

GV4E8

Conflict and Institutional Design in Divided Societies

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The internal resolution of serious ethnic and national conflicts almost inevitably involves some form of power sharing and/or power division (autonomy and federation). While power sharing is often invoked in normative and comparative accounts of conflict resolution, it is less frequently systematically examined. *Conflict and Institutional Design* (CID) is a comparative analysis of the making, maintenance and too often breaking of power sharing agreements. When and how are peace agreements negotiated? What type of power-sharing and federal designs are available? Under what conditions is power sharing likely to help contain conflict, and when does it fail? The course will pay particular attention to what happens *after* a power-sharing agreement is reached. The institutional focus will include analysis of electoral system design for divided societies, the dynamics of electoral and party competition within ethnic segmentation and consociational governance (power-sharing executives, legislatures and federations). While not neglecting theory and concepts, whenever possible the course will examine the quantitative and qualitative evidence on the successes and failures of power sharing.

Place:

U203 (Tower 1), 11am-2pm.

Availability:

MSc Politics and Government in the European Union

MSc in Comparative Politics (within which priority will be given to the 'Conflict Studies' and 'Democratization' Streams).

MSc in Global Politics

Formative work:

One briefing paper on pre-selected key concepts/ cases and one research design plan for the assessed essay.

About the Style and Organization of this Course

This is a research course in several senses:

- (a) Everyone is required to do independent reading, thinking and research.
- (b) I do not have fixed opinions on the subject matter we will be covering. It is rare for there to be a 'correct answer' that I can reveal to you (or you to me). Even so, some answers are better than others, so I encourage informed disagreements with your peers and with me. The course is topical and important and you all bring different knowledge and backgrounds, so I expect to improve my thinking on these matters as well. And I'll be disappointed if I don't!
- (c) The 'end product' of the course is not just what you have learned along the way, but a tangible piece of your own research (free from the distraction of an exam!).

Each week we have a 3 hour time slot to provide sufficient space for a seminar, lecture, debates and Q and A. With the exception of Week 1 most of the other weeks on this course will be structured roughly as follows:

- (a) **Seminar:** We will begin each week with a seminar (for 60-75mins). Each week the reading lists are very long (but could be even longer!) – these are intended as a research resource rather than a mandatory labour sentence. To give extra coherence to our discussions – everyone must read the 2 or 3 items listed in the 'required reading' sections. It is unlikely that you will get to the 'additional readings' sections unless it is a week when you are presenting, or a topic of special interest to you.
 - (a.1) **Student Presentations:** Each week 2 or 3 students will make a presentation. These will be selected at the first class from the research questions listed and/or other questions agreed with me. You should make a power point presentation (rather than read out a full text essay – which is too boring). Your presentation should be uploaded to the 'Assignment Forum' section of the GV4E8 Moodle site by 5pm on the day BEFORE class (instructions on how to do so will be provided on the Moodle site). On the day of class expect to make a 10-15 min maximum oral presentation explaining your slides. [Hint: remember to face the class and not the whiteboard all the time as you talk!].
- (b) **Coffee break** (15mins).
- (c) **Lecture** (for 60-80mins). Feel free to stop me for clarification of points. Note that the seminars lag the lectures by one week. In other words we end each session with a lecture because the lecture introduces next weeks topic. Copies of all lecture slides will be uploaded to the course Moodle site.
- (d) **Q and A** (10mins)

Arrangements for Week 1

Preparation you can do in advance!

1. Read this course guide carefully!
2. In particular you will be asked to ‘volunteer’ for 2 presentations – so think about what questions you might like to answer from those listed in this guide. It is best to rank order 3 or 4 choices since I can’t guarantee that you will get both of your first two choices (depending on which topics are most popular!). I’ll try to ensure that everybody gets at least one of their first two choices.
3. Read something on the invasion of Iraq and/or political solutions to the problem.
4. And begin to think about what your research paper will be about . . .

On the Day:

1. Course introduction and selection of presentation topics.
2. Prologue Lecture: Case Study of Iraq and Kurdistan
3. Followed by discussion of Iraq. The more general context for thinking about Iraq are the discussions questions:

Can democracy be engineered in divided places?

Should democracy be engineered in divided places?

Coffee Break

There will then be a shorter second lecture briefly introducing next week’s topic.

L2. Peace Agreements and the Spoiler Problem

(A full lecture and seminar programme follows below)

Assessment

A 5000 word essay/project (100% of Assessment)

The research essay will be on a topic of your choice. Having said that the topic will be discussed between each of you and myself and I must approve the topic.

The research paper should ideally examine a research question using relevant concepts and theories, and must have an empirical dimension that is relevant to the themes of the course. 'Empirical' is understood in the broadest sense: your material could be a case study set in an appropriate theoretical framework, it could examine a theme with comparative case studies, it could be quantitative or qualitative. Whatever is deemed appropriate to the research question at hand. Bear in mind though that broad surveys are generally not a good idea. After all 5000 words is about half the standard size of a journal article. Much more advice about the essay will be given as the course progresses both collectively and in individual meetings with each of you.

One of the aims in asking participants to write a paper is to help you to think about research questions and appropriate research design. Thus we are aiming at more than a traditional essay (which largely summarizes what significant others have said), and to begin to make the transition towards 'postgraduate research' in which you help develop new insights and/or new empirical knowledge. This should also help you when approaching the planning and writing of your MSc dissertation.

Since you will be working on something that really interests you I hope that this will be an enjoyable experience. Of course it will also be challenging; but there will be an understanding that there is only so much you can do in the limited time available. As such you will not be asked to write any un-assessed essays.

Instead, during the term, you will be asked to work on the first two parts of your research essay, which I will read, and discuss with you. This should give you a chance to revise your paper and to achieve a better plan by the end of the term. Here is how the work will be organised:

1. By 6 February 12pm (end of week 4 – e-mail directly to me), you should hand in the first part of your research essay, which should consist of a provisional title, brief statement of research topic and 'state of the art' (very short literature review), and possible research question. This should be 2-3 pages since the aim is to advise on the appropriateness and viability of your proposed research essay.
2. By 6 March 12pm (end of week 8 – e-mail directly to me), you should have handed in a revised version of your work. As well as any revisions to your provisional title, statement of research topic and 'state of the art' (slightly expanded literature review if appropriate), research question, this should now include a more concrete statement of your 'point of departure' (i.e. what you are actually planning to do), and early identification of any difficulties that may arise, be they methodological or data related. This should be about 5-8 pages.
3. Your final research essay will be due by 27 April 12pm (first day of the summer term). Note: for the final paper please return directly to the main Government office and get a receipt proving submission AND send me an electronic copy). Please note that all papers that count towards grades are electronically scanned with up to date plagiarism software. In addition to revisions to the two parts above you will now discuss your findings, and draw some conclusions. The 5000 word limit will be enforced, and is about 15-18 pages of A4 double spaced. The number of words used must be clearly stated on the cover page (the total includes main text, footnotes / endnotes and tables (but not appendices)).

Seminar / Lecture Outline (U203 (Tower 1), 11am-2pm)

	Seminars	Lectures
1.	Democracy and Institutional Engineering Introduction and set-up	L1. Prologue: Iraq – How Not to Do It. Any lessons from Kurdistan? L2. Peace Agreements and the Spoiler Problem
2.	Peace Agreements	L3. Consociational Democracy: Origins, Overview and Definitions.
3.	Power-Sharing: The Theory	L4a. Assorted Critiques of consociationalism L4b. ‘The perils of power sharing’ according to Roeder and Rothchild
4.	Power-Sharing: The Critics	L5. Territorial Approaches to Conflict Regulation
5.	Power-Division: Ethno-Federalism and Autonomy	L6. Electoral Systems
6	Electoral Systems for Divided Societies	L7. Ethnic Conflict and Vote Pooling
7.	Preferential Voting and Centripetal Politics	L8. Ethnic Parties and Party Competition
8.	Ethnic Parties and Party Systems	L9. Power Sharing Governance
9	Consociational Governance: Power-Sharing Executives and Legislatures	L10. What works? Assessing the evidence.
10.	‘External’ Support and ‘Complex’ Consociations What Explains Success and Failure?	

Most Relevant Journals (in no particular order)

Journal of Conflict Resolution

Electoral Studies

International Organization

Party Politics

Journal of Peace research

World Politics

British Journal of Political Science

International Security

Democratization

Journal of Democracy

Conflict Management and Peace Science

On-Line Resources

United States Institute of Peace (<http://www.usip.org/aboutus/index.html>) – see especially the links to ‘Publications’, ‘Library’ and ‘Special Reports’.

IDEA: The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (<http://www.idea.int/>).

International Crisis Group (<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm>)

The United Nations: (<http://www.un.org/english/>)

United Nations Development Programme (<http://www.undp.org/>).

Penn Program on Ethnic Conflict (<http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/ppec/index.html>)

Freedom House (<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=1>)

Polity IV: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions 1800-2004 (<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/polity/>)

Chatham House (<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/>)

Reading List

(continually under development! If you read items that are especially good either on relevant themes or cases – please tell me.)

While there is no single text or need for purchase, several books are referred to repeatedly.

- *** Lijphart, Arend (2008). *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge. [the collected writings of Lijphart].
- **Horowitz, Donald (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chpt 15).
- Norris, Pippa (2008). *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.
- **Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- *Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93 (has chpts on the theory of power-sharing and federalism, on Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, South Africa, Afghanistan, Cyprus, and the EU).
- *Reynolds, Andrew (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford UP.

1. Democracy and Institutional Engineering

'This book's message to the political leaders of plural societies is to encourage them to engage in a form of political engineering: if they wish to establish or strengthen democratic institutions in their countries, they must become consociational engineers' (Lijphart, 1977, 233).

'The "consociational democracy" thesis can be seen as part of the movement among political scientists in recent years towards a reassertion of politics as the "master science" in reaction to the socio-economic reductionism implicit in the explanatory claims of political sociology' (Barry, 1975a, 494).

'Is the resolution of intense but conflicting preferences in the plural society manageable in a democratic framework? We think not' (Rabushka and Shepsle, 1972).

1a. *Can* democracy be engineered in divided places?

1b. *Should* democracy be engineered in divided places?

Required Readings

1. John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (2007), 'Iraq's Constitution of 2005: Liberal consociation as political prescription', *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 5:4, pp.670-98.

*For Items to Accompany Prologue lecture on Iraq see Appendix.

Additional Readings

- Crepaz, Markus, Thomas Koelble and David Wilsford (2000, eds), *Democracy and Institutions: The Life Work of Arend Lijphart*. University of Michigan Press.
- Grofman, Bernard and Robert Stockwell(2003), 'Institutional Design in Plural Societies: Mitigating Ethnic Conflict and Fostering Stable Democracy', pp.102-37 in Mudambi, Ram, Pietro Navarra and Giuseppe Sobbrino (eds), *Economic Welfare, International Business and Global Institutional Change*. Edward Elgar.
- Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93 (has chpts on the theory of power-sharing and federalism, on Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, South Africa, Afghanistan, Cyprus, and the EU).
- Reynolds, Andrew (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford UP.
- Lijphart, Arend (1999). *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale UP.
- Bastian, Sunil and Robin Luckham (2003, eds). *Can Democracy Be Designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-Torn Societies*. London: Zed Books.
- Powell, G. Bingham (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale UP.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John Carey (1992). *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge UP.
- Taagepera, Rein (2003), 'Arend Lijphart's Dimensions of Democracy: Logical Connections and Institutional Design', *Political Studies* 51:1, 1-19.
- Liphart, Arend (2003), 'Measurement Validity and Institutional Engineering – Reflections on Rein Taagepera's Meta-Study', *Political Studies* 51:1, 20-25.
- Linz, Juan and Arturo Valenzuela (1994, eds). *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP.
- Chandra, Kanchan (2006), 'What is Ethnic Identity and Why Does it Matter?', *American Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424.
- Fukuyama, Francis (2006), 'Nation-Building and the Failure of Institutional Memory', and 'Guidelines for Future Nation-Builders', in Francis Fukuyama (ed) *Nation-Building Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U.P.
- Laitin, David (2007). *Nations, States and Violence*. Oxford U.P.
- Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (2007, eds) *Terror, Insurgency and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- De Mesquita, Bruce Bueno and George Downs (2006), 'Intervention and Democracy', *International Organisation* 60, pp.627-49.

Note: we will return to many of the themes addressed in the above readings in week 10.

2. Peace Agreements

'Agreements are not merely scraps of paper, their content affects whether peace lasts or war resumes' (Page Fortna, 2003, 365).

'This book has argued that the greatest problem opponents encounter in trying to resolve a civil war is not that of reaching an agreement, as so many have assumed, but that of writing an enforceable contract under conditions of extreme risk. Combatants decide to pursue peace settlements in part because a third party is willing to verify or enforce demobilization, and because their role in the first postwar government can be safeguarded. These guarantees are necessary for the combatants to credibly commit to treaties that create enormous opportunities for post-treaty exploitation' (Walter, 2002, 160).

'It seemed to me that Walter's analysis asked implementers to take on faith that warring parties were solely motivated by insecurity and fears of future vulnerability. Such a depiction seriously underrepresented a basic recurrent problem in civil war negotiations: strategic deception by parties who sought to use an agreement and its implementation as a source of advantage to winning the war' (Stedman, 2002, 12)

- 2a. Under what conditions can a peace agreement be reached?
- 2b. Under what conditions can a peace agreement be successfully implemented?
- 2c. What are spoiler problems and how may they be managed?

Required Readings

Stedman, Stephen (1997), 'Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes', *International Security* 22:2, pp.5-53.

Page Fortna, Virginia (2003), 'Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace', *International Organization* 57, 337-372.

Walter, Barbara (1997), 'The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement', *International Organization* 51:3.

Additional Readings

Rothschild, Donald and David Lake (1998), 'Containing Fear: The Management of Transnational Ethnic Conflict', in Lake, David and Donald Rothchild (eds) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*. Princeton UP. (shorter version previously published in *International Security* 21:2, 41-75 (1996).

Stedman, Stephen (1997), 'Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes', *International Security* 22:2, pp.5-53.

- Darby, John and Roger McGinty (2003, eds). *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Palgrave.
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis (2006). *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton UP.
- Berdal, Mats and Spyros Economides (2007). *United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004*. Cambridge U.P.
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis (2000), 'International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis', *American Political Science Review* 94:4, 779-801.
- Stedman, Stephen John, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth Cousens (2002). *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers (see especially chpt 1 'Introduction' p1-43.
- O'Leary, Brendan and Andrew Silke (2007), 'Understanding and Ending Persistent Conflicts: Bridging Research and Policy', in Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (eds) *Terror, Insurgency and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Walter, Barbara (1997), 'The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement', *International Organization* 51:3.
- Walter, Barbara (1999), 'Designing Transitions from Civil War', Walter, Barbara and Jack Snyder (eds) *Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention*. Columbia UP. (first published in *International Security* 24:1).
- Walter, Barbara (2002). *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars*. Princeton UP.
- Paris, Roland (1997), 'The Perils of Liberal International Peacebuilding', *International Security* 22:2, pp.54-89.
- Kaufmann, Chaim (1996), 'Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars', *International Security* 20:4, 136-75.
- Licklider, Roy (1995), 'The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars', *American Political Science Review* 89:3.
- Stedman, Stephen (1997), 'Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes', *International Security* 22:2, 5-53.
- Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- O'Leary, Brendan (1999) 'The Nature of the British-Irish Agreement' *New Left Review* 233: 66-96.
- Page Fortna, Virginia (2003), 'Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace', *International Organization* 57, 337-372.
- Werner, Suzanne and Amy Wren (2005), 'Making and Keeping Peace', *International Organization* 59, 261-292.
- Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (2007, eds) *Terror, Insurgency and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoddie (2007). *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars*. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Stedman, Stephen (2003), 'Peace Processes and the Challenges of Violence', pp.103-113 in Darby, John and Roger McGinty (2003, eds). *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Palgrave.
- Zahar, Marie-Joelle (2003), 'Reframing the Spoiler debate in Peace Processes', pp. 114-124 in Darby, John and Roger McGinty (2003, eds). *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Palgrave.
- Darby, John and Roger Mac Ginty (2003), 'Conclusion: Peace Processes, Present and Future', pp. 256-74 in Darby, John and Roger McGinty (2003, eds). *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Palgrave.

Greenhill, Kelly and Solomon Major (2007), 'The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords', *International Security* 31:3, 7-40.
Jarstad, Anna and Desiree Nilsson (2008). 'From Words to Deeds: The Implementation of Power-Sharing pacts in Peace Accords', *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25: 206-23.

3. Power-Sharing: The Theory

'Overarching cooperation at the elite level can be a substitute for cross-cutting affiliations at the mass level' (Lijphart, 1977)

'Consociationalists generally claim that they have a better and more inclusive model of democracy than majoritarians. In a consociation, many more of the people than a plurality or majority may influence or control the executive. Many more than a majority get effective "voice". Consociation does not eliminate democratic opposition within communities, but it does enable such divisions and oppositions as exist to flourish in conditions of generalized security' (O'Leary 2005, 11).

3a. What makes a set of governing arrangements 'consociational'?

3b. Evaluate consociational theory from a logical and normative point of view. [move to wk4).

3c. Evaluate the empirical record of consociational experiments in one of the following cases. Was it actually implemented? Did it help regulate conflict and maintain some democratic stability? If it failed, why did it fail and what might have worked better?

1. Lebanon (1943-75; 1991-)
2. Northern Ireland (1998-)
3. South Africa (1993-)
4. India (1947-)
5. Belgium (1970-)
6. Switzerland
7. Bosnia-Herzegovina (1995-)

Required Readings

Pretty much anything by Lijphart on consociational theory!

For example:

Lijphart, Arend (2008), 'Introduction: developments in consociational theory', in Lijphart, Arend (2008). *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge

Lijphart, Arend (1977). *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press (especially chpts 1 and 2)

Additional Readings

Lijphart, Arend (2008). *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge. [the collected writings of Lijphart]. See especially the two new chpts: 'Introduction: developments in power sharing theory' and 'Conclusion: power sharing, evidence and logic'.

Lijphart, Arend (1977). *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Nordlinger, Eric (1972). *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies*. Occasional Papers in International Affairs. Cambridge, MA: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93 (has chpts on the theory of power-sharing and federalism, on Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, South Africa, Afghanistan, Cyprus, and the EU)

O'Leary, Brendan (2005), 'Debating Consociational Politics: Normative and Explanatory Arguments', pp.3-43 in Noel, Sid (ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

O'Leary, Brendan (2006), 'Foreword: The Realism of Power Sharing', in Michael Kerr *Imposing Power-Sharing: Conflict and Coexistence in Northern Ireland and Lebanon*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

Lijphart, Arend (2000), 'The Evolution of Consociational Theory and Constitutional Practices', *Acta Politica* 37, 11-22.

Sisk, Timothy (1996). *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.

Roeder, Philip (2005), 'Power Dividing as an Alternative to Ethnic Power Sharing', pp.51-82 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.

Lijphart, Arend (1995), 'Self-Determination versus Pre-Determination of Ethnic Minorities in Power-Sharing Systems', Will Kymlicka (ed) *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [JC571 R57 (CC)]

Lijphart, Arend (1984), 'Time Politics of Accommodation: Reflections - Fifteen Years Later', *Acta Politica* 19, pp. 9-17.

Lijphart, Arend (1985). *Power-Sharing in South Africa*. Policy Papers in International Affairs No 24. Berkeley: University of California Press. (especially ch 4 'Consociational Theory and the Scientific Method' in which he replies to critics).

- O'Leary, Brendan (1989), 'The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism in Northern Ireland', *Political Studies* 37:4, pp.452-68.
- Mitchell, Paul (1991), 'Conflict Regulation and Party Competition in Northern Ireland', *European Journal of Political Research* 20, pp. 67-92.
- Kurt Richard Luther and Kris Deschouwer (eds, 1999). *Party Elites in Divided Societies: Political Parties in Consociational Democracy*. London: Routledge. [JF2051 P27 (MC)]
- McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary (2004) *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Lijphart, Arend (1968), 'Typologies of Democratic Systems', *Comparative Political Studies* 1:1, 3-44.
- Lijphart, Arend (1969), 'Consociational Democracy', *World Politics* 21:2, 207-225.

4. Power-Sharing: The Critics

'I do think that someone who does not read the small print may go away with the impression that in order to turn a conflict-ridden democracy into a harmonious one all that is required is an effort of will by political leaders. Insufficient attention may be paid to the fact that, if the country is a democracy, the leaders can continue to be leaders only so long as they have followers' (Barry 1975b, 395-6).

This evidence points to a dilemma: power-sharing institutions frequently facilitate a transition from civil war; but they thwart the consolidation of peace and democracy (Rothchild and Roeder 2005, 12).

In ethnically divided countries, the logic of power-dividing requires identifying alternative, crosscutting divisions in society that do not replicate the ethnic divide . . . in this sense the strategy begins from the constructivist view that politicized ethnic identities are often endogenous to the political process. (Roeder 2005, 63)

- 4a. What are the main criticisms of consociation? Evaluate the criticisms.
- 4b. Outline and evaluate the key difference between Lijphart's and Horowitz's approaches to conflict regulating (avoiding for now a focus on electoral systems).
- 4c. Evaluate the Roeder-Rothchild prescription of 'power-division'.

Required Readings

- Donald Horowitz, 'Constitutional Design: Proposals versus Processes' and Arend Lijphart 'The Wave of Power Sharing Democracy' (Horowitz and Lijphart go 'head –to –head),

in Andrew Reynolds (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2002. (pp15-54).

Rothchild, Donald and Philip Roeder (2005), 'Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy;', pp29-50 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.

Additional Readings

Donald Horowitz, 'Constitutional Design: Proposals versus Processes' and Arend Lijphart 'The Wave of Power Sharing Democracy' (Horowitz and Lijphart go 'head –to –head), in Andrew Reynolds (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2002. (pp15-54).

Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93 (has chpts on the theory of power-sharing and federalism, on Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, South Africa, Afghanistan, Cyprus, and the EU).

Horowitz, Donald (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chpt 15).

Pappalardo, Adriano (1981), 'The Conditions for Consociational Democracy: A Logical and Empirical Critique, *European Journal of Political Research* 9, pp. 365-90.

Lustick, Ian (1997), 'Lijphart, Lakatos and Consociationalism', *World Politics* 50:3, 88-117.

Bogaards, Matthijs (1998), 'The Favourable Factors for Consociational Democracy: A Review', *European Journal for Political Research* 33, pp. 475-96.

Bogaards, Matthijs (2000), 'The Uneasy Relationship between Empirical and Normative Types in Consociational Theory', *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 12(4), 395-424.

Lijphart, Arend (2000), 'Definitions, Evidence, and Policy: A response to Matthijs Bogaards', *Journal of Theoretical Politics*. 12:4, 425-431.

Halpern, Sue (1986), 'The Disorderly Universe of Consociationalism', *West European Politics* 9:2.

Rothchild, Donald and Philip Roeder (2005), 'Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy;', pp29-50 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.

Roeder, Philip (2005), 'Power Dividing as an Alternative to Ethnic Power Sharing', pp.51-82 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.

Taylor, Rupert (1994), 'A Consociational Path to Peace in Northern Ireland and South Africa', in Adrian Guelke (ed) *New Perspectives on the Northern Ireland Conflict*. Averbury. (A critique of consociationalism.) [DA990.U46 N53 (MC)]

Taylor, Rupert (2001), 'Consociation or Social Transformation?', in McGarry, John (ed) *Northern Ireland and the Divided World in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford UP.

Brass, Paul (1991). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage.

- Barry, Brian (1975a), 'Review Article: Political Accommodation and Consociational Democracy', *British Journal of Political Science* 5, pp. 477-505. (also in Brian Barry (1991) *Democracy and Power: Essays in Political Theory 1*. Oxford University Press).
- Barry, Brian (1975b), 'The Consociational Model and its Dangers', *European Journal of Political Research* 1. (also in Brian Barry (1991) *Democracy and Power: Essays in Political Theory 1*. Oxford University Press).
- Butenschon, Nils (1985), 'Conflict Management in Plural Societies: The Consociational Democracy Formula', *Scandinavian Political Studies* 8..
- Van Schendelen, M.P. (1984), 'The Views of Arend Lijphart and Collected Criticisms', *Acta Politica* 19, pp. 19-55
- Rabushka, Alvin and Kenneth Shepsle (1972), *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.

5. Power-Division: Ethno-Federalism and Autonomy

The fact of the matter is that early, generous devolution is far more likely to avert than to abet ethnic separatism. Where a territorially based ethnic minority is politically out of step with other groups, uncompromising centralism in the guise of democratic majoritarianism will inevitably suppress that minority and provoke a reaction. (Horowitz, 1991, 224).

5a. 'Different ethnonational groups need to be integrated not divided in institutionalised power-sharing arrangements.' Discuss.

5b. How useful is federalism as a conflict regulating device in divided places?

Required Readings

- Lijphart, Arend (1979), 'Consociation and Federation: Conceptual and Empirical Links', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 12:3, pp. 495-515.
- McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary (2005), 'Federation as a Method of Ethnic Conflict Regulation', in Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93.
- Horowitz, Donald (1985), 'The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas', pp.229-81 in Horowitz, Donald (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Additional Readings

- John McGarry and Brendan O’Leary (2005), ‘Federation as a Method of Ethnic Conflict Regulation’, in Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press. JC423F93.
- Ghai, Yash Pal (2002), ‘Constitutional Asymmetries: Communal Representation, Federalism, and Cultural Autonomy’, pp141-70 in Reynolds, Andrew (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford UP.
- Amoretti, Ugo and Nancy Bermeo (2004). *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*. John Hopkins UP.
- O’Leary, Brendan (2004), ‘Federations and the Management of Nations’, pp.153-83 in Conversi, Daniel (eds). *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World*. London: Routledge.
- Hoodie, Matthew and Caroline Hartzell (2005), ‘Power Sharing in Peace Settlements: Initiating the Transition from Civil War’, pp.83-106 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- O’Leary, Brendan (2007), ‘Analysing Partition: Definition, Classification and Explanation’, *Political Geography* 26: 886-908.
- O’Leary, Brendan, Ian Lustick and Thomas Callaghy (2001, eds). *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*. Oxford UP.
- Lake, David and Donald Rothchild (2005), ‘Territorial Decentralisation and Civil War Settlement’, pp.109-132 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- Norris, Pippa (2008), ‘Federalism and decentralization’, pp.157-85 in Norris, Pippa . *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.
- Bunce, Valerie and Stephen Watts (2005), ‘Managing Diversity and Sustaining Democracy: Ethnofederal versus Unitary States in the Postcommunist World’, pp.133-58 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005), ‘Conclusion: Nation-State Stewardship and the Alternatives to Power Sharing’, pp.319-47 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- Forsyth, Murray (1989). *Federalism and Nationalism*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend (1979), ‘Consociation and Federation: Conceptual and Empirical Links’, *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 12:3, pp. 495-515.
- Riker, William (1964). *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Nordlinger, Eric (1972). *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies*. Occasional Papers in International Affairs. Cambridge, MA: Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.
- Bojicic_Dzelilovic, Vesna (2003), ‘Managing Ethnic Conflicts: Democratic Decentralisation in Bosnia-Herzegovina’, in Bastian, Sunil and Robin Luckham (2003, eds). *Can Democracy Be Designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-Torn Societies*. London: Zed Books.
- Deschouwer, Kris (2005), ‘The Unintended Consequences of Consociational Federalism: The Case of Belgium’, in Ian O’Flynn and David Russell (eds) *Power Sharing: New Challenges for Divided Societies*. London: Pluto Press.
- Adeney, Katehrine (2004), ‘Between Federalism and Separatism: India and Pakistan’, in Schneekener, Ulrich and Stefan Wolff (eds) *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*. London: Hurst.

6 Electoral Systems for Divided Societies

The surest way to kill the idea of democracy in a plural society is to adopt the Anglo-American electoral system of first-past-the-post. (Lewis 1965, 71).

The fallacy of electoralism has increasingly been recognised – at least in the scholarly community – as a problem which aptly denotes the mistake of confusing the holding of elections with the advent and development of democratic regimes. (Elklit 1999, 28).

Table 1.1: Categories of electoral system

Broad category	Specific types	Country examples
Single-member constituency systems	Single-member plurality (SMP) Alternative vote (AV) Two-round system (2RS)	<i>Chapters 4–9</i> Australia, Canada, France, India, UK, USA
Mixed systems	Mixed compensatory Mixed parallel	<i>Chapters 10–15</i> Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Russia
Closed list systems	—	<i>Chapters 16–18</i> Israel, South Africa, Spain
Preferential list systems	Open list Flexible list	<i>Chapters 19–24</i> Austria, Belgium, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands
PR-STV	—	<i>Chapter 25</i> Ireland

Source: Gallagher and Mitchell, 2005

- 6a. Evaluate some of the main types of electoral systems from the perspective of their appropriateness for divided and/or democratising societies.
- 6b. Why does Lijphart so strongly advocate closed-list PR over all other forms of electoral systems?
- 6c. Imagine that you were recommending an electoral system for two of the following places – which systems might you pick? Pick two of (1) South Africa, (2) Iraq, (3) Papua New Guinea, (4) Fiji, (5) Northern Ireland, (6) Russia

Required Readings

Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (2005, eds), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (chpt 1, pp3-25; – and if possible chpt 26, pp.535-78.

Additional Readings

Rein Taagepera (2002), 'Designing Electoral Rules and Waiting for an Electoral System to Evolve', in Andrew Reynolds (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

Taagepera, Rein (1998). 'How Electoral Systems Matter for Democratization'. *Democratization*, 5/3: 68-91.

Elklit, Jorgen (1999), 'Electoral Institutional Change and Democratization: You Can Lead a Horse to Water, But You Can't Make it Drink', *Democratization* 6:4, pp.28-51.

Cohen, Frank (1997), 'Proportional Versus Majoritarian Ethnic Conflict Management in Democracies', *Comparative Political Studies* 30:5, 607-30.

Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (2005, eds), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly 1997, (eds) *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*. Stockholm: IDEA.

Diamond, Larry and Marc Platter (2006, eds). *Electoral Systems and Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP.

Norris, Pippa (2008), 'Electoral Systems', pp.103-31 in Norris, Pippa . *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.

Pippa Norris (2002), 'Ballots not Bullets: Testing Consociational Theories of Ethnic Conflict, Electoral Systems, and Democratisation', in Andrew Reynolds (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

Lijphart, Arend (1986), 'Proportionality by Non-PR Methods: Ethnic Representation in Belgium, Cyprus, Lebanon, New Zealand, West Germany, and Zimbabwe', pp.113-123 in Grofman, Bernard and Arend Lijphart (eds) *Electoral Laws and their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon.

Birch, Sarah (2003), 'Two-Round Electoral Systems and Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 36:3, 319-344.

Birch, Sarah (2005), 'Single-Member District Electoral Systems and Democratic Transition', *Electoral Studies* 24, 281-301.

Bogaards, Matthijs (2007), 'Elections, Election Outcomes and Democracy in Southern Africa', *Democratization* 14:1, 73-91.

Barkan, Joel, Paul Densham and Gerard Ruston (2006), 'Space Matters: Designing Better Electoral Systems for Emerging Democracies', *American Journal of Political Science* 50:4, 926-039.

Reilly, Benjamin (2005), 'Does the Choice of Electoral System Promote Democracy? The Gap between Theory and Practice', pp.159-72 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.

Bogaards, Matthijs (2003), 'Electoral Choices for Divided Societies: Multi-Ethnic Parties and Constituency Pooling in Africa', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 41(3), 59-80.

- Norris, Pippa (2004). *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge University Press.
- Timothy Sisk and Andrew Reynolds (1998, eds) *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace. [JQ1879.5 E31 (MC)]
- Amanda Gouws and Paul Mitchell (2005), 'South Africa: One-Party Dominance Despite Perfect Proportionality' in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds,) *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press.
- Mitchell, Paul and Gordon Gillespie, 'The Electoral Systems' in Paul Mitchell and Rick Wilford (1999, eds) *Politics in Northern Ireland*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Powell, G. Bingham (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale UP.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John Carey (1992). *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge UP.
- Sisk, Timothy and Andrew Reynolds (1998, eds). *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*. United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Taagepera, Rein (1997), 'The Tailor of Marrakesh: Western Electoral Systems Advice to Emergent Democracies', pp49-62 in Elklit, Jorgen (ed) *Electoral Systems for Emerging Democracies*. Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Lean, Sharon (2007), 'Democracy Assistance to Domestic Election Monitoring Organizations: Conditions for Success', *Democratization* 14:2, pp.289-312.
- Sunil, Bastian (2003), 'The Political Economy of Electoral Reform: Proportional Representation in Sri Lanka', in Bastian, Sunil and Robin Luckham (2003, eds). *Can Democracy Be Designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-Torn Societies*. London: Zed Books.
- Fraenkel, Jon (2003), 'Electoral Engineering and the Politicisation of Ethnic Friction in Fiji', Sunil, Bastian (2003), 'The Political Economy of Electoral Reform: Proportional Representation in Sri Lanka', in Bastian, Sunil and Robin Luckham (2003, eds). *Can Democracy Be Designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-Torn Societies*. London: Zed Books.
- Elklit, Jorgen and Palle Svensson (1997), 'What Makes Elections Free and Fair?', *Journal of Democracy*, 8:5, pp.32-46.
- Schedler, Andeas (2006). *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamic of Unfree Competition*. London: Lynne Rienner.
- Birch, Sarah (2003). *Electoral Systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe*. London: MacMillan.
- Reynolds, Andrew (1999). *Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa*. Oxford University Press.

7. Preferential Voting and Centripetal Politics

The approach I have advocated is to adopt an electoral system that will make moderation rewarding by making politicians reciprocally dependent on the votes of members of groups other than their own. The dependence is only marginal, of course, but it will sometimes be the margin of victory. Since the parties must pool votes rather than merely pool seats, they must find ways before the election to communicate their ethnically and racially conciliatory intentions to the voters. After the election they must deliver on those commitments or risk electoral retribution. (Horowitz 1991, 196)

- 7a. Argue the case for Horowitz's vote-pooling strategy for stabilising divided societies.
 7b. Argue the case against Horowitz's vote-pooling strategy for stabilising divided societies.
 7c. Evaluate the empirical evidence concerning vote-pooling.

Required Readings

Horowitz, Donald (1991), 'Electoral Systems for a Divided Society', in Horowitz, A *Democratic South Africa?* University of California Press.

Lijphart, Arend (1991). 'The Alternative Vote: A Realistic Alternative for South Africa?', *Politikon* 18/2: 91-101.

Additional Readings

Mitchell, Paul (2009, typescript) 'The Single Transferable Vote and Ethnic Conflict: The Evidence from Northern Ireland, 1982-2007'

Reilly, Benjamin (2001). *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management*. Oxford UP.

Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman (2007), 'The Merits of Neo-Downsian Modelling of the Alternative Vote: A Reply to Horowitz', *Public Choice* 133: 1-11.

Horowitz, Donald (2007), 'Where have all the Parties Gone: Fraenkel and Grofman on the Alternative Vote – Yet Again', *Public Choice* 133: 13-23.

Reilly, Ben (2006), 'Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone Societies', *Democratization*, 13:5, pp.811-27.

Horowitz, Donald (1991), 'Electoral Systems for a Divided Society', in Horowitz, A *Democratic South Africa?* University of California Press.

Lijphart, Arend (1991). 'The Alternative Vote: A Realistic Alternative for South Africa?', *Politikon* 18/2: 91-101.

Lijphart, Arend (1997), 'Disproportionality under Alternative Voting: The Crucial – and Puzzling – Case of the Australian Senate Elections, 1919-1946', *Acta Politica* 32, 9-24

Ben Reilly (1997), 'The Alternative Vote and Ethnic Accommodation: New Evidence from Papua New Guinea', *Electoral Studies* 16:1, pp1-11.

Reynolds, Andrew (1999). *Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Karvonen, Lauri (2004), 'Preferential Voting: Incidence and Effects', *International Political Science Review* 25:2, 203-226.

Mitchell, Paul (2001), 'Transcending an Ethnic Party System? The Impact of Consociational Governance on Electoral Dynamics and the Party System' in R. Wilford (ed), *Aspects of the Belfast Agreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman (2006), 'Does the Alternative Vote Foster Moderation in Ethnically Divided Societies? The Case of Fiji', *Comparative Political Studies* 39:5, 623-651.

- Horowitz, Donald (2006), 'Strategy Takes a Holiday: Fraenkel and Grofman on the Alternative Vote', *Comparative Political Studies* 39:5, 652-662.
- Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman (2006), 'The Failure of the Alternative Vote as a Tool for Ethnic Moderation in Fiji: A Reoinder to Horowitz', *Comparative Political Studies* 39:5, 663-666
- Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman (2004), 'A neo-Downsian Model of the Alternative Vote as a Mechanism for Mitigating Ethnic Conflict in Plural Societies', *Public Choice* 121, 487-506.
- Fraenkel, Jon (2001), 'The Alternative Vote System in Fiji: Electoral Engineering or Ballot Rigging?', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Studies* 39:2.
- Horowitz, Donald (2004), 'The Alternative Vote and Interethnic Moderation: A Reply to Fraenkel and Grofman', *Public Choice* 121, 507-516.
- Reynolds, Andrew (2006), 'The Curious Case of Afghanistan', *Journal of Democracy*.
- Dawisha, Adeed and Larry Diamond (2006), 'Iraq's Year of Voting Dangerously', *Journal of Democracy*
- Bowler, Shaun and Bernard Grofman (2000, eds). *Elections in Australia, Ireland and Malta under the Single Transferable Vote*. University of Michigan Press.
- Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (2005, eds), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Farrell, David and Ian McAllister (2006). *The Australian Electoral System: Origins, Variations and Consequences*. University of new South Wales Press
- Fraenkel, Jon and Bernard Grofman (2005), 'Introduction – Political Culture, Representation and Electoral Systems in the Pacific Islands', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 43:3, pp.261-75.

8. Ethnic Party Systems: is collapse inevitable?

Moderation on the ethnic issue is a viable strategy only if ethnicity is not salient. Once ethnicity becomes salient and, as a consequence, all issues are interpreted in ethnic terms, the rhetoric of cooperation and mutual trust sounds painfully weak. More importantly, it is strategically vulnerable to flame fanning and the politics of outbidding. Ceylon and Ulster provide recent examples of the vulnerability of moderates . . . In Ulster, Protestant extremists, led by the Reverend Ian Paisley, have held the governing Unionist party in check, rendering moderation impossible' (Rabushka and Shepsle, 1972: 86).

8a. How do ethnic party systems develop and what is different about the nature of party competition in such systems? What are the likely effects on conflict regulation?

8b. Is all competition centrifugal in ethnic party systems?

Required Readings

Horowitz, Donald (1985), 'Ethnic Parties and Party Systems' and 'Competition and Change in Ethnic Party Systems' pp.291-364 in Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Chandra, Kanchan (2005), 'Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability', *Perspectives on Politics* 3:2, pp.235-52.

Additional Readings

Horowitz, Donald (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press (chapters 7-10).

Rabushka, Alvin and Kenneth Shepsle (1972), *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill.

Birnie, Johanna Kristin (2007). *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Mozaffar, Shaheen, James Scarritt and Glen Galaich (2003), 'Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies', *American Political Science Review* 97:3, 379-390.

Chandra, Kanchan (2004). *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India*. Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, Kanchan (2005), 'Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability', *Perspectives on Politics* 3:2, pp.235-52.

Mozaffar, Shaheen and James Scarritt (2005), 'The Puzzle of African Party Systems', *Party Politics* 11:4, pp.399-421.

Bogaards, Matthijs (2000), 'Crafting Competitive party Systems: Electoral Laws and the Opposition in Africa', *Democratization* 7(4): 163-190.

Burnell, Peter (2006, ed). *Globalising Democracy: Political Parties in Emerging Democracies*. Routledge.

Bose, Sumantra (2002). *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. London: Hurst (especially chpt 5 'Democracy and Division: the Institutional Architecture of the Dayton State').

Kurt Richard Luther and Kris Deschouwer (eds, 1999). *Party Elites in Divided Societies: Political Parties in Consociational Democracy*. London: Routledge.

Kitschelt, Herbert et al (1999). *Post-Communist Party Systems*. Cambridge UP.

Mitchell, Paul, (1995), 'Party Competition in an Ethnic Dual Party System' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18:773-796.

Mitchell, Paul (1999), 'The Party System and Party Competition', pp. 91-116 in Paul Mitchell and Rick Wilford (eds), *Politics in Northern Ireland*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press

Mitchell, Paul, Brendan O'Leary and Geoffrey Evans (2001). 'Northern Ireland: Flanking Extremists Bite the Moderates and Emerge in Their Clothes', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54:4, pp. 725-42.

Mitchell, Paul, Geoffrey Evans and Brendan O'Leary (typescript), 'Extremist Outbidding In Ethnic Party Systems Is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland', LSE, PSPE Working Paper No.6, 2006.

Tilley, James, Geoffrey Evans and Claire Mitchell (typescript), 'Consociationalism and the Evolution of Political Cleavages in Northern Ireland, 1989-2004.

Richard Gunther, Jose Ramon Montero and Juan Linz (2002, eds). *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New*. Oxford University Press.

Russell Dalton and Martin Wattenberg (eds, 2000). *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. Oxford UP.

- Diamond, Larry and Richard Gunther (2001, eds). *Political parties and Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP.
- Kuenzi, Michelle and Gina Lambright (2005), 'Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Africa's Electoral Regimes', *Party Politics* 11:4, pp.423-46.
- Piombo, Jessica (2005), 'Political Parties, Social Demographics and the Decline of Ethnic Mobilization in South Africa, 1994-99', *Party Politics* 11:4, pp.447-70.
- Reilly, Ben (2006), 'Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone Societies', *Democratization*, 13:5, pp.811-27.

Special Issue of the journal *Party Politics* (July 2005) on Political Parties and Democratization in Africa.

9. Consociational Governance: Executives, Legislatures and Multi-National Federations

- 9a Evaluate what is different about executives and legislatures under consociation rules.
- 9b. Does the 'opposition' disappear in consociational systems? If so, is there meaningful competition?
- 9c. In what ways can legislatures be organised so that power is shared?

Required Readings

- Norris, Pippa (2008), Chpt 6 'Presidential and Parliamentary Executives' and Chpt 7 'Federalism and Decentralization', pp.132-85 in Norris, Pippa *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.
- O'Leary, Brendan, Bernard Grofman and Jorgen Elklit (2005), 'Divisor Methods for Sequential Portfolio Allocation in Multi-Party Executive Bodies: Evidence from Northern Ireland and Denmark', *American Journal of Political Science*, 49: 198-211.

Additional Readings

- Horowitz, Donald (1991), 'The Constructive Uses of Presidentialism', pp.205-14 in Horowitz, Donald. *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Lijphart, Arend (2008). *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge. Parts III and IV.

- Daftary, Farimah and Eben Friedman (2008), 'Power_Sharing in Macedonia?', in Marc Weller and Barbara Metzger (eds) *Settling Self-Determination Disputes: Complex Power-Sharing in Theory and Practice*. Netherlands: Brill.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John Carey (1992). *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge UP
- John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (2007), 'Iraq's Constitution of 2005: Liberal consociation as political prescription', *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 5:4, pp.670-98.
- O'Leary, Brendan (1999) 'The Nature of the British-Irish Agreement' *New Left Review* 233: 66-96.
- Mitchell, Paul (2001), "'Transcending an Ethnic Party System? The Impact of Consociational Governance on Electoral Dynamics and the Party System' in R. Wilford (ed), *Aspects of the Belfast Agreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary (2004) *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Kerr, Michael (2006). Imposing Power-Sharing: Conflict and Coexistence in Northern Ireland and Lebanon (chpt 4 and 6).
- Linz, Juan and Arturo Valenzuela (1994, eds). *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP.
- Kuenzi, Michelle and Gina Lambright (2005), 'Party Systems and Democratic Consolidation in Africa's Electoral Regimes', *Party Politics* 11:4, pp.423-46.

10. 'External' Support and 'Complex' Consociations

Conclusions: What Explains Power Sharing Successes and Failures?

'Another part of the logic behind consociationalism as a recommendation for deeply divided societies is that all of the potential alternative proposals – integration, partition, Horowitz's alternative-vote plan, and the Roeder-Rothchild power-dividing proposal – have serious drawbacks and cannot be regarded as realistic options. Consociationalism is therefore the only realistic possibility' (Lijphart 2008, 279).

'Viable consociations that address ethno-national disputes may have to be the de facto or de jure protectorates of external powers.' (O'Leary 2005, xxxi).

10a. What is a complex consociation and can it work?

10b. To what extent does the nature of peacemaking in South Africa or Northern Ireland provide a model for the resolution of other conflicts?

Required Readings

- Norris, Pippa (2008), 'What Works? Lessons for Public Policy', pp.209-24 in Norris, Pippa . *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.

Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005), 'Conclusion: Nation-State Stewardship and the Alternatives to Power-Sharing', pp.319-46 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.

Additional Readings

- Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93 (has chpts on the theory of power-sharing and federalism, on Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, South Africa, Afghanistan, Cyprus, and the EU).
- Norris, Pippa (2008). *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.
- Schneckener, Ulrich (2002), 'Making Power-Sharing Work: Lessons from Successes and Failures in Ethnic Conflict Regulation;', *Journal of Peace Research* 39:2, 203-228.
- Schneckener, Ullrich and Wollff, Stefan (2004, eds). *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*. London: Hurst.
- John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (2007), 'Iraq's Constitution of 2005: Liberal consociation as political prescription', *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 5:4, pp.670-98.
- McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary (2004) *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) See Especially chpt 1.
- Bastian, Sunil and Robin Luckham (2003, eds). *Can Democracy Be Designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-Torn Societies*.
- Darby, John and Roger McGinty (2003, eds). *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*. Palgrave.
- Kerr, Michael (2006). *Imposing Power-Sharing: Conflict and Coexistence in Northern Ireland and Lebanon* (chpt 8).
- Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- Bose, Sumantra (2002). *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. London: Hurst
- Brooks Kelly, Brighid (2006). *An Exploration of the Relationship between Consociationalism and Stability in, Plural Societies Throughout the World*. PhD Dissertation, Trinity College Dublin.
- Marianne Heiberg, Brendan O'Leary and John Tirman (2007, eds) *Terror, Insurgency and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lijphart, Arend (2008). *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge. [the collected writings of Lijphart]
- Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoddie (2007). *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars*. Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Jarstad, Anna and Desiree Nilsson (2008). 'From Words to Deeds: The Implementation of Power-Sharing pacts in Peace Accords', *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25: 206-23.

APPENDIX: HANDBOOKS and CASES

HANDBOOKS

- Harris, Peter and Ben Reilly (1998, eds). *Democracy and Deep-Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators*. Stockholm: IDEA Handbook Series 3.
- Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly (1997, 2005 2nd edition, eds). *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*. Stockholm: IDEA Handbook Series 1.
- Burnell, Peter (2007, ed). *Evaluating Democracy Support: Methods and Experiences*. Stockholm: IDEA Handbook Series.

Belgium

See special issue of the journal *West European Politics* on Belgium – Vol 29:5, Nov 2006.
From this issue, for example –

- Deschouwer, Kris (2006), 'And the Peace Goes On? Consociational Democracy and Belgian Politics in the 21st Century', *West European Politics* 29:5, pp.895-911.
- Swenden, Wilfried and Maarten Theo Jans (2006), "'Will It Stay or Will It Go?'" Federalism and the Sustainability of Belgium', *West European Politics* 29:5, pp.877-94.
- Billiet, Jaak, Bart Maddens and Andre-Paul Frogner (2006), 'Does Belgium (Still) Exist? Differences in Political Culture Between Flemings and Walloons', *West European Politics* 29:5, pp.912-32.
- Hooghe, Liesbet. 1991. *A Leap in the Dark: Nationalist Conflict and Federal Reform in Belgium*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Murphy, A. 1995. Belgium's Regional Divergence: along the Road to Federalism. In *Federalism: the Multiethnic Challenge*, edited by G. Smith. London: Longman.
- Lamy, Steven L. 1986. Policy Responses to Ethnonationalism: Consociational Engineering in Belgium. In *The Primordial Challenge: Ethnicity in the Contemporary World*, edited by J. F. Stack. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.
- Tsebelis, George. 1990. Elite Interaction and Constitution Building in Consociational Democracies. *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 2 (1):5-29.
- Deschouwer, Kris (2005), 'The Unintended Consequences of Consociational Federalism: The Case of Belgium', in Ian O'Flynn and David Russell (eds) *Power Sharing: New Challenges for Divided Societies*. London: Pluto Press.

Bosnia – Herzegovina

- Bose, Sumantra (2002). *Bosnia After Dayton: Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. London: Hurst.
- Bieber, Florian (2005), 'Power Sharing after Yugoslavia: Functionality and Dysfunctionality of Power Sharing Institutions in Post-war Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosova', in Noel, Sid (ed) *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. McGill-Queen's University Press.
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