

Comparing multi-national democracies

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Description

Is democracy possible in a country made up of different ethno-national groups? John Stuart Mill famously argued that it was not and the current challenge Catalan nationalism is posing to the Spanish state is only one of many examples that seem to support his verdict. We will assess whether democracy really encounters special challenges in multi-national societies and if so, how these challenges can be addressed.

The seminar is structured into a theoretical and an empirical part. We will first discuss theoretical answers to three guiding questions: (1) Why do voters vote along ethnic lines?; (2) Why do political parties choose ethnic appeal and nationalist platforms and how does this affect the logic of party competition?; (3) Are some institutions better than others at regulating conflict and fostering inter-group consensus? Participants will then test the explanatory power of the theories through comparative case studies of voting behaviour, party competition and institutional design in European multinational democracies. Participants will present and comment on each others' case studies during a workshop on Saturday, 4 July 2015.

Goals

Participants will understand and critically assess key theoretical arguments brought forward in the literature on democracy in multi-national societies. They will be able to explain why democratic stability is more difficult to achieve in multi-national, than in mono-national societies. They will be able to choose suitable cases for comparison, apply the theories to these cases and assess their explanatory power. In addition, students learn how to engage in academic dialogue with each other during the workshop where they present and comment on the work of their peers.

Requirements and modalities

Requirements for this course are twofold: First, you come to class having carefully read and thought about the assigned reading materials for the week, and participate actively in class discussions. You may fail to attend two sessions. Please note that the workshop on July 4, 2015 counts as three individual sessions.

Second, you develop, present during the workshop and hand in a research paper with a (comparative) case study on your chosen topic related to the topic of the seminar. You can focus on answering one of the research questions of the seminar, or come up with your own question. In any case, you then choose either a single case for a theory-centred case study or a set of cases for a comparative case study. You are free to choose your case(s), but since we are dealing with democracies, you need to choose democratic cases (to make sure, you might want to consult the Polity IV project at <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html>). The research paper should be of appr. 10-12 pages (double spaced, times new roman, 12pt), and should cover a research question, theory and hypotheses to answer the question, a justified case selection, the chosen methodological approach and an empirical analysis. The final paper must be submitted by **15 September 2015**. A short outline / handout / ppt of your presentation at the Workshop must be submitted by noon of **July 2, 2015** to give your discussant a chance to prepare her comments. I will provide a more

detailed guideline on how to write a research paper and guidance on narrowing down your research question.

Course evaluations will be based on a combination of in-class participation (10%), in class presentation of your research project and comments on somebody else's project during the workshop on July 4 (20%), and the research paper (70%). Late submissions will lower your grade by 0.3 for each day your work is overdue unless you provide a justified excuse. Please note that a student job does not count as a justified excuse.

Please be aware that I have *zero* tolerance for plagiarism, which according to the Oxford Dictionary (online edition) is defined as “the practice of taking someone else’s work or ideas and passing them off as one’s own”. Students caught plagiarising will automatically fail the seminar. For further information on what plagiarism is and how to avoid it, see e.g Jones, Lars R. (2011): *Academic Integrity & Academic Dishonesty: A Handbook About Cheating & Plagiarism*, Revised & Expanded Edition. Available at <http://www.fit.edu/current/documents/plagiarism.pdf>.

Recommended literature to prepare for the seminar

- Horowitz, Donald L. 1993. Democracy in Divided Societies, *Journal of Democracy* 4 (4): 18-38.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in plural societies: A comparative exploration*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press: Introduction.
- Reilly, Benjamin. 2012. Institutional design for diverse democracies: consociationalism, centripetalism and communalism compared. *European Political Science* 11: 259-270.

Individual sessions and literature to be prepared for each week

8 May 2015. Introduction

For this first session, you do not have to prepare any material, but I recommend:

- Optional: Linz, Juan J. & Alfred Stepan. 1996. 'Stateness', Nationalism, and Democratization, in Juan Linz und Alfred Stepan (eds.): *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*, pp. 16-37. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Optional: Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. What is ethnic identity and does it matter? *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424.

15 May 2015. Ethnic voting as a prisoner’s dilemma

- Stojanovic, Nenad. 2014. When non-nationalist voters support ethno-nationalist parties: the 1990 elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a prisoner’s dilemma game. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14683857.2014.974379>

22 May 2015. Ethnic voting as a cognitive short-cut

- Birnir, Jóhanna Kristin. 2009. *Ethnicity and electoral politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Kapitel 2: Ethnic attractors, S. 19-40.

29 May 2015. Ethnic party competition as ethnic outbidding

- ≡ Rabushka, Alvin and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1972. *Politics in plural societies: a theory of democratic instability*. Charles E Merrill: Columbus Ohio, Chapter 3, pp. 62-92.

5 June 2015. Ethnic party competition as nested competition

- ≡ Zuber, Christina Isabel. 2012. Ethnic party competition beyond the segmented market, *Nationalities Papers* 40(6): 927-944.
- ≡ Please make yourselves familiar with the EPAC data at <http://christinazuber.com/data/>

12 June 2015. Institutional design I: Consociational democracy

- ≡ Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in plural societies: A comparative exploration*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, Chapter 2: Consociational Democracy, pp. 25-52.

19 June 2015. Institutional design II: Centripetalism

- ≡ Horowitz, Donald L. 1991. *A democratic South Africa? Constitutional engineering in a divided society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, Chapter 5: Electoral systems for a divided society, pp. 163-203.

26 June 2015. Methodological interlude: Case studies

- ≡ Lijphart, Arend, 1971. Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *The American Political Science Review*, 65(3): 682-693.
- ≡ Rohlfing, Ingo. 2012. *Case studies and causal inference*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, chapter 3: “Types of Case Study and Case Selection”.

3 July 2015. Final questions and preparation of comments for tomorrow's workshop

SATURDAY 4 July 2015. Workshop on Democracy in Multinational Democracies, 9-14h

15 July 2015. 13.15 – 15.00, ROOM G203 Institutional design III: Deliberative and direct democracy and Concluding discussion answering the seminar's guiding questions

- ≡ Luskin, Robert C., Ian O'Flynn, James S. Fishkin & David Russell. 2012. Deliberating across deep divides. *Political Studies: 2012*.
- ≡ Stojanovic, Nenad. 2009. Is democracy possible in a multilingual country? The Swiss experience and the paradox of direct democracy’ and ‘Afraid of direct democracy?, in D. Sinardet and M. Hooghe (eds.): *Public Opinion in a Multilingual Society. Institutional Design and Federal Loyalty. The Swiss Experience and the Belgian Case*, S. 9-23, 56-60. Brussels: Rethinking Belgium. <http://www.rethinkingbelgium.eu/rebel-initiative-files/ebooks/ebook-3/Re-Bel-e-book-3.pdf>
- ≡ **Your own notes from the whole seminar**