

The Politics of Minority Self-Government

Territorial Autonomy in Wales & the United Kingdom



January 2023 Learning Cluster
Soka University of America

<p>Dr. Shane Barter sbarter@soka.edu Office: Maathai 310 Class: Maathai 303</p>	<p>C/O 2024 Mukesh Bastola Hiromi Nitaguchi</p>	<p>C/O 2025 Nug Chhetri Petrus R. de Lima Emilio Martinez Isabela Moro Keito Newman</p>	<p>C/O 2026 Haruka Nakata Hoa Nguyen Mira Peregud Hoa Tran Yamamoto</p>

Overview

Ethnic diversity has long posed a challenge to the modern state and top-down, uniform models of governance. Although many stubbornly claim to embody one indivisible nation, the reality is that most countries are multinational, with country borders diverging from those of nations. In response to secessionist conflicts, a world trend towards decentralization, and minority demands, many countries have turned to forms of territorial autonomy. Special systems of self-government for distinctive minority nations may entail a range of cultural, economic, and political powers tailored to local conditions. Minority self-government represents a powerful, underappreciated tool for resolving conflicts, protecting minority cultures, and encouraging more equitable forms of development.

Territorial autonomy is a global political system, one found in some form in Québec, Aceh, Scotland, Zanzibar, Catalonia, Mindanao, Hong Kong, Indigenous regions of Latin America, and all points in between. Although our course has a global scope, we will focus in large part on Wales, a devolved region within the United Kingdom. Wales boasts a fascinating history and a growing range of special competencies. This said, it has gained less attention than other autonomous regions, perhaps due to limited demands for independence and mid-level self-government powers. By traveling to Wales, we hope to better understand Welsh representation and governance, as well as voices critical of devolution. We hope to gain a better sense of Welsh political parties, fiscal power, the workings of the Senedd (Welsh parliament), and Welsh language education. We hope to better understand how Wales sees itself within the United Kingdom, and in doing so, to better understand minority self-government more broadly.

Course Learning Objectives

This Learning Cluster offers the students an opportunity to develop understandings of territorial autonomy through intense research and immersion in Welsh history and political culture. By the end of this Learning Cluster, students should be able to:

- Explain the meaning of self-government and its associated powers
- Conduct research on territorial autonomy in relation to specific themes and cases
- Understand devolution in Wales and the United Kingdom more broadly

Our Course & The SUA Mission

Soka University of America's mission is to foster a steady stream of global citizens committed to living contributive lives. Our university is founded on the belief that reflective education is central to creating a better society where each person can fulfill their own unique goals. Not only does our course speak to global citizenship and experiential education in terms of prospective travel, but the topic of special minority self-government speaks to the centrality of dialogue and diversity. Treasuring diversity creates the foundation of society which enables each person to realize their own happiness; they are not just following the majority or oppressing their genuine passions. In this Learning Cluster, we would like to deepen our understanding of how territorial autonomy plays a role in encouraging diversity in society and realizing the distinctive happiness of all peoples.

Budget at a Glance

Flight: LAX to Heathrow x 13 (Virgin Air)	= \$9500
Accommodation: 10 days in Cardiff (\$4459.64), 1 in London (\$416.18)	= \$5000
Other Transport: LAX Shuttles \$664.82; Charter \$3531.83; trains \$844.86)	= \$5000
Food: 33 meals x 11 persons = 363 meals. \$12 / meal = \$4720	= \$5000
<u>Other: Visa fees (\$600); Soka gifts (\$200), admissions (\$350)</u>	<u>= \$1500</u>
TOTAL	≈ \$26,000

Policies

Above all, communicate. Participate in class, let the instructor know if you have suggestions or concerns. If you are uncomfortable or struggling, let's talk. Especially for a travel Learning Cluster, open, clear communication is central to success.

Attendance: Students are expected to arrive to class on time (which means before the scheduled start time) having completed the readings. I expect students to attend and participate. Due to the compact nature of the LC semester, students are only excused for absences in light of serious illness or emergency.

Deadlines: Late assignments will be deducted 5% per day, including weekends. In the event of an illness or personal crisis, students must contact the instructor before a given deadline. Students are expected to submit assignments on time to keep the class moving and prepare for the professional world.

Writing: Students should consult with the instructor regarding the research question, argument, and organization of assignments. Some basics: Avoid casual internet sources (i.e., wiki) and contractions, include page numbers. Present a consistent, clear citation style (any style, just be complete and consistent). Plagiarism is a serious academic offense, understood broadly as academic dishonesty, including stealing words, ideas, and references from others. The Brightspace dropbox will automatically put your paper through Turnitin; do not let this scare you- just try not to cut corners, ask me about grey areas.

Disability & Inclusion: This course is intended for all students, including those with mental or physical disabilities, illness, injuries, impairments, or any other condition that may negatively affect one's equal access to education. If you anticipate any issues related to the format, materials, or requirements of this course, please communicate with the instructor to explore potential options. Students with disabilities are encouraged to work with the Office of Disability Services to seek accommodations.

Evaluation

30%	Participation	Ongoing
20%	Book Review	11 or 12 January
10%	Journals Entries	30 January
10%	LC Fair Contributions	01 February
30%	Research Paper	02 February

30% Participation Ongoing

Participation is understood broadly to mean being a good classroom citizen from the early planning stages through the LC Fair. It means being a team member in the field, communicating effectively with the instructor, keeping the house clean, being attentive in meetings, helping to plan meetings and document our experiences, being safe, sharing thoughts on readings, and supporting classmates.

20% Book Review Due 11 or 12 January (depending on topic)

Students will read a book related to the course and prepare a brief (3-4 pages) analysis of key themes and contributions. Books may relate to the course thematically (autonomous self-government or specific regions) or empirically (the UK, Wales, and devolution). Books must be selected during the Fall semester and should be read over the holiday break, to be presented in class on 11 January (on autonomy) or 12 January (on Wales and the UK). Presentations will be no more than 5 minutes long. Reviews will be assessed in terms of their ability to critically evaluate the book's core topic, as well as the book's sources, audiences, and shortcomings. They are due by 1pm on the day they are presented, via email as a docx attachment.

10% Journal Entries Monday, 30 January

Students will keep journals regarding their thoughts, reflections, and lessons as the course progresses. These can take many forms- a written journal, a blog, multimedia, email. The assignment will be assessed in terms of clarity and creativity of thought. Students are expected to write at least **four** such entries- one before we depart campus, two while in the United Kingdom, and one upon return. The journals should be shared / submitted throughout the course, with all entries due Monday, 30 January.

10% Learning Cluster Fair Wednesday, 01 February

Students are expected to contribute towards making a dynamic, engaging LC Fair, communicating to the campus community what we learned. The form this takes is up to the students—perhaps a documentary, photo exhibit, Welsh language, presenting different world autonomous regions, or some other thing. Students are encouraged to think about this early, perhaps picking up materials while in Wales.

30% Research Paper Due Thursday, 02 February

Students will prepare a 5-8 page research paper on some aspect of territorial autonomy. The paper could be related to a specific theme (fiscal relations, language education, minorities) or autonomous regions. Students are expected to think about their paper during our prospective time abroad and may collect resources as we travel. Papers must present a clear research question and argument. Citation style is up to the student, so long as they do it properly (mimic the style you find in an article that you like). Topics are to be decided in consultation with the instructor. Because the topic and style of the paper is flexible, there is no single rubric according to which course papers will be evaluated. For all papers, assessment will include consideration of clarity of argument, organization, quality of sources, engagement with sources, and writing style. Due via Brightspace Dropbox by noon on 02 February.

97-100	A+	4.0	87-89	B+	3.3	77-79	C+	2.3	67-69	D+	1.7
94-96	A	4.0	84-86	B	3.0	74-76	C	2.0	64-66	D	1.3
90-93	A-	3.7	80-83	B-	2.7	70-73	C-	1.7	60-63	D-	1.0


09 January Monday

10-1130 Session 01	<p>Introduction: Welcome, Syllabus Kahoot Case (Wales and the UK); Concept (autonomy); Course (Learning Clusters)</p>
	<p>Erin Blakemore. 2016. "What's the Difference Between England, Britain, and the U.K.?" <i>Smithsonian Magazine</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>Richard Wyn Jones and Jac Larnar. 2021. "What About Wales? Brexit and the Future of the UK." <i>Discover Society</i> 1:2. Available at https://discoversociety.org/2021/06/08/what-about-wales-brexit-and-the-future-of-the-uk/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>Shane Joshua Barter. 2020. "Travel Learning Clusters as Signature Pedagogies." In <i>Signature Pedagogies in International Relations</i>, edited by Jan Lüder. Bristol: E-International Relations; 84-96</p>
*** BREAK (1130-1) ***	
1-230 Session 02	<p>Self-Government: Between Independence & Incorporation Definitions; terms (federalism, autonomy, territorial pluralism); historic evolution; cases</p>
	<p>Thomas Benedikter. 2009. <i>The World's Modern Autonomous Systems: Concepts and Experiences of Regional Territorial Autonomy</i>. South Tyrol: Eurac (265 pages, focus on 9-65). Available here</p>


10 January Tuesday


10-1130 Session 03	<p>Self-Government: Why Autonomy Matters Decentralization; conflict resolution; minority rights; multiculturalism</p>
	<p>John McGarry, Brendan O'Leary, & Richard Simeon. 2008. "Integration or Accommodation? The Enduring Debate in Conflict Regulation." In <i>Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?</i> edited by Sujit Choudhry. Oxford University Press; 41-88</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>Stefan Wolff. 2013. "Conflict Management in Divided Societies: The Many Uses of Territorial Self-Governance." <i>International Journal on Minority and Group Rights</i> 20; 27-50</p>
*** BREAK (1130-1) ***	
1-230 Session 04	<p>Self-Government: Powers & Places Forms of autonomy (democratic, post-conflict, Indigenous, nested, administrative, authoritarian); language and education; measuring self-government (RAI)</p>
	<p>Miguel González. 2015. "Indigenous Territorial Autonomy in Latin America: An Overview." <i>Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies</i> 10:1; 10-36</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>David A. Rezvani. 2012. "Dead Autonomy, A Thousand Cuts or Partial Independence? The Autonomous Status of Hong Kong." <i>Journal of Contemporary Asia</i> 42:1; 93-122</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>Nadezhda Borisova and Konstantin Sulimov. 2018. "Language Territorial Regimes in Multilingual Ethnic Territorial Autonomies." <i>Nationalities Papers</i> 46:3; 358-373</p>



11 January Wednesday

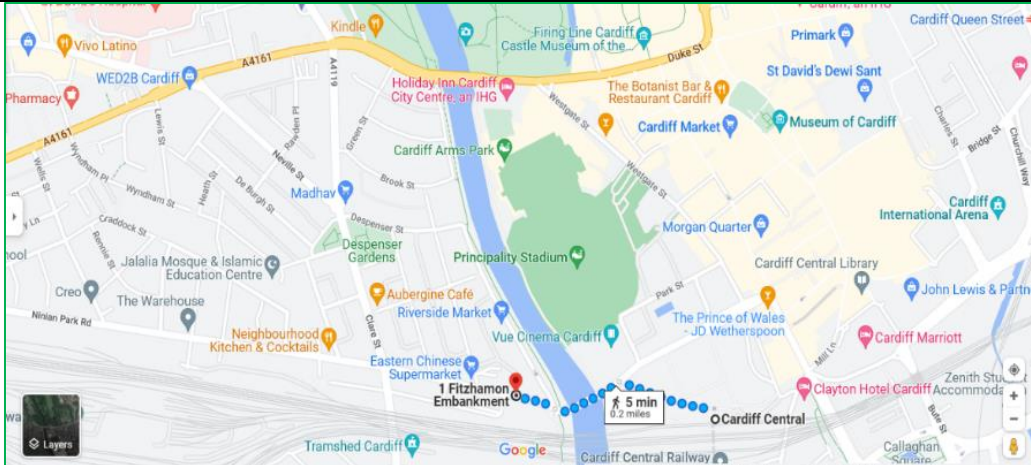
10-1130 Session 05	<p>Self-Government: Shortcomings & Concerns Independence; nationalism; deepening divisions; centralization; second-order minorities</p>
	<p>Michael Keating. 1997. "Stateless Nation-Building: Quebec, Catalonia, and Scotland in the Changing State System." <i>Nations and Nationalism</i> 3:4; 689-717</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>Shane Joshua Barter. 2018. "Rethinking Territorial Autonomy." <i>Regional Studies</i> 52:2; 298-309</p>
*** BREAK (1130-1) ***	
1-230pm Session 06	<p>Self-Government: Students Present and Discuss Book Reviews</p>


12 January Thursday

10-1130 Session 07	Understanding Wales and UK Devolution Welsh History; Plaid Cymru; Welsh Labour; Scotland; Brexit; the Senedd		
	Colin H. Williams. 2008. "Welsh Language Policy and the Logic of Legislative Devolution." In <i>Linguistic Minorities in Democratic Context</i> . London: Palgrave; 245-301 AND Jonathan Bradbury. 2021. "Welsh Devolution and the Union: Reform Debates after Brexit." <i>The Political Quarterly</i> 92:1; 125-131 AND Rhys Jones and Peter Merriman. 2009. "Hot, Banal, and Everyday Nationalism: Bilingual Road Signs in Wales." <i>Political Geography</i> 28; 164-173 AND Government of Wales. 2022. "An Introduction to an Anti-Racist Wales."		
*** BREAK (1130-1) ***			
1-230 Session 08	Wales and the UK: Student Present and Discuss Book Reviews		



13 January Friday	Depart California		
	1400 1725	Leave SUA (Ikeda steps) Depart LAX	Plush Transport, \$327.41. 714-444-2886 Terminal B VS008 10hrs15


14 January Saturday	Arrive London, to Cardiff (UK is 8 hours ahead of PST)		
	1140 1300 1600	Arrive Heathrow To Cardiff Arrive Cardiff	Terminal 3 Driver: Edward Fryer, +44 7960406133
	Ten Nights, 1 Fitzhamon Embankment Apartments (\$4500) Apt 1: 4 bedrooms, 10 twin beds, kitchen, washer, yard, two washrooms, 1292 ft ² Apt 4: 3 bedrooms, 7 twin beds, kitchen, washer, first floor, washroom, 969 ft ²		






15 January Sunday	Acclimate / Walk / Museums / Tourism <i>Shane will ask everyone to send a postcard to a grandmother or other family luminary</i>		
	1630	Explore Cardiff! Railway Station; shops; Tim Hortons; National Museum (Amgueddfa Cymru) (10-5, free); Cardiff Castle Discussion of our agenda, etiquette, introductions	



16 January Monday	Meetings: Governance	
	0930	Welsh Local Governance Association
	1230	Lunch: Toby's Carvery
	1400	Institute of Welsh Affairs
17 January Tuesday	Meetings: The Welsh Senedd & Politics	
	1030	Tour Senedd Cymru (Welsh Parliament)
	1145	Welsh Conservative: Sam Rowlands MS
	1200	Plaid Cymru: Adam Price MS / leader
	1215	Welsh Labour: Joyce Watson MS & Carolyn Thomas MS
	1330	Plenary Meeting with all Assembly Members, Question Period
	1430	Tesco 'lunch'; free afternoon; double deckers
18 January Wednesday	Meetings: Welsh Language Policies	
	1000	Welsh Language Commission; Eleri James (eleri.james@cyg-wlc.cymru)
	1230	Lunch at Cardiff Market; groceries
	1500	S4C: At BBC Office, Morfudd and Sian
19 January Thursday	Meetings: Governance & Heritage	
	0930	Wales Governance Centre , Cardiff University
	1245	Lunch at Wilmore's 1938, Penarth Beach
	1500	St. Fagan's Museum
20 January Friday	Meetings: Minority Perspectives	
	1000	Oasis Cardiff (refugee organization): Tour, discussion, lunch
	1200	Downtown: Explore
	1500	Welsh Muslim Cultural Foundation (Owain, post@wmcf.wales)
21 January Saturday	Saturday Drive to Countryside	
	0900	Day Trip to Brecon; Duchess Brunch; Hike Brecon Beacons National Park; Cyfartha Castle
22 January Sunday	Sunday Scavenger Hunt	
	1000	Leave Cardiff Central: Scavenger Hunt
	1500	Meet in Bridgend
23 January Monday	Meetings: Language Education & Culture	
	930-11	Welsh School: Ysgol Gynradd Gymraeg Hamadryad (Mrs. Helen Sharkey)
	1300	Cytûn: Churches Together in Wales (Gethin Rhys)

24 January Tuesday	Cardiff to London	
	1020 1230 PM	Leave Cardiff Central Arrive Paddington, purchase transit tickets, check in Free afternoon in London , groups of 3-4. Curfew: 10pm
	1 Night, Smart Hyde Park Inn Hostel 15 min walk from Paddington, near Bayswater Stn. \$408.72 (£130 x 2, plus £75)	

25 January Wednesday	London Heathrow to LAX				
	1330 1650 2005 2140	Elizabeth Line (30 mins) Depart Heathrow Arrive LAX Arrive SUA	Terminal 3 Terminal	VS0023 E26FGG	11hr15 58A (C)

26 January Thursday	Rest	
	Rest. Do Laundry. See Friends. Read. Start on Essays.	

27 January Friday	
10-1130 Session 09	Reflecting on Welsh Self-Government What we learned; language policy; devolution max; Brexit; parties; nationalism
	<p>May, Stephan. 2010. "Accommodating and Resisting Minority Language Policy: The Case of Wales." <i>International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism</i> 3:2; 101-128</p> <p style="text-align: center;">OR</p> <p>Abigail Ruth Price and Marco Tamburelli. 2020. "Welsh-Language Prestige in Adolescents: Attitudes in the Heartlands." <i>International Journal of Applied Linguistics</i> 30:2; 195-213</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND (read all of below)</p> <p>Rhys Thomas. 2022. "Yma o Hyd: The Defiant Welsh Folk song That's Been 1,600 Years in the Making." <i>The Guardian</i>, 02 June. Available at www.theguardian.com/music/2022/jun/02/dafydd-iwan-yma-o-hyd-welsh-football-anthem</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p><i>BBC News</i>. 2022. "Prince of Wales Announcement was Divisive, Says Senior Plaid Politician" (22 September). Available at https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-politics-62929743</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>Derek Birrell & Ann Marie Gray. 2017. "Devolution: Social, Political, & Policy Implications of Brexit for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland." <i>Journal of Social Policy</i> 46:4; 765-782</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND</p> <p>David Deans. 2023. "Gender Reform: Drakeford says Scottish Law Block is Dangerous Precedent." <i>BBC News</i> (17 January). Available at https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-politics-64304540</p>
BREAK (1130-130)	
130-230pm Session 10	Assessing Territorial Autonomy in the UK and Beyond
	Michael Keating. 2012. "Rethinking Sovereignty: Independence-Lite, Devolution-Max, and National Accommodation." <i>Revista d'estudis autonòmics i federals</i> 16; 9-29

30 January Monday	
10-1130 Session 11	Making Better Self-Government
	Leslie Green. 1995. "Internal Minorities and Their Rights." In <i>The Rights of Minority Cultures</i> , edited by Will Kymlicka. London: Routledge; 103-117 AND André Lecours. 2020. "Nationalism and the Strength of Secessionism in Western Europe: Static and Dynamic Autonomy." <i>International Political Science Review</i> ; 1-15
BREAK (1130-1)	
130-230pm Session 12	Reflecting on the Course Review; conclusions; course evaluations; essay discussion; LC Fair
	Andrea Paras & Lynne Mitchell. 2017. "Assessing Intercultural Competence in Experiential Learning Abroad." <i>Experiential Learning & Teaching in Higher Education</i> 1:1; 45-64
31 January Tuesday	Work Day: LC Fair and Essays
01 February Wednesday	LC Fair: 10-2, location TBA. Students arrive to set up 9 am.
02 February Thursday	Papers Due

06 February (Monday): Grades due to Registrar and Spring Semester begins (!)

Bibliography

- Alcantara, Christopher and Adrienne Davidson. 2015. "Negotiating Aboriginal Self-Government Agreements in Canada: An Analysis of the Inuvialuit Experience." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 48:3; 553-575.
- Alcantara, Christopher and Jen Nelles. 2013. "Indigenous Peoples and the State in Settler Societies: Toward a More Robust Definition of Multilevel Governance." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 44:1; 183-204.
- Alessi, Nicoló Paolo. 2021. "Joint Bodies – a Key Factor for Successful Autonomous Systems? The Cases of the Italian Special Regions and the Åland Islands." *Journal of Autonomy and Security Studies* 5:1; 8-25.
- Anderson, George and Sujit Choudhry. 2019. "Territorial Cleavages and Constitutional Transitions Political Mobilization, Constitution- Making Processes, and Constitutional Design." In *Territory and Power in Constitutional Transitions*, edited by George Anderson and Sujit Choudhry. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 374-428.
- Aspinall, Edward. 2009. *Islam and Nation: Separatist Rebellion in Aceh, Indonesia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Balcells, Albert. 1996. *Catalan Nationalism: Past & Present*. Translated by Jacqueline Hall, edited by Geoffrey J. Walker. London: Palgrave.
- Balthazar, Louis. 1999. "The Quebec Experience: Success or Failure?" In *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*, edited by Francisco Aldecoa and Michael Keating, London: Frank Cass; 153-169.
- Barter, Shane Joshua. 2018. "Rethinking Territorial Autonomy." *Regional Studies* 52:2; 298-309.
- Barter, Shane Joshua, and Hipolitus Ringgi Wangge. 2022. "Indonesian Autonomies: Explaining Divergent Self-Government Outcomes in Aceh and Papua." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 52:1; 55-81.
- Basaguren, Alberto López. 2016. "The Parliament of the Basque Country and the National Issue: The Weaknesses of a Strong Identity." In *The Parliaments of Autonomous Nations*, edited by Guy Laforest and Andrée Lecours. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; 44-71.
- Basta, Karlo. 2021. *The Symbolic State: Minority Recognition, Majority Backlash, and Secessionism in Multinational Countries*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Basta, Karlo, John McGarry, and Reichard Simeon. 2015. *Territorial Pluralism: Managing Difference in Multinational States*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Beauregard, Devin. 2018. *Cultural Policy and Industries of Identity: Québec, Scotland, & Catalonia*. New York: Springer.
- Béland, Daniel and André Lecours. 2008. *Nationalism and Social Policy: The Politics of Territorial Solidarity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Béland, Daniel, André Lecours, and Peggy Schmeiser. 2021. "Nationalism, Secularism, and Ethno-Cultural Diversity in Quebec." *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'Études Canadiennes* 55:1; 177-202.
- Bélanger, Éric, Richard Nadeau, Aisla Henderson, and Eve Hepburn. 2018. *The National Question and Electoral Politics in Quebec and Scotland*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press.
- Benedikter, Thomas. 2009. *The World's Modern Autonomy Systems: Concepts and Experiences of Regional Territorial Autonomy*. Bozen: EURAC.
- Bertrand, Jacques. 2019. "Indonesia: Special Autonomy for Aceh and Papua." In *Territory and Power in Constitutional Transitions*, edited by George Anderson and Sujit Choudhry. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 119-139.
- Bertrand, Jacques, and André Laliberté, editors. 2010. *Multination States in Asia: Accommodation or Resistance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blakkisrud, Helge, and Pal Kolstø. 2011. "From Secessionist Conflict Toward a Functioning State: Processes of State- and Nation-Building in Transnistria." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 27:2; 178-210.
- Bohrer, Robert E. and Glen S. Krutz. 2005. "The Devolved Party Systems of the United Kingdom: Sub-National Variations from the National Model." *Party Politics* 11:6; 654-673.
- Bowring, Bill. 2005. "The Crimean Autonomy: Innovation of Anomaly?" In *Autonomy, Self-Governance and Conflict Resolution: Innovative Approaches to Institutional Design in Divided Societies*, edited by Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff. London: Routledge; 75-97.
- Brancati, Dawn 2009. *Peace by Design: Managing Intrastate Conflict through Decentralization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cairney, Paul. 2011. *The Scottish Political System since Devolution: From New Politics to the New Scottish Government*. Exeter: Imprint Academic.
- Castells, Antoni. 2014. "Catalonia and Spain at the Crossroads: Financial and Economic Aspects." *Oxford Review of Public Economic Policy* 30:2; 277-296.
- Cetrà, Daniel 2019. *Nationalism, Liberalism, and Language in Catalonia and Flanders*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Choudhry, Sujit, editor. 2008. *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coakley, John. 1994. "Approaches to the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict: The Strategy of Non-Territorial Autonomy." *International Political Science Review* 15:3; 297-314.
- Colomer, Josep M. 1998. "The Spanish 'State of Autonomies': Non-Institutional Federalism." *West European Politics* 21:4; 40-52.
- Cornell, Stephen. 2016. "Processes of Native Nationhood: The Indigenous Politics of Self-Government." *The International Indigenous Policy Journal* 6:4; 1-27.
- Côté, Isabelle. 2015. "The Enemies Within: Targeting Han Chinese and Hui Muslim Minorities in Xinjiang." *Asian Ethnicity* 16:2; 136-151.
- Dardanelli, Paolo, John Kincaid, Alan Fenna, André Kaiser, André Lecours, and Ajay Kumar Singh. 2019. "Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Theorizing Dynamic De/Centralization in Federations." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 49:1; 1-29.
- Davis, Sasha. 2020. *Islands and Oceans: Reimagining Sovereignty and Social Change*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Dion, Stéphane. 1996. "Why is Secession Difficult in Well-Established Democracies? Lessons from Quebec." *British Journal of Political Science* 26:2; 269-283.
- Drake, S.J. 2018. "Since the Time of King Arthur: Gentry Identity and the Commonalty of Cornwall c.1300–c.1420." *Historical Research* 91:252; 236-254.
- Duerr, Glen (2015). *Secessionism and the European Union: The Future of Flanders, Scotland, and Catalonia*. London: Lexington.
- Eisenberg, Avigail and Jeff Spinner-Halev, editors. 2005. *Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights, and Diversity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Elazar, Daniel J. 1987. *Exploring Federalism*. London: University of Alabama Press.
- Erk, Jan and Lawrence Anderson. 2009. "The Paradox of Federalism: Does Self-Rule Accommodate or Exacerbate Ethnic Divisions?" *Regional & Federal Studies* 19:2; 191-202.
- Falch, Torvald, Per Selle, and Kristin Strømsnes. 2016. "The Sámi: 25 Years of Indigenous Authority in Norway." *Ethnopolitics* 15:1; 125-143.
- Fenwick, Rudy. 1981. "Social Change and Ethnic Nationalism: An Historical Analysis of the Separatist Movement in Quebec." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23:2; 196-216.
- Fessha, Yonatan and Coel Kirby. 2008. "A Critical Survey of Subnational Autonomy in African States." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 38:2; 248-271.
- Figueroa, Richard and Jason Hagadorn. 2011. "Cooperation and Prosperity of the Americas Initiative: Puerto Rico and Opportunities for Increased Partnership, Collaboration, and Stability for the People of the Americas." *Latin American Policy* 2:2;137-151.
- Fong, Brian C.H., and Atsuko Ichijo, editors. 2022. *The Routledge Handbook of Comparative Territorial Autonomies*. London: Routledge.
- Gagnon, Alain. 2014. *Minority Nations in the Age of Uncertainty: New Paths to National Emancipation and Empowerment*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Gagnon, Alain-G. and Michael Keating, editors. 2012. *Political Autonomy and Divided Societies Imagining Democratic Alternatives in Complex Settings*. London: Springer.
- Ganguly, Rajat, editor. 2012. *Autonomy and Ethnic Conflict in South and South-East Asia*. London: Routledge.
- Ghai, Yash, and Anthony J. Regan. 2006. "Unitary State, Devolution, Autonomy, Secession: State Building and Nation Building in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea." *The Round Table* 95:386; 589-608.
- Ghai, Yash, and Sophia Woodman. 2013. *Practising Self-Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gibson, Edward L. 2013. *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greer, Scott L. 2007. *Nationalism and Self-Government: The Politics of Autonomy in Scotland and Catalonia*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Grote, Georg. 2012. *The South Tyrol Question, 1866-2010. From National Rage to Regional State*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Guibernau, Montserrat. 2013. "Secessionism in Catalonia: After Democracy." *Ethnopolitics* 12:4; 368-393.
- Hannum, Hurst. 1990. *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hargreaves, John. 2000. *Freedom for Catalonia? Catalan Nationalism, Spanish Identity and the Barcelona Olympic Games*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Harguindeguy, Jean-Baptiste Paul, Alistair Cole, and Romain Pasquier. 2021. "The Variety of Decentralization Indexes: A Review of the Literature." *Regional & Federal Studies* 31:2; 185-208.
- Harvie, Christopher. 1977. *Scotland & Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics 1707-1994*. London: Routledge.
- Haryanto, Cornelius Lay, and Bambang Purwoko. 2018. "Asymmetrical Decentralization, Representation, and Legitimacy in Indonesia: A Case Study of the Majelis Rakyat Papua." *Asian Survey* 58:2; 365-386.
- Henders, Susan J. 2010. *Territoriality, Asymmetry, and Autonomy: Catalonia, Corsica, Hong Kong, and Tibet*. New York: Palgrave.
- Henders, Susan J. 2015. "Internationalized Minority Territorial Autonomy in Early Post-WWI Europe: The Limits and Possibilities of International Ethnic Diversity Governance." In *International Approaches to Governing Ethnic Diversity*, edited by Jane Boulden and Will Kymlicka. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 262-296.
- Henderson, Ailsa. 2007. *Nunavut: Rethinking Political Culture*. UBC Press.
- Hepburn, Eve. 2014. "The Accommodation of Island Autonomies in Multinational States." In *Constitutionalism and the Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies*, edited by Jaime Lluçh. London: Palgrave MacMillan; 87-107.
- Hill, Richard S. 2016. "New Zealand Maori: The Quest for Indigenous Autonomy." *Ethnopolitics* 15:1; 144-165.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, et al. 2016. *Measuring Regional Authority: A Postfunctionalist Theory of Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jarstad, Anna K. and Desirée Nilsson. 2008. "From Words to Deeds: The Implementation of Power-Sharing Pacts in Peace Accords." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25:3; 206-223.
- Keating, Michael. 1996. *Nations against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Québec, Catalonia, and Scotland*. MacMillan Press.
- Keating, Michael. 1999. "Regions and International Affairs: Motives, Opportunities, and Strategies." *Regional & Federal Studies* 9:1; 1-16.
- Keating, Michael. 2001. *Plurinational Democracy: Stateless Nations in a Post-Sovereignty Era*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Keating, Michael. 2016. "The Scottish Parliament." In *The Parliaments of Autonomous Nations*, edited by Guy Laforest and André Lecours. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; 164-181.
- Keating, Michael, and John McGarry, editors. 2001. *Minority Nationalism and the Changing International Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kössler, Karl. 2020. "Bougainville Moving Towards Independence? The Role of Autonomy for Conflict Resolution in Past and Present." *Ethnopolitics* 19:4; 402-415.
- Krause, Peter A. 2015. "Caught in the Minority Trap: Limits of Territorial Autonomy." In *Territorial Pluralism: Managing Difference in Multinational States*, edited by Karlo Basta, John McGarry, and Richard Simeon. Vancouver: UBC Press; 74-98.
- Kuokkannen, Rauna. 2017. "To See What State We Are In: First Years of the Greenland Self-Government Act and the Pursuit of Inuit Sovereignty." *Ethnopolitics* 16:2; 179-195.
- Lacina, Bethany. 2017. *Rival Claims: Ethnic Violence and Territorial Autonomy under Indian Federalism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Laforest, Guy. 2016. "The Assembly of Northern Ireland: Hope and Constraint." In *The Parliaments of Autonomous Nations*, edited by Guy Laforest and André Lecours. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; 183-202.
- Laforest, Guy and André Lecours, eds. 2016. *The Parliaments of Autonomous Nations*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Lapidoth, Ruth. 1997. *Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lecours, André. 2007. *Basque Nationalism and the Spanish State*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
- Lecours, André. 2020. "Nationalism and the Strength of Secessionism in Western Europe: Static and Dynamic Autonomy." *International Political Science Review*.
- Lecours, André. 2021. *Nationalism, Secessionism, and Autonomy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lennert, Mítdlárak. 2018. "Coherence in the Greenlandic Education System? Educational Planning & Evaluation in Greenland from a Complexity Theory Perspective." In *2018 Arctic Yearbook: Arctic Development in Theory and Practice*, edited by Lassi Heininen and Heather Exner-Pirot. Akureyri, Iceland: Northern Research Forum; 198-217.
- Lluçh, Jaime. 2012. "Autonomism and Federalism." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 42:1; 134-161.

- Lluch, Jaime. 2014. "Varieties of Territorial Pluralism: Prospects for the Constitutional and Political Accommodation of Puerto Rico in the USA." In *Constitutionalism and the Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies*, edited by Jaime Lluch. London: Palgrave MacMillan; 21-45.
- Loukacheva, Natalia. 2007. *The Arctic Promise: Legal and Political Autonomy of Greenland and Nunavut*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Makaryčev, Andrej S. 2002. "External Relations of Tatarstan: Neither Inside, nor Outside, but Alongside Russia." *Regionalization of Russian Foreign and Security Policy* 23.
- Malloy, Tove H. and Francesco Palermo. 2015. *Minority Accommodation Through Territorial and Non-Territorial Autonomy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martínez-Herrera, Enric. 2002. "From Nation-Building to Building Identification with Political Communities: Consequences of Political Decentralisation in Spain, the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia, 1978–2001." *European Journal of Political Research* 41:4; 421-453.
- Mathieu, Félix, and Dave Guénette. 2018. "Introducing a Societal Culture Index to Compare Minority Nations." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 48:2; 217-243.
- McCargo, Duncan. 2010. "Autonomy for Southern Thailand: Thinking the Unthinkable?" *Pacific Affairs* 83:2; 261-281.
- McGarry, John. 2007. "Asymmetry in Federations, Federacies and Unitary States." *Ethnopolitics* 6:1; 105-116.
- McRoberts, Kenneth. 2001. *Catalonia: The Struggle Over Independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, Michelle Ann, editor. 2012. *Autonomy and Armed Separatism in South and Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Monti, Matteo. 2019. "Subnational Constitutions between Asymmetry in Fundamental Rights Protection and the Principle of Nondiscrimination: A Comparison between Belgium (Charter for Flanders) and Switzerland." *Perspectives on Federalism* 11:1; e1-e37.
- Mozaffar, Shaheen and James R. Scarritt. 1999. "Why Territorial Autonomy is Not a Viable Option for Managing Ethnic Conflict in African Plural Societies." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 5:3-4; 230-253.
- Paterson, Lindsay. 1994. *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Patten Alan. 2005. "The Rights of Internal Linguistic Minorities." In *Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights, and Diversity*, edited by Avigail Eisenberg and Jeff Spinner-Halev. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 135-154.
- Roeder, Philip G. 2009. "Ethnofederalism and the Mismanagement of Conflicting Nationalisms." *Regional and Federal Studies* 19:2; 203-219.
- Roluahpuia. 2021. "Unsettled Autonomy: Ethnicity, Tribes and Subnational Politics in Mizoram, North-East India." *Nations and Nationalism* 27:2; 412-426.
- Sánchez, Luis. 2007. "Splitting the Country: The Case of the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua." *Journal of Latin American Geography* 6:1; 7-23.
- Sawada, Kayo. 2016. "Cold War Geopolitics of Population and Reproduction in Okinawa Under US Military Occupation, 1945–1972." *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal* 10:4; 401-422.
- Schulte, Felix. 2018. "The More, The Better? Assessing the Scope of Regional Autonomy as a Key Condition for Ethnic Conflict Regulation." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 25:1; 84-111.
- Smith, Angel. 2014. *The Origins of Catalan Nationalism, 1770-1898*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Spitzer, Aaron John. 2022. "The Settler-Rights Backlash: Understanding Liberal Challenges to Indigenous Self-Determination." *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1-18.
- Suksi, Markku. 2011. *Sub-State Governance through Territorial Autonomy: A Comparative Study in Constitutional Law of Powers, Procedures, and Institutions*. London: Springer.
- Suksi, Markku. 2013. "Explaining the Robustness and Longevity of the Åland Example in Comparison with Other Autonomy Solutions." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 20:1; 51-66.
- Taylor, Charles. 1994. "The Politics of Recognition." In *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, edited by Amy Gutman. Princeton: Princeton University Press; 25-74.
- Trinn, Christoph, and Felix Schulte. 2022. "Untangling Territorial Self-Governance – New Typology and Data." *Regional and Federal Studies* 32:1; 1-25.
- Tuminez, Astrid S. 2007. "This Land is Our Land: Moro Ancestral Domain and Its Implications for Peace and Development in the Southern Philippines." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 27:2; 77-91.
- Wallis, Joanne. 2013. "Nation-Building, Autonomy Arrangements, and Deferred Referendums: Unresolved Questions from Bougainville, Papua New Guinea." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19:3; 310-322.
- Walsh, Dawn. 2018. *Territorial Self-Government as a Conflict Management Tool*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

- Weller, Marc. 2009. "Settling Self-Determination Conflicts: Recent Developments." *The European Journal of International Law* 20:1; 111-165.
- Weller, Marc and Katherine Nobbs, editors. 2010. *Asymmetric Autonomy and the Settlement of Ethnic Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Weller, Marc and Stefan Wolff, eds. 2005. *Autonomy, Self-Governance, and Conflict Resolution*. London: Routledge.
- Wilkins, David E. 2003. *The Navajo Political Experience*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Wilson, Gary N. 2001. "'Matryoshka Federalism' and the Case of the Khanty Mansiysk Autonomous Okrug." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 17:2; 167-194.
- Wilson, Gary N. 2017. "Nunavik and the Multiple Dimensions of Inuit Governance." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 47:2; 148-161.

Resources on Wales

- Borisova, Nadezhda and Konstantin Sulimov. 2018. "Language Territorial Regimes in Multilingual Ethnic Territorial Autonomies." *Nationalities Papers* 46:3; 358-373.
- Bradbury, Jonathan. 2021. "Welsh Devolution and the Union: Reform Debates after Brexit." *The Political Quarterly*, 92:1; 125-131.
- Evans, Gareth. 2015. *A Class Apart: Learning the Lessons of Education in Post-Devolution Wales*. Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press.
- Heley, Jesse. 2013. "Soft Spaces, Fuzzy Boundaries and Spatial Governance in Post-Devolution Wales." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37:4; 1325-1348.
- Jones, Rhys, and Peter Merriman. 2009. "Hot, Banal and Everyday Nationalism: Bilingual Road Signs in Wales." *Political Geography* 28:3; 164-173.
- Jones, Rhys, Mark Goodwin, Martin Jones, and Kevin Pett. 2005. "'Filling In' the State: Economic Governance and the Evolution of Devolution in Wales." *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy* 23:3; 337-360.
- Kay, Adrian. 2003. "Evaluating Devolution in Wales." *Political Studies* 51:1; 51-66.
- May, Stephan. 2010. "Accommodating and Resisting Minority Language Policy: The Case of Wales." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 3:2; 101-128.
- McAllister, Ian and Anthony Mughan. 1984. "Values, Protest and Minority Nationalism in Wales." *British Journal of Political Science* 14:2; 230-243.
- Morgan, Kenneth O. 2014. *Revolution to Devolution: Reflections on Welsh Democracy*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Rawlings, Richard. 2003. *Delineating Wales: Constitutional, Legal, and Administrative Aspects of National Devolution*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Rawlings, Richard. 2022. "Wales and the United Kingdom: A Territorial Constitutional Policy Drive." *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 10:5; 714-732.
- Schumann, William R. 2009. *Towards an Anthropology of Government: Democratic Transformations and Nation-Building in Wales*. London: Palgrave.
- Ware, Jean. 2019. "Autonomy, Rights, and Children with Special Education Needs: The Distinctiveness of Wales." *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 23:5; 507-518.
- Wyn Jones, Richard and Roger Scully. 2006. "Devolution and Electoral Politics in Scotland and Wales." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 36:1; 115-134.