PhD course University of Bergen

Effects of Lawfare:
Courts and law as battlegrounds for social change
Thursday 18 August – Friday 26 August

Centre on Law & Social Transformation
www.lawtransform.no
Jekteviksbakken 31, Bergen
CMI, 3 etg. Just Faaland møterom
One of the most central developments over the past three decades is the accelerating juridification and judicialization of societies and of politics. In all parts of the world and at all levels, from the global to the local, increasingly complex webs of legal norms and institutions regulate our societies and lives. At the same time courts and law have become increasingly important as arenas for political struggles. Constitutional reforms and international treaties aim to transform social dynamics from above, among other things, new and stronger protection of citizens’ rights, while individuals and groups engage in legal mobilization from below to seek justice for their cause. In either case dense networks of international activists and experts are ready to engage with and aid local actors, creating a dense global network of actors, legal norms, and adjudicative institutions. In this context, it is urgent to better understand law as a political field. Does this turn to rights and law have a transformative potential? Does it provide institutional spaces for the voices of marginalized groups to be heard and tools that can provide political leverage? Or does it, rather demobilize and depoliticize struggles in ways that exacerbate unequal power-relations and marginalization dynamics? These are urgent issues on which there are deep disagreements in the literature. The course offers an introduction to the debates on the potential and limits of law as an instrument of social change, and opportunities to engage with some of the foremost scholars in the field, and international research projects currently seeking better answers to these questions.

The course is a mixture of lectures specifically designed for the course, participation in research-project workshops and open round-tables that form part of the Bergen Exchanges on Law & Social Transformation. Students will receive 3 ECTS for participating in the course (80 % of seminars), submission of paper abstract (150-300 words), and presentation of own work to course participants. Students who submit a publishable journal article (4,000-6,000 words, with an additional reading list of 500 pages, which can be from the elective reading list) by 15 October 2016 are awarded an additional 7 ECTS. (MA level students will be accepted if space permits).

Course leaders: Camila Gianella (Comparative Politics/CMI); Bruce Wilson (Professor, University of Central Florida/CMI); Siri Gloppen (Professor Comparative Politics and LawTransform Director) Lecturers include: Andrea Castagnola (Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Comparative Politics); Tom Keck, (Syracuse University), Alicia Yamin (Harvard University), Elin Skaar (CMI), Malcolm Langford (University of Oslo/CMI).
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Program (draft)

Thursday 18 August: 9:00 – 17:00 (Registration, Coffee, from 8:30)

8:30 - 9:00  Arrival, registration, coffee & tea

9:00 - 9:30  Welcome & course overview  Camila Gianella

9:30 - 10:30  Introducing Lawfare: Concepts, approaches  Siri Gloppen

10:30 - 10:50  Coffee & Tea Break

10:50 - 12:00  Legal mobilization and courts as battlegrounds for social change

Social movement theory: legal mobilization  Bruce Wilson

12:00 - 13:00  Lunch

13:00 - 14:30  Legal and political opportunity structures  Siri Gloppen

14:30 - 14:50  Coffee & Tea Break

14:50 - 17:00  “Fire in the Blood” Documentary & Discussion  Camila Gianella
Friday 19 August: 8:45 – 17:00 (Coffee from 8:30)

8:30 - 8:45: *Coffee & Tea*

8:45 - 9:00: Recap & introduction to the day

9:00 - 10:30: **Judicial behaviour and everyday life of courts**

- Political science approaches to judicial behavior
- Rational choice and institutionalism

Andrea Castagnola

10:30-10:45: *Coffee & Tea Break*

10:45 - 12:00: Qualitative approaches to the study of courts

12:00 - 13:00: *Lunch*

Effects of Lawfare

13:00 - 13:45: Conceptualizing lawfare effects

- Quantitative and qualitative research strategies and methods for measuring lawfare effects

Siri Gloppen

13:45 - 16:00: Health

- Alicia Yamin*

*Coffee & Tea Break*

16:00 - 17:00: Student Presentations

Saturday 20 August: *Free*
Follow program for the Bergen Exchanges on Law & Social Transformation 2016

In addition, there will be PhD course sessions in the afternoons to follow up the sessions of the day and continue PhD Student presentations. The course will close with an evaluation session in the afternoon of Friday 26 August (see program below)

* not confirmed

*** joint session with workshop on “Political Determinants of SRR Health”
Monday 22 August: Inequality & the Law

9:00 – 10:15 Opening
9:30 Key Note Address by Roberto Gargarella

Can courts pursue social justice while respecting democracy?

Since ‘dialogic constitutionalism’ emerged in Canada in 1982 court around the world have developed similar and improved dialogic practices to promote democratic debate through judicial intervention. Advocates of deliberative democracy and critics of traditional forms of judicial review have hoped that these dialogic mechanisms would help enforce social rights and social justice in a democratic manner – but to what extent has this materialized? The lecture critically analyzes the scope and limits of the practice of dialogic constitutionalism as it has emerged over the past decades, and asks how it can be improved.

10:30 – 12:15 2016 Chr. Michelsen Prize Lecture & Roundtable

10:30 Prize Lecture by Francesca Refsum Jensenius

“Can electoral quotas advance social justice – and how do we know?”

This lecture is based on the work that won Francesca Refsum Jensenius the 2016 Chr. Michelsen Price for the best work in development studies. The material is part of Social Justice through Inclusion: The Consequences of Electoral Quotas in India (forthcoming with Oxford University Press), her book manuscript about the longest-standing electoral quota systems in the world: The reserved seats for the Scheduled Castes (SCs, Dalits, India’s former ‘untouchables’) in India’s state assemblies. In this book, she combines evidence from various quantitative datasets from the period 1971–2007, archival work, and in-depth interviews with politicians, civil servants and voters across India in 2010 and 2011, to explore the effects of this extensive quota system, how the impact has changed over time, and how the various consequences relate to each other. She argues that the institutional design of the quota system has played an important role in incentivizing the integration of SCs into all the main political parties, while at the same time prevented the emergence of group representatives — understood as SC politicians acting for the interest of their group. In this lecture she will talk about key findings from the book, with a focus on how the institutional design of this quota policy both shapes its effects and can help us study these effects empirically.
11:00    Roundtable: **Researching Law & (in)Equality**
Law – ranging from constitutions and international human rights treaties, to anti-discrimination laws and tax regulations – are tools by which societies seek to address unwanted inequalities. But at the same time these and other forms of law create and reinforce social inequalities in multitudes of ways – and countries with ambitious pro-equality laws, are among the most unequal societies. How can we investigate and establish the various ways in which law shapes the production of social equality and inequality? This roundtable brings together scholars who approach these questions from different angles and through different methods.

12:30 – 13:30    Roundtable: **Who benefits from Speech Rights?**
Freedom of speech is a fundamental human right and a cornerstone of democracy – but are all speakers equal? A new comparative research project looks into which actors that are likely to bring cases against the state claiming that their right to free speech has been infringed - and whose claims are likely to succeed. This roundtable is hosted by a new FrittOrd project on Speech Rights.

- Introduction by **Malcolm Langford** (UiO) in conversation with **Tom M. Keck** (Syracuse University) & **Anine Kierulf** (UiB)

13:30 – 14:30    **Lunch**

14:30 – 18:30    **Project Workshop: Sexual & Reproductive Rights Lawfare**
14:30 – 16:00    **PhD Course Session**
- Summary of the day
- Student presentations

19:00    **Evening event & informal reception at Knut Fægris hus:**
**Can law heal? On legal determinants of inequalities in health and rights-based approaches to health reform**
Law shapes our health in innumerable ways. It influences health systems and policies, and thus who gets healthcare, for what, when and how – and who gets a say when health polices are designed and implemented. Law are central to whether patients can demand and in fact get the services that they are entitled to. The law also influences which drugs are developed, and by whom, for whom and at what price. At a more fundamental level, the law is integral to the social systems that shape the living conditions that are so crucial for our health: access to clean water and sanitation; to food, housing and education. This roundtable will discuss the legal determinants of (ill) health, and the case for rights based approaches reform of health systems and –policies. This event is hosted by the Norad/ LawTransform project on “Implementing the right to health in health service delivery”.
Tuesday 23 August
9:00 – 13:30 Sexual & Reproductive Rights Lawfare

9:00 – 10:45 Roundtable: Identity, politics and law in global battles over homosexuality
Why do we see an upsurge around the world in court cases concerning same sex intimacy – from decriminalization of sodomy to marriage equality? This roundtable presents findings from a LawTransform/UiB project on “Sexual & Reproductive Rights Lawfare: Global Battles”. The project examines the use of courts and law in battles for and against rights concerning sexual orientation, gender identity and abortion in different parts of the worlds. It seeks to understand both what drives these cases into the courts and what the effects are of fighting such battles through legal cases rather than in the parliamentary arena. This roundtable zooms in on the part of the project that deals with the current politicization of homosexuality on much of the African continent, and will discuss both how this differs across the region and in comparison to similar battles in other regions of the world.

11:00 – 12:10 Roundtable: Criminalizing immorality how to study political drivers and backlash effects?
In the past decade we have seen an increase in politicization and the use – and threat of using – the criminal law to combat what is construed as “immoral behavior”. In much of Africa this has in particular been related to homosexuality and, to a lesser extent, abortion. Attempts by domestic and international actors to push for more liberal laws seem to have trigged a backlash. How can we, as researchers, best capture and understand the driving forces and dynamics of these social and political processes? Which approaches and research methods are best suited? This roundtable is hosted by the new LawTransform/CMI project on “Political determinants of sexual and reproductive health”

12:20 – 13:30 Roundtable: Studying health effects of criminal law
All societies use criminal law in ways that - intentionally and unintentionally, directly and indirectly – affect the health of both those who are incarcerated and the broader population. The criminalization of abortion that we see in many countries, is one of the uses of criminal law that potentially has severe health consequences. So is the criminalization of undesirable or “immoral” sexual behavior – ranging from rape, sexual violence and transmission of HIV and other STDs, to sex-work and consensual sex between adults of the same gender. But how can we securely establish such health effects? Which forms of health effects can we reliably measure, and how? Which research methods are most appropriate, and which data are available? This roundtable is hosted by the new LawTransform project on “Political determinants of sexual and reproductive health”

13:30 – 14:30 Lunch CMI cantina
**14:30 – 15:30**  
Roundtable: **Trans-Gender Lawfare**

In June 2016 Norway passed new legislation for the change of legal gender, whereby the country went from being one of the most restrictive places in Europe - where people who wanted to change their legal gender had to undergo sex affirming surgery - to becoming one of the most liberal. All that is required now is a request from anyone above 16 years of age. What is the significance of this change in the law? And how is the Norwegian development in comparative perspective?

**15:30 – 18:30**  
**Project Workshop:**  
**Political determinants of Sexual and Reproductive health**

**15:30 – 17:00**  
**PhD Course Session**
- Summary of the day
- Student presentations

**19:00**  
**Evening event & informal reception at CMI**

**Roundtable:**  
**Threats to the independence of the judiciary – cross-regional perspectives**

Courts are growing increasingly powerful all over the world. While independent and robust courts can secure democratic governance and protect citizens’ rights and wellbeing, dependent and weak judiciaries exacerbate injustice and inequality. Courts have validated - and prohibited - presidential re-elections in Latin America; supported - and condemned - military coups in Asia; enforced – and sanctioned - asylum practices in Europe; and legalized - or criminalized - same-sex relations in Africa. Even though the lack of judicial independence and integrity for a long time has been on the agenda in fragile democracies; there is an increasing interest on this topic also in consolidated democracies. What are the similarities between fragile and consolidated democracies with regard to the threats to judicial independence? How different are problems of judicial corruption and lack of independence? Which are the most common strategies whereby politicians seek to manipulate the judiciary? And how can this situation be improved in the future?

- Introduction by **Andrea Castagnola** in dialogue with **Roberto Gargarella** (Universidad Torcuato Di Tella, Argentina), **Jørn Øyrehagen Sunde** (UiB, Norway) **Sofie Schütte** (CMI, Norway) and **Edge Kanyongolo** (University of Malawi) who will share their experience and knowledge from Latin American, Scandinavian and African cases
Wednesday 24 August

9:00 – 10:30  Lecture **Responsible evidence appraisal**
by Jeroen van der Slujs (UiB)

The rapid increase in the use of evidence to legitimise decisions reflects a pervasive idea that more science equals better policies. Often, decision makers become mired in contested evidence, beset by uncertainties and contradictions. In critical challenges, whether climate change, global pollinator collapse, or migration, science is expected to provide conclusive facts and is often used instrumentally to suppress disputes. The concept of evidence is in flux and increasingly subjected to fundamental questions about its nature, quality and functions. Meanwhile, emerging modes of evidence production add to controversies on what counts as valid evidence. The relation between governance and the underlying evidence has itself become problematic, reflecting ongoing changes in knowledge production and use. This lecture will explore the problems with the use and abuse of evidence for governance and will sketch pathways to more responsible practices of evidence appraisal and use.

10:45 – 12:00  Roundtable:
**Assessing socio-economic effects of incarceration**

Both those arguing for and against the use of prion sentences for various crimes use economic arguments and reference to socio-economic effects to support their position – but what do we know about the social and economic consequences of incarcerating offenders – and how can we know? What are the appropriate measures for assessing this? This roundtable takes at the point of departure a project undertaken by Katrine Vellesen Løken and colleagues as part of a new project investigating socio-economic effects of incarceration in Norway, using register data (NFR-young researcher grant).

- Introduction: Katrine Vellesen Løken (UiB) in dialogue with Linda Grøning (UiB)

12:15 – 13:30  Roundtable:
**Child Rights in Norway: Implementation and Effects**

Norway is a party to the international Convention on the Right of the Child, which obliges the government to see to it that the best interest of the child is taken into account in all relevant legislation and policy. But how is this implemented in practice? This roundtable is part of a Redd Barna/ University of Oslo/ LawTransfrom project headed by Malcolm Langford.

- Introduction by Malcolm Langford in dialogue with Marit Skivenes and Karl Harald Søvig

13:30 – 14:30  Lunch CMI cantina
14:30 – 15:30  Roundtable: **Building databases for empirical legal studies**
Numerous law and court related databases have been developed in recent years - over constitutions, laws, judgments, and various aspects of court cases and litigation processes. But too often these are ad hoc, poorly constructed, poorly utilized and discontinued. How can we best develop good databases to serve a useful instruments for qualitative as well as quantitative research, and that enable us to integrate them in ways that allow others to utilize what we have collected?

• Introduction by **Malcolm Langford**

15:30 – 16:30  **PhD Course Session**
• Summary of the day
• Student presentation

18:00-19:30:  **Annual Lecture on Law & Social Transformation**  
**Charles Epp**  
(University of Kansas)

Venue: **Bergen Litteraturhus**

Followed by **Reception by Bergen City Government**  
with guided walk to the venue **Schøttstuene at historic Bryggen**  
(PhD course participants invited)
Thursday 25 August: Migration & Lawfare

9:00 – 10:15 Panel:
Irregular Migrants and Mobilization for Rights in European Countries
The OECD estimates that there may be from 5 to 8 million irregular, or undocumented, migrants in Europe. These are individuals without a residence permit authorizing them to regularly stay in their country of destination. Once in an unregulated status, migrants are systematically denied their fundamental rights. How, then, do they mobilize to strengthen these rights? How do undocumented children claim rights? And what has the impact of the current political crises on refugee issues been on the opportunity for campaigning for status regularizations? Drawing on research among irregular migrants in Norway, Sweden and four other EU countries.

* Synnøve Bendixsen, Anna Lundberg and Nando Sigona meet to discuss these topical issues.

10:30 – 11:30 Lecture by Susan Banki:
A Theory of Refugee Homeland Activism: Precarity, Social Movements & Resource Deprivation
Refugees dissatisfied with the conditions in their home countries often continue to agitate for change when they arrive in countries of neighbouring refuge, such as refugees from Myanmar living in Burma, or refugees from Bhutan living in Nepal. How might we come to understand the shapes and modes of such activism? Concepts in the literatures of precarity, social movements, and migration offer us some answers. This talk considers the question of refugee homeland activism from a theoretical perspective but draws on empirical examples from the two aforementioned populations to flesh out these ideas.

12:00 – 13:30 Panel:
Mobilizing in Exile: Syrian Refugee and Diaspora Mobilization
After five and a half years of conflict, the situation in Syria is worsening: there is increased fighting and violence on the ground and no clear road map to peace. More than five million Syrians have fled their country to seek safety in neighboring countries and beyond. How do these exiles mobilize for political change in their home country? What are the responses of host states as well as the homeland to such mobilization?

* Maja Janmyr will explore homeland engagement among Syrian refugees in Lebanon while Espen Stokke discusses Syrian diaspora mobilization in the UK and US. Emma Jørum shares her research on homeland response to anti-regime mobilization among Syrians in Sweden.

13:30 – 14:30 Lunch CMI cantina

14:30 – 15:30 Roundtable; Precarious rights of LGBT refugees
Many countries, including Norway, grant asylum rights to people who have to flee their home country due to their sexual orientation or gender identity (lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people). But how does this work in practice? How is “at risk” understood and determined in the context of LGBT refugees?
Evening panel, UiB Law School Aud4 & Social Event in CMI cantina

19:00 Quo Vadis Refugee Convention?
Faced with a so-called refugee crisis, European politicians, practitioners and scholars discuss whether the 1951 Refugee Convention is in need of reform. Many of the arguments and questions have been raised previously, for example during the Balkan war, but today, the context differs. We are seeing the highest number of refugees ever, with 65.3 million people fleeing their homes. Refugees are produced by conflict and persecution throughout the world, with the war in Syria as the largest source – but people are also forced to migrate due to climate change, natural disasters and poverty. As a result, and unlike during the Balkan War, the vast majority of refugees in Europe now come from non-European countries, and for some their refugee status is unclear. Key refugee receiving countries such as Lebanon and Jordan have not ratified the Refugee Convention, while Turkey retains fundamental limitations in its ratification. Moreover, the United Nation’s refugee agency (UNHCR) is in chronic deficit as the willingness to provide the necessary finances is decreasing. In this context, not only do we hear calls for reform of the Refugee Convention and refugee regulation as a whole, but fundamental principles, such as of non-refoulement (not forcing refugees or asylum seekers to return to a country in which they are liable to be subjected to persecution), are under pressure.

Why is it imperative to change the Refugee Convention now? And what should that change entail? What is most important: refugee protection and the fulfillment of fundamental human rights, or the sovereign state’s capacity to control the movement of people across its borders? Is it possible to balance the two? And what does effective refugee protection really mean? States are represented through political leaders, but how do we include refugee voices?

This meeting seeks to contribute to the important, but often polarized debate on how to improve the system of refugee regulation. The issue requires long-term commitment, and continued discussion, even when the current influx of Syrian refugees to Europe decreases.
across the subcontinent. The rules protecting the rights and interests of vulnerable population
groups and ecosystems differ between and within state, and a key question is which rules are
more adequate in balancing the concerns required for inclusive, sustainable development.
This session presents findings from a LawTransform/CMI/CPR project on “Land Rights and
Inclusive, Sustainable Development within India’s Federal System”

10:30 – 11:45 Roundtable:
Water, development-induced displacement & rights based resistance
Water is a vital, valuable and highly contested natural resource. The international society has
recognized this by affirming the human right of all to access safe drinking water and
sanitation, but still contests over valuable water resources place the livelihoods of millions at
risk across the world. Can rights and legal institutions serve as effective instruments for poor
people to use in their struggles for vital interests, or is this a hollow hope?

12:00 – 13:15 Roundtable: Climate Change Lawfare
Courts are increasingly used as sites of struggle over climate change policies and in
December 2015, the Paris agreement on climate change brought about a new role for
national courts with its novel legal architecture to deal with global economic and
environmental problems. Since there is no one legally binding set of emissions reduction rules
for all states, and no global court where to take breach cases to, the new pact - based on
voluntary national commitments - brings domestic courts to the front. They are to ensure
governmental compliance with their promises and protection of citizens’ rights to sustainable
development and a healthy environment.

One of the most famous cases in which courts have been used in struggles over
domestic climate change policies is the Dutch Urgenda case, where citizens took the
government to court for failing to adopt and implement policies that would allow the country
to meet its climate change obligations. In June 2015 they won in the Hague district court.
Other European and global south countries are preparing similar cases. How suitable is
litigating as an instrument to advance responsible climate change policies?


13:30 – 14:30 Lunch CMI cantina

14:30 – 16:00 PhD course – closing and evaluation

www.lawtransform.no
Readings


Bob, Clifford. The global right wing and the clash of world politics. Cambridge University Press, 2012. (Chapters 1, 3, 4 and 7)


