

## **The International MA Program in Conflict Resolution and Mediation**

The Gershon H. Gordon  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
Tel Aviv University

### Democracy in Ethnically Divided Societies

Dr. Steven J. Klein

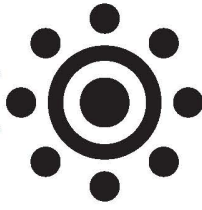
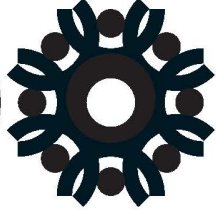
Email: [stevekhaaretz@gmail.com](mailto:stevekhaaretz@gmail.com)

Tuesdays 3:15-4:45 Naftali 004

#### **Course Description**

The post-WWII era saw the creation of numerous new countries that did not fit the classic nation-state model, often comprising rival ethnic groups. These internal conflicts have presented challenges to the ruling elites when interested in establishing a democratic regime. Factors such as the perceived threat by or manageability of ethnic minorities have influenced the type of democracy pursued and the extent of democratic rights afforded to these minorities. Such experiments of forging the country's ethnic character while maintaining a certain measure of democratic institutions have had mixed results, often contributing to grievances among minority groups and at times failing to prevent bloodshed.

In this class, students will deepen their understanding of principles of ethnic conflict and conflict management theory, exploring the conditions for creating so-called ethnic democracies and maintaining their stability. They will also explore the repercussions of managing democracies in ethnically divided societies for interethnic relations and international politics. The class will examine case studies of such democracies, such as Sri Lanka, Israel, Malaysia and former states of the Soviet bloc. Students will have the opportunity to explore these case



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studies more deeply or other case studies through class presentations and a midterm project.

### **Requirements**

During the semester, students will write weekly reflections on the readings (worth 10%), take a take-home midterm test (worth 30%) and write a final paper (worth 50%). The remaining 10% of the grade will be given for a group presentation.

### **Class outline**

#### **1: Introduction – The rise of ethno-political conflicts (March 5)**

- a) The fallacy of the nation-state
- b) Colonialism and the creation/evolution of ethnic identities
- c) The post-WWII disorder
- d) The de-colonialization process

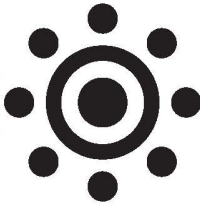
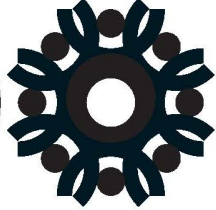
#### **2: The regulation of ethno-political conflict and the challenge of democracy (March 12)**

- a) What is democracy and democratic values?
- b) Identifying ethno-political groups
- c) Causes of grievances
- d) Options for responses and their impact on conflict

#### Readings:

Rae, Bob (2010). The World in Our Image: The challenge of sharing democracy and human rights. In Bob Rae (Ed.), *Exporting Democracy* (pp. 1-13). Toronto: McClelland and Stuart.

McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary (1993). Introduction: The macro-political regulation of ethnic conflict." In John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (Eds.), *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation: Case Studies of Protracted Ethnic Conflict* (pp. 1-40). London: Routledge.



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Horowitz, Donald L. (2014). Ethnic power sharing: three big problems. *Journal of Democracy* 25 (2, April), 5-20.

### **3: Models of democracy – from multi-culturalism to exclusion (March 19)**

- a) Factors that favor one approach over another
- b) The role and status of ethnic minorities
- c) Impact on ethnic identity
- d) Mechanisms for addressing ethnic grievances

Readings:

Smooha, Sammy (2002). Types of democracy and modes of conflict management in ethnically divided societies. *Nations and Nationalism* 8 (4), 423-431.

Pierre L. Van den Berghe (2002). Multicultural democracy: Can It Work? *Nations and Nationalism* 8 (4), 433-449.

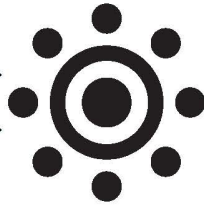
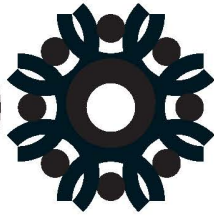
Charles Taylor (1998). The dynamics of democratic exclusion. *Journal of Democracy*, 9 (4), 143-156.

### **4: The ethnic democracy model (March 26)**

- a) Four factors for its implementation
- b) Four factors for its stability
- c) Applicability
- d) The interest of ethnopolitical rivals in mediation

Readings:

Smooha, Sammy (2005). Ethnic Democracy as a Model. In Sammy Smooha and Priit Järve (Eds.), *The Fate of Ethnic Democracy in Post-Communist Europe* (pp. 20-41). Budapest: Open Society Institute.



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Adam Danel (2009). A methodological critique of the concept of ethnic democracy. *Journal of Israeli History* 28 (1), 37-54.

Smootha, Sammy (2009). The model of ethnic democracy: response to Danel. *The journal of Israeli History* 28 (1), 55-62.

Peled, Yoav (2014) The model of ethnic democracy. In Peled (Ed.), *The Challenge of Ethnic Democracy: The State and Minority Groups in Israel, Poland and Northern Ireland* (pp. 1-11). London: Routledge.

### **5: Case study: Israel – 27<sup>th</sup>, 7.84 on EIU Democracy Index (April 2)**

Reading: Peled, Yoav (2014), Israel: the archetypal ethnic democracy. In Peled (pp. 93-151).

### **6: The consociational model (April 9)**

- a) Pros and cons
- b) Applicability

Readings:

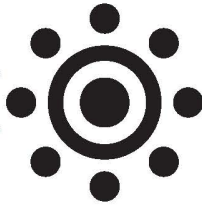
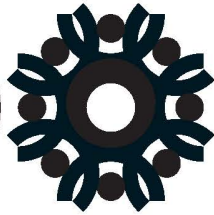
Van Schendelen, M.P.C.M. (1985). Consociational democracy: the views of Arend Lijphart and collected criticisms. *The Political Science Reviewer* 15:1, 143-177.

Mehler, Andreas (2013). Consociationalism for weaklings, autocracy for muscle men? Determinants of constitutional reform in divided societies. *Civil Wars* 15:sup1, 21-43.

### **7: The Federalism model (April 16)**

- a) Pros and cons
- b) Applicability

Readings:



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Bermeo, Nancy G. (2002). The import of institutions. *Journal of Democracy* 13:2 (April), 96-110.

Erk, Jan and Lawrence Anderson (2009). The paradox of federalism: does self-rule accommodate or exacerbate ethnic divisions? *Regional & Federal Studies*, 19:2, 191-198.

McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary (2005). Federation as a method of ethnic conflict regulation. *Forum of Federations*. Retrieved from:  
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.468.77&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

Roeder, Philip G. (2009). Ethnofederalism and the mismanagement of conflicting nationalisms. *Regional and Federal Studies* 19:2 (May), 203-219.

### **8: Case study: Post-Communist Europe (April 30)**

**Estonia – 27<sup>th</sup>, 7.84; Latvia – 38<sup>th</sup>, 7.24; North Macedonia – 78<sup>th</sup>, 5.89**

Readings:

Commercio, Michele E. (2008). Systems of partial control: ethnic dynamics in post-Soviet Estonia and Latvia. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43, 81-100.

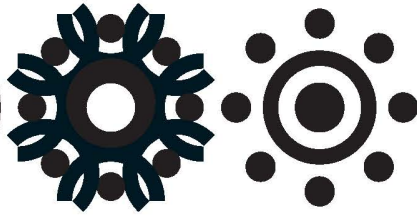
Pettai, Vello and Klara Hallik (2002). Understanding processes of ethnic control: Segmentation, dependency and co-optation in post-Communist Estonia. *Nations & Nationalism*, 8:4, 505-529.

Harel-Shalev, Ayelet (2013). Implementing democracy and minority rights in deeply divided societies: a comparison of Macedonia and Israel. *New Balkan Politics* 13, 28-40.

### **9: Case study: Sri Lanka – 68<sup>th</sup>, 6.14 (May 7)**

Readings:

Kelegama, Thiruni (2015). Impossible devolution? The failure of power-sharing attempts in Sri Lanka. *Strategic Analysis* 39:3, 237-253.



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DeVotta, Neal (2016). A Win for Democracy in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Democracy* 27:1 (January), 152-166.

Ramasamy, Ramesh (2020). Governance and Administration in Sri Lanka: Trends, Tensions and Prospects. *Public Administration and Policy* 23:2, 187-198.

### **10: Case studies: Ethnofederalism in Europe (May 21)**

**Bosnia – 101<sup>st</sup>, 4.84; Belgium – 36<sup>th</sup>, 7.51**

Readings:

Keil, Soeren and Paul Anderson (expected 2021). Bosnia and Herzegovina: Constitutional Politics in a “State of Minorities,” *Constitutional Politics in Multinational Democracies*: 1-17.

Caluwaerts, Didier and Min Reuchamps (2015). Combining federalism with consociationalism: Is Belgian consociational federalism digging its own grave? *Ethnopolitics* 14:3, 277-295.

### **11: Case study: Botswana (May 28) – 29<sup>th</sup>, 7.81**

Holm, John D. (1987). Botswana: A Paternalistic democracy. *World Affairs* 150:1 (Summer): 21-30.

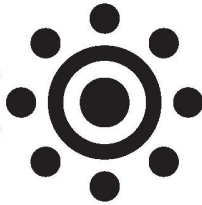
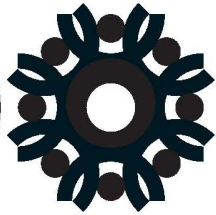
Sebudubudu and Keneilwe Mooketsane (2016). What has made political institutions in Botswana and Mauritius tick? *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 12: 145-168.

### **12: Case study: Malaysia – 39<sup>th</sup>, 7.19 (June 4)**

Readings:

Sani, Mohd A. M. (2008). The emergence of new politics in Malaysia: From consociational to deliberative democracy. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 5:2, 97-125.

Shukri, Farhana, M.S. (2017). The role of ethnic politics in promoting democratic governance: A case study of Malaysia. *Intellectual Discourse* 25:2, 321-339.



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### **13: Conclusion: The future of democracy in ethnically divided societies (June 18)**

Reading: Lijphart, Arend (2004). Constitutional Design for Divided Societies. *Journal of Democracy* 15:2 (April), 96-109.

#### **Academic Fraud**

Any person found guilty of academic fraud will be subject to severe sanctions. Some examples of academic fraud include:

- plagiarism or cheating of any kind;
- submitting work of which the student is not the author, in whole or in part (except for duly cited quotations or references);
- presenting research data that has been falsified or concocted in any way; and
- submitting, without written prior approval from the professors concerned, the same work for more than one course.

Attendance is required. Students are allowed to miss no more than 2 classes for each course. Missing more than 20% of a course means automatic failing the course.