POLITICS OF INCLUSION AND MINORITY RIGHTS IN DEMOCRACIES

ABSTRACT
This course will focus on what creates a democratic ethic of social and political pluralism, including protection and inclusion of minorities in the political processes of heterogeneous, democratic societies, and protection of religious and ethnic rights and diversity. The course will discuss minority rights and inclusion as related to the law, school curricula and teaching, the media and civil society. The curriculum will include case studies from both post-conflict and peaceful transitions toward democratic inclusion, addressing the end goal of not merely tolerance but celebration of difference.

INTRODUCTION
The present course is a concise survey through which the instructor and the students examine the theory and application of the fundamental principles of inclusion of minorities and their participation in democracies through the prism of citizenship. In so examining the historical evolution of citizenship in theory and practice, the course particularly focuses on the practical manifestations of citizenship in the fields of education (especially citizenship education itself) and labour rights.

The survey is divided into four main sections.

Section one is a general review of the evolution of the processes that shaped and reshaped the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of minority and citizenship rights in the form of a plethora of the fundamental rights instruments and the respective political and legal principles enshrining political inclusion and diverse, pluralist, citizenship. The historical review encompasses a succinct genealogy of the said phenomena as far back as the antiquity, the medieval times and renaissance, early modern era, and finally from the American Revolution to the contemporary era.

Section two reviews the constitutional and political evolution of citizenship rights in the cases of Belgium, Canada, India, and Switzerland; with a special focus on India. The section thus examines the aforementioned cases not as just some western federal democratic models, but as notable pioneering federal democratic model nation-building projects whose founding was pivoted on the political development of pluralistically inclusive civic citizenship and the mutually reinforcing and bidirectional relationship between the citizenship activism and the ongoing institutionalization of inclusionary pluralist citizenship. The section investigates the principal challenges in the experiences of each case under the following headings: constitutional enshrinement, institutionalization, implementation and enforcement, and the exercise of inclusionary, pluralistic, and consociational citizenship.

Section three discusses the migration and adoption of the theories and principles of inclusionary pluralist citizenship to formerly non-democratic, ex-colonial, post-conflict states that are in transition to attain sustainable political development as new democracies. It especially discusses the achievements and shortcomings of adopting and implementing the aforementioned principles in the cases of Afghanistan, Lebanon, Nigeria and South Africa; with a special focus on Lebanon.
Section four surveys the theory and practice of policy-making and enforcement of the principles of inclusionary pluralist citizenship in two major areas of education and labour (especially citizenship education, employment equity and access to equal opportunity) in some of the countries discussed in the course.

**Learning Outcomes**
By the end of the course, the students have attained the following learning outcomes:

1. Familiarity with the historical (ancient, modern, and contemporary) root causes of the evolution of citizenship from a singularised to a pluralistic concept and recognizing emergent concepts and phenomena and their complicating impact on enshrining and realizing inclusionary pluralist citizenship; particularly, gendered citizenship (women and LGBT) and minorities-within-minorities, such as the LGBT members of a visible ethnic or linguistic minority who themselves are a minority within the said ethno-linguistic/coloured community; or speakers of a distinct language within a minority language, such as the speakers of the Uramani language as a distinct language within the group of Kurdish languages in Iran; or the Romansh ethno-linguistic group of Switzerland who are one of the most ancient constituent members of the Swiss society.

2. Familiarity with the historical evolution of the theoretical and legal spectrum of citizenship; from a totalized monolithic (as in racist or nationalist) phenomenon to a relativistic, culturally and political fragmented (as in ethnocentric, ethno-linguistic, ethno-religious, sectarian communal citizenry) phenomenon as well as its unfolding present state as an inclusionary, pluralistic, consociational phenomenon and the impact of constitutional patriotism on continental European visions of citizenship.

3. Familiarity with the historical context of the socio-psychological and political changes that citizenship underwent in modern democratic states during the second half of the 20th century and their engagement with consequent challenges that overwhelmed and transformed the conventional approaches to political participation, structural and institutional reform and sustainable political development.

4. Familiarity with the achievements and shortcomings in the political experience of ex-colonial, former totalitarian, and post-conflict state in adopting the principal models of inclusionary pluralist citizenship in their transition to pluralistic sustainable new democratic states.

5. Familiarity with the legal and civic challenges apply the above mentioned in designing constitutions and engineering institutions that advance pluralist and inclusive citizenship of the minorities through engaging them in civil society organizations and by promoting their ethnocivic and/or political agency through ensuring their proportional and equal representation in labour (public and private sector) and education with the explicit purpose of transitioning from any unsustainable political state (non-democratic, colonial, conflict) towards a sustainable civically interdependent pluralist democratic state.

6. Familiarity with the pre-requisite fundamental questions for designing and developing civil society participatory schemes pivoting on the development of pluralist and active citizenship;
questions such as: in what cases can the government cooperation with the dynamically participating civil society organization help create the type of democratic culture conducive to the emergence of a pluralistic, civicly universal, self-sustaining, empowered citizenship? In what cases may a pluralistic, civicly universal, empowered citizenry become a major force of sustainable political development in the course of peaceful nation-state building?

**Delivery and Schedule**
The course is delivered through lectures, presentation slides, and mandatory and optional readings. In order to follow the material covered by the lectures, students should have read the mandatory readings prior to each session. Optional readings are provided for further information; though experience shows that familiarity with the optional readings are always conducive to mastering the material covered by mandatory readings. The lectures will be in the form of 90-minute-long sessions twice a week. Each session opens by a forty-five-minute-long interactive lecture where the instructor and the students participate in the coverage of the material. The instructor generally starts the lectures with a review summary, accompanied by a review test (pre-test) and engages the students in the coverage of the course material through interactive material built into the lecture slides. The instructor sums of the first half by presenting sum-up questions for debate and discussions. The second forty-five-minute half of the lecture is dedicated to a thirty-minute-long class discussion (during which the students are expected to discuss the issues and questions covered in the lecture) followed by a five-minute-long summation, a short quiz of the covered material (post-test), and a brief review of the upcoming session.

**Critical Engagement with the Learning Material and Assessment**
Students are expected to submit a written critical thinkpiece on any of the topics, issues, and questions covered each week by the end of that very week. Students must ensure there exists a logical, analytical and critical amongst their think-pieces so that they can readily use them for the purposes of developing a project in which they would apply what they have learnt to a country like Iran with its historically deep cultural, linguistic, religious, and ethnic diversity.

**FUNDAMENTAL INSTRUMENTS**
Students must ensure that they develop a somewhat broad familiarity with the following fundamental sources during the time of the course.

- **Hammurabi Laws**
  - English. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/hamframe.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/hamframe.asp)

- **Cyrus Cylinder**
  - Persian. [https://fa.wikisource.org/wiki/بزرگ_کوروش_استوانه](https://fa.wikisource.org/wiki/بزرگ_کوروش_استوانه)

- **Constitution of Athens**
  - English. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/hamframe.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/ancient/hamframe.asp)

- **The Magna Carta 1215**
  - English. [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/magframe.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/magframe.asp)

- **The English Bill of Right of 1689**

- **The Declaration of Independence 1776**
The American Bill of Rights 1789-1791
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/rights1.asp

The French Revolutionary Republic’s Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen

Gulkhanah Khati-Shariifi - the First Ottoman Bill of Rights

Constitution of Persia
Persian. https://fa.wikisource.org/wiki/قانون_اساسي_مشروطه

Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
Persian. https://tavaana.org/fa/content/ميثاق-بين-المللي-حقوق-مندبي-و-سياسي

English. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx

Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
Persian. https://tavaana.org/fa/content/0-زنان-عالیه-تبعیض-اشکال-و-نژاد-کنوانسیون

Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

Convention on the Rights of the Child
Persian. https://tavaana.org/fa/content/کنوانسیون-حقوق-کودک

Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society to Promote and Protect Universally Recognized Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
Detailed Outline

Week One: Historical and Theoretical Departures

Session One. Genealogy of Citizenship

1. Introduction
2. Citizenship: A Historical Overview from Antiquity WWI
   Hammurabi Laws and Ancient Persian Empire of Cyrus
   Ancient Greece and Rome
   The Islamic period to the end of the Mongol Era
   Medieval Era: Magna Carta
   Rise of the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Persia
   The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America and the French
   Revolutionary Republic’s Declaration of the Right of Man and the Citizen
   American Civil War, Ottoman Reforms, and Iranian Constitutional Revolution

Mandatory Readings

لیا، ساجده. "جاگاه حقوق شهرنی در عصر هخامنشیان." تعالی حقوق. سال چهارم، شماره های (مهر، آبان، آذر و دی (1390): 179-200
جفرسون، توماس. منشوری برای وضع آزادی دینی در ویرجینیا. ویرایش دایان راویچ (دارنده ی حقوق کپی رایت 1990 و 2000).
E-Collaborative for Civic Education: Mandatory Readings

Session Two: Minority Rights in the Contemporary Era

Citizenship in International Legal Instruments and convention

1. 1900 to WWII: The League of Nations and its Contribution
2. The Cold War Era: UN-based Conventions on civil, social and political rights and the
   rights of women and children
3. The American Civil Rights movement and the institutionalization of Affirmative Action
4. Post-Cold War to Present: The Emergence of the Third Generation of Human Rights and
   Citizenship

Mandatory Readings

تابکی، تورج. "تنوع قومی و هویت ملی در ایران." مترجم عدالله شریفی. بنیاد مطالعات ایران. لینک:

Optional Reading

Week Two: From Monolithic to Federal, Plural and Consociational Citizenships

Session Three. Discourses of Citizenship
1. What is citizenship
2. Distinct and gendered citizenship; differentiated citizenship;
3. Tension between communal, ethnic, religious, and linguistic citizenships with nationalist citizenships
4. Emergence of minorities within minorities and the rise of trans-national citizenships within the immigrant-based states
5. Citizenship as a function of the Political System: Political System as the Superstructure or the Infrastructure of the Political System

Mandatory Reading

Optional Readings

Session Four: Typology of Citizenship and Political Systems
1. Typology of citizenship from Democratic Transition to Established Political Systems: Centralism, Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Federalisms and the emerging citizenships therein: Spain
2. India

Mandatory Readings

Optional Readings
Week Three: Citizenship and Ex-Colonial, Ex-Totalitarian, and post-Conflict New Democracies;  
A Conundrum or a Contribution?

Session Five: National, Ethnic, and Consociational Identities
1. From rediscovery and recreation of national citizenships to rediscovery and recreation of trans-national citizenships
2. Application of identity frameworks in the comparative examination of the experience of newly independent states and “the ancient states” with citizenship

Mandatory Readings

Optional Readings

Session Six: Lebanon, A Case Study
Consociationalism to Conciliation: Lebanon

Mandatory Readings

Optional Readings

Week Four: Instruments, Institutions and Structures of Enshrining and Exercising Pluralist Citizenship

Session Seven: Citizenship Education and the Struggle against Structural Discrimination
1. A review of the debates on the simultaneous promotion of national and trans-national identities through citizenship education
2. Experiences of Canada and Switzerland in Education
3. A review of the debates on human resources management and safeguarding access to equal opportunities and combating structural and invisible discrimination
4. Canadian Experience with Employment Equity

Mandatory Reading

Optional Readings

Session Eight: Towards Re-inventing Citizenship
Revisiting the historical and theoretical evolution of Civic Citizenship:
- From an individualized and classic state to a culturally relativized and ethnic phenomenon to:
- The institutional evolution of the international and federal frameworks that seek to reconstruct the institution of citizenship through the module of identities that are transnational, empowered, consociational, interdependent, and historically and culturally multilevel

Mandatory Reading