

# INTERNATIONAL SUMMER RESEARCH INSTITUTE

HOSTED BY THE EUROPEAN ACADEMY OF BOZEN/BOLZANO (EURAC), ITALY



## POLITICS IN FRAGMENTED POLITIES

COHESION, RECOGNITION, REDISTRIBUTION AND SECESSION

14-27 june 2015

### ORGANISING COMMITTEE



Centre de recherche interdisciplinaire  
sur la diversité et la démocratie **cridaqa**



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# PROGRAM

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**POLITICS IN FRAGMENTED POLITIES :  
COHESION, RECOGNITION, REDISTRIBUTION, AND SECESSION**

**14-27 JUNE 2015**

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This is a two weeks long summer school for doctoral and exceptional MA students. The summer school will focus on cohesion, recognition, redistribution and secession in fragmented polities. The format will consist mainly of lectures given by recognized scholars and experts followed by questions and discussion. The lecturers will discuss their research work in relation to the themes of the summer school and in relation to a broader literature in the social sciences. The lectures will be held in the morning or in the afternoon, from Monday to Friday. A few afternoons will be dedicated to visits and other non-academic and cultural activities. A trip to the Dolomites is planned during the weekend. During the second week, students will be required to present their own work. They will have to prepare a 15-20 minutes presentation about their doctoral dissertation, on-going research, an article of their own or about about the research paper they have to write as part of the summer school.

The research school will examine the challenge of complex diversity, through theoretical and empirical perspectives from Europe and Canada. The two-week long programme will consist of lectures and seminars on the following seven main thematic areas : (1) Politics of Redistribution in the 21st Century ; (2) Marginalized Groups and Inequalities; (3) Minorities in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond; (4) Linguistic and National Diversity; (5) Autonomist and Secessionist Movements; (6) Claims of Recognition and (7) Solidarity beyond the Nation-State.

# SCHEDULE

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## 14 JUNE 2015 (SUNDAY)

Arrival of all students

**Sunday PM: Welcome gathering (City)**

## 15 JUNE 2015 (MONDAY)

9h00-10h30

**ALAIN NOËL**

*Between Universalism and Selectivity: The Politics of Redistribution in the 21st Century*

In 1998, Walter Korpi and Joakim Palme proposed a political explanation to account for the greater redistributive success of welfare states that relied more on universal than on targeted programs. Redistribution, they argued, resulted less from a Robin Hood logic — taking from the rich to give to the poor — than from a broad and egalitarian provision of services and transfers, that citizens were willing to sustain with their taxes because they also saw themselves as present or future beneficiaries. There was, they argued, a paradox of redistribution: a country redistributed more when it took from all to give to all, than when it soaked the rich to help the poor. Accepted for many years, this account is now challenged by a number of authors, who fail to see a link between welfare institutions and redistributive outcomes (Kenworthy, 2011; Marx et al., 2013; Brady and Bostic, 2014). This paper revisits the question from a somewhat different perspective. It argues that Korpi and Palme's argument was theoretically sound, but inadequately operationalized, because it measured targeting and universalism not by the nature, or intentions, of existing programs, but rather by their outcomes, in distributive terms. The paper reconstructs the argument with new OECD social expenditures indicators and finds that, indeed, there is still a paradox of redistribution.

11h00-12h30

**EDWARD KONING**

*Migration, Diversity and Redistribution*

Commonly framed as the 'Progressive's Dilemma', a pervasive argument is that migration-induced diversity poses a challenge to the future of Western welfare states. This lecture will discuss the various arguments that have been offered to suspect a negative relationship between diversity and redistribution and review the available evidence. The picture is mixed: there tends to be more support for some expectations than others, and many studies reach contradictory conclusions. Overall, the evidence that migration has led to across-the-board welfare retrenchment is limited and contested. Moreover, there appears to be large cross-national variation in the impact of migration on welfare state systems. Some governments have tried to defuse the tension between migration and redistribution by adopting more selective admission policies, making sure that those who enter the country are unlikely to turn to the state for support. Others have decided to disentitle migrants from benefits and place residence requirements or restrictions on immigrants' welfare rights. And yet others have opted to invest more in integration policies aimed at improving newcomers' standing in the labour market. I will argue that each of these responses raises its own set of both normative and practical concerns. For that reason, even though early discussions have overstated the threat migration poses to the welfare state, it still seems appropriate to describe the question of how to organize a welfare system in an era of cross-border mobility as a difficult dilemma.

14h00-15h30

**ELISABETH ALBER and ALICE ENGL**

*The Autonomy of South Tyrol: Politics, Polity and Policy*

The scope of this session is to assess developments and dynamics of the South Tyrolean Autonomy. The lecture pursues a threefold purpose. Firstly, it provides an overview of the essential features of South Tyrol's history and the establishment of its institutionalized power-sharing system (as enshrined in the Second Autonomy Statute, 1972). Secondly, it puts up for discussion the reasons of key rules with regard to the whole institutional setting in South Tyrol, which, in short, is a power-sharing system based on strict separation and forced cooperation of the two main linguistic groups, German speakers and Italians. Furthermore, it provides an overview of the political landscape and its trajectories in view of the visit to the South Tyrolean Parliament (elected in October 2013). Thirdly, the lecture intends to shortly pointing out examples of how certain policy fields evolved aiming at highlighting issues that currently are controversially discussed, with a particular focus on education and cross-border cooperation.

**16 JUNE 2015 (TUESDAY)**

9h00-10h30

**ROBERTA MEDDA-WINDISCHER**

*Migration and Diversity Management in Autonomous Territories: The Case of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano/Bozen (South Tyrol)*

Migration is becoming an increasingly important reality for many sub-national autonomous territories where traditional-historical groups (so-called 'old minorities') live, such as Catalonia, South Tyrol, Scotland, Flanders, Basque Country, and Quebec. From the perspective of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano/Bozen in Italy (South Tyrol), the present lecture analyses whether it is possible to reconcile the claims of historical minorities and of new groups originating from migration, and whether policies that accommodate traditional minorities and migrants are allies in the pursuit of a pluralist and tolerant society. The analysis will look at what extent and under which circumstances the legal institutionalization of ethnicity - the 'ethnic Midas effect' (Marko, 2008) - that permeates diversity policies in and beyond the South Tyrolean case, can be overcome. The lecture will ultimately address the question whether it is possible to develop a defensible model for the management of diversity that reconciles unity and diversity and that overcomes, at the same time, the traditional 'old-new' minority dichotomy

11h00-12h30

**JENS WOELK and KARL KÖSSLER**

*Autonomy and Power-sharing at Subnational Level. Comparing European Experiences*

Autonomy and power-sharing at the subnational level are among the most essential and widely used instruments in the rich toolbox of institutional design for divided societies. In many cases, arguably more and more so, they are combined. The lecture will point out how these two instruments are interrelated in specific cases and thereby draw upon experiences from Western Europe and the Balkans, in particular from Northern Ireland, South Tyrol, the Brussels Region as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

First, the lecturers will situate autonomy and power-sharing in the broader context of institutional design for divided societies and argue that both have been of increasing relevance in recent years. Secondly, they will explore the advantages and pitfalls of (predominantly territorial) autonomy arrangements in the above-mentioned cases. This will be followed by a similar comparative assessment of the merits and perils of specific mechanisms of sharing legislative and executive power in these subnational entities. A focus will also highlight the importance of the judiciary in these cases. Finally, the lecturers will offer general conclusions as to the viability of combining autonomy and power-sharing in practice against the backdrop of various context factors.

**PM – VISIT OF PARLIAMENT**

## 17 JUNE 2015 (WEDNESDAY)

9h00-10h30

### **MICHAEL KEATING**

#### *Trajectories of autonomist movements, from secession, to third ways, back to secession again and the role of external and state opportunity structures*

National self-determination does not necessarily entail independence. Many nationality movements in Europe have historically called for a continued association with the host state. Non-nationalist parties, in turn, have often embraced various forms of devolution. This has opened up a middle ground, in the form of 'independence-lite' or 'devolution max', which would give nations control of most domestic policy. Proposals on these lines have been put forward in Quebec, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Scotland. These would allow stateless nations to strike distinct social and economic compromises. They would not give them control over the levers of macro-economic policy. They would entail a bilateral relationship with the state. Such proposals have not found favour with state majorities, and recent debates have been characterized by rather traditional assertions of sovereignty at odds with our interdependent world.

11h00-12h30

### **JOSEPH MARKO**

#### *Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalisms : From Minority Protection to Diversity Governance in Europe*

The recurrence of national self-determination claims in Western Europe (Scotland, Catalonia) and the multiculturalism-is-dead public debate with regard to immigrant integration with neo-racist undertones all over Europe make it necessary to critically reassess the structural elements of the ideologies and political theories of liberalism, nationalism, and multiculturalism, their variants and combinations. It will be demonstrated that it is necessary to overcome two underlying dichotomies, namely that of ethnic versus civic nationalism as well as the public versus private sphere distinction which are axiomatic assumptions in the theories of nationalism and liberalism. This will finally allow a reframing of the dominant nation-state paradigm in order to overcome the re-active "minority protection" approach and to replace it through the concept of "multiple diversity management." This concept is based on the idea to translate the basic needs of minorities in terms of individual and group rights to existence, diverse and multiple identities, institutional equality and political participation into functioning institutional arrangements both at the national and transnational level.

## 18 JUNE 2015 (THURSDAY)

9h00-10h30

### **NICOLA MCEWEN**

#### *Territorial Accommodation without National Unity ?*

There is considerable debate within the literature on how best to 'accommodate' sub-state nationalism and territorial diversity while preserving the unity of the state. Successful accommodation and territorial integrity seem to go hand in hand. Failure is measured against the continued demands of nationalist movements and, ultimately, the break-up of the existing state. This lecture will review these debates within the literature, examining the extent to which federal arrangements can both contain and exacerbate secessionist claims. It will also challenge the assumption underpinning much of the literature that secession is always at odds with successful accommodation. As the boundaries of sovereign statehood become increasingly blurred, there may be new opportunities to develop accommodation strategies beyond the national unity paradigm. Drawing on the cases of nationalism in Scotland, Quebec, the Basque country and Catalonia, and examples of cross-border cooperation between nation-states, it will explore whether territorial accommodation may be possible without national unity, through the development of new forms of cross-border partnership, joint working and national interdependence.

11h00-12h30

**AMANDINE CATALA**

*Secession and Distributive Justice*

Can a wealthier group secede from a poorer group? The two main types of normative theory of secession (primary-right theories and remedial-right theories) have each suggested very different answers to this question. Primary-right theorists adopt a more permissive stance on secession, and assume that this requires merely minimal duties of distributive justice. Remedial theorists, by contrast, demand more with respect to distributive justice, and assume that this requires adopting a more restrictive stance on secession. I show that both types of theory are mistaken. More precisely, I argue for an account of secession that includes both a more permissive stance on secession (like primary-right theories) as well as a serious concern for issues of distributive justice (like remedial theories). In other words, I contest both (i) primary-right theorists' assumption that non-remedial secession does not entail robust duties of distributive justice; as well as (ii) remedial theorists' claim that a concern for distributive justice in the context of secession precludes non-remedial secession.

**PM – Victory Monument Museum**

**19 JUNE 2015 (FRIDAY)**

9h00-10h30

**ZSUZSA CSERGO**

*How Europeanization shapes potentials for minority political action in centralized states: minorities in Central and Eastern Europe :*

The lecture will take account of changes in formal and informal institutional conditions for collective minority political action between 1990 and 2014—a period that includes roughly a decade of preparation for EU accession followed by a decade of EU membership. The framework will be comparative, and the presentation will draw on empirical research about six states that were considered “success cases” of EU integration in CEE at the end of the 1990s: the 3 Baltic states, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia. The focus will be on changes in (1) formal political institutions (state and sub-state institutions, formalized relations with kin-state actors, and spaces available in EU institutions); and (2) informal institutions as well as “extra-institutional” spaces that minorities use for collective action (again, within the state, and across state borders).

11h00-12h30

**MAGDALENA DEMBINSKA**

*Cohesion after Secession: Internal Legitimization in (Fragmented) de facto States*

Since World War II, many secessionist territorial entities have claimed independence without being de jure recognized by all UN members. They constitute de facto states, that is entities which present a permanent population, a formally autonomous government over a defined territory, which are able to enter into informal relations with other non-state or state actors and which seek but do not succeed in obtaining full independence and de jure international recognition as sovereign states. Studies of these ‘frozen conflicts’ emphasise diplomatic deadlocks. Meantime, the unrecognized separatist entities develop statehood, supported by a constructed identity. Concluding a special issue on de facto states in 2012, von Steinsdorff sustains that ‘we need systematic comparisons of the long neglected internal dimensions of the de facto statehood in the post-Soviet area and beyond.’ Looking into the cases of Turkish Cyprus, Abkhazia (Georgia) and Transnistria (Moldova), this talk’s objective is to account for the internal dynamics of legitimization of the separatist cause by deciphering state- and nation-building processes that construct social cohesion often in the context of multiethnic societies and the presence of ‘enemy’ groups.

## **GROUP ACTIVITIES : 20-21 JUNE 2015**

**20 JUNE : OPEN DAY (various options will be suggested)**

**21 JUNE : FIELD TRIP (Merano/Meran and surroundings)**

### **22 JUNE 2015 (MONDAY)**

9h00-10h30

**FRANCESCO PALERMO**

*European Approaches and Standards Regarding Minority Protection and Autonomy  
(Experiences from CoE and OSCE)*

Europe is the region in which the international system of minority rights protection as developed mainly in the early 1990s has experienced the most significant progress. In a first stage, attention has been mainly put on the elaboration of consistent standards aimed at recognizing the very existence of minorities as legitimate interlocutors in order to stop and prevent conflicts by acknowledging the multiethnic nature of all European states. The second stage has focused mainly on the implementation of international standards and of following domestic provisions, with a view to consolidating them and to resolving some rooted issues. The present time is marked by new and more subtle challenges. These include the lower attention that national minority issues play in the overall political agenda, some undeniable success achieved in the past two decades and the emergence of other priorities. This does not mean, however, that the issues are less pressing, rather the opposite, as decreasing visibility makes it more difficult to mobilize attention and resources. The presentation will analyze the developments of minority protection in Europe over the past 20 years and focus on the current situation. An interactive, discursive and practice-oriented approach will be followed, looking at the work of the two regional key players in this field, the Advisory Committee on the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM, the only existing international treaty on the rights of persons belonging to national minorities) and the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM), a conflict prevention tool working primarily through quiet diplomacy.

11h00-12h30

**JOHN MCGARRY**

*Why some states are more open to territorial down-sizing (secession) than others*

European states take different positions on irredentism, on the accommodation of minorities through self-government, and on permitting referendums on secession (and on secession itself). This is in spite of a belief that the European integration process would level out state attitudes on boundaries and towards their minorities, with the understanding that this would generally work out in a pro-minority direction. The continuing unevenness on the part of European states towards irredentism, self-government for minorities and territorial down-sizing (i.e. permitting secession) has been explained by two leading Canadian intellectuals, Will Kymlicka and Michael Ignatieff, in terms of a classical distinction between the west and eastern halves of the continent. In this lecture, I offer an alternative position.

### **23 JUNE 2015 (TUESDAY)**

9h00-10h30

**ODED HAKLAI**

*Self-Determination to Minority Rights: A Fundamental Transition in World Order ?*

The 20th century saw a monumental shift in global order as the world transformed from one dominated by empires covering vast territories to a world of states (the number of states grew from 42 at the beginning of the 20th century to 189 by the end of the century). This transition was premised on the principle of "the right to self-determination" of people, enshrined in Woodrow Wilson's 14 points for world peace as well as Article 1

of the UN founding charter. However, without a clear definition of what constituted “the people”, many of the states formed in the 20th century (and before) were cast as an expression of the national self-determination of only a segment of the population, namely the dominant national community, with minorities left outside the national boundaries embodied by the state. As a result, the focus of attention has shifted to the question of minority rights, manifested in, among other things, several international treaties. This trend raises fundamental questions about reconciling the rights of existing states to territorial integrity and sovereignty with the rights of minorities that have been marginalized by the process of 20th century state formation.

11h00-12h30

**ALAIN-G. GAGNON**

*Social Cohesion, Political Accommodation and Empowerment: An Exploration into Multiculturalism, Interculturalism and Multinationalism*

This lecture focusses on national models prevailing in Canada in which conceptions of multiculturalism and interculturalism are contrasted. An exploration of these two models will lead us to discuss the politics of integration at two distinct scales (Quebec vs. Canada as a whole). An argument will be made to the effect that often times models proposed by majority nations tend to negate or undermine conceptions of citizenship founded on national diversity. Quebec will be used as a central case in point to illustrate tensions between three concurrent options, namely multiculturalism, interculturalism and multinationalism. Building on the work of Ferran Requejo and James Tully, multinational democracies will also be introduced as a distinct policy field in the growing literature on social cohesion, political accommodation and political empowerment.

**24 JUNE 2015 (WEDNESDAY)**

9h00-10h30

**LINDA CARDINAL**

*Justice and Language: Comparative Analysis of Language Regimes*

Using the concept of language regime, the paper will argue for a shift in focus from studying the consequences of language policies to the origins or the why and how states make language policy choices. It will explain why a political science approach is needed in order to contribute to the on-going dialogue on the consequences of language policies by sociolinguists and political theorists who are concerned with the normative implications of those policies. The paper will insist on the importance of studying different paths taken by the state in establishing language regimes. The paper will draw on case-studies published in Cardinal and Sonntag's recent book, *State Traditions and Language Regime* in order to bring forward a new research agenda in this interdisciplinary discussion on language policy choices.

11h00-12h30

**FRANÇOIS BOUCHER**

**Redistribution in multinational societies: Fiscal decentralization and interregional equalization**

Normative theories of social justice and of the welfare state are often based on the assumption that they are to be implemented within a unitary state in which all fiscal powers (to tax the population, to borrow money, to spend on social programs, etc.) are concentrated in one tier of central government. This presentation will discuss the distinctive normative questions of redistribution that arise within the specific context of multinational federations as well as questions relating to the institutional design of the welfare state in decentralized federations. How should fiscal powers be allocated among various levels of government in federations? What shape has such an allocation of fiscal powers taken in existing multinational federations? Should federations implement schemes of intergovernmental and interregional redistribution aiming at equalizing the living standards of their federated subunits? How are claims for the reallocation of fiscal powers and for interregional redistribution related to the claims for autonomy of national minorities? The presentation and discussions will build on two papers. In the first one, Philippe van Parijs takes a normative perspective and asks how multinational federations, such as Belgium, should conciliate fiscal decentralization and social



solidarity. In the second text, Nicola McEwan takes a comparative perspective and, drawing from the decentralization of the welfare state in Canada, Belgium and the UK, asks whether granting autonomy to national minorities undermines the welfare state.

## **24 JUNE 2015 (WEDNESDAY)**

**AM : STUDENTS PRESENTATION I**

**PM : STUDENTS PRESENTATION II**

## **25 JUNE 2015 (THURSDAY)**

9h00-10h30

**PETER KRAUS**

*Democratizing Sovereignty: The Catalan "Process" in a Theoretical Perspective*

The paper argues that the significance of the recent political developments in Catalonia goes way beyond initiating a further round of change in the conflictual relationship between center and peripheries in Spain: What is at stake today in Catalonia is not just finding an adequate response to the old question of how to accommodate particular national identities in liberal-democratic states by relying on some version of the minority-rights-cum-territorial- autonomy formula. The issue rather is how to find democratic ways to change the foundations of modern statehood, whose origins are pre-democratic. Seen against this background, the Catalan "process" calls for a thorough re-interpretation of the meaning of sovereignty in complex polities; it thereby bears a considerable potential for democratic innovation.

11h00-12h30

**PM : STUDENTS PRESENTATION III**

## **26 JUNE 2015 (FRIDAY)**

9h00-10h30

**DOMINIQUE LEYDET**

*Marginalized groups and inequalities in participation and deliberation*

History plays a role both essential and contested in the justification of indigenous claims. On the one hand, the history of injustices suffered by First Nations since the arrival of Europeans in the "New World" is at the heart of their demands for recognition. In particular, the historical fact of their forced incorporation into settler states and its consequences is central to their argumentation. On the other hand, mainstream liberal political philosophy is often reluctant to recognize significant normative weight to historical arguments. Liberal egalitarians tend to justify indigenous claims by referring to the present reality of injustice or to the specificity of Aboriginal culture while limiting the weight of any reference to the past. In this lecture, I intend to examine more closely these different conceptions and their respective justifications. In the first part, I will start by highlighting the bases of liberal discomfort towards historical arguments, discussing the positions of theorists like Jeremy Waldron and Will Kymlicka and their critique by authors like Dale Turner. In the second part, I will turn to theorists writing from a postcolonial perspective for whom reckoning with history is crucial (e.g. Glen Coulthard and James Tully). I will close the lecture by reflecting on the different perspectives that each of these alternatives opens for present and future dialogue between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples.

**11H00-12H30**

**GENEVIÈVE NOOTENS**

*Nations, Popular Sovereignty : Challenging the Indivisibility Assumption*

James Tully has defined as civic activity struggles for recognition and distribution that pervade contemporary societies. Although such processes of mobilization and contention do not necessarily support democratization, the latter nonetheless depends upon them. It is through such processes that people force the redefinition of the governance relationships relating them to rulers and their agents. The presentation intends to contribute to a theoretical approach to the democratization of relationships of governance in the current context by focusing on how some of the current processes of contention and mobilization may actually constraint rulers and elites to make decision-making more responsive, more open, and more accountable to people who are subjected to it. It hence shares Tully's commitment to civic activity struggles as the groundwork of democracy, contra a liberal mainstream tradition that has neglected the role of such struggles in the achievement of democratic polities, a neglect which impedes it to propose a proper analysis of the actual problems posed by power and arbitrariness in our world.

**PM : STUDENTS PRESENTATION IV**

**27 JUNE 2015 (SATURDAY)**

**DEPARTURE**

## NOTES ON SPEAKERS

**ELISABETH ALBER**, Senior Researcher, Project Leader (EURAC Federal Scholar in Residence Program) and Group Leader for Training and Outreach Activities at the EURAC-Institute for Studies on Federalism and Regionalism, has been trained in International Sciences and Diplomacy at the Universities of Turin (Italy) and Turku (Finland). After working experiences at the European Center for Minority Issues (Germany) and the European Union (Belgium) she joined EURAC in 2006. Her publications, research and teaching focus on minority rights, territorial autonomies, comparative federalism and regionalism as well as participatory democracy in compound States. Since 1999, she is also workshop facilitator and consultant of intercultural activities as well as democracy and federalism programs, both in Europe and overseas.

**FRANÇOIS BOUCHER** is a postdoctoral fellow at the Centre de recherche en éthique, Université de Montréal. His research focuses mainly on the philosophical and normative foundations of multiculturalism. More precisely, most of his work is concerned with the accommodation of ethnoreligious minorities and the critical analysis of various normative models of secularism. He has recently published in *Criminal Law and Philosophy*, *Philosophy and Public Issues*, and *Revue philosophique de Louvain*.

**AMANDINE CATALA** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Quebec at Montreal (UQAM). Before joining the Department of Philosophy at UQAM, she was a postdoctoral and visiting fellow at the London School of Economics (Philosophy), the Australian National University (Philosophy), and the University of Louvain (Hoover Chair of Economic and Social Ethics). She received her PhD in Philosophy from the University of Colorado at Boulder. Her research interests include social and political philosophy (territorial rights, secession, annexation, colonialism, self-determination, sovereignty, indigenous peoples, immigration, nationalism, pluralism, political non-domination, democracy), feminist philosophy, theoretical and applied ethics, and the history of moral and political philosophy.

**LINDA CARDINAL** is professor at the School of Political Studies, is chairholder of the Chaire de recherche sur la francophonie et les politiques publiques of the University of Ottawa. Her research interests are linguistic minorities as well as the conflict themes, identity and citizenship in Canada and Québec. She is also interested in the theory of social movements and the history of ideas. As an international expert who contributes to the research on Canada's francophone minorities in Canadian politics, she has also published numerous articles and directed several works related to these themes. From 2001 to 2004, she directed the journal of political science " *Politique et sociétés* ". From 2002 to 2004, she was the chairholder of the Craig Dobbin Chair of Canadian Studies of University College Dublin; and from 2006 to 2007, the chairholder of the Chaire en études canadiennes of the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris 3. From 2006 to 2012, she co-chaired the search committee Language and Politics of the International Association of Political Science, and in 2012 she was elected both as a member on the Board of executives of the International Political Science Association as well as a member of the Board of Governors of the University of Ottawa

**ZSUZSA CSERGŐ** (PhD in Political Science, The George Washington University) is Associate Professor of Political Studies and Graduate Chair at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada. She is also President of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN). She is currently working on two large research projects: a single-author book about the conditions of political inclusion in centralized multiethnic states of post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, and a collaborative book project about the outcomes of minority territorial self-government claims in post-Cold War Europe (together with Stefan Wolff and Philippe Roseberry). Her publications include *Talk of the Nation: Language and Conflict in Romania and Slovakia* (Cornell University Press, 2007), and chapters and articles about state-minority relations, kin-state politics, democratization and transnational integration in post-communist Europe—published by major university presses and in peer-reviewed journals, including *Perspectives on Politics, Foreign Policy, Nations and Nationalism, Europe-Asia Studies, East European Politics and Societies*, and others.

**MAGDALENA DEMBINSKA** is associate professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Montreal. She completed a postdoctoral fellowship at McGill University (2007-2009), received her PhD in political science from the University of Montreal and her Masters in international relations from Warsaw University. Her teaching and research in comparative politics focuses on identity politics and conflict, historical reconciliation, state-(nation)-building, nationalism and diversity, in the Eurasia and Central Europe. She has published a monograph *Vivre ensemble dans la diversité culturelle. Europe central et orientale après 1989* with Presses universitaires de Rennes (2012). Her work appeared in *Nations and Nationalism, Regional and Federal Studies, Ethnopolitics, Nationalities Papers* European and Regional Studies, *Canadian Journal of Political Science, Études internationales, Comparative Political Studies, East European Politics and Societies*, as well as in several edited volumes.

**ALICE ENGL** is a Senior Researcher with the Institute for Minority Rights at EURAC. She completed her PhD in Political Studies at the University of Innsbruck, Austria, in 2014. Prior to joining EURAC in 2006, she completed an MA in Political Science (University of Innsbruck) and a Master in European Studies (University of Vienna) and a three-month traineeship at the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Her fields of research are EU and minority studies and comparative politics. She specialises in the study of European integration, minority protection, transfrontier cooperation between sub-state entities and transnational regional spaces of politics.

**ALAIN-G. GAGNON** is the holder of a Senior Canada Research Chair in Quebec and Canadian Studies and professor of Political Science, Université du Québec à Montréal since 2003. He is founding director of the GRSP (Research Group on Plurinational Societies (1994-)) and is director of the Research centre on diversity and democracy (CRIDAQ). A member of the Royal Society of Canada, Gagnon has held visiting appointments at the Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona, the Institut d'Études politiques de Bordeaux and the Universidad Carlos III in Madrid. Gagnon's research and writing has concentrated on Quebec and Canadian politics, with a special emphasis on multinational federalism, nationalism, identity politics, and party politics. More recently, Gagnon has explored normative approaches and theories to better account for federal societies in the Western world. He is the author and editor of over 50 books among which, with the University of Toronto, *Minority Nations in the Age of Uncertainty: New Paths to National Emancipation and Empowerment* (2014, translated in 17 languages) and *Canadian Politics* already in its 6th edition, and, with Routledge in 2010, *Federal Democracies* as well as *The Case For Multinational Federalism: Beyond the All-Encompassing Nation* (Josep Maria Vilaseca Book Award).

**ODED HAKLAI** (PhD Toronto, 2004) is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Studies, Queen's University. His research and teaching in comparative and international politics focus on the politics of ethnicity and nationalism, state-majority-minority relations, settlers and ethnoterritorial conflict, the Middle East, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He is the author of *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), winner of the 2012 Shapiro Award for best book in Israel Studies, and co-editor of *Democratization and Ethnic Minorities: Conflict or Accommodation?* (Routledge 2013), *Democracy and Conflict Resolution: The Dilemmas of Israel's Peacemaking* (Syracuse, 2014), and *Settlers in Contested Lands: Territorial Disputes and Ethnic Conflict* (Stanford, forthcoming). He has published articles in numerous peer-reviewed journals, including *Comparative Political Studies, International Studies Review, Nations and Nationalism, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Canadian Journal of Political Science, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, and Israel Studies*.

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**PETER KRAUS** is a professor of comparative politics and the director of the Institute for Canadian Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences at Augsburg University. He has been the chair of ethnic relations at the University of Helsinki and an associate professor of political science at Humboldt University in Berlin. He has published widely and in several languages on cultural diversity and identity politics, ethnicity and nationalism, the dilemmas of European integration, and problems of democratization and democratic theory. He is the author of *A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity, and Polity-Building in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2008). His most recent publications include *The Diversities of Europe* (edited with G. Sciortino), *Ethnicities* (Special Issue), 14 (4), 2014, and *The Challenge of Minority Integration: Politics and Policies in the Nordic Nations* (edited with P. Kivisto, De Gruyter Open, 2015).

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**JOHN MCGARRY** is Professor of Political Studies and Canada Research Chair in Nationalism and Democracy. Before coming to Queen's, he was Professor of Political Science at the University of Waterloo (1999-2002) and at the University of Western Ontario, King's College (1989-99). He is a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin (1979), and of the University of Western Ontario (1987). McGarry's academic work is mainly concerned with the design of political institutions in deeply divided places. He is particularly interested in power-sharing, federalism and other forms of territorial autonomy, but has also worked on the relationship between European integration and minority rights. He has co-authored, co-edited and edited thirteen books on these subjects, including four with Oxford University Press (UK). In addition, he has authored and co-authored over 70 refereed articles and book chapters. McGarry's work has had an important public policy dimension and impact. He has appeared as an expert witness before the U.S. Congress; participated in briefings of the UN Security Council; and worked with several governments around the world. His work on policing reform in Northern Ireland, conducted with Brendan O'Leary, was singled out by the press as crucially influencing the Report of the Independent Commission on Policing Reform (the Patten Commission), which reported in 1999. In 2008-09, McGarry served for fifteen months as "Senior Advisor on Power-Sharing" to the United Nations (Standby Team, Mediation Support Unit), the first person appointed to this position. He is currently the (part-time) Senior Advisor on Governance in the UN led negotiations in Cyprus. McGarry was appointed as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 2010, won the Trudeau Fellowship Prize in 2011, and

was awarded the Queen Elizabeth II Diamond Jubilee Medal in 2013. In 2013, he also won the Killam Prize (Social Sciences), the first political scientist to win this coveted award. In 2014, he was awarded the Innis-Gérin Medal, the Royal Society of Canada's highest honour for a social scientist

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**ROBERTA MEDDA-WINDISCHER** is a Senior Researcher and Group Leader for National Minorities, Migration and Cultural Diversity at the EURAC Institute for Minority Rights, and an international lawyer specialised in human rights and minority protection. After her law degree, an LL.M in International Human Rights Law at the Essex University (UK) and a PhD at the University of Graz (AT), she worked as Legal Officer for various international organisations, including the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, BiH), the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR, Albania), the UN Centre for Human Rights (OHCHR, Geneva) and, the European Court of Human Rights (CoE/ECHR, Strasbourg). At the European Academy, her research focuses on the protection of minorities in international law and on new minorities stemming from migration, on which she has authored and edited monographs and multi-authored volumes, and published numerous articles and chapters in edited volumes both in Italy and abroad. Dr Medda-Windischer lectures in various post-university programs, including the European Master Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation (EIUC -Venice School of Human Rights).

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**ALAIN NOËL** is professor of political science at the Université de Montréal. He works on social policy in a comparative perspective, as well as on federalism and on Quebec and Canadian politics. His latest book is *La droite et la gauche: un débat sans frontières*, co-authored with Jean-Philippe Thérien (Presses de l'Université de Montréal). The original version, published by Cambridge University Press, won the 2009 International Relations Prize of the Canadian Political Science Association. Between 2006 and 2014, Alain Noël was president of the Centre d'étude sur la pauvreté et l'exclusion of the Quebec government. Previously, he was also a member of Quebec's Commission on Fiscal Imbalance, and a visiting professor at the Institut d'études politiques de Grenoble, at the Institut d'études politiques de Lyon and at the School of Social Welfare of the University of California at Berkeley. In 2013-14, he was president of the Canadian Political Science Association.

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*enjeux et débats contemporains* (Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2010). Elle est l'auteur de *Désenclaver la démocratie. Des huguenots à la paix des Braves* (Montréal, Québec Amérique, 2004), de *Souveraineté démocratique, justice et mondialisation* (Liber, 2010), et de *Popular Sovereignty in the West* (Routledge, 2013) (finaliste au prix CB Macpherson 2013). Elle a également publié dans *Nations and Nationalism* et dans *Contemporary Political Theory*.

**FRANCESCO PALERMO** graduated in law at the University of Trento in 1994. In 1998 he specialized with a PhD in comparative constitutional law at the University of Innsbruck. From 2001 to 2007 he taught at the Vermont Law School in United States of America, and since 2004 he is Associate Professor of Comparative Public Law at the University of Verona; the same year he was appointed director of the Institute of Federalism and Regionalism EURAC. He was a visiting professor at several universities, including the University of Regensburg, the University of Zurich and the University of Seville, and from 2007 to 2010 he was a senior legal adviser to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities and member of the Advisory Committee for the Framework Convention for the protection of national minorities of the Council of Europe. Since 2011 he is member of the group of independent experts of the Council of Europe on the European Charter of Local Self-government. In 2014 he was elected the President of the Advisory Committee for the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. He is also a member of the joint committees for the implementation of the Autonomy Statute of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, and since 2015 a member of the Constitutional Commission for Ukraine.

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## **ORGANISERS, 6th Edition**

**CRIDAQ, CSSD** and **CREQC** in close collaboration with **EURAC** are proud to host a new edition of a well-established Summer Institute on Democracy and Diversity. This Institute pursues and deepens an earlier programme that was run by the Ethnicity and Democratic Governance Research Network (Queen's University, UQAM, University of Toronto) and earlier on by the New School in New York in collaboration with McGill University and the University of Guadalajara.

**CREQC The Canada Research Chair in Quebec and Canadian Studies** is a research unit based at UQAM in Montréal and has been funded since 2003 by the Social Sciences and Humanities through its Canada Research Chair Programme. Research activities concentrate on identity politics, representation, citizenship and federal studies and nationalism in a comparative context [www.creqc.uqam.ca](http://www.creqc.uqam.ca)

**CRIDAQ Centre de recherche interdisciplinaire sur la diversité et la démocratie** ([www.cridaq.uqam.ca](http://www.cridaq.uqam.ca)) is an interuniversity and international research programme that seeks to better understand national diversity, legal pluralism and transnational trends in the fields of juridical mobilisation, multinationalism, transnationalism and federal studies.

**CSSD Centre for Studies on Democracy and Diversity** is a research centre at Queen's University. It supports research and education on two sets of issues. One focuses on the institutions, processes, policies and conditions necessary to develop and sustain systems of governance based on liberal-democratic values. The other examines how societies respond to the opportunities and challenges raised by ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural differences while promoting democracy, social justice, peace and stability.

**EURAC** The European Academy of Bolzano/Bozen (EURAC) is a private research centre located in South Tyrol, Italy. The Institute for Studies on Federalism and Regionalism and the Institute for Minority Rights are two of eleven institutes at EURAC, and are the joint hosts of this Summer School. Both institutes are committed to basic and applied research on issues such as minority protection, the management of cultural diversity, and government and policy trends at federal, regional, and local level. A team of lawyers and political scientists provide expertise through extensive publication activities in English, Italian and German, educational programs and lectures, and consultancies for policy-makers at the local, regional, national and European level.



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**CCC Center for Constitutional Change** The Scottish referendum of 2014 presented a unique opportunity to examine the process of constitutional change and its impact on institutions, relationships, behaviour and the policy process. This major interdisciplinary project examines the options for, and implications of, constitutional change in Scotland. Beginning in October 2013, this 2-year project contributes to the evidence base for the 2014 referendum, and the implications of the result. In the longer term, it will build a multi-institutional research centre which creates capacity for interdisciplinary work on the social, economic and political challenges facing Scotland, irrespective of the outcome of the referendum.

**The CRFPP Chaire de recherche sur la francophonie et les politiques publiques** joins the debate on approaches to linguistic diversity and citizenship. Its objectives are also to evaluate the various models of governance and linguistic development in light of their capacity to foster the empowerment of official language minorities and to contribute to the development of public policy by defining the most suitable models for the preservation and growth of linguistic diversity.

**GRSP Groupe de recherche sur les sociétés plurinationales** based at UQAM concentrates its research activities on various dimensions pertaining to the management of plurinational and multinational contexts through sustained analyses of fragmented polities. 2014 Finalist to the Insight Award for its outstanding achievements.

**The Institute for Canadian Studies at the University of Augsburg** conducts interdisciplinary research on issues related to Canada. Drawing from the disciplines of Comparative Politics, Sociology, History, Linguistics, and French and English Literature the Institute covers a wide range of topics, such as multiculturalism, migration, language ideologies and policies, as well as federalism in a Canadian and comparative context.

**The Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation** is an independent and non-partisan charity organisation which promotes outstanding research in the humanities and social sciences, and fosters a fruitful dialogue between scholars and policymakers in the arts community, business, government, the professions, and the voluntary sector

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