



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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

**INTP 250: SPECIAL TOPIC: GOVERNING DIVIDED SOCIETIES
20 POINTS**

TRIMESTER 2 2013

Important dates

Trimester dates: 15 July to 17 November 2013

Teaching dates: 15 July to 18 October 2013

Mid-trimester break: 26 August to 8 September 2013

Study period: 21–25 October 2013

Examination/Assessment Period: 25 October to 16 November 2013

Note: students who enrol in courses with examinations must be able to attend an examination at the University at any time during the scheduled examination period.

Withdrawal dates: Refer to

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/payments/withdrawalsrefunds

If you cannot complete an assignment or sit a test or examination (aegrotats), refer to

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/aegrotat

Class times and locations

Lectures: Monday, Wednesday 12:00 – 12:50

Lecture Venue: LT 118 (Laby Building)

Tutorials: Wednesday 11am – 12pm MY404

Wednesday 1pm – 2pm MY616

Names and contact details of course coordinators:

Professor Jon Fraenkel

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Office hours: Wednesday 1-2, Thursday 3-4.

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Tutor:

Name: Mr Jamie Kendrick

Email: jami Kendrick@gmail.com

Office hours: Wednesday 2-3pm, MY605

Communication of additional information

This course uses Blackboard and presumes that all enrolled students have valid myvuw.ac.nz addresses. Please check that this account is active and you have organised email forwarding. Additional information and any changes to the timetable or lecture and tutorial programme will be announced in lectures and posted as Announcements on Blackboard.

Prescription

This course examines methods of governing societies divided by deep ethnic, religious, or linguistic cleavages. Drawing on cases including Fiji, Canada, Papua New Guinea and Northern Ireland, we analyse forms of power sharing, institutional choices (e.g. electoral system, presidentialism and federalism), and the role of civil society and international actors.

Course learning objectives (CLOs)

Students who pass this course should be able to:

1. Recognise and use concepts central to the study of diverse societies, such as 'ethnicity', 'federalism', 'consociationalism'. This understanding will be tested by the in-class test and final examination.
2. Compare and critique the institutional and policy choices of societies with ethnic, linguistic or religious divisions, and explain the consequences that these different choices have for social and political outcomes in divided societies. The essay and final examination will demonstrate fulfilment of this objective.
3. Discuss different views on the 'best' way to manage a divided society and on how to measure 'success' in managing diversity. Assess institutions and constitutional arrangements in a divided society when presented with key demographic, historical and political facts about the society. This objective will be tested through all pieces of assessment.

Teaching format

This course is taught by way of two lectures and one tutorial per week. The course is delivered over 12 weeks of lectures and 11 weeks of tutorials. Both tutorials and lectures are essential aspects of the course and the primary means by which course content is delivered. Students are expected to attend classes regularly, participate in class discussions and keep up with the weekly readings. The lectures concentrate on giving students an analytical framework for understanding and assessing the different methods societies use to manage deep diversity. The lectures also explore these themes through in-depth case studies. Weekly tutorials (beginning in Week 2), are intended to consolidate students' understanding of the key concepts, assigned readings and case studies. Many tutorials will involve group work and discussion, both in small groups and via plenary discussion. The final examination will be held during the Trimester 2 examination period, which runs from 25 October to 16 November 2013.

Mandatory course requirements

In addition to achieving an overall pass mark of 50%, students must:

1. Submit the essay on or by the specified date, subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work.
2. Sit the in-class test.
3. Sit the final examination.

Workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 200 hours to the course throughout the trimester. This includes weekly attendance at lectures and tutorials, completion of all set weekly readings and research and writing for set assessment tasks.

Assessment

Assessment items and workload per item		%	CLO(s)	Due date
1	1-hour in-class test	20%	1, 3	14 August
2	Research essay (2 000 – 2 500 words)	40%	2, 3	23 September
3	Final 2-hour examination	40%	1, 2, 3	TBA

The in-class test will examine your ability to understand, explain and critically assess key concepts and practices in governing divided societies introduced in the first five weeks of the course. The research essay will require you to conduct in-depth research on a case (or cases) to critically examine different strategies of governing divided societies and their consequences. Details of the essay questions will be provided in the first two weeks of the trimester and posted on Blackboard.

Submission and return of work

Your research essay must be submitted in **hard copy** in the course essay box outside the School office on the fifth floor of the Murphy building. Your essay must have a Programme cover sheet attached.

The Programme's policy requires that students also submit an **electronic copy** along with the hardcopy. For this course, please upload your essay to Blackboard on the same due date for your hardcopy submission.

Essays and tests will be returned in lectures on a day to be advised. If students are not present in the lecture, they may collect their essay from the School Office, Murphy 518, between 2.00 and 3.00 pm from Monday to Friday.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of the essay – **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 10 weekdays late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. Penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies).

Required reading

All required readings for this course will be made available electronically on Blackboard. The required readings are shown in the Lecture Outline given at the end of the Course Outline.

Supplementary reading

A list of supplementary readings will be posted on Blackboard. The supplementary readings are provided to assist you in exploring a particular theme or case study in further depth and in conducting research for your essay.

Class representative

The class representative provides a useful way to communicate feedback to the teaching staff during the course. A class representative will be selected at the first lecture of the course

Student feedback

Student feedback on University courses may be found at www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/feedback/feedback_display.php.

Other important information

The information above is specific to this course. There is other important information that students must familiarise themselves with, including:

- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism
- Aegrotats: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/aegrotat
- Academic Progress: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/academic-progress (including restrictions and non-engagement)
- Dates and deadlines: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/dates
- FHSS Student and Academic Services Office: www.victoria.ac.nz/fhss/student-admin
- Grades: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/exams-and-assessments/grades
- Graduate attributes: <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/hppi/about/overview-of-the-school/psir-overview#grad-attributes>
- Resolving academic issues: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/publications2#grievances
- Special passes: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/publications2#specialpass
- Statutes and policies including the Student Conduct Statute: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy
- Student support: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/vicliflife/student-service
- Students with disabilities: www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/disability
- Student Charter: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/vicliflife/student-charter
- Student Contract: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/admisenrol/enrol/studentcontract
- Turnitin: www.cad.vuw.ac.nz/wiki/index.php/Turnitin
- University structure: www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about
- VUWSA: www.vuwsa.org.nz

INTP 250 Lecture Outline and Required Readings

Please note: Required readings for each session are listed below each lecture topic. A list of additional readings (helpful for completing assignments or developing your interest in specific themes) is available on Blackboard.

15 July Introduction to the Course (Barker/Fraenkel)

- No required reading

17 July Definitions - Ethnicity, Nation; what is a divided society? (Barker)

- Waters, M., *Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999, pp. 44-49.
- Hutchinson, J. and A. Smith, "Introduction", in Hutchinson & Smith (eds.) *Ethnicity*. Oxford: OUP, 1996, 3-14.
- Maalouf, Amin, *On Identity*. London: The Harvill Press, 2000, pp. 3-25.

22 July The Politicization of Ethnicity: Is Ethnic Outbidding Inevitable? Malaysia, Fiji, Northern Ireland & India (Fraenkel)

- Rabushka, A., & Shepsle, K.A., *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*, Charles E Merrill, 1972, p88-91.

Online at:

<http://www.stanford.edu/~rabushka/politics%20in%20plural%20societies.pdf>

- Mitchell, Paul, Geoffrey Evans and Brendan O'Leary, 'Extremist outbidding in ethnic party systems is not inevitable: tribune parties in Northern Ireland', *Political Studies* 57: 2, 2009, 397-421.

24 July Integration, Accommodation, Consociation – Horowitz vs Lijphart (Barker)

- McGarry, J. and B. O'Leary, "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, 2007, 19-29.

Online at:

<http://www.gert-sd.org/sites/gender2.localhost/files/Governing%20DIVERSITY%20Democratic%20Solutions%20in%20Multicultural%20Societies.pdf>

- Sisk, T 'Democracy and its Alternatives in Deeply Divided Societies', Chapter 3 of Power-sharing and International Mediation of Ethnic Conflicts, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflicts/ United States Institute for Peace, Washington DC, 1996, pp27-45.

29 July The Integration vs Consociation Battlegrounds – South Africa, Bosnia, Northern Ireland, Iraq (Fraenkel)

- Choudhry, Sujit, "Bridging comparative politics and comparative constitutional law: constitutional design in divided societies", in S. Choudhry ed., *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 3-40. Also

available online at
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1287619.

- Lijphart, A., “The wave of power-sharing democracy”, in A. Reynolds (ed.), *The Architecture of Democracy. Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 37-54.

31 July The Integrationist Approach –France (Barker)

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

5 August The Integrationist Approach – Turkey (Barker)

- Altunisik, M. & Ö. Tür, *Turkey: Challenges of Continuity and Change*. Routledge, 2005, pp. 1-23; 52-54.
- Yavuz, M. Hakan, “Turkey’s fault lines and the crisis of Kemalism”, *Current History*, January 2000, 33-38.

7 August Introduction to Electoral Systems (Fraenkel)

- Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly and Andrew Ellis et al, *Electoral system design: the new International IDEA handbook* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance), 2006, p27-51, p57-95. Online at: <http://www.idea.int/publications/esd/>.
- Lardeyret, Guy, “The problem with PR”, *Journal of Democracy* 2, 1991, 30-35.

12 August Electoral Systems – impact of electoral systems (Fraenkel) – The Shift from First-Past-the Post to the Alternative Vote in Fiji

- Fraenkel, J., & Grofman, B., ‘Does the Alternative Vote Foster Moderation in Ethnically Divided Societies? – the Case of Fiji’, *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, (5), 2006, pp. 623-51.
- Horowitz ‘Strategy Takes a Holiday; Fraenkel & Grofman on the Alternative Vote’, *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, (5), 2006, pp. 652-62.
- Fraenkel & Grofman – ‘The Failure of the Alternative Vote as a Tool for Ethnic Moderation in Fiji: A Rejoinder to Horowitz’, *Comparative Political Studies*, 39, (5), 2006, pp. 663-66.

14 August In-class Test

19 August Electoral Systems – case studies (Fraenkel)

The Operation of Single Transferable Vote System in Northern Ireland

- Coakley, John, “The political consequences of the electoral system in Northern Ireland”, *Irish political studies* 24: 3, 2009, 253-284.
- Mitchell, Paul, Geoffrey Evans and Brendan O’Leary, “Extremist outbidding in ethnic party systems is not inevitable: tribune parties in Northern Ireland”, *Political Studies* 57: 397, 2009,-421.

21 August Arab Spring (Video) - Electoral systems (Fraenkel)

Journal of Democracy, 23, (1), 2012, Special Issue: Debating Electoral Systems

- John M Carey & Andrew Reynolds – ‘Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Impact of Election Systems’, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 22, Number 4, October 2011, pp. 36-47.
- Timothy M Meisburger ‘Getting Majoritarianism Right’, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 22, Number 4, October 2011, pp. 36-47 [Response to Carey & Reynolds].
- Andrew Reynolds & John M Carey – ‘Debating Electoral Systems: Getting Elections Wrong’, *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 22, Number 4, October 2011, pp. 164-68 [Rejoinder to Meisburger].

26 AUGUST – 6 SEPTEMBER

MID-TRIMESTER BREAK

9 Sept Federalism and Devolution – theories (Barker)

- Watts, R., *Comparing Federal Systems*. Kingston, ONT: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999, pp. 1-18.
- McGarry, J. and B. O’Leary, “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, 2005, 263-296.

11 Sept Federalism and Devolution: Canada, UK (Barker)

- Watts, R., “Federalism and diversity in Canada”, in Yash Ghai (ed.) *Autonomy and Ethnicity. Negotiating Competing Claims in Multi-ethnic States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 29-52.
- Colino, C. and L. Moreno, “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, 2010, pp. 379-400.

16 Sept Federalism and Devolution: Indonesia, Bosnia (Barker)

- Bertrand, Jacques, ‘Indonesia’s Quasi-Federalist Approach: Accommodation Amid Strong Integrationist Tendencies’, *Symposium: Constitutionalism In Divided Societies*, 576-605, 5: 4 Int’l J. Const. L. 604 2007.
- Bose, Sumantra, *Bosnia after Dayton*. London: Hurst & Co., 2002, pp.60-89.

18 Sept Secession & Partition (Barker)

- O’Leary, B., I. Lustick and T. Callaghy (eds.) *Rightsizing the State: the Politics of Moving Borders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 47-62.
- Kumar, R., “The troubled history of partition”, *Foreign Affairs* 76: 1, 1997, 22-34.

23 Sept Power Sharing –Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Lebanon (Fraenkel)

(Essay due today!)

- John Coakley ‘The Challenge of Consociation in Northern Ireland’, *Parliamentary Affairs*, 64, (3), 2011, 473-493.
- Taylor, Rupert, ‘The Belfast Agreement and the Politics of Consociationalism:

A Critique', *The Political Quarterly*, 77: 2, 2006, 217-226.

- 25 Sept Power Sharing – Fiji, & New Caledonia (Fraenkel)**
- Fraenkel, Jon 'Power-Sharing in Fiji & New Caledonia', (ed) Firth, S., *Globalisation, Governance and the Pacific Islands*, *Globalisation and Governance in the Pacific Islands*, State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, Studies in State and Society in the Pacific, No. 1, 2006. http://epress.anu.edu.au/ssgm/global_gov/pdf/ch17.pdf
- 30 Sept Presidentialism and Parliamentarism – Nigeria, Indonesia, Sri Lanka (Fraenkel)**
- Alison McCulloch, 'Does Moderation Pay? Centripetalism in Deeply Divided Societies', *Ethnopolitics*, 12: 2, 2013, 111-132..
 - Horowitz, Donald. *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991, pp.205-14 ('The Constructive Uses of Presidentialism').
- 2 Oct Governing Hyperfractionalized Societies – Papua New Guinea, Tanzania & Indonesia (Fraenkel)**
- Rabushka, A., & Shepsle, K.A., *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*, Charles E Merrill, 1972, pp. 177-206.
- Online at:
[http://www.stanford.edu/~rabushka/politics%20in%20plural%20societies.p
df](http://www.stanford.edu/~rabushka/politics%20in%20plural%20societies.pdf)
- 7 Oct Civil society, Economic factors & Preferential Policies (Barker)**
- 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, pp. 71-78. Online at:
[http://www.gcert-
sd.org/sites/gender2.localhost/files/Governing%20DIVERSITY%20Democra
tic%20Solutions%20in%20Multicultural%20Societies.pdf](http://www.gcert-sd.org/sites/gender2.localhost/files/Governing%20DIVERSITY%20Democratic%20Solutions%20in%20Multicultural%20Societies.pdf)
 - Teik, K. B. *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, 2004.
- 9 Oct International Actors (Barker)**
- McGarry, J., "Political settlements in Northern Ireland and South Africa", *Political Studies* 46, 1998, 853-870.
 - Caplan, R., "International authority and state building: the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina", *Global Governance* 10, 2004, 53-65.
- 14 Oct How Should Democracy be Designed? (Fraenkel)**
- No required reading
- 16 Oct Wrap-up (Barker/Fraenkel)**
- No required reading