PSCI351: Power Sharing in Divided Societies

Spring, 2013
EV3 3412, Thursday 9:30-12:20

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Office Hours: 1:30-3:30pm, Thursday

(This handout as well as other course material will be accessible on LEARN. Check regularly for updates.)

Course Description: This course examines the theory and practice of managing conflict in divided societies. Comparative and international in scope, it explores what kinds of divisions make a society prone to conflict, and what types of systems – at the state, government, electoral and societal levels – have been developed to deal with the problem. What makes a society or system democratic? How does one balance the rights of individuals, the interests of groups and the needs of the nation-state as a whole? What are the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches, and under what conditions have they proven successful?

University Regulations:

Cross-listed course:

Please note that a cross-listed course will count in all respective averages no matter under which rubric it has been taken. For example, a PHIL/PSCI cross-list will count in a Philosophy major average, even if the course was taken under the Political Science rubric.

Academic Integrity:

Academic Integrity: In order to maintain a culture of academic integrity, members of the University of Waterloo are expected to promote honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility.

Discipline: A student is expected to know what constitutes academic integrity, to avoid committing academic offences, and to take responsibility for his/her actions. A student who is unsure whether an action constitutes an offence, or who needs help in learning how to avoid offences (e.g., plagiarism, cheating) or about "rules" for group

work/collaboration should seek guidance from the course professor, academic advisor, or the Undergraduate Associate Dean. When misconduct has been found to have occurred, disciplinary penalties will be imposed under Policy 71 – Student Discipline. For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students should refer to Policy 71 - Student Discipline, Student Discipline http://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-71.

Grievance: A student who believes that a decision affecting some aspect of his/her university life has been unfair or unreasonable may have grounds for initiating a grievance. Read Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances, Section 4, Student Petitions http://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-70. In addition, consult Student Grievances http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/student-grievances-faculty-arts-processes for the Faculty of Arts' grievance processes.

Appeals: A student may appeal the finding and/or penalty in a decision made under Policy 70 - Student Petitions and Grievances (other than regarding a petition) or Policy 71 - Student Discipline if a ground for an appeal can be established. Read Policy 72 - Student Appeals, Student Appeals http://uwaterloo.ca/secretariat/policies-procedures-guidelines/policy-72.

Academic Integrity website (Arts): Academic Integrity http://arts.uwaterloo.ca/arts/ugrad/academic_responsibility.html

Academic Integrity Office (uWaterloo): Academic Integrity http://uwaterloo.ca/academic-integrity/

Accommodation for Students with Disabilities:
Note for students with disabilities: The AccessAbility Services (AS) Office, located in Needles Hall, Room 1132, collaborates with all academic departments to arrange appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities without compromising the academic integrity of the curriculum. If you require academic accommodations to lessen the impact of your disability, please register with the AS Office at the beginning of each academic term.

Texts:
Pippa Norris, *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?*, Cambridge University Press: 2008 (Required - Available for purchase at the University of Waterloo bookstore).

Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts, Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds., Hurst & Co., London: 2004 (Recommended)

Selected Additional Sources

(In particular, every student should be familiar with the works of Arend Lijphart, and the Sid Noel volume is of great use as well)

· Amoretti, Ugo M. and Nancy Bermeo, eds., *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*.
· Elazar, Daniel, *Exploring Federalism*
· Gagnon, Alain G, et al. eds., *The Conditions of Diversity in Multinational Democracies*
· Lijphart, Arend, Democracies: *Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Counties*
· Lijphart, Arend, *The Politics of Accommodation*
· Livingston, W.S., *Federalism and Constitutional Change*
· MacIvor, Don, ed., *The Politics of Multinational States*
· Noel, Sid, *From Power Sharing to Democracy: Post-Conflict Institutions in Ethnically Divided Societies*
· Nordlinger, Eric, *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies*
· O'Flynn, Ian, *Deliberative Democracy and Divided Societies*
· Riker, William H., *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*
· Schattschneider, E.E., *The Semi-Sovereign People*
· Smith, Graham, ed., *Federalism: The Multiethnic Challenge.*
· Wheare, K.C., *Federal Government*
· Watts, Ron, *Comparing Federal Systems*

(Additional readings will be placed on reserve or made available on Waterloo LEARN.)

Course Requirements, Expectations, and Standards:

Assignments:

Assignment #1: Class presentation (20%)
Students will be required to either:
1. Present and lead class discussion on one of the required readings during the first half of term, or
2. Presenting a case-study to the class during the second half of term

Regardless of which option is chosen, students will be assessed based on their ability to concisely present and prompt discussion over the key issues raised by their particular text or case. You may distribute a handout or use PowerPoint if you feel that doing so will enhance the quality of your presentation, but this is not a requirement.

Dates and assignments will be arranged between the first and second week of class.

Assignment #2: Reaction Papers (20% total):

For each of weeks 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 students will be required to hand in an essay of no more than 1-2 pages taking a position on the point(s) of dispute highlighted by that week's required readings. Each paper will be judged on the student's ability to concisely summarize the positions taken by the various theorists studied that week on the question(s) posed at the bottom of that week's entry in the syllabus, and the key arguments used in support of each position, and to offer a critical judgment as to which argument is most persuasive. Each essay will be worth 5% of the grade, but only the top four of five will be included in the final assessment. This is an analytical assignment, and students will be graded on their ability to present the relevant issues of debate and make a coherent argument, rather than on depth of research. Therefore, the textbook and required readings for the week in question should be sufficient to answer the question, but students may go beyond these sources if they feel that doing so enhances the argument

Assignment #3: Research essay (40% + 10%):

In lieu of an exam, each student will prepare a major paper of approx. 15-20 pages to a maximum of 5000 words, due on the last day of class (July 25). The purpose will be to demonstrate an understanding of the concepts discussed in class by applying them as comprehensively as possible to a particular case of their choice. (Further guidelines for the essay will be distributed in class).

Each student will be required to submit a prospectus of their essay (choice of case, thesis statement, basic argument and references consulted to date) by mid-term (June 13) worth an additional 10% of the final grade.

Class participation: (10%):

Students will be assessed on the extent to which they have been present and participated actively and critically in class discussions throughout the term.

Schedule:

Week 1: Introduction (Concepts and Definitions)

Week 2: Pluralism and Democracy
Reading 1: Chapter 1, Pippa Norris, Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?, 3-36

Questions: *What is the definition of democracy, and what problems are encountered in defining the term? In what ways can a society be divided, and what challenges do such divisions pose for democracy?*

Week 3: Ethnic Conflict
Reading 1: Stefan Wolff, "Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts," in Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds. *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*, 1-17

Reading 2: Ulrich Schneckener, "Models of Ethnic Conflict Regulation: the Politics of Recognition," in Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds. *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*, 18- 39.

Recommended Additional Reading:

Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and new analysis", *World Politics* 62(1):87-119, 2010.

John Coakley. (2009) 'Comparing ethnic conflicts: common patterns, shared challenges'. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 15 (3-4):261-279.

Walker Connor, "Nation-building or Nation-Destroying?," *World Politics*, Vol. 24, April 1972, 319-55.

Jonathan Fox, "The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars, 1945-2001," *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol. 4, No. 6, (2004), 715- 31.

Questions: *Does ethnic pluralism lead to ethnic conflict? Does stability and justice in a democracy require that the system formally recognize minority ethnic groups?*

Week 4: Electoral Systems
Reading 1: Chapter 5, P. Norris, *Driving Democracy*, pp.103-131

Reading 2: Arend Lijphart, *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries*, 1-20

Reading 3: Arend Lijphart, *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries*, 21-36

Recommended Additional Readings:

Benoit, Kenneth. 2007. "Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 363-90.

Question: *Does either the "Westminster" system or a system of proportional representation better serve the interests of stability and democratic representation?*

Week 5: Systems of Government
Reading 1: Chapter 6, P. Norris, *Driving Democracy*, pp.132-156

Reading 2: Fred W. Riggs (1997), "Presidentialism versus parliamentarism: Implications for representativeness and legitimacy", *International Political Science Review* 18(3): 253-278

Reading 3: Jose Cheibub and Ferdando Limongi (2002), "Democratic institutions and regime survival: Parliamentary and presidential democracies reconsidered", *Annual Review of Political Science* 5:151

Recommended Additional Reading:

Kapstein, Ethan B., and Nathan Converse, "Why Democracies Fail", *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (October 2008), pp. 57-68.

Mainwaring, Scott, and Matthew S. Shugart, "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal", *Comparative Politics* 29, no. 4 (July 1997), pp. 449-471.

The Debate:

Linz, Juan, "The Perils of Presidentialism" and "The Virtues of Parliamentarism," *Journal of Democracy* 1(4):51-69
Horowitz, Donald L., "Comparing Democratic Institutions," *Journal of Democracy* 1(4):73-79,
Lipset, Seymour Martin., "The Centrality of Political Culture," *Journal of Democracy*, 1(4), pp. 80-83

Question: Are presidential systems inherently unstable relative to parliamentary executives?

Week 6: State Systems (essay outline due)
Reading 1: Chapter 7, P. Norris, *Driving Democracy*, pp.157-185

Reading 2: Arend Lijphart, "Non-majoritarian Democracy: A Comparison of Federal and Consociational Theories," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, Volume 5, Number 2 (Spring, 1985).

Reading 3: Daniel Elazar, "From Statism to Federalism: A Paradigm Shift," *International Political Science Review*. Vol. 17, Number 4 (October 1996), 417-29.

Reading 4: John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, "Federation as a Method of Conflict Resolution," in Sid Noel. ed., *From Power Sharing to Democracy*, 263-97.

Recommended Additional Readings:

Baake, Kristin M., and Erik Wibbels, "Diversity, Disparity and Civil Conflict in Federal States", *World Politics* 59 no. 2 (October 2006), pp. 1-50.

Brancati, Dawn, "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?", *International Organization* 60, no. 3 (summer 2006), 651-85.

Alfred C. Stepan, "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the US Model," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 10, Number 4 (October 1999), 19-34.

Cases:

· M.K. Flynn, "Between Autonomy and Federalism: Spain," in Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds. *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*, 139-160.

· Katharine Adeney, ""Between Federalism and Separatism: India and Pakistan," in Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds. *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*, 161-175.

· Stefan Wolff, "Settling an Ethnic Conflict Through Power-Sharing: South Tyrol," in Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds. *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*, 57-76.

· Susanne Baier-Allen, "The Failure of Power-Sharing in Cyprus: Causes and Consequences," in Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds. *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*, 77-93.

· Maya Chadda, "Between Consociationalism and Control: Sri Lanka," in Ulrich Schneckener and Stefan Wolff, eds. *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*, 94-114.

Questions: Does the spread of federalism represent a shift in our understanding of the state? Does either territorial decentralization or power-sharing within the centralized state represent the better model for easing tensions without threatening state stability?

Week 7: The Media and Civil Society
Reading 1: Chapter 8, P. Norris, *Driving Democracy*, pp.186-206

Reading 2: R. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6(1):65-78, 1995.

Reading 3: Molina & Rhodes, "Corporatism: The Past, Present and Future of a Concept," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5:305-31, 2002.

Questions: What is civil society, and how important is it to the functioning of democracy? From what spheres of human endeavour must the state withdraw or intervene in order to preserve democratic pluralism?

Week 8-11: Class Presentations and Case Studies

Week 12: Research Essay Due