

Beyond intractability?

Territorial solutions to self-determination conflicts

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Preface & Acknowledgements

This is an article-based dissertation project which culminates from my three and a half years enrolment in the PhD Program at the Department of Political Science, Copenhagen University. I seek to answer the following overarching research question:

Why are territorial self-governance arrangements successful in some cases but not others?

The dissertation is article-based, meaning it includes five self-contained articles, all of which present a unique argument and can be read without the initial chapters on theoretical and empirical approaches to the overall study of self-determination disputes. The initial chapters ('project frame') are intended to foster a better understanding of how the articles relate to each other and how they – cumulatively – speak to the overall question of why autonomy 'works' in some cases but not in others. The project frame also draws some broader theoretical perspectives, summarises the findings presented in the dissertation, and highlights the main implications for both academics and practitioners.

The articles address the overall question from several different vantage points and with distinct but complementary empirical strategies. At the very heart of the project is a new dataset on formal and informal territorial self-governance arrangements in democratic and non-democratic countries, and data collected during field research in Ethiopia. The following five articles are located in Chapter 5 through 9:

- 1. Shifting patterns of tactics and strategies: Bargaining over self-determination in Indonesia
- 2. Institutional patterns of autonomy arrangements: Introducing the TSG dataset (TSG), 1950 2016
- 3. Autonomous by design: Territorial self-governance and violent conflict
- 4. Say my name: The effect of titular vs. non-titular status on communal violence in ethnofederations
- 5. Intra-party dynamics and the success of federal arrangements: Ethiopia in comparative perspective

'It takes two to tango' – in this case it took 'many'. This dissertation project would not have been accomplished without the support of countless people along the way, who all left their personal mark upon it. I have grown not only professionally, but also personally in this rewarding process. I am grateful for all the amazing opportunities that have presented themselves, all the incredibly smart, devoted and kind people I have met - some of whom I now call good friends - and all the life changing experiences throughout this journey. And oh boy – what a journey it was!

A dissertation is never entirely 'done' - there is always room for improvement and endless inspiration to pursue further avenues, often resulting in a feeling of seemingly moving further away from, rather than closer to, completing. My very special gratitude in this regard goes to my partner Chris, who was solid as a rock in the tidal flows of self-reassurance and doubt, triumph and defeat. I am also grateful to my friends and family, who always managed to take my thoughts off 'that thing you study' when needed.

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A substantial part of this dissertation is built on field research in Ethiopia – which would never have been possible with the support of so many kind souls. First, I would like to thank the interviewees for their insightful comments. I would also like to thank Jan Erk, who shared some good advice and contacts with me, Seyoum for welcoming me and being my support on the ground, Zemelak for great conversations and exchanges back then and now, Lulit for being my guide in Hawassa and who became a friend along the way, and Debebe for being extremely helpful and putting me in touch with so many people. Also thanks to Jonathan in Uganda who has introduced me to the kingdom of Buganda in its present and past!

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