



**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME

INTP/POLS211: SPECIAL TOPIC: GOVERNING DIVIDED SOCIETIES

TRIMESTER 1 2011

28 February to 2 July 2011

Trimester dates

Teaching dates: 28 February to 3 June 2011

Mid-trimester/Easter break: 18 April to 1 May 2011

Study week: 6–10 June 2011

Examination/Assessment period: 10 June to 2 July 2011

Withdrawal dates

Information on withdrawals and refunds may be found at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds.aspx>

Class and Contact Details

Lecturer:	Dr Fiona Barker
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Email:	fiona.barker@vuw.ac.nz
Office Hours:	Thursdays 12:00 – 14:00 or by appointment
Tutor:	Ms Ana Gilling
Email:	ana.gilling@vuw.ac.nz

** You are welcome to contact either the lecturer or the tutor with questions about course content. Questions regarding course organisation (e.g. extension requests, logistical questions) should be directed to Dr Barker. We will respond to your emails within 48 hours of receipt.

Lecture Times: Monday, Friday 15:10-17:00

Lecture Venue: HU323

Course format: This course is organised into two two-hour blocks. The first hour each Monday and Friday will consist of lectures. Monday 16:10-17:00 will comprise tutorial/workshop activities. Friday 16:10-17:00 will comprise a range of activities to support your course learning – e.g. further questions and discussion about readings; sessions on conducting library research; guidance on essay research and writing techniques. All four scheduled hours of INTP/POLS211 will be held in HU323.

Course delivery

This course is taught by way of two lectures and tutorial/workshop activities each week. 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 begin in Week 2. Tutorials are intended to consolidate students' understanding of the key concepts, assigned readings and case studies. Many tutorials will involve group collaboration and discussion, both in small groups and via plenary discussion. There will also be some optional workshop activities in the Friday 16:10-17:00 time slot to support students in their course learning.

Communication of additional information

Additional information or information about any changes to the course timetable or programme will be announced in lectures and posted on Blackboard. Students should check Blackboard regularly for communication of important information related to the course. Important notices may also be sent via an email to the class. You should ensure that you check regularly the email address the university has on record for you, or that you have emails forwarded to an address that you do check regularly.

Course content

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 Lebanon, Canada, Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina are governed. How, and *how successfully*, have states responded to "deep diversity"? We study various responses to difference, including integration, federalism, devolution, electoral laws, consociationalism and partition. Why do leaders choose certain strategies, and with what consequences? 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) *should* be prioritized in the accommodation of difference.

Learning objectives

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

- Recognize and use concepts central to the study of diverse societies, such as "ethnicity", "nation", "federalism", "consociationalism". This understanding will be tested in the in-class test and the final examination.
- Compare and critique the institutional and policy responses of states in societies with linguistic, ethnic or religious divisions; and understand and explain the consequences that these different institutional and policy choices have for social and political outcomes in diverse societies. You will demonstrate fulfilment of this objective through the essay and the final examination.
- Discuss different views on the "best" way to manage a diverse society or to measure "success" in management of diversity. Make assessments of appropriate institutions and constitutional measures for a society when presented with key demographic, historical and political facts about the society. You will demonstrate fulfilment of this objective through the essay and the final examination.

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty of Humanities and Social Science guidelines, the overall workload for this course is 200 hours in total.

Group work

There is no assessed group work for this course. However, tutorials will involve some group work.

Readings

Essential texts:

Most required reading for this course is contained in INTP/POLS 211 Coursepack 2011. Please purchase this pack of student notes prior to, or during, the first week of the trimester. Some additional required readings may be placed on the university library E-reserves.

All undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer from 7 February to 11 March 2011, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of vicbooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two of the trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from vicbooks on Level 3 of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from nominated collection points at each campus. Customers will be contacted when they are available.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

Recommended Reading:

The list of readings at the end of this outline sets out required and recommended readings. During the course of the semester some additional readings may be placed on Library e-reserves. As with all other additional information, you will be advised of this in both lectures and on Blackboard.

Assessment requirements

In-class test	worth 15% of your total course mark; held <u>Monday April 4</u>
Essay proposal	worth 10% of your total course mark; due <u>Friday April 15</u>
Essay (2,000- 2,500 words)	worth 35% of your total course mark; due <u>Friday May 14</u>
Two-hour final in-class test	worth 40% of your total course mark; held <u>Friday June 3 15:10-17:00 in HU323.</u>

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.

The **essay proposal** requires you to identify a research question and to set out the possible argument (thesis statement) that you will make in your essay. You will also be required to present a list of relevant literature to be used in your essay. The essay proposal is an important step for research and writing a strong essay.

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. Essay topics will be advised by Week 3 of the trimester. You must submit the essay in written form AND upload it in electronic form to Turnitin.com. Essays must be word-processed.

If you do not already have a login for Turnitin, you will need to register yourself as a new user at <http://turnitin.com/static/index.html>. Once you have done this, please register yourself for this class in order to upload your essay. The Class name is: INTP_POLS 211_2011. The Class ID is **3780439** and the Enrollment password is: **diversity**. After you have registered yourself, you will be able to upload your essay. These instructions will also be provided on the sheet with essay topics.

The **final two-hour test** will assess 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. Please note carefully in your calendar that the final, two-hour test will be held in HU323 during the last class of the trimester – Friday June 3 15:10–17:00. If you will be unable to attend this test, you should not take this course.

Return of assignments

In-class tests and essays will be returned in lecture. After one week, students may pick-up the marked assignment during my office hours or from the Political Science and International Relations office **between 2-3pm** each day.

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. Extensions will be granted only in extraordinary circumstances and require appropriate documentation (e.g. presentation of a medical certificate). **In all cases, you must approach the Course Co-ordinator prior to the deadline for essay submission to make such a request.**

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.

Class Representative

A class representative will be elected in the first week of the trimester. The name and contact details of the class representative will be available to VUWSA, the Course Coordinator and the class. The class representative provides a communication channel to liaise with the Course Coordinator on behalf of students.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

Use of Turnitin

This course uses the electronic search engine Turnitin (<http://www.turnitin.com>). You must upload your essay to Turnitin and in hard copy in order for it to be assessed. Student work provided for assessment in this course will therefore be checked for academic integrity by Turnitin. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

If you do not already have a login for Turnitin, you need to register yourself as a new user. Once you have done this, please register yourself for this class in order to upload your essay. The Class name is: INTP_POLS 211_2011. The Class ID is **3780439** and the Enrollment password is: **diversity**.

WHERE TO FIND MORE DETAILED INFORMATION

Find key dates, explanations of grades and other useful information at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study. Find out how academic progress is monitored and how enrolment can be restricted at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress. Most statutes and policies are available at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy, except qualification statutes, which are available via the *Calendar* webpage at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx (See Section C).

Other useful information for students may be found at the website of the Assistant Vice-Chancellor (Academic), at www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about_victoria/avcademic.

PART I	INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTS
Week 1 28 February 4 March	Introduction to the Course Ethnicity, Nation and Identity
Week 2 7 March 11 March	Diversity in Empires & Colonial States Contemporary Choices for Managing Diversity
PART II	POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO DIVERSITY
Week 3 14 March 18 March	The Integrationist Approach – Turkey, France
Week 4 21 March 25 March	Executive & Legislative Power Sharing –Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Belgium
Week 5 28 March 1 April	Executive & Legislative Power Sharing –Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Belgium
Week 6 4 April 8 April	Monday, April 4 In-class Test Electoral Systems as tools in divided societies

Week 7 11 April 15 April	Political Decentralization – Canada, United Kingdom, Bosnia
	<i>MID-TRIMESTER BREAK: Monday April 5 – Sunday April 18</i> Essay proposal due Friday, April 15, 5pm
Week 8 2 May 6 May	Political Decentralization – Canada, United Kingdom, Bosnia
Week 9 9 May 13 May	Partition & Secession – Bosnia, Canada **Essay Due Friday May 14 5pm **
Week 10 16 May 20 May	Economic Measures, Preferential Policies and Quotas
Week 11 23 May 27 May	Constitutional design – What is in the institutional tool box? What are the limits of institutional engineering?
Week 12 30 May 3 June	Divided societies and the international community – advice, monitoring, intervention? Final test, Friday June 3, 15:10 – 17:00

DETAILED READING LIST

28 February (Mon) Introduction to the Course

Questions – What is a *divided* society? What are the divisions about? What kinds of conflicts can occur in divided societies, and why?

Required reading:

Gurr, T.R. (2000) *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*. Washington DC: US Institute of Peace. **NB. This reading is not in the Coursepack. Please access the book at Closed Reserve in the VUW library and read 2-3 case studies that interest you.**

Further reading:

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

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]

4 March (Fri) Ethnicity, Nation and Identity

Questions – When we talk about ethnic or national identity divisions, what is meant by terms such as *identity*, *nation* and *ethnicity*? Are identities in divided societies fluid or fixed, real or constructed identities? Can states shape identities?

Required reading:

Waters, M. (1999) *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 44-49.

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

Maaalouf, Amin (2000) *On Identity*. London: The Harvill Press, pp. 3-25.

Further 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.

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.

7 March (Mon) Diversity in Empires & Colonial States

Questions – What are some historical examples of how states have "muddled through" conflict and managed difference? We consider the institutional practices of the Ottoman Empire and of colonial powers in Africa in the face of highly diverse populations. Would these types of choices be logistically possible and considered legitimate 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]

Bunche, Ralphe (1968) *A World View of Race*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, pp. 46-62.

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]

11 March (Fri) Contemporary Choices for Managing Diversity

Questions – What strategies could 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]

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, pp. 28-62.

Part II POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO DIVERSITY

14 March (Mon) & 18 March (Fri) Strong Integrationist Approaches

Questions – Drawing on evidence from two determined integrationist countries, Turkey and France, we ask why some countries choose to diminish or ignore differences within the population? Which types of institutions and policies can be called integrationist and which assimilationist? What are the main arguments about whether or not integrationist policies are successful?

Required reading:

Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge, MA: pp. 1-17.

Joppke, C. (2009) *Veil: Mirror of Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 27-52.

Altunışık, M. & Ö. Tür (2005) Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change. Routledge, pp. 1-23; 52-54. **** NB Please access this reading via the VUW library E-reserves for INTP/POLS211.****

Further reading:

Grillo, R. (1998) Pluralism and the Politics of Difference. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 119-140. [This chapter uses the case of the place of the Jewish “nation” in the French “nation” to highlight some tensions within the Republican myth.]

Joppke, C. (2009) *Veil: Mirror of Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [NB. So as to get a broader view of the question of religious accommodation, I highly recommend that you read other chapters in this book. Multiple copies of the book are available on 3-Day loan.]

Tavuz, H. (2009) *Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey*. Cambridge: CUP.

21 March (Mon) & 25 March (Fri) Executive & legislative power sharing

Questions – What are the different ways in which 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? Comparing the cases of Lebanon and Northern Ireland, we consider why consociationalism emerges and how it functions, as well as asking what the political and social consequences of consociational institutions are.

Required reading:

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

Kerr, M. (2006) Imposing Power Sharing. Irish Academic Press, pp. 112-140. [Chapter 5]

Further reading:

** Hudson, M. (1997) “Trying again: power-sharing in post-civil war Lebanon”, *International Negotiation* 2: 103-122.

** 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.

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

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

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

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

BBC News Website Lebanon Country Profile:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/country_profiles/791071.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

Lijphart, A. (1996) “The puzzle of Indian democracy: a consociational interpretation”, *American Political Science Review*, 90: 2, 258-268.

28 March (Mon) & 1 April (Fri) Executive & legislative power sharing contd.

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.

4 April (Mon) In-Class Test – No reading!

8 April (Fri) Electoral systems as tools in divided societies

Questions –What incentives do 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 different types of electoral system? Against the background of consociationalism, we discuss theories of electoral system design in divided societies.

Required reading:

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

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

Further reading:

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

Ghai, Y. & J. Cottrell (2007) “A tale of three constitutions: ethnicity and politics in Fiji”, *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 5: 4, 639-669.

Lal, B. (2002) “Constitutional engineering in post-coup Fiji”, in Reynolds, A. (ed.) *The Architecture of Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 267-292.

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

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

11 April (Mon) & 15 April (Fri) Political Decentralisation

Questions – We discuss types of political decentralization, such as federalism and devolution. How does federalism contrast with unitary systems? Is decentralisation more of an accommodationist or more of an integrationist strategy? Is political decentralisation more likely to contain ethnic conflict or to increase the likelihood that the country will break up? We discuss these questions in the cases of Canada, the United Kingdom and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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.

Keating, M. (2001) *Nations Against the State*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 199-229; 254-262.

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

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.

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

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

**** REMEMBER: Essay proposal due April 15, 5pm!**

MID-TRIMESTER BREAK 18 April – 1 May – Enjoy!!

2 May (Mon) & 6 May (Fri) Political Decentralisation contd.

Required reading:

Colino, C. and L. Moreno (2010) "Comparative conclusions", in L. Moreno and C. Colino (eds.) *A Global Dialogue on Federalism (Vol. 7): Diversity and Unity in Federal Countries*. Kingston, ONT: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp. 379-400.

Bose, Sumantra (2002) *Bosnia after Dayton*. London: Hurst & Co., 41-94.

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"]

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.

Malešević, Siniša (2000) "Ethnicity and federalism in Communist Yugoslavia and its successor states", in Y. Ghai (ed.) *Autonomy and Ethnicity: Negotiating Competing Claims in Multi-Ethnic States*. Cambridge: CUP, 147-170.

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

9 May (Mon) & 13 May (Fri) Secession and Partition

Questions – What are the differences between secession and partition? In which conditions is secession most likely and what are the political and social consequences of pursuing or resisting secession? We consider Canada and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Required reading:

O’Leary, B., I. Lustick and T. Callaghy (ed.) (2001) *Rightsizing the State: the Politics of Moving Borders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 47-62.

Kumar, R. (1997) “The troubled history of partition”, *Foreign Affairs* 76: 1, 22-34.

McMahon, P. and J. Western (2009) “The death of Dayton: how to stop Bosnia from falling apart”, *Foreign Affairs* 88: 5, 69-83.

Further reading:

Moore, M. (ed.) (1998) *National Self-Determination and Secession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

****The chapters in this edited book offer different moral arguments for and against secession.****

**** REMEMBER: Essay due Friday May 13, 5pm!!**

16 May (Mon) & 20 May (Fri) Economic measures, preferential policies & quotas

Questions – Are quotas or preferential policies in the police, bureaucracy and education system effective in engineering group outcomes and inter-group relations? How does the economy interact with inter-group relations in a divided society, and is the economy a useful tool to influence this?

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, pp. 653-680.

Teik, K. B. (2004) *Managing Ethnic Relations in Post-Crisis Malaysia and Indonesia. Lessons from the New Economic Policy?* (Identities, Conflict and Cohesion Programme Paper Number 6), United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

Further reading:

Stuligross, D. & A. Varshney (2002) “Ethnic diversities, constitutional design, and public policies in India”, in A. Reynolds (ed.) *The Architecture of Democracy*. Oxford: OUP, 429-458.

23 May (Mon) & 27 May (Fri) Constitutional design – What is in the institutional tool box? What are the limits of institutional engineering?

Questions – Having studied a range of institutional strategies and policy measures that have been used to govern diversity, which combination(s) of strategies seems most persuasive to you? What do we need to know about a society in order to make suggestions about its constitutional and institutional structure? How do the institutional needs and responses of a society change over time?

Required reading:

Ghai, Y. and G. Galli (2006) *Constitution Building Processes and Democratization*.

Sriram, C. (2008) *Peace as Governance: power sharing, armed groups and contemporary peace negotiations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 12-43.

Further reading:

Large, J. and T. Sisk (2006) *Democracy, Conflict and Human Security: Pursuing Peace in the 21st Century*. Stockholm: Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

30 May (Mon) What role for the international community – advice, monitoring, intervention

Questions – What is the role of the international community in constructing and sustaining democratic institutions in diverse societies? What are the benefits, but also the limits, of international involvement in designing and monitoring political institutions, especially in post-conflict settings?

Required reading:

Caplan, R. (2004) “International authority and state building: the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, *Global Governance* 10: 53-65.

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

McGarry, J., B. O’Leary & R. Simeon (2008) “Integration or accommodation? The enduring debate in conflict regulation”, in S. Choudhry (ed.) *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies. Integration or Accommodation?*. Oxford: OUP, 41-89.

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.

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.

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3 June (Fri) – Final test 15:100 – 17:00 in HU 323 (Lecture room)