

# INTERNATIONAL SUMMER RESEARCH INSTITUTE

States and Nations:  
Diversity, Domination and Legitimacy

États et nations : Diversité, domination et légitimité

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

4 June - 15 June 2023





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## SCHEDULE

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### **June 4 (Sunday)**

18h00

#### **Welcoming gathering**

Batzenhäusl, Via Andreas Hofer 30 ([www.batzen.it](http://www.batzen.it))

Followed by dinner at the same place (South Tyrolean specialties, at one's own expense)

### **June 5 (Monday)**

#### **Concepts, Theoretical Frameworks and Agencies**

9h30 – 10h00

#### **Welcoming remarks by the organisers**

10h00 – 11h00

Fernand De Varennes

**The rights of minorities, diversity and (neo) nationalism: The ‘tyranny of the majority’ is not the only game in town**

11h30 – 12h30

John McGarry

#### **Explaining the lifecycles of ethnopolitical domination regimes**

There has been a substantial comparative literature on different aspects of ethnopolitical domination regimes, variously known as ethnocracies, control systems, nationalizing states, or ethnic democracies. None of this work attempts to explain the lifecycles of such regimes, i.e., how they are established and end. I will present a simple theoretical framework that can be used to explain the life-cycle of any ethnopolitical domination regime. It is centred on the twin factors of capacity and motivation. These two factors, understandably, are necessary and sufficient. Where they coincide, we get domination, and continue to have it until one or both factors disappear, usually the former arguably. Importantly I see a regime's capacity to dominate as being dependent on both internal and external environments.

13h30 – 14h30

Michael Keating

**Rescaling the Nation, Rescaling the State. The management of nationality questions in Europe**

Nationalism has traditionally sought to achieve a territorial nation-state. Nowadays all three elements of this are in contention. Our understanding of territory is transformed by new approaches, which see it as multifaceted, as much a sociological as a topological concept. The nation is seen as constructed and reproduced in complex ways in different contexts. The state is transformed by functional change and challenges to its monopoly of sovereignty. This complicates the accommodation of nationalist challenges but at the same time opens up new avenues for the reconciliation of territory, nation and polity. None of this can be explained by functional determinism. The nation, rather, is to be seen as an essentially political and contested concept.

**June 6 (Tuesday)**

**Learning about South Tyrol**

9h00 – 11h00

**Guided city tour with visit to the Victory Monument (organized by the Center for Autonomy Experience)**

11h00 – 12h30

**Visit of the South Tyrolean Parliament, Q&A with South Tyrolean Politicians and refreshments**

14h00 – 15h30

**Round Table on South Tyrol's Autonomy: From Conflict to Power-Sharing**

Moderator: Alice Engl

Sergiu Constantin: Legal aspects of the autonomy

Georg Grote: Historical aspects of the autonomy

Andrea Carlà: Political aspects of the autonomy

**June 7 (Wednesday)**  
**Territoriality, Assertiveness, and Democracy**

9h00 – 10h00

Oded Haklai

**Territorial Disputes and Population Resettlements**

Population settlements/settlers have been used widely by states for obtaining and consolidating territorial control in the post-WWII period, at a time where European empires were rolling back their settler-colonies. How can we explain this phenomenon? Can we identify broad patterns and categories that can be used for comparative and theoretically driven research? How do various cases from around the world fit the various categories? This talk addresses these questions theoretically, using cases from around the globe to illustrate the identified categories.

10h15 – 11h15

Francesco Palermo

**Federalism and the Accommodation of Ethno-National Conflicts**

Federalism is being increasingly used as a tool to accommodate ethnonational diversity. While this function has been used from the very beginning of federal experiences (including probably in the ancient world), it has never been the only reason for resorting to federal structures. In recent times, to the contrary, federalism is becoming the predominant institutional means to address ethno-national claims. The presentation explores the trajectory of such an evolution and tackles the pros and cons for both the meaning of federalism and the effectiveness of the protection of minority claims.

11h30 – 12h30

Nicola McEwen

**Territory, Self-Government and the Democratic Exercise**

How do states and state-wide parties confront nationalist demands for self-government? Are referendums the appropriate tool to resolve these territorial disputes? We will examine the spectrum of responses states and political parties use to accommodate, contain and confront independence demands, and the challenges around democratic exercises that address self-determination claims. We will compare and contrast independence referenda in Scotland and Catalonia, asking why the UK government facilitated the process in Scotland (in 2014, though not more recently) while the Spanish government criminalized

the process in Catalonia. We will consider whether EU institutions can play a role in resolving sovereignty disputes.

14h00 – 15h00

Marc Sanjaume

### **Alternatives to External Self-determination**

In this session we will explore determinants of external self-determination demands and potential institutional alternatives to secession. In the first part of the session we will study the determinants of secessionism in liberal-democracies, independence referendum demands and typical secessionist and counter-secessionist repertoires of action. In the second part of the session we will address the concept of Defensive Federalism as a normative umbrella to frame institutional mechanisms designed to accommodate national pluralism and protect self-government in the context of secessionist conflicts.

15h15 – 16h15

Evelyne Brie

### **Intergroup Contact in Divided Polities**

Inter-group contacts in divided countries shape political attitudes---but how? Two schools of thought offer contrasting arguments on this question: contact theory, which argues that contacts with out-group members reduce inter-group bias, and inter-group threat theory, which posits that such contacts fuel cultural threat. By reading the work of Dovidio et al. (2017) and of Dinesen and Sonderskov (2015), we'll explore the conditions under which contacts in deeply divided societies may generate positive outcomes. We'll also discuss how to measure inter-group contacts in observational and experimental settings, among other using social media data.

**June 8 (Thursday)**

## **Legitimacy, Stateness, and Territorial Justice**

9h00 – 10h00

Arjun Tremblay

### **State, Citizenship and Cultural Pluralism**

For the longest time the state and state citizenship were tacit yet largely uncontested components of the 'politics of recognition'. The state, state citizenship, and citizenization remain to this day vital for some minorities but they are also viewed as obstacles to the

empowerment and emancipation of other minorities. This raises several theoretical and empirical questions: Should the state remain an important feature in a ‘politics of recognition’? What could replace the state? Can it be replaced? How can a politics of diversity suited for the 21st century both accommodate and reject the state and state citizenship in deeply diverse polities?

10h15 – 11h15

Geneviève Nootens

### **Populism, Democracy, and ‘the People’**

The antagonism between ‘the people’ and (corrupted) elites that is core to populism can be understood either as belonging with a distinct interpretation of the political, or as a specific logic that runs through the articulation of popular claims. These different ways of tackling the issue are taken to have different consequences on how we shall understand the relationship between populism and democracy. I argue that major approaches propose too broad a definition of populism – either by making populism a proxy to democracy (hence facing difficulties in assessing the status of pluralism itself) or by assuming that challenges to the liberal institutional order in the name of ‘the people’ actually challenge democracy itself (populism being necessarily at odds with pluralism). This makes it more difficult to assess how populism relates with democracy –and to what extent movements and discourses labeled as ‘populist’ contribute to democratization and de-democratization.

11h30 – 12h30

Alex Schwartz

### **Populism and Constitutionalism**

In recent years, several governments associated with populist politics have taken aggressive steps to curtail the power and independence of their respective national judiciaries, contributing to alarming patterns of constitutional erosion in places that once seemed to be safely consolidated constitutional democracies. Populism appears to be a significant factor in these events, but scholars disagree about what kind of factor populism is. Some scholars treat populism as an inherently anti-constitutional ideology. Others treat populism as a discursive frame or rhetorical strategy. I argue in this lecture that a discursive/rhetorical approach to the study of populism has certain methodological advantages and makes better sense of empirical evidence concerning the relationship between populism and constitutionalism.

13h30 – 14h30

Margaret Moore

**States, Nations, Legitimacy and Territory**

Almost all political theory examines the relationship between states and citizens, but there is little discussion of the geographical dimension of the state and the rights and obligations that attach to this geographical domain. It is definitional of states that they possess territory (Montevideo Convention); yet, there is little discussion of this geographical aspect of states. This paper /talk examines what territorial rights are (they are a bundle of liberties, powers and immunities, somewhat similar to property rights); who can claim them (are they groups? States? Supra-state organizations?); and what justifies them (the usual candidates are justice and self-determination). This conceptual and normative analysis gives clarity to topics that are usually opaque in political.

15h30 – 18h00

**Opening and part one of the expert workshop *Federalism and Conflict Management* “Non-Renewable Natural Resources in Federal Political Systems” (for details see separate program)**

**Setting the Scene**

Eva Maria Belser

**Part 1: Cases from the Americas**

Alain-G. Gagnon, Dave Guénette, Lucas González

**June 9 (Friday)**

**Non-Renewable Natural Resources in Federal Political Systems**

8h45 – 11h00

**Part 2: Cases from Africa and the Middle East**

Michael Uche Ukponu, Nico Steytler, Daan Smeekens

11h30 – 13h00

**Part 3: Cases from Australia and Oceania**

Rebecca Nelson, Elisabeth Alber



14h00 – 16h15

**Part 4 Cases from Europe**

Reinis Ābolpiņš, Javier Arnaut, Paul Anderson

16h45 – 18h15

**Part 5: Cases from South Asia and South-East Asia**

Rekha Oleschak, VN Alok, Sören Keil

18h15 – 18h30

**Ending the Scene (for now)**

Francesco Palermo

**June 10 (Saturday)**

09h30 – approx.18h00

**Bus trip to Castle Tirol, Gardens of Trautmannsdorff Castle and Merano**

**June 11 (Sunday)**

**Free time**

**June 12 (Monday)**

**Ethnocracies**

9h00 – 10h00

Allison McCulloch

**From Ethnic Democracy to Ethnocracy**

Ethnicity regularly functions as an ordering principle in the design of political institutions. Ethnic democracies combine features of liberal democracy with institutionalized ethnic dominance. Ethnocracies, too, entail the allocation of state power along ethnic lines. When is a political system an ethnic democracy and when is it an ethnocracy? And how are these concepts useful in explaining consociational democracy, which also allocates state power along ethnic lines, and which some authors see as forms of ‘ethnocracy’ or ‘poly-ethnocracy’?

This talk will survey the theoretical debates linking ethnic democracy, consociational democracy, and ethnocracy; explore how these concepts have been taken up in a range of cases; and assess the consequences for ‘others,’ those groups who are left out when the distribution of state power occurs on ethnic terms.

10h15 – 11h15

Jens Woelk

**Politics of Contestation and Cooperation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Lebanon**

The lecture will discuss the power sharing arrangements in two post-conflict settings: Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and Lebanon. Is it (im)possible to (re)build a multinational State after a violent conflict? To answer this question, the basic features of both systems of consociational democracy will be illustrated and the role of the International Community be discussed. The lecture will try to shed light on the interrelations with (ethnic) federalism in BiH and with state capture in both systems. The reasons for the status-quo orientation shall emerge from lecture and discussion.

11h30 – 12h30

Sanjay Ruparelia

**How militant Hindu nationalism is corroding India’s Democracy**

This presentation examines the state of the world’s largest democracy since the Bharatiya Janata Party captured national power in 2014. Constitutionally, India has many norms, institutions and mechanisms that encourage power sharing and prevent the tyranny of majorities. Similar to democratic backsliding elsewhere, however, the rise of an authoritarian populist invested in a politics of aggressive ethnonational majoritarianism has exposed the limits of institutionalism. Steady executive aggrandizement and militant social campaigns have tested the separation of powers and weakened civil society, challenging the legitimacy of political opposition, social dissent and minority communities. The growing ideological hegemony of Hindu nationalism suggests deeper sociological changes that, unless reversed, could imperil India's constitutional democracy.

14h00 – 16h00

**Student presentations**

**June 13 (Tuesday)**  
**Diversity, Political Cohesion, Immigration**

9h00 – 10h00

Mireille Paquet

**Immigration Attitudes and State Legitimacy: The Role of State Signals**

How do states and nations contribute to the development of immigration attitudes? Past research has shown that, in multiple settings, national identity and its priming by different political actors, can drive opinion toward immigration (e.g. Banting and Soroka 2012; Turgeon and Bilodeau 2014; Barker 2010; Breton 2015, Jeram, Van Der Zwet and Wisthaler 2016, Gagnon and Iacovino 2006). Moreover, feelings of cultural insecurity – which is often present in minority nations – may also contribute to opinions about newcomers (e.g. Bilodeau and Turgeon 2014; Turgeon and Bilodeau 2021; Bilodeau et al. 2021; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014). In relation to this scholarship, this presentation explores how states and nations’ signaling can also contribute to the development of immigration attitudes and ensure that immigration policies are perceived as legitimate. Based on published research (Paquet and Lawlor 2022; Lawlor and Paquet 2021) and ongoing empirical work, this presentation will discuss the impact of two government-based signals on immigration attitudes in Quebec and Canada: 1) information about immigration programs and policies and 2) perception of immigrants’ deservingness in relation to established rules and processes.

10h15 – 11h15

Verena Wisthaler

**Migration, Minority Regions, and Regionalist Parties**

Relying on a structured comparison of the various Stateless Nationalist and Regionalist Parties (SNRPs) in the Basque Country (Spain), Corsica (France), South Tyrol (Italy), and Scotland and Wales (UK) I show that these parties engage, through processes of ‘othering’, in the creation of a hierarchy of diversities, differentiating between markers of diversity based on the perceived proximity of immigrants to the collective identity of the in-group, as well as their constructed distance to the identity of the state in which the minority region is situated. Hence, the construction of ‘wanted’ and ‘unwanted’ migrants and, in the long run, ‘wanted’ and ‘unwanted’ citizens, reflects the perceived potential of newcomers to strengthen the SNRPs’ vision of the territory, their nationalist mobilization and their nation-building project, which then becomes the salient criterion for the inclusion or exclusion of migrants into the construction of regional citizenship.

11h30 – 12h30

Catrin Wyn Edwards

### **Conceptualising ‘Regional’ Sanctuary: A focus on Wales and the ‘Nation of Sanctuary’ principle**

Given that sanctuary has traditionally been provided at two main sub-state sites – churches (Caminero-Santangelo, 2012; Hector & Coutin, 2012; Mitchell & MacFarlane, 2019) and cities (Bauder & Gonzalez, 2018; Darling & Bauder, 2019) – it is unsurprising that the sanctuary scholarship has tended to focus on these two scales. Sanctuary measures are understood as a form of protection for immigrants and as a protest against state immigration policy, which is portrayed as exclusive, punitive and illiberal, and ‘nation-state authority’ (Darling & Bauder, 2019: 9). While the scope, scale and nature of sanctuary practices may vary, they are framed as a way of challenging state sovereignty through various acts of defiance, notably holding the state to account for infringing law, offering alternative means of asylum, and endowing migrants with new forms of citizenship and political agency.

13h30 – 15h30

Roberta Medda-Windischer

### **Old and new minorities in autonomous territories. Lecture and Role Play**

Migration is an important reality for many sub-national autonomous territories where traditional-historical groups (so-called ‘old minorities’) live, such as Flanders, Catalonia, South Tyrol, Scotland, Basque Country, and Quebec. Some of these territories have attracted migrants for decades, while others have only recently experienced significant migration inflow. The presence of old minorities brings complexities to the management of migration issues. Indeed, it is acknowledged that the relationship between ‘old’ communities and the ‘new’ minority groups originating from migration (so-called ‘new minorities’) can be rather complicated. On the one hand, interests and needs of historical groups can be in contrast with those of the migrant population. On the other hand, the presence of new minorities can interfere with the relationship between the old minorities and the majority groups at the state level and also with the relationship between old minorities and the central state as well as with the policies enacted to protect the diversity of traditional groups and the way old minorities understand and define themselves. Using South Tyrol as a case study, this 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. In a role play, participants will adopt the role of politicians and prepare and present opinion favouring an inclusive / restrictive diversity policy.

15h45 – 16h45

Leiza Brumat

### **Multilevel migration governance in South America**

South America has some of the most developed regional integration projects after the EU (Mercosur, the Andean Community), it has a free residence regime and the most liberal and progressive migration policies in the world (at least on paper). This session will provide an overview of regionalism and the multilevel governance of migration in South America. It will identify the main actors, institutional features and modes of governance that characterize regionalism and migration policies, to shed light on the potential multilevel dynamics of governance in regions, states, local communities, and their effects on diversity.

**June 14 (Wednesday)**

### **States, Nations: Vulnerability - Empowerment**

9h00 – 10h00

John Hall

### **The Paradox of Vulnerability**

Small nations and states are vulnerable, prone historically to disappear. The paradox of vulnerability is that it gives some—not all—small and cultural homogenous states a consensual form of political economy that allow them to prosper in the contemporary world. This is what Gellner expected in his formula of one nation with its state, one state with its nation. I ask students to read his classic statement. I will discuss Denmark in Gellnerian terms. Attention will also be given to Switzerland, often seen as opposed to Gellner's view. That this is not so is made clear in the second PDF I ask you to read. A final point: Gellner is a powerful theorist, but my agreement is very limited—and very far from total.

10h15 – 11h15

Alain Dieckhoff

### **States, Nations in a (partly) de-globalized world**

The Covid-19 pandemic has abruptly shut down the world: all of a sudden the world which seemed borderless was again divided by strict boundaries which could only be crossed with the required passes and permits. This 'rebordering' of the world underlined the powerful role still played by the nation-states, and by nationalism as a driving force. The



undervaluation of nationalism has to do with some basic illusions we would like to dissipate. We will also stress how globalization, far from being the graveyard of nationalism has been dialectically linked with nationalism and its expansion all over the world.

11h30 – 13h00

**Student presentations I**

14h – 16h30

**Student presentations II**

**June 15 (Thursday)  
Federalism in Practice**

09h00 – 12h30

Petra Malfertheiner, Francisco J. Romero Caro

**Simulation Game: Let's Go Federal**

In this simulation game participants embody the role of experts and develop different models of federations before agreeing on a common federal system. The participants experience in first person which relations exist between the government levels and what consequences derive from every single decision in different policy fields.

**Closing lunch**

**June 16 (Friday)  
Departure**

## NOTES ABOUT THE SPEAKERS

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**REINIS ĀBOLTIŅŠ** is Senior Energy Market Analyst at the Public Utilities Commission of Latvia. Previously he has worked as a consultant on energy and climate issues to the national parliament and has done research and provided advice on policy and regulatory aspects of energy market liberalisation, the functioning of energy markets, deployment of renewable energy, energy efficiency, as well as energy security. He has served as a member of the State President's Energy Security Commission and has also been a member of the Advisory Committee under the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. He is a PhD candidate in environmental engineering at the Riga Technical University and has masters' degree in human rights and humanitarian law from the University of Padova and Lund University.

**ELISABETH ALBER** leads the research group Participation and Innovations at the Eurac Research Institute for Comparative Federalism. She also is head of the fellowship program Eurac Federal Scholar in Residence. Her work examines law and politics in federal and regional States, with a focus on divided societies, democratic innovations, and participatory governance. She is part of the editorial team of the paper series Diversity Governance Papers that is linked to the IACL-Research Group Constitutionalism and Societal Pluralism.

**V N ALOK** is Professor of Urban Finance in the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) New Delhi, since 1999. He has been the Member of Delhi Finance Commission and contributed, to almost all successive (union) federal and state finance commissions since 1995 in different capacities. He conceptualized the 'panchayat devolution index', by ranking Indian states, and constructed it annually. Dr. Alok has authored books and articles on spheres of public finance and policy. His recent book is on 'Fiscal Decentralization in India: Outcome Mapping of State Finance Commissions' from Palgrave Macmillan.

**PAUL ANDERSON** is Senior Lecturer in Politics at Liverpool John Moores University, UK. His research largely focuses on comparative territorial politics. He is interested in autonomy and secessionist movements, majority and minority nationalisms, intergovernmental relations and the use of autonomy as a tool of conflict resolution.

**JAVIER L. ARNAUT** is an Associate Professor at the University of Greenland - Ilisimatusarfik. He holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Groningen, The Netherlands. He held academic positions in institutions in The Netherlands, Poland, and Mexico. He specializes in the long-term economic development of emerging regions and

the Arctic. He devotes special attention to the socioeconomic consequences of climate change. His research areas include international political economy, natural resource-driven growth, environmental economics, and economic history. Currently, he teaches courses at the graduate and undergraduate levels on Arctic economic development and economic theory and is the program coordinator of the Bachelor of Business Economics at Ilisimatusarfik.

**EVA MARIA BELSER** holds a chair in constitutional and administrative law at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) and an UNESCO chair in human rights and democracy. She is co-director of the Institute for Federalism and heads its international section. Her research interests relate to comparative constitutional law, federalism, decentralisation and globalisation, human and minority rights, democracy, and the rule of law. She regularly accepts mandates to serve as an expert in international cooperation projects, is involved in numerous consultancy activities and is currently the president of the International Association of Centers for Federal Studies (IACFS).

**EVELYNE BRIE** Evelyne Brie is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario. She obtained a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Pennsylvania in 2022. Her research interests include public opinion, electoral behaviour, and statistical methods, with a focus on the impact of regional identities in Germany and in Canada. She is an affiliated researcher at the CAPFC (Centre d'analyse politique – Constitution Fédéralisme) and at the CLESSN (Leadership Chair in the Teaching of Digital Social Sciences). She is also a member of the scientific committee of the Canadian Journal of Political Science (Francophone section). Her work has been published in the British Journal of Political Science and French Politics. She published a co-authored book on Canadian federalism at Laval University Press (forthcoming at the University of Toronto Press). She has worked as a data scientist for the City Lab Berlin and Politics for Tomorrow between 2020 and 2022.

**LEIZA BRUMAT** is a Senior Research Fellow at Eurac Research (Bolzano, Italy) where she works on her project 'Policy Implementation in Global South Regionalism: Multilevel Migration Governance in South America (POLIM)', funded by the Province of Bolzano/Bozen, and an Associated Research Fellow at the United Nations University-Institute for Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU-CRIS). She is an International Relations analyst who obtained her PhD in Flacso –Argentina. She previously held academic positions at the Migration Policy Centre (MPC) of the European University Institute, at two universities in Buenos Aires and at the National Council of Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) of Argentina.

**ANDREA CARLÀ** (PhD in Politics, New School for Social Research, New York, USA) is Senior Researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research in Bozen/Bolzano (South Tyrol – Italy). His research explores the interplay among ethnic politics/minority protection, migration studies and security issues, focusing in particular on the concepts of (de)securitization and human security and their application to minority issues. Andrea served as the Principal Investigator of the Eurac Research team in the AMIF funded research project “Volunteer and Empower: Enhancing Community Building and Social Integration through Dialogue and Collaboration amongst Young Europeans and Third Country Nationals” (VOLPOWER) (2018-2021). Currently, he is Network Member and part of the Network Board of the Erasmus+ project “The Securitization of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities and the Rise of Xenophobia in the EU” (SECUREU) (2020-2023).

**SERGIU CONSTANTIN** is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research. He holds a law degree from the University of Bucharest (Romania) and a Master in European Studies from the University of Graz (Austria). His research projects deal with diversity governance focusing mainly on language rights, political participation and territorial/cultural autonomy arrangements in Europe and beyond. He has published several papers, articles and book chapters on these topics. His most recent publications are included in the volumes *Litigating the Rights of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in Domestic and International Courts* (edited by B. De Villiers, J. Marko, F. Palermo and S. Constantin, Brill, 2021) and *Human and Minority Rights Protection by Multiple Diversity Governance. History, Law, Ideology and Politics in European Perspective* (edited by J. Marko and S. Constantin, Routledge, 2019). His most recent consultancy activities regard projects undertaken by the Council of Europe and the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities in Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova. Besides his research and consultancy work, he is co-managing the annual Eurac Research Summer School on Human Rights, Minorities and Diversity Governance and is coordinating the science communication activities of the Institute for Minority Rights.

**ALAIN DIECKHOFF** is CNRS Research Professor, Centre for International Studies, Sciences Po, Paris. As an academic, he has worked extensively on various aspects of nation building in Israel and has undertaken major research projects on contemporary nationalism and populism. He has authored seven books, edited ten books, published more than sixty articles in journals and edited volumes. Among his books published in English: *Modern Roots. Studies of National Identity* (ed., with Natividad Gutierrez), Ashgate, 2001. *The Politics of Belonging: Nationalism, Liberalism, and Pluralism* (ed.), Lexington Books, 2004. *Revisiting Nationalism: Theories and Processes* (ed., with Christophe Jaffrelot), Hurst, 2005. *Nationalism and the Multination State*, Oxford University Press, 2016. *Contemporary Populists in Power* (ed., with C. Jaffrelot & E. Massicard), Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.

**CATRIN WYN EDWARDS** is an Assistant Professor at the Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth University. Her research interests include immigration, multilevel governance, substate nationalism, citizenship, and sanctuary. A key priority for Catrin is engaging with research and policy partners beyond her immediate academic network. This has led to collaboration with non-academic communities both to ensure that her research has societal impact and more generally to bridge the gap between policy and academic communities. She co-convenes the Wales Migration Research Network (WISERD) and is on the editorial board of *Minorités linguistiques et société/ Linguistic Minorities and Society*.

**ALICE ENGL** is Senior Researcher and Leader of the Research Group “Autonomies, Boundaries and Identities” at the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research. She holds an MA and PhD in political science (University of Innsbruck) and postgraduate MA degree in European Studies (University of Vienna). Her research focuses on sub-state cross-border cooperation and integration processes, with a particular focus on border regions with minority identities, and policy processes within EU regional policy and European territorial cooperation. Further research interests are minorities and autonomies, especially the development of South Tyrolean autonomy. Dr. Engl has published peer-reviewed articles and book chapters as well as a monograph with well-established publishing houses such as Taylor & Francis, Springer, Brill, Nomos, University of New Orleans Press, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag. She is guest lecturer at the University of Innsbruck.

**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 led the Research centre on diversity and democracy (CRIDAQ) from 2003 to 2016. He has been elected the President of the Royal Society of Canada in 2022. In 2019, he received the Order of Canada, followed by the Order of Quebec in 2022. 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. 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 19 languages), *The Legitimacy Clash : Challenges to Democracy in Multinational States* (2023, translated in 8 languages) and *Canadian Politics* with James Bickerton already in its 7th edition.

**LUCAS GONZALEZ** is Full Professor at the National University of San Martin, Buenos Aires, and Researcher at the National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) and the Argentine Catholic University. His research interests are federalism,



subnational politics, fiscal relations, subnational extractivism, Latin American politics and political economy.

**GEORG GROTE** is Senior Researcher in the Institute for Minority Rights, Eurac Research. He is a trained historian and has in his academic work focussed on collective emancipation movements in Europe past and present and the role of history and historiography in peoples' self-definition. He has published on Irish cultural nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, on the German process of coming to terms with its Nazi past, and extensively on the South Tyrol question between historical nationalism and European regionalism. He is currently creating a social history archive comprising letters, postcards, diaries and photographs from the late 19th and the 20th century in the geographical area of the historical Tyrol and has published a three volume social history of the area.

**DAVE GUÉNETTE** is Assistant Professor at the Faculty of law of Université de Sherbrooke (Quebec, Canada). His work focuses on Canadian and comparative federalism, consociational democracy, and constitutional change in divided societies. His doctoral thesis, published in 2023 by the *Presses de l'Université Laval*, was awarded several prizes, including the Medal of the National Assembly of Quebec. Along with Félix Mathieu, he recently published another monograph, entitled *Constitutionalism v Diversity – Essays on Federal Democracy* (Peter Lang, 2023).

**ODED HAKLAI** is a professor in the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University in Ontario. He researches and teaches ethnic conflict, state-minority relations, the politics of population movements in contested territories, and Palestinian-Israeli relations. He is the author and editor of several books and articles, including *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel*, which won the Shapiro Award for best book in Israel Studies. Haklai is also the editor of the journal *Israel Studies Review*. His current research project on settlers in contested territories is funded by SSHRC.

**JOHN HALL** is Professor of Comparative Historical Sociology Emeritus at McGill University in Montreal Canada. He is the author of a number of books dealing with states and nations, including a biography of Ernest Gellner. He is currently completing a book entitled 'Nations, States and Empires'.

**MICHAEL KEATING** is Emeritus Professor of Politics at the university of Aberdeen and General Secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He graduated from the University of Oxford in 1971 and in 1975 was the first PhD graduate from what is now Glasgow Caledonian University. Michael is a fellow of the British Academy, Royal Society of Edinburgh, Academy of Social Sciences and European Academy and has taught

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**NICOLA MCEWEN** is Professor of Public Policy at the University of Glasgow. She has a PhD in Politics (Sheffield) and is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. She joined Glasgow in April 2023 as the inaugural director of a new institute for public policy. Prior to that, she spent 22 years at the University of Edinburgh, latterly as Professor of Territorial Politics. Nicola was founding Co-Director of the Centre on Constitutional Change and

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**JOHN MCGARRY** is Samuel Gyimah Distinguished University Professor and Canada Research Chair in Nationalism and Democracy, Department of Political Studies, Queen's University (Canada). He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and an Officer of the Order of Canada. He is the author and editor of several books, including *Power-Sharing: Empirical and Normative Challenges* (Routledge 2017), co-edited with Allison McCulloch. McGarry works on both the theory and practice of ethnic conflict resolution, specifically on the merits of power-sharing and territorial autonomy. He served in 2008-09 as the UN's first Senior Advisor on Power-Sharing and has worked since as Senior Advisor on Governance and Power-Sharing to the UN-mediated negotiations in Cyprus.

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**MARGARET MOORE** is Professor in the Political Studies department, Queen's University, where she teaches Political Theory. She is the author of four books, among which is *A Political Theory of Territory* (Oxford University Press, 2015), which won the Canadian Philosophical Association bi-annual Best Book Prize, 2017. Her work ranges widely, on such topics as nationalism, secession, global justice, territorial and land rights, and she is also interested in ethics of biodiversity and gentrification. These are both connected to our place-based rights and obligations. Her work has appeared in such

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**MIREILLE PAQUET** studies public policies for immigrant selection and immigrant integration in Canada and in other traditional immigrant-receiving societies. She directs Concordia's Centre for Immigration Policy Evaluation (CIPE). Her current work – funded by the SSHRC and by the FQRSC – focuses on the governance of immigration and integration policies in federal regimes (Canada, United States and Australia), with a specific attention to the activism and activities of subnational units. Dr. Paquet is also conducting research on public administration and immigration, and is especially interested in the role of public servant in the formulation of immigrant selection policies.

**FRANCISCO JAVIER ROMERO CARO** is Senior Researcher at the [Eurac Research Institute for Comparative Federalism](#). His research interests encompass fiscal federalism, distribution of powers in multilevel systems, and secession. He won the [XVII "Manuel Giménez Abad" Award](#) for his book on the [Canadian federal system and the integration of Quebec](#) and the Seal of Excellence in the Horizon 2020 Marie Skłodowska-Curie call with a [project on fiscal federalism and diversity accommodation](#). He is author of peer-reviewed articles such as [Equalization and territorial integration in Canada: a nation building instrument?](#), [The Quasi-federal System of Spain](#) and [The Spanish vision of Canada's Clarity Act: from idealization to myth](#). He can be reached at [franciscojavier.romerocar@eurac.edu](mailto:franciscojavier.romerocar@eurac.edu) and via Twitter (@Francisco\_RC).

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**JENS WOELK** is Full Professor of Comparative Constitutional Law at the University of Trento (Italy), at the Faculty of Law and the interdisciplinary School of International Studies (“Euregio chair”). After obtaining his PhD in legal sciences at the University of Regensburg (Germany), Woelk worked at Eurac Research in Bolzano/Bozen (1994-2000), at the Institute for Comparative Federalism (from 2000 as Senior Researcher on project basis). His research interests include federalism/regionalism, comparative constitutional law and European Union law, minority rights and the constitutional transformation processes in Southeast Europe. In the Western Balkans, Woelk has participated in various projects and missions as an expert for the European Union and the Council of Europe, and as Senior International Legal Expert on EU integration issues at the High Judicial Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo, 2018-2019).

## ORGANISERS AND PARTNERS

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**CRIDAQ, CSDD and CREQC** in close collaboration with **Eurac Research** 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.

**CSDD 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 Research** is a private research centre located in South Tyrol, Italy. The Institute for Comparative Federalism and the Institute for Minority Rights are two of eleven institutes at Eurac Research, 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.

**CCC The Centre on Constitutional Change** is a multi-institutional research centre which carries out interdisciplinary research and knowledge exchange on the political,

economic and social challenges facing the states, nations and regions of the British Isles. Based at the University of Edinburgh, institutional partners include the Universities of Aberdeen, Cardiff, Stirling, Cambridge, Cork and Strathclyde. The CCC was set up in advance of the 2014 Scottish referendum to examine the process of constitutional change, and the impact of different constitutional outcomes, on institutions, relationships, behaviour and the policy process.

**CERI Centre de recherches internationales** Established in 1952, CERI is the most preeminent research center in France that concentrates on both international/transnational relations and regional studies. It is also the largest of Sciences Po's research units. CERI brings together scholars from several disciplines in the social sciences – first and foremost, political science, but also sociology, anthropology, history and economics.

**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.

**SQRC** Secrétariat du Québec aux relations canadiennes reports to the Minister responsible for Canadian Intergovernmental Affairs and the Canadian Francophonie in the Ministère du Conseil exécutif (MCE). Its mission is to advise the Québec government on all questions pertaining to Canadian relations; defend and promote Québec's interests in Canada; see to the implementation of the policy on Canadian relations as well as to the Québec Policy on the Canadian Francophonie.

**For the 2023 edition,  
three new partners are contributing to this research initiative:  
University of Glasgow  
University Metropolitan of Toronto  
and Universitat Pompeu Fabra**

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