, media coverage, citizenship tests, political posters, and statistical data. The main focus will be Western Europe, because it is a laboratory: denationalization tendencies have progressed further in Europe than anywhere else, as we can see in the evolution of the European Union, but several cases will be taken from other parts of the globe.

## **Student evaluation**

### **Participation (20%)**

For each lecture, there are three texts. Every participant, and not just the person who is presenting, must read all the texts. Each week, one student will be required to present the day's three readings. To do so, every student will have to pick a date on the calendar and mark it on the course's website. Presentations will last 15 minutes, and will entail a short overview of each text, followed by a brief summary of the main issues raised by the texts, and a few opening questions related to the main problematic issues addressed by the authors. The goal of these presentations is to set the terms for a discussion in class, and they are crucial for the quality of the debate. 10% of the total grade is related to the individual presentation, and another 10% to general participation in class.

### **Book reviews 1 and 2 (10% and 10%)**

Students will have to write two book reviews (10% each) from the list below. These books were written by authors defending various points of view on the subjects covered during the course (national minorities, cultural rights, religious accommodation, affirmative action...), and represent an opportunity for students to deepen their knowledge of a specific subject. Book reviews must be 1000 words in length, and include a short presentation of the author, a summary of the book, and a critical section evaluating the content: how is this work useful in understanding current issues related to multiculturalism? What are its strengths and weaknesses? This entails identifying the central points of the texts, and analyzing and evaluating them critically.

- Appiah, K. A. 2007. *The Ethic of Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bloemraad, I. 2006. *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Carens, J. 2015. *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Joppke, C. 2017. *Is Multiculturalism Dead?: Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State*. New-York: Polity Press.
- Korteweg, A. and Yurdakul, G. 2014. *The Headscarf Debates: Conflicts of National Belonging*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Levy, J. 2000. *The Multiculturalism of Fear*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moffitt, B. 2016. *The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Political Style, and Representation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Orgad, L. 2016. *The Cultural Defense of Nations: A Liberal Theory of Majority Rights*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillips, A. 2009. *Multiculturalism Without Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Schain, M. A. 2012. *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain, and the United States: A Comparative Study*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

### **Mid-term paper (30%)**

Participants must choose an author discussed in class during units 1 through 6 and use the author to analyze one specific multicultural policy. How does he/she provide useful tools for understanding one particular aspect of multiculturalism? For example, students can show how an author's approach is insufficient for understanding a specific question related to the politics of identity, or, on the contrary, demonstrate how the author provides an innovative framework for tackling a specific issue related to multiculturalism and integration. The crucial element assessed here is that the arguments must be clear and well

considered. This assignment encourages a critical approach to the material, and allows students to look in more depth at a topic that interests them. Students have to come up with their own topic, but before starting their essay, they have to validate their choice by sending a short email explaining the outline of their research project. Papers must be 10-12 pages long (Times New Roman, font size 12, double spaced).

- Example 1: Use Will Kymlicka's framework concerning national minorities to discuss the relevance (or irrelevance) of linguistic rights for minorities in a given country.
- Example 2: Use Ayelet Shachar's framework concerning joint governance to evaluate the extent to which religious tribunals can be reconciled with liberal democracy.
- Example 3: Use Edward Said's framework concerning orientalism to analyze the controversy surrounding the burqa ban in Austria.

### **Final paper (30%)**

Students have to define a subject of their own choice that is related to one of the topics covered in the second part of the term (units 7 through 12). Papers have to integrate the literature covered in class, but should also include other authors relevant to the topic discussed. The scope of the assignment is wide-ranging. Special attention will be paid to the way the subject is problematized. The final paper can be based on an analysis of newspaper articles or the academic literature, or can study how mainstream media deal with a specific topic. Before starting their essay, however, they have to refine their choice by sending a short email explaining their research project, as it is the case for the first assignment. Papers have to be 10-12 pages long (Times New Roman, font size 12, double spaced). Examples of possible research topics could include:

- Example 1: The place of immigration during the public debate on the Brexit referendum. Explain how the topic of immigration reveals an ideological dividing line between the proponents of Brexit and their adversaries (known as "Remainers").
- Example 2: Is "populist" a relevant concept for understanding the rise of far right and far left political parties across Europe?
- Example 3: Do national differences, with their varied models of integration, play a significant role in the integration of Muslims in the West?

<b>Grading Policy</b>		
<b>Letter Grade</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Quality Points</b>
A	93-100%	4.00
A-	90-92%	3.75
B+	87-89%	3.25
B	83-86%	3.00
B-	80-82%	2.75
C+	77-79%	2.25
C	73-76%	2.00
F	0-72%	0.0
<b>INC</b>	A grade of Incomplete (INC) is awarded when satisfactory work has been accomplished in the majority of the course work, but the student is unable to complete course requirements as a result of circumstances beyond his/her control. The student must negotiate with and receive the approval of the course instructor in order to receive a grade of incomplete	N/A
IF	Received for failure to comply with contracted completion terms.	N/A
W	Received if withdrawal occurs before the withdrawal deadline.	N/A
AU	Audit (only permitted on space-available basis)	N/A
NA	Not Attending (student appeared on roster, but never attended class. Student is still responsible for tuition and fee charges unless withdrawal form is submitted before deadline. NA has no effect on cumulative GPA.)	N/A

## Course schedule

### Week 1 (January 24) – Introduction

This introductory session will be divided into three parts. The first part will present the course objectives, how it is structured, and an explanation of student evaluations. The second part will present the syllabus, and will include a short description of each unit and of the topics that will be addressed. The last part will consist of a general presentation of integration and multicultural policies in Western countries. We will focus on the definition of some key terms (multiculturalism, assimilation, integration), then analyze how the topic of the course is important for understanding crucial political issues in today's world, such as globalization, the evolution of democracy, and the future of the nation-state. We will then see how the theme of integration and multiculturalism lies at the crossroads of several topical subjects (independence movements in various countries, accommodation of Islam in the West, free speech controversies), and, beyond that, why this topic will be at the forefront of political struggles in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

- No readings

### Week 2 (January 31) - Theories of Multiculturalism : The Liberal vs Communitarian Debate

The debate between liberals and communitarians is a milestone in the conceptualization of multiculturalism. Since it emerged at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the writings of John Locke, the liberal school of thought has emphasized the need to foster the autonomy of the individual, and to protect political liberties from the State. In 1971, John Rawls developed a new liberal theory of social justice inspired by Immanuel Kant's contractualism: "the veil of ignorance". In opposition to Rawls' individualistic vision of the self, communitarian philosophers, such as Michael Sandel and Charles Taylor, underline the social and cultural conditioning of individuals. Both authors contest three core elements of liberalism: the individualistic vision of the self, the neutrality of the liberal state, and the priority of the right over the good. This leads them to emphasize the importance of communal activities for political life and for human self-definition. Therefore, community (of language, of tradition, of religion) is an element that is legitimate to want to preserve in democratic states.

- Rawls, J. 2001. *Justice as Fairness, a Restatement*. Cambridge: Belknap Press; Part 1, Fundamental Ideas, pp. 11-38.
- Taylor, C. 1995. *Philosophical Arguments*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; chapter 12, The Politics of Recognition, pp. 225-256.
- Sandel, M. 1998. *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Introduction: Liberalism and the Primacy of Justice, pp. 1-14.

### **Week 3 (February 7) - Theories of Multiculturalism: Postcolonial Legacies**

Postcolonial theory examines the residual political, socio-economic, and psychological effects of colonial history. It also refers to how people originating from former colonies incorporate or reject the Western norms and conventions that were established by colonial powers. Therefore, it provides a variety of useful methodological tools for the analysis of power relations in the age of globalization. Paul Gilroy explores the complex relationship between postcolonial theory and multiculturalism and provides us with an overview of the most important thinkers of the postcolonial tradition. Gayatri Spivak tries to find a way of accessing the subjectivity of the “subaltern” (a word originally used by Antonio Gramsci, that is reinterpreted here to describe populations that are socially, politically, and geographically outside the hegemonic power structure of the colony). Edward Said’s controversial book, *Orientalism*, uses a poststructuralist approach to show how an epistemological distinction was made between the West and perception of the Eastern world in order to justify European imperial domination.

- Gilroy, P. 2008. “Multiculturalism and Postcolonial Theory”, in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*. Edited by Dryzek, J.S. and Honig, B. and Phillips, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 656-676.
- Spivak, G. 1988. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Edited by Nelson C. and Grossberg, L. University of Illinois Press, pp. 271-313.
- Said, E. 2003. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Classics; chapter 1: The Scope of Orientalism, pp. 31-112.

### **Week 4 (February 14) - Theories of Multiculturalism: Liberalism Reconsidered**

In the 1990s, several authors tried to overcome the division between liberals and communitarians. Multicultural thinkers, such as Will Kymlicka, strove to reconcile the principles of liberalism with the defense of a specific cultural tradition: a proper understanding of liberalism needs to imply the collective dimension of human fulfillment. They advocate a demand for special protection under the law for certain sub-national groups, such as national minorities and Aboriginal people. From that point, a series of multicultural policies can be drawn up: linguistic, cultural, and ethnic minorities can have access to different kinds of rights in order to maintain their culture – a meaningful undertaking for them. Taking the case of Orthodox Jews in Israel and some Muslim groups in Britain, Bhikhu Parekh, Avishai Margalit and Moshe Halbertal show that the requests from religious minorities sometimes fall outside the framework of liberalism, and argue that we should accommodate them nevertheless.

- Kymlicka, W. 1996. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; chapter 2: The Politics of Multiculturalism, and chapter 3: Individual Rights and Collective Rights, pp. 10-48.
- Parekh, B. 2002. *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; chapter 10: Politics, Religion and Free Speech, pp. 295-335.
- Margalit, A. and Halbertal, M. 1994. “Liberalism and the Rights to culture”. *Social Research*, vol. 61, n. 3, pp. 491-510.

### **Week 5 (February 21) - The Conservative and Liberal Critiques of Multiculturalism**

Philosophers of multiculturalism have faced much criticism from a wide range of political horizons. In this unit, we will focus on the main attacks from the liberal left and from conservatives. Brian Barry criticizes multiculturalism in the name of the liberal egalitarian tradition of the Enlightenment. He argues that the defense of equality is incompatible with the promotion of cultural rights for specific groups: reactionary activists and politicians tend to use multicultural policies to limit the freedom of members of their cultural or ethnic group. In his famous article "Too Diverse", David Goodhart describes what he calls a "progressive dilemma": too much ethno-cultural diversity undermines social solidarity and the welfare state. Samuel Huntington, who had a major impact on public debate in the United States and abroad, asserts that the multiplication of cultures within the same State risks eroding the sense of a common political community.

- Barry, B. 2001. *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; chapter 2: The Strategy of Privatization, pp. 19-62.
- Goodhart, D. 2004. "Too Diverse? Is Britain Becoming Too Diverse to Sustain the Mutual Obligations Behind a Good Society and the Welfare State?", *Prospect Magazine*, 95, pp. 30-37.
- Huntington, S. 2005. *Who are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*. New York: Simon & Schuster; chapter 7: Deconstructing America: The Rise of Subnational Identities, pp.141-177.

### **Week 6 (February 28) - The Feminist Critique of Multiculturalism**

Multiculturalism and feminism have a number of elements in common. The two schools of thought shed light on the role of social structures in the perpetuation of relations of domination. From this point of view, they are potential allies in the enterprise of redefining political liberalism. Yet, we will see that the theorists of multiculturalism have received strong criticism from some fringes of the feminist movement. Susan Moller Okin argues that there is tension between the commitment to gender equity and the multicultural tendency to accommodate the customs of cultural and religious minorities. Communities that might benefit from multicultural policies sometimes have a conservative stance on gender roles. To overcome this issue and to respond to Okin's concerns, Ayelet Shachar suggests implementing "joint governance" between minority groups and the State. For their part, Moira Dustin and Anne Phillips focus on the role of women's activism, and a greater willingness on the part of government to draw groups into consultation to overcome this issue. The reliability of these two solutions will be debated in class.

- Okin, S. 1999. *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Princeton: Princeton University Press; part 1, pp. 7-24.
- Shachar, A. 2001. *Multicultural Jurisdiction and Women's Rights*. Cambridge University Press; chapter 6: Transformative accommodation: utilizing external protections to reduce internal restrictions, pp. 117-145.
- Dustin, Moira and Phillips, Anne. 2008. "Whose Agenda Is It? Abuses of Women and Abuses of Culture in Britain". *Ethnicities*, vol. 8, n. 3, pp. 405-424.



### **Week 7 (March 7) - National Models of Citizenship across the West**

Citizenship and immigrant integration policies in Western countries are shaped by distinctive national integration models. Although the importance of the national framework has decreased owing to European integration and globalization, national models of immigrant integration are still relevant today. In his famous book about citizenship and nationhood, Rogers Brubaker explores the differences between the German and the French models of citizenship, often presented as the opposite archetypes of “ethnic nationalism” and “civic nationalism”. Analyzing the evolution of access to citizenship in several countries, Marc Morjé Howard shows that various international and domestic pressures have led to liberalization in a number of countries, which leads him to discuss the relationship between democratic processes and liberal outcomes. Christophe Bertossi and Jan Willem Duyvendak question the relevance of national integration models in the academic literature, and show elements of convergence between different European countries.

- Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; introduction, pp. 1-34 and conclusion, pp. 179-190.
- Howard, M. 2006. “Comparative Citizenship: An Agenda for Cross-National Research”. *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 4, n. 3, pp. 443-455.
- Bertossi, C. and Duyvendak, J. W. 2012. “National Models of Immigrant Integration: The Costs for Comparative Research”. *Comparative European Politics*, vol. 10, n.3, pp. 237-247.

### **Book Review # 1 (10%) - DUE WEDNESDAY MARCH 7 AT 5:00PM**

**March 14: No class (Spring recess)**

### **Week 8 (March 21) - The Case for Multinational States: Federalism and Power-Sharing**

Several federal and multinational states have restructured themselves to accommodate significant sub-state nationalist movements, usually through some form of territorial devolution, “consociational”, or power-sharing. Will Kymlicka fleshes out the conditions under which we can articulate a common citizenship in multinational states with the recognition of sub-state national groups. Taking different examples (Canada, Quebec, Belgium, Switzerland...) he shows that his theoretical framework plays out differently according to the national context and has therefore to be adapted to empirical realities. The second part of this unit will be devoted to the analysis of two cases studies. In the first one, Ferran Requejo examines the democratic accommodation of national pluralism in the case of Spain, and how the current framework is subject to a tug of war between the central government and autonomous regions. In the second case study, we will discuss James Anaya’s argument that contemporary forms of federalism have been very modestly responsive to indigenous peoples’ aspirations to survive as distinct communities.

- Kymlicka, W. 2011. “Multicultural Citizenship Within Multination States”. *Ethnicities*, vol. 11, n. 3, pp. 281–302.
- Ferran, R. 2005. *Multinational Federalism and Value Pluralism: the Spanish Case*. London: Routledge; part 2: Multinational Democracies and Federalism, pp. 38-64.
- Anaya, J. 2004. *Indigenous Peoples in International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; chapter 3: Self-Determination: A Foundational Principle, pp. 97-128.

### **Writing Assignment # 1 (30%) - DUE WEDNESDAY MARCH 21 AT 5:00PM**

## **Week 9 (March 28) - Muslims in the West: Public Controversies and Institutional Arrangements**

In this unit, we will see the extent to which the growing presence of Islam in Western societies redefines established national arrangements between religion and the secular State. Richard Alba and Nancy Foner show that in the United States, unlike Europe, immigrant religion is not a central dividing line between immigrants and long-established residents. Recent controversies concern mainly European countries and include: animal ritual slaughter, religious schools, construction of mosques, and exemption for physical education in class. Analyzing the writings of several Muslim intellectuals that are popular among European Muslim youth, Christian Joppke underlines that secularism is deeply identified with Western colonialism and dominance. Drawing on various surveys, he highlights a tension between “liberal values”, on the one hand, and the conservative and traditional mindset that he diagnoses in Muslims communities across Europe, on the other. Taking an opposite stance, Tariq Modood highlights the requests for political equality, notably anti-religious discrimination, brought by Muslim activists in the UK.

- Alba, R. and Foner, N. 2015. *Stranger No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; chapter 6: Immigrant Religion, pp. 118-142.
- Joppke, C. 2015. *Secular State Under Siege*. Cambridge: Polity; chapter 4: Challenge to the Secular State (II): Islam in Europe, pp. 128-171.
- Modood, T. 2006. "British Muslims and the Politics of Multiculturalism", in *Muslim and Citizenship: A European Approach*. Edited Modood, T. and Triandafyllidou, A. and Zapata-Barrero, R. London: Routledge, pp. 656-676.

## **Week 10 (April 4) - The debate on affirmative action policies**

According to most scholars of multiculturalism, affirmative action is one of the key policies that defines the multicultural character of a state. Also known as reservation (in India), or positive action (in the UK), this concept refers to a range of public policies aiming at eliminating discrimination in educational and employment opportunities for members of minority groups, including those discriminated against because of their sex, race, color, or religion. Ralph Premdas set the terms of the debate from a theoretical perspective by articulating the idea of affirmative action with the concepts of social justice and equality. Taking the example of India as a case study, Thomas Sowell argues that race preference programs have not met expectations and have often produced the opposite of what was originally intended. On the contrary, Marl Long argues that affirmative action has mostly positive effects on minority students. He also evaluates the efficacy of alternative strategies, including top-percent programs, class-based affirmative action, and targeted recruiting.

- Premdas, R. 2016. "Social Justice and Affirmative Action". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol 39, n. 3, pp. 449-462.
- Sowell, T. 2004. *Affirmative Action Around the World: An Empirical Study*. New Haven: Yale University Press; chapter, 1: An International Perspective, pp. 1-22, and chapter 2: Affirmative Action in India, pp. 23-54.
- Long, M. C. 2007. "Affirmative Action and Its Alternatives in Public Universities: What Do We Know?". *Public Administration Review*, vol. 67, n. 2, pp. 315-330.

### **Week 11 (April 11) - The Rise of “Populist” Parties Across the West**

Since the referendum on Brexit and the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States, commentators and pundits have discussed the rise of “populism” in Western democracies. This evolution allegedly originates from the joint effects of the relative decline of the middle class in postindustrial economies and the growing resentment towards transnational elites (Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris). According to John Judis, immigration and multiculturalism also play an important role in this phenomenon because of the majorities’ desire to adopt more restrictive immigration policies. Drawing on electoral data taken from elections held in 2017 and 2018 in various European countries, we will discuss the accuracy of the concept of populism: in what ways does it allow us to capture the novelty of the current situation? The last segment of the lesson will also be devoted to different available strategies when dealing with elected populist governments (Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser and Paul Taggart).

- Inglehart, R. F. and Norris, P. 2017. “Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse”. *Perspective on Politics*, vol. 15, n. 2., pp. 443-454.
- Judis, J. B. 2016. *The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics*. New York: Columbia Global Reports; Introduction, pp. 12-17, chapter 3 and 4, pp. 62-108.
- Kaltwasser, C. R. and Taggart P. 2016. “Dealing with Populists in Government: A framework for Analysis”. *Democratization*, vol. 23, n. 2., pp 201-220.

### **Book Review # 2 (10%) – DUE WEDNESDAY APRIL 11 AT 5:00PM**

### **Week 12 (April 18) - The backlash against multiculturalism**

In the wake of the speeches of Angela Merkel and David Cameron announcing the “death of multiculturalism,” many pundits and scholars have diagnosed a decline in accommodation policies with respect to religious, cultural and ethnic minorities across the West. In this last lesson, we will see the extent to which this assertion is true. While some authors, such as Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf, argue that there is a growing rejection of multicultural policies, others, such as Irene Bloemraad and Matthew Wright, come to a more nuanced conclusion. One of the key elements of this debate is the discrepancy between the dominant media narrative about the “end of multiculturalism” and empirical realities. Taking the example of the Netherlands and Germany, Anna Korteweg and Phil Triadafilopoulos show that, at the local level, a pragmatic and informal form of multiculturalism is implemented to deal with concrete issues related to the management of ethno-cultural diversity.

- Vertovec, S. and Wessendorf, S. 2010. *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices*. London: Routledge; chapter 4: From toleration to repression: the Dutch backlash against multiculturalism, pp. 72-91, and chapter 9: Dynamics of Diversity in Spain: Old Questions, New Challenges, pp. 170-189.
- Bloemraad, I. and Wright, M. 2014. “Utter Failure” or Unity out of Diversity? Debating and Evaluating Policies of Multiculturalism”. *International Migration Review*, vol. 48., pp. 292-334.
- Korteweg, A. and Triadafilopoulos, P. 2015. “Is Multiculturalism Dead? Groups, Governments and the ‘Real Work of Integration’”. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 38, n. 5., pp. 1-18.

### **Week 13 (April 25) - Wrapping up**

### **Writing Assignment # 2 (30%) - DUE WEDNESDAY APRIL 25 AT 5:00PM**