



Lebanese Association of Sociology

الجمعية اللبنانية لعلم الاجتماع

علم وخبر رقم 455/أ.ب.

State Building in Divided Societies of the Post–Ottoman World

Beirut: 24-25 September 2010

University Saint Joseph- Institute of Political Sciences

5th floor, Room 52

Achrafieh, Huvelin Street- Beirut

DAY 1: (Friday, September 24)

09.30 Introduction

Layla Al-Zubaidi (Heinrich Böll Foundation)

Jacques Kabbanji (Lebanese Association of Sociology)

Heiko Wimmen (German Institute for International and Security Studies)

Fadia Kiwan (Director of Political Sciences Institute)

10.00 Keynote Speech

Timothy D. Sisk (University of Denver)

The Obsolescing Pact: The Limits of Power Sharing in Sustaining Post-War Peace

11.00 Panel I: Strategies for Governance & Economy

Establishing and improving governance is typically the central concern of State Building projects, and the strategies adopted in this pursuit are decisive for the shape and performance of the resulting state structures, and the credibility and trust accorded to them by the citizens. Likewise, the choice of economic strategies will determine to what

extend welfare and livelihoods are connected to success and failure of the State Building project and to what extent citizens can experience the state as guardian of their sustenance and prosperity. Both issues are intricately connected, as adopting a certain strategy of governance typically implies subscribing to a compatible economic model, and as economic imperatives and interests determine choices in the field of governance. This panel will explore the economic and governance choices taken in the three cases in point, and their impact on the state building project.

Speakers:

Florian Bieber (University of Kent)

Governance in Bosnia between Minimalism and EU Membership

Eric Herring (University of Bristol)

Iraq and the Fallacies of Top-Down State Building

Toufic Gaspard (Economist, Beirut)

Has Lebanon's Socio-economic Development Undermined State Building?

13.00 Lunch Break

14:30 Panel II: Social Movements & Civil Mobilization

State Building is typically focused on formal institutions and processes, with participation by citizens limited to elections, held with the primary goal of establishing formal legitimacy. Social movements and civil mobilization are typically not a concern of State Builders, or seen as a potential threat to the still fragile autonomy and authority of state institutions. Yet such forms of mobilization may *create* legitimacy as much as they may challenge it, while cross-communal coalitions may also provide potential alternatives to the existing social cleavages. This panel will discuss the experience of social & civil movements in Bosnia, Lebanon and Iraq, and the dynamics of community- vs. issue-based alliances in divided societies undergoing substantial transformation.

Speakers:

Srdan Dvornik (Researcher, Zagreb)

Actors without Society: Civil Society in the Post-Yugoslav Context

Faleh Abdeljabbar (Iraq Institute for Strategic Studies, Beirut)

Social Movements in Occupied Iraq

Jacques Kabbanji / (Lebanese University)

State (Re)Building, Social Movements & Civil Mobilization in the Lebanese Context

Day 2 (Saturday, September 25)

10:00 Panel III: Constitutional Engineering and Power Sharing

In all three cases in point, constitutional reform or the drafting of entirely new constitutions have been major milestones of the State Building process. Measures of power-sharing were adopted or reaffirmed as the preferred – or maybe the only - solution to include all major groups and to alleviate fears of marginalization and domination that may give rise to renewed conflict. Yet, power-sharing has been criticized for institutionalizing and thus consolidating and perpetuating the differences it supposedly accommodates. Two of the three cases in point (Bosnia and Lebanon) are examples of older power sharing arrangements that collapsed into disastrous conflict, while struggle over the implementation of ethno-sectarian federalism and power sharing is an important ingredient of the conflict in Iraq. This panel analyzes the shortcomings of the three arrangements in questions, and asks for the limits of constitutional engineering as a tool to establish lasting peace in conflicted societies.

Speakers:

Nenad Stojanović (University of Zurich)

Is there Place for Non-ethnic Citizens in Divided Societies? The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Zaid Al-Ali (Paris Institute of Political Studies)

“The Iraqi constitutional process: Negotiating a new social contract in the midst of violent conflict”

Fadia Kiwan (University St. Joseph)

Lebanon’s Taif Constitution and the Mechanisms of Exiting from an Impasse

12:00 Panel IV: International Involvement

In all three cases in point, international involvement played a substantial role in the State Building processes that were initiated. This observation gives rise to a cluster of vexing dilemmas: to what extent can citizens be expected to identify with and accord legitimacy to a State Building project initiated by outsiders, at times against the will of their elected representatives? To what extent are foreign actors accountable for the strategies and decisions they adopt, and to whom? Is it possible to separate between

the best interest of the societies subjected to externally initiated State Building, and the particular interests of the international actors involved in the process? To what extent, and through which strategies can foreign actors play a beneficial role, avoid becoming embroiled in internal conflict, and transfer the process into local hands at a time and in a fashion that allows for real ownership?

Speakers:

David Chandler (University of Westminster)

State Building and the Dilemmas of International Involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Farid El-Khazen (American University of Beirut)

Lebanon, The Arab State System and International Politics

13.30 Lunch Break

15:00 Closing Session: Imaginations of Unity and Difference

Even the most successful State Building attempts will have to compete with the power of communal narratives and their appeal to the collective subconscious, to the mythical imagery of times past and utopian projections of a homogenous polity. The closing session will attempt to evaluate the preceding panels and ask to what extent the building of state institutions and rationalized forms of collective belonging and identification can provide viable alternatives and open avenues of inclusion and conviviality that may resist attempts at creating homogeneity through exclusion.

Speakers:

Mitja Velikonja (University of Ljubljana)

Fawaz Trabulsi (American University of Beirut)