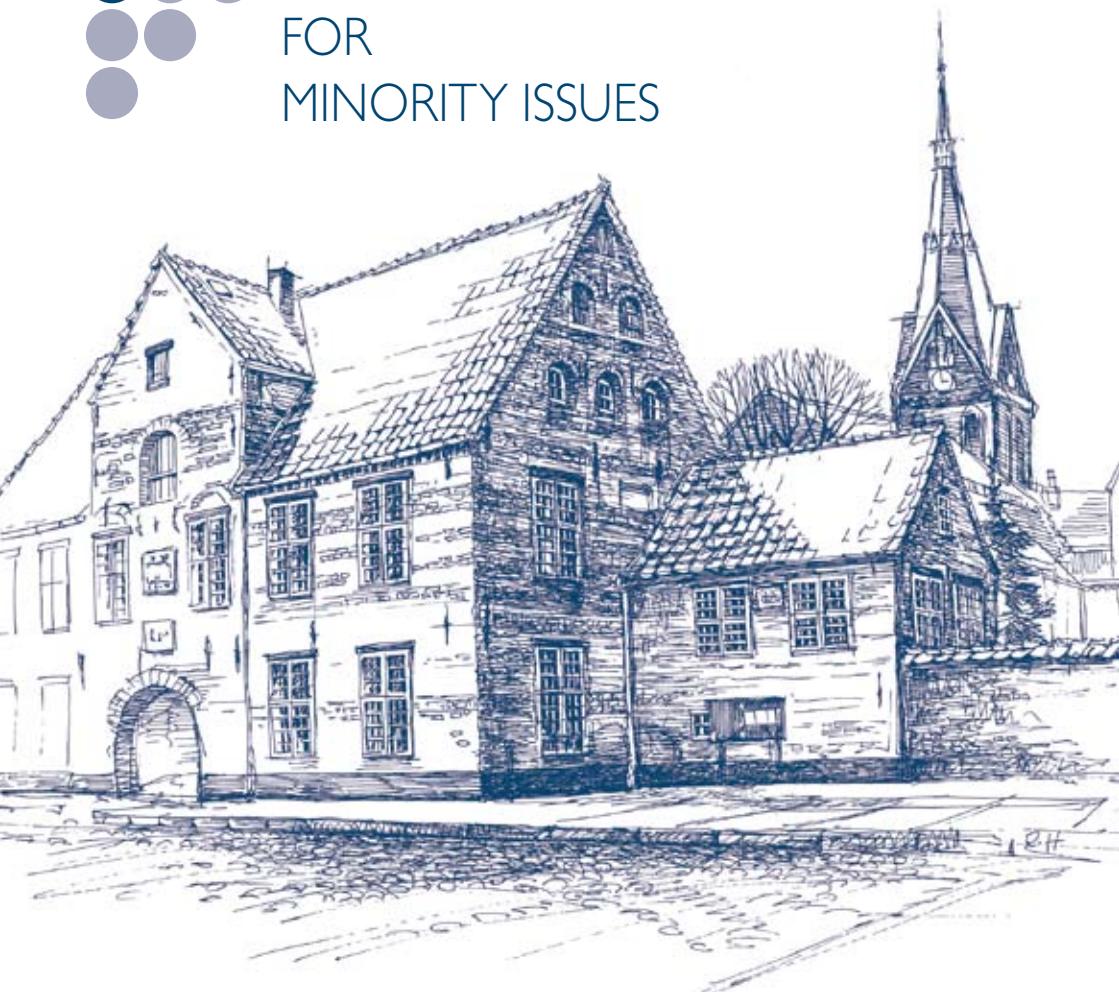




EUROPEAN CENTRE
FOR
MINORITY ISSUES



2008
Annual Report

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PREFACE



*DR KNUD LARSEN
CHAIRMAN OF ECMI BOARD*

The year 2008 at ECMI was marked by four major events:

Further discussions and assessments of ECMI, along with work strategies, were presented at the post-evaluation conference in February at the Sankelmark Academy near Flensburg, and at a joint conference of the ECMI Board and Advisory Council in June in Copenhagen. Both events confirmed ECMI's substantive focus on four key elements of the dialogue between majority and minority groups: constructive conflict transformation, political participation, equal economic opportunities, and enhancement of language and cultural diversity. The Advisory Board offered its expert assistance to individual programmes and research activities.

Kosovo's declaration of independence led to an intensification of ECMI's work to enhance community participation, and to involve and commit government agencies and civil society to the implementation of the Ahtisaari proposal. Several donors recognized ECMI's particular competence and engagement in promoting a multiethnic Kosovo and offered continued support to the ECMI office in Prishtina.

The conflict in Georgia and ECMI reprogramming there required a lot of work from the staff, both in Tbilisi and from staff and partners in the regional offices in Ahalkalaki and Tsalka. By early 2008 ECMI Georgia, in cooperation with Council of Europe (CoE), was involved in assisting with electoral issues in minority regions and later in post-war recovery work. The Rule of Law joint programme with CoE was temporarily suspended, but quickly resumed once the situation calmed down. A further declaration of support from the Council was given during a brief visit from the Secretary General Terry Davies to the Youth Minority Marathon event in September.

As part of its advisory work, ECMI hosted a major United Nations (UN) workshop on the responsibility to protect, addressing international community approaches to the pro-

tection of civilian populations during internal armed conflicts. This topic proved highly relevant in light of severe abuses committed against the civilian populations in South Ossetia and in the Georgian town of Gori.

During 2008, strengthening of regional cooperation included cooperation agreements with the University of South Denmark, the University of Flensburg, and closer collaboration with the University of Hamburg Peace Research Institute which held an intensive seminar on politics and legal aspects of ethnic conflict resolution.

In addition to the abovementioned activities, ECMI intensified its research and publication output, providing in-depth assessments and sharing relevant knowledge. Publications included a series of working papers, available from ECMI website, and academic studies printed by internationally renowned publishing houses (see section below on "External Publications by ECMI Staff").

In 2009 it is anticipated that ECMI will further consolidate its multidisciplinary approach, encompassing capacities and competencies within its research, action and advisory work in all aspects of minority inclusion.

Finally, the ECMI Board was reconstituted in mid-2008. I would especially like to welcome its new members, Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe Ms. Maud de Boer-Buquicchio and Member of the German Federal Parliament Mr. Ingbert Liebing. I look forward to working with the new board for the benefit of ECMI.

I also would like to extend my gratitude to the Board's departing members: Member of the German Federal Parliament, Dr. Wolfgang Wodarg; Dr. Marc Scheuer of the Council of Europe; and, in particular, Amb. Ret. Tore Bögh, who served on the ECMI Board almost from its inception. Many thanks for your engagement and support over all these years.

INTRODUCTION

DR MARC WELLER
ECMI DIRECTOR



2008 was, again, a transitional year for ECMI. The Centre remained focused on implementing the recommendations of the highly positive international evaluation of its work presented in 2007. In the meantime, the founding governments continued their discussions about the future mission and strategy of ECMI. That debate focused on both institutional and substantive issues.

In institutional terms, the question of the independence of the Centre and its Board from the founding governments was discussed. The evaluation report had strongly recommended maintaining and strengthening ECMI's ability to operate independently from governmental guidance. On the other hand, one founding government wished to align the Centre more closely with its own interests and visions.

In substantive terms, this debate was also translated into a realization that Europe had changed over the past decade. Conflict transformation activities, previously one of the high points of ECMI's portfolio, were said to be of less relevance. Instead, the Centre would emphasize its interest in majority—minority relations outside areas of ethno-political tension and conflict. This would include, in particular, the three priority issue areas identified by ECMI in its interim strategy of 2005-2008. These concerned the political participation of minority communities, their economic and social enfranchisement, and the preservation and enhancement of their linguistic and cultural identity.

As this report indicates, over 2008 ECMI advanced its scholarly work in relation to the first of these areas, while laying the methodological groundwork for research in relation to the other two. The Centre maintained a very high publishing output of four single author monographs and six major edited works that either went to press or were published during the year.

ECMI also completed the process of rendering its remaining field operations fully sustainable. As demonstrated by the events in Georgia of August 2008, it might have been

premature to relinquish conflict prevention and transformation work entirely. Similarly, the difficult transition towards independence in Kosovo offered numerous new challenges for post-conflict state-building in a complex ethnic environment. To enable these activities to continue, the ECMI offices in Tbilisi and in Prishtina were incorporated locally and can now function independently of ECMI Flensburg, although future cooperation on project activities is of course still possible.

Over the past decade, ECMI has managed to generate a profile as a leading actor in the field of minority—majority relations in Europe. In 2009, a new director will take over management of the Centre. A new vision of ECMI's role will need to be developed, building on the achievements of the past, the priorities of its founders and funders, and the vision of those working at the Centre. I thank all of those who have made those past achievements possible, and wish those who will take the work of the Centre further well.

Consolidating ECMI programmes – strengthening research and publications

One of the highly significant outcomes of the 2007 ECMI evaluation was a recommendation to create greater synergy and consolidation between ECMI's various programmes. In particular it sought to strengthen the research aspect of the core issues of ECMI programmes such as constructive conflict transformation. This included analysis of the underlying concepts of the much-discussed issues of minority political participation, language and cultural diversity and economic inclusion.

Throughout 2008, ECMI's longstanding involvement in Kosovo and Georgia has been especially relevant.

For **ECMI Kosovo**, the Kosovo declaration of independence and the transfer of supervisory powers from United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) accelerated ECMI activities related to the building up of governmental capacity on minority governance based on the Ahtisaari plan. At the same time minority institution-building for adequate representation was intensified, involving the support of several ECMI project donors. In the course of its work with various ethnic communities and its two mapping projects – ethno-political and economic – ECMI Kosovo is collecting a great deal of information about the communities as they perceive themselves, which it plans to publish in the near future. One of the achievements of its longstanding engagement has been the institution-building process of a minority consultative body in the form of Community Consultative Council, which has been recommended by the Council of Europe.

With regard to Kosovo, it is also worth mentioning several new publications by ECMI Director Dr. Marc Weller – *Peace Lost: The Failure of Conflict Prevention in Kosovo* (Brill, 2008), *Contested Statehood: Kosovo's Struggle for Independence* (OUP, 2009), *Negotiating the Final Status of Kosovo* (Chaillet Paper No. 114, 2008), and two articles in the journal *International Affairs* entitled “The Vienna Negotiations on the Final Status of Kosovo” and “Kosovo's Final Status” (2008). In these publications, Dr. Weller undertakes, a legal

analysis of, on the one hand, the failure of conflict prevention and, on the other, of Kosovo's declaration of independence, issues relating to recognition, and the international context.

ECMI Georgia also went through a difficult period in 2008. Parliamentary elections, after the adoption of a new electoral system, resulted in no minority representation in parliament. Several changes occurred in the governmental structures which affected minority communities in particular. Finally, the outbreak of armed hostilities between Georgian and Russian peacekeeping forces in South Ossetia, which spread to the outskirts of the Georgian capital Tbilisi, have put implementation of ECMI programmes on hold, even in the more distant minority regions of Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo-Kartli. Activities under the joint Council of Europe Rule of Law programme were revived in October, with ECMI's responsibility related to state capacity-building on minority issues proving as relevant as ever. The Office plans to publish a review of national and regional minorities in Georgia, parts of which have already appeared in local papers and magazines. A publication on Abkhazia, one of the two breakaway regions in Georgia, prepared by ECMI Regional Representative in Georgia Tom Trier is anticipated for early 2009, as is a publication by Drs. Marc Weller and Jonathan Wheatley entitled *The War in Georgia: Great Power Politics and Failed Conflict Prevention* (OUP, forthcoming).

The Political Participation Programme continued to focus on systems of minority representation in legislative bodies in several countries in Eastern Europe that have adopted different electoral systems. The activities of minority parliamentarians were also scrutinized, to show how legislative efficiency was related to specific ethnic minority parties or ethnic representation in mainstream parties. Next to a series of working papers, presenting individual country cases, a monograph entitled *Managing Minority Representation in Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine* is currently being prepared by the programme's manager Dr. Oleh Protsyk. Another publication in this area, *Political Participation of Minorities: A Commentary on International Standards and Practice*, edited by ECMI Director Dr. Marc Weller, was discussed and reviewed at the ECMI Advisory Council meeting in Copenhagen in early July 2008, and will be published by OUP in the autumn of 2009.

The Economic Inclusion, and Language and Cultural Diversity programmes, before engaging in studies of individual cases, undertook desk research aimed at uncovering trends and discourses in the abundant existing literature in light of new developments in inter-and trans-disciplinary approaches. Consequently, a concept specification of economic inclusion/exclusion of European historic minorities was subjected to critical scrutiny. The socioeconomic analysis approached the issue from two directions: the economic growth perspective and sustainable development. It resulted in an ECMI issue brief that

included a review of minority economic inclusion as stipulated in international legal documents. Another issue brief was prepared on how inclusion/exclusion can be measured, and what the most relevant indicators are, with the aim of promoting concrete steps in policy-making. Both issue briefs were prepared by the programme's manager, Research Associate and PhD candidate Tim Dertwinkel.

The concept of language loss and its prevention is currently one of the key issues in debates on minority identity and culture protection and promotion. Prompted by the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the entry into force of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and its European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML), discussions focused on the effectiveness of these instruments. Key areas were language loss and ethnic identity, as well as measures to prevent such loss and to facilitate minority language maintenance. This was addressed in a larger issue brief by the programme's manager Research Associate and PhD candidate Ulrike Schmidt.

All programmes compiled extensive links and resource databases. More detailed information on the different elements of the respective programmes is available on the websites of the individual programmes (see also respective programme achievements).

Legal aspects of minority governance, in particular in the context of settling self-determination conflicts, were presented in the publication *Settling Self-determination Disputes: Complex Power-sharing in Theory and Practice* (Brill, 2008) edited by ECMI Director Dr. Marc Weller and Dr. Barbara Metzger, and made possible by the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This collaborative project, including theoretical and practical aspects of power-sharing arrangements, derived its impetus from the necessity to critically rethink the doctrine of self-determination, and to address whether its traditional restrictive interpretation will be adequate in confronting the wide variety of future challenges to the territorial integrity of states, an example of which we witnessed in Georgia in August 2008.

Following Kosovo's declaration of independence, Russia's recognition of the purported independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia caused significant controversy with regard to the application of self-determination formula in its classical colonial form. In his monograph *Escaping the Self-determination Trap* (Brill, 2008), Dr. Weller argues that over the past few years a new practice of addressing self-determination conflicts has emerged. This practice significantly extends the current understanding of the legal right to self-determination and of the means that can be brought to bear in terminating secessionist conflicts.

Another publication, *Institutions for the Management of Ethnopolitical Conflicts in Central and Eastern Europe* (as vol. 4 in the ECMI-Council of Europe Handbook Series) (Council of Europe Publishing, 2008), was edited by ECMI Director Dr. Marc Weller and Prof. Dr. Stefan Wolff of Nottingham University. It addresses the involvement of in-

ternational organizations in the management of ethnopolitical conflicts, particularly in relation to aspects of prevention and conflict resolution. This book presents a series of studies covering the work of eight different organizations active in Central and Eastern Europe: the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and its High Commissioner on National Minorities; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; the Council of Europe; the European Union (EU); the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe; and the World Bank. A further chapter presents the role of non-governmental organizations. The studies consider the varying approaches adopted by these institutions and illustrate ways in which these differ from and complement one another, providing valuable lessons for similar activities in the future, both in the region and beyond. In support of these research tasks, a number of internal and external research meetings were held, including presentations by ECMI interns and visiting researchers of their programme-related work.

I

ECMI Strategic Programmes & Activities

A. CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION PROGRAMME (WWW.ECMI.DE/RUBRIK/79/CONFLICT+TRANSFORMATION/)

1. Kosovo's Newborn State: Ensuring Minority Protection in a Newly Independent Kosovo (WWW.ECMIKOSOVO.ORG)

i. Political Developments 2008

a) Leading up to Independence

The political landscape in Kosovo in 2008 was shaped by the declaration of independence on 17 February 2008. Developments leading up to the declaration of independence included the UN Security Council's session on Kosovo's future status, held on 16 January, in which the Council failed to reach an agreement, including on the future of the UN Mission in Kosovo. In the run-up to the declaration of independence, promising statements were made by Kosovo's Prime Minister Hashim Thaçi, in which he pledged to make Kosovo a state of democratic, multiethnic institutions and of equal opportunities for all its citizens. He also focused on the establishment of a coordination cell within his office that would deal exclusively with minority communities, so as to ensure that their rights and interests would be authoritatively addressed at the highest political level.

With regard to Kosovo's central institutions and following the elections of 17 November 2007, a series of negotiations for a government coalition took place between the two major political parties – the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK) and the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK) – before an agreement was reached. On 9 January the new Assembly of

Kosovo was constituted and it elected a new government. This newly established coalition government, in addition to the two major Albanian parties, also includes the Coalition 7+, made up of all non-Serb and non-Albanian parties, and the Coalition of four Serbian parties represented in the Assembly. This arrangement gives the PDK-led coalition a sound majority in parliament. On the other hand, the newly formed AKR (Alliance for the New Kosovo) and LDD (Democratic League of Dardania), together with AAK (Alliance for the Future of Kosovo), now constitute the opposition camp.

b) The Declaration of Independence and its Aftermath

Kosovo declared independence on 17 February during an extraordinary parliamentary session, thus bringing to an end nine years of undefined status. Prime Minister Thaçi read out the Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed the Republic of Kosovo an independent, sovereign and democratic state respecting the rights of all ethnic communities. Members of Parliament then approved the Declaration unanimously, with 109 votes, though the Kosovo Serb members did not participate. The move was carefully coordinated with and supported by the US and key EU member states.

Shortly after an EU statement of 18 February, which left each member state free its position with regard to Kosovo's independence, France was the first state to officially recognize the new state, followed by the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy. The United States officially recognized Kosovo as an independent state on 18 February. To date, 53 states have recognized Kosovo's independence.

Meanwhile, on 18 February the Serbian parliament adopted a decision annulling the Declaration of Independence, considering it a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia. In a converse move, the Serbian government initiated its plan to strengthen its presence in Serb-populated areas of Kosovo in response to the new situation. The EU's Head of Common Foreign and Security Policy, Javier Solana, urged restraint after Serbian nationalists stoned Western embassies in Belgrade in an expression of anger following Kosovo's declaration of independence.

Kosovo Serb police officers from the Eastern Kosovo Municipalities of Gjilan, Kamnica/a, Viti/na and the Gračanica sub-station refused to work under the command of the Kosovo Police Service. A similar pattern was seen with civil service staff. A group of 73 administration employees refused to work as they did not recognize the institutions of independent Kosovo.

On 24 March, Serbia formally proposed dividing the newly independent Kosovo along ethnic lines, which was immediately rejected by Kosovo's leadership in Prishtina. European countries and the United States also declared that they too would reject such a proposal.

Serbia's effort to assert control over Northern Kosovo contributed to violent confrontations throughout March, including a clash on 17 March in which peacekeepers seized a courthouse in Mitrovicë/Mitrovica that was occupied by Serbian protesters. One UN

police officer was killed and dozens more injured in the fighting. Shortly after the conflict, the UN-mandated, NATO led Kosovo Force (KFOR) took control of the northern part of Mitrovicë/Mitrovica. On 19 March UNMIK re-established its administration.

c) Adaptation of Ahtisaari-related Legislation and Kosovo's Constitution

Following the Declaration of Independence, the Assembly of Kosovo proceeded to adopt a package of laws foreseen by the Ahtisaari Plan and, on 19 February, President Sejdiu officially transformed the Constitutional Working Group into the Constitutional Commission of the Republic of Kosovo (CCRK). In the following months, Kosovo's Assembly adopted 19 laws foreseen by the Ahtisaari Comprehensive Proposal that came into effect after the end of the transitional period on 15 June.

The Assembly adopted the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo on 9 April, which entered into force on 15 June. The Constitution stipulates that Kosovo is a parliamentary republic and that the highest power lies with the president. It also states that Albanian and Serbian are the official languages of Kosovo. As envisaged by the Ahtisaari plan, prior to entering Assembly procedure, the draft constitution was approved by EU representative to Kosovo Pieter Feith. And Kosovo's lawmakers unanimously pledged to build a state with broad provisions for minority communities in Kosovo. The adoption of the Constitution was declared illegal by the Serbian Minister for Kosovo Slobodan Samardžić and harshly criticised by Moscow.

On 15 June, Kosovo's President Fatmir Sejdiu also signed 41 new laws that were adopted by parliament and were fully compliant with the Ahtisaari plan.

The Constitution is a major step towards Kosovo's full sovereignty as it calls for the Kosovo authorities to take over most of UNMIK's powers, including foreign and internal affairs. It also gives the government in Prishtina sole decision-making authority.

The Constitution addresses the multi-ethnic nature of the new state. Extensive provisions were included for the protection of human rights and the rights of Kosovo's minority communities, particularly the Kosovo Serbs. President Sejdiu stressed that these constitutional guarantees for minorities reflected the commitment of the majority of citizens and the state institutions to building an independent and sovereign Kosovo that is home to all its citizens, regardless of ethnicity. Specifically, this commitment is demonstrated in the chapter on Rights of Communities and their Members, which sets out the state's obligations for the promotion of minority culture, identity and language, as well as ensuring the political participation and equitable representation of minority communities. Moreover, the Constitution requires the creation of a Consultative Council for Communities (CCC) as a mechanism for exchange between the government and all of Kosovo's communities. These provisions, along with others, establish a system of minority rights that not only incorporates European standards such as the FCNM, but in many places exceeds international norms.

Among the laws promulgated on 15 June, the most significant for minority communities is the Law on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Communities and their Members in Kosovo (hereafter, “Law on Communities”), actively supported by ECMI during the drafting process. The Law on Communities established a range of non-discrimination and promotion-based rights, covering: identity, full and effective equality, language, culture, media, religion, education, economic and social opportunities, health and political participation. Moreover, the law outlines in Article 12 the mandate of the Consultative Council for Communities within the Office of the President.

d) UNMIK and EULEX

On 12 June, two days before the entry into force of Kosovo’s Constitution, UN Secretary General (UNSG) Ban Ki-Moon unveiled long-awaited plans for the reconfiguration of UNMIK. The UNSG indicated that UNMIK’s structure would be adjusted in such a way as to give the European Union a larger operational role in the rule of law under the umbrella of the UN, which is to be headed by a Special Representative to the Secretary General (SRSG). To spearhead this change, Ban Ki-moon appointed Lamberto Zannier of Italy as SRSG and head of UNMIK.

SRSG Zannier stated that 120 days after the promulgation of the Kosovo Constitution and the reconfiguration, UNMIK would continue to play a certain role in Kosovo and that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) would decide on calls by Kosovo leaders for UNMIK to leave Kosovo. Following SG Ban Ki-moon’s letter of 27 June, New York gave the reconfiguration process the green light, despite Russia’s disagreement and the lack of a UNSC resolution. Nevertheless, the exact details of reconfiguration and competencies of UNMIK and EULEX remained ambiguous.

On 15 August, UNMIK signed a technical agreement with the EU Planning Team (EUPT) of the EU Mission in Kosovo, aimed at regulating the transfer of power from the UN to the EU Mission. The memorandum stipulates the shift in responsibilities in the area of law and order from the UN to the EU. Reactions to the signing of the accord were mixed. Belgrade expressed its fear that the EU mission would seek to formalize Kosovo’s independence and regarded the transfer of powers as a violation of international law. Russia also threatened to protest over the legality of the EULEX mission since the transfer of duties was taking place without a UN Security Council resolution.

From mid-August, the UN Mission in Kosovo began downsizing the number of its employees. The intention was to reduce the number of employees by 70%. At the same time, EULEX was expanding, while working under the UN umbrella.

Finally, on 26 November, the UNSC approved SG Ban Ki-moon’s report on Kosovo, at a session dedicated to the reconfiguration of UNMIK and the deployment of EULEX. The report endorsed the Six-point Plan as agreed with Belgrade, highlighting that EULEX would operate under the overall authority of the UN and that each of the arrangements on the Six-point Plan would apply only temporarily until the relevant follow-up mechanisms

were put in place. With this, the UNSC gave the green light to UNMIK reconfiguration and EULEX deployment.

In his report, the Secretary General pointed out that the reconfiguration of UNMIK would continue within the framework of UNSC Resolution 1244 in a transparent manner and in line with the UN's position of neutrality with regard to Kosovo's status. EULEX, the report says, will respect UNSC Resolution 1244, acting under the jurisdiction of the UN and within the UN framework of neutrality. The report has four annexes, the first of which contains a statement made by the Kosovo leadership in Prishtina, dated 18 November, by which the Kosovo institutions rejected the Six-point plan, but strongly supported prompt EULEX deployment, along with the implementation of the Ahtisaari plan and "respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kosovo".

Addressing the UNSC session, Kosovo Foreign Minister Skender Hyseni said Prishtina supported EULEX's deployment, but not as the status-neutral mission envisaged by the UNSG report. Serbia's Foreign Minister Jeremić, on the other hand, said that the UNSG report precisely defined the neutral status of the EU Mission in Kosovo, adding that it would operate under the UN and in full compliance with UNSC Resolution 1244.

EULEX officially deployed its 1,400 international staff on 9 December 2008, taking over from UNMIK which will be significantly downsized and will henceforth only deal with political monitoring and reporting. Over the next few months the mission will increase in size to 1,900 international and 1,100 local staff. EULEX is the largest ever EU civilian mission and, although it has some executive powers, its function is primarily to monitor and advise Kosovo in the areas of police, judiciary and customs.

EULEX was deployed throughout Kosovo, including in sensitive Serb-majority areas. Significantly, 100 EULEX staff were deployed in Northern Kosovo. To date, the deployment has been cautiously described as successful by most commentators and no significant incidents with regard to EULEX have been reported. However, it should be stressed that EULEX still faces many challenges, as numerous sensitive areas (law, police and customs) have yet to be tackled, particularly in the North.

e) Kosovo Serbs and Parallel Institutions

The greatest challenge to an independent Kosovo is to ensure the inclusion of the Kosovo Serb community within the political and social life of the new state. While Kosovo's other minority communities have accepted the implementation of the Ahtisaari plan, the majority of Kosovo Serbs have rejected both the plan itself and any institutions derived from it.

Serbia responded to the March protests in Mitrovica by formally proposing that the UN divide Kosovo along ethnic lines, with Serbs taking control of Northern Kosovo under the UN's authority. Prishtina immediately rejected the proposal and the US and key European countries vowed that they would do the same.

Despite the Serb boycott of Kosovo's institutions, there have been significant steps towards bringing the Serbs into the new state structures. On 20 March, two Serb ministers, Social Welfare and Labour Minister Nenad Rasić and Returns and Communities Minister Boban Stanković, returned to work after walking out following the Declaration of Independence. For many Kosovo Serbs, however, none of their representatives in the institutions are regarded as having any real legitimacy as the vast majority of voters in the community boycotted the November general elections.

While the moves of these politicians were an important step forward, the persistence of parallel Serb structures continues to pose a serious threat to Kosovo's institutions. According to a leaked UNMIK Dossier, which was published in April in the Prishtina daily *Koha Ditore*, the Serbian Ministries of Education, Culture, Social Welfare and Public Services all continue to operate in Serb areas of Kosovo and include more than 161 offices, buildings and other premises where these Serbian ministries operate, as well as more than 61 school buildings and 18 healthcare institutions operating throughout Kosovo Serb enclaves outside of Kosovo's official institutions. Moreover, despite warnings from both UNMIK and Kosovo's institutions, Kosovo Serbs participated in Serbia's April elections.

Following the elections, Kosovo Serbs established their own Assembly on 28 June 2008. The Assembly, which was set up in defiance of the UN and the Kosovo government, aims to coordinate with officials in Belgrade and help Serbia to keep Kosovo within its sovereignty. In response, both the UN and Kosovo's government have declared the Assembly illegal and unable to validly challenge the independence of Kosovo. The UN maintains that the Assembly is a symbolic gesture devoid of real power. The continuation and strengthening of these parallel institutions is a consistent threat to the stability of the Kosovo government and its ability implement the Ahtisaari plan, secure Kosovo's sovereignty and establish an inclusive, democratic society. Moreover, they discourage the Serb community from participating in and shaping the structures of the Kosovo state, creating a real risk for marginalization and long-term division, even if the parallel structures cease to exist.

f) Kosovo Donor Conference in Brussels

Another vitally important event for Kosovo in 2008 was the donor's conference held in Brussels on 11 July. It was organized by the European Commission and the government of Kosovo. EU member states, key international donors, international financial institutions, as well as international and UN agencies, participated in the conference, which aimed at gathering funds to help Kosovo on its way to full statehood. Kosovo presented its priority programmes for the donors' consideration and was promised €1.2 billion in financial assistance for the coming years. The EU's executive arm has already allocated €395.1 million for Kosovo for 2007-2011 and could allocate a further €200 million for specific socio-economic needs, such as roads infrastructure, education and investments for improving the overall situation of minorities in Kosovo. With substantial resources being mobilized from the EU budget, the donor conference revealed that Kosovo is essentially a European

issue. With the continued support of the international community, through a restructured UNMIK, EULEX and international donors, and the growing strength of the independent government, Kosovo seems to be increasingly prepared for the challenges ahead.

ii. Project Activities

During 2008, the ECMI field office in Kosovo has continued to help Kosovo institutions protect and promote minority rights in Kosovo. Following the Declaration of Independence, ECMI Kosovo has supported the new government of Kosovo in the implementation of laws established by the Kosovo Constitution for the protection of all Kosovo communities. ECMI activities have focused primarily on three areas, within which community civil society organizations and representatives have played an important and crucial role.

- Support to the Communities Consultative Council (CCC)
- Support to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)
- Support to the Decentralization Process

a) Community Consultative Council

Throughout 2008, ECMI has played a vital role in supporting the institutionalization of the Community Consultative Council, considering it essential for streamlining the needs and concerns of communities into the work of the government of Kosovo and its institutions, especially following the Declaration of Independence. Following the ECMI-initiated project, Institutional Support to the Implementation of the Community Consultative Council for Kosovo, funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), ECMI thus advised the President on the necessity of moving promptly with regard to the establishment of the CCC as a confidence-building measure during the transition period.

Throughout the year, the ECMI Kosovo Director Adrian Zeqiri conducted meetings with staff from the Office of the President (OP) to discuss the proposed steps for the establishment of the CCC within the OP. In February, ECMI Director Dr. Marc Weller and Mr. Zeqiri also met with the President of Kosovo Fatmir Sejdiu to review the issue of the institutionalization of the CCC and its affiliation with the OP. The President asked ECMI to produce the entire legal and institutional framework for the operation of the CCC, including research on best practice elsewhere.

Early in the year, following a request by President Sejdiu, ECMI also developed a briefing note in consultation with OP staff that presented an overview of similar types of minority consultative mechanisms that have been established elsewhere in the region (Croatia, Bulgaria and Romania) and elaborated the full legal and institutional structures required for a Community Consultative Council in Kosovo.

In May, President Sejdiu gave the green light for the establishment of the CCC, and the OP's Legal Adviser Ms. Vjosa Osmani reiterated the need for ECMI's comprehensive and long-term support in the process.

Of the 41 laws signed into effect with the Constitution on 15 June 2008, the Law on Communities foresaw the establishment of the CCC within a three-month period (by 15 September 2008). Subsequently, ECMI and the OP agreed on a timetable of activities that would seek to institutionalize the CCC in accordance with those legislative provisions. President Sejdiu launched the CCC on 27 June 2008. The meeting, which was organized by ECMI, had strong attendance by representatives of all communities – Serb, Bosniak, Turk, Gorani, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian – across community political parties and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

Following the official launch of the CCC on the 27 June, ECMI drafted a Presidential Decree for the formal establishment of the CCC. Discussions over this draft then took place with the OP and key members of the international community in Kosovo over the following months. The promulgation of the Presidential Decree on the Consultative Council for Communities of Kosovo was announced by President Sejdiu on 15 September, thus officially establishing the CCC as a permanent body.

Throughout 2008, ECMI has assisted communities in setting up their community representative organizations and has introduced them to the accreditation and nomination procedures of the CCC. In cooperation with the OP, ECMI organized consultative workshops for the Serb, Gorani, Bosniak, Turkish, and the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) communities. The aim of the workshops was to inform communities of the role and functions of the CCC, notably the nomination procedures for community representatives, and to assist community members in establishing their own processes for selecting candidates for the CCC. Information leaflets on the CCC and on the Law on Communities were developed by ECMI and handed out in workshops to help inform community members.

The workshops were productive and positive, with community representatives showing cautious optimism about the potential of the CCC. After the workshops, ECMI collected all the nominations put forth by each community, including statements of reasons, and forwarded these to the President.

On 19 December, the President announced his appointments to the CCC. On 22 December the inaugural meeting was held to officially establish the CCC. The meeting was chaired by President Sejdiu and attended by representatives from community political parties and NGOs, including representatives from the Serb, Bosniak, Turk, Gorani, Montenegrin, Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities.

b) Support to the Office of the Prime Minister

With funding from the Swiss Department of Foreign Affairs, ECMI has focused on following up the transition to the new government by continuing its support to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) in addressing community affairs and community issues in

Kosovo. Meetings to this effect were held with Mr. Habit Hajredini, Community Affairs Advisor, Mr. Fernando Mora as well as with the two Deputy Prime Ministers, Mr. Hajredin Kuqi and Mr. Ramë Manaj. ECMI offered its significant expertise and experience concerning community issues and its assistance in the process of establishing a Communities Coordination Office within the OPM.

During 2008, ECMI contributed to the reviewing of laws and various other legal texts. It offered expert support to the OPM and relevant Kosovo institutions in the final review of review of the Law on Communities in March. In June, ECMI was asked to review and comment on the initial draft of the Terms of Reference for the Prime Minister's Office for Community Affairs (OCA). ECMI fully supported the draft mandate for the OCA and provided further comments and recommendations. ECMI also continued its involvement in the Minority Rights Strategy within the Kosovo Human Rights Strategy and Action Plan (HRSAP). The HRSAP includes the chapter on the Rights of Minority Communities drafted by ECMI during 2007.

In November, ECMI finished a report entitled "Strengthening the Institutional System for Communities in Post-independence Kosovo". This report has three main aspects: (1) to assess existing and developing institutional structures involved with communities, including their mandates, capacities and activities; (2) to identify potential overlaps and synergies between the mandates and activities of key institutions dealing with communities; and (3) to provide soft recommendations to ensure that a comprehensive institutional structure is in place for community protection in post-status Kosovo. ECMI has collected comments and suggestions on the content and recommendations of the Policy Briefing Paper and the document is now being finalized and will be published and circulated by ECMI in early 2009. A conference will also be held to discuss the recommendations.

In August, ECMI held meetings with staff from the OCA, during which ECMI expressed its readiness to continue its excellent cooperation with the OCA. The OCA expressed a willingness to further strengthen relations between communities and governmental institutions and to coordinate the activities of several agencies, secretariats and directorates of the government of Kosovo whose key responsibilities are related to community issues.

In the second half of 2008, as part of its support to the OPM, ECMI initiated the development of an ethnopolitical map of Kosovo, the first comprehensive database on communities in Kosovo. The database, which will be launched in February 2009, will contain all relevant information on communities and will make this information easily accessible. In this way, the ethnopolitical map of Kosovo will serve both as a way of increasing knowledge and awareness on communities in Kosovo and as a practical tool for the government and other organizations in their dealings with communities. Over the last months of 2008, field researchers hired by ECMI have collected data for the ethnopolitical map in all of Kosovo's municipalities and ECMI has contacted civil society organizations representing the different communities throughout Kosovo in order to acquire second opinions on the information already gathered.

c) Support to the Decentralization Process

From March onwards, ECMI has worked closely with the Finnish Office in Prishtina to discuss community needs within the decentralization process. A project was developed to support both local government and communities during the decentralization process on which a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between ECMI and the Minister of Local Government Administration. ECMI staff also held meetings with the OSCE Department for Assistance of Local Governance, the International Civilian Office (ICO) and the UNDP, during which agreements were reached on mutual information sharing and close liaison on common decentralization projects to prevent any activity overlap.

From May, ECMI undertook research in response to a direct request by the Ministry of Local Government Administration (MLGA) to support the organization of an information campaign on decentralization. With its partners, ECMI conducted initial research in the field on the existing situation with the Serb community regarding decentralization. According to an initial evaluation of the situation in the field, ECMI has reported that meetings with the Serb community in relation to decentralization are difficult to organize and only possible under specific conditions.

In a move to support the MLGA, ECMI became an observer in the governmental sub-working group on the Information Campaign for Decentralization. ECMI also acted as adviser to the sub-working group with the aim of helping the government to ensure that all Kosovo communities are included throughout the decentralization process and that their sensitivities are taken into account. This sub-working group was set up as part of the government's action plan to implement decentralization, and consists of representatives from the MLGA, ICO, OSCE, the Association of Kosovo Municipalities (AKM), US Agency for International Development (USAID) and ECMI. Between the summer and winter months of 2008, the sub-working group planned and implemented the campaign on decentralization throughout Kosovo. The campaign consisted of TV and radio spots, billboards, debates with local municipal officials, debates with citizens, leaflets and brochures. The messages have been targeted at Kosovo citizens, and designed with a universal message on the benefits of decentralization. At the same time, the campaign has also targeted new and multiethnic municipalities, with messages specific to each municipality.

Throughout the information campaign, ECMI provided technical expertise and advice on minority issues, assisting in developing concepts for public presentation on decentralization and drafting the calendar of activities foreseen in these information efforts. ECMI reviewed the messages and slogans designed by the organization in order to ensure their sensitivity with regard to minority communities. The commercials were aired at the end of September on both television and radio, and in Serbian and Albanian. By October, the sub-working group had also contracted TV21 to produce three TV debates, which provided an opportunity to discuss decentralization publicly.

ECMI's expert to the Ministry of Local Government Administration, Mr. Burim Ramadani continued his work within the Ministry by supporting the awareness-raising campaign.

In November, a new project supporting minorities in the decentralization process was approved by the Finnish government and is due to start at the end of December for a period of three years. Detailed planning of activities for this new project is currently underway.

iii. Other Developments

Over the year, ECMI has welcomed different guests and held a range of meetings, both internal and with relevant stakeholders, on issues of mutual interest. ECMI met with various key actors and community representatives to establish initial contact, open discussions on possible future cooperation, discuss the status of approved legislation and the need to move forward with projects, and to obtain general background information on current issues relating to minorities in Kosovo. Among these were meetings with the representatives for community issues of the ICO, the OSCE and the Ministry for Communities and Returns, as well as the Ministries for Environment, Spatial Planning, Labour and Social Welfare and Internal Affairs, the Prime Minister's Adviser on Community Affairs, staff of the Finnish, German and Norwegian Liaison Offices in Kosovo, and the Swiss Peace-building Adviser for Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo. Furthermore, ECMI held meetings with the head of US Office in Prishtina, the USAID Senior Rule of Law Advisor, with the Head of DFID Kosovo, and staff of UNDP, DFID, Barry Reed of the Effective Municipalities Initiative and Polly Grant and Kim Perlow from the AED Centre for Civil Society and Governance, among others. ECMI staff also participated in various roundtables and conferences on minority issues in Kosovo and abroad and, in July, attended a series of training sessions on project management.

In January, ECMI senior expert on minority rights Ms. Zdenka Machnyikova gave additional input and suggested new proposals to the Law on Communities.

As noted above, at the request of the ICO ECMI provided legal assistance in the revision of the Law on Communities, which provides for the full mandate and operations of the CCC. ECMI commissioned two of its leading legal experts, Dr. Marc Weller and Ms. Zdenka Machnyikova, to produce a revised version of the draft law. In cooperation with the ICO and the Comprehensive Transition Group tasked with the development of Ahtisaari-related legislation, two workshops were organized to review the revised draft law in February, and the Law on Communities was adopted by the Assembly of Kosovo in March.

In April, the work of the ECMI Prishtina Office was supported by Katherine Nobbs and Mi Zhou, who provided valuable input in relation to the drafting of the Presidential

Decree for the establishment of the CCC and procedures for establishing community representative organizations.

In August, ECMI widened its civil society contact base and established new contacts with Belgrade-based NGOs working on Serb minority issues in Kosovo. The NGOs that were approached included: FRACTAL, the Forum for Interethnic Relations and the research unit of the Belgrade School of Security Studies (BSSS). The NGOs and think tanks that were approached deal with the interethnic relations of the Serb community in Kosovo and on security issues in the region. The aim of the meetings was to discuss projects, possible means of working together in the future and the widening of ECMI's network for potential projects with the Serb community in Kosovo.

Regarding staff matters, ECMI welcomed a new staff member in March, Ms. Virginia Stephens, who started as an intern in January 2007 and has since worked in Kosovo with the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) while also helping the Kosovo Office as an external associate. Ms. Stephens joined ECMI as Project Manager and later Deputy Director for the ECMI Kosovo Office in 2008. In June, ECMI welcomed three new interns, Jessica Eckhardt, Arianna Rondos and Kelley Thompson. In September, Kelley Thompson was hired to support ECMI Kosovo's activities. At the same time ECMI welcomed a new intern, Lars Burema. In October, ECMI signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Swiss agency SYNI, which supports Swiss professionals in obtaining valuable professional experience for a period of six months. Through the SYNI programme, ECMI hired Ms. Gaelle Cornuz in November, who is currently working on the project supporting the OPM.

ECMI would sincerely like to thank all its donors, partners, experts and colleagues for their valuable support, professionalism and cooperation throughout 2008. We look forward to our future cooperation and continued success.

2. Georgia in 2008 – War and Instability

www.ecmigeorgia.org

2008 was a dramatic and turbulent year in Georgia's recent history with tension over the breakaway territories of South Ossetia and Abkhazia culminating in August in armed warfare with Russia. The short Russo-Georgian war that raged from 7-12 August and resulted in the occupation by the Russian Federation of vast parts of Georgian territories interrupted the process of democratization, as the Georgian government and other actors were understandably preoccupied with responding to the crisis situation. Domestically, the year also witnessed significant political tension in the aftermath of the opposition's mass demonstrations in late 2007, leading to snap presidential elections in January and parliamentary elections in May. Together, these events impacted on the implementation of national minority programmes.

ECMI continued the implementation of its programme activities in the regions of Georgia inhabited in substantial numbers by persons belonging to national minorities, with a particular focus on the Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli regions. Activities were also continued to enhance good governance on minorities through support to government institutions. This year ECMI concluded Denmark's Caucasus Programme 2005-7 that had been extended until June 2008, as well as the programme entitled Enhancing Minority Governance and Enhancing Civil Society in Minority Regions of Georgia 2007 funded by the Royal Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs (also extended until June 2008).

The components of these programmes were carried over in two new main interventions. One is the new Denmark's Caucasus Programme 2008-9: Enhancing Good Governance, Human Rights and the Rule of Law in Georgia, implemented by the Council of Europe and supporting democratization in Georgia with a focus on the judiciary, the Public Defender's Office and institutions responsible for minority issues. This programme is funded by the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. ECMI acts as a sub-implementing partner within this intervention, responsible for the component on minority issues. The other programme, Enhancing Minority Governance and Developing Civil Society in Minority Regions (2008-2009), funded by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is focused primarily on previous regions of concern, and aims to develop and make sustainable the two established networks of civil society stakeholders, the Javakheti Citizens' Forum (JCF) and the Tsalka Citizens' Forum (TCF).

In addition to the two main programme interventions, ECMI implemented two smaller projects in Georgia in 2008, both funded by the Council of Europe: one to conduct awareness raising activities (trainings and information meetings) in minority populated areas prior to the parliamentary elections in May; and another to provide information on repatriation procedures to deported Meskhetians in Azerbaijan seeking status as repatriates in Georgia (see also below).

Overall, the programmes implemented by ECMI in Georgia since 2003 have been largely successful and have resulted in reduced tension between minority regions and Tbilisi through enhanced political dialogue between the regions and the centre and by the creation of institutionalized structures for permanent dialogue, such as the Council of National Minorities functioning under the auspices of the Public Defender of Georgia, as well as the formation and development of the abovementioned umbrella organizations of NGOs in minority regions (JCF and TCF).

In 2008, the political turbulence impacted significantly on the implementation of politically sensitive issues related to programming on national minorities. While political instability effectively halted progress on implementation of minority policies, as government priorities shifted to crisis management, a few positive developments were still evident. In April, the former head of the board of the Georgian state television channel, Ms. Tamar Kintsurashvili, was appointed Adviser to the President on Minority and Civil Integration Issues. After the parliamentary elections Ms. Elena Tevdoradze, who formerly

had held the post as Chairperson of the Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights and Civil Integration, was appointed Deputy Minister for Reintegration with the mandate of establishing a Department for Minority Issues. The appointment of two senior officials with previous experience in the field of minorities is a positive sign that the government is paying increasing attention to this policy area. The minority department in the Reintegration Ministry was eventually formed in October, and personnel were hired both for the central office of the department as well as for the three regional offices in minority areas. ECMI envisages a number of new activities to be conducted in 2009 to support the functioning and development of the minority department.

i. Denmark's Caucasus Programme 2008-09

As part of Denmark's Caucasus Programme 2008-09, and in partnership with the Council of Europe, ECMI implemented a number of activities related to minority issues. These activities are reviewed briefly below.



Council of Europe programme steering committee meeting

a) *Council of National Minorities*

The creation of the Council of National Minorities (CNM) was facilitated by ECMI in December 2005 under the auspices of Georgia's Public Defender. After three years of operation, the Council has firmly established itself as an important structure for ongoing consultation between minority organizations and the government. The work of CNM was also affected by political instability in Georgia, as the drive towards enhancing the imple-

mentation of minority policies was hampered by political tension and dramatic events. Nevertheless, in the past year CNM upheld a significant level of activities through meetings of thematic working groups, roundtables, plenary sessions and trainings. Prior to the presidential and parliamentary elections, sessions were held with nominated candidates that permitted minority representatives to scrutinize their policy on national minorities. A number of specialized roundtables on the problems of specific minorities were also held, including sessions on the particularly vulnerable Roma and Yezidi-Kurds, to allow government and international actors gain a better insight into the concerns of these groups. Other meetings have featured prominent European experts on minority issues, while a meeting in September focused on the post-conflict situation and the impact of the war on national minorities.

A Memorandum of Cooperation was signed in June between CNM and the Council of Tolerance and Integration under the President's Administration in order to further develop and institutionalize interactions between the government and national minority representatives.

b) Law on Repatriation

After years of delay, the Law on Repatriation of persons deported in the 1940s, affecting Meskhetians in particular, was passed by the Georgian parliament in July 2007. The Law has been seriously criticised for not adequately guaranteeing the rights of potential applicants and for even creating obstacles for repatriation. According to the provisions of the Law, deported persons or their descendants, who wish to repatriate to Georgia, can apply for repatriation status only in 2008. In October 2007, the Council of Europe, ECMI and the Georgian government initiated a consultative process with the aim of providing international support for implementation of the repatriation policy. However, the process was interrupted by the political crisis that developed during the confrontation between the government and the opposition in November 2007, over the elections and, later, over the outbreak of war. Government priorities did not accommodate a process that could clarify and streamline policies with regard to the repatriation process. As a result, Meskhetian and other potential applicants were left unclear as to their rights and duties in relation to the submission of applications. At the same time, the responsible Georgian authorities, the Ministry for Refugees and Accommodation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not ensure that application material was available in the Georgian consulates abroad until sometime in early March, and Meskhetians in several countries were complaining that they were unable to find properly informed staff at the consulates. Moreover, it was not until July that some details with regard to health certificates had been clarified by the Georgian authorities, hence impacting negatively on the possibility for Meskhetians to submit their applications.

To provide potential applicants with proper information about possibilities for applying and the practicalities related to the application process, ECMI implemented a project in a separate intervention to conduct awareness-raising in the final months of 2008. The project was carried out in November and December, in collaboration with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), based on funding made available by the Council of Europe. Following a 'training of trainers' workshop by ECMI in Baku in early November, ECMI trainers conducted dozens of information meetings for Meskhetian applicants in Azerbaijan, while IOM carried out similar meetings in the Northern Caucasus through local NGOs.

It is anticipated that the deadline set in the Law on Repatriation will be extended for several months into 2009 to ensure that Meskhetians and other deported persons who wish to repatriate – given the delays in starting the application process – will be given a more realistic timeframe for submitting their applications.

c) The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

Having ratified the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 2005, the Convention entered into force in Georgia on 1 April 2006. A state report was submitted to the Council of Europe in July 2007 and, according to the established monitoring practice, was to be followed by a visit of the Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention soon after. However, due to political turbulence on the domestic scene from November 2007, followed by the elections and then the August war, the state visit was postponed several times. However, the mission finally took place on 8-13 December with the participation of three members of the Advisory Committee. Along with the government of Georgia, ECMI played a key role in organizing the visit, which included a thorough round of consultations with most minority organizations and relevant community structures in the country. The Advisory Committee also visited the regions of Javakheti, Kvemo Kartli and Shida Kartli. The findings of the Advisory Committee will lead to an Opinion on Georgia, to be published in spring 2009. Following the visit of the Advisory Committee, it is envisaged that ECMI in 2009 will conduct a number of trainings and other activities to support the implementation of the FCNM.

d) Other minority issues

Georgia has yet to fulfil two missing commitments and obligation to the Council of Europe, namely the signing and ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) and the Law on Minorities. Both are considered highly controversial by the government. However, the central authorities seem now to be close to commit to the Language Charter; at least a specific reference to the Charter has been incorporated into the Government's Strategy for Protection and Integration of Minorities. It is envisaged that the Charter will be signed in the first part of 2009, while it is yet to be determined when the ratification may take place.

On the Law on Minorities, the Government is of the opinion that there is no need for a separate law, as minority related legislation is or should be covered by the general legislative framework, including in the fields of education, culture, economic activities, penalty codes, etc. There are also concerns that a separate law risk being in contradiction with other legislation and it has been discussed recently whether this commitment could be modified, so as to ensure minority protection rather by a review of and amendments to existing legislation. Such considerations are likely to result in policy action in the coming year.

ECMI will support the implementation of the ECRML, the Law on Repatriation and the yet unfulfilled commitments and obligations as part of the minority component of Denmark's Caucasus Programme 2008-09. A number of trainings, seminars, conferences and workshops are envisaged to this end.

ii. Enhancing Minority Governance and Developing Civil Society in Minority Regions (2008-2009)



Armenian-populated rural district in Ninotsminda

As mentioned above, this programme funded by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs focuses on two Georgian regions densely populated by persons belonging to national minorities, i.e. the predominantly Armenian region of Javakheti (part of the Samtskhe-Javakheti province) and the multiethnic region of Kvemo Kartli, consisting of six districts and where the programme's main emphasis is on the Tsalka district, inhabited by Armenians, Georgians, Azeris and Greeks.

In spite of the difficulties faced in relation to the two elections and especially the August war, efforts to develop region—centre dialogue and build the capacity of the Javakheti Citizens' Forum (JCF, established in 2004) and the Tsalka Citizens' Forum (TCF, established in 2005) were successfully continued. JCF and TCF are regional umbrella associations for NGOs and individual members in the minority regions, the capacity and outreach of which has been built up over previous years to facilitate the formation of a solid base in the regions for civil society engagement and dialogue with the central government over matters of regional concern. ECMI's direct engagement in the two regions is coming to an end, and particular efforts are being made in 2008 and 2009 to ensure the sustainability of the networks. At the end of 2008, JCF was already functioning as a fully independent entity with its own organizational and administrative structures. At the same time, this year has seen a boost in the commitment and engagement of local stakeholders, and JCF now engages in a wide range of policy matters in Javakheti and consults closely with the district authorities as well as relevant ministries in Tbilisi, particularly the Ministry of Education and Science.

In 2009, ECMI will continue to provide JCF with financial support, but without the active involvement of previous years, and it is foreseen that JCF – with its developed organizational structures and administrative capacity – will be able to secure funding from other donors from 2010 and beyond. TCF, which was initiated at a later date and in Tsalka, which is less developed than Javakheti, is also on its way towards sustainability. It is envisaged that TCF will become sustainable in 2009, while direct financial support to elementary activities, such as the running of a resource centre, core personnel etc., will be required beyond that point.

As a spin-off effect of successful ECMI activities to build up civil society capacity in minority regions, other minority NGOs in the Kvemo Kartli region, and particularly those in Marneuli, Gardabani, Bolnisi and Dmanisi, have been inspired to establish a similar network of civil society organizations, aimed at covering the entire province of Kvemo Kartli. It is expected that around 30 NGOs will formally establish the Kvemo Kartli Citizens' Forum (KKCF) in early 2009. ECMI has supported preparations by the NGOs and will seek to provide more targeted assistance in the coming year.

iii. Research and Documentation

In 2008, ECMI continued to conduct its research and documentation activities, which play an integral and highly important part of the larger programme activities. In past interventions, research and documentation on groups or issues have been instrumental in directing governmental and/or international attention to specific problems. In February, ECMI published the results of comprehensive field research among the small and disadvantaged Romani communities in Georgia. The paper, by David Szakonyi, was published

in the ECMI working paper series (No 39), entitled "No Way Out: An Assessment of the Romani Community in Georgia". It was presented to a larger audience of government and NGO stakeholders at a roundtable organized in collaboration with the Council of National Minorities in March.

In late 2007, a study of the treatment of ethnic Russians was also carried out, resulting in the publication in February 2008 of issue brief no. 16: David Szakonyi, "Reciprocity or the Higher Ground? The Treatment of Ethnic Russians in Georgia After the 'Spy Scandal' of 2006".

ECMI also continued its research on the effect of educational reform on national minorities, and a report is expected for publication in early 2009. A study on the development of institutions responsible for minority issues since the Rose Revolution in 2003 is also underway and is expected to be published in early 2009.

In addition, two studies are currently being prepared on the upcoming signing and ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and include a paper on language issues in Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli and a paper on regional languages (Megrelian, Svan and Laz). These are designed to inform the debate between government and minority/regional stakeholders, and presentation is envisaged for 2009.

Moreover, field studies in the Georgian breakaway region of Abkhazia have led to the compilation of a book by ECMI Regional Representative in Georgia, Tom Trier, Hedvig Lohm and David Szakonyi on the interethnic situation in that territory, entitled *Under Siege: Inter-Ethnic Relations in Abkhazia* (Hurst and Co., 2009).

Finally, ECMI continued its work on a larger research project that will lead to the publication of a handbook by Tom Trier and George Tarkhan-Mouravi on Georgia's ethnic groups, entitled *Georgia: An Ethnopolitical Handbook* (Bennett and Bloom, forthcoming). Georgian and Russian versions of the book are also being prepared thanks to a grant from the Swiss Embassy to Georgia. The eventful year of 2008 necessitated a significant number of revisions which affected the completion of the manuscript, and publication is now expected for 2009.

B. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION PROGRAMME (WWW.ECMI.DE/RUBRIK/80/POLITICAL+PARTICIPATION/)

The Political Participation Programme seeks to advance expertise on issues related to the inclusion of minorities in decision-making processes and to improve our understanding of the effects of the various institutional and procedural innovations on the quality of minority participation in public life. The substantive focus of Programme research is on electoral and party systems, legislative and executive representation, and minority advisory and consultative bodies. The ability of minorities to participate effectively in the political process is shaped in very profound ways by the rules, norms, and practices that exist in

each of these areas. The Programme aspires to evaluate how variations in existing rules, norms, and practices affects minorities' chances of impacting in a meaningful way upon political and policy processes. The Programme seeks to provide policy advice and recommendations which are based on a comprehensive analysis of the choice between different mechanisms of participation and representation affects the situation of minorities and the dynamics of majority—minority relations.

Program activities in 2008 revolved around the following substantive issues: minority representation in state institutions, internal democracy of minority political organizations, the functioning of administrative—territorial autonomies, and political participation in non-recognized states. In each of these issue areas, relevant activities included research, conference participation and advisory work. These activities are discussed individually below.

1. Minority Representation

Representation is a key aspect of minority political participation. Usually, minority groups not only seek control over their own affairs but also representation at the national level. Such representation has important policy implications and symbolic benefits for minority communities. Political systems vary greatly in relation to the level of national representation granted to minorities and in terms of additional opportunities for (constraints to) such representation. Surprisingly, given the substantial size of the minority populations of a number of European countries, there is little systematic analysis regarding the extent to which minorities are represented by members of their own ethnic communities in the legislative and executive branches of government. There has been even less systematic research into how these representatives choose to act on behalf of their constituencies.

ECMI work in this area focused on data collection and the systematic analysis of minority representation outcomes. The emphasis has been on the representational effects of different electoral systems. Alternative proportional representation formulas and reserved seats provisions led to different outcomes in terms of the identity of minority representatives, and their responsiveness and accountability to minority constituencies. ECMI engaged in efforts to collect detailed data on the background characteristics and legislative behaviour of minority representatives across a number of national parliaments. Large data sets have already been constructed and updated for the Romanian and Moldovan parliaments, and include detailed information relating to the draft law initiatives of minority deputies, sponsorship of parliamentary resolutions, and other types of legislative output. Similar data sets have also been developed for Bulgaria and Ukraine.

Minority representation in the executive branch of government has also been of interest to ECMI. Cabinet-level representation is an important indicator of minority inclusion in national executive politics. Information regarding which ethnic minority members

are included in the highest ranks of executive government, and what policy jurisdictions (cabinet portfolios) they control when in government, has been gathered in relation to Moldova. This data will serve as a springboard for examining the feasibility of using cabinet representation as an indicator for minority inclusion in executive government at the transnational level.

Preliminary results of ECMI work in this area were presented to a panel organized by ECMI at the Paris Meeting of the Association for Study on Nationalities in July 2008. The panel brought together experts on ethnic representation issues and provided a forum for discussing the direction of ECMI research on minority representation. The presentation summarized initial research findings on minority representation in certain Eastern European parliaments, and was followed by a discussion of the institutional and political factors that determine the degree to which the ethnic diversity of a society is reflected in the composition of its legislative bodies.

The findings of this ongoing research have been published in an ECMI working paper series. These results and anticipated new findings will allow for better understanding of the implications of adopting different electoral formulas for guaranteeing descriptive minority representation (whereby minorities are physically represented by members of their communities) and substantive minority representation (whereby the policy concerns of minorities are addressed by their representatives).

The ECMI Seminar on Political Participation of Minorities, held in Copenhagen on 1 July 2008, made further progress towards articulating strategies of research and advisory work, and focused not merely on issues of representation but on political participation more generally. The central aim of seminar was to share and discuss contributions to the upcoming ECMI publication *Political Participation of Minorities: A Commentary on International Standards and Practice* (OUP, forthcoming), and brought together legal professionals, representatives of international organizations, and academics.

2. Internal Democracy in Minority Organizations

Internal democracy in minority communities is one of the important concerns raised by the international community in relation to minority governance issues. The prospects of maintaining and strengthening such democracy are affected by provisions and rules that regulate the activity of minority organizations. Two types of organizations are of central importance in this respect: political organizations and advisory institutions/councils. ECMI plays an important role in research and advisory work in relation to these types of minority organizations.

ECMI advisory work included a major input into the design of community consultative mechanisms in Kosovo. These mechanisms are an innovative form for increasing minor-

ity input and say in public affairs. Community consultative mechanisms and different forms of advisory councils have a potential to be used more widely and ECMI's work in this respect enhances the visibility of these new forms of minority participation.

ECMI research in this area focused on political organizations that have traditionally been important for minority political participation. It examined parties and civic organizations that participated either in regular electoral competition or elections to reserved seats, and resulted in a detailed examination of the leadership composition of minority parties and minority civic organizations in Romania. The results obtained will provide a base for judging the representational effectiveness of alternative forms of minority organization.

ECMI work in this area has contributed to improving our understanding of how different organizational rules lead to a more or less inclusive process of political selection and recruitment in minority communities. Minority representatives are key intermediaries between their communities and the political system at large. The ability of minority communities to articulate and communicate their concerns are significantly affected by the quality of their representatives which, in turn, is contingent on the inclusiveness, competitiveness and fairness of the process by which those representatives are selected. The lack of democracy in minority governance compromises the ability of minority communities to achieve their collective goals and undermines the legitimacy of efforts to establish specialized forms of minority representation.

3. Territorial Autonomy of Minorities

Research activities in this area built on previous ECMI advisory work on the Gagauz autonomy in Moldova. This autonomy was the first to be established in the post-Soviet space. It continues to draw attention of international policy-making community due to the persistence of unresolved issues relating to the distribution of competencies between the central government and the autonomy. Issues relating to the status of the autonomy continue to generate political tensions in a country that faces a number of other ethnopolitical challenges.

Research in this area explored the challenges of implementing autonomy provisions in the context of fledgling democratic institutions and a weak system of rule of law. It highlighted the importance of understanding the process of bargaining over implementation, not only in terms of power differentials between the centre and the region but also in terms of the legal and social environment in which this bargaining takes place. The Gagauz experience provides a number of lessons for the drafters of autonomy provisions elsewhere. The findings of this research form the basis of a chapter in the upcoming ECMI publication, *Asymmetric Autonomy Settlements as a Tool in Ethnopolitical Conflict Resolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming).

ECMI also continued its involvement with the Gagauz issue by providing advice to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) on various aspects of the Gagauz autonomy settlement.

4. Political Participation in Non-recognized States

Non-recognized states constituted one of major challenges for peace and stability in the greater European region. ECMI's earlier advisory work on the separatist conflict over the disputed territory of Transnistria in Moldova also served as the basis for research on various aspects of political participation in non-recognized states. Such states face difficult challenges in trying to combine a secessionist agenda with building a democratic framework for its internal organization. Unlike most studies of Eurasia's de facto states, ECMI research attempts to open up the 'black box' of domestic politics and examine the contested nature of secessionist policies within such entities.

Research findings on Transnistria have been published in an ECMI working paper series, and similar research on domestic political processes is envisioned for the secessionist entity of Abkhazia in Georgia. The Transnistrian findings suggest that, in that instance, maintaining public support for the secessionist cause has required systematic suppression of the norms of democratic competition. Political actors with policy agendas alternative to those advocated by the secessionist leadership were consistently denied a fair chance to contest political office. These findings question the tendency to take for granted societal endorsement of the secessionist policies advocated by elites in the de facto states. As such, they illustrate the necessity of critically examining the validity of elite claims to a genuine democratic mandate in pursuit of their policies.

Another aspect of ECMI research on non-recognized states was the position occupied by secessionist entities within the political process of their metropolitan states. The demands of secessionist movements in Moldova, and the response of the Moldovan political parties, were analysed in a detailed and systematic ways in a volume prepared by ECMI, entitled *Competiția partidelor în Moldova: ideologie, organizare și abordarea conflictelor etno-teritoriale* (*Party Competition in Moldova: Ideology, Organization, and Approaches to Ethnoterritorial Conflicts*) (Moldova State University Press, 2008).

C. EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND SOCIAL INCLUSION PROGRAMME (WWW.ECMI.DE/RUBRIK/81/ECONOMIC+SOCIAL+INCLUSION/)

The Economic and Social Inclusion Programme, with its stated aim of investigating the causes and consequences of the economic exclusion of historic minorities in ethnically mixed regions of Europe, is still awaiting a secure funding basis.

In the meantime, desk research has been carried out in two central areas: a deeper exploration of the conceptual underpinnings of economic exclusion, and the availability of ethnically disaggregated data and the construction of indicators to measure and monitor economic exclusion of ethnic minorities in Europe. This research yielded two issue briefs, along with an extensive resource database.

The ECMI issue brief, "Economic Exclusion of Ethnic Minorities: On the Importance of Concept Specification", addresses the issues of what 'economic exclusion' really means; how it relates to the broader and more established phenomenon of social exclusion; and whether economic exclusion, especially when applied to historical ethnic minorities, is worth studying in its own right, or whether it is just a fashionable reframing of 'older' development concepts such as poverty or income inequality. The central argument is that proper concept specification of economic exclusion is long overdue, and for two main reasons: firstly, there has been a recent increase in usage of the term, prominently taken up and promoted by the work of minority rights-related institutions and practitioners; secondly, and in sharp contrast to rapidly emerging policy programs and legal frameworks, theoretical or conceptual clarifications are rare (as are empirical results on factors promoting or mitigating economic exclusion). To date, working definitions of economic exclusion are broad and extensive, and tend to vary according to the particular institutional or legal framework. This lack of conceptual specification makes it very difficult for empirical work to catch up to recent normative developments.

A short historic review of the use of the term 'social exclusion' in the European context underlines its consistent interpretation in economic terms, with less emphasis on its political or cultural implications. Economic exclusion can be analysed further by examining the two basic ingredients of general economic activity – consumption and production. Thus, the consumption side of economic exclusion highlights the capacity of an individual to purchase goods and services, as well as his or her income and savings. Labour market exclusion, which manifests itself in long-term unemployment and a low standard of living, is regarded by most studies as a key point for ethnic minorities.

Most people agree that economic exclusion is a severe and present problem for ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples, although we still lack adequate empirical evidence, especially for an expanded EU. However, economic exclusion is also related to geographic location and can affect all groups in a society.

In an attempt to shed more light on the legal treatment of the term, the Programme has reviewed the most relevant legal frameworks in the field of economic exclusion related to ethnic minorities, including their relationship with more entrenched principle of non-discrimination.

Thus, the core components of the concept of economic exclusion are a lack of participation through denied entry access and discrimination. Denied access might be present in the labour market, public services, and finance and housing, among others. Discrimination based on group or non-group status might be observed more often than denied or

blocked entry access. However, this also implies a more subjective way of dealing with economic exclusion.

The research also stresses the need to apply the concept of social/economic exclusion to old minorities rather than to new ones. However, this shift in group emphasis does not mean that the concept of economic exclusion, as originally developed in research on labour migration into Western European welfare states, should be either abandoned or reformulated.

However, one should not forget that minority inclusion and participation can be tackled from various perspectives. Within the human rights-based approach, the law states that all individuals should be treated equally within the economy, the political sphere and in society generally. However, whether the provision of formal rights is alone a sufficient condition for overcoming poverty, exclusion and discrimination is questionable at the very least. It is certainly an important beginning, but must be accompanied by local and national economic growth, the creation of more and better-paid jobs both in the public and private sector, as well as financial investment and cross-border trade.

In addition to the abovementioned concept specification research, the assessment of the availability and usefulness of social and economic exclusion measures was also the focus of Programme activity, and gave rise to another issue brief entitled "Economic Exclusion of Ethnic Minorities: Indicators and Measurement Considerations".

The complexity and relativity of social exclusion, its sensitivity to context, social group, time, geographic location and its variation across salient dimensions have made it extremely difficult to define and quantify. In Europe and particularly within the EU area, driven by EU policy mandates and the Lisbon Strategy, efforts to operationalize the concept separately from poverty have by far outpaced theoretical work. Consequently, most efforts at measurement have drawn upon available data relating to income, and still assess poverty rather than exclusion.

The aim of the issue brief was to give an overview of quantitative indicators as proposed by the Lisbon Strategy and the Social Inclusion Program of the EU. Here, the leading research question was what kind of indicators have been used to date in the empirical work relating to questions of socioeconomic exclusion, and whether these can be used for the study of potential economic exclusion of historical minorities as well.

The immediate results indicate that commonly agreed, disaggregated indicators for the measurement of social exclusion of different ethnic groups in societies in Europe do not exist. At best, the current indicators used in the EU are advanced poverty measures that *might* be interpreted as measures of one manifestation of social exclusion, that is, economic exclusion. These can be applied to distinct disadvantaged groups across society, such as women, children and the elderly, and to some subnational administrative regions beyond the state level.

However, any further empirical study that seeks to disclose the causes and consequences of exclusion of ethnonational and historical minorities will face the problem of col-

lecting primary data on the topic in a meaningful way. The very general and broad inclusion indicators established at the EU level, which are little more than standard poverty measures, could be taken as guidance for data collection and subsequently applied in the construction of more specific indicators, but should not be used uncritically.

Ways in which further collection of data and construction of indicators related to questions of economic exclusion of ethnic minorities should be carried out has already been convincingly demonstrated in the UNDP report, "The Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: Avoiding the Dependency Trap – A Regional Human Development Report of 2002". As it appears to be the most sophisticated and methodologically sound study addressing the problem of socioeconomic exclusion of ethnic minorities to date, it should be taken as a benchmark for data collection on other ethnic minority groups. Following the methodology applied in the UNDP report, one could use a similar questionnaire for data collection and indicator construction. As good research is always cumulative in nature, researchers should start to test some of the implications of this study in different European settings and on different ethnic groups.

Finally, in order to provide a solid resource background for the Programme, a separate website was created that contained an annotated bibliography on economic exclusion, and can be found at (www.ecmiserver.de/eeo/).

D. LANGUAGE AND CULTURE DIVERSITY PROGRAMME (WWW.ECMI.DE/RUBRIK/82/LANGUAGE+%26+CULTURE+DIVERSITY/)

While awareness of the need to promote linguistic and cultural diversity has become increasingly visible in the context of initiatives by the EU – such as proclaiming 2008 the Year of Intercultural Dialogue – which coincided with the UN Year of Languages, a great deal needs to be done to change attitudes and implement the policies necessary to provide sufficient protection for diversity.

Building on its previous work, research conducted within the Language and Culture Diversity Programme in 2008 was centred around two topics: the relationship between state languages and minority languages, and the role of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) in the promotion and protection of minority languages.

The relationship between state language/s and minority languages, including the cultural expression of diversity, was studied in the context of culture as a public good to be delivered by the state. Such committed delivery was examined in the context of the Baltic states as a result of EU accession requirements. A series of working papers is forthcoming, which will begin with an analysis of the Lithuanian approach.

Special attention was also devoted to EU accession candidate countries, Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), which are both aspiring to unconditional fulfilment of CoE and OSCE commitments. In FYROM, the focus is on imple-

mentation of the Ohrid Agreement of 2002, and refers to ECMI's own experiences with intercultural dialogue activities.

With regard to the ECRML, which celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2008, ECMI has sought to analyse its implementation by different governments across Eastern and Western Europe and to examine its effectiveness for particular minority groups, such as the Roma or minorities that do not benefit from the support of a kin-state. The research has compared distinctive state measures in order to assess whether they provide minority groups with the protection they require for the proper execution of their cultural rights.

Study of the cross-cutting issue of language loss, its impact on ethnic identity and implications for its recognition within legal mechanisms for minority protection resulted in the publication of issue brief no. 18, entitled "Language Loss and the Ethnic Identity of Minorities". The brief presents the reader with different entry points to the discussion of the relationship between language and culture diversity.

While it is true that the European legislative framework provides for the protection of linguistic minorities with increasing efficiency, the protection of language rights is still the preserve of individual member states. While the two Council of Europe treaties are served by a reporting mechanism, which allows for the issuing of recommendations and the evaluation of implementation, the EU has no such mechanism for assessing whether minority commitments have been realized upon accession. Thus, the existing international legislation, which provides a good framework for the protection of minorities, must still be built upon by individual states. Their particular ideologies may not regard minorities and their visibility as an asset, and may enforce policies of assimilation or offer incentives to encourage minorities to abandon their language.

The research on language loss and ethnic identity supports the hypothesis that, even after a minority has lost its distinctive language, it is still eligible for legal protection of its distinctive cultural rights. This should be done on the basis of self-identification with a minority group and manifestation of the will to maintain an identity distinct from that of the majority population and other ethnic or regional groups living in a state. Although there is growing awareness for the need to protect the cultural rights of ethnic minorities, expressed in the academic discourse as well as in legal provisions for minorities, many states are still reluctant to recognize minorities that do not speak a distinctive minority language. Legal definitions therefore need to consider the fact that many ethnic minorities have either lost their language as a consequence of earlier assimilative state policies or other factors, and thus require protection that takes other identity markers into account. Such a legal framework would encourage states to promote and foster cultural diversity, thereby moving towards European values of cultural and linguistic diversity.

Different aspects of the three areas of ECMI Language and Culture Diversity research were presented at two occasions during 2008.

At the 13th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), at Columbia University in New York, Junior Research Associate Ulrike Schmidt

presented a paper on the necessity to develop and implement “A European Policy for Accommodating Linguistic Diversity”.

Issues pertaining to language loss and its effects on ethnic identity, as well as problems concerning the relationship between state language and minority languages were presented at the 18th Annual Meeting of the Working Group of German Minorities under the auspices of the Federal Union of European Nationalities (FUEN) in Kosice, Slovakia, in October 2008. One focus of this year's gathering of German minority representatives from Central and Eastern Europe was “Language Maintenance and Language Transmission among German minorities”, introduced by Dr. Christoph Bergner, Parliamentary State Secretary in the German Interior Ministry, who introduced the topic and highlighted areas for discussion. ECMI presenter, Ulrike Schmidt, pointed out the importance of political and socioeconomic factors that might lead to language loss or language maintenance, and introduced the international legislative framework for the protection and promotion of minority languages. For the following session, she proposed that a number of issues and questions be taken up in the discussion on the situation of the German language in areas such as education and media in the participants' respective countries. The presentation materials are published on the FUEN website (www.fuen.org).

An extensive resource database has been compiled and is available at the separate programme page at www.ecmiserver.de/lcd/. On the same page, ECMI will continue to update progress regarding its research initiatives.

II

Trainings and Advisory Functions

A. ALDA TRAINING

Since 2005 ECMI has remained connected with the Council of Europe network of Association of Local Democracy Agencies (ALDA), working in a number of European regions to support active citizenship and democratic participation. In the context of the EU programme Europe for Citizens, and with special focus on the EU accession process for Croatia (TACEP), ALDA organized a 'training for trainers' workshop, gathering possible trainers to share past experiences and knowledge of the Balkan region. ECMI contribution was concerned with the enhancement of minority inclusion and governance as well as cultural diversity.

B. EU PROJECTS IN CONSORTIA

1) Romania 2006-2008 (completed): Strengthening Capacity and Partnership Building to Improve Roma Conditions and Perceptions

Consortium: Human Dynamics (A) – lead agency; ECMI (D), Hilfwerk (A), Impreuna Agency for Community Development (RO); Business&Strategies in Europe (BE); Roma Centre for Social Interventions and Studies(RO)

The overarching objective of the project was to build national and local institutions and structures to improve cooperation among the various stakeholders of Roma inclusion policies, including in relation to the Roma Decade commitments. A related objective was to improve local capacity to absorb EU Roma-designated funds with sustainable results and to develop the capacity to measure progress. In particular, the focus was on the cooperative management of Roma issues between Roma groups and local authorities. The overall

outcome was establishment of a cyclic awareness campaign, five large-scale integrated Roma inclusion projects (from registers to communities at risk mapping), and 160 local functioning partnerships.

2) Bulgaria 2008-2010: Technical Assistance for the Implementation of the Educational Component on “Improvement of the Situation and Inclusion of the Disadvantaged Ethnic Minorities with Special Focus on Roma”

Consortium of five partners: Human Dynamics (A) - lead agency; ECMI (D), Sofia University (BG), Prime Consulting (BG), Kupate (BG).

The project kicked off in late autumn of 2008, and required initial strategic planning by new staff at key national and relevant local institutions.

3) Kosovo 2008-2009: Institutional Support to the Ministry of Communities and Returns

Consortium of three partners: ECO (B) - lead agency; ECMI, East-West Consulting

This project is financed by the European Agency for Reconstruction (EAR), and has the central objectives of strengthening the institutional capacity of the Ministry for Communities and Returns (MCR) and fulfilling its mandate in accordance with UNMIK Regulation 2005/15. It is concerned with three main areas (individual, organizational and systems), as set out within the Strategic Action Plan 2006-2007 on capacity-building in the provisional institutions for self-government (PISG) ministries.

In greater detail, the three components of the Plan are as follows:

- Component 1 – the provision of support to the Ministry’s individual, specialist staff and counterparts from other public organizations, to provide qualitative services according to the mandate of the Ministry through training and technical assistance;
- Component 2 – the provision of technical assistance for the organizational development of the Ministry, to increase its efficiency and improved coordination and networking capacity with the other PISG central and local institutions and relevant stakeholders within Kosovo and the region;
- Component 3 – the development of more demand-driven, service-oriented and client-centred process management systems within the Ministry that complement the capacity-building activities of the PISG.

The project began work to consider the organizational structure of the Ministry with the latter’s full cooperation, and is intended to bring about a step-by-step process of change.

The programme is divided into a series of modules that best fit the project's requirements. Management training and advice, as well as the introduction of new systems, are deemed crucial to ensuring greater efficiency of the Ministry, which in turn will permit more effective fulfilment of its mandate.

While the Kosovo government exerted its sovereignty with the February Declaration of Independence, confusion persists among civil servants and ministerial staff over their particular level of responsibility (de jure or de facto). The Ministry of Communities and Returns, the main beneficiary of the project, with its specific mandate and its particular make-up, appears committed to a process of determining government strategy in the communities and returns sectors despite continued changes at a senior level. Recognizing that a strategy determines overall government policy within a given sector, there is a need for simplification and standardization of the manual for sustainable returns, which provides operational guidelines and procedures (or rules of conduct) for the implementation of government policy. Where possible, there is a desire to incorporate aspects of the budget into the strategy formulation process.

Strategy Commission and First Steps Towards Implementation

Perhaps the most significant development for both the Ministry and the project was the establishment of the Strategy Commission (SC). The SC effectively began its work at the beginning of September. Since then, the project team has exposed the Commission to the various policy challenges faced by the two sectors by inviting key institutions to make presentations. The project team has also provided advice and guidance on a number of important policy issues. By mid-October, the Commission produced the first draft of a strategy, which was then commented upon by the project team, with particular regard to methodology. It is hoped that a final draft will be available for public consultation in early 2009.

In order to test the implementation of some components of the strategy, the Ministry announced a call for proposals under its Communities Development Programme. It was agreed that the project team would provide guidance and advice in project management, needs assessment and focus identification, so that the Ministry might process the applications it receives more easily. However, project participants would like to see the process become more systemic. With this in mind, and as the strategy process moves towards implementation, the project team plans to provide further training and guidance in results-based project management.

Taking advantage of the strategy formulation process, the project has been able to conclude both an internship programme for two Ministry members of staff and a study tour for six. The internship was held in Bosnia and Herzegovina in its Ministry for Returns and Human Rights, and focused upon the returns side of the Ministry's mandate. The study tour included a visit to Croatia and to the administration of the autonomous province of South Tyrol.

In 2009, concluding activities will aim to ensure that new management systems and processes are properly embedded within the Ministry, resulting in substantive improvement of the Ministry's capacity to best serve its clients, namely, minorities and returnees.

III

Information and Documentation

A. LIBRARY DEVELOPMENT

Resource sharing is necessary for the further development of a world class library in the field of minority issues. This is why publications exchange agreements have continued to play an important role for the ECMI Library in 2008. In that year, the Library entered into a cooperation agreement with the Südost Institut Library in Regensburg, Germany. Under this agreement, ECMI receives key Südost Institut publications in exchange for supplying the Südost Institut Library with ECMI publications. This agreement is a useful complement to the cooperation that the ECMI Library initiated in 2006 with the SIPRI Library in Sweden. In addition, in 2008 the ECMI Library further strengthened its strategic relationship with the DCISM Library for International Studies and Human Rights in Copenhagen as well as with the University of Frankfurt Library, Frankfurt am Main and the Special Subject Collection Political Science and Peace Research of the Hamburg University Library. In 2008, selected ECMI publications were available for view at both the Frankfurt Book Fair and the Leipzig Book Fair. These fairs, which are key events for book publishers as well as media, serve to acquaint an ever-widening circle of readers with ECMI publications.

The grey literature and hard copy collection continued its growth in 2008 with the further acquisition of books and journals in the fields of international law and international relations, ethnic conflict and minority protection. In order to support ECMI's new programme areas, additional literature in the fields of language and culture diversity, political participation, and economic inclusion have also been acquired. The ECMI Library continues to receive annual reports from Ombudsman institutions worldwide, contributing towards an ever-richer collection in that field. The ECMI Library thus continues to enhance its position as a pre-eminent and unique resource in the area of minority issues.

In terms of online sources for dissemination, the ECMI Library in 2008 became a contributing partner to the online library of the University of Hamburg, which is a project supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), the German Research Association. Full text indexing and abstracting of ECMI publications continues to be disseminated on the International Relations and Security Network (ISN), of which ECMI is a Principal Partner. ECMI publications are also still available on the HeinOnline website, resulting in greater awareness of ECMI's work in law libraries, as well as on the website for *Columbia International Affairs Online* (CIAO), a comprehensive online source for theory and research in international affairs.

In addition to these online sources, news on ECMI publications and further activities are collected on a regular basis by Intute: Social Sciences, which provides the very best web resources for education and research in the social sciences. Intute is an easy to use and powerful tool for discovering Internet resources in the field. This service has been created by a network of United Kingdom universities and partners.

In 2008, the ECMI Library continued to index the articles of the *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* (JEMIE) in the Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), which contributes to a wider readership of the ECMI online journal. The aim of DOAJ is to increase the visibility and ease of use of open access scientific and scholarly journals, thereby promoting their increased usage and impact. In addition, in 2008 a link to the full text of ECMI Report #6, "Evaluating Policy Measures for Minority Languages in Europe", was placed on the publications page of the Council of Europe official monitoring site for the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Network cooperation at the local, national and international level has continued significance for the ECMI Library, especially with regard to the delivery and management of information resources. The ECMI Library extended its membership in the German—Danish Library Forum, a loose association of libraries and library systems north and south of the German—Danish border. The ECMI Library also continues its contribution to World Affairs Online, the Specialized Information Network International Relations and Area Studies (FIV-IBLK) database, one of the largest bibliographical databases in Europe, with more than 800,000 references to articles/chapters from periodicals and books (55%); monographs, reports (27%); and official publications (4.5%). Updated on a regular basis, the usefulness of World Affairs Online has been upon on by experts from the German Bundestag as well as by experts from institutes in Austria.

FIV-IBLK is a consortium of twelve German and one Danish research institutes aimed at the establishment of common information resources. Several members of FIV-IBLK, including ECMI, are also member institutes of the European Information Network on International Relations (EINIRAS). EINIRAS is an association of European research institutions working with information and documentation on international relations in research and political practice. The long-term objective of EINIRAS is to establish a common European database (EDN) on international relations and area studies. Its short-term objectives

include the expansion of practical cooperation and the exchange of information, bibliographical data and publications. EINIRAS members include, among others, the Council of Europe, the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, the Centre of International Information and Documentation in Barcelona, the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). The European Thesaurus on International Relations and Area Studies with more than 8,000 specialized terms, each subject in seven languages, systemized according to more than 800 fields on 400 pages, with seven alphabetical monolingual indexes, is available both in hardback and online (since 2008) in the International Relations and Area Studies Online (IREON) database. This terminological handbook for specialized documentation is extremely useful for academics as well as practitioners in the field of international relations and area studies.

B. Citations of ECMI Work

Table 1. ECMI Publications

MONOGRAPHS	REPORTS	WORKING PAPERS	ISSUE BRIEFS	TOTAL
74	132	423	67	696

Table 2. ECMI Journals

JEMIE = *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*

EYMI = *European Yearbook of Minority Issues*

JEMIE	EYMI
436	364

C) DATABASES

The ECMI Framework Convention Database and the Framework Convention Parallel Report Database were designed to be major tools for researchers and minority practitioners. The aim of the ECMI Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities Database is to provide a comprehensive collection of materials on the negotiation and implementation of the Convention. This project emerged from an earlier ECMI venture: a scholarly article-by-article commentary of the Convention produced by eminent specialists in the field of minority rights. This commentary, entitled *The Rights of Minorities: A Commentary on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, was edited by ECMI Director Dr. Marc Weller, and published in hardback in 2005 and in paperback in 2006 by Oxford University Press in the distinguished series Oxford Commentaries on International Law.

The project covers the negotiating history of the Convention, other international instruments (treaties, declarations and recommendations) adopted by the Council of Europe, the UN and its specialized agencies, the OSCE, the EU, and other international organizations, as well as the most significant secondary documents produced within these regimes pertaining to implementation procedures and interpretation, such as the state reports submitted by member states, the opinions of the Advisory Committee, the responses by states, and the recommendations adopted by the Committee of Ministers. As noted above, the materials are presented on an article-by-article basis. The database, in its present form, contains files for each Article/Paragraph of the Convention as well as a file for the Preamble. The database allows scholars and practitioners to gain rapid insight into the practice of governments in the implementation of their commitments under the FCNM.

The Ethnopolitical Map of Europe database is a major documentation project that, over time, will highlight minority issues across Europe. The aim of the Ethnopolitical Map is to offer quick and easy access to comprehensive information on background, population and socioeconomic statistics, the international response to crisis management, as well as carefully selected links and sources. The Ethnopolitical Map of Europe database has been frequently cited on the Internet, for example by the Council of Europe Internet Bibliography on National Minorities, the Human Security Report Project Human Security Gateway, and by the Evifa Virtual Subject Library on Ethnology.

D. WEB ACCESS STATISTICS

ECMI publications are accessed primarily through the ECMI homepage and respective programme/project homepages, being the main port of call for dissemination. Web statistics show that in 2008, the ECMI website welcomed a growing number of visitors each month. On average, it attracted more than 7,800 visitors per day, up from 7,000 in 2007.

In addition to the main website, ECMI separate programme/project websites were used by interested individuals, scholars, international organizations and government agencies worldwide.

Table 3. Access frequency on the main website www.ecmi.de

SITE / PAGE AREA	UNIQUE VISITORS	AVERAGE UNIQUE VISITORS/DAY
www.ecmi.de (The Whole Website)	416.229	1.210
/elinks/ (ECMI Links Database)	124.956	363
/emap/ (ECMI electronic Map)	69.851	203

/jemie/	70.576	205
/doc/ombudsman/	16.032	46
/doc/CoE_Project/	10.405	30
/doc/ Parallel_Reports_Database/	6.133	18
/rubrik/49/comir/	2.432	7

Table 4. Visitors coming from the world and the most active countries (Top 30)

COUNTRY NAME	HITS	PERCENTAGE (%)
Unknown	2666071	78.26
Germany	321491	9.44
United Kingdom	267840	7.86
United States	65573	1.92
Romania	15885	0.47
China	11301	0.33
Russian Federation	8015	0.24
Israel	7788	0.23
Spain	5614	0.16
Switzerland	3851	0.11
India	3774	0.11
Republic Of Korea	3693	0.11
Italy	3556	0.10
Turkey	2850	0.08
Hungary	2053	0.06
Japan	2046	0.06
Australia	2018	0.06
Brazil	1832	0.05
Canada	1150	0.03
Denmark	949	0.03
Poland	896	0.03
France	732	0.02
Netherlands	658	0.02
Costa Rica	648	0.02
Islamic Republic of Iran	572	0.02
Austria	524	0.02
Belgium	503	0.01
Greece	412	0.01
Thailand	382	0.01
Ireland	376	0.01

Table 5. Downloaded files and resources (Top 20)

	FILES	DOWNLOADS
1	/doc/Implementing_Human_Rights/Srpski/Zakonodavna reforma/Srbija/Komentari.pdf	35.782
2	/doc/Implementing_Human_Rights/Srpski/Zakonodavna reforma/Srbija/Program zakonodavne reforme Srbija.pdf	19.057
3	/doc/Implementing_Human_Rights/Srpski/Zakonodavna reforma/Crna Gora/Program zakonodavne reforme - Crna Gora.pdf	11.203
4	/doc/Implementing_Human_Rights/Srpski/Izvestavanje i monitoring/Izvestaji SRJ-SCG i dodatne relevantne konvencije/Izvestaj SRJ za ICESCR 1992-2002.pdf	10.123
5	/emap/download/Kosovo_Chapter_8.pdf	6.946
6	/download/monograph_2.pdf	6.795
7	/emap/download/Kosovo_Chapter_4.pdf	5.470
8	/download/Report_60_OMC_Evaluation.pdf	4.985
9	/download/Annual_Report_2006.pdf	4.752
10	/download/Annual_Report_2007.pdf	4.531
11	/doc/ombudsman/download/guide_uk.pdf	4.062
12	/jemie/download/Focus4-2002_Kymlicka.pdf	3.928
13	/download/working_paper_28.pdf	3.491
14	/download/working_paper_24.pdf	3.290
15	/download/working_paper_35_rus.pdf	3.091
16	/download/working_paper_38.pdf	3.068
17	/jemie/download/Focus1-2003_Smith.pdf	2.929
18	/download/working_paper_20.pdf	2.915
19	/download/working_paper_35_en.pdf	2.867
20	/download/ecmi_NLvol2_3_2005.pdf	2.731

Table 6. Project websites

Site / Project	Unique Visitors	Average unique Visitors/day
Ecmikosovo.org	1.185	3,4
Ecmimoldova.org	549	1,6
Ecmigorgia.org	18.139	52,7
Ecmirom.org	40.119	116,6
Ecni-eu.org (OMC)	568	1,7
Equal Economic Opportunities	230	0,7
Political Participation Programme	156	0,5
Language and Culture Diversity	124	4,13

Table 7. Most downloaded publications (Top 10 PDF Files)

RANK	URL	# OF VISITS
1 “Implementing the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in Georgia: A Feasibility Study”	/download/working_paper_28.pdf	5,435
2 “The cost-effectiveness evaluation of minority language policies: Case studies on Wales, Ireland and the Basque Country”	/download/monograph_2.pdf	4,207
3 “The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities. An Evaluation Project under the EU’s Social Protection and Social Integration Policy, Final Report”	/download/Report_60_OMC_Evaluation.pdf	3,687
4 “Ombudsman Institutions and Minority Issues – A Guide to Good Practice”	/doc/ombudsman/download/guide_uk.pdf	2,785
5 “Multiculturalism and Minority Rights: West and East”	/jemie/download/Focus4-2002_Kymlicka.pdf	2,342
6 “National Minority ‘Regions’ in the Enlarged European Union: Mobilizing for Third Level Politics?”	/download/working_paper_24.pdf	2,323
7 “The Economic Status of National Minorities in Europe: A Four-Case Study”	jemie/download/1-2007_Wheatley.pdf	2,089
8 “Dukhobors in Georgia: A Study of the Issue of Land Ownership and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Ninotsminda rayon (Samtskhe-Javakheti) [Russian version]”	/download/working_paper_35_rus.pdf	1,976
9 “Javakheti after the Rose Revolution: Progress and Regress in the Pursuit of National Unity in Georgia”	/download/working_paper_38.pdf	1,852
10 “Moldova and the Transnistrian Conflict”	/download/1-2004Chapter4.pdf	1,189

IV



ECMI in Regional and Academic Cooperation

The enhancement of ECMI regional cooperation was stepped up from informal quarterly meetings of regional institutions and minority representatives to formal cooperation agreements. The University of Flensburg and ECMI became official partners in early 2008, in an arrangement that was to cover academic teaching, joint projects, library exchanges and other relevant fields.

The cooperation agreement was quickly implemented through courses delivered by ECMI staff on “Culture, Language Contact and Multilingualism”; “Ethnic Politics in Europe” and through participation in the conference “Crossing National Boundaries: Regional University Cooperation in Europe”. With 150 border regions in Europe, several regional universities presented their cross-border programmes. ECMI both chaired and contributed to the session on “Border Region Universities and European Studies”.

The University of South Denmark’s Faculty of Social Sciences, notably its Department of Border Region Studies (formerly, the Institute for Border Region Studies), and ECMI signed a partnership agreement in June 2008, resulting in ECMI participation in the SDU-IFG conference, “The Roots of Civil War and Conflicts and their Influence on Transformations of State and Civil Society Institutions”, which counted contributions by Tim Dertwinkel and Tom Trier. A joint production of a special issue of *JEMIE* presenting conference papers and proceedings will appear in the spring of 2009. ECMI also contributed with a referee to the Department’s PhD consultation on minority issues.

The students from the University of Hamburg’s Institute of Law and Institute of Peace Research profited from ECMI’s specialized competence in legal aspects, during a block seminar over the weekend of 13-15 June on “The Settlement of Ethnic Conflicts: A Legal Approach”, in collaboration with Hamburg University’s Institute of Peace Research and Security Policy and the Law Faculty. The seminar addressed issues of, *inter alia*, the international legal system and internal armed conflict; ethnic conflict settlement, including

state construction and power-sharing; and the inclusion of human and minority rights in settlements.

In addition, both institutions are seeking to extend their cooperation to include KoFries, a network of university faculties and other academic centres that accept international exchange students of German International Academic Exchange (DAAD) for internships and lectures.

One of the key regional discussions related to minority issues is implementation of recommendations from the regional assessment of minorities in the Danish—German border region conducted by the European Academy Bolzano (EURAC), “Kompetenzanalyse: Minderheiten als Standortfaktor in der deutsch-dänischen Grenzregion – Miteinander, Füreinander”. While the government of Schleswig-Holstein and its relevant agencies, in cooperation with a regional network DialogForumNorden, are designated focal points, regional minority organizations and other relevant partners have met regularly to identify implementation priorities and their modalities.

FUEN and the German Minorities Working Group (AGDM) requested that ECMI present aspects of language loss and measures of language maintenance at the AGDM annual congress in Kosice, Slovakia.

Active participation in regional events such as Europa Woche, EuropaUnion Schleswig-Holstein Kreis annual meeting, Danish Minority annual meeting with lectures and key note speeches was highly appreciated.

Another aspect of ECMI academic cooperation was an exchange of positions and possibilities for developing cooperative activities with two regional institutions from the southern part of Norway – University of Agder, and Stiftelsen Arkivet in Kristiansand. While the University of Agder, besides standard university faculties, has a wide spectrum of innovative institutes and research programmes, Stiftelsen Arkivet (based on archives from the First and Second World Wars), is focused on conflict prevention and non-discrimination and is very much engaged in civil peace-building activities and reconciliation. In 2009 all parties will review and concretize their respective proposals for cooperation.

A. ECMI ACADEMIC NETWORKING

In order to accomplish all of the Centre's ambitious projects and activities, as well as maintain credibility in the field, ECMI engages in formalized partnerships with other institutions. It regularly collaborates with academic institutions in relation to research, helping with seminars and publishing articles, and is always striving to foster new working relationships with governmental and non-governmental institutions. The Centre also has a strong relationship with other international organizations that deal with minority—majority relations, political representation, and the preservation of language and culture. Over the years, ECMI has worked closely with the Council of Europe, the OSCE, the UN

and the European Union on several timely issues and projects. ECMI is a member of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism (ASEN), and has recently participated in a number of conferences organized by the Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe (NISPA-CEE). In addition, institutional publishing cooperation has taken place with the Council of Europe, the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, EURAC Research, the Danish Centre for Human Rights and the European Agency for Reconstruction. Further cooperating partners are detailed in the following table.

Table 8. ECMI network of academic cooperation

NAME OF INSTITUTION	NATURE OF COOPERATION
Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (Berlin)	Conflict transformation research
Birbeck College, University of London	Social Policy, Integration, Diversity Management and Ethnicity Research (SPIDER) Web
Center for Ethnicity and Culture (Bratislava)	Social Policy, Integration, Diversity Management and Ethnicity Research (SPIDER) Web
Centre for OSCE Research [CORE], University of Hamburg	Conflict transformation research
Fryske Akademy (Leeuwarden, Netherlands)	Language & Culture Diversity research Mercator Network NPLD Network
Department of Political Science, University of Nottingham	Conflict transformation research
Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Kent	Political participation research
Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs, Prague	Social Policy, Integration, Diversity Management and Ethnicity Research (SPIDER) Web
Slavic Research Centre, University of Hokkaido	Political participation research
University of Cambridge	Conflict transformation research
Social Science Research Center Berlin	Political participation research
Walter Schücking Institute for International Law, Christian Albrecht University, Kiel	Conflict transformation research

B. ASSOCIATED ACADEMIC NETWORKS

ASN – Association for the Study of Nationalities

ASN is the only scholarly association devoted to the study of ethnicity and nationalism from Europe to Eurasia. With hundreds of members in more than fifty countries, ASN brings together scholars, doctoral candidates, policy analysts and NGO practitioners interested in the Balkans, Central Europe, Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus, Eurasia (including Turkey and China) and nationalism studies.

ASEN – Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism

ASEN aims to establish an international and multidisciplinary network of scholars interested in ethnicity and nationalism, and to stimulate debate through the organization of seminars, workshops, lectures and conferences.

ECPR – European Consortium for Political Research, Standing Group on Regionalism

ECPR organizes conferences and seminars on various aspects of regionalism and federalism as well as workshops at the ECPR annual sessions.

NISPA-CEE – The Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration in CEE

NISPA-CEE is an arena for East-East collaboration through assisting, mediating and facilitating joint research, educational and training programmes and discussions between instructors, civil servants, trainers, public sector managers and politicians.

C. ECMI LIBRARY NETWORKS

COMIR – Consortium of Minority Internet Resources

This is an internet-based cooperative project that aims at promoting the free flow of information and dialogue in the field of ethnic relations, multicultural politics and minority rights.

EINIRAS – European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies

EINIRAS is an association of European institutions which aims to establish a common European database (EDN) on international relations and area studies, as well as to expand practical cooperation and the exchange of information, bibliographical data, and publications.

FIV-IBLK – Specialized Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies

FIV-IBLK is a cooperation of 12 independent German and one Danish research institutes. Together, they produce the database World Affairs Online, one of the largest bibliographic social science databases in Europe. The main subject areas covered are global and regional developments, foreign and security policy and social trends.

HeinOnline

ECMI is a contributor to HeinOnline, a prestigious, award-winning resource which provides full-text, image based and fully searchable access to a large number of legal periodicals as well as to international treaties and agreements.

CIAO – Columbia International Affairs Online

ECMI also contributes to CIAO, the most comprehensive online source for theory and research in international affairs.

ISN – International Relations and Security Network

ECMI is a Principal Partner institute of ISN, based in Zürich. ISN aims to establish an electronic platform for networking, dialogue, and cooperation between research institutions, international organizations, governmental and parliamentary bodies, as well as NGOs active in the concerned fields.



Publications

ECMI's publications are a major channel through which the Centre reflects both its research and its action-oriented project work and makes it available to the international community of researchers and practitioners. Through its manifold and interdisciplinary publication activity, ECMI endeavours to make a valuable contribution to the analytical and informational resources that advance understanding and transform the relationship between minorities and majorities throughout Europe.

In addition to its book publications, ECMI has continued to generate its monographs, working papers, issue briefs and report series. A full listing, along with a description of each of these, is available below. ECMI staff also contribute to external scholarly publications, as well as maintaining ECMI's own *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, an innovative venture that has been highly successful in fostering scholarship and stimulating academic debate since its launch in the autumn of 2001.

A. Books

1) Handbook Series

With the establishment of the series of Handbooks on Minority Issues, ECMI provides practical guides to specific aspects of majority—minority relations, in particular the applicable standards and international implementation mechanisms that exist at the national, regional and international level for the protection of minorities. The Handbooks are aimed at practitioners, minority rights advocates, government officials, legal experts and journalists. They also serve as valuable introductions to minority issues and ethnopolitics

for students of International Relations, International Law, Political Science and related disciplines. The series is published by Council of Europe Publishing.

Vol. 4: Institutions for the Management of Ethnopolitical Conflict in Central and Eastern Europe

ed. by Stefan Wolff and Marc Weller
(Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2008)

This volume seeks to evaluate the extent to which international organizations have been effective in addressing ethnopolitical conflict in Central and Eastern Europe. In particular, it looks at the OSCE and its HCNM, the UNDP and OCHA, the CoE, the EU, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and the World Bank; it also contains a chapter on the role of NGOs. In addition to comparing similarities in the organizations' aims and methods, it also examines divergences between them and their respective merits.

2) Jurisprudence Commentary

Universal Minority Rights: A Commentary on the Jurisprudence of International Courts and Treaty Bodies

ed. by Marc Weller
(Oxford University Press, 2007)

The development of international standards for the protection of minorities has been slow and fragmented. In the absence of a comprehensive and universally binding set of rules, the development of minority protection has been left to regional agreements and the judicial interpretation of wider human rights treaties. *Universal Minority Rights* brings together, for the first time the full set of all regional and international jurisprudence from courts and treaty bodies concerned with minority rights issues. The Commentary, like its companion volume *The Rights of Minorities*, covering the FCNM, is arranged around ten thematic areas of investigation, including religious rights, education, cultural rights, political participation and socioeconomic opportunities. Each substantive chapter offers an introduction to the issue at hand and its special relevance to minority communities, a general survey of legal standards addressing the issue, and an examination of specific problems that are being tackled through legal standards and judicial review. Each chapter concludes with an evaluation of the case-law reviewed against the development of universal standards of protection. Through an exhaustive, comparative analysis of principles and substantive rules, the Commentary provides an invaluable reference point for the development of minority protection.

3) Participation of Minorities in Public Life

Full and Effective Participation of Minorities in Public Life in Accession States

(Marc Weller and Farimah Daftary, eds., Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, Open Society Institute, forthcoming 2009)

This book assesses the ability of existing instruments, as well as the emergence of novel mechanisms, to promote effectively the right to political participation of members of ethnic minority groups within the overall framework of European Union enlargement.

4) Minority Protection in the Wider Europe

The Protection of Minorities in the Wider Europe

(Marc Weller and Denika Blacklock and Katherine Nobbs, eds., Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

This volume examines whether we are moving towards an integrated regional system of legal provision for minorities in an ever-expanding Europe. Centrally, it illustrates the tension between newer member states, many of which have a keen interest in seeing minority issues addressed, and established members, which remain hesitant in committing themselves fully to a minority rights regime.

5) Settling Self-determination Disputes

Settling Self-determination Disputes: Complex Power-sharing in Theory and in Practice

(Marc Weller and Barbara Metzger, eds., Martinus Nijhoff, 2008)

The study is the result of an international collaborative project supported and funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This multiyear venture has involved a research team of some 40 chapter authors and commentators. The research was accompanied by three major workshops on project methodology, initial chapter reviews and final discussions. A point was made of including both scholars and practitioners involved in power-sharing settlements in the review process, in the hope of assessing the detail actual implementation of the settlements under investigation. The project team was united in its wish to explore whether long-standing secessionist conflicts have been addressed effectively through the significant number of self-determination settlements that were generated in response to the wave of internal conflicts of the 1990s. It was also committed to testing whether consociationalist and integrative techniques of conflict settlement really are as mutually exclusive, as is sometimes supposed, or whether they can in fact be mutually reinforcing. Finally, the project derives its impetus from the necessity to critically rethink the doctrine of self-determination. One may question whether the traditional, restrictive

interpretation will be adequate in confronting the wide variety of future challenges to the territorial integrity of states.

6) Asymmetrical State Design as a Tool in Conflict Resolution

Asymmetrical State Design as a Tool in Ethnopolitical Conflict Resolution

(Marc Weller, ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming 2009)

This book aims to test the effectiveness of asymmetric autonomy settlements in combatting the disintegrative effects of secessionist conflicts, and to address some of the problems brought up by the autonomy settlements themselves.

B. WORKING PAPERS

Working Papers are original, in-depth analyses of emerging or ongoing developments and are intended to stimulate further debate. In the light of comments and criticism, they will subsequently be revised and may be published in an expanded form in the ECMI Yearbook or other ECMI publications. Working papers are an important element in ECMI's strategy of promoting interdisciplinary research on ethnopolitics and minority issues.

#41: Oleh Protsyk, Marius Maticescu, Baptiste Chatre:

Representational Consequences of Special Mechanisms for Ethnic Minority Inclusion:
Evidence from Romania

September 2008, 27 pp., appendix (ISSN 1435-9812).

#40: Oleh Protsyk:

Representation and Democracy in Eurasia's Unrecognized States: The Case of
Transnistria

June 2008, 26 pp., appendix (ISSN 1435-9812).

#39: David Szakonyi:

No Way Out: An Assessment of the Romani Community in Georgia
February 2008, 19 pp., appendix.

Note: Working Paper #39 is also available in Georgian.

C. ISSUE BRIEFS

Issue Briefs are shorter pieces offering analytical commentary on topical issues or crises of wider interest.

#20: Tim Dertwinkel:

Economic Exclusion of Ethnic Minorities: Indicators and Measurement Considerations
December 2008, 16 pp.

#19: Tim Dertwinkel:

Economic Exclusion of Ethnic Minorities: On the Importance of Concept Specification
November 2008, 18 pp.

#18: Ulrike Schmidt:

Language Loss and the Ethnic Identity of Minorities
November 2008, 15 pp.

#17: Oleh Protsyk and Konstantin Sachariew:

Ethnic Data Collection: The Case of the Civil Service in Eastern Europe
February 2008, 11 pp.

#16: David Szakonyi:

Reciprocity or the Higher Ground?
The Treatment of Ethnic Russians in Georgia
After the “Spy Scandal” of 2006
February 2008, 11 pp.

D. EUROPEAN YEARBOOK OF MINORITY ISSUES

With Volume 2007/8, the seventh volume of the *European Yearbook of Minority Issues (EYMI)*, about to reach its readers, ECMI has achieved international acclaim as an institution which addresses minority issues in a consistent manner. *EYMI* was first conceived by ECMI's founding Director, Prof. Dr. Stefan Troebst, in 1996 and developed in cooperation with the European Academy in Bolzano (EURAC) over the next few years.

Under the guidance of current ECMI Director Dr. Marc Weller and EURAC Director Prof. Dr. Joseph Marko, the first volume appeared in 2002. Initially, *EYMI* was able to attract as its General Editors the eminent experts and scholars in the field, Prof. Arie Bloed, Prof. Dr. Rainer Hofmann, and Prof. James Mayall. More importantly, high-ranking experts as well as emerging scholars have been willing to contribute on a consistent basis

with the latest from their fields, covering both theoretical and practical issues. While volumes one, two, three, four, five and six were able to secure contributions from Ted Robert Gurr, Rainer Hofmann, Asbjørn Eide, William Schabas, Joshua Castellino, Annelies Verstichel, Joseph Yacoub, Joseph Marko, Tove H. Malloy, and Kristin Henrard, Tom Moring and Natalya Belitser, the seventh volume features, among others, Alan Phillips, Tove Malloy and Daniel Bochsler. The younger generation of experts is equally well-represented within eminent and carefully collected and analysed contributions. It is not without reason that the *European Yearbook of Minority Issues* has been met with good reviews and feedback from international experts, practitioners and students alike.

Realizing that the aspects to be covered in minority issues cover a broad range of disciplines and research areas, *EYMI* is expected to cover not just legal issues but all aspects of the study and management of relations between dominant and non-dominant groups in European societies. Thus with the six volumes now available having covered special areas such as non-discrimination, multi-level governance, complex power-sharing, new minorities, economic participation, the EU and minority protection, Ombudsman institutions, the Caucasus and Balkan regions, and the concept of the 'nation', as well as reporting on international and national developments, *EYMI* is already bringing a wide array of issues into the realm of public debate. This diversity is also reflected in the seventh volume.

As 2008 was the seventh year of publication of *EYMI*, we have now had feedback – both informal and in the shape of scholarly reviews – in relation to the initial volumes. We are very pleased indeed to note that the *Yearbook* has been extremely well received and that it is attracting increasing support from contributors and readers. The study of majority–minority relations is certainly not going out of fashion. However, the subject is becoming increasingly complex, as we move away from the simple concept of 'minority protection' to the broader study of the means and mechanisms that can be adopted to accommodate diversity within and across states.

The 2007/8 issue of *EYMI* contains two special feature sections, one focusing on minority rights and conflicts, and one on effective participation. The special feature section on minority rights and conflicts includes an article by Mitja Zagar on deconstructing ethnic and cultural diversity management, while the special feature section on effective participation includes an article by Francesco Palermo on the FCNM Advisory Committee Thematic Commentary on political participation of minorities.

General editors: Prof. Arie Bloed (Former Executive Director of the Constitutional and Legislative Policy Institute (COLPI); Prof. Dr. Rainer Hofmann (Professor of Constitutional and International Public Law at the University of Frankfurt, former President of the Advisory Committee on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities); Prof. James Mayall (Director of the Centre of International Studies and Professor at the University of Cambridge); John Packer (former Director of the OSCE Office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities); and Dr. Marc Weller (Director of ECMI); Jur. Dr. Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (Director of the Åland Islands Peace

Institute, Member and former Second Vice-President of the Advisory Committee on the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities)

Managing Editors: Emma Lantschner; Tim Dertwinkel; Katherine Nobbs

Assistant Editors: Alice Engl; Roberta Medda; Matthew Ward

VI

External Publications by ECMI Staff

Oleh Protsyk, Igor Bucataru, and Andrei Volentir, *Competiția partidelor în Moldova: ideologie, organizare și abordarea conflictelor etnoterioriale* [Party Competition in Moldova: Ideology, Organization, and Approaches to Ethno-Territorial Conflicts], Chisinau: Moldova State University, 2008. Note: available in Romanian and Russian

Oleh Protsyk, “Majority-Minority Relations in Ukraine”, *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 7 (1) (2008).

Oleh Protsyk, “Legislative Representation”, in Marc Weller (ed.), Katherine Nobbs (asst. ed.), *Political Participation of Minorities: A Commentary on International Standards and Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Oleh Protsyk, “Gagauz Autonomy in Moldova: the Real and the Virtual in Post-Soviet State Design”, in Marc Weller (ed.), Katherine Nobbs (asst. ed.), *Asymmetrical State Design as Tool in Ethnopolitical Conflict*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming.

Oleh Protsyk, Igor Bucataru and Andrei Volentir, “Otnoshenie moldavskikh partij k probleme resheniya pridnestrovskogo konflikta” [Positions of Moldovan Political Parties on the Issue of Conflict Settlement in Transnistria], in Kimitaka Matzusato (ed.) *Pridnestrov'ye v macroregional'nom kontekste (Transnistria in Macroregional Context)*. Hokkaido: Hokkaido University, Slavic Research Center, 2008. Note: available in Russian

Marc Weller and Barbara Metzger (eds.), *Settling Self-determination Disputes: Complex Power-sharing in Theory and in Practice*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2008.

Marc Weller, Denika Blacklock and Katherine Nobbs, *The Protection of Minorities in the Wider Europe*, Hounds Mills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Marc Weller, *Peace Lost: The Failure of Conflict Prevention in Kosovo*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2008.

Marc Weller, *Escaping the Self-determination Trap*, Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2008.

Marc Weller, "The Vienna Negotiations on the Final Status for Kosovo", *International Affairs* 84 (4) (July 2008), 659-681.

Marc Weller, "Kosovo's Final Status", *International Affairs* 84 (6) (November 2008), 1223-1243.

Marc Weller "Negotiating the final status of Kosovo", *Chaillot Paper* No. 114, December 2008. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies.

Available at: <http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/cp114.pdf>

Marc Weller and Stefan Wolff (eds.) *International State-Building after Violent Conflict: Bosnia Ten Years after Dayton*, London: Routledge, 2008.

Stefan Wolff and Marc Weller (eds.), *Institutions for the Management of Ethnopolitical Conflict in Central and Eastern Europe*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2008.

Marc Weller, *Negotiating Independence for Kosovo*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2009.

Marc Weller, *The Future of International Law*, Cambridge: Polity Press, forthcoming 2009.

Marc Weller, *Twenty Years of Crisis: The Violent Dissolution of Yugoslavia in International Law*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2009.

VII

Finances and Project Funds

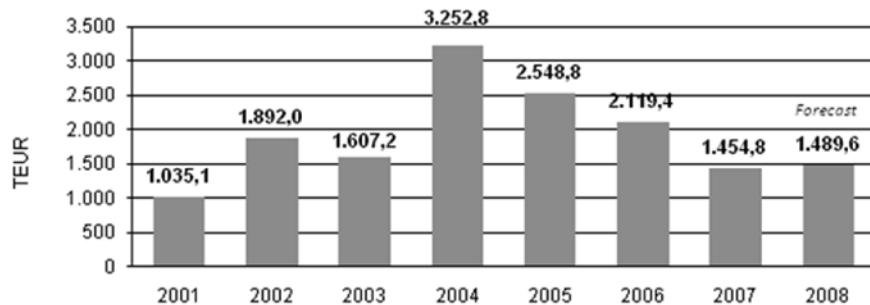
In 2008, ECMI received funding from its institutional founders to cover running costs of the office and the core staff at headquarters in Flensburg.

Additionally ECMI also raised funds for several international projects.

ECMI TOTAL FUNDING 2006-2008

Contributions from founders and other donors in EUR

	2006	2007	2008
Founders	659.100	674.100	674.100
Donors	1.456.244	758.897	815.538
Others	4.012	21.849	0
Total	2.119.356	1.454.846	1.489.638



ECMI CORE FUNDING 2006-2008**FUNDS FROM INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDERS (IN €)**

	2006	2007	2008
Kingdom of Denmark	331.000	346.000	346.000
Republic of Germany	187.000	187.000	187.000
State of Schleswig-Holstein	141.100	141.100	141.100
Total	659.100	674.100	674.100

ECMI EXTERNALLY FUNDED PROJECTS 2008

REGION AND PROJECT TITLE	SPONSOR
Georgia	
Denmark's Caucasus programme "Interventions by ECMI"	Danish Royal Foreign Ministry European Neighbourhood and Russia Programme
"Enhancing minority governance and empowering civil society in minority regions in Georgia"	Norwegian Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Global Security Programme
"Election related awareness raising activities in minority populated districts of Kakheti region of Georgia"	Council of Europe
"Enhancing good governance - Human rights and the rule of law in Georgia"	Council of Europe
Kosovo	
"Support to minority communities in the Kosovo final status"	Norwegian Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs
"Support to minority communities in the Kosovo during the Kosovo status transition period"	Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs
"Support to minority communities during and after the decentralization process in Kosovo"	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland
International	
"Enfranchising Minorities: Political participation in pluralist states" (Copenhagen seminar)	Danish Ministry for Research, Technology and Development
EU PROJECT CALLS	
Romania "Strengthening Capacity and Partnership Building to Improve Roma Conditions and Perceptions" (completed)	in Consortium with Human Dynamics A (lead); Hilfswerk (A); Impreuna (Ro); B&S Europe (B); Romani Criss (Ro)

Bulgaria: "Improving of the situation and inclusion of the disadvantaged ethnic minorities with special focus on Roma"	in Consortium with Human Dynamics (lead), Austria; Sofia University, Prime Consulting (BG), Kupate (BG)
ECO Kosovo Institutional Support to the Ministry of Communities and Returns at Kosovo UNMIK in Consortium with ECO (lead; B); East West Consulting (B)	

VIII



Events, Delegations and Visitors to ECMI

ECMI EVENTS 2008

JANUARY

24 JANUARY Research Seminar on “Ethnicity and the question of minorities in Soviet and present Kyrgyzstan” by Dr Irina Morozova Lomonosov Moscow State University; Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at GIGA Institute of Middle East Studies; Hamburg International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden University Institute of Asian and African Studies, ECMI

30 JANUARY Research meeting on “Places that don't exist – Human Rights protection in the de facto and transitional entities, by Phd Candidate Martina Bielawski, University of Cambridge, ECMI

FEBRUARY

20 – 22 FEBRUARY Conference: UN Year of Languages, and Celebration of ECRML's 10th Anniversary, UNESCO Paris

25 FEBRUARY Post-evaluation Seminar on ECMI future structure, Sankelmark

26 – 27 FEBRUARY Visits and presentations to representatives of the German Ministry of Interior, Berlin

28 FEBRUARY Lecture at the Bucerius Law School, Hamburg

MARCH

5 MARCH Meeting “Minderheiten als Standortfaktor in der deutsch-daenischen Grenzregion”, Kieler Landtag

28 MARCH Visit by International Students sponsored by the Jaruplund Højskole

APRIL

7 – 15 APRIL 13th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), Presentation on “A European Policy for Accommodating Linguistic Diversity”, New York

9 APRIL Meeting at the Europaausschuss, Kieler Landtag

9 APRIL Seminar at the IFSH, Hamburg

9 – 15 APRIL 13th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN), Presentation on “Ethnic representation in Ukraine”, New York

18 – 27 APRIL Lectures at the University of Sydney, Australia

23 APRIL Cooperation meeting SDU/Denmark-ECMI, Odense

29 APRIL Lecture on “Der Status des Kosovo”, Hermann-Ehlers-Akademie, Kiel

MAY

7 MAY Presentation on “Die Rolle des ECMI im Europäischen Krisenmanagement” at the Europaunion, on the “Europatag” in Husum

7 MAY Presentation on Gagauz Autonomy in Moldova, HCNM, Hague

8 MAY External Research Seminar on “Russia and the frozen conflicts in the South Caucasus – part of the solution?” by Dr. Sven Singhofen, freelance publisher, freelance assistant and lecturer (Hermann Ehlers Academy, Kiel; European Academy Schleswig-Holstein, Sankelmark

28 MAY Presentation on Darfur, Walther-Schuecking-Institute, Kiel

JUNE

5 JUNE Schleswig-Holstein Kulturtreff, Saltzau

6 JUNE Annual meeting of Danish Minority organizations, Lecture on: Minorities: “Language and Culture – the last visible markers?”

13 – 15 JUNE Seminar “The settlement of ethnic conflicts – a legal approach” in collaboration with Hamburg University, Institute of Peace Research and Security Policy and the Law Faculty, ECMI Flensburg

16, 19, 23 AND 26 JUNE ECMI Seminar on Ethnic Politics, University of Flensburg

16 JUNE Minority Competence Report Schleswig-Holstein – discussion in the German Federal Parliament

18 – 20 JUNE OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities & Norwegian Centre for Human Rights conference on the 10th Anniversary of Oslo Recommendations – Linguistic Rights of National Minorities, Oslo, Norway

27 JUNE Meeting at Kieler Landtag on Minority Competence Cluster activities

JULY

1 JULY ECMI Advisory Council Seminar on: “Enfranchising Minorities: Political Participation in Pluralist States”, Copenhagen

2 – 6 JULY ECMI panel on minority representation at the meeting of the Association for Study on Nationalities, Paris

7 – 10 JULY Meeting with Danish Foreign Ministry and Council of Europe at ECMI Regional Office in Tbilisi, Georgia

10 – 13 JULY Celebration at the Lauterpacht Centre, Cambridge

27 JULY Conference at the UNESCO, Paris

AUGUST

29 AUGUST Meetings with the University of Flensburg Collegium Mare Balticum, ECMI

27 AUGUST – 9 SEPTEMBER ECMI Presentation on “Romanian Parliamentary Representation at conference at the American Political Science Association, New York, USA

SEPTEMBER

4 – 6 SEPTEMBER Presentation: „Effective Minority Governance Approaches“ at Symposium “Zeitgemäße Modelle der Minderheitenförderung in Europa”, Görlitz

5 – 6 SEPTEMBER UN National Minorities Workshop on “Responsibility to Protect”, ECMI, Flensburg

6 – 7 SEPTEMBER Minority Marathon “Youmm”, Visit by Terry Davies, General Secretary of the Council of Europe

10 SEPTEMBER Presentation at conference on “Protecting Human Rights and Minority Rights in Europe” at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Skopje, Macedonia

10 SEPTEMBER Participation at the SPD Parliament Schleswig-Holstein Minority issues event: “Politik der Anerkennung”

11 SEPTEMBER Presentation to the Ministry of Justice: Das Europäische Zentrum für Minderheiten, europäischer Ausblick aus dem deutsch-dänischen Grenzland”, Akademie Sankelmark

18 – 19 SEPTEMBER Presentation on ECMI Enriched Links Database at 18th Annual EINIRAS Conference in Tallinn, Estonia

27 SEPTEMBER Lecture on Minorities in Europe at the Europa Union, Schleswig

29 – 30 SEPTEMBER Presentation on minority situation in Moldova and Ukraine, Forum Minority Research Institute workshop, Samorin, Slovakia

29 – 30 SEPTEMBER Presentation at Conference “Crossing National Boundaries” at Collegium Mare Balticum

OCTOBER

9 – 10 OCTOBER Rapporteur at CoE Conference “Enhancing the impact of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities: Past Experience, Present Achievements and Future Challenges”, Strasbourg.

9 – 12 OCTOBER Presentation at the 18th Annual Meeting of the Working Group of German Minorities, FUEN, Kosice, Slovakia. “Language Maintenance AND LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION AMONG GERMAN MINORITIES”.

24 – 25 OCTOBER Conference on “Human and Minority Rights in the Life Cycle of Ethnic Conflicts”, University of Frankfurt

30 OCTOBER Visit by 20 High School Students from Holsterbro.

NOVEMBER

14 – 15 NOVEMBER Interdisciplinary conference, “The Roots of Civil War and Conflicts and their Influence on Transformations of State and Civil Society Institutions”, Alsion, Syddansk Universitet, Denmark

DECEMBER

5-8 DECEMBER Georgia Steering Committee Meeting with the Council of Europe

IX

Internal and External Research Meetings at ECMI

24 JANUARY *Dr. Irina Morozova, Lomonosov Moscow State; University Alexander von Humboldt Fellow, GIGA Institute of Middle East Studies; Hamburg International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden University Institute of Asian and African Studies “Ethnicity and the question of minorities in Soviet and present Kyrgyzstan, with special focus on the German minority”*

30 JANUARY *Ms Martina Bielawski, PhD Candidate, Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge, UK “Places That Don’t Exist” – Human Rights Protection in *de facto* and Transitional Entities”*

23 APRIL *Sven C. Singhofen, Dr. phil., M.A., Freelance publisher, freelance assistant and lecturer (Hermann Ehlers Academy, Kiel; European Academy Schleswig-Holstein, Sankelmark “Russia and the Frozen Conflicts in the South Caucasus – Part of the Solution?”*

20 JUNE *Monica Caluser, Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Centre, Cluj, Romania “Minority Issues in Romania”*

13 NOVEMBER *Tim Dertwinkel, ECMI “Concept and Measurement of Economic Exclusion”*

19 NOVEMBER *Ondrej Klipa, PhD Candidate, Charles University Prague, Czech Republic* “Europeanisation of the Minority Policies in Poland and Ukraine in the Context of the Typology of Democracy”

27 NOVEMBER *Marius Maticescu, PhD Candidate, University of Montpellier, France* “Developing a Questionnaire for Minority Deputies in the Romanian Parliament”



Internships & Non-Resident Researchers

INTERNS AT HEADQUARTERS

Kristine Gasparyan (Armenia)	January – March
Louise D. Holstein (Denmark)	April – May
Stela Garaz (Romania)	April – July
Catherine Geddes (USA)	May – August
Carrie Nedzipovik (USA)	June – August
Adrian Pandev (Canada)	June – August
Enzo Truppa (Italy)	July – September
Ali Sungur (Turkey)	August – October
Hanna Nuzhdina (Ukraine)	August – October
Veronika Singalevych(Ukr)	August – October
Them B. Jensen (Denmark)	August – October
Leon Martins (Brazil)	October – December
Bilge Yabancy (Turkey)	November – February

VISITING RESEARCHERS

Monica Caluser (Romania)	University of Cluj: April – June
Ondrej Klipa (Czech Republic)	Karl University, Prague: November
Akinyemi B. Akinsola (Nigeria)	University of Northern Cyprus: December

KOSOVO OFFICE

Arianna Rondos (UK)	June – August
Kelley Thompson (UK)	June – September
Jessica Eckhardt (USA)	July
Lars Burema (Netherlands)	August – September
Claire Fernandez (France)	October

GEORGIA OFFICE

Ian Carver (USA)	January – March
Kristina Isakhanian (Georgia)	March – May
Bakar Lomsadze (Georgia)	April – September
Salome Svanadze (Georgia)	April – July
Keti Kobelashvili (Georgia)	April – July
David McArdle (U.K)	June – August
Natia Mechitishvili (Georgia)	August – October
Lasha Gogidze (Georgia)	August – December
Aideen Rocher (Ireland)	September – December
Joanna Zeber (Poland)	November – January
Salome Giorgadze (Georgia)	November – January
Christian Buchner (Germany)	December – April

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Members of ECMI Staff, Board & Advisory Council

ECMI HQ

- Ewa Chylinski
- Tim Dertwinkel – until 14 November 2008
- Bernd Dummer
- Stephen Fox – from 15 April until 15 November 2008
- Michael Mathea
- William McKinney
- Gisa Marehn – since 01 March 2008
- Katherine Nobbs
- Oleh Protsyk
- Valentina Rigamonti – until 31 July 2008
- Maj-Britt Risbjerg Hansen
- Ulrike Schmidt
- Annette Seesemann
- Marc Weller

ECMI BOARD

- Chairman Dr. Knud Larsen – Honorary Professor at Copenhagen Business School, Former Permanent Secretary at the Danish Ministry for Research, Chairman of the Danish Refugee Council, Chairman of the Environmental Assessment Institute.

- Mr. Niels Korsby – Danish Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, Head of Division.
- Amb. Tore Bøgh (OSCE) – Danish Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation, Head of Division – until August 2008.
- Ms. Karin Riis Jørgensen – Member of the European Parliament, Vice-Chairwoman of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe.
- Prof. Bertel Heurlin – Jean Monnet Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Copenhagen.
- Prof. Dr. Rainer Hofmann – Director, Walther-Schücking-Institute for International Law.
- Dr. Marc Scheuer – Director of Political Advice and Cooperation, Council of Europe – until August 2008.
- Ms. Maud de Boer-Buquicchio – Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe – since August 2008.
- Ms. Caroline Schwarz – Beauftragte für Minderheiten und Kultur des Ministerpräsidenten des Landes Schleswig-Holstein (Minority Issues Responsible of the German Land Schleswig-Holstein).
- Dr. Wolfgang Wodarg – Member of the German Bundestag – until August 2008.
- Mr. Ingbert Liebing – Member of the German Bundestag – since August 2008.
- Dr. Detlev Rein – Federal Ministry of the Interior, Substitute for Mr. Wodarg, resp. Mr. Ingbert Liebing.
- Mr. Gert Haack – State Chancellery Land Schleswig-Holstein, Substitute for Ms. Schwarz.

ECMI ADVISORY COUNCIL

- Dr. Alyson J.K. Bailes (United Kingdom) – Visiting Professor, Dept. of Political Science, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, Iceland, Chairperson.
- Prof. Guðmundur Alfredsson (Sweden) – Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, University of Lund, Sweden.
- Amb. Peter Dyrvig (Denmark).
- Dr. Tarja Cronberg (Finland) – Minister of Labour, Helsinki, Finland.
- Prof. Asbjørn Eide (Norway) – Professor Emeritus at the University of Oslo, Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, University of Oslo, Norway.
- Prof. Hurst Hannum (USA) – Department of International Law, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, USA.
- Prof. Will Kymlicka (Canada) – National Scholar in the Philosophy Department at Queen's University (Kingston, Canada), and a Recurrent Visiting Professor in the Nationalism Studies Program at the Central European University in Budapest.

- Prof. André Liebich (Switzerland) – Professor at the Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales (IUHEI), Geneva.
- Prof. John McGarry (Canada) – Professor and Canada Research Chair in Nationalism and Democracy, Dept. of Political Studies, Queen's University, Canada.
- Prof. Brendan O'Leary (Ireland) – Director of Solomon Asch Center for Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict; Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, USA.
- Mr. Alan Phillips (United Kingdom) – UK Independent expert on Advisory Committee of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, Vice President of Advisory Committee.
- Prof. Allan Rosas (Finland) – European Court of Justice, Luxembourg.
- Prof. Wojciech Sadurski (Poland) – Professor at the European University Institute in Florence, Dept. of Law, Italy.
- Prof. Patrick Thornberry (United Kingdom) – Professor of International Law at Keele University.
- Prof. Stefan Troebst (Germany) – Professor of East European Cultural Studies, University of Leipzig, Germany, and Deputy Director of the Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe.

GEORGIA OFFICE STAFF

- Tom Trier, Regional Representative for the Caucasus
- Shorena Kobaidze, Senior Programme Officer (commenced July)
- Ketevan Khutishvili, Senior Programme Officer (departed July)
- Khatia Shamugia, Head of Finances and Administration
- Giorgi Sordia, Research Officer
- Salome Mekhuzla, Project Officer (departed September)
- Marika Zarandia, Project Officer (commenced August, departed November)
- Giorgi Arakishvili, Project Officer for Kvemo Kartli
- Denola Chkhartishvili, Project Assistant (commenced July)
- Victoria Gachechiladze, Accountant (commenced March)
- Ekaterine Dolaberidze, Accountant (commenced December)
- Lali Kharabadze, Administrative Assistant
- Elene Proshikian, Part-time Project Assistant (commenced June)
- Bakar Lomsadze, web-site developer, part-time technical assistant (commenced October)
- Vakhtang Danelia, IT support

Kvemo Kartli Regional Sub-office

- Monika Khristianova, Project Assistant

Samtskhe-Javakheti Regional Sub-office

- Seda Melkumyan, Project Assistant
- Rafik Abijan, Driver

Secondments:

- Malkhaz Saldadze, Executive Secretary, Council of National Minorities
- Izabella Osipova, Secretary, Council of National Minorities

KOSOVO OFFICE STAFF

Permanent staff

- Adrian Zeqiri – ECMI Kosovo, Head of Office
- Arben Osmani – Project Assistant
- Burim Gagica – Financial Officer
- Selman Berisha – Part Time Accountant
- Naxhije Kllokoqi – Cleaner
- Virginia Stephens – Deputy Manager
- Kelley Thompson – Project Officer
- Gaelle Cornuz – Project Officer
- Vullnet Abdyli – IT specialist

External Associates

- Bekim Sejdiu
- Urtak Hamiti
- Burim Ramadami
- Erodita Shabani
- Brikena Mulliqi
- Thellenza Arifi
- Azemina Cullum
- Arta Zurnaxhiu
- Gazmen Salijevic
- Besnik Takiri

