

Review Article: Divided Societies and Deliberative Democracy

IAN O'FLYNN*

Comparative scholars have disagreed for some time now as to whether democratic institutions in a divided society are more likely to remain stable if those institutions are premised on a concern for inclusion or on a concern for moderation. But since the empirical evidence marshalled by such scholars is often open to interpretative dispute, neither side has been able to prove its case conclusively. In order to help move this stability debate forward, this article demonstrates how inclusion and moderation can be recast as co-requirements of an underlying principle of political equality. To this end, it offers a deliberative democratic account of political equality, expressed in terms of requirements of publicity and reciprocity, that enables us to see how inclusion and moderation might be reconciled. Moreover, it shows how this deliberative reconciliation may itself provide for a more effective form of institutional stability than can be achieved under either of the two main contending comparative approaches.

Within the field of comparative politics, there is an ongoing debate about the kinds of institutions that are best suited to the task of fostering political stability in societies deeply divided along ethnic lines.¹ Scholars engaging in this debate generally agree on two related points – first, that democratic institutions represent the best hope for such societies and, secondly, that those institutions must provide for power sharing between conflicting ethnic groups. But beyond those two points of agreement, there is much disagreement. Scholars disagree, for example, about the most appropriate electoral system for divided societies, about the relative merits of presidential versus parliamentary government, about the virtues and vices of minority vetoes and group autonomy, about the character of equality and human rights provisions, and so forth. Conventionally, however, these enormously complex and diverse issues have turned on one underlying point of disagreement – whether the choice of democratic institutions should principally be driven by a concern for the value of inclusion or for the value of moderation.²

For the purposes of this review article, I will consider this underlying disagreement by focusing primarily on the work of the two leading figures in this debate: Arend Lijphart and Donald Horowitz. Like many other scholars concerned with questions of institutional choice in divided societies, Lijphart and Horowitz tend to take a very practical approach. This is not to say that such scholars do not seek to build political theories or to

* School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne. The author wishes to thank Peter Jones, Brendan O'Leary, Shane O'Neill, David Russell, Albert Weale, Robin Wilson and four anonymous referees for this *Journal* for writing enormously helpful, critical commentaries on earlier drafts of this article.

¹ I will use the term 'ethnic' in the sense of embracing any ascriptive identity regarded as a natural boundary marker between members of different groups, defined, among other things, in terms of race, language, religion, culture or nationality. See generally, John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds, *Ethnicity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

² For a general overview, see Timothy D. Sisk, *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts* (Washington, D.C.: USIP, 1996). For the phrases, 'value of inclusion' and 'value of moderation', see Stefan Wolff, 'Electoral Systems Design and Power-Sharing Regimes', in Ian O'Flynn and David Russell, eds, *Power Sharing: New Challenges for Divided Societies* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 59–74, at pp. 61–2.

Deliberative Democracy And Divided Societies

Andrew F. Smith

Deliberative Democracy And Divided Societies:

Deliberative Democracy and Divided Societies Ian O'Flynn, 2006-06-30 In a world where the impact of internal conflicts is spreading ever wider there is a real need to rethink how democratic ideals and institutions can best be implemented This book responds to this challenge by showing that deliberative democracy has crucial but largely untapped normative implications for societies deeply divided along ethnic lines Its central claim is that deliberative norms and procedures can enable the citizens of such societies to build and sustain a stronger sense of common national identity More specifically it argues that the deliberative requirements of reciprocity and publicity can enable citizens and representatives to strike an appropriate balance between the need to recognise competing ethnic identities and the need to develop a common civic identity centred on the institutions of the state Although the book is primarily normative it supports its claims with a broad range of empirical examples drawn from cases such as Bosnia and Herzegovina Lebanon Macedonia Northern Ireland and South Africa It also considers the normative implications of deliberative democracy for questions of institutional design It argues that power sharing institutions should be conceived in a way that allows citizens as much freedom as possible to shape their own relation to the polity Crucially this freedom can enable them to reconstruct their relationship to each other and to the state in ways that ultimately strengthen and sustain the transition from ethnic conflict to democracy

Democratic Deliberation in Deeply Divided Societies: E. Ugarriza, D. Caluwaerts, 2014-06-26 Through case analysis and cross sectional assessment of eleven countries this collection explores the most deeply divided societies in the world in order to highlight what deliberative democracy looks like in a deeply divided society and to understand the conditions that deliberative democracies could realistically emerge in difficult circumstances

Deliberative Democracy and Divided Societies Ian O'Flynn, 2006 In a world where the impact of internal conflicts is spreading ever wider there is a real need to rethink how democratic ideals and institutions can best be implemented This book responds to this challenge by showing that deliberative democracy has crucial but largely untapped normative implications for societies deeply divided along ethnic lines Its central claim is that deliberative norms and procedures can enable the citizens of such societies to build and sustain a stronger sense of common national identity More specifically it argues that the deliberative requirements of reciprocity and publicity can enable citizens and representatives to strike an appropriate balance between the need to recognise competing ethnic identities and the need to develop a common civic identity centred on the institutions of the state Although the book is primarily normative it supports its claims with a broad range of empirical examples drawn from cases such as Bosnia and Herzegovina Lebanon Macedonia Northern Ireland and South Africa It also considers the normative implications of deliberative democracy for questions of institutional design It argues that power sharing institutions should be conceived in a way that allows citizens as much freedom as possible to shape their own relation to the polity Crucially this freedom can enable them to reconstruct their relationship to each other and to the state in ways that ultimately strengthen and sustain

the transition from ethnic conflict to democracy **Deliberation Across Deeply Divided Societies** Jürg Steiner,2017-03-16 This analysis of deliberative transformative moments gives deliberative research a dynamic aspect opening practical applications in deeply divided societies *Confrontation and Communication* Didier Caluwaerts,2012 This book has won the Jean Blondel PhD award of the European Consortium for Political Research ECPR and was nominated for the Annual PhD Prize of the Dutch and Flemish Political Science Associations Theories on ethnic conflict tend to work on the premise that a deeply divided public opinion undermines democratic stability and that conflict ridden polities are not fertile ground for the development of a strong democracy Democratic stability in divided societies is seen to be endangered whenever the demos plays too prominent a role so the commonly formulated solution is that citizens should remain passive This book addresses the role of citizens in such divided societies while they are facing political conflict It offers interesting new perspectives on the potential of deliberative democracy as a viable alternative in the case of deeply divided polities The author uses cutting edge data from a deliberative experiment in Belgium where he gathered Flemings and Walloons to discuss the future of the country at a moment when the tensions between the linguistic groups were at an historic high His findings are insightful and interesting for deliberative theorists and practitioners as well as for scholars of ethnic conflict

Deliberative Democracy, Divided Societies, and the Case of Appalachia ,2009 *Reconciliation by Stealth* Denisa Kostovicova,2023-05-15 Winner of the ISA Best Book in Human Rights Reconciliation by Stealth advances a novel approach to evaluating the effects of transitional justice in postconflict societies Through her examination of the Balkan conflicts Denisa Kostovicova asks what happens when former adversaries discuss legacies of violence and atrocity and whether it is possible to do so without further deepening animosities Reconciliation by Stealth shifts our attention from what people say about war crimes to how they deliberate past wrongs Bringing together theories of democratic deliberation and peacebuilding Kostovicova demonstrates how people from opposing ethnic groups reconcile through reasoned respectful and empathetic deliberation about a difficult legacy She finds that expression of ethnic difference plays a role in good quality deliberation across ethnic lines while revealed intraethnic divisions help deliberators expand moral horizons previously narrowed by conflict In the process people forge bonds of solidarity and offset divisive identity politics that bears upon their deliberations Reconciliation by Stealth shows us the importance of theoretical and methodological innovation in capturing how transitional justice can promote reconciliation and points to the untapped potential of deliberative problem solving to repair relationships fractured by conflict Thanks to generous funding from the London School of Economic and Political Science the ebook editions of this book are available as Open Access volumes from Cornell Open cornellpress.cornell.edu/cornell-open-and-other-repositories *Sovereignty, Civic Participation, and Constitutional Law* Brecht Deseure,Raf Geenens,Stefan Sottiaux,2021-04-13 This book brings recent insights about sovereignty and citizen participation in the Belgian Constitution to scholars in the fields of law philosophy history and politics Throughout the Western world there are

increasing calls for greater citizen participation Referendums citizen councils and other forms of direct democracy are considered necessary antidotes to a growing hostility towards traditional party politics This book focuses on the Belgian debate where the introduction of participatory politics has stalled because of an ambiguity in the Constitution Scholars and judges generally claim that the Belgian Constitution gives ultimate power to the nation which can only speak through representation in parliament In light of this direct democracy would be an unconstitutional power grab by the current generation of citizens This book critically investigates this received interpretation of the Constitution and by reaching back to the debates among Belgium's 1831 founding fathers concludes that it is untenable The spirit if not the text of the Belgian Constitution allows for more popular participation than present day jurisprudence admits This book is the first to make recent debates in this field accessible to international scholars It provides a rare source of information on Belgium's 1831 Constitution which was in its time seen as modern constitutionalism's greatest triumph and which became a model for countless other constitutions Yet the questions it asks reverberate far beyond Belgium Combining new insights from law philosophy history and politics this book is a showcase for continental constitutional theory It will be a valuable resource for academics and researchers in constitutional law political and legal philosophy and legal history *Analysing the Headscarf Debate in Turkey from a Deliberative Perspective: Is Social Learning Possible?* Can Büyükbay, 2010 Seminar paper from the year 2009 in the subject Politics International Politics Region Near East Near Orient grade 5 CH University of Bern Institut für Politikwissenschaft course Deliberative Democracy language English abstract The victory of the conservative AKP Justice and Development Party in November 2002 elections has brought the issue of turban1 back on the agenda so much so that the tension between Islamists and Kemalists has again increased This controversial debate has divided the Turkish society into different camps Secularists claim that the turban is a political symbol and has nothing to do with basic individual rights Islamists on the other hand treat it mainly as an issue of religious freedom The basic goal of this paper is to answer the question of whether deliberative democracy can contribute to creating a healthy dialogue between Islamists and Kemalists in Turkey Special emphasis has been given to deliberative concepts such as social learning and mutual understanding because they may enhance the possibility that an adequate atmosphere of dialogue can be created First the theoretical framework will be discussed After handling the general considerations of deliberative democracy a more specific model of John Dryzek will be dealt with which analyses the decision making and social learning levels of deliberation separately Then Seyla Benhabib's work *Claims of Culture* 2002 will be examined Benhabib focuses on the less restricted informal phases of deliberation in her book By focusing on Dryzek and Benhabib this paper aims to establish an analytical framework that shows deliberation as an opinion formation process oriented to learning alongside the decision making process The third chapter focuses on the headscarf debate in Turkey by considering its historical roots and legal framework In the fourth chapter a survey conducted in 2007 by the Konda Research Institute regarding the perceptions and practices of Inclusion in

Post-Conflict Legislatures Michael Potter, 2019-09-10 An excellent analysis of the complex dynamics of inclusion in post conflict societies theoretically grounded empirically rich and with a well informed set of policy relevant insights and recommendations with implications far beyond the cases of Kosovo and Northern Ireland Stefan Wolff University of Birmingham UK Does the promotion of political accommodation between the contending parties in an ethno nationalist conflict disadvantage other groups in society This important question is at the heart of Michael Potter s nuanced study of post settlement parliaments in Kosovo and Northern Ireland in which he probes their record of representativeness focusing on gender and ethnicity His meticulous research drawing on extensive fieldwork shows that the domination of the parliaments by parties aligned to the conflict does indeed tend to marginalise other identities His findings provide plenty of food for thought for practitioners in the field of conflict resolution In particular they underline the need for care in the design of institutional arrangements for deeply divided societies so as to minimise potentially negative consequences that priority for accommodation and reconciliation may have for other issues and for the practice of inclusion Adrian Guelke Queen s University Belfast UK Identity is a central organising principle of politics in the 21st century In this impressive book Michael Potter shows that a focus on gender and minority ethnic identities in newly formed post conflict assemblies provides a unique litmus test of the robustness of democratic politics He analyses the cases of Kosovo and Northern Ireland with rigour and considerable insight This book makes a highly original and lasting contribution to theory and practice in post conflict settings world wide Yvonne Galligan Dublin Institute of Technology Ireland This book examines inclusion in post conflict legislatures using Northern Ireland and Kosovo as case studies and gender and minority ethnicity as indicators The analysis uses an adapted framework developed by Yvonne Galligan and Sara Clavero to measure inclusion across a range of factors associated with deliberative democratic principles The logic is that political systems designed to accommodate communities in conflict will prioritise certain identities over others The aim of the book is to investigate how identities not directly associated with a conflict fare in a political system designed to manage identities in conflict The book looks comparatively at the conflicts in Kosovo and Northern Ireland then discusses approaches to conflict management describing how political institutions were designed in those contexts The themes of women and minority identities in those conflicts are then explored with a view to examining the extent of inclusion in the Northern Ireland and Kosovo Assemblies Deliberative Global Politics John S. Dryzek, 2006-10-20 Contending discourses underlie many of the worlds most intractable conflicts producing misery and violence This is especially true in the post 9 11 world However contending discourses can also open the way to greater dialogue in global civil society and across states and international organizations This possibility holds even for the most murderous sorts of conflicts in deeply divided societies In this timely and original book John Dryzek examines major contemporary conflicts in terms of clashing discourses Topics covered include the alleged clash of civilizations societies divided by ethnicity nationality or religion economic globalization versus resistance plus an in depth discussion of the war on

terror Dryzek concludes by highlighting the limitations of current neoconservative and cosmopolitan approaches arguing that only deliberative global politics offers unprecedented new possibilities for democratic engagement in the international system This book will be of interest to students and scholars of international relations politics philosophy and sociology

The Deliberative Impulse Andrew F. Smith, 2011-02-22 What can motivate citizens in divided societies to engage in free open and reasoned dialogue Attempts by philosophers to answer this question focus largely on elucidating what citizens owe to one another as free and equal citizens as members of a shared social context or as agents who are mutually dependent on one another for our well being In *The Deliberative Impulse Motivating Discourse in Divided Societies* Andrew F. Smith suggests that that a better answer can be offered in terms of what we owe to our convictions Given the defining role they play in how we live our lives and regard ourselves among the highest order interests that we maintain is being in a position to do right by our convictions to abide by conscience By developing a clear understanding of how best to act on this interest we see that we are well served by engaging in public deliberation Particularly for citizens in societies that are fragmented along ethnic cultural ideological and religious lines our interest in abiding by conscience should give us clear moral epistemic and religious incentives to deliberatively engage with allies and adversaries alike Scholars who focus on issues in political philosophy ethics and political theory will value this book for how it suggests we can overcome the motivational roadblocks to active political participation and robust deliberation *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook*

John Gastil, Peter Levine, 2005-06-29 *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook* is a terrific resource for democratic practitioners and theorists alike It combines rich case material from many cities and types of institutional settings with careful reflection on core principles It generates hope for a renewed democracy tempered with critical scholarship and political realism Most important this handbook opens a spacious window on the innovativeness of citizens in the U S and around the world and shows how the varied practices of deliberative democracy are part of a larger civic renewal movement **Islam,**

Democracy and Dialogue in Turkey Bora Kanra, 2009 Most deliberative democracy theorists neglect the importance of social learning and understanding Bora Kanra has combined deliberative theory with research from social psychology to develop an innovative critique and synthesis that incorporates social learning Groundbreaking and illuminating the volume focuses in particular on Turkey to stress the importance of the development of democratic dialogue in divided societies

Political Settlements in Divided Societies Christalla Yakinthou, 2009-07-23 The problem of how political settlements are to be adopted in divided or post conflict societies is one which is receiving growing attention as the international community increasingly views protracted intra state conflicts as carrying trans national consequences It is not only finding the most appropriate kind of political settlement that is so problematic but also how to reach the point where those proposals are adopted Cyprus provides an illuminating case study of these problems The object of many years of scrutiny and multiple sustained efforts at resolution of its division means that Cyprus can reveal a good deal about what impedes and what assists

progress towards a settlement The experiences of Cyprus therefore can offer lessons to both practitioners working on political solutions for divided and post conflict societies and to academics and others seeking to understand how conflicts become intractable where the primary impediments lie to successful constitutional architecture and how those impediments can be overcome The book offers answers for why political leaders in Cyprus have been so unwilling to adopt a power sharing solution In so doing it offers new material for the wider debate regarding constitutional design and adoption of peace plans in divided societies on the politics of institutionalising peace *Social Theory and Practice* ,2016 *Radical Democracy and the Internet* Lincoln Dahlberg,Eugenia Siapera,2007-05-22 In this systematic and mutual interrogation of radical democratic theory and Internet practice contributors examine a range of democratic theories in relation to online communication and explore how such communication may advance democracy beyond what is conceptualized and practised within present liberal capitalist political contexts **Persuasion, Integration, and Deliberative Democracy** Graham Wright,2024-10-31 It is easy to be in favor of a government that reflects the will of people you like It is more difficult to be in favor of a government that reflects the will of people you hate But this is precisely what democracy requires of us And one of the most serious threats facing democracy today in the United States and around the world is the discomfort that many citizens feel toward this core democratic principle that even those citizens we think of as evil deluded or simply wrong should still be allowed a say in what their own government does Perhaps the best hope of resolving this tension can be found in the idea of deliberative democracy which sees a particular form of non coercive dialogue as an essential component of democratic governance But in this book Graham Wright argues that the traditional approach to deliberation through persuasion faces serious challenges that may limit its potential in exactly the situations where the threats to democracy are greatest Instead he argues that an alternative method of deliberation based on the process of integration as described by the early 20th century philosopher Mary Parker Follett can do a better job of navigating these challenges and can help us make democratic decisions that better reflect the will of the whole people Persuasion Integration and Deliberative Democracy The Will of the Whole is a fresh approach to debates about the challenges of democracy and the value of democratic deliberation For anyone wanting to understand the dangers facing deeply divided societies this is an essential read *The Philosopher's Index* ,2008 Vols for 1969 include a section of abstracts *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* ,2008

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