



Referendums, Protests, Violence in Today's World: Examples and Theory of Political Self-Determination

General Information

Instructor: Dipl.-Pol. Friederike Luise Kelle
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Office: D 230
Office Hours: Wednesday, 1:30pm – 2:30pm

Course Location: D 522
Course Time: Tuesday,
5:00 pm-6:30 pm
ECTS: 4 (6 credits possible)

Course requirements and grading

- Regular and active participation 20 %
- Presentation in class 30%
- Essay (1.500 words = 3 pages + literature), deadline March 31, 2017 50%
- optional (for 6 credits): additional essay, same requirements as above, deadline March 31, 2017

Overview

The Brexit vote, violence in South Sudan, the dispute over Kashmir, and Catalanian protests – these diverse political conflicts are connected by the main objective, the struggle for self-determination. In this seminar we will look at this very timely and at the same time age old topic from multiple angles. The main objective is to understand the sources and character of demands for self-rule, touching at diverse approaches ranging from political science and sociology to law, economics and history. Interested students from all fields, not only those mentioned, are very welcome to join in exploring the relevance of self-determination. We will first assess the sources of demands for self-rule, followed by an investigation of two ideal type approaches to pursuing such a claim. The case of Hawaii will serve as an example. In the last section of the course, students are encouraged to present cases from their countries of origin or those most interesting to them. The syllabus lists possible examples. We will also devote one session to the present situation in the UK and the recent Brexit vote. As all students are required to give a presentation and write a short essay in order to complete the class, we will cover some methodological issues as well to make sure that the expectations and approaches to those assignments are clear to everyone.

Requirements

Grading of the course will be based on in class participation, presentation, a news summary, and a research paper, which are described in detail below. The purpose of the requirements is to create an environment enabling for maximum learning success. I therefore expect everyone to come prepared to every session, complete the required readings, as well as to adhere to the deadlines and formal criteria laid out in this syllabus. The failure to comply with the requirements will be reflected in the grading, and might even result in failing the course. Following the examination regulations, failure to submit or failing any of the examination requirements, also including plagiarism, results in failing the complete course.

Office hours are offered from the second week of the lecture period onwards, Wednesday 1:30 pm to 2:30 pm. Please sign up in advance on the list at my office door.

(1) Active Participation (20%)

Active participation from everyone is essential for making the seminar fruitful, and therefore constitutes a significant part of the final grade. Both the discussion of shortcomings of the literature as well as suggestions for improvement are essential components of class discussion. Regular and active participation are therefore critical to make the seminar worthwhile and instructive. Following the departmental guidelines, you are allowed to miss a maximum of two sessions. The grades for participation will be announced at the end of the lecture period on request.

(2) Presentation (30%)

Every student will prepare a presentation of around 15 min duration based on the literature assigned to the respective session, indicated by an asterisk (*). In addition to summarizing the assigned piece, go beyond the arguments forwarded and point your audience to possible flaws in the conceptual or empirical set up of the article. The purpose of the presentation is to get engaged with the literature and to develop and defend your own opinion. Please feel encouraged to do this in a non-conventional way if you feel that this better serves the message you want to communicate. The duration of the presentation might be extended if necessary following prior consultation with me. If you are unsure whether your presentation idea meets the requirements of the course, make sure to discuss them beforehand during the office hours. Depending on the number of participants, presentations might be done in groups (with an extended duration).

If you need a beamer and/or laptop, please inform me during the session a week ahead of your presentation. Furthermore, please send me any supporting materials you plan to use during your presentation, such as power point presentations, handouts, etc., in .pdf-format **the day before the relevant session until 6 pm.**

(3) Research Essay (50%)

The research essay will build on the aspects covered in the seminar, but has to involve a substantive amount of work outside of the approaches and literature discussed during the semester. I encourage you to work on a topic you are interested in, and to think

about what you want to do from early on. The purpose of the paper is to identify a puzzle, develop a theoretical argument responding to it, and to test the expectations empirically. Both quantitative and qualitative work is welcome.

The paper has to meet the standards of good scientific practice. For general inquiries and writing support see <https://www.polver.uni-konstanz.de/en/study/craft-of-research/>. The formatting of the paper is: font size 12, Times New Roman or the like, double spacing, margins 2.5cm. **All essays are due until March 31, 2017 in digital (.pdf) and paper format.** You are, of course, welcome to submit earlier. Please enclose the declaration of independent work, which I will make available on ILIAS.

Topics and Readings

For all the topics covered in class, there is a variety of English speaking literature from different fields available online and in the library. For some of the sessions required readings are assigned. The list below provides links to the webpages where applicable. Other readings will be made available through the ILIAS platform. The presentations of case studies are based on additional literature. There is also a “Semesterapparat” containing relevant literature in the library. Sessions where presentations are scheduled are indicated by an asterisk (*). **All participants prepare all the readings in advance.** Let me know one session in advance if you need a laptop, and send me your presentation and other supporting materials until 6 pm the night before class.

There is no session on November 1, which is a public holiday. Instead, we will have a double session on December 20, 2017.

Session	Topic	Assignment
(1) Oct. 25	Introduction	-
Part 1: Self-Determination as Political Demand		
(2) Nov. 8	What is self-determination? What do we know about it?	readings in ILIAS
(3) Nov. 15	Side note: What to expect in a presentation? In the essay?	Check out the webpages of the Uni Konstanz writing center (https://www.uni-konstanz.de/en/writing-centre/materials/)
(4) Nov. 22*	Why do groups demand self-determination?	Kelle (2016): To Claim or not to Claim?
Part 2: Self-Determination in Practice		
(5) Nov. 29	Language, history, and violence in Corsica	Daftary (2014): After the Scottish Referendum: Corsican Contagion?
(6) Dec. 6*	Understanding the case of Hawaii	Pacheco (2009): Past, Present, and Politics: A Look at the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement

(7) Dec. 13	What to do? Option 1: Use violence. Film: Star Trek – The Next Generation: The High Ground (1990) (3/12; extracts, about 30 min)	Samuels (2013): Ch. 10 Political Violence
(8) Dec. 20*	What to do? Option 2: Use conventional politics.	Mendez/ Germann (2015): Contested Sovereignty
(9) Dec. 20*	What to do? Option 3: use nonviolent strategies.	Cunningham (2013): Understanding Strategic Choice
(10) Jan. 10*	Solutions: Decentralization and Partition as a way out?	Brancati (2006): Decentralization
(11) Jan. 17*	Are referendums bad for democracy?	McNamara (2016): Brexit’s False Democracy Wheatley (2012): The Disruptive Potential of Direct Democracy
Part 3: Case Studies		
(12) Jan. 24*	European Cases I UK (Brexit, Scottish, Welsh), Spain (Catalans, Basques), France (Corsicans, Bretons), Italy (Sardinians, South Tyrolians), Scandinavia (Saami), Belgium (Fleming, Walloon)	Read up on general information (suggestions for resources in ILIAS), also read Moravcsik (2016): The Great Brexit Kabuki
(13) Jan. 31*	European Cases II Georgia (South Ossetians, Abkhazians), Ukraine (Crimeans, Tartars), Russia (Chechens, Yakut, Tartars, Lezgin, Buryat, Avar)	Read up on general information (suggestions for resources in ILIAS)
(14) Feb. 7*	Non-European Cases Indonesia (Aceh, Dayak, Papuans), South Sudan, Sri Lanka (Tamils), Canada (Quebecois), Burma, India....	Read up on general information (suggestions for resources in ILIAS)
(15) Feb. 14	Concluding Session: Summary, Feedback	-

Required Readings:

Brancati, Dawn (2006): Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism? *International Organization*, 60(3), 651-685, available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S002081830606019X>

Cunningham, K. G. (2013). Understanding strategic choice: The determinants of civil war and nonviolent campaign in self-determination disputes. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(3), 291-304. doi:10.1177/0022343313475467

Daftary , F. (2014). After the Scottish Referendum: Corsican Contagion? *openDemocracy*. Retrieved from <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/farimah-daftary/after-scottish-referendum-corsican-contagion>

Kelle, Friederike Luise (2016): To Claim or not to Claim? *How Territorial Value Shapes Demands for Self-Determination*, forthcoming at: *Comparative Political Studies*, available from ILIAS

McNamara, Kathleen R. (2016): Brexit's False Democracy, in *Foreign Affairs*, June 28, 2016, available from: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-kingdom/2016-06-28/brexit-false-democracy?cid=nlc-twofa-20160630&sp_mid=51732172&sp_rid=ZnJpZWRLcmlrZS5rZWxsZUB1bmkta29uc3RhbnouZGUS1&spMailingID=51732172&spUserID=MTA3Njk4NzkxODg2S0&spJobID=960061064&spReportId=OTYwMDYxMDY0S0

Mendez, Fernando & Germann, Micha (2016): Contested Sovereignty: Mapping Referendums on Sovereignty over Time and Space. *British Journal of Political Science, FirstView*, 1-25, available from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0007123415000563>

Moravcsik, Andrew (2016): The Great Brexit Kabuki – A Masterclass in Political Theatre, in *Financial Times*, April 8, 2016, available from: <http://on.ft.com/1qczvsn>

Pacheco, Amanda Mae Kāhealani (2009): “Past, Present, and Politics: A Look at the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement,” *intersections* 10, no. 1: 341-387, available from: https://depts.washington.edu/chid/intersections_Winter_2009/Amanda_Mae_Kahealani_Pacheco_The_Hawaiian_Sovereignty_Movement.pdf

Samuels, D. (2013). *Comparative Politics*, Boston: Pearson, Ch. 10.

Wheatley, J. (2012). The Disruptive Potential in Direct Democracy in Deeply Divided Societies In W. Marxer (Ed.), *Direct Democracy and Minorities* (pp. 64-73). Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.