

## **DEMOCRACY AND DIVERSITY:** GOVERNING IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

Professor: **Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia**

Session: **July 2026**

Language of instruction: **English**

Number of hours of class: **36h**

Format: **On campus**



### **Objective of the Course**

The purpose of this course is to examine the complex relationship between diversity and identity, and the impact of this relationship on democratic governance – from a multidisciplinary and comparative perspective.

In doing so, the main objectives are:

- To provide a strong knowledge of the main analytical approaches to the study of diversity, identity, and democracy
- To critically evaluate the democratic and undemocratic aspects of diversity management
- To engage students in debates about the situation of ethno-racial minorities based on a review of the evidence drawn from countries around the world
- To improve the ability of the students to provide policy-oriented solutions to the identity crisis faced by increasingly diverse societies



### **Summary**

One of the most crucial challenges to liberal democracies is finding a sustainable balance between two trends. The first relates to diversity (mostly defined by race, ethnicity, national origin, culture, and religion) and requires the ability to protect the right of various groups to recognize and honor their specific differences. The second is sometimes considered antithetical to the first: the need to maintain national unity - through a shared commitment to a set of defining ideals, symbols, rituals, values and principles – in order to strengthen a common identity among citizens, and to prevent social fragmentation.

Efforts to balance these two elements have produced different outcomes over time, depending on ideologies (ranging from nativism to multiculturalism) and contextual factors – such as the volume and composition of immigrant communities, the forms of assimilation processes in different countries, and the evolution of ethno-racial relations resulting from institutional and legal reforms.

After a short historical review of some experimental efforts at balancing (such as the US melting-pot, and the French republican model of integration), this course will focus on three related questions:

- How can diversity management improve or damage democratic governance?
- What are the inclusive and exclusive dimensions of both diversity and unity?
- And, *in fact*, who actually are the “People” in Western and non-Western democracies?

Heated controversies today frame answers to these questions about how to define the “us” and the “them,” reinforced by polarized conceptions of national unity and identity. The ultimate challenge is therefore to analyze how different people, when defined primarily by their distinct collective identities, can live together in a democratic regime under conditions of equity – and rehabilitate democratic principles.



## Organization of the course

### 1. Thursday, July 2, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM

- Presentation of the course
- Introduction to the crisis of identity and to the crisis of democracy

Required reading: Simon Bein, “The Dysfunctional Paradox of Identity Politics in Liberal Democracies,” *Polit Wiss*, 2022: 221-246

*The first section of the course is devoted to the presentation and analysis of the dynamically changing concepts of diversity and identity in Western and non-Western democracies. Topics addressed in this section include:*

### Diversity: Two Trends

### 2. Thursday, July 2, 2:00 PM to 4:0 PM

- The increase of national diversity over time as a result of migration flows and demographic trend
- The “diversification of diversity” into increasing numbers of groups as a result of legal reforms and policies (minority rights, anti-discrimination policies, identity politics)
- Types of diversity (descriptive, substantive, segregated)

Required reading: Steven Vertovec, “Diversity and the Social Imaginary,” *European Journal of Sociology*, 53 (3), 2012: 287-312

Suggested readings: Cedric Herring and Loren Henderson, “From Affirmative Action to Diversity: Toward a Critical Diversity Perspective,” *Critical Sociology*, 38 (5), 2011: 629-643; Milena

Doytcheva, "Diversity as Immigration Governmentality: Insights from France," *Social Sciences*, 2021: 1-19

### **Types of diversity management: Two Types**

#### **3. Monday, July 6, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Egalitarian policies (equality before the law, race-neutral policies, color-blind assimilation)
- Case Studies

Required readings: Erik Bleich, "Race Policy in France, Brookings, 2001; Yajna Govind and Paolo Santini, "The Colour-Blind Approach to Discrimination and Inequality: The Case of France," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 2024: 592-606

Suggested reading: Jeff Spinner-Hanlev, "Difference and Diversity in an Egalitarian Democracy," *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 1995: 259-279

#### **4. Tuesday, July 7, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Differential policies (race-based policies, ethno-racial identity politics, gender/ethno-racial quotas)
- Case studies

Required reading: Amanda Clayton et al, "Electoral Gender Quotas and Democratic Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review*, 2026: 123-140

Suggested readings: Koichi Iwabuchi, "Dialoguing with Diversity: Towards an Inclusive and Egalitarian Society," *Dive-In: International Journal of Diversity and Inclusion*, 2021: 19-28; Adewale Maye, "The Myth of Race Neutral Policy," *Economic Policy Institute Report*, 2022: 1-7

### **Diversity benefits and issues: The Pros and Cons**

#### **5. Tuesday, July 7, 2:00 PM to 4:0 PM**

- Positive aspects and outcomes of diversity (political pluralism, intergroup tolerance, economic competitiveness and creativity)
- Case studies
- Methodology for oral presentation

Required reading: Maykel Verkuyten et al, "Intergroup Toleration and Its Implications for Culturally Diverse Societies," *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 2018: 5-35

Suggested reading: Allison Harell and Dietlind Stolle, "Diversity and Democratic Politics," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 2010: 235-256

#### **6. Wednesday, July 8, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Negative outcomes of diversity (separatism, intergroup intolerance, xenophobia, racism, illiberalism)
- Case studies

Required reading: Thomas Pettigrew, "In Pursuit of Three Theories: Authoritarianism, Relative Deprivation, and Intergroup Contact," *Annual Review of Psychology*, 2016 (67): 1-21

Suggested reading: James Laurence, "The Effect of Ethnic Diversity and Community Disadvantage on Social Cohesion (UK)," *European Sociological Review*, 2011: 70-89

### **National identity: Formulation and Codification**

#### **7. Thursday, July 9, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Historical construction of national identities
- Civic v. ethnic nationalism
- Case studies

Required reading: Clayton Chin, "Multiculturalism and Nationalism: Models of Belonging to Diverse Political Community," *Nations and Nationalism*, 2020: 1-18

Suggested readings: Aviel Roshwald, "Civic and Ethnic Nationalism," *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 2016:1-4; Peter Bugge, "The History of the Dichotomy of Civic Western and Ethnic Eastern Nationalism", *National Identities*, 2020: 1-25

#### **8. Thursday, July 9, 2:00 PM to 4:0 PM**

- Evolution of census categorizations
- Issues raised by the balance between ethno-racial diversity and national unity
- Case studies

Required readings: Daniel Sabbagh, Shanny Peer, "French Color Blindness in Perspective: The Controversy over *statistiques ethniques*," *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 26 (1), 2008: 1-6; Maya Tudor and Dan Slater, "Nationalism, Authoritarianism and Democracy: Historical Lessons from South and Southeast Asia," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2020: 1-17

Suggested reading: Daniel Gabrielson, "National Identity and Democracy: Effects of Non-Voluntarism on Formal Democracy," *Nations and Nationalism*, 2022 (28): 501-522

### **Ethno-racial identity: Interpretation and Impact**

#### **9. Monday, July 13, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Historical and social construction of ethno-racial identities
- Perception of immigrants among majority groups
- Case studies

Required reading: Petra Sidler et al, "How Do People Perceived Immigrants? Relating Perceptions to Numbers," *The Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*, 2024 (9): 689-708

Suggested readings: Linda Tropp and Thomas Pettigrew, "Intergroup Contact and Prejudice Among Minority and Majority Status Groups," *Psychological Sciences*, 16 (12), 2005: 951-957; Eric Oliver, Janelle Wong, "Intergroup Prejudice in Multiethnic Settings," *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (4), 2003: 567-582

#### **10. Wednesday, July 15, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Intergroup conflicts/intergroup coalitions
- Racial prejudice among and between minority groups
- Case studies

Required reading: Jens Peter Frolund Thomsen, Arzoo Rafiqi, "The Contact-Prejudice Relationship among Ethnic Minorities," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39 (10), 2016: 1886-1904  
Suggested reading: S. Sayyid, "Post-Racial Paradoxes: Rethinking European Racism and Anti-Racism," *Patterns of Prejudice*, 51 (1), 2017: 9-25.

*The second section of this course focuses on a critical evaluation of a series of exclusive and inclusive principles, norms, institutions, and processes which are currently part of the diversity-identity dilemma at the heart of liberal democracies. Topics addressed in this section include:*

### **Inclusive diversity: Who is in?**

#### **11. Thursday, July 16, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Norms of inclusion
- Positive aspects of inclusion policies
- Representative bureaucracy
- Best practices around the world

Required reading: Andrea Headley and James Wright, "Bureaucracy, Democracy and Race," *Public Administration Review*, 2021 (81): 1033-1043

Suggested reading: Clarence J. Dias, "Democracy and Human Rights: The Challenge of Ethnicity and Inclusive Democracy," *Journal of the Indian Law Institute*, 2005 (47): 7-28

### **Exclusive diversity: Who is out?**

#### **12. Thursday, July 16, 2:00 PM to 4:0 PM**

- Norms of exclusion
- Issues of fairness and merit
- Resilient racism
- Worst practices around the world

Required readings: Martina Klett-Davies, "Border Regimes: Homophobia and LGBT Place Making in Six Ordinary Cities in Europe," *Religions*, 2021 (13/6): 1-16; Jonathan Benson, "Democracy and the Epistemic Problems of Political Polarization," *American Political Science Review*, 2024 (118): 1719-1732

Suggested reading: Osma Komurcu, "Denying Diversity: Challenges to Multiculturalism in Central-Eastern Europe," *Europolity*, 2020 (14): 159-177

### **Democratic diversity governance: Integration and Assimilation**

#### **13. Monday, July 20, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Democratic civic-political incorporation
- Economic and social incorporation
- Case studies
- Methodology for final exam

Required reading: Tariq Modood, "Post-Immigration Difference and Integration," *Meritum*, 2013 (8): 389-411

Suggested reading: Gerard Delanty, "Cultural Diversity, Democracy, and the Prospects of Cosmopolitanism: A Theory of Cultural encounters," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 2011 (4): 633-657

## **Undemocratic diversity governance: Current issues and future challenges**

### **14. Tuesday, July 21, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

- Restrictions to civic-political incorporation (restrictive reforms of citizenship, gerrymandering)
- Racialization of immigration reforms
- Impact of populist/anti-migrant parties and the illiberal temptation

Required readings: Cas Mudde, "Populism and Democracy," in *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2017: 79-96; Ruzha Smilova, "Conceptual Space for Illiberal Democracies," *Politics and Governance*, 2025 (13): 1-19

Suggested readings: Sheri Berman, "Democracy and Diversity in Western Europe," *Journal of Democracy*, 2024 (4): 78-92; Julian Erhardt et al, "National Identity Between Democracy and Autocracy: A Comparative Analysis of 24 Countries," *European Political Science Review*, 2021 (13): 59-76

### **15. Tuesday, July 21, 2:00 PM to 4:0 PM**

- How to restore representative democracy?
- Potential benefits of deliberative democracy

Required readings: Mary Healey, "Civic Friendship," *Studies of Philosophical Education*, 2011 (30): 229-240; Anand Marri, "Multicultural Democracy: Toward a Better Democracy," *Intercultural Education*, 2003 (14): 1-17

Suggested reading: Baogang He, "Cosmopolitan Democracy and the National Identity Question in Europe and East Asia," *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 2002 (2): 47-68

*The last section of this course is research oriented. Students, informed by the concepts, debates and examples of the first two sections, will present their own work in oral presentations based on their readings and selected case studies. The objective is to assess various solutions to manage inclusion and diversity in democratic societies.*

### **16. Wednesday, July 22, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**

### **17. Wednesday, July 22, 2:00 PM to 4:0 PM**

### **18. Thursday, July 23, 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM**



## **Bibliography**

All the required and suggested readings will be available via Moodle  
Additional readings will be suggested for the oral presentations



## Requirements for validation

All the students are expected to come to each class session prepared to discuss the required readings. Each student will have to make an oral team presentation (of about 30 minutes). The final exam (3h) will take place on July 24. Students will have to address one question (out of 2) in an essay format.

Student grades will be based on the oral presentation (30%) and the final exam (50%). Regular attendance, careful reading, and active participation (based on required readings) are also considered (20%).



## Professor's Biography



Professor Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, educated at Sciences Po (Ph.D., HDR), is Professor at Rutgers - State University of New Jersey. Her recent publications include *Frontiers of Fears: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe* (Cornell University Press, 2012); *How Does it Feel to Be a Treat? Migrant Mobilization and Securitization in the US and Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, NYU Series, 2015); *Violent America: The Dynamics of Identity Politics in a Multiracial Society* (Cornell University Press, 2023); and her coming book – *Divided over Unity: The Identity Crisis of American*