



International Summer Research Institute, hosted at the University College Dublin, Ireland

The Challenge of Complex Diversity:
Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives from Europe and Canada

3 – 14 June, 2013

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CRÉQC
CHAIRE DE RECHERCHE DU CANADA
EN ÉTUDES QUÉBÉCOISES ET CANADIENNES



UQÀM



International Summer Institute, Diversity and Democracy 5th Edition

University College Dublin, 3-14 June 2013

CRIDAQ, CSSD, CREQC and the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation in close collaboration with RECODE 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.

PARTNERS

RECODE is an interdisciplinary, comparative research programme, aims to explore to what extent the processes of transnationalisation, migration, religious mobilisation and cultural differentiation entail a new configuration of social conflict in post-industrial societies (see <http://www.recode.fi/>).

CRIDAQ (Interdisciplinary Centre of Research on Diversity and Democracy) 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.

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.

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.

CREQC 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.

The summer 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 nine thematic areas : (1) Managing diversity in Western multinational democracies; (2) Referendums in the content of Western multinational democracies; (3) Pluralist approaches to majority-minority nations (Catalonia and Scotland); (4) Power-sharing in deeply divided societies and the Case of Northern Ireland; (5) Linguistic diversity; (6) De-territorialized diversity; (7) Religious diversity; (8) Solidarity beyond the nation-state.

Participating lecturers and seminar leaders include Gianni D'Amato (University of Neuchâtel), Rainer Bauböck (EUI, Florence), Anette Borchorst (Aalborg University), Susanne Brauer (Paulus-Akademie Zürich), Linda Cardinal (University of Ottawa), John Coakley (U. College of Dublin), Zsuzsa Csergo (U. Queen's), Alain Dieckhoff (Institut d'Études Politiques, Paris), John Erik Fossum (University of Oslo), Alain-G. Gagnon (UQAM), François Grin (University of Geneva), Riva Kastoryano (CNRS-CERI-Sciences Po, Paris), Michael Keating (U. Aberdeen), Peter A. Kraus (University of Augsburg), Guy Laforest (U. Laval), Jaime Lopez (U. Pompeu Fabra), Jocelyn Maclure (Laval University), John McGarry (U. Queen's), Michel Seymour (U. Montréal), Birte Siim (Aalborg University), Stephen Tierney (U. Edinburgh), Jennifer Todd (University College, Dublin).

DESCRIPTION OF THEMATIC SESSIONS

JUNE 2: ARRIVAL (QUEBEC/CANADIAN STUDENTS)

JUNE 3: INTRODUCTION WITH ALAIN-G. GAGNON AND JENNIFER TODD

- What is the school about? Alain-G. Gagnon
- Introduction to geopolitical, structural and institutional changes in Ireland - from Good Friday 1998 to the Euro-crisis - and its impact on Catholic/Protestant, nationalist/unionist and North/South (and indeed British-Irish) distinctions and relations. Jennifer Todd

JUNE 4: MANAGING DIVERSITY IN WESTERN MULTINATIONAL DEMOCRACIES (ALAIN DIECKHOFF AND GUY LAFOREST)

Alain Dieckhoff's presentation will look at the ways multinational democratic states can remain stable despite their ingrained diversity. Indeed, the difficulty in such states is to find an equilibrium between the acknowledgement of diversity (through territorial or non-territorial modes of autonomy) and the upholding of stabilizing elements which will keep the will to remain together. Theoretical perspectives will be discussed and practical cases will be explored.

Guy Laforest will analyse the arguments and premises concerning integration and diversity that are formulated in Canada's approach towards multiculturalism, and Québec's approach towards

interculturalism, as interpreted respectively by Will Kymlicka and Gérard Bouchard. He will attempt to identify critically the fault-lines in both models.

JUNE 5: REFERENDUMS IN THE CONTEXT OF WESTERN MULTINATIONAL DEMOCRACIES (STEPHEN TIERNEY AND JAUME LOPEZ)

Stephen Tierney : Referendums are proliferating across the world. More than ever before direct democracy is used in processes of major constitutional change, for example in the creation of new states and new constitutions. The Scottish Parliament is currently legislating to hold a referendum on independence in 2014. The Catalan Parliament intends to do the same although there are some major political and constitutional hurdles to get there. What are the legal issues in holding a referendum below the level of the State (also an issue in Canada), and what are the democratic issues? Are referendums democratically problematic, and how can referendum design be used to make them suitable vehicles through which the people can act as authors of their own constitutional future?

Jaume Lopez : The conceptual and political definition of the right to self-determination in a democratic and liberal context (as opposed to in a colony or under a communist regime) has undergone several subtle changes, including new approaches, justifications and implications that indicate new patterns both with regard to regulatory issues and the lines of argument adopted in the strategic and political spheres. The emergence of a new concept, 'the right to decide', can be considered to reflect these new trends. However—or, perhaps, because of this—the right to decide is often confused with the right to self-determination, as if they were synonyms. But they are not. This change of frame has been crucial in the sovereigntist process in Catalonia since 2006.

JUNE 6: PLURALIST APPROACHES TO MAJORITY-MINORITY NATIONS: WESTERN AND POST-COMMUNIST EUROPE (MICHAEL KEATING AND ZSUZSA CSERGŐ)

Michael Keating is of the view that to understand the modern world we need to go beyond old models of statehood based on a uniform order, be they federal or unitary. Multinational states can contribute to improve our understanding but cannot capture new political dynamics in a satisfying way. Notions of plurinationalism and multinationalism are worth looking at in a complementary fashion.

Zsuzsa Csergő's lecture will focus on variation and change in minority mobilisation for political inclusion and state responses to minority demands in post-communist Europe, focusing particularly on new EU member states in Central and Eastern Europe. How have minorities' prospects for a more pluralist balance in majority-majority relations changed within the EU framework? Given significant cross-regional variation in both state strategies and minority mobilisation patterns at the beginning of post-communism, what aspects of "Europeanisation" have contributed to any changes in minority inclusion?

JUNE 7: POWER-SHARING IN DEEPLY DIVIDED SOCIETIES (JOHN MCGARRY AND JOHN COAKLEY)

John McGarry's lecture will examine the "adoption" question: what sort of conflict-regulating institutions are likely to be agreed to in deeply divided polities? This is a crucial but often ignored first step in assessing the value of such institutions, with most literature focused on their functionality once agreed to. The lecture will focus on "centripetal" institutions, as associated with the influential work of Donald Horowitz. While Horowitz famously argues that "consociational" institutions are unlikely, for important reasons, to be accepted in deeply divided polities, the lecture will show that Horowitz's arguments are more likely to apply to his own centripetal institutions. While existing analysis of the adoption question is general and superficial in nature, the lecture's findings are informed by detailed case-study driven research. The lecture is based on Cyprus, a classic case of a deeply divided polity, but it will end by showing the relevance of its findings for other deeply divided polities.

John Coakley will discuss the manner in which state elites (especially in new states) opt for different strategies in respect of what they see as the problem posed by minorities in the long-term. He will explore the extent to which these may be classified by reference to their position on individual rights, and on group rights. The range of strategies available will be illustrated by reference to the experience of Ireland, and in particular of Northern Ireland.

JUNE 8-9: BELFAST VISIT (OPTIONAL)

JUNE 10 TO JUNE 14: THESE DAYS ARE UNDER THE PRIMARY LEADERSHIP OF RECODE (SEE COMPLEMENTARY PROGRAMME ATTACHED)

JUNE 10: WELCOMING EUROPEAN STUDENTS AND OPENING SESSION FOR WEEK 2 (RAINER BAUBÖCK AND MICHEL SEYMOUR)

JUNE 11: LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY (PETER KRAUS, FRANÇOIS GRIN AND LINDA CARDINAL)

Religion has lost its role as a fundamental reference in Western societies, but it has not given way to completely secularized forms of subjectification. It continues to be in a post-secular setting a relevant social force that pervades the public, private and intimate realms. Therefore, the session will address the following themes: How to interpret secularism and laïcité in post-secular societies? What is the role and option of religion in public space? Which ethical and legal parameters should be taken accountable in religious plural societies? What are workable public policies for religious co-existence?

JUNE 12: RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY (GIANNI D'AMATO, SUSANNE BRAUER AND JOCELYN MACLURE)

The session will be devoted to assessing the impact of linguistic diversity and multilingualism on society and politics in Europe and Canada from a multi- and trans-disciplinary perspective. It will address the following themes: (a) language and identity-formation under conditions of complex diversity; (b)

language, immigration, and integration; (c) multilingualism and democracy; (d) political communication in transnational contexts; (e) linguistic justice.

JUNE 13: DE-TERRITORIALIZED DIVERSITY (JOHN ERIK FOSSUM, RIVA KASTORYANO AND ALAIN-G. GAGNON)

Politics has traditionally been conceptualized and organized along territorial lines. Today, however, the confluence of globalisation, cosmopolitanisation and Europeanisation have given new impetus to the development of transnational communities. The session will address the following questions: What is meant by transnational communities? How salient are they in today's EU and Canada? What is the relationship between transnationalism, nationalism and cosmopolitanism? Is cosmopolitanism the way forward?

JUNE 14: SOLIDARITY BEYOND THE WELFARE STATE (BIRTE SIIM, ANETTE BORCHORST, EDWARD KONING)

The session will address multicultural politics within and beyond welfare states focusing on the following themes: (a) the changing politics of diversity and belonging; (b) old and new forms of diversities and inequalities; (c) the boundaries of solidarity during the economic crisis.

JUNE 15: DEPARTURE

NOTES ON SPEAKERS

JOHN COAKLEY is a Professor, and former Department Head (2008-2009), at the School of Politics and International Relations at University College Dublin. Coakley also served as Director, Institute of British-Irish Studies (1999-2005, 2006-08); member of executive (1997-2002) and Vice President (2002-06), International Social Science Council; Secretary General, International Political Science Association (1994-2000); President, Political Studies Association of Ireland (1988-90). His research interests are focused on nationalism, ethnic conflict, Irish and comparative politics, and his recent publications include the monograph *Nationalism, ethnicity and the state: making and breaking nations* (2012), and an article in *National Identities*, 'Kingdoms, republics and people's democracies: legitimacy and national identity in European constitutions' (2011).

ZSUZSA CSERGO is an Associate Professor of Political Studies at Queen's University in Canada. After undergraduate studies in Hungarian and Latin Literatures and Linguistics at the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj, Romania, Csergo received her M.A. in Russian and East European Studies (1992) and her Ph.D. in Political Science (2000) from the George Washington University. Before joining the Queen's faculty, she was Assistant Professor of Political Science and Coordinator of the Women's Leadership Program in U.S. and International Politics at the George Washington University. Csergo's research and writing have focused on questions of nationalism and democratization in post-Cold War Europe, with particular interest in the politics of language rights, majority-minority relations in post-communist states, and kin-state and diaspora relations. She is the author of *Talk of the Nation: Language and Conflict in*

Romania and Slovakia (Cornell University Press, 2007). She also published articles in *Perspectives on Politics*, *Foreign Policy*, *Nations and Nationalism*, *East European Politics and Societies*, as well as other journals and edited volumes. Her current research focuses on the sources of minority integration and exclusion in Central Europe.

ALAIN DIECKHOFF is Senior Research Fellow, Centre for International Studies and Research, and teaches at Sciences Po, Paris. As an academic he has worked extensively on various aspects of contemporary Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict. He has also undertaken a major comparative project on nationalism in the Western world. He has authored six books, edited eight others and published more than fifty articles in journals and edited volumes. Among his books published in English are; *The Invention of a Nation: Zionist Thought and the Making of Modern Israel*, (New York, 2003); *The Politics of Belonging: Nationalism, Liberalism, and Pluralism* (ed., Lanham, 2004); *Revisiting Nationalism: Theories and Processes* (co-ed., New York, 2006). His latest book is *Le conflit israélo-arabe*, (Paris, 2011).

ALAIN-G. GAGNON is Professor in the Department of Political Science, and Canada Research Chair in Quebec and Canadian Studies, at the Université du Québec à Montréal. His most recent publications include *Canadian Politics*, 5th edition (ed. With James Bickerton) (2009), *Federalism, Citizenship and Quebec: Debating Multinationalism* (with Raffaele Iacovino) (2007), *Contemporary Canadian Federalism* (ed.) (2009), *Federal Democracies* (ed. With Michael Burgess) (2010), *The Case for Multinational Federalism* (ed.) (2010), and *Political Autonomy and Divided Societies. Imagining Democratic Alternatives in Complex Settings* (ed. with Michael Keating) (2012). He is writing a book entitled *Uncertain Times: Essays on Federalism and National Diversity*.

JUAME LÓPEZ HERNÁNDEZ completed his PhD in Political Science at the University of Pompeu Fabra (UPF), Barcelona. He is Associated Professor of the Department of Political and Social Sciences (UPF), and Associated Professor of the Department of Liberal Arts (Open University of Catalunya). His main research interests are collective action theories, the relationship between politics and the media, framing and political behaviour, processes of sovereignty in liberal democracies, and the philosophy of science applied to the analysis of explanatory strategies in the social sciences. Recent publications include “Marco cultural de referencia y participación electoral en Cataluña” in *Revista Española de Ciencia Política* (2010), and “New States in Europe?” in *Catalan International View* (2010).

MICHAEL KEATING is Professor of Politics at the University of Aberdeen. From 2000 until 2010 he was a professor at the European University Institute in Florence, and Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario between 1988 and 1999, and before that he was a senior lecturer at the University of Strathclyde. He has taught in Canada, England, France, the United States and Spain and is the author of numerous books and articles on European politics, nationalism, regionalism, and public policy. His most recent books are *The Independence of Scotland* (2009), and (with D. della Porta) *Methods and Approaches in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective* (2008).

GUY LAFOREST was born in Québec City, studied at University of Laval, University of Ottawa, and McGill, where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1986. After teaching at the University of Calgary for two years, Professor Laforest joined the Department of Political Science at Laval University, where he has been a

full professor since 1996, and served as Department Chair from 1997 to 2000. Professor Laforest has written widely in the areas of Canadian constitutional politics, comparative federalism, political theory, and intellectual history in Québec and English-speaking Canada. His books include: *Trudeau and the End of a Canadian Dream* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), *Pour la Liberté d'une Société Distincte* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2004), *Beyond the Impasse: Toward Reconciliation* (co-edited with Roger Gibbins, IRPP, 1998) and *Charles Taylor et l'Interprétation de l'Identité Moderne* (co-edited with Philippe de Lara, Editions du Cerf, 1998). Between 2002 and 2004, Professor Laforest served as President of Action Démocratique du Québec.

JOHN MCGARRY is Canada Research Chair in Nationalism and Democracy in the Department of Political Studies at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a Trudeau Fellow (2011-2014). He has edited, co-edited and co-authored 11 books on ethnic conflict, nationalism, and the politics of Northern Ireland which include *European Integration and the Nationalities Question* (co-edited with Michael Keating, 2006) and *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements* (co-authored with Brendan O'Leary, 2004). He served as the first Senior Advisor on Power-Sharing to the UN (Mediation Support Unit) in 2008-2009, and is currently the lead advisor on governance to the UN in Cyprus.

STEPHEN TIERNEY is Professor of Constitutional Theory and Director of the Edinburgh Centre for Constitutional Law. He has held visiting professorships in International Law at Seton Hall Law School, New Jersey (2010 and 2011) and in Political Theory at Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona (2010). Tierney was a British Academy/Leverhulme Senior Research Fellow 2008-2009. This provided a year's research leave to pursue the project: 'Let the People Decide: Referendums in a Post-Sovereign Age'. This ongoing project focuses upon referendums as a case study in the relationship between democracy and constitutionalism. As part of this research he also initiated a project on Referendums and Deliberative Democracy. A monograph 'Constitutional Referendums: The Theory and Practice of Republican Deliberation' was published by Oxford University Press in 2012.

JENNIFER TODD is a Professor at the School of Politics and International Relations at University College Dublin. Her research interests are focused on Northern Ireland conflict and settlement, ethno-national identity (qualitative approaches), changing forms of peripheral nationalism in Europe, concepts and theories of ethnicity and identity. Her recent publications include 'Institutional Change and Conflict Regulation: The Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) and the Mechanisms of Change in Northern Ireland' in *West European Politics* (2011), and 'Elite intent, public reaction and institutional change' in *The Anglo-Irish Agreement: Rethinking its legacy* (2011).

For information on the second week of the Summer Institute, organised by RECODE, please see: <http://www.recode.info/?p=171>