Political Science and International Relations Programme
Trimester 2, 2008

INTP/POLS211
Special Topic: Governing Divided Societies

Lecturer:	Dr Fiona Barker
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Lecture Times:	Monday, Friday 12.00 – 12.50
Tutorial Times:	TBA
Venue:	Hugh Mckenzie LT003
Office Hours:	Office hours will be announced at the first lecture and posted on my office door. You may also email me to arrange meetings.

Information about any changes to the timetable or programme will be announced in lectures and posted on the Political Science and International Relations and Philosophy notice boards.

Course aims:

Many countries are characterized by linguistic, ethnic or religious divisions that result from patterns of state formation, colonization, immigration, and border-shifting. In this course we examine how "divided societies" such as Belgium, Canada, Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Hercegovina are governed. How, and *how successfully*, have states responded to "deep diversity"? We study various types of strategies used to accommodate difference, including federalism, devolution, electoral laws, consociationalism and policies such as affirmative action. Why do leaders choose certain strategies? What are the particular challenges of "institutional engineering" in post-conflict situations or when international actors become involved? We also consider underlying questions about which goals (e.g. democracy, stability, justice) *should* be prioritized in the accommodation of difference.

Course objectives:

After passing this course you should be able to do the following:

- Recognize and use concepts central to the study of diverse societies, such as "ethnicity", "nation", "federalism", "consociationalism".

- Compare the institutional and policy responses of states in societies with linguistic, ethnic or religious divisions. Understand and explain the consequences that these different institutional and policy choices have for social and political outcomes in diverse societies.

- Discuss different views on the "best" way to manage a diverse society or to measure "success" in management of diversity.

Course Delivery

The lectures will introduce the key concepts and theories relevant to each week's readings. They will concentrate on giving students an analytical framework for understanding and assessing how societies manage difference. They will also give detail on particular case studies relevant to the themes being covered. Weekly tutorials will begin in Week 3. The first goal of the tutorials is to consolidate students' understanding of the key concepts and to enable students to discuss their reactions to the weekly readings. The second main goal of the tutorials is to study in more depth the details of each country case study and to discuss what it can teach us about the relevant institutional strategy for managing difference (e.g. power sharing, federalism).

Assessment:

In-class test   20% (August 1)

Essay (2,000- 2,500 words)   40%   (Due Sept 19)

Final Exam   40%

Assessment for this course comprises three elements. The in-class test part-way through the trimester is designed to ensure that you have learned what it means to be a divided society and understood some of the key concepts related to identities and to ethnic and national difference. This material is an important foundation for the second half of the course. In the essay you will be required to show an understanding of one or more of the different strategies that political leaders use to manage divided societies, applying this to one or more cases that we cover in the course or of your own choosing. The final exam will test your understanding of material covered throughout the course, with a focus on the range of strategies and cases addressed in the second half of the course.

The date, time and venue of the final three hour exam will be determined when the University completes its timetable during the second half of the trimester. The examination period runs from 17th October to 8th November 2008.

Essential texts:

The prescribed textbook for the course, which will be available at Vicbooks located in the Student Union Building on Kelburn Campus: Sumantra Bose (2002) *Bosnia after Dayton* (London: Hurst & Co). You must also buy the *POLS/INTP 211 Course book 2008,* which will be available at Student Notes on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. Early on in Trimester Two I will distribute a supplementary reading list to provide you with further background reading and to guide you in your essay writing.

Mandatory Course Requirements:

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

    a) Submit the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work)

    b) Sit the final exam at the end of the course.

Penalties:

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

Turn-It-In:

Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism. At the discretion of the head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted materials on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

Workload:

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 15 hours per week to POLS/INTP 211. This includes 2 hours of lectures plus one tutorial per week.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY AND PLAGIARISM

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were ones own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct. All

cases will be recorded on a central database and severe penalties may be imposed. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx

GENERAL UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENTS
Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/calendar_intro.html

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general

- Student and Staff Conduct
- Academic Grievances
- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support

Course outline:

PART I	INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTS
Week 1 July 7, 11	Introduction to the Course Thinking about Identity
Week 2 Jul 14, 18	The Nation, Identity and Conflict Contemporary Strategies for Managing Diversity
PART II	**STRATEGIES OF MANAGING DIVERSITY**
Week 3 Jul 21, 25	Executive Power Sharing
Week 4 Jul 28	Executive Power Sharing – Northern Ireland ***In-class test August 1***
Week 5 Aug 4, 8	Political Decentralization
Week 6 Aug 11, 15	Political Decentralization – Canada, Belgium
Week 7 Sep 5	*No lecture Sep. 1* Electoral System Design
Week 8 Sep 8, 12	Electoral System Design – Northern Ireland
Week 9 Sep 15, 19	Legislative measures ***Essay 2 Due September 19, 5pm***
Part III	**BRINGING IT TOGETHER: BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**
Week 10 Sep 22, 26	Bosnia-Herzegovina
Week 11 Sept 29, Oct 3	Bosnia-Herzegovina
Week 12 Oct 6, 10	Conclusions

Reading List and Questions:

Part I INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTS

<u>Week 1</u>

July 7 (Mon)   Introduction to the Course

<u>Questions</u> – What is a *divided* society? What is a multinational state? What kinds of conflicts can occur in divided societies, and why?

Required reading:

Brown, M. (1993) "Causes and implications of ethnic conflict", in Brown (ed.) *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 3-26.

Further reading:

Gurr, T.R. (2000) *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*. Washington DC: US Institute of Peace. [Read sketches of different minorities around the world]

Kymlicka, W. (1996) *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford: OUP. [pp. 10-25]

Keating, M. "So many nations, so few states: territory and nationalism in the global era", in A-G. Gagnon & J. Tully (eds.) Multinational Democracies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 39-64.

Horowitz, D. (2000) *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: UC Press. [Chaps. 3-5]

July 11 (Fri)   Thinking about Identity

Questions – What is meant by the terms *identity*, *nation* and *ethnicity*? Are identities in divided societies fluid or fixed, real or constructed identities? Can states shape identities?

Required reading:

Connor, W. (1978) "A nation is a nation, a state is a state, an ethnic group is a ...", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1: 4, 379-388.

Hutchinson, J. and A. Smith (1996) "Introduction", in Hutchinson & Smith (eds.) *Ethnicity*. Oxford: OUP, 3-14.

Further reading:

Trevor-Roper, H. (1983) "The invention of tradition: the Highland tradition of Scotland", in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: CUP, 15-42.

Week 2

July 14 (Mon) The Nation, Identity and History

Questions – How did states manage difference historically? Would the institutional choices of the Ottoman Empire, 19th century France and colonial Africa be viable in democracies today?

Required reading:

Grillo, Ralph (1998) *Pluralism and the Politics of Difference: State, culture and ethnicity in comparative perspective*. New York: OUP. [Chap. 4, pp. 75-96]

Further reading:

Laitin, D. (1985) "Hegemony and religious conflict: British imperial control and political cleavages in Yorubaland", in Evans, P., D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: CUP, 285-316.

Weber, Eugen (1976) *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. [pp. 3-11, 95-99, 241-276, 485-496]

July 18 (Fri) Contemporary Strategies for Managing Diversity

Questions – What strategies can political leaders of divided societies use? Must difference always be accommodated, or can it be ignored or even eliminated? Which strategies are acceptable in democratic societies?

Required reading:

McGarry, J. and B. O'Leary (2007) "Framing the debate: integration versus accommodation", in R. Panossian, B. Berman & A. Linscott (eds.), *Governing Diversity: Democratic Solutions in Multicultural Societies*, Montreal: International Center for Human Rights and Development, 19-29. [Online at: http://www.dd-rd.ca/site/_PDF/publications/R&D-Governing-Diversity-ENG-low.pdf]

J.S. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* [Chapter 16 Of Nationality, as connected with representative government]

Further reading:

O'Leary (2001) "The Elements of Right-Sizing and Right-Peopling the State", in O'Leary, Brendan, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy. *Right-sizing the State - The Politics of Moving Borders*. Oxford: OUP. [Read pp. 28-62 only]

Part II   STRATEGIES OF MANAGING DIVERSITY

Week 3

July 21 (Mon) & July 25 (Fri)   Executive Power Sharing

Questions – What are the different ways that power can be shared in parliament and government? Consociationalism is a common recommendation for deeply divided societies. What are its key elements? What are the advantages and drawbacks of this manner of managing difference? Does sharing power among groups in society outweigh the danger that differences will become permanently entrenched? We consider the case of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland.

Required reading:

Lijphart, A. (1977) *Democracy in Plural Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 25-52.

McRae, K. (ed.) (1974) Consociational Democracy: Political accommodation in Segmented Societies. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. [Read the Introduction by McRae]

Further reading:

Lijphart, A. (1999) *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [Skim Chaps 6-7]

O'Leary, B. (2005) "Debating consociational politics: normative and explanatory arguments", in S. Noel (ed.) *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 3-43.

Week 4

July 28 (Mon)   Executive power sharing – Northern Ireland
Required reading:

McGarry, J. and B. O'Leary (2006) Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict, and its Agreement: Part 1. What consociationalists can learn from Northern Ireland", *Government and Opposition* 41: 1, 43-63.

Further reading:

Text of the Good Friday Agreement: http://www.nio.gov.uk/agreement.pdf

BBC website with information on the Northern Ireland conflict and background to the Good Friday agreement:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/northern_ireland/understanding/events/good_Friday.stm

McGarry, J. and B. O'Leary (2006) Consociational Theory, Northern Ireland's Conflict, and its Agreement: 2. What critics of consociation can learn from Northern Ireland", *Government and Opposition* 41: 2, 249-277

August 1 (Fri) In-Class Test

Week 5

August 4 (Mon) & August 8 (Fri)   Political Decentralization

Questions – We discuss the different forms of political decentralization, such as federalism, devolution and other types of territorial autonomy. How does federalism contrast with unitary systems? Why do some societies adopt full federalism, whereas others prefer not to shift power away from the centre? Why do some people argue that decentralization contains ethnic conflict and holds a country together, while others argue that decentralization increases the likelihood that a divided society will break up? We discuss these questions in the cases of Belgium and Canada.

Required reading:

Watt, R. (1999) *Comparing Federal Systems*. Kingston, ONT: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 1-18.

McGarry, J. and B. O'Leary (2005) "Federation as a method of ethnic conflict resolution", in Sid Noel (ed.), *From Power Sharing to Democracy: Post Conflict Institutions in Ethnically Divided Societies*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 263-296.

Further reading:

Swenden, W. (2006) *Federalism and Regionalism in Western Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-22.

Watt, R. (1999) *Comparing Federal Systems*. Kingston, ONT: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 21-31.

Hechter, M. (2000) *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: OUP, pp. 134-159. [Chap. 8: "Containing nationalism"]

Week 6

August 11 (Mon) & August 15 (Fri)   Political decentralization – Canada, Belgium

Required reading:

Karmis, D. and A-G. Gagnon (2001) "Federalism, federation and collective identities in Canada and Belgium: different routes, similar fragmentation", in Gagnon, A-G. and J. Tully (eds.) *Multinational Democracies*. Cambridge: CUP, 137-175.

Burgess, M. (2006) *Comparative Federalism: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge, pp. 114-131.

Further reading:

Swenden, W. (2006) *Federalism and Regionalism in Western Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 244-290.

MID-TRIMESTER BREAK – ENJOY!

Weeks 7-8

Sept 1 (Mon)   NO LECTURE

Sept 5 (Fri) & Sept 8 (Mon)   Electoral system design

Questions – What kinds of incentives can electoral systems offer to induce voters and political parties to act in ways that minimize inter-group conflict? What is the logic and expected outcome behind each electoral system? Which types of electoral rules were adopted in Northern Ireland as part of power-sharing arrangements?

Required reading:

Reilly, B. (2002) "Electoral systems for divided societies", *Journal of Democracy*, 13: 2, 156-170.

Horowitz, D. (1991) *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society,* Berkeley: University of California Press [Chap. 5, 163-203].

Further reading:

Reilly, B. (2006) "Political engineering and party politics in conflict-prone societies", *Democratization* 13: 5, 811-827.

Lijphart, A. (1999) *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [Chaps. 8, 11, 12]

Sept 12 (Fri)   Electoral System Design – Northern Ireland

Required reading:

Reilly, B. (2001) *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management,* New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chap. 6, pp. 129-148]

Week 9

Sept 15 (Mon) & Sept 19 (Fri) Legislative Measures

Questions – Measures can also be taken below the level of formal institutions to manage division in a society. Do quotas in the police, bureaucracy and education system appear to be effective in engineering group outcomes and inter-group relations?

Required reading:

Gagnon, A-G, L. Turgeon and O. De Champlain "Representative bureaucracy in multinational states: Turkey, Nigeria and Canada", in R. Panossian, B. Berman & A. Linscott (eds.), Governing Diversity: Democratic Solutions in Multicultural Societies, Montreal: International Center for Human Rights and Development, 71-78.

[Online: http://www.dd-rd.ca/site/_PDF/publications/R&D-Governing-Diversity-ENG-low.pdf]

Horowitz, D. (2000) *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: UC Press. [Chap. 16, 653-680]

PART III   BRINGING IT TOGETHER: BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Weeks 10-11

Bosnia-Herzegovina, part of the former Yugoslavia, is one of the most complex recent instances of attempts to design democratic institutions to manage a divided society. We discuss the kinds of institutional strategies adopted in Bosnia and consider other important elements, such as post-conflict institution building, democratization, and the involvement of the international community.

Sept 22 (Mon), Sept 26 (Fri), Sept 29 (Mon)

Questions – Yugoslavia under Tito was sometimes held up as a model of the management of a multi-ethnic society. Which institutional arrangements existed in Yugoslavia to manage difference? In the early 1990s, what situation did political institution builders in Bosnia face? Which institutional arrangements did the Dayton Agreement propose?

Required reading:

Bose, Sumantra (2002) *Bosnia after Dayton*. London: Hurst & Company. [Chaps 1, 2, 5]

Further reading:

Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina:

http://www.ohr.int/const/bih-fed/default.asp?content_id=5907#21

Bieber, F. (2005) "Power Sharing after Yugoslavia: Functionality and Dysfunctionality of Power-sharing Institutions in Post-War Bosnia, Macedonia, and Kosovo" in Noel, S. (ed.) *From Power Sharing to Democracy: Post-Conflict Institutions*.

Malcolm, N. 1994. *Bosnia: A Short History*. London: Macmillan.

Oct 3 (Fri)   International involvement in Bosnia

Questions – To what extent is a divided society managed differently when the international community, rather than a sovereign state, controls institutional and policy design?

Required reading:

Bose, S. (2002) *Bosnia after Dayton*. London: Hurst & Company. [Chap. 6]

Further reading:

Weller, M. and S. Wolff. 2006. "Bosnia and Herzegovina Ten Years After Dayton: Lessons for Internationalized State-Building", *Ethnopolitics* 5 (1 (March)):1-14.

McGarry, J. (1998) "Political settlements in Northern Ireland and South Africa", *Political Studies* 46: 853-870.

October 6 (Mon) & October 10 (Fri)   Conclusions

Questions –In managing difference, should states place more emphasis on *justice* or on *stability*? Do institutions and policies such as consociationalism, federalism and multiculturalism place more value on individual or group rights? In the cases we have examined, which have been the main intended and unintended consequences of institutional design?

Required reading:

Kymlicka, W. (2007) *Multicultural Odysseys*. Oxford: OUP. [From chapter 6 "The European Experiment", read pp. 173-204, 231-246]

O'Flynn, I. and D. Russell (eds.) (2005) *Power-Sharing: Institutional and Social Reform in Divided Societies*. London: Pluto Press [Chap. 8 on Bosnia].

Further reading:

Norman, W. (2001) "Justice and Stability", in Gagnon, A-G. and J. Tully (eds.) *Multinational Democracies*. Cambridge: CUP, 90-109.

Kymlicka, W. (1995) "Introduction", in Kymlicka, W. (ed.) *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. Oxford: OUP, 1-27.

O'Flynn, I. and D. Russell (eds.) (2005) *Power-Sharing: Institutional and Social Reform in Divided Societies*. London: Pluto Press [Chap. 6 on Belgium].