

**CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND MINORITY RIGHTS IN DEMOCRATIC
STATES: A COMPARISON OF MULTICULTURALISM AND
CONSOCIATIONALISM**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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2013



Date: 29 July, 2013

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “Cultural Diversity and Minority Rights in Democratic States: A Comparison of Multiculturalism and Consociationalism” submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

SAHIDA KHAN

CERTIFICATE

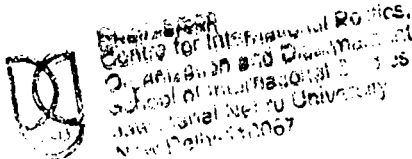
We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Supervisor



Dedicated to my 'Papaji'

Though you left me in the middle of this journey but I know your blessings and love has always been the source of encouragement and inspiration for me to accomplish this work on time.

Acknowledgement

I owe this dissertation to my supervisor Prof. Varun Sahni for his invaluable guidance, understanding and encouragement which he gave during the dissertation writing period. He is a constant source of inspiration and a provided me with tremendous enthusiasm to carry on my work. This work would not have been possible without his guidance. He guided me with patience and affection, and was a constant source of support both intellectually and emotionally and helped me in carefully organising the entire draft.

I hereby take this opportunity to express my indebtedness and heartfelt thanks to all the faculty and staff of the Centre of International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, Central Library staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University for extending their cooperation and valuable suggestions for this work. Their contribution will always be remembered with great modesty.

From the core of my heart I would like to thank some special people who helped and supported me morally and constantly encouraged me to continue my work patiently. I would like to thank Prof. Ashok Acharya, University of Delhi and Will Kymlicka, Queens University for helping me out regarding the study material and solving my queries. I also take this opportunity to express my humble thanks to Shilpa Asopa and Rishika Chauhan, and Binay Kumar for helping me out with the work. I am thankful to Asif Iqbal, Mohammad Tayyab Siddiqui, Jawed Anwer Sir, Arshad Arsh, Mohan Lal Meena, Surbhi, Awadhesh, Gurpreet Singh and Tarsem Sidhu for their selfless cooperation and moral support.

I cherish the love, affection and blessings of my family member, whom I find always on my side whenever I feel low. Their words have always been proven to be the strength of mine. I am very grateful to my parents, my grandfather, my elder brothers and sister, my uncle-aunty, my cousins for their constant blessings which smoothly made my work possible. Last but not the least I pay my gratitude to almighty "Allah" the most beneficent, because of his grace things flowed smoothly.

29th July 2013

Sahida Khan

New Delhi

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Abbreviations

BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CCSG	Chicago Cultural Studies Group
DBL	Double below Poverty Line
ERIC	Education Resources Information Centre
EU	European Union
FCNM	Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minority
HDZ	Croatian Democratic Union
IHFHR	International Helsinki Federation of Human Rights
MCP	Multi Cultural Policies
MPI	Multicultural Policy Index
MFFW	Marwin Frost's Former Website
MNREGA	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Schemes
MRGI	Minority Rights groups International
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
OBC	Other Backward Castes
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OHCHR	The Office of the High commissioner of the Human Right
PSU	Public Sector Unit
RS	Republic Srpska
SDA	Party of Democratic Union
SDR	Strategic Defence Review White Paper
SIDBI	Small Industries Development Bank of India
SC/ST	Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes

SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Right
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER- 1

INTRODUCTION

The major problem of our times is how we can better deal with the social-cultural diversity in liberal democratic societies and how we equate it with the desire of the political equality. The fundamental tenets upon which liberal states are premised are very controversial in their nature. For instance, most of the liberal democratic states have adopted the principle of universal citizenship; this principle is based on the notion that all people are free and equal citizens of a political community. However, this seems to be the very big limitation of this principle, because it just generalises the people without taking into account their differences as they belong to different socio-cultural backgrounds like caste, gender, class, race, religion etc. Even legally, all citizens are equal before the law. Therefore, from this perspective also nobody or no specific group of people is going to get privileges on the afore mentioned backgrounds. It is the need of the hour that there should be provisions for these minorities or ethnic-linguistic groups with regard to protecting their individual selves.

Today, countries have become very heterogeneous in their population. People are moving from one place to another for various reasons. Therefore, the existence of cultural diversity has become a very natural phenomenon for every country. Apart from this, the new development such as globalisation also has played a very crucial role in making countries more diverse in their population. The people who are migrating from one country to another can have various reasons of migration, such as in search of employment, due to the threat of life, asylum seekers and so on. But the gray side of the story is that when these people are asked to assimilate themselves in the majority culture. The situation get worse if people who are in a minority resist assimilation and want to secure their particular way of living life according to their specific culture mores. Although, these liberal democratic states are known for their equal treatment of all citizens, assimilation is very apparent in these countries in the name of securing human right prerogatives. These countries treat each and every person equally without keeping

in mind their uniqueness which differentiates them from the other cultural ethnic groups. These culturally diverse groups have their own *sui generis* way of living which needs to be protected. The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression (2005) encourages states to incorporate culture as a strategic element in national and international development policies and to adopt measures which need to be aimed at protecting and promoting the diversity of cultural expression within the territory (UN 2010). The prime aim of this convention is to provide recognition and equal respect for all cultures, especially for person from minority communities, allowing them to create, produce, disseminate, and distribute their cultural expressions without any hesitation.

The concept of cultural diversity is comprehensive in its actual meaning; it consists of various ways of being different. For instance, Kymlicka talks about the two patterns of cultural diversity which consist of national minorities and ethnic groups. An ethnic group might be the part of a national minority. The basic distinction between the both is that the existence of the ethnic groups comes into being because of their voluntarily migration whereas national minorities are most of the time involuntarily incorporated into the larger political community (Ehrentraut 2004). National minorities always have a strong desire to maintain their distinct culture. In order to achieve this distinctness, they demand some form of autonomy and various other self government rights (Kymlicka 1995: 10). On the other hand, in the case of ethnic groups the probability of assimilation is very high, as they have voluntarily migrated from one country and their prime aim is not to become a self-governing entity apart from the larger political community. As Kymlicka (1995: 11) points out:

While ethnic groups frequently demand greater recognition of their identity, their aim is not to become a separate and self governing nation alongside the larger society, but to modify the institutions and laws of the mainstream society to make them more accommodating of cultural differences.

Therefore, the core differences between the national minority and ethnic groups is that ethnic groups have already made up their mind in form of integration in the host country's culture and are also ready to negotiate with the terms and conditions of living which the host country offers to them, whereas national minorities have a strong desire to

establish themselves as a separate entity and even do not hesitate to create resistance if their rights are curtailed by the majority.

Therefore, cultural diversity includes in itself minority groups, ethnic groups, indigenous groups and various others types of groups. To preserve cultural diversity various international laws has already been made. Recognition and protection of minorities under international laws started with the League of Nations, as it has adopted various minority treaties. The United Nations has also adopted various treaties for the protection of minority rights such as United Nations Minorities Declaration which recognises and protects the rights of person's belonging to minorities. Even though various laws and treaties have been implemented, minority rights are far from being realised. Even today, minorities are victims of armed conflict. Persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious groups and linguistic groups often face multiple discriminations (UN 2010). It is also to be said that the laws and treaties which were adopted by the two international organisations were basically focuses upon the individual human rights, freedom, equality, and on the principle of non-discrimination. It is suggested that after the implementation of these procedures and programme no special provisions was needed to protect the rights of the minorities specifically.

Consequently, even today no universally agreed definition of minorities comes into being. In 1977 a definition of minorities was offered by the Francesco Capotorti, a Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Sub Commission or of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which defined minority as:

A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of the state in a non-dominant position, whose members- being nationals of the state- possess ethnic, religious, linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language (UN 2010: 2).

Some groups of individuals find themselves in situation similar to those of minority. These groups include migrant workers, refugees, stateless persons and other non nationals (OHCHR 2013). However, different international laws and treaties have been made to protect these various groups. The debates on the notion of group rights have

started from 1990 onwards which are intricately entangled around issues to protect the cultural differences. These developments are the manifestation of dissatisfaction with the contemporary liberal tradition in political theory for treating the individual only as the bearer of rights. The politics of minority rights and conflict over the politics of culture have emerged as the bearer of political life mainly in countries, which are characterised by the presiding value of individualism. There are various approaches which have been adopted by the liberal democratic states to better deal with the emerging demands of the cultural diversity and minority rights. This research work deals only with two such approaches, consociationalism (power sharing approach) and multiculturalism (which is a policy oriented approach). Both approaches have their own way of to dealing with the emerging cultural diversity and minorities rights demands. Multiculturalism's prime focus is upon the making policies which are helpful in securing rights of different cultural and minority groups. On the other hand, consociationalism's main focus is upon the institutional arrangements which try to protect cultural diversity and minority rights issues by implementing those multicultural policies which have actually been made to provide a secure social context in which they can develop themselves at their fullest.

Multiculturalism and consociationalism both are very sensitive to the collective identities in everyday life. Cultural community membership, according to the theorists of multiculturalism shapes individual experience. A secure cultural context is essential for development of the self.

Multiculturalists and consociationalists both argue that because a person's identity is linked to his cultural identity. Policies should be made keeping those cultural differences in mind. Only these policies can ensure the equality of cultural circumstances and diminish the prospects for cultural discrimination. Therefore, this research work compares the two theoretical bodies to ascertain which one provides better solutions to the problems of deeply divided societies. In certain social contexts institutions are more important and have a crucial role to play, whereas in other places policies play a more significant role. In certain social contexts only making multicultural policies can provide stability to the deep division whereas in other cases policies alone cannot do good. It can be possible that in some places neither approach can work alone. Therefore, sometimes it

would be better to have a combination of both the approaches to better solve the situations of deep divisions. This research work seeks to investigate how we can make the people of different culture groups and those who are in a minority full member of a political community by providing them social justice in every sphere of life.

There are a few responses comes from liberal theorists against the multiculturalists' critique of the liberal notion. David Miller (2000) and Brian Barry (2002) argue that multiculturalism is about the tyranny of cultural practices. They both argue that differentiated rights and nature of group identity both are not only dangerous for polity but also for the groups. Fair treatment as an equal citizen is a matter of rights. It should not be based on the benevolence of the majority community. Thus, multiculturalism and consociationalism engage with issues that are central to the democracy.

To provide solutions to these cultural diversity and minority rights issues, some liberal democracies have adopted the multicultural approach whereas others prefer the consociationalist power sharing approach. Moreover, in places where domestic conflicts arise, especially in developing countries, a consociational form of democracy is more likely to restore lasting peace. However, certain countries have managed diversity through consociationalism but the overall performance of such arrangements has remained mixed. Consociational democracy has not been successful in every case but in some cases it seems to be quite successful. As Lijphart argues, that consociational democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) with its evolved comprehensive consociationalism model has proved to be quite successful but, on the other hand, in Lebanon this is not the case.

It is to be assumed that consociational democracy can better provide the solution to multi ethnic issues and can ensure greater stability. Every country needs the mechanism to deal with the instability according to their condition but we cannot generalise the consociational power sharing mechanism everywhere.

Therefore, the question of how can we better deal with the multi-ethnic diversity issue becomes important. How can we make the people of different ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups (whatever kind of differences these groups may possess) full members

of the political community, through which they can protect their individual selves, and to better cope with the member of the other societies also to create more stable social and political order?

Review of the Literature:

There is a huge debate on cultural diversity and minority rights. At the end of the 1990s, the demand for group rights were being raised (Parekh 1992, 1995; Sandel 1982; Young 1997; Kymlicka 1995a, 1995b). Lots of group rights movements were initiated; their aim was to secure equal power sharing in every sphere of life especially in socio-political arena.

Diversity and democracy are interwoven (Gray 1993). Diversities are not only explained but justified also, because every person or culture has a distinct vision of life. The presence of other cultures helps to broaden the base of democracy and make democracy more accessible to all. Diversity is mutually beneficial and makes people more sensitive towards other cultures (Mahajan 2010), However, there is also an assimilationist tendency which prevents the flourishing of one particular culture (Kymlicka 1995). Therefore, the inadequacy to recognise groups is a major shortcoming of liberal democratic states. This research work attempts to explore the institutional devices in practice that allows the political minority access to the decision making process in order to make them full member of a political community. This research work has chosen two theoretical bodies to tackle with these issues: multiculturalism which is a policy oriented approach, consociationalism which is a power sharing institutional approach. Multiculturalism gives primacy to policies whereas the consociational approach focuses upon setting up the institutional arrangements to provide solutions to these issues. Firstly, there is a need to understand what are the challenges and problems associated with cultural diversity and not recognising minority rights as a part of political or social community, as they are being sidelined by the liberal democratic institutions in the name of human rights prerogatives.

Earlier, nation states were to be considered as the root cause of conflict. Cultural diversity that we are facing today has its roots in nation states (Kymlicka 1996). Liberal democracies recognise claims for political participation, equal rights and political liberties but other forms of accommodation seem unacceptable (Gray 1993). In a democratic setting all citizens are equal before the law. Therefore, the liberal state has given them a common identity although citizens are not identical to each other. Therefore, besides political citizenship, cultural community membership also exists and is needed (Appiah 2006; Sen 1998). Sometimes, this cultural identity is based on negative scripts, such as the Afro- American identity in the US. Minorities do not have access to resources and opportunities or they are forced to assimilate thereby create a sense of resentment and distance from the state and the rest of society (Simonson 2005). Therefore, accommodation of these minority and culturally diverse groups is necessary so that a stable political order can be maintained and democratic settings can work properly. Appiah (1997) is right in arguing that respect for people's food and music does not guarantee that they will be treated with equal dignity. By accommodating them, these groups will no longer provide threat to democratic working (Kymlicka 1995a, 1996; Gray 1998).

Multiculturalism is about group rights, whether the group is major or minor in the population. Many groups exist in society as the world becomes progressively more interdependent and interconnected by technological advancement. Therefore, it has become necessary to grants rights and recognition to different cultural groups. This research work tries to show that issues regarding cultural diversity and minority rights might be better dealt with by using the right combination of consociationalism and multiculturalism. Both approaches believe in securing cultural diversity and minority rights. How they do so and the solutions that they provide are matters of concern. Multiculturalism focuses only upon making multicultural policies to secure cultural diversity and minority rights of the people. The prime focus of consociationalism is to legalise the provisions for minorities. Multiculturalism, by contrast, seeks to make room for cultural diversity without officialising it (Berghe 1999).

Democratic settings are primarily based on certain liberal assumptions, such as universal citizenship, concept of nation states or the rational individual (Taylor 1994; Sandal 1982). Liberals have a firm belief that rational individuals are capable of making their life plans so a limited state role is preferred. Public sphere is different from the private, with no particular group rights granted to the people. Therefore, all individuals are equal in front of state. If a state were to provide any specific rights to a citizen then it would be considered as partiality or discrimination. But in today's globalised world no country can live in isolation. People are travelling from one place to another for economic and the other reasons. Migrants a source become a source of cultural diversity and want some basic group rights for their better living. Without these particular rights they cannot easily run their life because these are the customary practices without which their existence comes into threat (Mahajan 2010; Young 1998; Kymlicka 1995a, 1995b).

It has therefore become a serious issue for democratic states to provide such rights to cultural groups which are very necessary to their existence. The two approaches multiculturalism and consociationalism deal with these issues seriously in democratic states. Multiculturalist as well as consociationalist theories are ready to accommodate cultural markers or differences but in different ways (Lijphart 1977, 2002, 2004, 2007; McGarry and O'Leary 2004, 2009; McGarry 2006; Kymlicka 1995a; Young 1990, 2000; Mahajan 2010).

Multiculturalism in descriptive terms refers to the cultural diversity arising out of racial, ethnic or language differences (Kumar 2005). It is very sensitive to the collective identities in everyday life. Cultural community membership, according to the theorists of multiculturalism shape individual experience. A secure cultural context is essential for development of the self. Multiculturalists attack the liberal notion of democracy as majority rule and question it, and also made a robust claim against the liberal notion of the neglect of community membership of individual.

By critiquing the liberal notion of 'common good', communitarians give primacy to participation over rights whereas multiculturalists primarily focuses on the protection of cultural identity and support the regime that is helpful in protecting the group differentiated rights (Sandel 1982, Taylor 1994). The liberal idea of political-legal

equality claims universality on the ground that such rights are equal and equivalent for each individual regardless of their status. We can argue that there should be capacity to exercise rationality and this capacity can only be gained through differentiated rights (Young 1990), which they think according to their culture as rational. They should have the full liberty to exercise those practices. But multiculturalists are also criticised because sometimes the groups rights which they are advocating can be the bearer of new types of discrimination or lead to the different kinds of cultural tyranny, as Appiah (1994: 134) argues that don't let these cultural identity to become the source of other kind of cultural tyranny.

Will Kymlicka (1996:155) explains that in multicultural societies there are lots of multicultural group and these groups are important for their members only. Among these groups some are in a minority or in danger either because they are neglected or in the danger for assimilation. Kymlicka argues that minority culture should be protected through various means. How can we make the political community more inclusive in nature or how can we accommodate with the diversity of culture? Sometimes in a democratic state the minority community dominates over the majority because it has control over the country's resources economically and politically possesses a better position in society. Therefore, it is not the case that every time a minority in need. Sometimes it becomes necessary to protect majority rights because the group are in numerical majority is nevertheless being marginalised, as we see in the case of Burundi (UNHRC 2010). In such cases there is a need to make provisions for the majority in the same manner as we make for minority people to bring them into the mainstream.

There are a few responses from liberal theorists against the multiculturalist critique of the liberal notion. Miller (2000) and Barry (2002) argue that multiculturalism is just like the tyranny of cultural practices, therefore both criticise the multiculturalism. They both argue that differentiated rights and the nature of group identity are not only dangerous for the polity but also for the groups. Miller argues that group dynamics are flexible and it is the individual who changes loyalties from one particular group to another. Therefore, it is not easy to identify these groups (Kumar 2005).

On the other hand, Berry (1995) focuses on universalism and favours particularism in the special context, as he supports the continuation of affirmative action. He argues that there is no unanimity among the multiculturalists. As we have seen Young and Kymlicka make separation among group rights. Berry argues that these claims for group rights divert our conscience from universalistic goals. In reality these are not the political program and the demand for group rights not only destroys the circumstances which bring people together but also destroys the equality of resources. Thus, it keeps the individual in a condition of disadvantage.

No political community is homogenous. Within a political community we find multiple cultural groups. Some of them are in a minority and therefore, these vulnerable cultures are important for the individual. It is the responsibility of the state to protect these cultures (Appiah 2006: UNDP 2004). The one way to make minority culture vulnerable is to deprive its members of community either by asking them to assimilate or through deliberate destruction. Without the cultural community the individual is vulnerable, so the first development which marks contemporary political theory is to recognise plurality or diversity. Valuing difference and the importance of pluralism, national assimilation is backward and politically incorrect. People have a right to their culture and we should value it. This is the approach of multiculturalism as well as consociationalism. We see that multiculturalism is considered an utopian and policy oriented approach while consociationalism is an institution based approach. A democratic state can adopt both the approaches to deal with its cultural problems. If a democratic states is not securing cultural rights or recognising the rights of its indigenous people than it has no right to be considered as democratic (Julia Paliscanova 2007). A democratic state can only be democratic when it provides rights and make provisions for the peaceful social and political life for culturally diversified groups. France is a democratic country but it has not successfully integrated its foreign population, especially the one that was born in the country.

Political community's other feature is that all member are not full member if they are disadvantaged either as because belong to the minority community or because they are historically disadvantaged or because they are the vulnerable section of the community

like women. Therefore, it is necessary now to give proper recognition to these vulnerable sections of society, otherwise it can threaten the democratic workings of a country. We can do it through reservation which could be on a certain basis and it can be for women, for certain castes, for religious minorities, etc. (Young 1990, 2000). Multiculturalism look at these issues but consociationalism does not. But there are a few responses that come from the liberal theorist against the multiculturalist critique of liberal notion (Barry 2002, Miller 2000).

To better deal with the cultural diversity and minority rights issues, Kymlicka (1996) suggests three solutions. By making provision for self government, providing polyethnic rights to immigrants, special group representation can be another way to bring them into mainstream. Multicultural policies are designed to be permanent measures, because a person's identity is linked to his cultural community identity according to the multiculturalists. Such policies ensure equality of cultural circumstances and diminish the prospects for cultural discrimination.

On the other hand, Anthony Appiah (1994) argues that individual identities are dialogically shaped, as Taylor also mentions, therefore these identities can be based on negative scripts. When a society wrongly identifies other groups, we call this the negative norms of identification. These types of practices also threaten the democratic working. Hence, there is a need for constructing positive norms. These liberal multiculturalists authors are not discounting the role of the community but at the same time they also argue that we should not let our racial cultural identities subject us to new tyrannies. Therefore, as Amartya Sen (1998) argues, there is a need for reason before identity. He talks about the communitarian critique but also the Rawlsian approach itself must provide room for choice and reasoning in dealing with our diverse affiliations and identities. Even though social identities are important, there still is a need to reason out and then claim an identity.

Therefore, to deal with these multi-ethnic issues the search for a democratic model that helps stabilise and pacify deeply divided societies has inspired a plethora of writings. Various studies have argued, especially from the 1960s onwards, that it was possible to engineer stability in inherently unstable and deeply divided societies. These studies are

commonly based on the concepts of consociation, power sharing and negotiations and making multicultural policies. It is to be argued that majoritarian party-systems do not fit in with multi-ethnic states divided along ethnic, linguistic or religious lines. This is why an alternative model, which bridges the gap between fragmentation and stability, should be applied to these fragmented societies. Here, the focus of this research work is upon the consociationalism (power sharing) approach which has been closely associated with the writings of Arend Lijphart (1981,1982), G. Lehmbruch (1974), H. Daalder (1974), Jurg Stiner, and more recently with those of John McGarry and Brenden O'Leary (2004a, 2004b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009). Lijphart began to examine this particular type of democratic system in greater detail for the first time in the late 1960s, making reference to the political systems of Scandinavian countries and of the Netherlands and Belgium (Lijphart 1968, 1969). Lijphart has chosen the cases which are relatively peaceful and which have a long tradition of democracy (Lijphart 1977). Thereafter, it becomes necessary to take other case of democracies which are newly emerged after facing conflictual situation such as Lebanon, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Burundi. Thus, consociational democracy is no longer considered to be the phenomenon of developed countries but has become very common in developing countries. It has proven to be a viable solution to cultural diversity issues (Reilly 2001; Sisk 2008). This research work has taken the cases of two developed and two developing countries which are democratic in nature but still have different ways to deal with cultural diversity and minority issues. One developed country is France, and second is Belgium. These two countries have different policy recommendations for the minority and cultural diversity issues. When we analyse the literature then we find that Belgium is more liberal in making provisions and policies for minority safeguard than France (Tolley 2010). France is considered to be an example of multiculturalism. But the Belgium, which has the power sharing approach of consociationalism, is better dealing with the cultural and minority issues rather than France. France is one of the European countries which has a weak record about minorities as it suggests that it does not consist of any minorities (IHFHR 2002). It has been observed that western countries are facing more ethnic conflict than ever before (Esman 1977). On the other hand, among developing countries this research work has chosen Lebanon and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Where Lebanon is a failed cases of

consociationalism (Makdisi and Marktanner 2008), Bosnia and Herzegovina presents a successful implementation of the consociational method (Weller and Wolff 2006; Bildt 1997). Both countries have cultural diversity yet and come up with different outcomes result after applying the power sharing approach.

Lijphart (1996) identified four features shared by consociational systems- a grand coalition government (between parties from different segments of society), segmental autonomy (in cultural sector), proportionality (in the voting system and in public sector employment), and minority veto. These characteristics more or less prominently, were exhibited by all the classic example of Consociationalism: Lebanon, Cyprus, Switzerland, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Fiji, and Malaysia. With some of these consociations having failed, like Lebanon, Cyprus and Fiji.

Lijphart sought to establish a framework for accommodation that was both empirical and normative in form. He argued that for deeply divided places, majority rule is akin to majority dictatorship and that instead such places require an emphasis on consensus rather than opposition and on inclusion rather than exclusion (Lijphart 1996). Arendt Lijphart (1977) his model premised on processes of elite cooperation and assumes that conflict between the different segments of society can be resolved by the policies of collaboration among the representative of the different segments within the polity. Similarly, Brendon O'Leary (2002), suggests that consociation can be viewed as a polity in which at least two communities peacefully co-exist, with none being institutionally superior to the other, and in which the relevant communities co-operate politically through self government and shared government.

But lots of disagreements with Lijphart views have emerged scholars like Ghai and Cottrell (2008) and Jarshad (2008) argue that the consociational model of power sharing just freezes the division by group representation. Power sharing is the best but is not the only possible form of democracy for non-homogeneous societies. Jarshad argues that for implementing power sharing, a country needs external support which minimises the importance of local leadership. Sisk is in favour of it if external intervention brings peace through democratisation of these countries. This view seems to find growing support in the international community. The consociational democracy has been criticised for

various methodological, theoretical and empirical reasons. The most damaging criticism revolves around Lijphart's 'self negating prophecy'. It is generally argued that the enlightened role of the elite is amplified beyond bounds. Furthermore, the variable deemphasises the historical role when it comes to establishing the power sharing model. Various analysts have thus pondered whether some cultures are internally predisposed to power sharing and whether there are some multiethnic configurations, which work as catalyst where consociational arrangements, are inevitably doomed to collapse. It is true to some extent in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (under the 1995 Dayton Accord) and not in Lebanon or in Iraq.

The Consociational model has also been criticised for its lessened democratic elements (Schendelen 1974). It is also argued that successful consociational cases, in which solid links between stability and democracy have been empirically tested, are indeed rare. As we see in the case of Lebanon, as long as this sectarian model will remain in place, Lebanon will remain vulnerable to destabilising external forces. Moreover, the claim that elites are always enlightened and that they act in the best interest of their society is controversial. Brian Barry (1975) argues that it is reckless and it would inevitably result in citizens lining up behind extremist leaders and which would in turn lead to the instability. Hence, Lijphart's variable of elite engineering cannot provide a sufficient tool for crafting stability in a deeply divided society.

Therefore, a newly developed version of the traditional consociational approach has evolved over a period of time, known as comprehensive consociationalism. This not only include sub systemic variable to stabilise the deep conflictual situations but systemic variables too. Therefore, it can prove to be the great measure to stabilise the deeply divided society. Power sharing democracy only can work when the surrounding environment is relatively tranquil such as in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In deeply divided societies situated in agitated regions, it is to be said that consociationalism is more bound to external variables than to domestic dynamics.

Therefore, in the light of these arguments, one is compelled to revisit the prescriptive potential of these two approaches, and also to analyse their applicability in deeply divided societies. There is needed to look at the on the aspect that portraying these models as the

only solution to culturally fragmented states. The literature cited above will help to understand and analyse the issues relating to cultural diversity and minority rights in democratic states by using the approaches of multiculturalism and consociationalism. While a lot of literatures exists dealing with cultural diversity and minority issues in democratic states through the lenses of multiculturalism and consociationalism, but most of these literatures separately take up these issues. The aim of this research is to bring these two approaches together and to compare and contrast them. Does consociationalism or multiculturalism theory better deal with these issues or provide a viable solution for them? The Sachar Committee report in the Indian context provides an example. This research work tries to analyse these approaches and compare and contrast them and also apply its findings to four concrete cases.

Rationale method and Organisation:

The study is intended to probe the internal debates among the democratic states regarding cultural diversity and minority rights. How does the comparative study of multiculturalism and consociationalism provide a solution for these multi-ethnic issues? The study will deal with these aspects. The issues of multiculturalism have become more deviant in the present scenario. We can see the demand for regional autonomy and self determination raised by the different ethnic and religious minority groups. It is the need of the hour to make these groups full members of the political community. Although multicultural democracy makes provision for these diverse groups, there is a need to exercise these laws in a practical way by institutionalising them through the consociational means in order to provide social justice. In the era of globalisation no country can live in isolation from other countries. Therefore, every country needs the 'discourse ethics', the claim made by the Habermass (1983). Every voice should be included in the decision making. Nobody should be left out from the discourse. However, consociational democracy provides a good rationale for accommodation with these ethnic, linguistic and religious groups but practical implementation of these laws is necessary. On the other hand, having multicultural democracy does not necessarily lead towards stability. Therefore, what we need is the right combination of both the

approaches. There is a need to improve the moral psychology of the people. Toleration becomes a necessary exercise in that regard.

Multiculturalism is significant for highlighting the role of culture in people's lives; nevertheless, it shares a lot with republicanism and communitarianism. Not original in its claim, the philosophical position of multiculturalists is similar to communitarians because both affirm that individual identity is shaped by cultural values. However, cultural community membership remains a source of discrimination as Young (1998) argues. Nevertheless, multiculturalism is attractive because it is interested in the notion of democracy and in establishing egalitarian social order. All theories, whether liberal, republican, communitarian or multicultural have their own weaknesses and strengths but a fully adequate theory would need to be both normative and empirical, utopian and realistic. It would need to be attentive to the reality of the world. Hence, the calls for the particularism require coherent justifications and in that regard consociational democracy can be used as an instrument to distribute social justice. This research seeks to conceptualise the frameworks and their prospects and challenges in process of the dealing with these issues providing social justice and stability in a society, and to find out alternatives to overcome those challenges.

The central question of this dissertation is to analyse to what extent Consociationalist and Multicultural theories are successful in dealing with the issues of cultural diversity and minority rights. Does Multiculturalism provide a better solution or does Consociationalism (power sharing) method do well in democratic settings? Other related questions are:

Other related questions:

- What is multiculturalism, what are the problems and the advantages associated with it?
- Are multicultural theories successful in making people full members of a political community? What are the advantages and problems associated with it?

How is consociational democracy able to fill the gap in the multiculturalists claims in practicality?

- Is there any link between consociationalism and multiculturalism? Have they led everywhere to the same consequences. or we find variety in their effectiveness?
- Is diversity and Pluralism of a polity the sole driver of conflict or do other factors such as geographic dispersion or concentration of groups and the number of politically significant groups have some role to play?

Hypothesis:

1. Group specific rights and cultural diversity are posing a serious threat to the working of the democratic mechanism.
2. While consociational democracy may be an important conflict management tool in situations of deep division, it is best able to promote political stability when it functions as a part of a larger comprehensive conflict managing package.

Research Methodology:

This research will be conducted through explanatory, analytical and historical approach. It will deal with the growing phenomena of minority rights and cultural diversity, exploring them with various dimensions to deal with these issues. Keeping the above ideas and questions in view, the proposed research will primarily employ secondary sources to get an extensive knowledge in the field. Along with this employment of secondary sources, the research would also rely on primary resources: government foreign policy documents and statements, parliamentary debates, political speeches, treaties and agreements, interview reports, historical biographies and organisational policy papers, protocols and procedures of government conferences, to understand the questions which have been rising in this proposal. The proposed study is a theoretical and analytical in its nature.

The next chapter focuses upon the conceptual understanding of multiculturalism, and what are the problems and advantages associated with it. After providing the theoretical background, the chapter will look into the debate between multiculturalists and liberals. Therefore, this chapter deals with the intellectual conflict that persists between liberals and multiculturalists.

The third chapter details the conceptual understanding of Consociationalism: how it has evolved over a period of time as tool for managing conflict? How it has developed from the traditional power sharing approach to the comprehensive power sharing approach and also how it is different from the other power sharing approaches such as centripetalism. This chapter also discusses the problems and advantages associated with both. That is how these two chapters provide a theoretical background to understanding the meaning and conceptual understanding of both the approaches.

The fourth chapter tries to find link between the two approaches (Multiculturalism and Consociationalism). The prime focus of this chapter is to compare both the approaches through the lens of the Sachar Committee Report which has been released in the Indian context and is a robust example of the mixture of the both approaches as its recommendations not only include multicultural recommendations but also consociational ones too. Thereafter, this chapter will apply the findings of the Sachar Committee Report to four case studies: France, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Lebanon. Among them two are developing countries and other two are developed countries. The chapter tries to assess the situations of cultural diversity and minority rights in these countries through the various mechanisms that these two approaches possess.

Among the four case studies, France is a developed country which is a republican democracy whose focus is upon only making multicultural policies. France is unwilling to make institutional arrangements for providing solutions to the cultural diversity and minority issues. It can only make these provisions in the name of improving socio-economic conditions of the different cultural, ethnic or minority groups rather than giving them the name of securing diversity and cultural ethnic rights. Belgium has the features of both the approaches. While Belgium deals better with cultural diversity and minority

rights issues, there are still various issues which remain. For instance, treating and providing equal status to the Roma community continues to be the crucial issue in which Belgium has not been able to provide justice. Apart from this there are two more cases which are Bosnia and Herzegovina and Lebanon. These cases are perfect cases of consociational approach, but they have thrown different outcomes. Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered as a successful example of consociational democracy. Lebanon, however, has implemented consociational arrangements but they still have not had much success in dealing with cultural diversity and minority issues. The factors which foster deep conflict in Lebanon remain as they were. Just as the France shown that having multicultural institutional arrangements cannot provide adequate solutions to these issues, similarly consociational arrangements alone cannot do good to culturally diverse situations and minority communities. Rather, what we need is the right combination of both policies and institutions. Thereafter, these liberal democratic states will be able to provide a secure context in which they can develop their self in a well mannered way.

Therefore, the fourth chapter analyses, how far multiculturalism and consociationalism, as tools of conflict management, have been successful in dealing with cultural diversity and minority rights issues. The chapter advances the argument that every approach has their own strength and weakness and that but neither approach can work alone. What we need is the right combination of both. However, the consociational approach has gain credence over multiculturalism: while the policy recommendations of multiculturalism are crucial, it is *consociationalism* which makes these recommendations in practical terms by officially legalising the provisions.

In the reminder of the thesis, I advance three interrelated claims. The first is multiculturalism and consociationalism have their own strengths and weaknesses, no approach is flawless. Multiculturalism is unable to deal with cultural diversity and minority rights issues, as there are no such provisions to legalise these policies. However, consociationalism can work alone but not in efficient way but better than the way multiculturalism alone does. Second, applying the consociational (power sharing) approach in different liberal democratic countries does not lead towards the same

outcome everywhere: the internal factors in combination with external factors create such specific background conditions which lead to the major differences in outcome. Third, multiculturalism and consociationalism cannot work in isolation, If a liberal democratic state wants to deal efficiently with cultural diversity and minority rights issues, then the right combination of the both the approaches must be in place. In other words, effective multicultural policies in combination with the efficient consociational institutions can make larger differences which they alone cannot do.

CHAPTER 2

MULTICULTURALISM: THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY

Accommodating people's growing demands for their inclusion in society, for respect of their ethnicity, religion, and language, takes more than democracy and equitable growth. Also needed are multicultural policies that recognise differences, champion diversity and promote cultural freedoms, so that all people can choose to speak their language, practice their religion, and participate in shaping their culture- so that all people can choose to be who they are.

-Human Development Report 2004: 1

Accommodating cultural diversity is the need of hour. If a democratic state is unable to cope with all these identities then it no longer has a right to be known as democratic. Hence, for a democracy it is very essential to recognise each and every cultural voice. Multicultural policies provide a tool to accommodate these kinds of demands which are arising in different spheres of life. These include the demand for political recognition, self determination, having cultural provisions in school curricula, dual citizenship and exemption provisions for certain cultural activities. Therefore, it has become crucial for a state to provide facilities to cultural and ethnic minorities so that they can feel themselves to be full members of a community.

Multiculturalism is a very contested word in the contemporary world. It started to gain credence in the last decades of the 20th century. This notion has evolved in Canada in late 1960s. After the end of the Cold War many states become newly independent after a long cultural revolution such as Latvia and Lithuania. These states wanted their self determination rights so that they could rule their own people in accordance with, and by securing them their cultural ethnic distinctiveness. On the other hand, due to the globalisation process, various kinds of flows for economic, social, political and cultural reasons has resulted in people moving from one country to the other. Consequently,

immigration is happening at a large scale but it can be of two types; voluntarily, or because of insecurity in a particular country.

Every democratic state is becoming more diverse in nature and internally divided by ethnicity, nationality, religion, language or race. The ideology of liberal democratic state comes into question. Whether it is successful in accommodating the demands of various ethnic linguistic and cultural groups whose existence comes into threat just because of this ideology. Therefore, there are number of reasons for adopting multicultural policies in democratic states, such as to provide justice to immigrants and indigenous people whom are being marginalised and feeling the brunt of impoverishment, making them the most vulnerable groups in society. It seems very clear that their ways of living life are not very general in their nature, and not very open to accepting modernity. Therefore, they have acute desire to sustain their specific ways of living life including the preservation of all their ritual mores which are the symbol of their uniqueness. In this process, they demand land rights, cultural rights, self governing rights which help in maintaining their uniqueness.

In the present scenario, these multicultural rights have also gained recognition at the international level. Many international organisations have recognised indigenous rights such as International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention 169 and the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Right of Indigenous People (Anaya 1996). International financial institutions have adopted policies to recognise the specific rights of indigenous people. Therefore, after gaining acknowledgment at the international level it has become mandatory for every member state, within international organisations to follow all policy prescription. The state has now become the focus: its action has become crucial in maintaining and sustaining these policies.

There are many scholar who have contributed to this field the well known being are Will Kymlicka (1989, 1995a, 1995b, 2003), Charles Taylor (1994), Amartya Sen (1998), Anthony Appiah (1994, 1997, 2001) and Irish Marion Young (1998, 2000). The scholar firstly who theorised the rights of cultural minorities is Will Kymlicka (Ehrentraut 2004).

This chapter focuses upon the multicultural approach and assesses how far this approach provides better solution to multicultural issues which most countries are encountering these days. It starts with the conceptual understanding of multiculturalism and is followed by the debate between liberals and multiculturalists. It will also examine the counter responses by the liberals to multiculturalists and the problems and advantages associated with this approach.

Multiculturalism: An Introduction

The question of multiculturalism has been central to the political debate since 1990 onwards. There has been continuous discussion among scholars on whether it should be considered as a meeting ground of different cultural groups or as a battle ground (Takaki 1993), working as a catalyst in creating conflictual relationship. In other words, does the ideology of multiculturalism bring various groups together or has it invented new ways of hatred among different sections of society. This question has become central to the multicultural debate.

As we have seen multiculturalism has been constantly misused and misunderstood, different scholars using it according to their conscience or convenience. This has left room for various interpretations of its meaning. But no clear definition has yet emerged. The definition by Caleb Rosado (1996:2) encompasses all aspects of multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism is a system of belief and behaviours that recognises and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organisation or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organisation or society.

Multiculturalism is an approach which focuses upon the recognition of and respect for all groups which at point of time are existing in a particular society. The same approach should apply to organisations; every voice should be included in the decision making process and no one should be left out (Benhabib 1994).

Multiculturalism and the politics of cultural identity emerged out from the history of assimilation, integration and immersion. These phenomena prevented different cultural

adheres to come close. The meaning of multiculturalism has been variously interpreted, and in very conflicting ways. Broadly speaking, the multicultural approach is a response against to all kinds of assimilationist tendencies of monoculturalism (Goldberg 1994). Multiculturalism, as Peter Caws shows, may be used in a descriptive fashion to give recognition to a variety of cultures intra and internationally.

Multiculturalism as an explanatory term refers to the cultural diversity occurring out of racial, ethnic or language differences. On the other hand, in a realistic manner; multiculturalism implies a positive adaptation of communal diversity, based on the rights of different cultural groups to respect or recognition. It gives importance to the collective identities in everyday life. Cultural community membership, according to theorist of multiculturalism shapes individual experience and that a secure cultural context is essential for development of the self (Chandhoke 2010). In other words according to the 'multiculturalism is a public policy approach for managing cultural diversity in a multiethnic society, formally stressing mutual respect and tolerance for cultural differences within a country's borders' (MFFW 2013).

Multiculturalism has various forms such as critical, liberal, and conservative multiculturalism (McLaren 1993). These different sets of views differ in their understanding. Conservative multiculturalism can be seen as an ideology of North America and Europe towards African-Americans, to see them as a denigrated people such as slaves, servants and entertainers as Thomas Jefferson discussed in his 'The Notes on the State of Virginia' in 1780s . This view towards African-Americans shows the imperialist and racial character of Western nations (Naureckas 1993). Even though they see them as different, they do so but with no respect and this is apparently racial behaviour. This type of racial behaviour continues till today. Fredrick A. Goodwin, a research psychiatrist at the National Institute for Mental Health, used animal findings to compare youth gangs to groups of hyper-aggressive and hypersexual monkeys. Goodwin Comments that, 'may be it isn't just the careless use of words when people call certain areas of certain cities, 'jungles' (McLaren 1993: 47).' The central aim of conservative multiculturalism is to create a common culture, and the tools used are basically a

delegitimisation of foreign languages, of regional and ethnic dialects, and the underestimation and undermining of bilingual education systems.

Gramsci also talked about the system of 'normative grammar' where every utterance of particular language should be understood. Through these kinds of policies the state can easily establish linguistic compliance. The state can treat every language with equality and give them their fair share in the making of society by recognising them equally (Gardiner 1992).

Euro-American culture is considered to be the most superior culture. The one thing which needs to be noticed here is the meaning of 'diversity' which is taken by the conservative multiculturalists is entirely different from the present notion of 'diversity'. The writer like Diane Ravitch, Arthur Schlesinger Jr, Lyne V. Cheney, Chester Finn, and others use the term 'diversity' to wrap up the notion of assimilation in itself.

Ethnic groups are reduced to 'add-ons' to the dominant culture. Before you could be added on to the dominant US culture you must adopt the position that English should be the only official language and learn to accept the essentially Euro American patriarchal norms of the host country. (McLaren 1993:49)

Therefore, the notion of superiority and inferiority between two different cultures comes into the picture. Anglo-American culture is considered to be superior and very enlightened than so it is presumed that the universal norms must be based on this culture. Even though, they have recognised differences, it is with the sense of providing equality to other races which are not that Anglo-American culturally.

The second form of multiculturalism is liberal multiculturalism, which believed that all races are equal. According to the liberal multiculturalism individuals are equal and rational to make choices. This rationality allows individuals to compete equally in the capitalist system. The problem with this view is that it totally relies upon universal values which are most frequently based on Anglo-American culture. Since liberal multiculturalism strongly associates itself with Anglo-American culture, it might be suppressive of other cultures. Many writers have argued that Anglo American culture

does not provide equal opportunity for every one to compete in the marketplace, not only because of its undermining the importance of other races by not treating them equally, but also because social and educational institutions are not providing equal opportunity to compete equally in the marketplace (McLaren 1993). However, liberal multiculturalism does believe that through the reform we can alter the presently existing situations.

Liberal multiculturalism has other branch which is Left-Liberal Multiculturalism. Left-Liberal Multiculturalism mainly focuses upon the 'differences' and suggests that if we lay down more stress on the equality of races it will smother those important cultural differences between races that are responsible for the malign behaviour with races that are other than Anglo American culture (McLaren 1993). They argue that mainstream approaches have failed to recognise the cultural, ethnic, linguistic and sexual differences. The writers belong to this approach believe that differences exist but deny any types of 'differences' which are derived from historical and cultural background conditions. They do not see differences as the construction of social and historical phenomena. These left-liberal multiculturalists treat differences as an independent notion without taking into account their culture, history, and power. Akeel Bilgrami (2006) states that there are two conceptions about identity: 'subjective' and 'objective' identity. How one sees one's own self is the objective aspect of identity and how others perceive an individual is the subjective aspect of identity. Therefore, both aspects of identity play a crucial role in making the persons identity. As Charles Taylor (1994) argues identities are 'dialogically' shaped. There are women, homosexuals, lesbians and many more identities that are emerging day by day and people who endorse those kinds of identity find themselves central to the debate over identity politics. These people's identities are negatively recognised by others. Therefore, how one individual sees it is concomitantly associated with the perception of others, which is how others perceive them? And if we do not take into account the cultural, social and historical conditions in which these identities were made, then we are not doing justice with them. Amartya Sen does not agree with both communitarians and Liberals, arguing that both communitarian and Rawlsian must have to provide more room for the choice and reasoning, in dealing with our diverse affiliation and identities (Sen 1998: 31).

Here lots of criticism comes. An individual's identity is not only that which he perceives but also culture to which he or she belongs. In other words a person's identity construction depends on the culture which he carries with himself, through which other people evolve their views about that particular person. It is the social and historical memories of culture which play a crucial role in making other people perceptions and also the individuals. Amartya Sen (2009: 288) in his article *The Fog of Identity* contends that 'once the priority of a social affiliation (chosen or unchosen) accepted as an integral part of one's 'overall identity' (emphasis added), something substantial is lost.' Therefore, there is a need of reason before identity. However, there are many thinkers who adhere to the Aristotelian thought according to which a person's identity is determined by his or her social identity. This emerges not only from a person's social appearance but also from other people recognise him/her keeping in mind his/her social affiliations such as cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and many other types of affiliations.

A person's criterion of rational behaviour is evolved in the community to which the person belongs. Not only must the person's moral judgements be based on the values and norms of the community of which the person is a part, but also that these judgement can be ethically assessed only within those values and norms. This thought belongs to the communitarian approach in which community mores and values play significant role in constructing a person's identity. At the same time, it can be also to be argued that a community's cultural values may be the source of a tyranny for particular section of society such as Iris Marion Young suggests.

Communitarians and multiculturalists are somewhat similar in their argument. They both support the culturally differentiated rights, but multiculturalists goes far beyond the communitarian as some feminist multiculturalists emphasize on the 'tyranny of the cultural values' and can only be eradicated by offering women (which are significant number of population) differentiated cultural rights that will take care of the female or minorities culture understanding of society. What these people think also necessary to take into account in state laws.

Anther type of multiculturalism is 'critical multiculturalism' the term which is coined by the Peter McLaren (1993: 53). According to McLaren multiculturalism without the

transformative agenda politics of identity can not go far beyond. McLaren has based his thesis of multiculturalism on the postmodernist assertion that signs, their significance, and struggle over meaning are fundamentally unstable. They continuously change over time and it therefore depends how they have been articulated at a within particular stage in history.

The notion of critical multiculturalism is quite relevant in the present scenario. Critical multiculturalism is also known as 'Resistance Multiculturalism'. It is explicitly critical of liberal multiculturalism and of left liberal multiculturalism. Liberal multiculturalism talks about 'sameness' of every individual and left multiculturalists focus on 'differences'. Therefore, on these grounds the critical multiculturalists oppose their ideological thoughts.

However, critical multiculturalism lay stress on the notion of 'difference' and believes that difference is the product of history, culture, power, and ideology at various points in history. If we look at democracy from the critical multiculturalists point of view than we see that 'it is not seamless, smooth, or always harmonious political and cultural state of affairs' (Giroux and McLaren 1991). In other words, democracy is not always stable this is due to the various multicultural movements that constantly arise in a democratic regime. It has become great issue which needs to be resolved as soon as possible in order to provide social justice to all cultural- ethnic and linguistic minorities.

After analysing the different type of multiculturalism we can easily say that multiculturalists are not same in their claim. They vary and differ in their philosophy to deal with the issues related to cultural diversity but they end at the same point. Prime concern for them is to deal with the unjustifiable condition which cannot be tolerated in any situation. Therefore, according to the multiculturalists, the state must provide social justice through the multicultural policies to maintain stability in democratic societies.

Multiculturalists attacked the liberal strand of democracy which assumes democracy as majority rule and question it, and also make robust claim against the liberal notion for the neglect of community membership of individual. They share to some extent the ideology of Republicanism and Communitarians. As Republicanism focuses upon the argument

that government is the common business of the citizen for common good. Freedom and virtue are core elements. On the other side, communitarian emphasis on community rather than individual as a tool of political analysis, similar to multiculturalists (Kumar 2005).

Multiculturalists argue that because a person's identity is linked to his cultural identity, so policies should be made on that basis. Only such policies can ensure equality among all and will go hand in hand with the anti-discrimination process to provide justice to all.

Critique of the Liberal Notion of Universal Citizenship, Nation State and Majority Rule

Theories of multiculturalism have questioned the idea of universal citizenship and argued for 'differentiated citizenship'. Such a scheme according to the multiculturalists, not only limits cultural discrimination but also cherishes the promotion of cultural diversity. They argue that complete uniformity and sameness in the public domain entails cultural assimilations and this too is a mode of discrimination. They critique the universal citizenship notion because it does not support community membership apart from the state and focuses upon the ideal of homogenous public sphere. Instead of universal citizenship they favour the notion of differentiated citizenship under which everybody gets the differentiated rights (Kymlicka 1995). Secondly, they criticise the notion of the nation state and majority rule. They argue that through these policies minority group faces cultural discrimination, and majority enjoy special privileges either on the basis of past policies or on the current practices of these policies. Multiculturalists argue that there is no shared interest. The individual is not only a citizen but also a member of a community. Moreover, cultural diversity is not contrary to the common values of the society (Kymlicka and Norman 2000). Therefore, it will be in the interest of a nation state to accommodate all differences that are existing within the society like ethnic, linguistic and cultural pattern of living life. There can be a threat to a democratic society if it serves the interest particular section of the society. If we look at multiculturalism normatively, it provides access to genuine social reality.

In the above argument multiculturalists are quite similar to the republicans and communitarians. All three believe that liberal notion failed to give recognition to political community over the individual. Multiculturalists place the individual within their cultural community. They give importance to the community rather than the individual but if there is any clash between individual right and culture than importance should be given to the individual rights (Kymlicka 1995; Young 1990). Multiculturalists theorise the concept of a nation state by assuming that state will help to create the condition for good life and provide circumstances for the cooperation among the different groups. Therefore, the territorial nationalism concept is declining and a new notion has emerged which is ethno nationalism (Majeed 2002) which brilliantly represents the interests of diverse culture groups.

By critiquing the liberal notion of 'common good' communitarians gives primacy to participation over rights whereas multiculturalists primarily focuses on the protection of cultural identity and supported the regime that is helpful in protecting the group differentiated right (Sandel 1982; Taylor 1994). Liberal idea of political legal equality, grounded under the veneer of individual rights, claims universality on the ground that such right are equal and equivalent for each individual regardless of their status. We can argue that; firstly, there should be capacity to exercise the rationality and this capacity can only be gained through the differentiated rights (Young 1998), which they think is rational according to their culture. They should have the full liberty to exercise those practices.

Multiculturalism: Recognition V/s Redistribution

The debate between liberals and multiculturalists can be identified as the debate between Recognition and Redistribution. On the one hand, multiculturalists prime concerns is the recognition of different cultural groups the liberals focus upon the redistribution exclusively; where they demand states should treat all human equally in providing economic assistance. Kant (Hurrell 1990) and Rawls (1971, 1993) are the supporter of equal rights for all philosophy. The liberal theorists defend the multiculturalists critique

of liberal ideology. Miller and Brian Berry argue that multiculturalism is just like the tyranny of cultural practices therefore both criticises the multiculturalism on practical ground. Berry is in support of treating the disadvantaged differently but politicization of cultural identity should be avoided (Berry 2002). Berry is also in support of redistributionist ideology. They both argue that differentiated rights and nature of group identity both are not only dangerous for polity but also for the groups. Berry supports equality of all the sections within the society, but he claims that this could lead to parochialism. Therefore, the differences among person's identities need to be recognised.

Miller is against the identity politics because it keeps some on the privileges position at the cost of other. They believe that it is not necessary to give the political recognition to the social group with distinct identity. They argues that all group are different in terms of their characteristics or diversity in groups viz gender, class and caste and group dynamics is very flexible because it is the individual who shift his loyalties according to his wishes. Therefore, it is not easy to identify these groups.

Miller also rejects the argument made by feminist multiculturalists (Young 1990) that the public sphere is governed by the idea of reason. Women are not considered as rational as the men are. Therefore, most of the times their voices are not included in the decision making process. That leads to the exclusion of the claim based on the particular needs and desires of different section of the particular society. Nancy Fraser (2003) carries both the approaches together; as she claims that redistribution and recognition politics are interrelated to each other. She is agrees with Berry's claim of redistribution on equal grounds. But on the other hand, she also argues that social inequality has ramifications on the economic aspects of life too. As we noted, that women do not get equal pay for equal work (Peterson 2005). Fraser claims that human life is not a matter of choice between the two: it is the joint effort of redistribution and recognition which makes life worth living. Hence, she has propounded the 'perspectival dualism' concept, where both recognition and redistribution are complementary to each other. Axel Honneth who is poles apart from Fraser, argues that we one cannot unite the both rival traditions. Consequently, this would have an effect on the working of liberal democratic states as Berry argues that identity politics works as a hindrance in smooth working of welfare state. But to the

contrary, Amy Gutmann (2003) is quite positive about identity politics. She said that identity politics works as a catalyst in the making of welfare policies. Therefore, the debate is between recognition and redistribution politics. Where the liberals' prime focus is upon the redistribution policies, which should be based on equality. Multiculturalists (such as Honneth) focus upon the recognition politics. While Honneth argues that all harm that a man or woman is facing is due to the misrecognition, Berry contends that the harm issue, which is subject to legitimate political redressal is simply a matter of maldistribution (Pickett 2006).

But Fraser is not in support of a one sided view. She has made a claim that any efficient, workable approach needs a conglomeration of both the approaches. Honneth believes that recognition is not only the true force of history but also expresses scepticism about 'identity movements especially those that demand social esteem or respect rather than equal legal status' (Fraser and Honneth 2003:163).

Miller (2000) also challenges the claim that republican citizenship does not guarantee the protection of minorities interests as compared to the majority will. Instead of this, he argues that it could be a better way to deal with the minority interest, because it provides rights through the public deliberation. Similarly, Seyla Benhabib (1994) has also shows the importance of deliberation for the better working of democracy.

Berry (1995) focuses on universalism but favours particularism in special context, as he supports the continuation of affirmative action. He argues that there is no unanimity among the multiculturalists. Young (2000) and Kymlicka (1996) tend to make separation among group rights. Berry argues that these claims for group rights divert our mind from the universalistic goals. The demand for group rights not only destroys the circumstances which bring people together but also destroys the harmonious relationship between different groups. Thus, it keeps the individual in a condition of disadvantage.

Some of the claims made by liberals like Miller and Berry are quite valid. But it can be said that either of the two schools of thought are not strong and complete to be defended in isolation. Thus, within this gap we strongly need the use of differentiated rights which can provide justice to all these ethnic cultural minorities. Fair treatment as an equal

citizen is a matter of rights. It should not be based on the munificence of the majority community. Thus, multiculturalism engages with issues that are central to democracy.

Individual or the Community: A Matter of Priority

In the multiculturalist discussion, the terms which are central are 'community' and 'culture'. For an individual's self-development, the protection of community culture is a prior condition. For the protection of their culture, individual demand the group differentiated rights and also other kinds of provision such as regional autonomy, political representation, quota system in education, language rights and so on. But to the contrary, liberals argue that individual interests are prior to those of the community. Community is made of individuals and it is the individual who gives meaning to the community.

Aristotle argues that if an individual wants to live a good life than this desire can only be fulfilled in the community, because they get sense what is right or wrong only from within the community. One issue which needs to be noticed here is that if the community is already biased or patriarchal, then how can people judge what is right and wrong. That argument goes against the Aristotelian claim. Aristotle (2000) in his '*Nicomachean Ethics*' talks about the notion of 'Eudaimonia' which means 'happiness'. An individual would gain happiness only by living in a political community, because individuals can use their reason only within community and only be able to develop the virtues by living in a community. He argues that until and unless the individual is a member of political community, his self-development will not take place and remain incomplete. His concept of happiness is not related to the accumulation of material things but comes only by evolving virtue within community. Thus, political community plays a very important role in the development of individual self.

Hence, for Aristotle the relationship between individual and community is organic, but not for Hobbes. In *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes argues that this relationship is not organic but artificial; political community is created by the men. He argued that by nature individuals are asocial; they are not altruistic. Self preservation is the guiding principle of liberal theory. Therefore, people of the community set up the state institution for

protecting themselves by consent. For Hobbes and Locke, the individual is primary, not society. Human Beings have created the political community because of their self interests.

Later other communitarians like Michael Walzer (1992) and Michael Sandel (1982) critiqued the above theory. Michael Walzer argues in support of culturally differentiated rights and also in favour of critical multiculturalism. He makes a claim that 'critical multiculturalism is not simply a product of greater social and economic equality but that it represents more basically a programme for greater equality' (Walzer 1992). In other words the individual recognised by his/ her community and cultural values. Thus, the debate between liberals and communitarians is about whether community is more important than the individual or individual comes prior to the community.

Will Kymlicka (1995b) does not agree with either. He argues that the liberal individual is important because he/she is able to make a life plan, but community is also important, because it gives the individual the value on which basis they are made capable of making their life plan. He argues that even though community is important but if it clashes with the individual values then necessarily we should give importance to individual values. In his book *Multicultural Citizenship* Kymlicka argues that culture and community are important because they provide us the context and because of it he becomes capable of making our life plan. Culture also tells the individual what is right and wrong, but still if there we find any clash between the individual right and cultural community's values then we should give preference to individual rights.

Kymlicka argues that in multicultural society there are a lot of multicultural group exists and these groups are important for their members only. Among these groups some are in minority or in danger either because they are neglected or ask for assimilation. He argues that minority culture should be protected through various types. But how can we make political community more inclusive in its nature? How can we accommodate the diversity of culture?

For the full membership of political community it is important to recognise following.

Firstly, no political community is homogenous. Within a political community we find multiple cultural groups. Some of them are in a minority and therefore, the affiliation to their culture becomes stronger and they always feel insecure in the societal framework. It is the responsibility of the state to provide protection to these cultures (Appiah 2001). The one way to make minority culture vulnerable is to deprive them of community either by asking them to assimilate or through deliberate destruction. Without the cultural community the individual becomes vulnerable, the first development which marks on contemporary political theory is to recognize the notion of plurality and diversity, valuing the difference and importance of pluralism. National assimilation is detrimental for cultural groups and also considered as a politically incorrect strategy. People have right to these culture and we must value it.

Secondly, in a political community all members are not recognised as in a systematic and proper way. For example, a particular group is disadvantaged if they belong to a minority community, are historically disadvantaged or they are considered as the vulnerable sections of the community such as women etc. Therefore it is necessary to now recognize these vulnerable sections of the society .We can do it through reservation which could be on financial basis and it can be for women; for certain caste for religious minorities, but there is a need for check and balances mechanism. If by these kinds of provision their situation is an improvement in their situation then it needs to be decided whether they need further assistance or not. Nothing should be taken for granted.

Thirdly, a minority group member can become a full member of the community in the provision of ethnic federalism. All over the world it is now recognized that best way to dealing with pluralism and ethnic society is to favour the growth of the idea of federalism. Right of self government should be provided. Political community is always plural not homogenous. We cannot make universal civil code against the will of one particular community. So there should be room for the negotiations. As Gandhi argues that none of us know the truth. By toleration and negotiations we can achieve it. It not universal, it is constantly changing. Therefore, as Kymlicka (1995a) suggests there are three solutions:

1. Self government rights should be given to minority groups through which they can get some political autonomy and territorial jurisdiction which will be helpful in ensuring the development of their culture. These kinds of rights have been given in Australia and some parts of North America. Some provisions or special policies are made to protect community languages and other cultural values. This provision can suit those places where minorities are outnumbered by the majority and will ensure that their interests will not be sidelined by the majority groups.
2. Polyethnic rights should be provided for the immigrants groups. These types of rights ensure that minority have rights to their specific culture.
3. If in democratic countries we want to make representation more meaningful then there is the need for special group representation in decision making and also in terms of access to the resources. Young (1998) argues that this special representation should not only embrace cultural minorities but should include the handicapped, marginalised groups, sexual minorities and religious minorities also.

Multicultural policies are designed to be assumed to be permanent measure, because a person's identity is linked to his cultural community identity. For the multiculturalists, such policies ensure the equality of cultural circumstances and diminish the conditions for cultural discrimination.

Multiculturalism: Rhetoric and Reality

Multiculturalism's main focus is on the inclusiveness of different groups. No group should remain isolated from the decision making process, nor should it be the victim of discrimination by state policies (Benhabib 1994). The demand for justice is extremely important. A variety of mechanisms exist but each carry certain cost and benefits. Sometimes they are able to bring about harmonious relationship between different groups but this not the case everywhere. Cultural conflict has upstaged class conflict. The 'Politics of Correctness' and 'Politics of Identity' are reaching their heights. Ethnic minority groups are not alone in advocating change but there are various institutions and

policies that have thrown light on these rights and totally in support of protecting cultural-ethnic diversity (Inglis 1995).

The provision for various cultural rights will hinder integration of minorities into a common citizenship as Berry has argued. There is also concern among scholars that multicultural policies are creating differences among various cultural groups, even where there are no prior differences and also destroying the opportunities to come together on a common platform. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s book (1991) *The Disuniting of America* made a claim against the multicultural policies: he perceives them as the source of further conflict because it just makes concrete the division between different cultures by making the provision of institutionalised pluralism. People are not willing to cooperate with people with other origins. Immigrants in Europe are seen by all right wing parties as a 'threat' to their unified culture. The tale does not end here: immigrants are accused, of stealing jobs from Europeans (Suroor 2013).

In France also immigration has always remains high on the political agenda. The state gives importance to the issues and concerns raised by these immigrants. Almost all European countries have 'Golden Dawn policies' about immigrants. Golden dawn is a party in Greece which worked in support with security forces and in the last June 2012 elections got 7% seats because of their jingoistic anti-immigrant policies. The success of the party in the election shows that in France, the general public opinion are supporting these types of right wing party which are totally against the harmonious relationship among different groups. People are more cautious about their country's resources and believe that they have the first right on them before any immigrant. They are unable to stop immigrants due to the globalisation process. The world is shrinking in terms of distance. Therefore, no country can stop people of other countries from crossing its borders. The feeling of anger intolerance and hatred is gradually starting to encroach on people's minds, resulting in instability due to conflict between different groups.

The politician Marine Le Pen, who received the third largest votes (17%) in the 2012 French presidential elections after Francois Hollande and Nicoles Sarkozy, made a statement that immigrants should know their place in society: 'Integration is no longer

possible. When you are the single French person in the middle of 10 Tunisians, the majority will impose their way of life on the minority.'

Hasan Surror (2013) talked about the insulting remarks which immigrants in European countries regularly face, as his house cleaner shared her personal experience. She feels humiliated when she says them that she is a Romanian because other people overreact on it. This shows how members of a particular ethno-cultural ethnic group are considered as worse off than other groups. The European countries discriminate between people within their borders on racial grounds. As the Noble Prize winning author Orhan Pamuk (2012) has argued, the European continent which is known as the symbol of modernity is on the way of forgetting the continental values of liberty, equality, fraternity and is on the path of brutality. The values which have brought development in Europe are not religious but due to its affiliation with secularism. There has been a reduction in the feeling of fraternity which can easily be identified when one looks at how the European Union has been unwilling to open its door to Turkey, not because of its political traditions such as the lack of freedom to expression, but due to its Muslim population which have migrated from African and Asian nations to Turkey. Consequently, the EU countries are opposing any Muslim nation to enter into the EU just because they are frightened and suspicious of them. This is not only a phenomenon of Western countries but it has been in practice at a very large scale in Third world countries too. The mistreatment of tribal groups is a threat to their tribal cultures which in some ways is quite similar to the European phenomenon.

Another theme which comes into the picture is the concept of superiority and inferiority between culture and sub-culture. Multiculturalism is associated with the Western tradition. Whether that is true or false it is a matter of debate. Some scholars argue that multiculturalism has Western roots because this notion has originated in the West, but concomitantly it has become a phenomenon of Third World countries too. Western countries want to run the whole world according to their established 'universal' principles which are based on their cultural mores or values but obviously these are not suitable to the Third World circumstances.

Bhikhu Parekh (1999) talks about the non-Western idea of multiculturalism. This according to him is based on the needs of the Third World. He postulates that the acceptance of policies based on the local dynamics of multiculturalism would ensure their acceptance. Western notions of multiculturalism are no longer appropriate to the Third World situations. Susan Muller Okin (Cohen et. al 2001) frequently talks in favour of Western liberal societies, whereby she has argued that Western societies actually live up to the ideal of equal opportunity, freedom and individual rights, but this is actually not the case. This notion has been criticised by the non Western scholars such as Bhikhu Parekh (1992, 1995), Azizah AL-Hibri, Abdullahi An-Na'im, Bonnie Honig, and Homi Bhabha. Though, later she becomes critical of her own argument and advocates for a context-based approach to deal with cultural diversity and minority rights issue.

Bhikhu Parekh (1995) has noticed that the universal principle of Western multicultural model is only accepted when it negotiates the demand of different cultures. In other words, when multiculturalism based on cross cultural principles then any state can easily acquire them. Therefore, the needs of cultures, other than Western are necessary to be taken into account. After that multiculturalism can be applied everywhere and can led to the success of multicultural policies.

Some non-Western scholars do not see any linkage between Western identity movements Such as American Feminist and Gay movements and non-Western multiculturalism movements. Therefore, non-western scholars reject an alliance with Western scholars, but on the other side Western scholars want to merge these non-western movements in the Western umbrella (CCSG 1992).

The politics of identity therefore, requires an ample thought process on alliance and specification issues. This clearly shows that because of the diversification of culture not only are scholar divided on the issues of diversity but their agenda also differs in their nature. What can be useful in one context cannot be universally applied. Multicultural movements deal with their particular contexts and situations and provide solutions according to the requirements and demands. This is justifiable in the Western context but is not plausible in non-Western countries. For instance, France has banned the '*hijab*' for Muslim women in its territory, by law despite huge criticism from the Muslim world

against this decision. The Muslim population of France expressed concern over this law and termed it as an irrational act. According to the Muslim community they find the French law derogatory because of the '*Sharia Qanoon*' does not allow women to go outside without veil.

It is to be argued that whatever the differences between group movements in the non-Western world, what they have in common is that they are very much critical of mainstream liberal-western discourse. From the very long time the Western liberal approach has dominated the whole world and exhibited its superiority over other cultures: 'A kind of common enemy, a common point of departure, and a norm of critical difference these conditions give multiculturalism its intelligibility' (CCSG 1992).

Multiculturalism has given a space for the emergence of new voices in different parts of the world apart from the dominant Anglo- American multiculturalist model. Subaltern studies are facing their weakness as they are not up to the standard in representing subaltern points of view. Vinay Dharwadker (1989), talks about the shortcomings of subaltern studies, and has called it an academic new colonialism. Dharwadker claims where he made a claim that there are many essays written against the popular mainstream liberal approach but only a handful are written in a language other than English.

Women Quest in Multiculturalism: The Attempt to Judge an Attempt

'Women are from Venus and Men are from Mars' (John Gray 2004: 1). The American psychologist 'reveals' the fact that the basic characteristics of male and female are poles apart in their nature. These practices have been cemented by the multicultural approach as they want to secure *la difference*. Such practices focus upon stereotyping the difference between male and female that is in their nature very dangerous and will help to continue the discrimination and the suppression of women.

Many feminist propounded that the multicultural approach gives importance to groups rights, which is a great effort by the state to recognise the claims raise by the different, ethno-cultural groups but, these group rights have been seen as the source of long lasting

suppression of women and if implemented as law then the suppression of females will continue. They criticised the liberal individualist ideology of treating every individual as the same without taking into account the differences of groups, race, culture, language and other points needed to be taken into consideration (Young 1990). The other dilemma is that these groups are most often based on patriarchal principles, which do not see women as equal to other members of society. Their participation in the decision making process or in deliberation is neglected by policy deliberation is neglected by policy makers so that their voice also is not recognised. The laws which are made do not represent interests of the women too. They just represent the males' who are considered to be the privileged and powerful gender of society. Women and denigrated groups such as gays, lesbians, bisexual, urban underclass, marginalised population, unskilled workers and many more groups are not in a solid position to raise their voice blatantly.

As we see with the impact of globalisation, feminisation of labour is happening. The work which has been associated with women is seen as feminised work and in devalourised. Spike Peterson (2003) posits that feminisation of identities and practices effectively devalues them in cultural as well as in economic terms. Therefore, if the state makes concrete laws on the basis of group preferences, then necessarily these types of multicultural policies will suppress the rights of women (Young 1990). It is necessary to have laws which will bring women at an equal level to the other privileged members of society.

If we indulge ourselves the debate whether there are any scientific fact about the differences between men and women, then we have huge literature on this. The Australian writers Allan Pease and Barbara Pease have written a series of books about the differences between men and women. In their book *Why Men Don't Listen and Why Women Can't Read Maps* they provide a 'scientific' explanation about the difference between the two genders.

Many academic writers have tried to debunk this hypothesis and claimed that the socialisation process which we carry within our mind makes the differences between men and women. American psychologist Janet Shibley Hyde (2005) from the University of Wisconsin brought not a 'Gender Similarity Hypothesis' and propounded that women

are more similar to men than different. The differences we see is a result of stereotyping femininity and masculinity (Suroor 2013).

The one positive characteristic of the Liberal notion is that it is quite *liberal* in dealing with every individual. It considers every individual equal irrespective of their difference such as race, culture, language, ethnicity and origin. But multiculturalism sees this the biggest weakness of liberal individualism: that it does not consider group differences. Although, liberals advocate different rights for immigrants for the purpose of assimilation in to the dominant culture, if they start demanding dubious cultural rights then they are not longer in favour of giving them (Baubock 1996). Every cultural group must have the right to run their life according to their rules but feminists criticise the multicultural point of group differentiated right as it can be the source of cultural tyranny of one privileged section of society on the weaker, marginalised section (Cohen et al. 1999). Susan Muller Okin also states that multicultural theories have failed to give proper attention to gender issues under their framework.

Bhikhu Parekh (2000) argues that cultural rights are most of the time based on the norms of majority culture, which could be the source of suppression. Therefore, they support the view that group differentiated rights should be based on the minority culture. With these type of arrangements the unprivileged will get proper justice, of which they are actually in need.

There are many scholars who are against the liberal notion of equality and liberty such as Gurpreet Mahajan (2002), T. K. Oommen (2002) and Gurnam Singh (2002) just like John Rawls (1971) made a claim that these two liberal ideals cannot ensure justice in culturally diverse societies (Mahajan 2002, Oommen 2002, Singh 2002). In a society each ethnic community cannot have their own nation. Therefore, it becomes essential for a democratic state to accommodate or embrace all cultural-ethnic diversity so that it would be able to survive as a nation state (Connor 2002).

Multiculturalism: A Retreat or Progression

It has been a greatly debated issue whether multiculturalism is declining or emerging. Kymlicka (2012) argues that from the 1970s to mid-1990, he has noticed a clear trend toward the increased recognition and accommodation of diversity through the different policy measures among Western democracies, but from 1990 onwards it has been argued that many Western countries are taking back support from multicultural policies. Therefore, we see the emergence of common values and identity and the idea of unitary citizenship has become a priority on Western countries' agendas.

This argument seems quite valid as most of the Western countries are facing threat from different sides, with a large number of immigrants entering their country. The most important issue for immigrants is to protect themselves from the threat of death which they face in their countries of origin. Western countries can neither stop them nor provide them with proper living conditions (Jacobs 1999). Consequently, it leads to frustration among immigrants (Brussels) that causes instability in a system. The point which needs to be noted here is that immigrant living in Western countries for several generations are still not being provided citizenship by the host country.

This behaviour of host countries suggest that Western countries are not in favour of accepting multicultural policies. But it has become mandatory for the host countries to provide proper facilities for the protection to their ethno-cultural minorities. Article 1 of the United Nations Charter talks about the importance of culture. The UNESCO constitution also stresses on the 'fruitful diversity of cultures', its highest principle being 'the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind'. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights highlights the importance and respect of cultural rights in article 22.

Similarly Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that 'In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities should not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.'

Therefore, cultural and minority rights have gained recognition from the international institutions also. It has become quite obvious for the members of the minority groups to

compel their states to uphold the norms and directives which are coming from those institutions, to shoulder responsibilities and to implement these prescriptions in a judicious manner.

But the present trend that is to pursue minimalist multicultural democracy, not maximum multicultural democracy (Ven den Berghe 2002). This differentiation between both the concepts has been used by Pierre L. Van den Berghe. Minimalist version of multicultural democracy only limits itself to the simple tolerance and legal protection of cultural diversity. On the other hand, maximum multicultural democracy focuses upon the felicitations, encouragement and it also grants official supports to the ethno-cultural minorities.

Sara Goodman (2010) has developed a statistical civic integration policies index across Europe, Goodman shows that in 1997 these policies were largely absent, but in 2009 these become more prevalent. CIVI 10 scale, the average EU-15 countries score was only 0.56 out of a possible 7.0 in 1997 but had risen to 2.3 by 2009. This clearly shows the trend towards civic integration policies. The report which was published in Evening Herald (28 May 2008) shows the alarming effects of multicultural policies:

Muslim immigrants bring with them cultural practices and even dress codes that are totally different to our Irish way of doing things. So where do we draw the line between respecting their traditions and asking them to adapt to ours? We don't have to look very far to see that the consequence of getting this wrong could be disastrous. For 50 years the rest of Europe has followed the social policy known as 'multiculturalism', which basically means allowing separate religious communities to develop independently alongside that of their hosts. Today the evidence is overwhelming that this policy has failed. Because the countries made or no effort to integrate their new citizens, they created ghettos that became breeding grounds for violent extremists. In recent years we've seen the long term result in the shape of race riots in France, the assassination of the controversial politician Pim Fortuyn in the Netherland and the 7/7 bombings by British Muslims in London [...] Ireland does not have these problems-yet (Lentin and Titley 2011: 18).

Therefore, we can easily identify the crisis of multiculturalism. No Western country has explicitly adopted the policy of multiculturalism or is multicultural in its nature (Philips

and Sawitri 2008: 291). There are many examples which lead us to believe that the ideology of multiculturalism is in danger. For instances, riots in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham in 2001, 11 September 2001, the 2004 murder of Theo Van Gogh, the *Jyllands Posten* cartoons and increased violent aftermath in 2005/2006 (Younge and Gary 2009). All these example shows that the multicultural approach is in serious crisis, that force us to believe that it creates separateness and exclusionary behaviour.

But the critical point is whether multicultural policies work as a catalyst for all these separatist cultural practices or whether these multicultural policies works as tool to solve the dilemma of hatred. In their book *The Crisis of Multiculturalism*, Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley (2011) contend that multicultural approach is seriously in crisis position. In Western countries after the 9/11 we see that countries hither to consider as tolerant are becoming intolerant. These countries are now worried about immigrants, especially those coming from countries with Muslim populations. They are feeling the external fundamentalist threat Muslim culture such as by mosque construction, veiled women and Muslim schools (MacMaster 2000). As Entzinger made it clear by talking about the Dutch national self image of tolerance: 'Why is it that a country that had institutionalised the acceptance of difference and that was reputed for its tolerance could shift so quickly to what is perceived as coercive and assimilationist policy?' (Entzinger 200: 121)

There is one more factor that explains the assmilationist tendencies or intolerant behaviour of Western nations: 'economic chauvinism', the term used by the Gingrich and Banks. The citizens have first rights on national resources before the immigrants and asylum seeker so. Here we see the increasing tension between the state and welfare policies. Goodhart's has argued that the progressive vision of the welfare state is threatened by the principle of 'diversity' and therefore, the notion of reciprocal care becomes important: 'We need to be reassured that strangers, especially those from other countries, have the same idea of reciprocity as we do' (Goodhart 2004: 9).

The asylum seekers and others are considered as a burden on the state. Western countries going through the great economic recession are no longer capable of upholding the responsibilities to these unwanted immigrants or asylum seekers. Their own citizens are in the first priority of their policies. In these situations if, a state tries to maintain welfare

policies for immigrants and other asylum seekers, that state would have to face the antagonism of its own population. Didier Bigo (2002) calls this 'governmentality of unease'. It is widely perceived that immigrants create insecurity for the host country. Therefore, these countries try to protect their European, Christian and White Civilization against the Third World, Muslim, and Black population (Fassin 2008). But this argument does not seem normative in its nature and is contrary to the concept of humanity.

The process of recognition is a mutual process. There should not be place for the negative script. Recognition, reciprocal care and respect can do things which the state's multicultural policies cannot do. Goodhart (2006: 10) argues:

Progressive nationalism is not an oxymoron, and that if want to pressure an open liberal society with sufficient solidarity to underpin a generous welfare state than voters need assurance that the right and entitlements associated with their citizenship are protected.

Goodhart also talked about the balance between individual rights and collective security; there is a need to treat immigrants with fairness in a manner that will help to integrate people. In his view, shared experience plays a very crucial role in making of the nation. Without the inclusive national story there is the threat of balkanisation, where people will identify themselves with religion and race rather than economic and social interest.

From the 1990s we see a huge diversion in the ideology of Western states. Earlier, they believed in a world without borders but after 9/11 these countries feel insecure in granting immigration. There were some events which forced British to adjust their policies towards immigrants such as the asylum crisis in the late 1990s, increase in the legal immigration population, East European surge after May 2004, London attacks (July) and mass hostility towards the immigrant population (Goodhart 2004).

The question that has been raised in this chapter is whether multiculturalism as an approach has declined or has been revived? Will Kymlicka (2012) is optimistic about its progression but the notion of multiculturalism has been replaced by the policies of civic integration. Kymlicka contends that the multiculturalism of the 1960s-70s are not being able to work done to the changing situation. He gives an account of the pitfalls of old

multiculturalism approach. Firstly, old multiculturalism only focused upon cultural recognition but post-multiculturalism has now started to focus upon the economic aspects of society also. Secondly, earlier human rights and individual freedom had given secondary place over cultural tradition but now human rights and individual freedom also have the same weightage as cultural tradition. In post-multiculturalism the prime focus is on making inclusive national identities and attention is paid for mixing diverse cultures rather than on the static nature of culture.

Kymlicka makes a robust claim that multicultural policies can exist with civic integration policies, but the nations who believe in a coercive form of civic integration are less likely to have faith in multicultural policies. The strong development of civic integration can not be equated with the retreat of multiculturalism (Tolley 2012). But today it is the need of the hour to protect diversity to ensure a just society:

Civic integration policies differ along many dimensions, including in their relationship to multiculturalism. Some countries (such as Denmark, Germany, and Austria) have adopted an anti-multicultural form of civic integration- one that is coercive and assimilationist. But these countries have never embraced multiculturalism in first place, their new policies can hardly be considered as a retreat from multiculturalism. By contrast, other countries with longstanding MCPs (e.g. Sweden) have adopted form of civic integration policies that are more voluntary and pluralistic. And this model of multiculturalism integration seems to be the one to which other countries such as Finland -are moving. (Kymlicka 2012: 12)

Conclusion:

Multiculturalism as an approach has been interpreted by different scholars. Even though, it has faced a lot of criticisms, we cannot deny the importance of the multicultural approach in accommodating different cultural ethnic diversity. Kymlicka (2012) posits that the ideal of multiculturalist policies has always been the prime tool to deal with the diversity in democratic countries. As the multicultural policy index shows, the strength of multicultural policies have increased at various points of time in 21 OECD countries when we compare 1980, 2000, and 2010. This shows the clear trend towards the expansion of MCPs over the last 30 years.

However, if we see the rough side of this expansion of MCPs than we will find that these policies have resulted in increasing conflict between different groups the society. Whenever, the clash between different groups goes out of control, or the minority feels that suppression increasing, they raise their voice against the repression. Consequently, expansion (contraction in case of France) of MCPs becomes the obvious phenomenon to cope up with the demand of cultural ethnic minorities.

Today, something which is quite lucid is that even though countries are developing policies to deal with the multicultural diversity more effectively, a large section of people are unwilling to cooperate with groups other than theirs. There is a need to bring about change in the psychology of people and inculcate some feelings of morality.

In today's world we cannot escape the reality multicultural diversity. Expansion of multicultural policies can be a viable solution to deal with this diversity, but improvements in the psychology of the people towards others can be an even more effective tool.

CHAPTER 3

CONSOCIATIONALISM: THE POLITICS OF POWER SHARING

The whole point of consociationalism is not to weaken communal cleavages but to make society more plural that is to recognise the cleavages explicitly and to turn them into constructive elements of stable democracy (Lijphart 1977: 42).

Lijphart's idea of consociational democracy has been used by various scholars to derive their interpretations of the same. Some scholars argue that consociational power sharing approach by Lijphart has cemented the differences between cultural-ethnic groups but is not complete by itself. Others have fully embraced his argument claiming that it is the only solution to solve the conflicts arising due to cultural diversity. But both points at view are legitimate in themselves. In some contexts, consociational arrangements have come up with positive outcomes as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina but on the very other side it continues to grapple with the negative results such as in case of Lebanon. Today, scenario every country is jostling with diversity issues whether it is on ethnic, linguistic or religious lines. There are several ways in political theory to tackle these situations. The second chapter elaborated the multiculturalism approach to deal with diversity issues. This chapter delineates consociationalism power sharing approach, which is considered to be as very dominant and prevailing approach in ethnically diverse countries. Consociationalism is a power sharing institutional approach to deal with the issues of deeply divided societies. It is claimed to be very helpful in pacifying ethnic conflict. This approach is mainly associated with the writings of Arend Lijphart (1968, 1969, 1977, 1985) H. Daalder (1983), G. Lehmbruch (1974) Jurg Stiener (1981), and more recently with that of John McGarry and Brenden O'Leary (2004a, 2004b, 2007, 2008, 2009).

Lijphart began to examine this particular type of democratic system in greater detail for the first time in the late 1960s, making reference to the political systems of Scandinavian

countries and of the Netherlands and Belgium (Lijphart 1968, 1969). Some scholars criticise Lijphart of being very selective in the choice of cases which he has analysed. They argued that the cases selected by the Lijphart are very peaceful countries and have very long tradition of stable democracy.

But the concern for this research work is not to justify whether the scholars who are criticising Lijphart are right or wrong. Rather it seeks to analyse this approach to locate whether consociationalism is a better tool in managing conflicts present and arising within deeply divided societies. It seeks to locate whether the consociational approach has wider scope to make provisions at the ground level which provide solidity to the claims of various cleavages based on different ethnic lines. Cultural markers have a great role to play in the 21st century and the power sharing approach makes a better contribution in safeguarding these cultural claims. This dissertation attempts to analyse the consociational approach in two developed and developing countries. The developed countries have long traditions of democracy. France is a republican-multicultural democracy while, Belgium is a multicultural democracy but also a robust case of consociationalism. The other two cases are Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and Lebanon, which are developing and nascent democracies. In these two countries there is no proper mechanism to ensure effective and smooth governance. These countries are much more diversified and heterogeneous than the developed ones and are doing well by adopting the power sharing consociationalism approach. Therefore, the prime aim in this chapter is to analyse whether systemic factors such as intervention by the external power in establishing stability and peace in a state are very crucial. The role of these systemic variables is part and parcel of comprehensive consociationalism. They have a great role to play in providing stability and peace in deeply divided societies. J. David Singer (1961) talked about the sub-systemic and systemic level factors and tried to show which was more likely to produce richer level explanation of international relations. Therefore, he has examined the implication of both the level of analysis. On the one hand, systemic level factors provides more comprehensive knowledge where as sub-systemic level analysis provide more specific and less coherent picture but richer in details due to its specific area of study. Both levels of analysis have their advantages and disadvantages but the crucial thing is that which level of analysis should be used.

In international relations different scholars have preferred different level of analysis to test their hypotheses. For instances, Randall Schweller (2004) made a claim in support of sub systemic variables which he thinks are much crucial than the systemic level variables. Similar to that argument, Patrick Bolte (2007 22) made these claims he argued that sub-systemic level variables like elite position is very important as they draft such policies which will bring peace and stability. He posits that the elite should have a sense of ownership rather than of obligation. He also talked about the 'success oriented factor' which are basically the sub systemic variables that led the democracy towards success. Therefore, its operation on the domestic or international level is based on choice. This chapter attempts to show that internal factors do play a very crucial role but systemic or structure level variables are more significant in bringing peace in deeply divided societies. Sub-systemic level variables face the problem of coherence. It tries to implement and create a more accommodative atmosphere for consociational arrangements. On the other hand, systemic level variables can provide better results if applied with the co-mixture of sub-systemic variables. However, there also we can see the cases of failure because the desire to establish peace by external power is more derived by self interest rather than to genuinely bring peace in deeply divided countries.

Therefore, the prime area of research is to analyse how consociational approach has remained successful in setting up the combination of both levels of variables in order to fulfil human rights obligation and minority rights demands of non-discrimination. On the one hand, there are human rights commitments which focus upon the tenets of equality and on non-discrimination. On the other hand, the minority rights approach emphasises upon differential treatment but what we need is the right combination of both (Wolff 2010). This research has will discuss the consociational power sharing approach, which has the capability to resolve these issues in an adequate manner. The main aim of the politician in consociational approach is that to bring political stability in the system and accommodate the diverse interests of different ethnic groups so that ethnic conflict can be mitigated and resolved in better ways.

Consociationalism: A Brief Introduction

A very prominent argument has been made by J.S. Mill (1861) that democracies are next to impossible in multiethnic societies and completely impossible in linguistically divided societies. This statement came under critical scrutiny when the consociational theorists such as Arendt Lijphart, contrary to above argument, upheld the view that democracy is pertinent and possible in deeply divided societies but only if the type of democracy is consociational. Stefan Wolff (2007) also favours the argument that consociational democracy is a unique way of dealing with problems of multiculturalism. He argues that consociational democracy is a system where the diversity of population can be easily managed without any repression or assimilation. Lijphart (1977, 1985, 1995, 2000a, 2002b, 2004, 2007) is a prolific contributor in the development of this approach. Thereafter, subsequent development is made by the other prominent writers such as John McGarry (2006) and Brendon O'Leary (2004a, 2004b, 2009 a, 2009b). Therefore, the term is in theory and practice notably associated with the writing of Lijphart and recently with the writings of John McGarry and Brendan O'Larry. The one major achievement of the consociational approach is its flexibility to accommodate according to the situations (Fildes 2008). The advantage of these institutions is that they have the ability to resolve the tensions between groups in a non-violent way (Wolff 2010). Stefan Wolff argued that power sharing approaches are far more realistic and optimistic. One way that they are realistic is their awareness about the fact that diversity in a society exists so we cannot avoid it as this might lead towards a fragmented society. On the other hand, this approach is very optimistic as it provides solutions to these fragmented situations.

In early the 1960s, Lijphart examined the consociational democratic system in the context of Scandinavian countries. Later, he explored this at length. This consociational approach has not emerged as a full fledged approach but has evolved over a period of time. However, before Lijphart, Val R. Lorwin (1971) had documented the structural aspects of the deeply divided societies which are fragmented on the basis of religious, ethnic, linguistic, and ideological or on other societal cleavages. On the contrary, Lijphart was not interested in what others had said but more interested in why despite of these cleavages these societies maintained stable political systems (Wolff 2010). He had

recognised the elite's significant role in maintaining stability but also has recognised some other factors which can be of great significance. Thereafter, he developed the four essential characteristics of democracy which will be able to stabilise the fragmented or conflict torn societies, which are now known as consociationalism (1977: 25-52). Lijphart argued that in deeply divided societies majority rule is prone to dictatorship. Therefore, instead of majority rule these societies require emphasis on consensus rather than opposition and on inclusion rather than exclusion (Lijphart 1985). This institutional design to manage conflict in fragmented societies in practice works as a package. Therefore, they interact in complex ways (Belmont, Hairwaring and Reynolds 2002). According to Lijphart, if a consociational democracy wants to work efficiently then this is the one way by which it can better deal with cultural diversity and minority issues. At same time, on the other hand, Wolff also suggested some new ways for its better working. Wolff (2011) says that the absence of 'effective spoiler' is necessary. Although spoilers are present at both the domestic and external levels. Wolff has given emphasis focus on the absence of an external spoiler. This hypothesis brings consociational approach in the international realm and makes it more comprehensive. In the earlier period, Lijphart has developed the four institutional devices to cope with the demand of deeply divided societies at the domestic levels.

1) Grand coalition: Grand coalition government include representatives of all major linguistic and religious groups. The elites of the groups come together to rule according to the interest of society because they have already recognised the danger of non-cooperation. The grand coalition is particularly based on the formation of a multiparty cabinet in a parliamentary system. Parliamentary system is supposed to be more democratic than presidential system because in parliamentary system power does not lie in the hand of one particular person. Decentralisation of power is the very base of this approach. Lijphart also gives preference to parliamentary system, which he thinks has greater more capability to offset the tendencies of majoritarianism. Lijphart's approach towards consociationalism has developed over period of time. This is due to responses coming partly because his arguments have been challenged by the other writers. Therefore, Lijphart dealt with his critics in his book *Power Sharing in South Africa* (1985) and in his contribution to Andrew Reynolds's *The Architecture of Democracy*

(2002), where he has made some changes in his original approach about the main characteristics of consociationalism power sharing approach. Now, he has described that power sharing (grand coalition) and autonomy are the main characteristics and the other two (proportionality and minority veto) would be consider as secondary characteristics. But all these four pillars together make the idea and spirit of consociational more meaningful.

2) Cultural Autonomy is the second main dimension of consociational democracy. Autonomy means that every particular group whether on the linguistic, ethnic, or religious basis, have a right to rule their own section or community according to their rituals and mores. It can be territorial or non-territorial. Sometimes, it becomes necessary for a state to intervene but it must be on the basis of providing social justice. Some cultural practices are very brutal or inhuman in their nature, therefore it is the responsibility of the state to intervene and take action against these specific abnormal cultural practices. The non-territorial autonomy is provided to those where the claimant group are not concentrated in one particular area but dispersed in different areas. The laws and institutions made to protect these particular groups' cultural character will be applied irrespective of their living place. It has been widely argued that this strategy of managing conflict in deeply divided societies is no longer in use in the contemporary scenario (Wolff 2010). On the other hand, territorial autonomy has been provided to those areas where a particular group is in majority and is constantly demanding rights from the state to govern their issues themselves. This strategy of managing conflict has been widely used in divided societies (Wolff 2009, Hannum ,1996). Even though they are living within a particular unitary state, they would be known as a sub-unit of that particular state in which they have the right to govern themselves. Autonomy involves a division of power between the central authority and the autonomous unit (Lapidoth 1996) where powers are not only delegated but transferred. Central government can only interfere in the act of autonomous entity when the cases are very extreme. However, several been a lot has been written on the concept of autonomy under consociational solutions and autonomy as an independent concept, but still this concept is a widely contestable typology.

3) Proportionality means constitutional representation in politics, in civil service appointments or in all governmental institutions. Representations of the groups depend upon the population of that particular group. If a population of particular group accounts for 30% of the total population then there should be 30% reservation for that particular group, which seems appropriate according to their demographic weight. An issue of serious concern is that if we made reservation on proportionality basis for a particular group in any government institution and anywhere, the solution of one particular issue will lead towards other problems. There we find social cleavages not only on one particular ground but various factors exist which differentiate people from one another. Akeel Bilgrami (2003) has talked about the existence of identities within identities. With reference to the Muslim community, Bilgrami argued that among Muslims no single ideology exists and we see divisions on various grounds. New Muslim identities are emerging among Muslim where some associate themselves with moderate Muslims or other with the extremists. Therefore, in light of this argument, it is very difficult for a system to make such provisions which will take care of the demands of each and every sub-unit of a broad group.

Divisions can be numerous; they cannot be counted and can have various bases for distinctiveness. Gradually, they can take the form of social cleavages which in explicit manner do not have much importance but apparently have great ramifications in terms of bringing change in policies. For instance, the ideology of Salman Rushdie, who is the big opponents of blasphemy laws but still in public is known as Muslim, could be different from the person who has full trust in *Sharia* laws or in Islamic customs and mores such as Zakir Naik. While both are moderate Muslim their way to describe or see Islamic ways are very different. They both are born and brought up in a Muslim family but their way to see objective reality is very different. To the contrary, the one person is celebrated by a large number of Muslims, the other one is denounced by the other significant section of the population. But the demands by everyone are *sui generis* in their nature, important for their section only. Therefore, the 'dilemma of system' emerges to whom representation should be given. If a seat is reserved on the bases of overall criteria such as religion, then it will become hard to choose among the sects that will represent the whole community and which will best protect the interest of all. The predicament of consociational

arrangements is neither it should it be based on the language, religion or on other criteria which usually exists in a particular society. This becomes a crucial question to deal with.

Concept of 'culture' includes in itself all types of sources of diversity which can promote cleavages in a society. The concept of culture is in the centre of both the approaches been examined.(..)Tony Bennet argues that if you talk about culture than necessarily you are talking about administration. It becomes essential to provide adequate solutions to these issues. There we see diversity on the basis of cultural cleavages. The term 'cleavages' and 'deeply divided' have been used here in a broad way which distinguishes one group from all others not only in terms of social characteristics such as occupation, status, religion, language, but in terms of ethnicity and culture.

Cleavages can be of different type such as religious, ethnic, linguistic and so on. This may create problem for the system about who should be represented on which basis. In Lebanon, there consociational provisions have done on a sectarian basis. The area in which any particular group is in a majority has been reserved for them, in which they are fully autonomous in dealing with their issues. Therefore, the basis for consociational arrangements in Lebanon is religion. On the other hand, in Belgium linguistic identities are the basis for consociational arrangements. The country is divided into four language regions: Flemish region, Walloon region, German speaking region and the bilingual capital region of Brussels.

Therefore, where to focus on which cleavage; this is very important and also crucial to solve the problem through consociational means in a genuine way. However, every type of cleavage has great implications on the life of people hence, needs to be protected.

4) Minority Veto guarantees minority inclusion in the decision making process. The provision of grand coalition is a good strategy to deal with the demands of minorities and cultural groups but if there is inadequate representation of small groups in the decision making process then it may lead to the tyranny of the majority. If the small groups have no proper numerical strength to stop the passing of legislation which are germane to their interest, then, this type of democracy is totally worthless. Democracy can come up with great result if the four institutional devices are applied or exercised in a proper way.

Therefore, minority veto is needed to provide vital minority rights and autonomy. For instances, Belgium has formal veto arrangements, and the linguistic groups have guaranteed power mentioned in the constitution on educational and cultural issues. On the other hand, Bosnia and Herzegovina also have formal arrangements of mutual veto wherein to pass any legislation in house of representatives one-third support is needed from the each of the three groups (McCulloch 2009).

Apart from these four institutional pillars, Lijphart has postulated the favourable conditions for the better working of consociational theory such as territorial loyalties, a small number of political parties in each segment, equal sizes of the different segments, and existence of some cross-cutting cleavages (Lijphart 1977: 23-103). Consociational theory has expanded into a strong literature which includes several critiques. Lijphart (1985) have responded these critique in very precise manner. In his book *Power Sharing in South Africa* he has responded to his critics by describing grand coalition and segmental autonomy as the primary characteristics of consociational power sharing theory, thereby relegating proportionality and minority veto as the secondary characteristics (Lijphart 2002b: 39). Many writers such as Jarstad (2008), Ghai and Cottrell (2008), Sisk (2008), Murray and Simeon (2008), Papagianni (2008), Norris (2008), MacGarry and O'Leary (2008a, 2008b, 2008c) have critiqued this approach. Among the critiques some would relate consociationalism only with corporate consociationalism (Jarshad 2008, Ghai and Cottrell 2008), while other have argued that consociational methods are suitable only in transitional periods of democracy (Murray and Simeon 2008, Papagianni 2008). A third critique comes from author, who believe in cautious optimism, where they are assured about the viability of consociational arrangements in bringing peace as it helps to learn democratic politics, where loser or winner concepts do not exist (Wolff 2010). Norris (2008: 214) made a claim that consociational power sharing arrangements help to establish peace but that does not mean that the chances of reoccurrence of these conflicts have diminished. John McGarry and Brenden O'Larry's *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagement* (2004) also have responded to Lijphart and highlighted the weaknesses the traditional consociational approach which made the consociational model more comprehensive. Therefore, different authors interpreted it in different ways, thereby forcing

consociationalism to mould itself according to the upcoming situations. Hence, it has not lost its importance in providing solutions to deeply divided societies.

In today's scenario consociational power sharing mechanism has been used not only in democratic countries but as well as in non-democratic or flawed democracies countries too such as in case of Bolivia, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (Esman 2000). Therefore, the existence of consociationalism arrangements in non-democratic countries lead us towards a most important distinction between the consociationalism and consociational democracy. In this dissertation, we are examining the practise of consociationalism in democratic countries only. Consociationalism has been proposed as a normative model for many ethnically divided societies because it involves guaranteed group representation and is suggested for managing conflict in deeply divided societies. It is synonymously known as the one form of power sharing. The goal of consociational democracy is to bring governmental stability, survival of power sharing arrangements, survival of democracy and avoidance of violence.while, there are various other approaches which deal with the cultural diversity and minority issues such as multiculturalism, consociational democracy's major focus is not only making multicultural policies and provision for different cultural-ethnic groups but also who the are the people making these policies. It is to be believed that only the person from their own community can better understand the demands of one particular group. Therefore, prime focus of consociational approach is to give the leadership of one particular group to fulfil the desire is to their own people. In state of consociational democracy, we see a lot of major internal divisions along ethnic, religious or linguistic lines but it is able to maintain stability with the consultation of elites of major social groups.

The elite of different political parties facing unresolvable conflict particularly in societies which are divided by deep ethnic, racial, religious differences find that they are unable to solve the conflict, but seek a compromise that assures them a permanent place at the bargaining table, and only after that they may switch to power sharing strategy as a political solution. In a theoretical way, power sharing concept has been used to describe a system of governance in which all major segments of society have been provided with a

permanent share of power. There are various mechanisms for practising power sharing such as grand coalition government, parties appointment, protection of minority rights groups, decentralisation of power, and decision making by consensus. Power sharing is a strategy wherein all major segments of the societies are provided with a permanent share of power in the governance of the country. The term 'permanent' is of great significance here; this is the only approach which concretises the remedial solutions in dealing with the cultural diversity and minority issues.

Bargaining and Compromises Between Elites: Sub-Systemic Level Variables

Constitutions even fair ones cannot guarantee peace and peace requires not just a balanced constitutional order but a disposition on the part of all sizable communities to accept compromise (McGarry and O'Leary 2008: 368).

These lines are silently expressing the significance of bargaining between elites in implementing consociational arrangements. Elites agree upon some issues or make compromises to run the system more efficiently. What needs to be taken into account is to determine that which compromises are acceptable to all and sustainable in post-conflict state building. We see that there is no consensus among scholars about the favourable conditions for the successful practise of consociational democracy. Bargaining between elites is one of the important sub-systemic factors which play a very crucial role in establishing peace. Bargaining theory is given by Samuel B. Bachrach and Edward J. Lawler (1981) wherein they argue that through bargaining elites of the different groups are able to reach common ground.

Further, Peirre du Toit (1987) has taken up Jurg Steiner's argument about why consociational democracy has remained unable to explain when and why power sharing comes into being and what it seeks amount to derive. To solve this puzzle du Toit has used the bargaining theory of Bachrach and Lawler, wherein they have talked about the importance of bargaining between the elites of different groups. D Toit argues that bargaining is a means to conflict resolution: none of the groups can emerge as the overall winner, no one would gain something at the expense of the other. He considers bargaining between elites as the most crucial stage during the practice of consociational

procedure. Du Toit argued that consociationalism can only be successful and work smoothly when fair bargaining takes place. For Lijphart all four institutional devices and favourable conditions have an immense role to play, but for du Toit 'bargaining' is most important and comes first before all institutional devices and favourable conditions.

It is the bargaining power which brings all institutional devices into practice. Elites of different groups bargain and are able to make decision through which the system will run. Bargaining power has the capability to solve the rigidity of the issues and in practising consociational arrangements it also has also a vital role to play. It is bargaining alone which brings the consociational arrangements into practice.

Elites play a very crucial role in resolving conflict which usually occurs between different groups. The intensity of conflict is more or less depending upon the elites, If elites are willing to cooperate then it becomes easy to get the solution to the of conflicting issues. In the case of Lebanon the elite factor is not working well (Jabbara and Jabbara 1983). Lebanon enjoyed four decades of peace but elite factor turned the situation in a totally opposite direction. The elites of Lebanon were not interested in making a common Lebanese party and only wanted to fulfil their own community interests. Laissez-faire system prevented the elite from distributing the benefits of development among the masses. There were two factors which were destabilising to the system; the Maronite movement and demographic changes (Jabbara and Jabbara 1983: 581). The Maronites' who were 30% of the population and did not want to cooperate with the Muslims, demanded an adjustment in with consociational arrangements. On the other hand, demographically big changes started to occur. In 1926, when the constitution in accordance with the census of 1932 had institutionalised the 6:5 ratio of Christians and Muslims, 43 years later on the eve of civil war it certainly was not the case. Now Muslims have outnumbered the Christians (1983: 582- 883).

The role of elites played a very crucial role in making the Lebanese situation worse. There were several problems which Lebanon was facing such as uneven development, inflation which were badly affecting the labour class, conflict with Israel, and so on. The crucial aspect was thing is that the elites were not willing to solve the problems. The external powers which intervened to settle the situation had their selfish interest. For

instances, Syria was supporting leftist power in Lebanon as its power and prestige would be enhanced by the leftist victory but prolonged civil war in Lebanon have might provoked Israeli intervention. Therefore, it became the mediator between both. On the other hand, the motive of Syria was not clear as it was playing a double game by publicly calling for ceasefire but helping the leftists to win (Jabbara and Jabbara 1983: 590). Joseph G. Jabbara and Nancy W. Jabbara explored the external power interest very well in the case of Lebanon:

The nationalist movement in Lebanon needed Soviet and Syrian help in its fights against the Pax Americana, Syria needed Moscow's support to resist an imposed American solution to the Arab Israeli conflict would not take Syrian interest into consideration and the Soviet Union needed the help of both to prevent its exclusion by the United States from a settlement of the Arab Israeli conflict (Jabbara and Jabbara 1983: 595).

In the Lebanon situation, both levels of variables were present but still the situation was not under control. As the elites of the country were not willing or capable to solve the internal problems. external powers that had the capability to solve the issue but solely motivated by their selfish interest intervened in Lebanon.

The elite factor works through the channel of communication. The elites of different groups come on the same platform to discuss the issues which are of conflicting nature. Later, through deliberation, every group put their demands forward. Consequently, they become capable of arriving at a consensus on particular conflicting issues. This procedure of deliberation consists in itself of various ups and downs because nobody wants to be the loser, because every group contains wishes, interest and desires and it is the responsibility of the elites to emerge as the winner in the deliberation process. This will happen only when their demands are juxtaposed and overlap with the demands of other groups and are not against the demands of the other competing groups. Irish Marian young (1997) dubbed it as 'strategic behaviour'. In du Toit words:

Strategic behaviour is the behaviour of any individual member of a group involving a choice of action contingent upon the individual's estimates of the actions of others in the group, where the action of each of the relevant other are

based upon a similar estimate of the behaviour of the group member other than himself (du Toit 1987).

This is how the response from the one side effects the other side's actions. Ben Reilly and Andrew Reynolds (2005) have observed that institutions must facilitate communication channels between groups who need to talk. If they exclude people from coming to the table, then their conflicts can only be solved through force, not through negotiations and mutual accommodation. Consociational model provides various institutional mechanisms which are premised upon the notion of 'deliberation', in which each groups voices are heard and taken into account so that, no voices are left out from contributing their share in the decision making process. Therefore, this process is dependent upon the mutual reciprocity between groups, where a large size group will be seen as similar to a small size group, and where every group will be counted as one. These are the democratic deliberation procedures which need to be followed so that the consociational arrangements can become more meaningful. Hence, Allison McCulloch (2009) argues that the 'elite levels politics represents a necessary piece of the conflict management puzzle'. Consequently, that will lead us towards more peaceful and stable society. Lijphart argues that a stable democratic regime is one in which there is a high likelihood of remaining democratic and where there exists a low incidence of, or threat of political violence (Lijphart 1977). Therefore, he suggests that consociationalism is very progressive and supportive in dealing with the issues of cultural diversity and minority rights claim which works as catalyst for instability in a particular society. After implementing the consociational arrangements both can become the engine of progress. Till now we have discussed about the four characteristics of consociational power sharing approach which is the classic form of consociationalism but in the contemporary world the more comprehensive form of consociationalism approach is more prevalent. This not only includes in itself the above said four institutional pillars but also the reform of the security sector, provision for the return of refugees and for property restitution (McCulloch 2009). Therefore, the later one is a much wider approach to deal with the issues of cultural diversity and minority rights. Empirically, the comprehensive approach provides a more viable solution to these issues. The classical approach supported by Lijphart does not seem particularly relevant in the contemporary context because it

premised upon the four institutional pillars. Comprehensive approach not only includes the four institutional characteristics but goes beyond to include the much relevant areas of today's scenario.

Difference between Consociationalism and Centripetalism

Consociationalism and centripetalism both are power sharing approaches. Both have developed to deal with the issues of deeply divided societies. The term 'deeply divided societies' refers to societies which are fragmented on various bases such as ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, etc. so on and so forth. For instance, one particular religion can be fragmented on the basis of slight differences between groups and they want legitimate recognition of their particular specific differences. McCulloch (2009: 17) defines deeply divided societies as those 'Where membership in an ethnic segment becomes overtly politicised and relations between segments proceed in antagonistic and potentially in violent fashion, then a polity can be considered as deeply divided.

These characteristics of a particular group are of great significance for a particular sub-group and to ensure their security becomes a matter of concern. The meaning of deeply divided societies has variously been taken up by the different scholars. Eric Norlinger in his book *Conflict Regulation in Divided Societies* (1972) used the 'deeply divided societies' notion as for the first time. Here, he has used this not only for democratic countries but also for open regimes. Adrian Guelke (2012) in his book has elaborated the different typologies of fragmented societies which have been used by the different authors. Ian Lustick's (1979) notion of 'deeply divided societies' is very different from the Nordlinger's (Guelke 2012:8) definition of deeply divided societies, as he argued that:

Limiting the discussion of how political stability was maintained in deeply divided societies to democratic or open regimes was unnecessarily restrictive and led to a narrow focus on the use of a number of consociational devices to facilitate political accommodation between the elites of the segments or among them.

His focus was upon the various means through which the community who are in majority established peace in deeply divided societies through control, which contains not only the

coercion but also the repression (Guelke 2012). This is not only the word which has been used to describe the deeply divided societies but other terminologies are also in practice such as 'severely divided societies', is the term which used by Horowitz (2001: 104). There is also the distinction made by the Guelke between the deeply divided and ethnically divided societies. Deeply divided societies are much more comprehensive notion than the ethnically divided societies, because ethnically divided societies are mostly divided them on the ethnic lines whereas deeply divided societies are not only fragmented on ethnic lines but also on religious, linguistic, cultural and other bases too.

The notion of power sharing has various approaches to deal with ethnic or cultural diversity issues. Consociationalism and centripetalism fall under the umbrella of power sharing approaches but these two are very inconsistent to each other because they have positioned themselves on very different assumptions. Consociationalism is advocated by the Arendt Lijphart whereas Donald L. Horowitz has developed the centripetalism approach. Both these power sharing approaches have their strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, the prime concern is that power sharing is necessary but which type of model suits to the particular context needs to be taken into account. So that, the conflict indifferent deeply divided societies can be resolved in a better manner. There we see the great debate between both the power sharing approaches, with each proponent claiming that their model is best suited to the condition of deeply divided societies. Lijphart claims that there is a choice between consociational democracy and no democracy at all (McCulloch 2009). Horowitz argues that the choice is between two forms of majoritarian democracy. One type, which is the extreme form of majoritarian democracy, is where minority is totally wiped out from the power, and other form is centripetalism which gives proper representation to minorities and where majority rule depends upon the minority support (Horowitz 2000 176). Horowitz states that consociationalism can only be successful in situations of mild or moderate conflict. On the other hand, centripetalism is provides great solution in situation of deep divisions. Both approaches claim universal applicability of the model but this does not seem true. In some cases, consociationalism has promoted political stability and also facilitated the growth of moderate politics in deeply divided societies, while failing in others too. Similarly, and centripetalism has been successful in some cases and failed in others (Sri Lanka, Fiji) (McCulloch 2009).

The proponents of the centripetal model argue that instead of making arrangements for the elite this model enriches cooperation between different groups by using an electoral system. The very basis of this electoral system is to discover the support from outside their groups. Multiple proportional vote mechanism is preferred in centripetal approach through which the purpose to reflect different community representative in parliament is fulfilled straightforwardly, which is also the core characteristics of consociationalism. In this system electors have the right to cast their vote according to their preferences, which can be from different community. The focus in centripetalism approach is upon the moderate parties therefore, the executive coalition is restricted to the moderate parties only.

The critique of centripetalism is that this approach is only successful in moderate places where no extremism exists in terms of group rivalries and representation via benevolent majorities will be sufficient for minority groups (McCulloch 2009: 191). In other words, centripetalism is the approach, where groups are more moderate in their nature and willing to cooperate if it is in the benefit of both the groups. One of the plus points of the centripetal approach is that its focus is upon mass behaviour rather than on elite activity, whereas consociationalism focuses merely upon the elite behaviour. Cooperation not only among the elites only but also among the masses plays a very important role in practising moderate politics (McCulloch 2009: 195). The supporters of the integrationist approach elucidate that centripetalism does not fix the division which they address but on the contrary contributes towards a long term reduction of these characteristics. Hence, centripetalism differs from the consociationalism. The prime aim of centripetalism approach is to enhance cooperation between different groups before elections and during elections rather than after the elections. Consociational approach talks about cooperation after elections.

Every party is quite sure about the importance of the moderate party politics, that helps to reduce the conflict between different ethnic groups and will provide stability and peace to the system.

The supporters of the power sharing favour either consociationalism or integrative institutions options such as centripetalism. However, there is one more notion which is

very popular among scholars which is the notion of power dividing. Philip Roeder and Donald Rothchild put forward this approach in their co-edited volume *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars* (Roeder and Rothchild 2005). They are the strong proponents of the power dividing notion wherein their focus is upon the utility of the different institutional designs in resolving conflict in fragmented societies. Both have focussed upon the sequential effect on the transition to democracy. While in the initial phase they recommend the confidence building measures that are a power sharing institution. After that, in the consolidation phase which is most probably dominated by stability concerns, they support the implementation of power dividing institutions.

Roeder and Rothchild criticise the power sharing approaches. Power sharing approaches use democratisation procedures or methods excessively so as to bring leaders of different ethnic cultural groups to the table. However, this is what leads to gridlock in the long run because every political party has the right to veto on important political decision (2005: 325). Therefore, both the scholars give primacy to Madisonian democracy, where strong civil liberties, multiple majorities and checks and balances mechanisms exist.

There are some more suggestions coming from different sides. Reilly has suggested that the right institutional package can also bring stability in which are ethnically torn or fragmented on deep ethno-cultural lines. He argues that a unitary state can also do well in deeply divided societies, if applied with the right combination of institutional packages to generate cultural autonomy and minority rights (Reilly 2005:170).

According to the Roeder and Rothchild, two factors are important to bring stability in a deeply divided society. First is shared national identity and second is abundance of resources. These two factors have a large role to play. Ashutosh Varshney (2005) believes that in India people have shared feeling of common nationhood, therefore it is the will power or desire of the people which leads towards peace. If people want to live together than they must find a way to make it possible. Roeder and Rothchild stated that if a power sharing institutions have to work better than these two factors must be in place. Otherwise power sharing institutions are most likely to produce instability which will be the consequence of escalation of conflict between different groups. Eventually, that will block the transition of a particular society into full fledged or peaceful democracy.

Power sharing mechanisms have the capability to stabilise conflict torn societies. However, the suggestions provided by the power dividing scholars are also very illuminating. Shared nationhood feeling must co-exist among the particular territory's people, they must have some sense of belongingness to the nation. Nation is a concept in itself very much based on the notion of plurality, where coexistence of different religion, caste, creed, ethnicity, linguistically based diverse community is found. They just associate themselves with the particular territory. Sometimes people are willing to cooperate with the other communities but most of the times it becomes difficult to adjust with the other coexisting communities. Therefore, in this situation power sharing institutions have significant potential to deal with all these situations. This feeling of association is a necessary but a not the sufficient condition to continue with the power sharing dialogue. Therefore, the second necessary condition is abundance of resources. In other words, there we see a huge demand coming from various sides to make the system more accountable about the needs of the culturally and ethnically diverse people.

Their main concern is to get the equal fair share of development. Hence, it is the responsibility of the to make their mechanism more accountable to the deprived people of the society. If they would get everything for their survival according to their needs, than the chances of insurgency against the system are very few and far between. Dissatisfaction of the people only emerges when the marginalised people of the society are ignored by the system. However, marginalised people need special attention but in spite of this they are further being ignored by the system. In this situation introducing proper mechanisms becomes the need of the hour. Their dispossession from one sphere leads to deprivation in other sectors too. If they are economically backward just because they do not have a proper fair share of fruitful gain of developmental process it leads them towards social deprivation. And consequently, their social deprivation further enhances their low economic status. Therefore, it is a "vicious circle" which continues and keeps deprived people permanently deprived. The power sharing mechanism which is consociationalism has the potential to correct the past wrong doing. It not just only ensures accountability of the system through policy making but is morally correct too because its prime purpose of is to make every member of the political community a full member of the society.

The consociational approach has the potential to upgrade the social system through their legitimate policies. These policies can be applied everywhere with different combinations or right package of institutions (Reilly 2005) according to the particular context. On the other hand, the power dividing approach is basically built for the US and better suits the US model of democracy.

Comprehensive Consociationalism: A New Wave of Power Sharing Approach

In today's scenario, a large number of conflict resolution strategies are in at place. The new offshoots have emerged from the old power sharing approaches. Even though their core ideas are similar but they have broadened the old approach according to the particular situation and context. Keeping the above argument in mind, we see that the consociationalist approach also has developed over a period of time. However, some of the modifications are useful but others are not. When you judge a theory you do not judge individually but the whole 'Scientific Research programme', the term which is used by Lakatos (Elman and Elman 2003: 19). Each of the progressions in the research programme is very useful and if it adds within the theory then it is a progressive research programme. When we apply this in the context of consociationalism, we also find further enhancement in this approach. The new concept of comprehensive consociationalism is a much wider concept and it has replaced the classical notion of consociationalism which was pioneered by Lijphart. But still, comprehensive consociationalism is premised upon the same hard core ideas but it has developed itself in response to tackle with the new situations. There is a need to test the theory to see how much progress it has made.

Lakatos argues that we cannot prove that they are false but we can do the evaluation of series of theories, which he has given the name of scientific research programme. If, we see some novel facts in evolution then research programme gains credence. But the scientific research programme has to protect the hard core. Lakatos's rule is to stick with a scientific research programme as long as it promotes novel facts, but accumulation of anomalies could cast the hard core into doubt. He argues that since theories cannot be falsified nor verified, a theory can only be replaced by better one. Such, as we have seen is the case of comprehensive consociationalism. It is a much developed approach of

classical notions of consociationalism. It just works as a logical extension to classical consociationalism. Comprehensive consociationalism incorporates both internal and external factors. Traditional consociationalism deals with the inter-ethnic issues which occur in the territory of a particular state and tries to resolve these with the four institutional devices of grand coalition, proportionality, minority veto, and cultural autonomy. On the other hand, comprehensive consociationalism also addresses inter-ethnic relations but whenever needed goes beyond the boundary of state and impose an international liability on the state to provide solutions to these relevant issues as soon as possible. Comprehensive consociationalism is not just premised on the four institutional pillar of traditional consociationalism. It goes further and includes more comprehensive reforms in some other sectors too such security sector reforms, provision for the return of refugees and property restitution, policy for the migrants workers, asylum seekers and many more provisions (McCulloch 2009).

The role of international actors is also the part of comprehensive consociationalism. Rupert Taylor refers to it as the 'new wave' of consociational settlements. It is largely institutionally driven and reveals a number of additional features beyond the four consociational institutions. Therefore, these sorts of settlements may be referred to as comprehensive consociationalism.

O'Leary (2005: 34) referred it as the 'complex consociationalism' which not only include four institutional pillars but also have four more characteristics that make the consociational arrangements more dynamic. First, the consociational arrangements are meant to settle the dispute regarding self determination. This symbolises the politics is not all about the ethnicity, religion, or so on but people belong themselves to different societies (McCulloch 2009: 46). Second, consociationalism is a large peace project meant to end conflict through various provisions such as security sector reforms, human rights reforms, and provision for refugees and internally displaced people about their return and reintegration. Third, consociational arrangements comprise of some additional arrangements such as territorial autonomy or integration with the consociational arrangements. But the point to be noted here is that the consociational approach already includes territorial arrangements. Than how could it be an add on to the original

approach? Fourth, the arrangement includes in itself cross border arrangements such as intervention by the international organisation to bring peace or the role of external powers (McCulloch 2009).

Comprehensive consociationalism has gain credence over traditional consociationalism because this is an 'add on' approach to it, and it also played very significant role in establishing peace and security in deeply divided societies. The new wave of external conflict management has the immense capability to solve the instability in a particular state. This new typology has been used to typify the role of international actors in establishing peace in fragmented societies. This is widely based on the geostrategic calculations. Andrew Finley has made a robust critique of consociational approach (2011). He referred to these as 'third party mediator' which are external power acting in the name of consociationalism and working in favour to promote liberal internationalism. In his book he has made the strong claim that the problem with consociationalism arrangements is not as simple as consociational arrangements pretend to be. These arrangements not just institutionalise the ethnic division and privilege particular identities and groups but, more importantly, they close down the other ways of being. This is a matter of concern because it may be possible that a few years later there is a possibility that a more diverse society would emerge. We cannot predict if the people who have affiliation with one particular group may feel discontent with that particular group on few issues, then the chances exist of them shifting their affiliation with another group or more probably they may be classified as a new group. Sometimes, we see that the conflict torn societies are more subjected to the external powers mediation. However, this kind of international intervention may have spillover effect on a particular state such that it may exacerbate conflicts or may contribute to their resolution. Sometimes external powers intervene in a state on the demand of that particular state or in the name of securing international order because in today's world disturbance in one particular state may have a spillover effect on other states too. Therefore, every issue has become international in its aspect. The reason may be different to intervene, such as to protect human rights, in order to ensure territorial integrity, self determination. Many times the external power does not have valid reason to intervene in a particular state; they intervene for their selfish interests such as in the case of Lebanon. However, BiH is the case of imposed

stability: the involvement of the international community in bringing peace and stability is similar to the Lebanon case. However, in Lebanon case external powers got mixed up with the internal factors, consequently, bringing more instability rather than bringing stability, because the external power settlement of peace derived by their own self interests rather than being guided by a genuine sense to solve the problems of Lebanon (Jabbra and Jabbra 1983). But in the case of BiH, international community exclusively played important role in bringing peace.

The General Framework Agreement for Peace came into existence with the effort of the international community, which has shown that BiH required a more comprehensive consociational model which not only included the four traditional consociational institutions but also advocated reforms in other public sectors such as central banking, judicial institutions, relationship between Bosnia and its neighbours, role of international community in bringing peace, and last but not the least, security sector reforms, which included the rights of refugees or internally displaced (McCulloch 2009). The centripetal critics of the Dayton Accord argue that it has cemented the ethnic strife among the different communities rather than making BiH a non-ethnic entity. For instances, the Dayton Accord made provision that Serbs in the RS (Republika Srpska) would have only Serbs representatives and similarly Muslims and Croats in the Federation are able to elect their representatives only (Venice Commission Report 2006). Therefore, by analysing this situation, the minority which is living in the Federations and RS easily get disfranchised, i.e., Serbs living in Federation and Bosniaks in RS.

Consociational model provides incentives to the external powers because it facilitates the external management (Guelke 2012: 160). There are various ways through which peace settlement can be done such as security sector reforms, and by granting territorial autonomy. These are the best method which can provide peace and security in a particular society. Andrew Gualke (2012: 160) posits that if a country is being able to manage with cultural diversity and minorities demands by their own people such as through the deliberation among elites that would be a finest mode to bring peace because it would have more chances of taking root. Comprehensive consociationalism talks about the security sector reforms. Apparently this has become the need of the hour to

accommodate diversity in the security sector too, as it is one of the most significant pillar of the democracy. Christian Leuprecht (2011) has made a claim in support of multicultural diversity in the security and defence sector. He asked why in democracies are unrepresentative of the people whom they serve? Or why societies do not represent the minority in adequate manner? (Davis and Mason 2011, Christopher 2011). Karen D. Davis (2006) and Davis Mason and Christopher Dandekar (2007) provide concrete evidence in this regard. Mason and Dandekar have reviewed the United Kingdom government's evolving policy on the recruitment of minority ethnic groups to the armed forces. They have argued that armed forces do not represent minority population in an adequate manner. The SDR (Strategic defence review white paper, Ministry of Defence 1998) has set targets to incorporate minority groups in defence services. Despite these recommendations however, some percent has increased but not according the demographic trends. Therefore, it seems necessary for a democratic state to incorporate diversity for diversity's sake. Diversity in the security sector shows that how democratic a country is:

Democratic governments like to portray themselves as representing the people. To this end they enact both negative rights legislation to protect citizens from discrimination of various sorts and positive rights legislation rights legislation to rectify past wrongs and proactively increase the representation of underrepresented groups, why then are government bureaucracies consistently among the least representative institution in democratic societies?[.....] Security and defence sector is usually even less representative of the population as a whole than the rest of the government... [...] this is an inherent contradiction for all democratic government: they claim to govern societies that allegedly prize equality of opportunity yet they themselves trail the curve (Leuprecht 2011: 233).

In some countries minorities have been seen with suspicion. Therefore, they have not been appointed in the security sector on higher posts which indirectly minimised the threat of leakages of secrets, or if recruited than not in large numbers. These procedures seem quite undemocratic in their nature. For instance in India The Sachar Committee Report which had been released in 2006 about the socio-economic condition of Muslim minorities in India have not provided with the data regarding employment of Muslims in Army. There one can ask why largest service sector of India is not providing data of minorities participation? Whatever is the valid reason, but the general perception of the

people would be that because Muslim minorities have not enough participation in army so that they do not want to disclose the facts. In today's world, diversity has become the international norm (UDHR 1948). Therefore, every state must have to take care of it. They also have to institutionalise the mechanism to promote this, including security sector. Therefore, comprehensive consociationalism has the immense capability to incorporate diversity well. To make the minority more loyal to the state, there must be adequate representation of the minorities in the security in the sector that will turn the problem into the solution (Leuprecht 2011: 220). It will make the minority more secure in one particular state because there will be a representative of their community too that will eventually make the system more liberal towards them. Leuprecht (2011: 223, 231) also deals with the cohesion versus diversity debate as most of members of the army believes that diversity disrupts the unitary aspect of this sector. But empirically, diversity gives way to enhancing peace, and a diverse organisation is a good way to proceed towards inter-cultural cooperation.

Critique of Consociationalism

It is widely been suggested that consociationalism has proved to be a great approach to solve the problem of deeply divided societies. However, we see a lot of writing which is against this approach. In the 1960s and 1970s, consociationalism became a widely known typology in academic writings. Lijphart played crucial role in making this approach popular and useful for so many fragmented societies. First of all, he has applied it in the context of Scandinavian countries. He remained successful in describing their situation within this context and also provided solutions to their cultural diversity and minority issues. However, among academics concern is growing that the consociational approach is not very reliable for conflict torn societies. Similar to the critiques which were mounted against the multicultural approach, very same critique is consociationalism is entrenching division between different ethno-cultural groups (Nilson 1979). But Lijphart has responded to those critiques and asked who will complain about the institutionalisation of ethnic divisions because making society more plural and stable is the whole point of consociationalism (Finley 2011: 8).

As we have already seen, a lot has been said about the external power factors in regard to consociationalism. If one gives sight to the factors which have had very crucial role in exercising consociational approach, some of them are domestic level (sub-systemic) level factors and others are international (systemic level) factors, the term which has been used by Singer (1961). Both have played a very central role in establishing peace and stability in deeply divided societies such as in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Lebanon, and Belgium. Whereas in Lebanon and BiH external powers have played an important role in bringing peace, on the other hand Belgium is a much more peaceful place where divisions are so not deep, hence, it has never needed outside intervention to solve its internal problems. Lebanon and BiH are the post-conflict societies and developing societies as well. France and Belgium are developed countries and are able to solve their problem on their own where domestic factors have played very crucial role such as 'the role of elites'. The elite were conscious and capable to solve the issues being faced in their territory.

Countries in which international factors would have contributed to establish peace are not able to establish longlasting peace as compared to the countries in which domestic factors were predominant. This we can see in the case of Lebanon: where external powers have their so-called interest in establishing peace, they were not interested in establishing peace at all but their main motive is to fulfill their own interests. Same is the case of BiH, where, peace establishing arrangements which were made by the external forces were seen as case of imposed stability. Some writers like McCulloch (2009: 143) have stated that while the intervention by the external powers brought stability in BiH, but the domestic consociational arrangements are the main source for the establishment of peace. Similarly, Ulrich Secnekener (2002) has given more importance to the actor oriented factors. He argues that adoption and implementation of consociational arrangements relied upon the willingness of elites as how much they are wiling to cooperate with the demands of other groups.

McGarry and O'Leary have further developed the consociational model. They made this model more comprehensive by bringing this to the international arena. They argued that Lijphart has only concentrated on the domestic political institutions but despite this, at

some point of time a particular state's issues become boundaryless. Therefore, here the roles of international actors come into the picture. Hence, they are well concerned about the security sectors reforms, refugees problems, management of prisoners, and the promotion of languages rights and many more issues (McGarry 2003: 284). BiH is the case where some regional group possesses affiliations with other country's groups. In BiH the population is very much diverse: Bosniaks are in majority (48%), Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats represents the following 37% and 14% of the total population, remaining 1% represents the Roma and Jewish communities (Kasopovic 2005). When in the 1992 referendum for independence was boycotted by the Bosnian Serbs, they wanted to remain united with Yugoslavia. But by that time the European community has declared Slovenia as an independent state. The question still remain whether BiH should be seen as an independent state or should be considered as a part of Yugoslavia (McCulloch 2009: 145), but war soon broke out. massacre and atrocities occurred and ethnic cleansing prevalent.

Therefore, ethno-national identities which were so prevalent in BiH would become the very basis for the post war situation (Zahar 2006) or more commonly the basis of The General Agreement for Peace, which are also known as the Dayton Accord. The agreement according to the McCulloch was an 'imposed agreement'. Carl Bildt (1997: 139) phrases it as 'A Constitution by the international decree' where international community has played very important role other than their own communities, such as Bosnian Croats and Bosnian Serbs.

Even though consociationalism settles down the ethnic conflict, it turns a society into an ethnically divided society. Proponents of consociationalism argues that after sometime, when all will settle down, there will be no further need of consociational mechanism. In Northern Ireland and Austria, consociational mechanism has ended but critiques have suggested that these were not the cases deeply divided societies.

Andrew Finley (2011) deals with these issues, such as emerging technology of peace and how the liberal state has adopted illiberal policies and their practices in countries. Finley primarily focuses upon the third party mediator concept and criticises the approach on that basis. He argues that in the name of liberal consociationalism third party mediator is

actually working and spreading liberal internationalism. Martin Macloone (2004) argues that the sectarian political culture has delivered nothing but social disharmony and communal breakdown.

It has been argued that previous power sharing research has underestimated the long term negative consequences of power sharing on both democracy and peace. Jarstad (2008) has stated that to exercise the power sharing approach a state needs external support which minimises the importance of local power sharing. Sometimes, it lacks popular support if external power intervention deals with it heavilyhandedly. On the other hand, Sisk (2008) is in favour of it, arguing that international intervention promotes peace through the democratisation process. But in Jarstad's point of view it just freezes division by group representation. Similarly McGarry and O'Leary (2004) argue that Lijphart's Grand Coalition requirement is overstated: consociational arrangements become undemocratic when elites govern with fractioned or with lower level of support within their segments. It is also argued that if the executive has lower level of support it is less stable, or vice versa. For example, in Lebanon unreformed consociational model is still in practice which is not according to the ongoing situation. Robert Dahl (Krouse 1982) also criticises it as it favours 'elitist kind of democracy' as there is no role of the mass in the decision making process. Lijphart has referred to grand coalition as the 'cartel of elites' which is surrounded by the controversy and become the target of opponents' critique. It does not include the modern element such as mass participation in it. It is sometimes said that consociational democracy enhances mass awareness but this is not the case, as every decision is taken by the group of elites. Therefore, consociational theory does not enlighten the general people as they have a very limited role to play in the decision making process. Horowitz has criticised consociational power sharing model by referring it as 'corporate consociationalism'. According to him, corporate consociationalism is premised upon the fact that identities are fixed and groups are both internally homogenous and externally bounded. Identities are entrenched. Institutionalising the pre-existing identities decreases the possibility for elites to move towards moderate politics (Horowitz 1985: 566-76, 2003: 119, McGarry 2006). This type of corporate consociationalism still exists in some countries such as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, under

the original Dayton Accord, Northern Ireland under the 1998 Agreement, Lebanon under the National Pact and under the 1989 Taif Accord.

Although, there are various criticisms against the consociational power sharing approach but still the unprecedented work it has done so far needs appreciation. Its grand role in preventing reoccurrence of civil war in post-conflict societies can not be denied. As Timothy Sisk and Christopher Stefes (2005) state, power sharing is a useful and often desirable and necessary tool to make the transition from war to peace. Similarly, Deutsch (1973) dubbed consociational theory as 'productive conflict' whereby the divisiveness among the different groups on various issues, at last, through bargaining, turns into cooperation and brings peace and stability in a community.

Finley (2011) has made a claim that antagonistic relationship between the consociationalism and liberals now seems odd because consociationalism has now become the very popular liberal state approach to conflict resolution. He has also responded to the critique of consociationalism, such as consociationalism is institutionalising the ethnic division, but to the contrary he has argued that making ethno-national division productive is the whole point.

Conclusion

Consociational power sharing approach is a prominent approach which is influenced by the two levels of factors which are systemic level variables and sub-systemic level variables. Both levels of variables play very crucial roles in determining the performance of consociational power sharing approach. The best part of consociational approach is that it has basically evolved over a period of time. During this process it has inculcated many new elements in itself to provide better solutions to the issues of deeply divided societies which may have been the cause of divisiveness among different groups. Therefore, it would have been emerging as great tool to deal with situation of diversity in particular societies especially in liberal democracies. However, in every case it has not remained successful, but still it is a much better approach to provide solutions to culturally or ethnically diverse societies.

Consociationalism has gained credence because its methods to deal with the issues of cultural ethnic-cleavages are unique and reliable in themselves. Other approaches do not give emphasis on institutionalisation of provisions which are made to cope up with the demand of diverse groups. Whereas, in consociational power sharing approach, the main focus is upon the institutionalisation of various mechanisms which are meant to provide justice to the people and also to provide official recognition to different identities. Finally, its very focus is upon such kinds of mechanisms where the same community people are appointed for making laws for their community itself. Therefore, these members carry the responsibility of the success of their policies too. On this aspect, consociational power sharing approach is different from other approaches and is superior to other approaches. However, several criticisms have been levied and it is said that consociationalism entrenches divisions and makes them longlasting.

Every approach has their advantages and disadvantages but in case of consociationalism, the advantages have outnumbered the disadvantages. Therefore, it would be a better approach to deal with the issues of cultural diversity and minority rights in democratic states.

CHAPTER 4

MULTICULTURALISM AND CONSOCIATIONALISM: A COMPARISON

The prime aim of this research work is to analyse the issues of deeply divided societies, which can be the source of the deep social instability and severe individual/human insecurity in these particular societies. So far, in the last two chapters, the two theoretical bodies which have been used as to provide solutions for cultural diversity and minority issues in liberal democratic societies, i.e. multiculturalism and consociationalism have been elaborated. These powerful bodies of theory which have emerged in liberal democratic states to deal with cultural diversity and minorities issues have their own strengths and weaknesses, but still they can be seen as prime sources to deal with or provide solutions to the problems which can make society unstable and individual insecure. It has remained a matter of great concern for liberal democratic states to help each and every citizen to feel as an equal member of society. Therefore, it is the liberal democratic state's *responsibility* to provide conditions for the full fledged and or overall development of *all* citizens so that no citizen feels discriminated against.

The two theoretical bodies delineated in the last two chapters have been seen as the great mechanisms to stabilize the societies facing deep division on the basis of cultural diversity. Which theory better fits the end of liberal democratic states to treat each and every citizen as an equal and to provide equal living conditions to all. The two approaches taken up in this research work are multiculturalism, which is a policy oriented approach, and consociationalism, which is an institution oriented power sharing approach. This chapter will compare both theoretical bodies to assess as to which one can better provide solutions to the issues of deeply divided societies in liberal states.

These two theoretical bodies are based on totally different tenets. Multiculturalism is a policy-oriented approach in which the main focus is upon to make policies that protect and promote the rights and identities of diverse social groups and to provide legal

sometimes constitutional recognition to these policies. On the other hand, consociationalism is an institutions-oriented power sharing approach, in which the main focus is to make institutional arrangements that deal with the issues of cultural ethno-cultural diversity and especially minorities. In some liberal democratic countries, multiculturalism has been used as a tool to deal with these issues, whereas in other countries consociationalism is seen to be the preferred approach. In certain social contexts institutions are more important and have a crucial role to play while in other contexts policies play a more significant role. Here, it is not being suggested that where institutions are at work policies have no role to play, or vice versa. Instead, what is being suggested is that in certain social contexts multicultural policies by themselves can provide stability to the deep social division whereas in other cases do not suffice. Therefore, concrete measures have to be taken to give official recognition to multicultural policies. Similarly, arrangements of various institutional mechanisms would also be a useful tool to deal with these situations. It can be possible that in some context where neither approach can work alone; therefore, sometimes it would be better to have a combination of both approaches to better solve the problems created by deep divisions.

The four case studies taken up in this chapter are the France, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Lebanon. The first two countries are developed countries while the other two are the cases of developing countries. All four are democratic states. In France and Belgium there have been a long tradition of democracy whereas other two Bosnia and Herzegovina and Lebanon are the cases of nascent democracies. When the question of whether policies better work or institutions is applied to the four case studies, the following answers emerge. In France the preferable method to deal with the situations of cultural diversity is to adopt multicultural policies, but not focus is given to institutional arrangements. On the other hand, Belgium is a great combination of multicultural policies and or consociational institutional arrangements, in which both type of methods, have been used to solve the problem of social diversity. Both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Lebanon both are truly consociational in their nature with their focus upon institutions. However, if the institutions are not efficient, are not capable of implementing multicultural policies, these institutions in fact are worthless. For instance, policies in India such as MNREGA to provide hundred days employment to improve the socio

economic conditions of the rural population has irregularities in implementation that bring institutional mechanisms into question. Similarly, this would happen with policies too. Policies are worthless because, if they do not meet with the demand and needs of the people. Despite highly efficient institutions such policies are not able to do good to the people. Such is the case of France banning the veil in public places a policy that does not bother about the sentiments of French Muslims, although France as a developed country would not face any difficulty in implementing the policy although it will obviously face protests from the concerned. A one sided process does not make multicultural policies successful. But rather it is a complex process in which both policies and institution have to work together to make the policies worthwhile. Good policies can not be translated into the high-quality outcome if the institutions are not efficient. Similarly, if you have efficient institutions but your policies are not good, it will also create problems. Therefore, neither approach can work in isolation. The efficiency of both policy and institution must be in place if a liberal state wants to make each and every citizen of a particular community an equal member of society. There should be a balance between institutions and policies. If we take these approaches separately than the emphasis of the consociationalist approach is on institutions whereas multiculturalism focuses upon policies. Keeping the above in mind, what the four concrete cases do tell us is about the possibilities and limitations of liberal democratic polities using different instrument to deal with the cultural diversity and minority rights.

Here, it is not being suggested that the states that are following consociationalism do not have multicultural policies or that multicultural states do not have an institutions-based approach to pursue policies. Every liberal democratic nation can have either multiculturalism or consociationalism or both, but what is needed especially is the balance of both approaches. In Indian context, a good case which has applied a mixture of both approaches well in solving the issues regarding cultural diversity and minority rights, is the Sachar Committee Report. This report has shown great balance between the policies and institutional arrangements by recommending both types of methods in the Indian context. This report is about the socio- economic conditions of Muslims in India. It shows that despite being the largest among India's minorities, Muslims have been ignored by the system in each and every sphere. This report has analysed the different

policies which have been made to improve the conditions of Muslims in India but still they are lagging behind in the developmental process and remain backward. Therefore, the recommendations which have been made by the Sachar Committee Report are a combination of both the approaches. While it has recommended multicultural policies but it has also suggested that in making of policies the participation of sufficient number of community people for whom the policies are being made should be necessary. That is how these policies will do the justice to particular community people which are in a minority and will also best protect their rights. Therefore, The Sachar Committee Report represents a robust case which can be pursued by the liberal democratic states to solve cultural diversity and minorities rights issues. Therefore, keeping the above in mind. I would apply the Sachar Committee's methods to test the hypothesis and also apply it on the concrete cases which are my four case studies.

When we compare both the approaches then we find some features that are common and others peculiar. In terms of similarity, both the approaches are meant to deal with cultural diversity and minority issues but one's focus is on policies whereas the other's is on institutions. Both approaches are the supportive of collective group rights and find that securing the unique cultural context for a particular ethno-cultural group is essential. Therefore, both work in this regard but in different ways. Criticisms of both the approaches suggest that they are cementing the divisions between different groups, even where there are no divisions. On the one hand, multiculturalism maintains multicultural policies without officialising them (Berghe 1999). On the other hand, consociationalism officialises them through the institutional mechanism. Multicultural democracies do not officialise the laws and can therefore easily take back any law (Samooaha 2002). In both the approaches, the individual's affiliation and alliances with the state and with the particular community is strong and balanced.

The differences which these approaches possess will be assessed through the Sachar Committee Report which was released in the Indian context. Thus, India is better managing its cultural diversity and minority rights. The findings of the Sachar Committee Report can prove to be a better tool to analyse the four concrete cases which have been chosen for this research. First, the differences between consociationalism and

multiculturalism as seen through the lenses of The Sachar's Committee Report's recommendations will be elaborated. After that, those findings will be applied to concrete cases.

Sachar Committee Report and Recommendations: An Analysis

To accommodate cultural diversity there are various approaches and mechanisms that are practiced in liberal democratic societies, which have remained very successful in dealing with the demand of cultural diversity and minority rights. Here, the aim is to analyse the Sachar Committee Report in a way that would clearly elaborate the differences between multiculturalism and consociationalism approach before applying those findings on concrete cases. Looking at the conceptual understanding of these two approaches, find that multiculturalism is a policy oriented approach whereas consociationalism is an institutional power sharing approach. Both approaches have been adopted by the several democratic states to ensure justice to their citizens irrespective of their class, culture, race, religion and so on. The basic reason to espouse these approaches is in order to make each citizen a full and equal member of society.

In democratic states, equality is at the core of the liberal institution. To apprehend this concept, however, multicultural policies have been implemented by the liberal democratic states but still the cult of injustice exists among the culturally diversify groups. Therefore, demands are coming from different sections of society for a more just society. Without favouring one or the other approach, we need to analyse the loopholes which these approaches are countering, and also why these approaches are not being too successful in dealing with these cultural markers issues of the people. Why are they not being able to accommodate the demands of people of various sections or groups of society well?

After examining these two approaches I would argue that no approach can work in isolation. Each approach has its limitations. Therefore, a mixture of both the approaches can be work as an effective tool to accommodate the diversity issues efficiently.

To test the hypothesis this chapter takes up the case of the Sachar Committee Report which was released in Indian context. This report has shown that even though there are

various policies that implemented but still the minority's socio economic conditions have not much improved. The Indian state is a liberal democratic state and India is widely known as a secular country. The Constitution of India has clearly mentioned that the state will maintain equal distance from every religion and it will not associate itself with any religion, so that it can impart equal justice to all groups whether they are in minority or majority. But on other the hand, there are also major provisions in the Indian Constitution for all citizens which are mentioned in Article number 14, 15, 21, 25, 26, 29 and 30. Nonetheless, it is a widespread belief among the Muslims minority that even after 60 years of independence they have not received a fair share of the development process and are lagging behind in terms of community development. Their socioeconomic conditions are at the worst stage. However, it was said that the Indian state will provide special opportunities to improve their situation. There are lots of commissions that have already been set up and many reports have been released but nothing has been done in concrete to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the minorities. Even they are tired of presenting memorandums and now many of them want results. Even, among the minorities the conditions of Muslims are more vulnerable than those of any other sections. Therefore, the Sachar Committee has made some robust recommendations which include not only multicultural solutions to tackle these problems but also consociational solutions to improve the socioeconomic conditions of the Muslim minority, particularly because they are far behind in the developmental process are not getting their fair share of ongoing developmental process in proportion to their population.

Multiculturalism particularly focuses upon the policies which are meant to secure the particularities of different cultural groups. In other words, the prime focus of the multicultural approach is to make policies for different cultural groups to cope up with their group specific demands, which seems essential to them for their better living. While consociationalism is also somewhat similar to the multicultural approach, the aim of both being to deal with the cultural specific demands of different cultural groups, but the speciality of the consociational approach is to have special emphases on who are the people who are going to make these policies that can create large difference in providing solutions to these issues.

In Indian case, many multicultural policies have been made for the upliftment of the minority and other backward groups. But the dark side of this is that after implementation of these policies most of the sections of the minority are not still getting the full advantages of these policies. Especially, Muslims, according to the Sachar Committee Report, are the most deprived section of society. Policies are already set on the stage but still not doing well to the people for which they are meant. Deprivation of the particular section of the society still exists as it was.

Therefore, in liberal society such as in India Sachar Committee report has suggested that multicultural policies alone can not do well to Muslims. We need a mechanism through which the Muslim people can make policies for their own community's betterment. Therefore, policy for the community by the community member itself is the main purpose. This is the core assumption of consociationalism to make the minority a full member of the society. This concept seems very similar to the Partha Chatterjee (1998) concept of 'constitutional strand' of secularism, which he has developed in the context of India. Chatterjee made a claim that in India religion is very important. All religion should be able to determine its own laws through the process of debate or discussion within a community. In a secular country certain laws are made for different community. In this constitutional process each religion elects their members. Whereby, each religion is allowed to think for itself and can become a part of state power and machinery. Similarly, consociationalist approach works on the same philosophy, where every religion, group or sect have right to make policies for the betterment of their own community people. Policies not by others but made by their own people can best protect the rights and desires of their own people because the policy makers are very well aware about the needs and demands of their particular groups. Therefore, the willingness and amount of responsibility of the members will decide the success of the policies. And if the policies are not working in a particular context then it becomes their own community members' responsibility to make policies relevant according to the present scenario. Therefore, the concept of responsibility leads these policies towards the gateway of success.

The approach where, people are responsible for the making of policies for their own community is called consociationalism. In other words, policies are multicultural in their

nature and made to cope up with the demands of the different ethno cultural groups but the prime concern for consociationalism approach is about who are the making policies. In multiculturalism, the focus is upon making multicultural policies. Who is making these policies is not the prime concern for them.

As we see in different cases, consociational provisions have remained quite successful in providing stability in deeply divided countries such as Belgium or Lebanon. On the other hand, making policies against the will of any specific cultural groups can create feeling of resentment among the people such as in France (banning the veil). These are repressive multicultural policies, because the people who have made these are not aware about the importance of the particular cultural practices in a particular group. Therefore, there is a strong need to take care of the sentiments of the people.

When we analyse the Sachar Committee report, we find that this report has made robust claims regarding the socio-economic and educational status of the Muslim minority in the Indian context. This report has shown that despite being a large section of population, Muslims in India are very backward in social, economic and educational sphere of life. Therefore, it is the need of the hour to have some policies especially for the Muslim minority to bring them at equal position to the other sections of the community. Sachar Committee Report has made certain recommendations to bring 'Identity, Security, Equality' among the different sections of the society. Concomitantly, its aim to improve the situation of Muslim minority too. But if we see the progress report after 7 years of operation, we find that nothing much has been done and achieved so far. The recommendations which this report has made need immediate responses from the government at a very large scale. This report has said that the issues regarding the Muslims education and employment should be on the top priority of the government because according to the recommenders the SC/STs were backward when India got independence, but there has been a considerable amount of change in their status and needs. Their number has increased in governmental jobs and not only in fourth category job but in the first category also. The need to realise the issues of depravedness regarding Muslims (who are 13.4% of the total population) just in the same manner as the issues regarding SC/ST had been realised earlier. For every democratic country where India is

not only democratic but a secular in its nature if a particular section of a society is feeling discriminated than it can be considered a great threat to its legitimacy. Therefore, to be known as democratic and to keep up its legitimate image among the eyes of the people it becomes necessary to provide or make available the equal fair share of development process to each and every section of the community. Keeping these things in mind, Sachar committee has proven itself to be a meaningful document.

This report has gathered data from various departments and institutions of the state and central government to know about the democratic participation of the Muslims in employment, education and developmental works. Muslims are 13.4% of the total population and are considered as the minority in India. Approximately 41% Muslims identified themselves from OBC category (2004-2005) where in 1999-2000 this proportion was 32% and the Muslims SC/STs according to the NSSO 55th round and 66th rounds are following 0.8% and 0.5%. Therefore, it becomes crucial to draft policies and measures that take care of the needs of the Muslims population in India. This becomes important so that the Muslim majority will not feel isolated from the mainstream population. Issues and problems regarding them should be seen on the top priority of national agendas.

Sachar committee suggests that there should be a development and increment of minority institutions. These would become useful tools to ensure their progress and will provide a systematic way to ensure their well being. This report pointed to a very important issue, the Muslims population prefer to live in the area where they are in majority so that they can feel secure. But report has shown that those areas where Muslims are concentrated are lacking proper living facilities such as lack of primary schools, no proper water supply, unavailability of health services and many more. It has been widely noticed that the municipal corporations of these areas avoid the development of these minority concentrated areas. Consequently, this has great ramifications on the overall progress of the Muslims.

The consociational solutions that can be ensured to the Muslim groups include the reservation of political seats for Muslim candidates within these constituencies. The leaders who are associated with these communities would be better judging the situations

that Muslim face. Accordingly, they will bring smoothness in the life of their own community people.

Secondly, there are various policies that have been made for Muslims regarding granting them financial assistance through bank loans. But most of the policies have failed. It has been noticed in this report that under the banner of 15 Point Programme, Reserve bank of India has given the loans but most of the beneficiaries are from the other backward class particularly from Hindu religion. Therefore, Muslims OBC are not getting fair share of these policies. The banks are hesitant to give them loans than private banks, even though the amount which has sanctioned in government bank is high than the private banks but private banks are more lenient in issuing the loans but of small amounts (128).

The report reveals that in terms of having accounts in the banks Muslims numbers are good but conditions are worse when it comes to the outstanding amounts. The outstanding amount for per account for Muslims is about half that of other minorities and one third of 'other' (131). This report has suggested that even though the 15 point programme has been successful in issuing direct loans to other minorities but here also we noticed that it has been failed in terms of having account of Muslims populations and of having outstanding amount for Muslim minorities in proportion to their population. There are two specialized institutions also lending loans to minorities such as SIDBI and NABARD but report has noticed that still the number of beneficiaries from the Muslims populations is very low. However, these banks have lots of capability to improve the existing conditions of the Muslims but there are some factor which matters a lot are some negligence issues, which is that the state led agencies do not issue the caste certificate to them and difficulties not over yet but there are some provisions that if you want to get loans from a government or the private institution then one must have government officials as a guarantor which are not easily available for a common Muslim. Other community officials do not want to take guarantee of them. In sum, the advantages of policies or the amount which has been passed for this section betterment not go in the hand of deserving candidates.

Therefore, firstly; the need is that this type of provisions should be abolished which are working as hurdle in issuing financial assistance to the Muslims minority. State officials

must be sensitized on these issues so that they can feel the plight of these people. Muslim minority especially requires these kinds of financial assistance but unfriendly nature of policies and officials make this kind of assistance impossible.

We see partiality by officials, in issuing caste certificate to Muslims but there are cases of not issuing BPL (below poverty line) card to the Muslims. Just because of this insensitiveness of these officials Muslims are not able to get the advantages of ongoing policies such as MNREGA and of other policies. We can have consociational solutions for these existing problems. For instance, to make governmental agencies more sensitive towards the issues regarding Muslims minority, Muslims officials must be appointed at every level of state led institutions. Consequently, the chances of discrimination can be minimised. Similar step can be taken to make institution gender just institution by having adequate Muslims women participation.

This report has also revealed that the Muslims concentrated constituencies have reserved for the SC/ ST candidate for political leadership. There we see a clash between the interests of two groups. The seats which should have been reserved for Muslims are reserved for SC/STs which cannot be justified. Therefore, only making consociational policies without considering the ground reality leads towards the deprivation and discrimination of particular section of the society. These constituencies should be reserved for the Muslims candidates only. The report suggested that affirmative actions are not very successful when inequality is driven from socio economic factor. But having affirmative policies in jobs and education, which are for Muslims section must have ramifications on their socio economic conditions. Once, they have adequate representation in every field in proportion to their population than significant contribution can be made in their socio-economic status. This would better and that will also leads towards the changes in the mindset of the other community people. This would eventually lead to a situation where there would be no need for reservation. In other words check and balances mechanism should be there to analyse the feedbacks of these affirmative actions. And if the situations has improved than there will be no further need to have reservation. But as long as they are lagging behind in developmental process

there is a strong need to have these affirmative action. It is the responsibility of the democratic government that no one should be left out from the developmental process.

This report also shows that in 58 districts Muslims population is more than 25% of the total population. It has recommended that these districts should be included in 15 point programme and special packages should be issued for these areas. The Committee has recommended that education is the core area where government needs to work. In this particular area Muslim community is facing various problems like medium of education where only primary education is available in their own (Urdu) language but as they go for higher or medium level studies then the education is not available in their desired language. Therefore, this also works as hurdle in getting education. Also some provisions that have been designed by the government in Muslim concentrated areas do not operate for maximum benefit. For instance, Vocational training institutions has been established by the government but the qualities of education they provide are not up to the mark. These institutions produce low wage workers who do not get any incentives because the jobs which these kind of courses offer are mostly in informal sector and basically are fourth grade jobs. Another possibility is that if a person tries to establish their own business then most of them do not have the requisite resources like finance and infrastructure to mobilise opportunities. In some cases, bank loans are granted but the amount is meagre which is not of much help to establish large business venture. To improve the educational conditions of Muslims the committee has recommended that there is need to increase the fund for Moulana Azad Education Foundation to 1000 crores. This foundation has enough capability to do something in Muslim welfare. Most of the Muslims children are getting education in *Madarsa* but they are very poor in infrastructure, no proper facilities are available and no adequate funds are being issued by the government to improve the qualities of education, infrastructure, and for the modernization purpose of *Madarsa*'s.

Muslims numbers are not only near to the ground in low grades jobs but in higher grades jobs also. Muslims representation in Indian Administrative Services is 3% but 1.8% in Indian Police Services and 4% in Indian Foreign Services. Committee has received data of 88 lakhs employee which are working in different government departments, agencies

and institutions where Muslims are only 4.4 lakhs (4.4%) of total number. Whereas, the data regarding PSUs (public sector units) among 1.4 million employees, only 3.3% in central PSUs and 10.8% in state PSUs are Muslim employees. This data show that Muslim participation is very low not only in state governed institutions but in central government institutions.

There are lots of programmes that are being running by the centre or state government such as Yashasvini Co-operative Farmer Health Care Scheme. This scheme is world largest known self funded health scheme which provides surgical cover facilities to the registered farmers and their family members too. But data shows that till the date March 2006, 17.01 *lakh* people have benefited from this policy in Karnataka but the percentage of beneficiaries from Muslims community is only 1%. Similarly, data shows that National Backward Classes Finance and Development Corporation issued 246 crores for funds but only 23 crore has been allocated to Muslims minority. Similarly, in every state Muslims participation is good in some schemes but over all participation in every policy and scheme is very low.

Therefore, by analysing Sachar Committee Report, we can argue that Muslims are a large minority section and are marginalised in most of the policies which have been made to improve the conditions of all vulnerable and backward groups. However, some policies remain significant in dealing with minority backwardness issues but still the large number of Muslim population is feeling the cult of deprivation. A major section of Muslims population is living below the DBL (double below poverty line). In a democratic states, where participation in political arena and in other sphere is done through the democratic means, still after the 60 years of independence Muslims are at its worst stage in terms of education, poverty, health, employment, living status and so on and so forth. It has happened because they are not getting the equal fair share of developmental process where after 1990s new liberal policies has been adopted and it is said that everyone is gaining the fruitful advantages of these policies. But it is crystal clear that the conditions of Muslims minority have not much improved yet. Policies are there but they are lagging behind because their issues have not been addressed by others in well mannered way. There is a need to analyse these issues in their own. Multicultural policies exist but who

the people are making those policies is the matter of concern. Therefore, through the consociational means a liberal democratic state can ensure minorities participation in each and every field. Sachar committee argue that by making democratic policies and reserving seats for Muslims minority, we can ensure their equal participation in every field. But in India, these policies can do good but there is lack of enthusiasm among government officials to make adequate policies for the betterment of these sections. Even though, the SC/STs case is a great example to follow but still there is clear lack of vision or zeal among the government personnel to make such types of policies.

Consociational democracy has four instrumental mechanisms such as grand coalition, minority veto, cultural autonomy, proportional representation which have a great capability to ensure equal participation and justice to minority sections in any community. The countries like Lebanon and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) are better in dealing with their cultural diversity through the consociational procedures. In Lebanon the operation of proportionate representation has given to the three major sects such as the post of president would be reserved for Maronite, the speaker of house will be Shia, and the Prime Minister seat will be reserved for Sunni sect. Therefore, by reserving seats of highest offices Lebanon has been able to deal with the issue of cultural diversity. In BiH case consociational means have remained very successful in bringing end to the brutal war and eventually had brought the stability in a deeply divided society. BiH is an 'Asymmetrical Federation', which is made up of Unitary Republic Srpska and the Multiethnic Federation of BiH. These two units are very much autonomous in dealing with their issues, and all social political institution evolved on the basis of principle of proportionality.

Therefore, consociational arrangements have capability to bring stability in culturally diverse society. That would be a better choice if a particular community matters is solved by the community itself because these people know very well that which type of policies will not hurt their interest rather will protect their interest in adequate manner. Hence, Sachar community recommendations are very much consociational in their nature. If, we take the Lijphart's (1996) argument that India is a consociational democracy in 1947-64 period because it posses all characteristics of consociational democracy but if we

compare it with other consociational democracies such as with Lebanon, than it is not a truly consociational. Because as in Lebanon, highest offices posts are reserved according to the population demographic weight but such types of arrangements we do not find in India. Rather Wilkinson (2000) argues that the claim by Lijphart is not valid because other countries which have adopted these methods are stable. In other words, incidents of violence have increased in India just because of its consociational nature of democracy. People are demanding more rights for better living and they become violent but at the same time on other places consociational methods have been used to stabilise the countries. This argument seems true but there is no other way to deal with these demands of protecting cultural markers. Only by making multicultural policies a state cannot accommodate its minority sections but they should have proper representation of these minorities in the panel that is going to make these policies.

Therefore, what is to be done now is serious question which needs to be tackled urgently. Sachar committee have provided adequate data's regarding minority conditions in India and also suggested recommendations to improve the situation of the Muslims minority population. Apparently, these recommendations are consociational in their nature can make larger difference in existing situations of Muslims if applied.

After analysing Sachar Committee Report, now I would try to apply its findings on four concrete cases and will try to show whether these are helpful in understanding the situations of these four cases or not.

France

France has always been a great example to show that how a democratic state incorporates its cultural diversity and minority rights. France is a republican democratic state. It has developed various multicultural policies to incorporate the demands of different cultural groups but still have not remained very successful in providing appropriate solutions to these issues. It is a democratic state with republican values but still is not being able to incorporate or willing to give full recognition to minority rights, even of those who have been living in France since many decades.

If we apply 'Foucauldian Notion of Power' (Foucault 1980: 94; 108) in this case, we find that on the one hand, the state tries to behave as a well wisher of minorities and assure them that it will providing all kinds of facilities to develop and protect minority culture but on the very other side, it tries to create structural hurdles so that despite being providing the different kind of incentives, minorities group are not being able to develop or flourish. State in France tries to develop such type of structure as in shallow sense; it shows as it has full faith in human rights prerogatives and it wants to protect minorities through various means by passing various legislations. On the other hand, they have made the structure (system) as such which is not allowing minorities to develop at their fullest. France's law of banning veil in public place is a good example of it. After the 9/11 attack the preconceived dreadful thinking regarding Muslims people in France have become strong as they have always been looked at with suspicion. The atmosphere in France is not so Muslim minority friendly. In recent times, in the political sphere too intensive extremism among political parties is emerging. The political parties which have a more extremist ideology win the elections. However, France always tries to justify its policies by calling them integrationist policies but in reality they are assimilationist in their nature.

In France there has been no constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism at the central, regional or municipal levels. However, a culture ministry has been established but there are no provisions to implement policies in consultation with ethnic communities (Tolley 2011).

Article 1 of the French constitution (1958) says that, 'France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion. It shall respect all beliefs'.

Some writers and reports interpret this as an affirmation that 'France does not recognise minorities, whether they are ethnic, religious, linguistic or other. Under French law, all citizens have equal rights, and the law is not intended to accommodate any specific rights to given 'groups' defined by their community of origin, culture, beliefs, language or ethnicity' (Delvainquière 2007:20).

France provides dual citizenship to its citizens. Everybody who is a citizen of France can have two citizenships (Howard 2005; United States Office for Personnel Management 2001). The other crucial point is that the French system does not provide an exemption from the dress codes as it follows the universalistic definition of the equality (Latraverse 2008: 3). Differential treatment is only permitted on socio economic grounds not on the cultural basis. This has been clearly stated in French case law, as it will not recognise such groups as legal categories (Latraverse 2008). Even the wearing of religious symbol in school have banned in France. (Schiff et al. 2008: 11) point out that ‘after a long and much publicized debate, regulations regarding the respect of the secular principle (laïcité) in schools were made more stringent and a law was instituted on March 15, 2004 which explicitly bans the public wearing ‘of signs or clothing through which students ostentatiously manifest their religious faith’ (Law n° 2004: 228).

We see that there have acute pressure is being made by the different countries to make changes in their exemption laws. For instance India has put pressure on the French government to reconsider its ban on turban. However, President Sarkozy refused to do so notably because France believes in the principle of secularism and neutrality therefore, these would be apply on everyone including Sikhs. No special treatment will be given to any group or community people.

In France, according to its laws of association which were passed in 1901 and extended to foreign born and immigrants provide some rights to them as to make association as long as they follow the Constitution and respect its core principle such as freedom, equality, secularism. To create social cohesion in France, an agency has set up to tackle with these issues, which is the Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunities (2006). It was created after the Paris suburb’s riots; the prime aim of this agency is to enhance civic participation, social cohesion, diversity, crime prevention, anti-discrimination among different community people. This agency also provides support to other organisations in delivering a variety of integration services.

The French school system makes only a few provisions to deal with the ethno cultural diversity. Some courses have been offered in ‘languages and culture of origin’ by the French government. Critics argue that these are not initiatives which have been taken

voluntarily taken to assimilate the people into the French culture. Therefore, they have negative ramifications on the minority people's life. In France, multicultural policies can be made but not on ethnic racial basis but to provide socioeconomic justice to the people. Therefore, the programme or policies which are differentiating citizens should clearly show that they would have been made to improve the socio economic conditions of the people (Fuga 2008: 6).

France is not very liberal in making policies for the minority people's betterment. Concomitantly, it also creates constraint through various means as by making other sphere policies which indirectly affect the minority communities or other ethno-cultural groups. For instance, France does not allow data collection on the ethnic racial basis. Consequently, this has become a hurdle in further making affirmative actions because if the state is denying to collect data on ethnic racial basis than how will it endorse the ethno-cultural policies. Collecting data about the different cultural groups which are residing under the particular territory is the primary step towards the making of welfare policies for ethno-cultural minorities. Despite this, it has been earlier argued that there are various state sponsored programmes which are meant to protect the rights of 'disadvantaged' groups in various sectors such as in employment, education and public services.

In France, it is the duty of the state to ensure that all people are potentially able to participate in cultural life. Equal access to culture for citizens is written in the French Constitution, which is the integral part of the overall development (Janssens and Lebon 2011). But it has also significantly mentioned that it will not provide any special treatment or rights to any minority groups. However, there are various positive aspects to promote cultural diversity and minority rights which need to be taken into account. France is aiming at extending and diversifying audiences through various means such as mentioned in the report:

Equal access to culture is written into the French constitution: it is incumbent on the state to ensure that all potentially able to participate in cultural life. More generally, it is widely recognised in France that culture is an integral part of the overall development (including socio and economic development)... [...] A range of policies have been devised to *correct recognised inequalities* due to

geographical, economic and social obstacles impeding participation in cultural life. They are aimed at extending and diversifying audiences, and fostering the development of the widest possible range of cultural and artistic activities in all cultural fields. These policies take shape in, for example, initiatives that benefit certain sections of the population and priority geographical areas.

- (Janssens and Lebon 2011:4)

The state government has continued to play a significant role in public funding of culture. Simultaneously, the contribution of local and regional authorities has significantly increased and it represents 60% of overall funding. The report has shown that municipalities can also take action in cultural activities but it depends on their political will to which degree they want to invest in culture. Some positive trends are that inter-municipalities cooperation is increasing. There have been increasing trends to transfer the power from central government to regional level. France is also working to foster foreign culture in its territory and to fulfil that purpose Ministry of Culture exposes their audiences to other cultures. It also organises cultural events to enhance cooperation with other countries with the help of foreign embassies. Among them, Institute of Arab World is the important association which is the joint effort of the France and twenty two Arab countries to promote harmonious relationship among different countries. In France, from 1992 local body can also engage in international cooperation. That would prove to be really helpful in developing cultural ethnic relations with the other countries. Ministry of Foreign Affairs also supports these regional bodies to provide finance and mobilising the services of the external network of the France. France also has officially adopted the UNESCO (2005) Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression in 2006, which is to be known as the first laws on culture at the international level.

Therefore, France is a country which is trying to accommodate the new challenges posed by the new reality such as by the globalisation, which is very much responsible for the cultural diversity. Although, it has made some changes or brought new policies, but still the atmosphere and the core principles of the French Constitution has proven to be a hurdle to accommodate the cultural diversity and minority rights issues.

Belgium

Belgium is a robust case for consociationalism and also a good example of multicultural democracy. Belgium is a country which has dealt with its cultural diversity brilliantly and also has set an example for others to follow. Belgium follows a catch all models where it has accommodated its linguistic diversity skilfully.

The Belgian linguistic struggle is one of the many signs indicating that it is exactly divisiveness which is the most distinctive feature of European civilization that which distinguish European from any other civilisation (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991). Even though it is argued that European countries have maintained the culture to give freedom and show respect towards the human rights of diverse minorities or ethnic groups. yet. we find some sorts of intolerance vis a vis persons and groups (Eurobarometer 1989: 1).

Similar to the French case, in Belgium frustration and strife occur due to the poor socioeconomic conditions of the migrants or *migranten* and immigrants or *immigranten* not because of multicultural aspects of society. In Belgium, poverty works as catalyst for all kind of disputes. Therefore, multicultural aspect of the society is not really the reason of strife but sometimes it may be the poor socioeconomic conditions of the marginalised groups which lead to the system towards instability.

Belgium has recognised that homogenisation is not the solution of all problems. Therefore, the rights of the minorities have to be recognised. And to fulfil that purpose minority member's participation in every governmental and non-governmental institution should be made necessary. Belgium has adopted the consociational power sharing approach to better deal with its minority and ethnically diverse people's issues and it also has remained successful in providing them all the rights which they are subject to (Blommaert and Verschueren 1991). Therefore, according to the constitutional reforms of 1990s it has been made mandatory to run the state machinery through consociational method, which will be able to create secure social context for different ethno-cultural groups. These consociational reforms made it essential that the Flemish and Francophone communities would have equal membership in cabinet. Apart from this, the changes also

have made in the Senate to accommodate the emerging demands of the different communities. Among 71 senators, 41 represents the Flemish population while 29 represents the French speaking, Walloon population and a senator will represent the German community. The judiciary is also divided between the Dutch and French language group and it is mandatory for the judges to know the German language. Therefore, judiciary also represents the all three language groups (Tolley 2011: 19).

All communities have full authority to choose the syllabi and language for teaching purpose which has mentioned in the article number 24, 127 and 129 of the Constitution Belge (1994). These are the provisions which are made to control the sub-systemic situations. Besides this the most exclusive part IV of the Belgian Constitution is that it provides high level autonomy to the regions to participate in the international bodies, treaties etc. to enhance the cooperation with other states (Tolley 2011:21).

Belgium is a federal state with three regions which are Wallonia, Flanders, and Brussels and three linguistic communities Flemish, French and German. The issues which fall under the jurisdiction of the state are high politics issues such as foreign affairs, social security, national defence, public health, migration etc. Other issues are dealt with by the regions such as economy, environment, housing and labour market. Communities are responsible for the language, culture, education and health and welfare issues (Tolley 2011, Flander. be 2010).

Policies are different for the different regions. Each entity has full control on the issues which belongs to their community. Flemish community has also issued a decree in 1998 that set out a three track policy in respect to ethnic minorities besides this it also pursue "3Ps" policy to enhance inter cultural interaction which is known as participation, personnel and programming. Janssens and Lebon (2008) argued that living together in diversity has been a priority of the Flemish government since 2004 (Tolley 2011). Apart from this, there have been various measures taken by the federal government such as the intercultural commission (2004) has appointed to promote the intercultural dialogue between the various significant cultural ethnic-groups (Gsir at al. 2005). This commission in 2005 released a report which shows that Belgium is a multicultural country and recommended the various measures to strengthen this aspect. The recommended

measures included the creation of the institute of the Islam, the opening of the museum of immigration and also the Interuniversity observatory on migration and ethnic minorities (Tolley 2011). It is to be argued that these policies will be helpful in enhancing cooperation between different cultural ethnic groups.

But there we can also see pitfalls in implementing cultural ethnic provisions in Brussels region where Flemish are slightly overrepresented. It is to be said that Flemish are enjoying more political power which is not according to their demographic proportion. Dirk Jacobs (1999) argued that the advantageous situation of Flemish in Brussels is balanced by the advantageous situation of the Francophones on the national level. On the other side, some positive measures have also been taken up by the government such as, in Belgium Francophones are in minority but still an enough number of their ministers will be appointed in federal government. Also there is an alarm bell situation through which Francophones can block any decision which is detrimental to their interest. Therefore, in Belgium there are enough provisions to be made to tackle with the cultural diversity and minorities rights issues (Jacobs 1999).

Tensions are still in Belgium between the different linguistic groups. The Flemish community antagonism over the issue that unfair amount of federal tax payments going to Wallonia. In 2006 Federal parliament debated the issue of independence for the regions, 77 out of 78 Flemish members of parliament voted in favour of the debate while 51 Walloon members voted against. But as we see gradually the support for Flemish Nationalist Party Vlaams Belang was decreasing as in 2004 it had won over 24% vote but in 2010 they won 12 seats in chamber of representatives and in the senate. Their support has shifted to the centre right separatist party (MRGI 2011).

However, the Flemish nationalist party is not anti immigrants but against those immigrants who do not assimilate in the host country. They are against the spreading of the Muslims in Europe and want to limit the mosque in the Europe. Similarly, on the other hand German speaking people want their own region. In Belgium, we see that certain types of criteria has been set up for the mosque to get the public funding and the criteria were are very much outside to the Arab rituals as in there must be tolerance for the women and homosexual and no preaching of extremist ideas. These restrictions apply

only to Islam. But where as in other region rules are different for example, second region which is Walloon region has set up the same rules for the all religion and the Brussels is considering this matter what kind of criteria should be setup (Letraverse 2008)

Till date Belgium has not ratified the council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minority (FCNM), which is the only binding treaty for the protection of minority rights. The European Commission against Racism and Tolerance in 2009 expressed its concern over vulnerability of different cultural and ethnic groups which are residing in the Belgium. As it is stated that:

The ongoing racist, 'Islamophobic' and 'Xenophobic' discourse which are going on in both political and public life and it also identified Muslims, Jews Communities, travellers, refugees and asylum seekers as vulnerable groups (MRGI 2011).

Also there was a survey in 2009 done by The Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism at Leuven Catholic University, Findings of this survey suggests that 48% of Flemish people considered the values of Islam to be a threat to Europe and 37 percent believed that most Muslims do not respect European Culture and way of life (MRGI 2011).

In Belgium there are three languages declared as the national languages which are French, Dutch, and German. Belgium constitution Belge has not specifically mentioned itself a multinational state but on the other hand, declared itself a nation as a whole but still it has provided autonomy to its region on large manner therefore it can be recognised as some sorts of multi-nationalism and multiculturalism (MRGI 2011) .

In Belgium population is very much fractured in their ideology, as on the one hand, some people are supporting freedom of religious choice whereas on the other hand, some have raised strident anti Islamic tone. If we take the case of language then we find that in Belgium various languages have been spoken such as Picard, Champenois, Lorrain, Low Dietsch, Luxemburgish and Yiddish, but here the crucial point is that the Belgium has not signed or ratified yet the European centre for languages which would provide legal protection to these languages (Fautre 2004). The case of intolerance and victimisation were recorded by human rights without frontier (IHF 2001) which include victimisation

at the school, at work place, at neighbourhood, hate speech in media, denial and loss of child custody etc (IHFHR 2002). The power of financing different religious communities is in the hand of federal state but it is to be said that the Islam has been discriminately under financed by the state (IHFHR 2002:3). Apart from the government sector non governmental organisations are also contributing their share in promoting diversity and innovating the new ways through which the people from different groups can live together with harmony. They are active on regional, municipal, international levels and their prime focus is upon promoting global integration problem of ethnic minority (Delvainquiere 2008).

Therefore, however it is to be said that Belgium is a quite much developed or moderate country in dealing with the cultural diversity and minority issues but there are some pitfalls which hinder Belgium is to be classified as a cultural diversity and minority friendly country. However, it has made some measure but still not has proven to be appropriate in dealing with the demand of different cultural group people. If we do comparison of both the developed country than we come to know that France has assimilative model, where immigrants are perceived as permanent and equal member of the society but only when if they assimilate them into the dominant culture schemes and try to make their affiliation only to the civic nation which is the only political and public relevant form of their collective classification. Whereas, Belgium has a catch all model in which the effort has made to incorporate minorities into the public and political life of the society (Jacobs 1999). Jodit Lovisek (2010) argues that the purpose of the Belgium catch all model is to synchronize all the elements of the civic principle, and at the same time also accommodate the multicultural demands. But the borderline between both is very much fuzzy. therefore, it can also assimilate the minorities where needed.

Thus, both the developed countries have their own procedures to deal with the demand of the cultural diversity and minority issues. Still, Belgium has proven to be more moderate in dealing with these new emerging demands.

Lebanon

The third and the fourth case studies are Lebanon and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Both these countries are newly emerged democracies and robust cases of consociational democracy. Consociational democracy has been considered as a better way to manage the cultural diversity in democratic countries. Some scholars argue that Lebanon has been the most successful case of consociational democracy as it has persisted for 32 years, although it resulted in failure as other authors have argued. Historically, Lebanon is an extraordinarily diverse country where we not only find Muslim-Christian cleavages but besides these seventeen different sects also exist. This provides the background conditions for the establishment of consociational democracy. In this context, it has also become important to recognise or give proper rights and place of different community's people at different level such as the social, economic, political and cultural levels. The Muslim population consist of three sects who are Shi'ite, Sunni, and Druze. On the other hand, the Christians are divided into the various sects such as Maronite, Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Armenian Orthodox and Armenian Catholic (Seaver 2000). Protestants and Jews are in minority in Lebanon. Palestinians which are residing in Lebanon are 85% Muslims and 15% non-Maronite Christians. Lebanon is a parliamentary republic, with a Maronite Christian president, Sunni Muslim prime minister, Shia Muslim speaker of the chamber of the disputes, based on the national of pact 1943 (MRGI 2007).

Lebanon's Islamic majority is sharply divided into Sunni and Shia grouping. So these groups are also politically divided. No proper majority exists in Lebanon. The Shia is near 32%. They feel more associated with the Arab tradition of living. Maronite Christians (16%) and Sunni Muslims (18%) have long dominated Lebanese Government and maintained close relationship with former coloniser France and other Western countries. There are also smaller Palestinian groups (10%), Druze (7%), Greek Orthodox (5%), Greek Catholic (5%), Armenians (3%), Alawis (3%) and Kurds are near about 1% (State of the World's Minorities 2007). There is a serious problem with Palestinian refugees. Their total population is nearly about 4,00,000 Palestinians who live in the south whereas others live in camps (MRGI 2007).

In Lebanon, most of the ethnic cultural or minority group live highly segregated throughout the country. The Palestinians are denied citizenship, although the restrictions were loosened in June 2005 (Country Report on Human Right Practices 2013). In other areas, such as in certain occupations, they are barred and forced to get into manual labour. Therefore, here we see discrimination of the state towards certain groups. They are denied status similar to the other cultural-ethnic groups. The main motive to adopt consociational provisions is to prevent the power going into the hands of one particular community. Therefore, constitutional provisions were made to distribute the power among different communities, and also the positions according to the religion that would consequently prevent one group to dominate the other group.

On the eve of independence from France (1943), Lebanon tried to pacify both the desires of Muslims and Christian rather than aligning with any group such as any Western or Islamic camp. In Lebanon, the post of president would be reserved for a Maronite and the speaker of the house will be Shia and the prime minister will be Sunni. Roeder and Rothchild analyse the cases of Lebanon, India, Ethiopia and South Africa and argue that these cases have lot more things to say, but they both are also very sceptical of its overall and long term value. In none of these states, consociational power sharing has remained for the long term. In Cyprus and Nigeria it has lasted only for following 3 years and 9 years respectively, because the elite were not being able to have consensus amongst themselves. However, Lebanon has faced many crises but still it has remained successful in fetching foreign capital that has lead to economic development (Hudson 1976). Some proportion of the population was in support of confessionalism, which is a form of consociationalism in which the seats of highest offices are proportionately distributed among the different religious groups or sects according to their demographic weight. But it has underrepresented the smaller minorities. It is also argued that whichever group holds the most political power may use government to favour of itself at the expense of the group, or even to oppress rival groups. The Lebanese system has used consociationalism to overcome these ethnio-cultural problems. Lebanese Constitution (1926), which was amended after the Taif Accord of 1990 and the Doha Agreement of 2008 made provision that there should be 64 Christian deputies and 64 Muslim deputies (Gabriel art. 24 (b)) in Parliament. There are many more provisions to provide proper

representation to different religious communities, viz, Lebanese system has provision of segmented autonomy to 18 recognised sects in sector such as education (Gabriel art. 9; Kliot 1987).

Even though, consociational democracy in Lebanon dealt well with all ethnic-historical tensions which usually occur between different groups existing at some point in Lebanon, but still it was subject to some internal or external threats where internal tensions of different ethnic groups worked as a catalyst for the intervention of external powers. The actual goal of these external powers was not to establish peace in Lebanon but only wanted to intervene due to their so called interests. It is argued that Lebanon is consociational system did not provide a long lasting success to this plural society because the demographic equations between different ethnic group has changed over time. Earlier the Christians were in majority in Lebanon but gradual increase in Muslim populations vis a vis Christian populations paved the way for contentions in Lebanon territory. The proportional representation were based on the 1943 national pact which made allocations of seats in each constituency according to the population of different religious communities. The ratio was 6:5 where Christians were outnumbered the Muslim populations, But now the situation has changed Muslims communities population has increased of its maximum level with 61% of the total population in 1987 (Kliot 1987: 62). Therefore, there is the instantaneous need to alter the existing provisions on the basis of present situation but the Lebanese system has failed to do so. This was one of the reasons for the breakout of civil war in Lebanon because it was losing legitimacy in the eye of Muslims population. Widespread cynicism occurred among the young people because leaders were only concerned with the satisfaction of their own interests (Jabbra and Jabbra 1976). The demand for the substitute of consociational democracy has vibrantly emerged and substitutes were advocated, as for instances Syrian nationalism, Arab nationalism, secularism and socialism, or Maronite nationalism (Jabbra and Jabbra 1983) for Lebanese system. The bargaining system which exists in Lebanon to counter the disintegrative tendencies for which Morton Deutsch pioneered a term, 'productive conflict' where elite bargains but it works through cooperation. Some argues that Lebanon is successful in dealing with its ethnic religious groups but other advocated that there should be suitable changes in the consociational system according to the changing

situations. As Lijphart stated that 'the Lebanese consociational regime established a remarkable, although obviously far from perfect record of democratic stability' (Lijphart 1977: 150).

Bosnia and Herzegovina

The fourth case study is Bosnia and Herzegovina which is a renowned case of consociational democracy. However, it has truly been considered as a successful case of consociational democracy but also seen as an imposed case of stability by external power. But the crucial thing is that 'stability' is the core concern for a state to pursue and in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, it has pursued it through the consociational institutional measures. And above this, it has used the comprehensive model of consociationalism which is a new developed version of the traditional consociationalism. To bring stability in BiH the role of the external power was so prominent that some authors have argued that the role of external power should be a stipulated time period only. Once the situation of turmoil settles down there is no further need of the external power to stabilise those places. The further presence of the external power may lead to chaos as their motive may pervert into self interest, as we can see in the case of the Lebanon. There the main concern of the external power to intervene was not to stabilise the conflictual situation but their self oriented interest brought them in the situation.

After the implementation of the Taif Accord (1995) BiH has come across the two positive changes. First, in Bosnia and Herzegovina we came across the positive atmosphere in support of consociational procedures, which has ended the brutal war and eventually brought stability in a deeply heterogeneous society. Second, BiH is the case of imposed stability. The involvement of international community in bringing stability in BiH seems quite similar to the Lebanon case, but in Lebanon case. However, the external powers got mixed up with internal factors, consequently bringing more instability rather than stability, because the external power's settlement of peace derived by their own self interests rather than guided by the genuine sense to solve the problems of Lebanon. But in the case of BiH, international community exclusively played important role in bringing peace. In the earlier post war period Bosnia were seen as the critics of consociations. However, Dayton has improved the situations but still episodic violence has continued

(McCulloch 2009; UNHCR 2005). The different spheres such as education, transportation, telecommunication, health care and other plans are run on the basis of ethnicity (Fotiadi 2008). Three different ethnic parties were established on the basis of three major ethnic groups such as Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), the Bosniaks dominated Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). These parties providing their services as per according to the constitutional settings which were truly based on the consociational methods. In Bosnia, Bosniaks are in the majority (48%), Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats represents the 37% and 14% of the population, while the remaining 1 % represents the Roma and Jewish communities (MRGI 2007). To ensure cultural diversity and minority rights BiH has implemented various legislations such as the National Strategy for Roma Community (2005).

Commendable Action Plans for Roma housing, health and employment were recently devised with a view to advancing the implementation of this national strategy. The 'Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities: Second Opinion on Bosnia and Herzegovina' (2008) stated that the Roma community in BiH is facing the similar dreadful situation in almost every sector. Therefore, it has become essential for the system to provide sufficient facilities to improve the situation of the people of the Roma community. However, their possibilities to participate in the decision making process are very limited. The Advisory Committee expressed its concerns over the conditions of the Roma community people because they are often being targeted as returnees from different countries and they severally encountered various forms of hostility. Many of them do not have identity documents therefore they can not benefit by the state run medical programme. Health condition and participation in various state led policies are very low. In Roma community, children still do not attend school and if they do attend then they drop out rate of students are very high, consequently the problem of illiteracy remains as it is. Therefore, the Advisory Committee suggest that their agendas should be given top most priority, The consociational solution would be that there is a need to implement policies with the close contact of the particular community people for which they are being made.

The negligence of the particular community people should also be taken into account. It is often seen that the cultural heritage of minority communities such as their language, and particular customs in BiH have often not been included in the school syllabi. The worst part of it is that even though the state law has allowed teaching or learning of minority language in certain conditions but still the minority's language is not a part of school curriculum. The Advisory Committee further suggested that if we want to protect the cultural heritage and the existence of these cultural ethnic groups which are in minority, then it is essential to make these types of laws which will be able to accommodate the demand of these groups. Concomitantly, that will be helpful to protect the group too.

The Advisory Committee also suggested that the consultative bodies which had been established in Republic Srpska and the state level needs to be given enough support so that they can efficiently participate in the formulation of laws and policies. Committee has also suggested that the participation of the national minorities is very low they are being considered as ineligible for certain posts, especially at a high level. National minority community shared their experience with the Advisory Community where these communities revealed that they are being considered as the second class citizens.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is an 'Asymmetrical Federation', made up of the Unitary Republic Srpska and the Multiethnic Federation of BiH (Kasapovic 2006). These two units are truly autonomous in dealing with all type of issues such as citizenship, population, territory, Judiciary, military, police and constitution and so on. The issues like foreign policy, customs, trade, monetary, regulation and implementation of international obligation are taken up by the central government. The federation has ten cantons, which are autonomous in dealing with their canton- related issues such as education, culture, media, housing, and police forces (Kasapovic 2006). They have their own constitution, because these cantons are the territorial units of nationally dominant national communities. Therefore, they have fullest control on their matters in which particular 'canton' they are dominant. All socio-political institutions have evolved on basis of principle of proportionality.

The General Framework Agreement for Peace came into existence with the effort of international community commonly known as Dayton Accord. It has shown that BiH required a more comprehensive consociational model which not only included the four traditional consociational institutions but also advocated reforms in other public sectors such as central banking, judicial institutions, relationship between Bosnia and its neighbours, role of international community in bringing peace and last but not the least security sector reforms, which included the rights of refugees or internally displaced. The centripetal critics of the Dayton argue that it has cemented the ethnic strife among the different communities rather than making BiH a non-ethnic entity. For instances, Dayton Accord made provision that Serbs in the RS (Republika Srpska) would have only Serb representatives and similarly Muslims and Croats in the Federation are able to elect their representatives only (2007). Therefore, by analysing this situation, the minorities which are living in the Federations and RS easily get disfranchised such as Serbs living in federation and Bosniaks in RS.

In the political scenario, for the time being moderate parties are becoming more popular in BiH than extremist parties. This seems to be the good sign for the flourishing of consociational arrangements. Earlier, the question of common state in BiH was more contested, because different ethnic communities believed in different ways of constituting the state. On the one hand, Bosniaks wanted a centralised or unified state. On the other hand both Serbs and Croats advocated a decentralised state, because Serbs and Croats are in minority in BiH and they have their loyalties with neighbouring states (Croatia and Serbia). Therefore, they wanted separate state with which they can feel their loyalties or connections but above all what is worth noticing is that there we see a growing acceptance for consociational arrangements among all three ethnic communities.

BiH has experienced of some traditional type of consociational mechanism during the Ottoman empire rule (Millet system), Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (political confessionalism based on the principal of proportionality and parity), Communist Yugoslavia (national key quota system based on the principle of proportionality seats were divided among the three, Muslims, Serbs, Croats according to their demographic population in party government and social

institutions) (Kasapovic 2005). Therefore, incorporating new ways of consociationalism arrangements are not very strange for the BiH people because in the past they have already experienced some sorts of consociational arrangements. Gradually, in future BiH may move towards the more comprehensive forms of consociationalism.

On the tenth anniversary (2005) of the Dayton Accord, constitutional reform were planned by the international actors, which were proposed to make BiH more consociationally justifiable country by introducing more reforms in present system. Changes in the decision making procedures were proposed through which bodies were elected, otherwise it will loose the economic aid by the international actors (McCulloch 2009). The balance of power has maintained by power shift the central government to parliamentary assembly and the council of ministers. According to the new provisions, fulfilment of every cultural-ethnic group interest has become the crucial criteria to provide proper justice to the different community people in BiH, and this could be done by the 'Right to Veto', Two-third majority of any national community have the right of veto, if they think a particular issue in one way or the other is hurting their interest. Besides this, other constitutive national communities can also oppose this by filing complaint only with the simple majority (Kasapovic 2005:7).

The term 'Majority' always remain contested but with the new provisions in BiH, decision can only be taken when one-third of the representative of any entity passed it. Therefore, in the case of Bosnia we can easily identify the consociational democratic method. Some would argue that BiH has developed such consociational institutions even if international community will leave, the country's stabilisation procedure will continue with the same pace (McCulloch 2009: 165).

In BiH 'ethnicity' has always been considered as the great factor among different groups of people. People in BiH very much affiliated and connected with their particular community. Therefore, the sense to belong to the 'nation' is lacking among the different groups. However, enough progress has been made to harmonise the relationship between the different groups but still tensions exists among the three main communities.

Conclusion:

How different countries deal with their cultural diversity and minorities issues is the matter of concern of this research work. Peter Inkie (2013) has suggested that the improvements and reforms in the structures and mechanisms of the cultural sector can also contribute to the enhancing democracy. Similarly, improving multicultural policies in combination with efficient institutions can improve the unstable situations. The individual in liberal societies share common citizenship but do not form a community. As they do not feel attached to each other, the lack of solidarity is clearly visible in these societies. These nation states constitute themselves on the basis of common culture, ethnicity, and language. When we analyse the dissimilarities between consociationalism and multiculturalism than we find that these both approaches are not poles apart. The aim of both is to provide solutions to the problems of deeply divided societies which can make the system unstable. But to deal with these problems they have totally different approaches. Multiculturalism acknowledges groups differences but does not officialise them. as it does not legislate collective rights and also does not extend self rule and power sharing (Smootha 2002). On the other hand, consociationalism officialises all the policies which are meant to provide equal status to every ethno-cultural group. Therefore, their ways to respond to these situations are very different.

By analysing all four case studies, we can easily observe that every country has its own *sui generis* methods to deal with these problems. After analysing the case studies of France and Belgium, we come across the fact that although both are developed countries, they have different ways to deal with the cultural markers issues. On the one hand, France is a liberal democracy with republican values and has adopted only multicultural policies to provide the solutions to these issues. However, France is countering wide protest across the country. Even though it has adopted multicultural policies to incorporate the minority's demands but still the outcome is not satisfactory. There are a few reasons for this. First, the Constitution of France does not allowed the state to recognise ethno-cultural ethnic groups and provide with them groups rights. Therefore, until and unless there is a change in the Constitution of France, the possibility to deal with these issues efficiently seems very low. Other reason that we find huge discontent

among the people regarding multicultural policies in France is because policy makers do not seem to take account of the sentiments of the people. Therefore, these policies have proved to be a great failure. There are no such provisions similar to consociationalism. Policies are not made by their own community people, therefore the chances of not properly understanding certain community people's rituals and mores are very high, and if it is happen than discontent among the people is very much obvious.

Belgium has come up with mixed responses, as it has adopted both the approaches to deal with the cultural diversity and minority issues. On the one hand, it has opted consociational institutional arrangements while on the very other hand, multicultural policies are facilitated which comes into practise without being officialised. Therefore, in comparison to France, Belgium is in a better position to deal with cultural diversity and minority issues but that does not mean that cultural problems do not exist in Belgium. In Belgium, the Roma community is still facing inhospitable situations in its territory. Belgium is a developed country this factor plays very crucial role in stabilising the conflictual situations. The developed background of Belgium provides solid *de jure* background conditions for the success of Belgian multicultural policies. As a developed country, Belgium does not lack resources. The conflicts usually occur in those places where lack of resources exists, or where only one community whether in minority or majority has hold on all resources. In Belgium, the politics of identity work as an impetus for conflict due to the politics of redistribution.

The remaining two case studies are BiH and Lebanon. Both possess similar characteristics. Even though their methods of dealing with the cultural diversity and minority issues are very much similar, both have come up with the different outcomes. Bosnia and Herzegovina is peacefully maintaining its diversity issues whereas Lebanon is still struggling to find peace. Some writers consider Lebanon as a failed case of consociational democracy whereas BiH is known for the successful implementation of the consociational arrangements. The systemic factors in combination with the sub-systemic factors play a very important in stabilising the situation. But, the irony is that despite external intervention in both the countries, they have come up with different results. In Lebanon, the prime motive of external powers was not to stabilise the situation

but to fulfil their self-interest. Therefore, the situation in Lebanon become worst. however, they tried to maintain consociational arrangements for long lasting 32 years but the quality administration to deal with these cultural markers issues remain very low. However, due to the Consociational arrangements lots of positive steps have taken but the situation of turmoil still not vanished.

BiH and Lebanon both are nascent democracies, and also developing countries. The sub systemic factors are not very efficient in the Lebanese case; the elites of the country are very fragmented in their ideology, the absence of consensus among the political elites regarding the solution of the situation of instability much prevalent in Lebanon. However, they have made some consociational arrangements as the distribution of the top political seats is divided among the three main communities. But when it comes to the minorities, Lebanon clearly fails to provide proper living conditions to them. The Palestinian minority issues remains matter of grave concern for Lebanon as it does not provide the equal status to the Palestinian minority. Another concern is that consociational arrangements are not being updated in Lebanon according to the demographic weight of the population as Muslims have outnumbered the Christians. Therefore, these old arrangements have become worthless and need revision. Modified consociational arrangements may prove significant the Lebanese case and can improve the existing situations.

The case of BiH is a much more robust case of the consociationalist approach. Here, both levels factors played crucial role in stabilising the conflictual situations. The consociational arrangements have taken care of the each and every minority group which are residing in its territory. It has made arrangements for the Roma community which is only 1% of its population but to take care of their demand, BiH has made some welfare policies for them. Some bodies already have been set up. If they want to work better then they need further government support, so that they can provide justice to all and efficiently participate in the formulation of laws and politics. BiH also has applied the comprehensive form of consociationalism, where it has not only relied on the four institutional devises but on other sectoral reforms too, such as reforms in the military sector. One of the big reasons of success of consociational arrangements in BiH is having

some sorts of consociational experience in its early history (Lehmbruch 1974:93). Therefore, it does not face any kind of difficulty in running a new version of consociationalism.

So far, BiH has been considered as the best case which is dealing with its multicultural diversity and minority issues efficiently. Although, it is a developing country, it is managing its diversity brilliantly even far better than both the developed countries. Therefore, consociationalism approach is shown to be appropriate to deal with the cultural diversity issues. However, every approach has their advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, rather applying one approach in one place, combination of both the approaches can provide better solution to the cultural markers issues. In other words, neither approach can work in isolation. Therefore, Multicultural policies with consociational institutions which will concretise these policies

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Cultural diversity and minority rights have constantly been the source of debate in liberal democratic states. The tenets on which earlier liberal democratic states were based have proven to be ineffective in accommodating the new demands of the distinctive identities. Therefore, these days we see a clear trend towards recognising the demands of the different cultural ethnic groups. This is truly the affirmative approach of the liberal democratic states which work as a catalyst to incorporate all the demands of differentiated rights. Even if not incorporated fully, rights are moulded to fit in this direction. The arrangements which have been endorsed by the liberal democratic states however run counter to its basic principles (Finley 2011). Nevertheless, there are various approaches like consociationalism, which is known as the power sharing approach and multiculturalism, which is a policy oriented approach, which have been preferred by the liberal democratic states. These approaches work as the default approaches of liberal democratic states to cope with the demands of cultural diversity and minority rights. Though, these new approaches have been premised on entirely different tenets, they still work under the umbrella of liberalism. For liberals individual identity is their top priority, whereas multiculturalists and consociationalists groups believe in collective identity. Nevertheless, the core concern remains the same which is to protect the 'individual' by securing groups rights.

Liberal democratic states have started to incorporate group or collective rights for the development of the individual. Nevertheless, it could be asked why providing recognition to cultural diversity and ethnic minority group rights has become the need of the hour for the government machinery of liberal democratic states. In this context, Finley (2011) has argued that norms and regulations can also be productive, they are not always destructive in their nature. Recognition helps the individual to be known as a 'socially feasible being'. If it is based on positive scripts only, than it helps in the development of the self. Otherwise, it can work as a disparaging element making life 'unbearable'. Consequently,

demands for justice emerge from those groups which have been marginalised as a consequence of cultural politics.

The approaches selected to deal with these issues attempt to answer the question: how can a member of cultural and minority groups be made a full member of the political community. It has become necessary for liberal democratic states to build progressive citizens, a goal that can only be accomplished if the appropriate living conditions are provided by the state. These approaches tend to work in this direction but neither approach can work alone as both the approaches possess their strengths and weaknesses. Therefore, to realise this aim it is necessary to bring the two together under one umbrella. By combining the two approaches the issues and problems regarding to cultural diversity and minority rights can be tackled. Multiculturalism primarily focuses on the policies whereas consociationalism concentrates on the institutional mechanisms which help to harmonise the relationship among the different cultural groups. Therefore, the mixture of policies and institutions can bring better result.

The relationship between an individual and democracy is reciprocal. Democracy can only flourish if it provides conditions for the development of the individual self through which individuals can enhance their civic virtues, and feel solidarity with other groups that will ultimately result in the progress of democracy. Similarly, individuals can prosper only by living within a political community. A liberal democracy provides group rights with which an individual associates himself or herself and on which individual identity depends. Therefore, it is a reciprocity which works towards the advancement of the individual as well as democracy. As Kymlicka and Norman (2000: 220) has stated:

The success and progress of the democracy depends not upon the working of the institutions but on the qualities and attitudes of the citizens: e.g. their sense of identity and how they view potentially competing form of national, regional, ethnic, and religious identities; their ability to tolerate and work together with other who are different from themselves, and desire to participate in the political process in order to promote the public good and hold political authorities accountable..... [...] Without citizens who possess these qualities; the ability of liberal societies to function successfully progressively diminishes.

At the outset, this study sought to examine whether consociationalism or multiculturalism is better to explore and resolve the issues concerning cultural diversity and minority rights and to promote justice to these groups.

This research work provides answers to this question. In certain social contexts institutions are more important, while in others policies play a more important role. Therefore, what we need is the balance of both approaches to make each citizen a full member of the political community. The ultimate goal of liberal democratic societies is to provide social justice and in order to fulfil the aim the two approaches have widely been used by the liberal democratic states. However, commonly only one approach has been used to resolve the conflict or provides proper living conditions and rights to minority groups. This strategy has not succeeded in resolving any case.

Is the multiculturalism approach successful in making people complete and full members of a political community? It can be said that multicultural policies have failed to make the people complete members of a political community. How has consociational democracy able to fill the gap of multiculturalists claims in practicality? We can argue that while consociational democracy has not remained successful in every case, but has been partially successful. Consociational approach also faces loopholes but still it better manages multicultural diversity than the multiculturalist approach because of its which focus upon working of the institutional mechanisms and legalising multicultural policies. This provides the consociational approach advantages over multiculturalism. Do we find any link between both the approaches? Answer is yes, after analysing the recommendations of the Sachar Committee Report on four concrete cases, we can argue that if these approaches work in combination than they may lead towards the better outcome.

In other words, the four case studies examined in this study have validated the hypothesis. Each case adopted one of these approaches in an 'either-or' way; they have not used these both approaches in a combination. Here, this research work made a claim that it is acceptable to have these approaches separately to provide social justice to cultural-ethnic groups but if liberal democratic states will use them in a combination then these approaches may provide better results in securing multicultural diversity and will be

able to make each and every member of all groups realise their self as a full member of the political community. In other words, a good mixture of policies and institutions may lead liberal democratic states towards better results. The issue regarding securing cultural diversity and rights of minority groups can adequately be settled by using the mixture of both the approaches.

After analysing the case studies, it seems that the dilemma which these states are likely to face is that the countries which have proper institutional mechanism to deal with these issues would not have well organised policies, or vice versa. As in case of France, policies are not up to the aspirations of people, policies have been made without proper consideration of the existing conditions. Consequently, there is resentment among different minority groups, especially Muslim and Sikh communities who have been residing in France since a long time. On the other hand, the case study of Lebanon shows the inappropriate and unproductive working of political institutions. However, it has come with the various consociational policies to cope up with the demand of the different cultural or minority groups, but without the efficient working of the consociational institutional mechanisms, these policies are no longer worthwhile.

Belgium and Bosnia and Herzegovina shows some positive trends, as compared to France and Lebanon. The two are able to cope up better with these new emerging demands of multicultural diversity. However, the two are solely dealing with the issues in an 'either-or' approach. A 'combination approach' to deal with these cultural diversity and minority rights issues can rarely be seen in these case studies as well. Their efforts to manage cultural diversity issues have solely concentrated on one or the other approach. As in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina the policies are formulated while keeping in mind the institutional mechanism through which policies work complementary to the institutions. Thus, the prime focus is on the institutional mechanism, not on the policies. However, they still are not flawless, they too are facing problems. Belgium could be somehow seen as the mixture of both the approaches, but primarily it has been considered as the case of consociational approach, as the focus is on the institutional practices to legalise the multicultural policies. Hence, the countries are managing multicultural diversity according to their context or conditions and with the policies which suits them better. The

recommendations of Sachar committee report applied to analyse these four case studies is a great combination of policies and of institutional mechanism in the Indian case. If, applied in every liberal democratic state, it would be a robust method to deal with the new emerging demands of the ethno cultural ethnic groups. This report suggests that neither approach can work alone. For better working of liberal democratic states there should be the combination of both approaches which might lead to better results such as the combination of suitable policies with efficient institutions.

Every approach has its strengths and weaknesses, but what we see here is the upcoming novelty which both the approaches are countering, at the same time as they are evolving themselves. In the future if liberal democratic states were to use these two in combination then that would be proven to be a robust mechanism to follow. Multiculturalism and consociationalism have both evolved over a period of time. Multiculturalism terminology has been replaced by the 'civic integration' typology, while consociationalism has evolved as comprehensive consociationalism. Both new forms of old approaches are seen differently, as civic integration has negative connotations whereas comprehensive consociationalism expresses some positive advancement in managing cultural diversity and minority issues.

Therefore, the policy implications of this study are that if we applied both the approaches in combination to tackle the situations of deep division or managing cultural diversity and minority rights we would produce a better outcome. If these cases are analysed separately then we explicitly see that multiculturalism as a tool of managing conflict is moving towards the minimalist version of multiculturalism, which is working as a catalyst and increasing resentment among people. Also, it does not provide any solid base to policies which are made to cope up with the demand of people. It does not officialise policies or easily can withdraw policies at any time. Therefore, the importance of these policies has been diminished. Whereas, consociationalism has proved to be much better than multiculturalism to deal with multicultural diversity issues. However it has its own weaknesses as it may lead to the entrenching divides or concretising conflict between different ethno cultural groups. Context also plays a crucial role in the successful implementation of consociational procedures, where the role of systemic variables and

sub-systemic variables is important. Mismanaging of these variables may lead to failure of these consociational procedures or vice versa. Therefore, as the Sachar Committee recommendations suggest, the combination of both the theoretical models would be an efficient way to tackle these situations of cultural diversity and minority rights.

Thus, this study is not choosing one over the other, but asserting that the prime concern is to tackle the cultural diversity situations which these liberal democratic countries are prone to face these days. A potential line of future research then would be to follow the recommendations of the Sachar Committee report and provide the solutions to the emerging new cultural diversity and minority rights issues in liberal democratic societies. Using one approach at one place might not bring the best result, but the combination of both can settle things smoothly.

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