

ANNUAL REPORT



EUROPEAN CENTRE
FOR
MINORITY ISSUES

2010

RETOOLING FOR THE 21st CENTURY

PREFACE

Strengthening ECMI in the process of transition has taken several directions. Strategic approaches to a number of issues both internal and external were taken to form the core of ECMI new outlook – research and activities, adapted to the changing environment in Europe. That needed a new framework strategy, a new vision and multidirectional thinking to further develop the Centre's many tasks. Collaboration was a key entry point to successful planning. A revitalised network of Non-Resident Researchers as well as a reconstituted Advisory Council are expected to be a permanent sparring partner for ECMI staff – a very new crew in Kompanietor at Schiffbrücke.

They are all highly welcome, bringing as they do fresh ideas and inspiration to the fulfilment of the ECMI mandate.

Cross-institutional contacts were also extended through international and regional academic cooperation and minority roundtables, becoming recurrent events hosted by ECMI. This new image had to be translated into a new website, with up-to-date design as well as the technical possibilities to make most effective use of modern media. The user access to ECMI documentation, publications and information has been simplified and expanded.

The regional offices in Kosovo and Georgia continued to engage in promotion of the multi-ethnic make up through targeted project work. A series of trainings for the newly established minority advisory bodies and government structures were conducted to fulfil the Ahtisaari plan. ECMI Georgia Office in cooperation with the Council of Europe launched a follow-on programme 2011-13 to improve the judicial system and state capacity in democratic governance and minority inclusion.

In the heat of the summer, a new issue caught Europe's attention – the Roma. Europe witnessed both the forced returns of Roma refugees from Kosovo and the expulsion of Roma from a number of European countries. Roma - a difficult and recurring theme on the European scene, debated from perspectives of general human rights, minority rights and non-discrimination, has put many politicians in Brussels as well as in the EU countries and Roma organisations at the level of red alert. ECMI, with its experience of addressing

Roma issues in the Balkans, has also looked into the Roma issue under the minority conventions, entering into a dialogue with the European Parliament and building a database on Roma in Europe.

Another theme of the year was the situation of minorities in the Russian Federation and the review of the possible ratification of the CoE European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. With its enormous spectrum of ethnic groups ranging from small Siberian or Finno-Ugric peoples and their languages on the brink of disappearance to large urban communities, the ECMI Russia Study Group in cooperation with EURAC aimed at understanding of a complex system of provisions for minorities.

Looking ahead into 2011, the recognition of ECMI competencies in the minority language field will result in the hosting in June of the International Conference on Minority Languages Nr 13, in cooperation with the University of Southern Denmark, Institute of Border Region Studies and the University of Flensburg. This bi-annual gathering of most prominent scholars in Europe and beyond will take place in the Danish-German border region, for the first time in its 30 years history.

There is no doubt that the new organisation and new topics of ECMI research and action addressing challenges of minority issues in the 21st century will strengthen the ECMI image as a centre of competence and excellence, that is interested and capable of taking up difficult and innovative research issues and connect them to practical application.

With the ongoing consolidation, the coming year will certainly solidify the institution and its multidisciplinary approach to all aspects of minority research action and advisory work.

Dr Knud Larsen
Chairman, ECMI Board





ECMI Executive 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

Vice-Chairman

Professor Rainer Hofmann

Co-Director of Wilhelm Merton Centre, Professor at Johann-Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt

Mr. Niels Egelund

Ambassador
Denmark

Ms. Karin Riis Jørgensen

Former Member of the European Parliament

Professor Bertel Heurlin

Jean Monnet Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Copenhagen

Ms. Maud de Boer-Buquicchio

Deputy Secretary General of the Council of Europe (new)

Ms. Caroline Schwarz

Minority Commissioner of the Land of Schleswig-Holstein

Mr. Ingbert Liebing

Member of the German Federal Parliament (new)

Mr. Brendan Moran

Director, Office of the High Commissioner for National Minorities, The Hague

ECMI in 2010

Strategic planning and support structures:

- Framework Strategy
- ECMI Research Strategy
- Research Cluster Strategies
- PhD Fellows Programme Strategy
- Internship Programme Strategy
- JEMIE Strategy

Events

- Non-Resident Researchers Meeting
- Regional Minority Forum
- Regional Academic Forum
- Minorities on the Move workshop
- Value of Linguistic Diversity Workshop
- Advisory Council Conference

Publications

- 1 book
- 3 book chapters
- 2 issue briefs
- 3 peer reviewed journal articles
- 1 report

Dissemination

- 31 conference participation
- 2 newsletters

Projects

- Georgia Council of Europe
- Programme on Judicial Reform and Human & Minority Rights
- Kosovo Decentralisation Programme

Networking – Four new Memoranda of Understanding

- The Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Centre, Cluj, Romania
- The Aland Peace Institute, Finland
- The Center for Study of Ethnicity and Culture, Slovakia
- The University of Latvia, Faculty of Social Sciences

Staff news

- 6 new staff members

Staff development

- 1 staff training

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INTRODUCTION

NEW CHALLENGES, NEW STRATEGIES

The new research cluster structure at ECMI became operational in 2010 and proved useful in retooling ECMI's research efforts in the light of new challenges. The five thematic clusters provide the platform for the ECMI research team to interact and collaborate on a multidisciplinary basis while continuing the strengthening of the competencies of each cluster.



The arrival of five new researchers in 2010 has made this possible. The clusters also interact with our regional offices in Georgia and Kosovo and build synergy between research and action. And while still in the early stage of cluster building, cluster researchers were called upon to testify in expert panels at the Council of Europe, the EU Fundamental Rights Agency, the European Commission, the Schleswig-Holstein Parliament, the Hungarian Parliament and the European Parliament.

A process of developing research strategies for the clusters was begun in 2010 and revealed exciting synergies between the clusters. The cluster strategies form part of a major effort to develop a new comprehensive strategy for ECMI. To clear the path for this process, the Executive Board of ECMI adopted a Framework Strategy for 2010-2012 titled, "Reframing for the Future" in April 2010. The Framework Strategy provides the aims and purpose which ECMI as a leading European research and competence institution must strive to achieve in the pursuit of new goals in minority research and minority governance. It seeks to communicate to ECMI's environment, partners, stakeholders as well as potential and existing networks about the process to redefine ECMI's mission and frame a new vision in light of the changes in Europe. It is meant to project our values and sharpen the tools with which ECMI plans to operate. But most importantly, we see the Framework Strategy as a tool for an exchange about ECMI's work as we believe that dialogue with all our partners and stakeholders is enriching to our existence.



Dr. Tove H. Malloy
ECMI Director

New input as well as new themes in minority research influence the new strategies. One theme that relevant to all the new clusters is the shift in discourses in minority politics in the 21st Century. For centuries national minorities in Europe have lived in the shadow of the historical events of the 19th and the 20th centuries. Whether for humanitarian reasons or to protect the identity of national minorities, major European treaties settling inter-state wars have had to address minority issues to secure the peace. For this reason, national minorities have frequently been seen not only as obstacles to nation and state building but also as anomalies in international relations. The securitization of national minorities has resulted in preventing that national minorities enjoy ethical recognition in the writing of Europe's history. However, new discourses of the 21st Century seem to bring changes to this scenario. The discourses of integration and Europeanization as promoted especially in the realm of the European Union (EU) promote de-territorialized politics at all levels, trans-national, state and regional as well as in cross-border regions. This means new non-state narratives, and national minorities represent at times the core of these new narratives. Discourses promoting territorial cohesion, a European citizenship and environmental ethics speak directly to the activities that national minorities undertake in their daily lives. And they also speak to specific topics in minority research. In the thematic section of this report we have highlighted the concept of reconciliation as one of these.

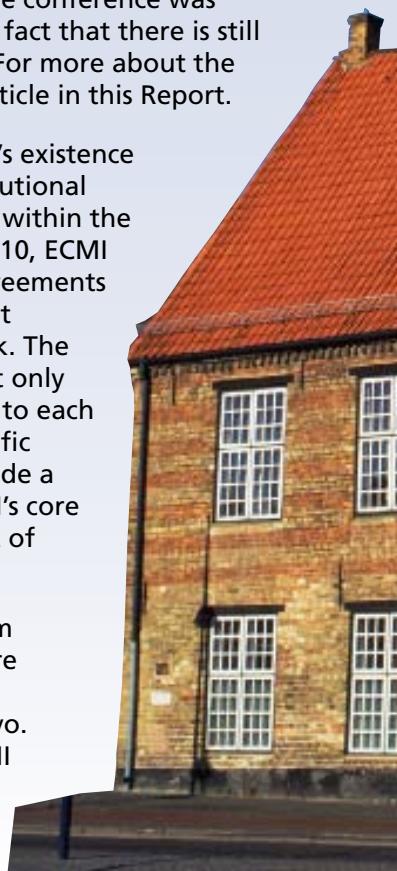
An excellent example that discourses in Europe are shifting, was the success that the national minorities in the Danish-German border had during local elections in 2009. The ECMI therefore convened its first ECMI Minority Roundtable in February 2010 to discuss these elections results with the national minorities directly. The Minority Roundtable is a new institution at ECMI. It aims to discuss a topic which has touched upon the lives of the national minorities in the past year and which is seen as relevant for understanding minority

issues and minority politics. The 2010 Roundtable learned that the political parties of the national minorities in the border region were successful because they addressed many of the issues which the new integration discourses articulate. The regional approach that these parties have adopted has given them a comparative edge with the mainstream parties. This has opened the door to cross-ethnic voting and allowed the parties greater leverage in mainstream politics. It also underscored the fact that our research in the area of political participation needs to take a new direction.

The highlight of ECMI's activities in 2010 was the establishing of a new Advisory Council. Fifteen eminent scholars who have supported ECMI for the last 6 years were replaced with a new team. The new members have all excelled one way or the other in the area of minority research and represent new disciplines that ECMI finds increasingly relevant to our research field. To provide a platform for these new members to interact with us and the general public in Flensburg, ECMI organized the first Annual Advisory Council Conference in December 2010. For one day, the scholars spoke to the topic, "National Minorities in the 21st Century: New challenges for an integrating Europe." The conference was success and a testimony to the fact that there is still much to be done in our field. For more about the Conference, see the feature article in this Report.

A very important part of ECMI's existence is the knitting of a closer institutional network of similar institutions within the European Research Area. In 2010, ECMI was privileged to sign four agreements of co-operation with important institutions in our area of work. The aim of these agreements is not only to bring the institutions closer to each other but also to identify specific areas and topics that can provide a greater synergy between ECMI's core competency and the wider net of topics in minority research.

A strong component of the aim to render ECMI's expertise more desirable internationally is our presence in Georgia and Kosovo. Luckily, 2010 showed that ECMI is increasingly in demand outside the territory of the EU. In Georgia and Kosovo





we continue to implement competence and capacity building projects funded by important players in the international community. The Council of Europe's "Promotion of Judicial Reform, Human and Minority Rights" programme in Georgia, supported by the Danish government, continues for three more years with ECMI as the lead partner in the area of minority governance. And in Kosovo the Finnish government's efforts to support the decentralization process continues with ECMI as lead institution. We thank our donors for this continued support and trust in us.

Cooperation institutions:

Aland Islands Peace Institute
www.peace.aland.fi

Aland Fredsinstitut
The Åland Islands Peace Institute

**Ethnocultural Diversity
Resource Centre, Cluj, Romania**
www.edrc.ro



**University of Latvia Faculty
of Social Sciences**



**Centre for the Study
of Ethnicity and Culture, Slovakia**
www.cvek.sk



ECMI IN BRIEF

The European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) conducts practice and policy-oriented research, provides information and documentation, and offers advisory services concerning minority-majority relations in Europe. It serves European governments and regional intergovernmental organizations as well as non-dominant groups throughout. The Centre co-operates with the academic community, the media and the general public through the timely provision of information and analysis.

The Centre organizes its activities around five thematic clusters. A Justice and Governance cluster is concerned with the evaluation and further development of legal standards that may assist in consolidating democratic governance on the basis of ethnic diversity and human rights. Other thematic clusters include Politics and Civil Society focusing on minority politics, especially the ability of minorities to participate both through public office and civil society functions. A Conflict and Security cluster focuses on constructive conflict-management and addresses conflicts with an ethno-political dimension in the wider Europe. A Culture and Diversity cluster addresses the cultural issues of minority existence, in particular language and education but is also concerned with the access of minorities to the media. A Citizenship and Ethics cluster focuses on both legal and socio-politico aspects of membership in mainstream society, including ethical issues of toleration, respect and contribution.

The Centre also maintains links to several regions of tension in Europe through its Regional Associates in Georgia and Kosovo and provides multi-level trainings in institution and capacity building. This focus is organized through a Technical Assistance and Training Unit in the head office and in corporation with numerous NGOs throughout Europe. In that regard, the Centre draws upon the successful history of managing minority issues in the German-Danish border area where it is based.

The ECMI was founded in 1996 by the governments of Denmark, Germany and Schleswig-Holstein. It is an independent and inter-disciplinary institution which draws upon an international core staff, supplemented by

a number of non-resident Senior Research Associates from all over Europe and beyond. The Centre also maintains active relations with other academic institutions and NGOs involved in conflict resolution and inter-ethnic relations and engages in collaborative projects in these fields. While its core funding is provided by its founding governments, the Centre actively pursues project-based funding to support its activities. The ECMI is governed by an Executive Board of nine members from Denmark, Germany, the OSCE, the Council of Europe and the European Union, and it is supported in its mission by an Advisory Council of eminent experts in the field of minority issues. The working language of ECMI is English.

The Centre occupies an historic building in the centre of Flensburg where it conducts workshops, seminars and conferences. Its specialized library provides the hub for the ECMI's research projects and Internet information programme. These activities are supported by a dedicated administrative staff and library team.

Maj-Britt Risbjerg Hansen
Project Coordinator, Head of Secretariat





ECMI Flensburg Staff 2010

Dr. Tove H. Malloy
Director

Ewa Chylinski
Deputy Director

Dr. Oleh Protsyk
Senior Research Associate,
Politics & Civil Society Cluster

PD Dr. Jan Asmussen (since 1 March)
Senior Research Associate,
Conflict & Security Cluster

Dr. Alexander Osipov (since 1 September)
Senior Research Associate,
Justice & Governance Cluster

Dr. Timofey Agarin (since 1 August)
Junior Research Associate,
Culture & Diversity Cluster

Dr. Joanna Jasiewicz (since 1 October)
Junior Research Associate,
Politics & Civil Society Cluster

Dr. Ulrike Barten (since 1 October)
Junior Research Associate,
Justice & Governance Cluster

LLM Astrid Voss (since 1 September)
Resource Development Officer/Legal Counsel

George Hill, Assistant (until October)

William McKinney, Librarian

Maj-Britt Risbjerg Hansen
Project Coordinator, Head of Secretariat

Gisa Marehn, Executive Secretary

Bernd Dummer, Senior Financial Officer

Annette Seesemann, Financial Assistant

Michael Mathea, Maintenance



*Panel on governance:
from the left, Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark,
Alexander Osipov (ECMI),
Kinga Gál (Member of European Parliament, Hungary)
Stefan Oeter*

The ECMI reconstituted Advisory Council for 2011-2013

The members of the Advisory Council (AC) support the ECMI mission and assist in establishing contacts and facilitate working relationships with relevant stakeholders, institutions and organizations thereby representing and promoting the work and activities of the ECMI to European institutions and members of specialist circles.

Dr. Ilze Brands Kehris- Director, Latvian Centre for Human Rights; Chairperson of the Management Board of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency; First Vice-President of the Advisory Committee to the Framework Convention (Latvia)

Prof. Thomas Diez, Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Eberhard Karls University at Tübingen, (Germany)

Dr. Kinga Gál, Member of the European Parliament (Hungary)

Prof. Jim Hughes, Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics, (United Kingdom/Northern Ireland). Chairperson 2012

Dr. Jennifer Jackson Preece, Senior Lecturer of European Studies at the London School of Economics, (UK). Chairperson 2013

Dr Jørgen Kühl, Rektor, A. P. Møller Skolen-Danish Minority High School, Slesvig (Germany)

Prof. Will Kymlicka, Research Chair in Political Philosophy at Queen's University, Kingston (Canada)

Prof. Joseph Marko, Professor of Constitutional Law and Director of the Competence Centre for South East Europe at the Karl-Franz University at Graz, Austria, Director of the Institute for Minority Rights at the European Academy, Bolzano/Bozen (Italy)

Dr. Nils Muiznieks, Director, Advanced Social and Political Research Institute (ASPRI) at the University of Latvia, Chairperson of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) (Latvia)

Prof. Stefan Oeter, Professor of Law at the University of Hamburg, Germany; President of the Advisory Committee to the Language Charter (Germany)

Prof. Levente Salat, Professor of Political Science at Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj (Romania)

Dr. Gwendolyn Sasse, Professorial Fellow, Nuffield College; Reader in Comparative Politics of Central and Eastern Europe, University of Oxford (Germany/UK)

Prof. Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Director, Åland Island Peace Institute (Finland)

Prof. Stefan Wolff, Professor of Political Science, Director of the Centre for International Crisis Management and Conflict Resolution at the University of Nottingham (Germany/UK)

Prof. François Grin, Director, Observatory on Economy, Languages and Training, University of Geneva (Switzerland). Chairperson 2011

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY – NEW CHALLENGES FOR AN INTEGRATED EUROPE

The ECMI's research on minority issues is conducted out of the Framework Strategy and is comprised of five primary research clusters that focus on the following main topics – Citizenship & Ethics, Conflict & Security, Culture & Diversity, Justice & Governance, Politics & Civil Society. Each cluster is currently developing its own core strategies and objectives that were presented at the conference to the Advisory board members who then provided cluster representatives with feedback and comments.

Since its establishment in 1996, the ECMI has continuously worked to support the implementation of European standards in order to ensure that minorities are protected and provided with the needed tools and political voice to facilitate their own empowerment. While legal standards have improved in many European countries, gaps still remain in terms of societal behavior and levels of acceptance, and therefore, there have been evident limitations in the actual integration processes in many instances. Particularly in view of the new challenges that national minorities face in a changing Europe, it is now crucial for inter-governmental organisations to cooperate and come to mutual consensus on standard norms and strategies to be embraced and utilised in order to move forward.

Kinga Gal, a member of the European Parliament (EP) for Hungary, and co-Chair of the EP Inter-Group on Traditional Minorities, clearly expressed this point at the conference and noted the importance of the European Union's future accession to the Council of Europe's protection and promotion instruments, such as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

With regard to policies of non-discrimination, it is often the case that politicians have used empty rhetoric, and have not created innovative policies in order to actually fulfil the promise of a more tolerant and peaceful society. This issue, brought up by Prof. Stefan Oeter, member of the CoE ECRML Committee, relates to the attitudes of states to their obligations in assisting to create an integrated and fair society: the state's role in fostering the implementation of minority-focused policies is of paramount importance. Moreover, it is often unclear, both from theoretical and

practical angles, what kind of positive measures can be undertaken in order to assist in remedying minorities issues and what the criteria should be employed for gauging their proportionality. In his view, particular attention should be paid to the communist legacies of many countries, which still affect current policies in many countries. Professor Oeter also stressed the importance of studying the general cost-effectiveness of implementing minority-focused policies versus the potential costs associated with conflicts that could arise if minority-majority issues are not addressed.

The persistent discrepancies between discourse and practice regarding minority policies at both the national level as well as that of the EU, is a reason to address the justification of minority policies. A suggestion raised by Gwendolyn Sasse was to take a closer look as to why certain provisions/documents were adopted in the first place. She recommended an analysis at the national level both in terms of how standards are set, as well as how those standards are actually turned into policy and implemented. Particularly in regard to her call for the need to examine implementation measures, she pointed out that indicators are needed that capture attitudes and really explain changes and outcomes.

She argued further that one should not only focus on the discourse on ethnic issues in the public sphere, but also on the implementation of policies which ethnic and national minorities demand, i.e. the impact of publicly advanced claims. Moreover, she pointed out that cases of ethnic non-mobilisation should also be featured.

The need to revisit the fundamentals of minority policies was taken up by Ilze Brands Kehris, from the Latvian Centre for Human Rights. Speaking about the need to re-state learned truths that might have been forgotten, Ilze Kehris proffered that there is a renewed interest in citizenship issues. The policies of citizenship pursued by various countries in Europe need to be researched with specific attention paid to issues of citizenship tests. Policies vary considerably from country to country and it is vital that empirical data is collected to compare and assess the normative compliance of tests for citizenship, which not only relate to language, but also to history, literature and other standardised cultural canons. Also, global trends regarding socio-economic topics

example, should minorities have socio-economic rights? Do minorities suffer more in times of crisis compared to members of the majority population, or does the normative approach of equal treatment prevail?

This suggestion was strongly supported by Jørgen Kühl (Danish Minority High School, Schleswig) who illustrated the point from the regional context. He gave the example of financial cuts in the minority education sector in the Danish-German border region, which unequally affected minority pupils.

Turning to the global scene, Francois Grin mentioned that key phrases such as 'global cultural governance' need more attention as their relevance is currently an under-explored academic and political area. One aspect of this is linguistic diversity, which could be elevated to a discourse on becoming an EU principle along the other four principles enumerated in the Lisbon Treaty, rather than a value as it has been regarded so far.



*Panel on Culture:
François Grin (University of Geneva) and Tove Malloy, ECMI*



The theme of reconciliation, one of the core issues in post-conflict areas and a main focus of the ECMI research cluster on Conflict & Security, was treated with some caution. Jenifer Jackson-Preece (London School of Economics and Political Science) emphasized the need to pay attention to the time factor needed to gain sustainable reconciliation. Also the issue of (in)compatible versions of history, and the role they can play in hindering the creation of inclusive public policies for reconciliation was discussed. This point also led to discussion on the role of collective memory, and how it can play an important part in such processes. The ensuing discussion on the limits of reconciliation, for example in Georgia, revealed that Georgia needs to address a number of unresolved issues before meaningful reconciliation policies can be applied.

The ECMI's Annual Conference provided a platform for several of the new members to speak about the challenges facing minorities. The conference was attended by approximately 100 participants many of which were students from the universities in Flensburg, Sønderborg, Kiel and Hamburg. Local dignitaries, stakeholders and politicians completed the audience.

Most participants agreed that the path to sustainable minority inclusion is still a thorny one. It was emphasized that national minorities can promote, rather than obstruct, European integration (Tove Malloy). Social scientists present at the conference subscribed to the point of view that minorities can play a constructive and dynamic role in creating a stronger and more productive society, such as the way in which minorities in the German-Danish border region have affected change. Nevertheless, there seems to be long road toward getting this message through to political decision makers throughout Europe and beyond. The ECMI's research team and its Advisory Council shall continue their work toward that goal.

Publications:

*Tove H. Malloy: National Minorities in the 21st Century
Europe: new discourses, new narratives? ECMI Brief # 24, December 2010*

TOPICS IN MINORITY RESEARCH

Diversity management was arguably one of the hottest topics in Europe in 2011. The discriminatory policies of repatriation against members of Roma communities in Western Europe highlighted not only the general inability of mature democracies to handle ethnic and cultural diversity, but also, the specific structural problems that were inherited from the communist era that still remain in Europe. Specifically, the events of 2010 brought to the fore the apparent lack of a comprehensive approach to the integration of the Roma people into European society. Therefore, diversity management and policy making in the areas of ethnic and cultural governance will be formative issues on the agenda regarding the challenges that lay ahead for Europe in the 21st century. The following section will highlight a few topics that were identified in 2010 as salient in the new landscape of minority governance.

A paradigm shift

For half a century, various international relations scholars and historians have devoted their work to the study of national minority issues in Europe. The approach of a majority of these studies has been normative, treating national minorities as objects of study rather than as political agents in their own right. Particularly, much of the narrative to date has focused on the political and institutional accommodation of national minorities in terms of self-governance, or self-administration, such as collective autonomy within unitary and federated states, therefore treating national minorities primarily as objects of study. One offshoot of this narrative, which has addressed national minority politics within the perspective of European integration and speculated whether autonomous national minority regions might be mobilising within the politics of European Union governance, also adopts a similar approach. These studies focus mainly on the institutionalisation of Euro-regions and less on the fact that national minorities have contributed, as subjects and actors, to the actual construction of these regions. Only in the last couple of decades have political scientists begun to recognize these contributions and turned their attention to the role of national minorities as political actors.

The social reality of minority regions in the 21st Century has given way to new national minority narratives, which demonstrate that minority actors do in fact participate and compete for space in the burgeoning integration discourse in Europe. Various discussions, such as the territorial cohesion discourse in the European Union, the dialogue regarding the facilitation of European citizenship, and the global environmental discourse have all acted as articulations of national minorities' actions on several fronts. For instance, national minorities are at the forefront of creating territorial cohesion through cross-border cooperation that aims to erase former sovereign borders. They perform acts of citizenship that speak directly to the European Union's desire to bring each citizen closer to the democratic process, and they promote environmental protection in their homelands because these are of vital importance to their collective identities. In this way, minorities not only participate as subjects of politics, but they also seek to push forward new agendas in a proactive manner.

By assuming active roles in shaping European politics, national minorities are changing the dynamics of minority politics. Their purposeful acts of citizenship are forcing a reformulation of minority-focused policies. Whereas protection of members of national minorities has dominated the political agenda for two centuries, the participation of minorities through acts of citizenship requires the discourse to incorporate minorities as social actors with political voice. Now that national minorities are actively pursuing recognition as European political actors as opposed to objects in need of protection, they are in the process of instigating a paradigm shift from one of protection, to one of empowerment.



Dr. Tove Malloy
ECMI Director

ANNUAL REPORT 2010

Non-Resident Senior Research Associates

Dr. Florian Bieber (Luxembourg)
Professor of Southeast
European Studies at the University of Graz, Austria

Malte Brosig (South Africa)
Lecturer in International Relations at the
University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg

Farimah Daftary (France/USA)
Minority Protection Program Officer for the
EU Accession Monitoring Program (EUMAP)
at the Open Society Institute in Budapest

Robert Dunbar (Canada/UK)
Reader in Law at King's College, Aberdeen

Dr. David Galbreath (UK)
Senior lecturer in the Department of European
Studies and Modern Languages at the
University of Bath

Dr. Claire Gordon (UK)
Teaching Fellow in East European Politics at the
European Institute and Department of Government
of the London School of Economics and Political
Science

Dr. Kristin Henrard (Belgium)
Senior lecturer at the University of Groningen

Dr. Tomasz Kamusella (Poland)
Assistant Professor at the Cracow University of
Economics, Cracow, Poland.

Dr. Martin Klatt (Denmark)
Associate Professor of Contemporary History
at the Department of Border Region Studies,
University of Southern Denmark

Dr. Fernand de Varennes (Canada)
Associate Professor, School of Law,
Murdoch University, Australia

Dr. Michal Vašecka (Slovakia)
Director of the Center for the Research of Ethnicity
and Culture in Bratislava, Assistant professor at the
Faculty of Social Studies of Masaryk University in
Brno.

Dr. Balázs Vizi (Hungary)
Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities
of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Lecturer at
the Department of International Law of the Faculty
of Public Administration of Budapest Corvinus
University, Budapest.

Dr. Mitja Žagar (Slovenia)
Research Councilor at the Institute for Ethnic
Studies, University of Ljubljana; Full Professor
at the University of Primorska/Litoral



Conflict and security and National Minorities – New challenges or old patterns?

What kind of conflict might have prompted the ECMI's founders to place the centre in the peaceful town of Flensburg? This question, often addressed to ECMI staff members, indicates that the Schleswig-Sønderjylland border region has not seen much conflict over the past fifty-five years. The election of a minority candidate, Simon Faber, as the mayor of the town by a predominately German electorate indicates that for all intensive purposes, minority-majority conflict no longer plays a role in the daily life of the region. This has not always been the case. The 19th century saw two violent wars fought over the issue and the 1920 plebiscite that resulted in the final drawing of the border line did not result in peaceful relations. The 1955 Bonn-Copenhagen declarations provided the legal background for conflict resolution in the region – the real social reconciliation process evolved gradually and still appears to be mysterious to many observers.

With Europe on the path to peaceful unity, conflict transformation gives way to post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. In many cases, tension-laden politics become politics of diversity management. At the same time, new modes of mobilisation as well as recurring mobilisation, or refocused mobilisation, resurface in many areas. Attention to varied models of reconciliation is vital in post-conflict areas, while issues of civil security need greater attention where conflicts have become more rigid. The validity and practicality of the concepts and theories behind state and nation building endeavors remain enduring topics that require fresh approaches in an era of European integration and norm diffusion through external policies.

In the field of international state building and reconstruction, the question of security is quite often reduced to the application of various security sector reforms (SSR). While this has every justification in war-torn societies or failed states, most countries in Europe (e.g. Bosnia, Kosovo)



have passed that stage. Therefore, conflict and security issues cannot be limited to judicial and police reforms and must include institution and local capacity building. We believe that any efforts towards minority-majority reconciliation have to address the issue of perceived security threats. Post-conflict societies need institutions that are regarded as trustworthy and reliable by all citizens. The cases of the Baltic states or Slovakia exemplify that; while minority legislation might have improved in the past years, this cannot be said for the actual inter-communal relations between various ethnic groups in these countries.

This underlying shift from conflict transformation to sustainable development has yet to be addressed. Most post-communist countries have transformed into viable democracies with more or less stable economies and viable legislative and administrative institutions. However, this type of success has not been generally achieved to the same degree in regard to societal transformation, coming to terms with the past, and reconciliation efforts between various ethnic or national minorities.

In particular, the EU enlargement process has resulted in the drafting of minority related legislation that has been regarded as prerequisites for joining the Union. Now, it is dawning that the realities of political minority inclusion often do not match these established legal provisions.

The diminishing of violent conflict in Western and Central Europe does not mean that "classical" conflict has vanished altogether. There are quite a considerable number of South Eastern and Eastern European countries that still need to address questions of conflict transformation and traditional state building practices. Among those are Belorussia, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and, to a lesser extent, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. These countries still struggle with final statuses and borders and often neglect the internal dynamics that are needed to secure peaceful working minority-majority relationships.

Recent developments in the Arab world have reminded us that Europe's boundaries are artificial divides. New conflicts in our neighbourhood entail dangers for the security of Europe. Increased emigration, often by members of Arab minorities, do pose a challenge that can only be successfully addressed by improving the standards of living for

minorities in their countries of origin. Therefore, the ECMI has to participate in activities that might go beyond the present geographical limitation of its mandate. The ECMI's past experience has resulted in a unique expertise on minority issues that can be useful in assisting with transformation endeavours in neighbouring geographic areas.

Europe has a wide array of past experiences with conflicts, conflict transformation and reconciliation. The cluster aims to draw more attention to those experiences and widen the centres geographical scope to Western Europe, while at the same time continuing its work in those countries where the ECMI has previously been engaged.

This is precisely the reason why the ECMI is situated in Flensburg: Europe has changed tremendously over the past twenty-three years and so have minority laws and provisions. However, a long road lies ahead toward a social and political reconciliation that matches the one that took place in the Schleswig-Sønderjylland border region.



PD Dr. Jan Asmussen
Senior Research Associate, Conflict & Security



Non-Discrimination and minority rights – can they become congruent?



Interview with Alexander Osipov
by Ewa Chylinski

In the spring and summer of 2010, Europe was shaken by cases of Roma being deported from Western countries, specifically from Bulgaria, Romania, and other Central European states. The general public opinion on the matter was one of appall and Roma organizations spoke out against the discriminatory practices and the general abuse of the rights of Roma as a minority. Russia, a diverse society with over 180 ethnicities, was also shaken by the outburst of radical nationalist rallies and violent clashes in Moscow and other cities between different youth groups. There, the understanding of non-discrimination and minority rights has a rather different dimension.

Dr. Alexander Osipov, who came to the ECMI as a Senior Research Associate in September 2010 from Russia, leads the research cluster on Justice and Governance (<http://www.ecmi.de/clusters/justice-governance/>) where one of the focuses is the issue of discrimination. For several years in Russia, he was actively involved as a practitioner and human rights activist in the field of non-discrimination. Also, as a professional lawyer, the theoretical aspect of non-discrimination has captured his attention. Two main perspectives meet in the discrimination discourse – the legal perspective and the social aspect. Discriminatory legislation, initially generated in the USA for the particular situation of that society, still poses a challenge for lawmakers, as most people active in the field employ the notion to address social disparities regardless of their origins. In the meantime, sociology offers rather loose interpretations relating to the position of vulnerable groups or to resource distribution. For a legal practitioner in Russia, it proved to be a challenge, as the legal approach does not really work and the explanatory schemes available cannot describe certain situations. For example, public rhetoric frequently uses discriminatory language, but there is no evidence that it really impacts the treatment of the groups it is directed towards. Yet, social reality is different and people are effected by some processes that objectively

cannot be ascribed to discriminatory rhetoric. The broader public, including activists, focuses on rather narrow issues, basically on hate speech and violence, while common people and legal professionals do not need the language of non-discrimination to litigate the cases. There are certain groups of nationalists in Russian society that vigorously apply discriminatory vocabulary to themselves, perceiving their status as one of being victims in their own country, overrun by labour migrants. The latter, have no voice in that context, nor have "traditional" ethnic groups. Their spokespeople prefer to talk about their own situation in terms of violence, intolerance, extremism or xenophobia (as a state of mind), or in terms of inter-ethnic dialogue at best.

"I think," says Alexander Osipov, "that regardless of differences in perceptions, the notion of discrimination must be mastered by legal professionals in countries like Russia and can be also used in social sciences." Although limited, there is an opportunity for strategic litigation and bringing lawmakers and the general public's attention to unjustifiable differential treatment of individuals on the grounds of their ethnicity, descent or physical appearance. There is a clear parallel and a connection between discrimination and minority rights. These two approaches partly overlap and often demonstrate the same logic. For practical reasons, one has to be flexible to benefit from the synergies between these two approaches and two legal frameworks. In some cases, it would be expedient to depart from discrimination when talking about minorities and majorities who are in completely different and incomparable positions in certain respects. Whilst minority special treatment is accepted, as needs are different, discrimination is addressing diversity with regard to people and groups who are in comparable positions. However, in the end these two approaches connect because what is ultimately paramount are equal opportunities. It would be good in practical terms, to a certain degree, to integrate minority rights and non-discrimination. On the other hand, discrimination should have a spot for itself – anyone can fall victim to discrimination without necessarily being a member of a designated minority.

Minority rights in Russia, overtly recognized in the constitution, international obligations, and many laws, are in fact lost among other ways of diversity conceptualisation and have never been openly or consciously discussed. Based on a silent agreement



to accept the current status quo, they are related to cultural activities and symbolic recognition of the minorities. Both are achieved through publicly acknowledged minority organizations. Even if members of minorities are not active in these organizations (it can be as low as a few percentage points) these are very important to the idea of belonging and having a presence in public space. Legitimacy of representation is not generally important either, as long as the leaders of the organizations perform their function of mediating with the authorities in majority – minority relations. Here they apply the language of conflict prevention, multicultural harmony and inter-ethnic dialogue. It is a rather simplistic approach but it seems to be efficient in the meaning that socially active people engaged in minority issues are bound and constrained with this agenda and this language.

As the Roma in Europe are targets of discriminatory practices, the problems of Roma in the Russian Federation are similar to that of the Roma in Europe. Forcibly settled in 1956, Roma populations have not been equipped with formal rights in their places of settlement, particularly to the land plots. They are being evicted from informal settlements and here the word "discrimination" works well as an explanatory tool. Several cases have been brought to courts on behalf of Roma by human rights NGOs. Although the outcomes have generally been negative,

mostly due to prejudice and technicalities, these endeavors seek to bring issues of discrimination as a social phenomenon and as a legal aspect to public attention. In the meantime, Roma suffer many social problems and face constraints, and these issues should be addressed in terms of providing access to resources and social integration. There is also the issue of cultural and lifestyle preservation and promotion, which should be taken seriously, and at the same time, should not overshadow or replace the agenda of equality in rights and dignity.

Can non-discrimination and minority rights be congruent or mutually reinforcing concepts? This question is a topic of intense academic discussions and review of existing practices. Two questions immediately come to the forefront of the discussion: 1) what is the link between minority protection and non-discrimination when put together? 2) how can the notion of discrimination be abused/misused?

There is already a project design underway between discrimination scholars and practitioners. Students preparing their PhDs on the topic would be most welcome – there are many theoretical aspects to be researched! The calls for PhD students, pre-proposal fellows, guest researchers and interns will be placed soon on the ECMI's website (www.ecmi.de).



A european citizenship model – inclusive of national minorities?



Interview with
Dr Tove H. Malloy
by Ewa Chylinski

For a number of years there has been a debate regarding the idea of a new model of citizenship for Europe. Scholars are divided as to whether this is possible without a functional Demos, and generally, theorists disagree as to what such a model would look like. Most agree that it must be inclusive and participatory. Many seem convinced that it would require solidarity and some degree of loyalty among citizens. Most assume that solidarity and loyalty align with de jure citizenship. But few seem to be aware that there are some groups for which de facto institutions offer such sentiments without providing access to de jure rights.

With the adoption of the Maastricht Treaty (1991), the

European Union (EU) embarked on an ambitious project to build a European democratic demos. Critics of the EU had argued that the EU was moving towards a 'European state' without taking into consideration that a state needs a demos. The Maastricht Treaty provided for the closer integration of states without creating the state. It also provided for fostering democratic integration in order to secure the support of a future demos. But building a new demos on a foundation of old cement with many cracks did not prove easy for the EU. "An important part of creating a democratic demos is the fostering of a model of citizenship that promotes space for individual action in support of the creation of society. The definition of individual action is not the main issue at present. An important issue is whose action is considered valuable. Thus, the assumptions of membership define the degree of inclusion and acceptance of participation", argues Tove Malloy, Head of the research cluster Citizenship and Ethics.

Preference for a Assumptions of homogenous society over a heterogeneous one can exclude certain groups. In a diverse polity like the EU, citizens of all member states are included in the assumptions of citizenship. "In reality though, the policies of de jure citizenship of individual member states determine who really gets included. This means that in many states immigrants holding third country status are perceived as excluded from participating in creating and building society," says Tove Malloy. European history also determines inclusion. In some states, traditional national

minorities are de jure excluded because they are victims of past imperial strife. However, "de jure or not," says Tove Malloy, "these minority groups perform acts of citizenship on a daily basis which not only question the assumptions of citizenship but also question the assumption of the concept of 'one state one loyalty.' Where national minorities have been created as the result of the redrawing of sovereign borders, these minorities have, over generations, developed a degree of solidarity and perhaps loyalty towards two states. In many cases, they also hold de jure citizenship of two states. But in the forging of a European citizenship model, they are an anomaly because they are perceived as holding membership only in the national state where they live. It is therefore important to know the assumptions upon which a model of citizenship is built," argues Tove Malloy.

The case in point for Tove Malloy is the citizenship model for national minorities living in border regions that have seen the sovereign national borders shift several times after major conflicts, particularly in the 20th Century. National minorities in such border regions are looked upon suspiciously as loyal towards a neighbouring state and incapable of fostering solidarity with the population of the state where they reside. "This is perhaps understandable," says Tove Malloy, "because over generations a family may well have had to shift allegiances and even may have been forced to learn a new language against their will. This does not provide for trust among citizens and

neighbours, and chances are that solidarity and loyalty become unknowns."

However, globalisation and internationalisation in the 21st Century as well as the attempt to foster a European citizenship model are slowly eroding this negative picture of national minorities. "In the border regions of both Western and Eastern Europe, national minorities have mobilised around issues which are natural to them, namely border region issues, and in doing so, they have begun to contribute to the definition of a new model of citizenship in Europe," argues Tove Malloy. "The national minorities to monitor in terms of acts of citizenships that promote a European model are those that live on and around the Schengen borders. Coupled with the improved minority rights scheme in Europe which allows for trans-border cooperation, national minorities in these border regions have seized opportunities that promote a European demos and therefore a European model of citizenship. Projects have sprung up in border regions around Europe which were conceived, conceptualized, planned and implemented by national minorities in order to improve upon actions for lofty European Union ideals, such as territorial cohesion and unity in diversity."

"A European citizenship model that includes the acts of citizenship of national minorities must therefore be theorized," concludes Tove Malloy. This is one of the key aims of the new research strategy for the cluster on Citizenship and Ethics.

Reconciliation and reconciliation policies in Europe

The ECMI's Conflict and Security Cluster aims to take stock of past and present examples of historical reconciliation in Europe in various geographic areas. The Cluster will provide analysis on the reconciliation measures that have been introduced with respect to perceptions of history. Technical and sustainability evaluations will try to analyse the long-term impacts that reconciliation policies have had in the past. Additional research projects and case studies shall be carried out in order to identify unanswered questions and examples of reconciliatory efforts that have not been previously studied. These can then be transformed into action-orientated projects aimed at sustainable reconciliation policies for the future.

Different perceptions of history have always played an instigating role in continuing inter-ethnic conflicts. Divergent national histories that are seemingly exclusive are seen as obstacles for successful reconciliation. Nationalistic historical narratives have been utilized as weapons in ongoing conflicts that aim at worsening interethnic relations. Therefore, those who work in the field of conflict transformation are trying to employ methods of historical reconciliation practices that aim to narrow the gap between those nationalistic and exclusive perceptions. Decades of international mediation efforts in post-conflict societies have produced a full arsenal of reconciliation measures that aim to defuse tension. Reconciliation and reconstruction efforts for state building, including well-intentioned efforts as many have been, have so far fallen short of the expectations associated with them. In post-conflict societies, reconciliatory mechanisms included attempts towards political integration and judicial measures. The latter typically took the form of the prosecution of crimes, or that of truth commissions, which aimed to address the crimes committed without actually punishing those who committed them. However, these judicial measures do not address the long-term perceptions of the otherness that tend to be enshrined in divergent histories in fragmented states and societies.





These topics tend to be covered by various forms of historical commissions. Examples of these forms of bilateral endeavours are the Czech-German commission concerning the Sudeten Germans, the Polish-German Schoolbook commission and the Franco-German Youth Office. The mandate's scope and the attained results of various historical commissions have varied in each case. In many instances, the commission's work has resulted in the altering or replacing of propaganda-filled school textbooks, which has been a positive step, as many of the old textbooks had offensive and/or incorrect historical information. Yet, this outcome has rarely proven to alter the historical perceptions of young people. Nor does it widely influence societal change in that area. What ultimately matters is how the tools of historical reconciliation really succeed in altering the perceptions of the majority of the public in regards to those groups in society previously labelled as 'other,' or alien. New textbooks can only have the desired positive effects if they are accompanied by institutional changes in the education system to provide new approaches to teacher training, and also, if historical presentations in museums and in the mass media are changed to present positive views on multi-ethnic, multi-cultural societies. At the same time, one must be aware of the danger that the truth can become the first victim of peace, i.e. textbooks sometimes avoid thorny issues and thus omit painful facts instead of presenting them so that they can be openly dealt with. Ultimately, all of the aforementioned efforts are doomed to fail if there is a general lack of political will to implement effective initiatives towards historical reconciliation. As long as nationalist history is regarded as pivotal for ethnic mobilisation on

behalf on the political group leader, historical commissions and new textbooks seem to have little chance of success.

Particularly in societies that are characterized by ongoing minority-majority conflicts, reconciliatory efforts lack an understanding of how to address past injustices with a view of creating a common understanding between former adversaries.

Despite these obstacles, reconciliation initiatives in Europe have been successful in many areas. This can especially be noted in the instances of European Union member countries. Western Europe did not witness a recurrence of national hatred that had dominated the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. Instead, trust developed that was followed by partnership and ultimately friendly and harmonious relations across the borders.

Many of these post-war developments have not been analysed in a comprehensive manner. What is lacking is a comparative study that deals with the many facets and complexities of reconciliation in Europe. This needs to be done with a view to current reconciliation policies in Eastern and South Eastern Europe. A special focus should be put on those societies that continue to envisage frictions along ethnic or religious lines, i.e., in which minorities seem to be excluded from the official process of national history writing.



PD Dr. Jan Asmussen,
Senior Research Associate
for Conflict & Security Studies

MINORITIES IN RUSSIA – A CHALLENGE TO THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM OF MINORITY PROTECTION



Senior Research Associate
Alexander Osipov,
Head of Justice & Governance
Research Cluster

With the accession of membership to the Council of Europe in 1996, the Russian Federation committed itself to the ratification of two major conventions related to minority protection -- the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). While the FCNM was ratified in 1998, ratification of the ECRML is still pending. There have been numerous preparatory activities by the Russian federal ministries with regard to future ratification, but the process is still far from completion.

Russia, like many Balkan countries, has pursued a long tradition of accommodating cultural and linguistic diversity, both in territorial and non-territorial forms. Special provisions are made for teaching in native languages; support is provided to cultural organizations and manifestations of cultural identity. A variety of ethnicities, or nationalities in Russian terminology, are present in all regions of the Russian Federation, and in formal terms, a number of federal and regional governmental bodies including the federal Ministry of Regional Development are responsible for managing their issues.

Then what makes it so difficult for Russia to adopt the Language Charter? Many blame the Convention itself – being rather concrete, with a rigid menu system, it also has a fast monitoring and reporting system based on a three-year cycle as compared to five year cycle of the FCNM. Another aspect of the issue is the different interpretations of ethnic pluralism, not necessarily coinciding with that of the established European systems. The general legal framework for ethnic and linguistic diversity in Russia rests on a different theoretical underpinning and an eclectic terminology that often lacks clarity and coherence. The term 'minority', although present in the Constitution and several federal laws, is not defined and operational. While there is an officially

established register of indigenous peoples, a clear categorization of ethnicities and a system of their recognition for administrative purposes remains absent. Preparation for the census requires careful definitions to separate ethnicities and to establish ethnic sub-groups as well as the respective languages, or spoken dialects. Currently, 186 categories are made operational for census purposes, prepared by the Institute of Ethnology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. However, it is still unclear to what extent this categorization can serve for lawmaking and its implementation, participation and representation.

The Programme "Minorities in Russia: Developing Languages, Culture, Media and Civil Society" 2009-2011 has been launched jointly by the Council of Europe and the European Union for the period of 2009-2011. The first objective is to facilitate the advancement in Russia's legislation and governance on issues pertaining to the linguistic and ethnic diversity in the spirit of ECRML. The second objective is to encourage the involvement of civil society in these issues. In order to support to this initiative, the ECMI, in cooperation with EURAC, established a working group on "Minorities in Russia".

The aforementioned working group aims to generate policy-relevant knowledge about the challenges of accommodating the expression of ethnic diversity in the Russian Federation in accordance with the Council of Europe's standards of minority protection and promotion. This knowledge will inform various policy efforts aimed at strengthening governance and legal provisions for minorities. It will support both minority identity in terms of language, culture, and education, and will also foster effective participation mechanisms for minorities to become involved in cultural, economic, social, and public affairs. The "Minorities in Russia" group will also provide policy recommendations on prospective means of managing ethnic diversity in the context of the state and federal structure, regional development and devolution of authority to local levels. The challenges of developing and implementing international and Russian legislation in the areas of diversity management and ethnic minority rights and the sheer diversity of contexts and issues never ceased to impress even the most experienced members of the study group.



Discussing minority issues in Russia, Flensburg



Different categorization of minorities, Bozen

The activities of the study group include two workshops – one at the ECMI in Flensburg in April, and the other in Bozen/Bolzano in September 2010. A final dissemination conference in Strasbourg is planned for 2011 www.ecmiserver.de/emir/

A year-long inter-disciplinary discussion of the legal, social, and political changes affecting the nature of ethno-cultural relations and the treatment of ethnic minorities in the Russian Federation was intentionally designed as an inter-disciplinary endeavour in order to stimulate open-minded exchange and cross-disciplinary pollination. The 2nd workshop reviewed the provisions for the functioning of ethnic federalism and minority governance. It also examined how government policies and social practices shape and reshape the evolution of minority identities, ethnic mobilization, political participation and the representation of minorities.

From a practical perspective, the study group is not elaborating new standards. Rather, it aims to bridge the gap between internationally available standards in the area of minority policies, the relevant expertise accumulated by such disciplines as law, political science, anthropology and the political practice of minority accommodation in Russia. The study group is therefore expected to substantially contribute to the ongoing discussions in academia and in the political sphere. This will be achieved by facilitating the creation of two databases: one consisting of legal regulations, and the other consisting of political articulations. By publishing scholarly essays that provide analysis on various aspects of minority issues, such as legal, sociological, anthropological and political science perspectives, the Russian Federation will be represented. Increased synergy and cooperation between two of the leading institutions in the field of minority studies – ECMI and EURAC – will act as an additional benefit to this project. Such cooperation has a promise to improve and to strengthen the general knowledge regarding minority issues across wider Europe.

Two major outputs are planned:

A volume “Ethnic Diversity Accommodation in Russia: Challenges and Trends”

The volume will provide a comprehensive overview of the norms and practices of ethnic diversity management that have existed in the Russian Federation over the last twenty years. It will examine the evolution of the legal framework, institutional architecture, and policies intended to address the numerous challenges posed by Russia’s immense ethno-cultural heterogeneity.

The thematic sections include:

- Legal provisions for minorities
- Identity of minorities
- Ethnic federalism and minority governance
- Political participation and representation

A compendium of policy recommendations specifically addressing the policy-making community, aimed at strengthening the legal provisions for minorities.



ETHNIC MINORITIES' DOMESTIC AND TRANSNATIONAL ACTIVISM – EUROPEAN NORMS FOR 3RD SECTOR MOBILISATION

Dr Joanna Jasiewicz

The mobilisation of civil society groups, at both the national and transnational level, is of increasing interest to social scientists. A novel and dynamic shift has occurred in the scholarly examination of society, politics and economy; academics no longer only focus on the paramount role of the state in shifting and shaping societal rules and norms, but they have turned their attention to the growing importance of civil society in fostering societal change.

One of the key issues that is now widely discussed, is the growing role of the internet as a platform for civil society mobilisation and a potential mechanism for fostering democratic movements. As a relatively new phenomenon, scholars still beg the question: does participation in "e-democracy" depend solely on traditional networks and resources? In other words, can it only be expected that those who already participate in traditional forms of civil society will be those that engage in e-movements, or does e-democracy attract large numbers of newcomers through its inherent ability to reach a wide network?

Yet another issue is whether the evolving forms of participatory democracy and the role of the internet can serve as instruments of 'Europeanisation.' Some argue that actors with increased access to online media outlets are more regularly presented with information regarding European norms, and therefore, tend to accept European values and approve of European institutions more readily than those that are not as exposed to online mediums. This idea brings forth the following question: would that also be true for minorities who seize the online tools to advance their claims and to network?

Joanna Jasiewicz, of the Politics and Civil Society cluster at the ECMI, examined some aspects of the aforementioned question through the case of Poland. She presented such opportunities through the lenses of institutional and cultural contexts that channel the opportunities and the content of ethnic minorities' demands for recognition and participation. In an overview of the ways in which ethnic and national minority members and state authorities capitalise



on European Union and general supranational institutions, she revealed that claimants seize the novel political opportunity and address the supranational organizations and symbols. Both ethnic and national groups and other actors in Poland refer to ideas and concepts related to Europe and to supranational organizations. Nevertheless, their supranational claims remain strongly bound to the domestic sphere in which they operate.

The Polish study furthermore highlighted the distinct theoretical approaches that are helpful tools in examining the agency of ethnic minorities in a given society. Combining the theoretical perspectives of political and cultural sociology and of transnational networks allows them to examine the interplay of institutions and networks. National institutions, such as cultural mythologies, narratives, or state policies, are settings for civil society organizations to play an active role in fostering activism. Moreover, transnational minority networks expose minorities to opportunities at the supranational level, facilitating their networking with intergovernmental organisations such as the EU, the OSCE and the CoE. This exposure not only serves as a source of information on funding opportunities, but also helps to introduce the norms promoted by these European institutions to minority members.





Dr. Joanna Jasiewicz,
Junior Research Associate,
Politics and Civil Society Cluster

Minorities' participation in the public sphere is one of the central topics of the Politics and Civil Society cluster's research

Forthcoming publications:
"Between Supranational Institutions and Domestic Opportunity Structure: Explaining Ethnic Minorities' Claims in Poland".

"New Institutionalism, Cultural Sociology, and Transnational Networks Perspective: Complementary Approaches to Study the Mobilization of Ethnic Organizations in Poland".

Conferences with presentations:
Political Sociology section of the European Sociological Association (ESA), Lille 2010
"Citizenship and Democracy: Membership, forms of participation, within and across European territories".

Center for German and European Studies (St. Petersburg State University, in cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation) "Civil Society and NGOs in Europe and Russia: Responding to New Challenges and Opportunities".

A workshop on "Minorities and New Media" that will be organized in ECMI in autumn 2011 will thoroughly examine this topic.

At a conference in St. Petersburg, Junior Research Associate, Joanna Jasiewicz, discussed the substantive differences in the conceptualisation of civil society organisations in EU member countries versus those in Russia. Her talk specifically focused on the new challenges that civil society organisations face in both EU member states and Russia.

While the European academic literature generally focuses on the high-level of social and political activism undertaken by European NGOs', Russian scholars, on the other hand, focus most of their research on philanthropic endeavors and charitable volunteer organizations –such as those that combat poverty and AIDS - avoiding references to the political aspects of civil society's role in activism. Nonetheless, how and to what extent transnational contacts between civil society organizations impact upon their social and political participation and how they interact with each other is an interesting topic. Ultimately, networks matter; they facilitate contact opportunities, provide mutual learning and capacity building opportunities, and even if they do not have a direct mobilisation effect, they do seem to provide an opportunity for disseminating information to a wide range of people, by that presenting the opportunity for engagement if one so chooses.

CULTURE AND DIVERSITY – WHEN IT REALLY MATTERS...

Issues of identity have taken on new importance in a world of heightened inter-action and mobility across imaginary and physical borders. Hybridity, multilingualism, difference, community and religion are areas of new identity research. Cultural competence and cultural capital begin to matter as the argument that 'culture counts' takes hold.

The Culture and Diversity Cluster looks at culture as an indicator of identity, as well as an attribute of institutions that shapes opportunities for individual and group choices primarily through policymaking. The focus is thus on both the actor preferences as well as on structural constraints shaping these. From this background we identify the ways in which members of culturally heterogeneous societies conceive of and purport issues around language, traditions, cultures and ethnicity to better advocate the protection of their identities. We also study different understanding of diversity from both the agentic and institutional perspectives, whether these differences reflect inherent choices, culturally determined preferences and request support for diversity to avoid potential conflicts.

The cluster pursues two closely linked strands of research:



Language as Identity

The initiative on "Language as Identity" starts from the premise that language diversity is the core component of cultural diversity. Languages enable the transmission of different cultural contents, link individuals throughout generations to common value framework and create a backdrop for interaction of one cultural community with another. Language and culture are those elements that very much reflect the values and particularities of different societies.

Another aspect of these changing relations is the effect of language loss on ethnic identity. Many argue that language loss is a cause of value change with individuals and in the long run undermines diversity in any given society. In many European countries, minority groups who have lost their languages have been engaged in language reconstruction, seek to revitalisation the related identity markers of the group and regain status as a different group within a larger social framework. We place an emphasis on cultural diversity to acknowledge linguistic and cultural pluralism and to promote dialogue-based individual inclusion in pluralistic societies.

One of the focuses is on obstacles to participation in political and public life that are based on language barriers, and on how governments can help to overcome such obstacles by developing appropriate public policies. For instance, governments provide educational services in minority languages at the national, regional and local levels, offer assistance to media outlets broadcasting in minority languages, support minority languages speakers in learning the state's language. Yet these onus of language learning lies mainly if not exclusively with the members of linguistic minority, which must make hard choices as to accepting, learning, implementing and furthering their linguistic skills in majority language to achieve opportunities on par with the members of the dominant groups. Therefore the studies on the effectiveness of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages regarding the protection and promotion of minority languages are at the core of this strand of the Cluster.



CULTURE AND DIVERSITY – WHEN IT REALLY MATTERS...

Culture as a resource

Increasingly, scholarship treats the policies of cultural diversity as a set of regulations that seek to be beneficial to all members of societies affected. In that sense, the policies of cultural diversity determine whether minorities are visible and accepted as an essential component of social life, allowed political participation on equal terms with majorities and ultimately contribute to social integration. Despite such formal approaches, they never go full circle. From this perspective, cultural policies affect different groups' strategies for social integration, their stakes in political processes and their perceived grievances differently. Therefore, we need to ask questions about the impact of policies on different communities, distil strategies available to different groups to take stakes in opportunities offered by policies and spell out the underlying expectations of opportunities on offer.

In order to ensure security in the wider Europe, minority group members must feel that they have the same potential and protection as other members of society, and that they are equally served by the national system under which they live. Two research issues form the strand of "Culture as a Resource". First, we are looking at the territorial arrangements of current political regimes in Europe that advocate both territorial integrity and national sovereignty in theory endorsing two conflicting strategies: the state

cohesion of its residents regardless of their ethnolinguistic identity into a society united by a set of commonly shared norms and accepting one official language to communicate with state offices; on the other, the idea of national sovereignty imports the destabilising notion into the territorial arrangement of the current state system, suggesting all groups of people with a sufficiently distinct cultural, ethnic, linguistic or any other identities to be able to claim their separate state and territorial governance.

Another aspect of the "Culture as a Resource" research agenda is to identify institutional constraints on cultural diversity across Europe. Here we aim at verifying legal commitments and practices of states and regional authorities throughout the Europe allowing minority language use, improving relations between linguistic groups with the relevant domestic political and economic institutions. Both topics are under investigation when looking at the impact of social institutions, primarily political opportunity structures and policies, on societies with expressed culturally diverse publics.



Ewa Chylinski Timofey Agarin

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages – Language Guides

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) is the only convention in the world devoted to the protection and promotion of languages used by traditional national and ethnic minorities

www.conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Treaties/Html/148.htm

The language guides were conceived to provide NGOs with an overview of the provisions applying to languages covered by the Charter and to structure and intensify the dialogue between the minority language speakers/ their NGOs and the authorities of the states concerned.

ECRML Language Guides are now available on the European Centre for Minority Issues webpage:

www.ecmiserver.de/lcd/ecrml/



ECMI is hosting these language guides in cooperation with the Council of Europe.



Research Seminars

Burcak Arikan (Turkey)

“Recognition of Roma as National minority in Europe”

Ilona Filimonova (Russia)

“ Minorities in Russia – categorization and language protection”

Sabine Kruuka (Latvia)

“Minorities in Latvia – ECRML and the challenge of ratification”

ENHANCING LOCAL COOPERATION

Academic events

- Regional Academic Forum
- University of Flensburg & University of Southern Denmark 1st Joint Annual Research Meeting
- University of Flensburg & University of Southern Denmark Collaboration on ICLM 13
- University of Flensburg & University of Southern Denmark academic teaching
- University of Kiel academic teaching
- University of Southern Denmark conference cooperation

Public events

- Folk Baltica Lecture
- Ethnic Mobilisation and International Community lecture
- European Day of Languages open house and lecture
- EuropaWoche on Roma inclusion
- Regional newsletter
- ECMI for tourists

ECMI at local government in Kiel

- Introductory visit of ECMI Director
- Discussing Roma returns in Europe
- Roma recognition in the Schleswig-Holstein Constitution
- Cooperation in the Baltic Region
- DialogForum Norden

Visitors to ECMI

- Georgian Ministry for Reintegration
- Danish Helsinki Committee
- Cycling for Minority Languages around European Border Regions
- German Ambassador to Denmark

ECMI GEORGIA

DENMARK'S GEORGIA PROGRAMME

"Promotion of Judicial Reform, Human and Minority Rights in Georgia in Accordance with the Council of Europe Standards"



Tom Trier

Denmark's Georgia Programme (2010-2013) seeks to promote judicial reforms and standards for human rights and national minority protection throughout Georgia. The programme is funded by the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark and implemented by the Council of Europe in partnership with the ECMI Caucasus. The programme consists of three components, of which the ECMI is responsible for component III: Strengthening the state capacity and enhancing public consultation on minority issues. This component aims to further sustainable and credible governance initiatives on behalf of national minorities in Georgia in accordance with the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM).

Hence, the programme is being implemented with the aim of enhancing governance policies for national minorities through facilitating the implementation and monitoring of the FCNM as well as the National Concept for Tolerance and Civic Integration and Action Plan – the Georgian government's platform for policy action in the field – and enhancing consultation and collaboration between authorities and minority stakeholders in Georgia at both the central and local levels. This objective is being carried out, on the one hand, through supporting the State Inter-Agency Commission responsible for minority issues and civil integration in order to accelerate and professionalize the implementation of minority policies. At the same time, the initiative encourages the institutional development of the Council of National Minorities (CNM) which functions under the auspices of the Public Defender's Office, to enhance the Council's efficiency as the major institution in Georgia for minority-state consultation. These measures assist in ensuring that minority concerns can be effectively voiced, and that the Council's role in the monitoring of the implementation of policies affecting national minorities is increased. The component will also result in the establishment of dialogue between civil society and local authorities in regions inhabited by minorities, yielding support to the implementation of minority policies at the local level. As part of the interventions, the completion of Georgia's commitments and obligations to the Council of Europe will be advanced by encouraging the signing and ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and other measures to enhance legislation in the area of minority rights.

Several activities have been conducted during the first six months of the programme (July-December 2010), including the following:

- A national expert has been seconded to the Office of the State Minister for Reintegration for 18 months to contribute to the effective functioning of the State Inter-Agency Commission on Reintegration.
- An executive secretary of the Council of National Minorities (CNM) has been seconded to the office of the Public Defender for the whole programme period.
- Two workshops have been conducted on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in order to raise awareness.
- Elaboration of a vision and strategic development plan for the CNM through a participatory process with the engagement of minority representatives has been initiated.
- A mini-grant mechanism has been launched for CNM member organizations to allow them to implement small initiatives.

National Partners:

- Office of the State Minister for Reintegration Issues
- State Inter Agency Commission on Minorities and Civil Integration
- Council of National Minorities
- Administration of the President of Georgia
- Human Rights and Civil Integration Parliamentary Committee
- Municipalities of Samtskhe-Javakheti
- Municipalities of Kvemo Kartli



- A two-day workshop and a training on gender issues have been conducted by the State Inter-Agency Commission in order to review the annual progress of the implementation of the National Concept and Action Plan.
- A seminar on Media and Minorities has been organized to discuss the issue of the regional TV broadcasting.
- A roundtable meeting has been held on the monitoring of the effectiveness of the Ministry of Education and Science's program on multilingual education.
- An awareness raising conference on minority issues has been facilitated for newly elected local government officials which also included a training on minority governance.
- A set of guidelines for the effective functioning of the State Inter Agency Commission has been produced and disseminated among members of the State Inter-Agency Commission.
- A 2-day training on PR and Media Technologies was held for CNM members.



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PHOTO EXHIBITIONS IN GEORGIA PROMOTE AWARENESS ON NATIONAL MINORITIES

Shorena Kobaidze & Denola Chkhartishvili

As part of the ECMI's contributions to Denmark's Caucasus Programme in 2010, the Centre has actively cooperated with the Parliament of Georgia to promote awareness on minority issues.

On 4 March, the Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights and Civil Integration and the ECMI launched a jointly organized photo exhibition entitled, Ethnic Minorities in Georgia, which was hosted by the Parliament of Georgia. The exhibition displayed the works of Natela Grigalashvili and presented the diverse cultures, traditions, holidays and social-economic conditions of a wide range of minority groups living in Georgia. A photo catalogue was also issued on the occasion, which included forty photos taken by the Georgian photo-documentarian on the everyday lifestyles and living conditions of diverse ethnic groups in various regions of Georgia, namely, minorities living in the regions of Kvemo Kartli, Samtskhe-Javakheti, Kakheti and Samegrelo. The photo exhibition represented eleven ethnic groups: Azeris, Armenians, Eastern Slavs (Russian and Ukrainians), Yezidi-Kurds, Assyrians, Ossetians, Kists, Avars, Udins, Jews and Roms.

The aim of the exhibition was to introduce the diverse ethnic groups of Georgia to the broader public and to provide insights about minorities cultures, traditions and holidays. The exhibition had a number of strengths; it provided new images of Georgia's minorities, brought the country's cultural diversity into the spotlight, and in a creative way, represented the unique cultures of several ethnic groups.

In addition to members of the Georgian parliament, representatives of various ethnic groups and NGOs attended the opening of the exhibition.



The cover of the photo catalogue prepared for the exhibition on minorities featuring a traditionally dressed Yezidi-Kurdish couple.

ECMI GEORGIA

SPOTLIGHT ON THE DUKHOBOR COMMUNITY IN GEORGIA

Shorena Kobaidze & Tom Trier

Over the past five years, the ECMI has continuously addressed problems faced by the Dukhobor community in Georgia. The Dukhobors are a group of religious dissenters who resettled from central Russia to the South Caucasus about 170 years ago and live in a few villages in the region of Samtskhe-Javakheti in southern Georgia. While the ECMI has previously helped the Dukhobors address legal issues relating to the privatization of land, the ECMI has recently supported a number of initiatives to support the protection of the group and its cultural and religious heritage in Georgia.

An acute problem faced by the group is the preservation of the so-called Sirotskiy Dom (the 'Orphanage'), a complex of historical buildings including a prayer house in the village of Gorelovka dating back to the late 19th Century, and in recent years, also housing a small museum established by the community. With Dukhobors immigrating to Russia in increasing numbers, concerns have arisen that in a few years the preservation of this unique cultural monument may be at risk. The ECMI has sought to bring this issue to the attention of the authorities, and as part of these efforts, organized a study visit to the Dukhobor village in late 2009. The study visit included ten representatives from the Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports and experts from other state bodies including the Public Defender of Georgia (the Ombudsman). Representatives from the Ombudsman's Office Council of National Minorities, a consultative body, also took part in the visit. During the mission, meetings were held with members of the Dukhobor community thus providing them with an opportunity to address their concerns with representatives from responsible government structures. The representatives of the Ministry of Culture, Monument Protection and Sports agreed to the need for the state to take measures to preserve the Dukhobor buildings and have since carried out preparatory work to grant official status of cultural heritage to the houses. It is expected that the status will be granted in 2011



A booklet presenting the life of the Dukhobor community.

and that the state will assume the responsibility of preserving the buildings in the future.

In the second part of 2010, the ECMI also supported a small project for the Dukhobors under a mini-grant mechanism (as part of Denmark's Caucasus Programme 2010-13 implemented in Georgia by the ECMI in collaboration with the Council of Europe). The project was implemented by the Russian minority organization, "Iaroslavna," and its chairperson Ms. Alla Bezhentseva, an expert with significant experience in activities related to the Dukhobor community.

Dukhobors are ethnic Russians that today reside in Russia, in the Caucasus and in Canada. The word 'Dukhobor' means 'Spirit Wrestler' and the name was originally given to them by an Orthodox Archbishop in the Russian town of Ekaterinoslav in 1785.

In the late 18th Century, the sect refused to recognize the authority of the Russian Orthodox Church, and for their dissent, the community was expelled to the outskirts of the empire in the first part of the 19th Century. Although until the late 1980s the Dukhobor community in Georgia numbered in the several thousands, there are only a few hundred of them left today.

The project contributed to further the established dialogue between the central government and the Dukhobor representatives at the local level. Moreover, an informative and richly illustrated photo booklet was composed in order to display the local way of life and the history and cultural peculiarities of the Dukhobors in both the Georgian and Russian languages. A recent documentary by Mr. Alexander Kviria, entitled "Gorelovka - episodes from a disappearing community", was screened during the presentation of the booklet in December 2010. The documentary tells about the life of the Dukhobors community in the Samtskhe-Javakheti region. Government officials, representatives of various ethnic communities, and civil society organizations were all in attendance at the successful presentation.

EMPOWERING ROMS IN GEORGIA – AN UNEXPECTED SUCCESS

Irakli Chedia & Salome Mekhuzla

Without comparison, the Romani population is the most marginalized ethnic minority in Georgia. The small group of approximately 750 Roms live in about a dozen settlements throughout the country. Their lack of social inclusion remains an issue of serious concern: almost all Roms suffer from lack of employment, lack of access to health care and other social services, and many children do not even receive primary education.

Since 2008, the ECMI has made efforts in Georgia to enhance the social inclusion of Roms. As an initial intervention, the ECMI has sought to map the Romani communities and identify their problems. Based on this initial research, the ECMI has been able to develop more action-oriented projects focused on empowering the Romani communities through encouraging civil engagement and providing Romani children with access to elementary education.

As part of these measures to empower Romani communities, two new Romani civil society organizations have been formed as part of a project to enhance minority civil society funded by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs: one in Kobuleti in the Adjara region and a second in Leninovka, a village near the town of Dedoplistsdkaro in the Kakheti region. In both of these areas, civil society is relatively underdeveloped, leaving the Romani communities

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without means to address their own problems. By supporting the establishment and building the institutional capacity of these community organizations, the ECMI is seeking to empower the communities, allowing the Romani populations the opportunity to articulate their concerns to relevant authorities in order to instigate positive change.

In the past three years, the ECMI has also taken a number of initiatives to improve access to elementary education for Romani children. As a result of the measures and based on a fruitful cooperation with the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia and two public schools in Kobuleti and Dedoplistsdkaro, the ECMI has ensured the enrolment of dozens of Romani children in these schools.

The ECMI has been cooperating with Public School No. 2 in Dedoplistsdkaro since 2008. A particular hindrance for the enrolment of Romani children there has been the distance to the nearest school (five kilometers from the Romani settlement in the village of Leninovka). Due to lack of funding for transportation, there is no bus to shuttle the children to and from the school. ECMI agreed to temporarily cover the costs for the daily transportation, extending the public school bus service to Leninovka, which allowed nine Romani children to enroll in the school. Moreover, a few Georgian children from same village also benefited from the bus service. The ECMI also provided the children with appropriate clothing and books. Following negotiations with the Ministry of Education, since 2010, the authorities have taken over the responsibility and have provided funding for the children's transportation costs.

Similarly successful initiatives were undertaken in Kobuleti. From July through August 2010, twenty-one Romani children benefited from a two-month integration course at the Kobuleti Public School No. 5 organized by the initiative and with financial support from the ECMI. The main aim of the integration course was to provide the children with basic Georgian language and math knowledge in order to provide them with sufficient skills to enroll in regular classes in the new school year in September 2010. Also in Kobuleti, the children were provided with notebooks, textbooks and other educational material.

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On 5 July 2010, the school director and officials from the local authorities and representatives from the ECMI attended the opening of the integration course "It is very important that someone is addressing our problems", said Roman Aslanov, the chairman of the Ajara Roma Union, the newly established Romani community organization, at the opening of the integration course.

"Without education our children are lost for the local community and for Georgia. We are very grateful that the integration course has started. This programme has already stimulated very big interest in education within our community and many parents have decided to send their children to school. After the integration course, our children will be prepared to successfully attend school when the school begins in September".

"Educated new generations are very important for every country," said Nargiza Jincharadze, the director of Kobuleti Public School No. 5. "I am very happy that the ECMI has taken this initiative. The Romani community is highly marginalized here in Kobuleti and, I think, in Georgia as a whole."

The integration course continued for two months until 5 September 2010. Upon completion, the children were awarded certificates of participation. When the school year began on the 15th of September, almost all of the children that had attended the integration course were enrolled in different grades according to their age and the public school system. A number of Romani parents attended some of the classes in order to help teachers manage the children, while on a voluntary basis, teachers formed after-class workshops to help pupils with their homework. These voluntary tutoring sessions were particularly important to assist students in studying subjects that are difficult for Romani children to master due to their poor command of the Georgian language.

"This was one of the most exciting and life changing experiences", said one of the Romani parents during the closing ceremony of the integration course: "During my own childhood no one was trying to help us with such amazing activities".

- ECMI Working Paper No. 39: David Szakonyi, No Way Out: An Assessment of the Romani Community in Georgia, February 2008, www.ecmi.de/download/brief_21_eng.pdf
- ECMI Issues Brief No. 21: Giorgi Sordia: A Way Out? Initial Steps Towards Addressing Romani Issues in Georgia ECMI, Flensburg, May 2009, www.ecmi.de/download/brief_21_eng.pdf





ECMI KOSOVO

INVESTING IN NEW TOOLS FOR KOSOVO'S INSTITUTIONS

Adrian Zeqiri



Two years after independence, the Kosovar office of the ECMI has determined that its long-term engagement strategy will focus on supporting various minority institutions in the young state. Specific activities in this plan include creating consultative bodies, supporting decentralisation processes, ensuring representation of all minority communities in public life.

Developing frameworks for minority political participation – minority consultative bodies

Following Kosovo's Declaration of Independence and the endorsement of the Comprehensive Proposal for Status Settlement, two institutions have become the leading forces in ensuring the political participation of minorities: the Consultative Council for Communities (CCC) and the Office for Community Affairs (OCA). The CCC – a body of representatives from civil society organisations and political parties of all minority communities in Kosovo, as well as representatives of relevant governmental institutions - provides a mechanism for the articulation of minorities' views and affords minorities the opportunity to shape the governmental policies that affect them the most. The OCA, located within the Office of the Prime Minister, acts as governmental focal point on minority issues. It is the main channel to incorporate minority concerns within the government's programme. One of the cornerstones of the ECMI's work in Kosovo, has been providing oversight for the two aforementioned bodies in order to make sure that their actions and, strategies are cohesive and in line with international standards.

One crucial issue and priority of the Consultative Council, as per its work plan, is education. The CCC created a working group in order to produce the first official recommendations of the council on the topic. These recommendations are comprehensive and address a wide range of issues, from concerns

common to all minorities to matters of urgency concerning one minority or locality. The Council delivered its recommendations in a special plenary session in the presence of the Ministry of Education, where the CCC members pledged to follow-up on the implementation of their proposed policies.

The CCC has also engaged itself in issue areas pertaining to the Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian communities (RAE). Despite the policy adopted in 2008 by the Kosovo government, the RAE have experienced only few positive changes in their everyday lives. The CCC, supported by the ECMI Kosovo, conducted a small survey as a basis for consultation with the broader community. The consultations strengthened the CCC's ties with various civil society groups and also acted as a minority consultative mechanism. The identified measures have already produced significant results on the ground and put in motion initiatives above and beyond those of the government's plan.

The OCA was strongly involved in the relevant issue of reintegration of repatriated persons. Since independence, the influx of repatriated persons, particularly from minority groups, has increased. Due to the absence of reception structures and extremely limited economic opportunities, repatriated persons are either left on their own or have become an additional burden on the communities that are now receiving them. Although a strategy adopted by the institutions of Kosovo had been designed to tackle this challenge, the complexity of the system set up by the strategy, the lack of capacities of the institutions and the extent of the phenomena led to the failure of the plan. The OCA, in collaboration with the ministry in charge, and with support from the ECMI Kosovo, participated in the assessment of the strategy and identification of remedies, leading to the amendment of the action plan. Throughout the process, the OCA ensured that the rights and interests of minorities were safeguarded.

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As part of the OCA's regular activities, a study on the use of languages in Kosovo was conducted by the ECMI Kosovo in order to ascertain the level of compliance of central and local institutions, independent institutions, regulators, and courts in regard to linguistic rights. The study also aimed to assess minorities' perceptions of their implementation. Kosovo's legal framework integrates international standards and effectively provides the protection of, and further development of, minority languages. In addition to rights related to education and access to information in minority languages, the Constitution of Kosovo recognises the Albanian and Serbian languages as the official languages, yet it also provides the legal opportunity for other languages to gain official language status, or language in official use, at the municipal level. This advanced framework, however, is often not fully respected, partly due to a lack of human and financial means, but also due to limited political will and an absence of strong minority representatives advocating for respect of these rights. As the study was not only conducted as an assessment tool, but also as a capacity building exercise for the OCA, the ECMI Kosovo will continue advocating for and supporting the adoption and implementation of recommendations issued from the research.

Despite achieved progress, several challenges remain to be overcome if minority consultation mechanisms are to deliver on their outset promises. The Kosovo institutional framework for minority rights protection is extremely complex and includes a multitude of executive, legislative and quasi-judicial bodies operating at both the central and local levels. Consultative mechanisms are relatively new and are still facing internal issues impeding their full functionality, whilst finding their place within the system. The CCC, for example, still does not have an independent budget to cover its running costs (e.g. secretariat staff) and is therefore dependent on the office of the president to fund its activities. Finally, consultation by governmental bodies has so far remained an ad hoc endeavour. The OCA too faces tremendous difficulty in positioning itself as a coordinating body mainly due to limited political weight. Such issues are hampering the implementation of minority rights policies despite extensive legislation. The ECMI Kosovo will continue to support the further development of various consultative bodies' capacities and provide them with expert advice to ensure the functionality of the system.

To facilitate their work, the ECMI Kosovo has compiled a legal database, which includes all relevant provisions of domestic legislation and policies related to minorities and provides information regarding which institution is technically responsible for policy implementation.

With continued generous support of the governments of Germany, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, three long-term projects were implemented: 'Institutional Support to the Kosovo Consultative Council for Communities', 'Enhance and Integrate Community Concerns within the Work of the Government' and 'Institutionalisation of the Consultative Council for Communities in Kosovo.'

Connecting citizens and local government in Southern & Northern Kosovo

The ECMI Kosovo has, since late 2008, provided extensive support to the decentralisation process, through a project supported by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland. It has provided support to the Ministry for Local Government Administration, organised a large scale outreach campaign and designed a voter education programme, aimed at convincing community members of the importance of the local elections and providing them with information on how to participate effectively through working with a Municipal Preparation Team (MPT) for Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North, a local task force responsible for preparing the ground for future local elections.

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As a result of the decentralisation process, the majority of the Serb community in southern Kosovo now lives in newly established municipalities, where they constitute the numerical majority. A cautious hope among Serb community of finding its place members in these municipalities does not necessarily coincide with that of the Albanian community members, who are uncertain about their status in this new reality. It was crucial that the newly elected municipal authorities deliver on the promises made to their community, while at the same time reaching out to the Albanian community to ensure that their rights will continue to be protected. The ECMI Kosovo's support was mainly dedicated to creating good communication channels between the municipal authorities and their citizens and supporting the Albanian and Roma minority communities in these municipalities.

Contrary to southern Kosovo, in the north, the security situation continues to be tense, with violent incidents occurring on a regular basis. The citizens, caught between competing Serbian and Kosovar authorities, are faced with general lawlessness and weak prospects for a better future, although the Ahtisaari proposal does foresee the inclusion of Mitrovicë/Mitrovica North in the decentralisation process as a separate Serb-majority municipality to normalise the situation. In light of these difficulties, the focus was on supporting local actors to increase the awareness of local communities on the benefits of the decentralisation process and the importance of participation in elections.

Education for Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Communities

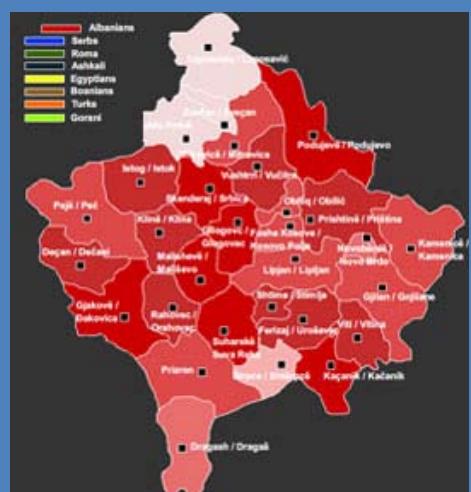
The Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) communities constitute the most marginalised groups in Kosovo, facing the highest rates of poverty, mass unemployment and lowest level of education. Three pilot projects in the municipalities of Prizren/Prizren, Fushë Kosovë/Kosovo Polje, and Gjakovë/Đakovica were implemented in order to increase the cultural sensitivity of primary school teachers, as well as to develop positive relations among teachers, education officials, civil society representatives and parents in order to engage them in building understanding and cooperation for better school environment. The findings of the project were shared with a wider public through publication and dissemination of an informational brochure.

“Building Sensitivity to Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Communities in Schools”, financed by the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities

Update of the Ethno-Political Map of Kosovo

The decentralisation process and the creation of new municipalities with majority Serb and Turkish residents have brought numerous changes in Kosovo, not only to the territorial division among municipalities, but also, by bringing the delivery of services closer to citizens and enabling minorities a greater degree of self-governance. New municipal profiles and updated statistical information have been introduced at the following website:

www.ecmi-map.com/map/



ECMI KOSOVO

Assessing language competencies of municipal civil servants

Albanian and Serbian are the official languages of Kosovo with equal status and equal rights as to their use in Kosovo institutions. However, the practice is that municipal civil servants are only required to speak one official language. Considering Kosovo's multi-lingual status and limited language-learning opportunities, this strains communication and collaboration efforts across all communities and creates a risk of marginalising minority communities. To address this issue, research was conducted to evaluate the language competencies of municipal officials in five multi-ethnic municipalities. The findings identified the limitations in communication within municipal authorities and between municipal officials and the general public. The ECMI Kosovo will use the findings in order to tailor practical follow-up projects aimed at improving inter-ethnic communication and cooperation among speakers of both official languages in an attempt to bridge the communication divide that currently exists in Kosovo's multi-ethnic municipalities.

This project was conducted on behalf of the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities.

ECMI LIBRARY COOPERATION NETWORK

- Main Central Library (Zentralhochschulbibliothek ZHB)
- the Südost Institut Library in Regensburg,
- the EURAC Library in Bozen, Italy
- the SIPRI Library in Sweden
- DCISM Library for International Studies and Human Rights in Copenhagen
- University of Frankfurt Library, Frankfurt am Main
- the University of California at San Diego Social Science Library,
- the Special Subject Collection Political Science and Peace Research of the Hamburg University Library



EUROPEAN CENTRE
FOR
MINORITY ISSUES



Ethnopolitical Map of Europe

The Ethnopolitical Map of Europe is a major documentation project that highlights minority issues across Europe, rated by external experts as a highly useful educational tool for practitioners, politicians, and academics in international relations and diversity and conflict studies. In 2010, the South Ossetia entry was completed and the Abkhazia entry updated.

The aim of the Ethnopolitical Map is to offer quick and easy access to comprehensive information on background, population and socioeconomic statistics, international responses to crisis management, as well as carefully selected links and bibliographies. The Ethnopolitical Map of Europe 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 the Evifa Virtual Subject Library on Ethnology. The Map's layout and structure will be revised and re-launched in 2011.

EXPANDING THE GLOBAL REACH OF THE ECMI LIBRARY

... AND DOCUMENTATION SERVICES

Publications exchange agreements

Publications exchange agreements continued to play a very important role for the ECMI Library in 2010. In 2010, a library cooperation and publication exchange in the framework of larger cooperation with the ASPRI Institute in Riga, Latvia as well as with the Åland Islands Peace Institute Library in Mariehamn, Finland and the IFSH Library in Hamburg. All of the above-mentioned agreements are based on reciprocal exchange of publications as well as reciprocal promotion by the libraries of the work of the institutes involved

Dissemination of ECMI publications

In 2010, selected ECMI publications were available to view at the Frankfurt Book Fair and the Leipzig Book Fair. These fairs, which are key events for book publishers and media, serve to acquaint an ever-widening circle of readers with ECMI publications. Also in 2010, the ECMI Library made available the full text of ECMI Report #60 for the internet collection of the OMC Forum on the Open Method of Co-ordination, a joint project of the European Union Center of Excellence and Center for World Affairs and the Global Economy of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

In terms of online sources for dissemination, the ECMI Library continued to contribute the full text of selected Working Papers and JEMIE articles for inclusion in the Social Science Open Access Repository (SSOAR) database, based in GESIS Berlin. The ECMI Library also continues to contribute to the online library of the University of Hamburg, 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 available on the EINIRAS website. New in 2010 is that also all JEMIE articles are available in full text both on the ISN and on the EINIRAS websites. By special written agreement the HeinOnline website also continues to make ECMI's publications available, which results in greater awareness of ECMI's work in law libraries. In the field of international relations, it is worth noting that ECMI publications also continue to be available on the Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO) website, a comprehensive online source for theory and research in international affairs. In order to widen the circle of online dissemination even further, the ECMI Library has license agreements for ECMI publications to be included in EBSCO and Proquest databases. EBSCO and Proquest are both among the leading producers of research databases for libraries and educational institutions worldwide.





Online Library Catalogue

This 24/7 around-the-clock database can be searched by title, author, ISBN number, free keyword search as well as by year of publication. Catalogue entries have added value, as foreign language entries and summaries are translated into English. The entries also include Library of Congress Subject Headings, free text keywords and extensive tables of contents.

Library networking and cooperation

A world class library on minority issues cannot stand on its own. This underlines the importance of library networking and cooperation, all of which was further developed in 2010. With regard to the delivery and management of information resources in particular, network cooperation at the regional, national and European level has continued significance for the ECMI Library. This is why the Library extended its membership in the German–Danish Library Forum, a loose association of libraries and library systems north and south of the border.



The ECMI Enriched Links Database

This database, available on the internet at <http://www.ecmi.de/elinks/>, has been referred to by outside experts as a highly useful reference tool for researchers.

These links have been carefully selected and are monitored regularly to ensure quality and timeliness. The links are enriched in the sense that for each link, substantial information is provided as to the contents of each link, including its institutional affiliations and whether or not for example downloadable texts, statistics and government documents are included. The Internet sources are listed in fourteen subject categories for the convenience of the user.

The following categories are available for users to search: Country Information, General Minority Information, Constitutional and Legislative Sources, General Human Rights sources, and Interethnic Conflict Management. A free text keyword search is also possible. Practitioners, politicians and academics, including students and professors of international relations, conflict studies and cultural and diversity studies are encouraged to use and contribute new websites to the ECMI Enriched Links Database.



FIV-IBLK

For the FIV-IBLK database **World Affairs Online**, the ECMI Library also continues to contribute indexing of all ECMI publications, including articles for the **Journal on Ethnopolitical and Minority Issues in Europe (JEMIE)** and external publications such as the **European Yearbook of Minority Issues**, as well as the print publication **International Journal of Minority and Group Rights** and the online EURAC journal **European Diversity and Autonomy Papers (EDAP)**. **World Affairs Online** is one of the largest social science 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%). Regularly updated, and also available as the print and online FIV-IBLK **Current Bibliography International Relations**, the usefulness of **World Affairs Online** has been attested to by experts from the German Bundestag as well as experts from institutes in Austria. An example of the latter is the "IBLK-Filter", which by special agreement with FIV-IBLK is a production of the WWEDU Center for European Studies, which has received awards from Austria for its achievements as a security research institute. The "IBLK-Filter" selects bibliographic references from the FIV-IBLK **Current Bibliography International Relations and Area Studies** on the basis of the fields relevant to the WWEDU Center for European Studies. **World Affairs Online** and the seven-language **European Thesaurus on International Relations and Area Studies** is available on the FIV-IBLK portal IREON, a central point of access to scholarly literature in the field of international relations and area studies. The **European Thesaurus on International Relations and Area Studies** contains more than 8,000 special terms, each in seven languages, systemized according to more than 800 fields on 400 pages, with seven alphabetical monolingual indexes, and is also available for purchase either in hardback or in the ECMI Library collection.

William McKinney
ECMI Librarian



JEMIE - Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe

JEMIE is a peer-reviewed electronic journal edited under the auspices of the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI). It is a multi-disciplinary journal, addressing minority issues across a broad range of studies such as ethnopolitics, democratization, conflict management, good governance, participation, minority issues and minority rights. Contributions published with JEMIE analyze current developments in minority-majority relations in the wider Europe looking to stimulate debate amongst academics, students and practitioners on issues of instability and integration that hamper democratic governance in Europe – East and West.

As an electronic journal, JEMIE aims to make scholarly debate available to a wider audience, providing an easy access point to cutting-edge academic debate and emergent literature, providing forum for young scholars and practitioners to present their ideas alongside more established academics.

Two issues per year include a Special Focus section, which highlights a topic of particular interest to students of minority issues and ethnopolitics.

Since September 2010, Dr Timofey Agarin, a new ECMI Junior Research Associate has taken over the editorial duties of JEMIE.

[www.ecmi.de/publications/
category/jemie/](http://www.ecmi.de/publications/category/jemie/)

20th EINIRAS Conference at Polish Institute of International Affairs, Warsaw, October 2010



*FIV Membership Meeting in
Stiftung Wissenschaft und
Politik (Berlin), November 2010*

The European Thesaurus on International and Area Studies was developed over a number of years within the framework of the European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies (EINIRAS), as a cooperation project between the library and information departments of specialist European research institutes in these fields. This terminological handbook for specialized documentation is extremely useful for academics as well as practitioners in the fields of international relations and area studies.



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, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, the Council of Europe, the Finnish Institute of Foreign Affairs, The Centre of International Information and Documentation in Barcelona, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and the Stockholm International Affairs (SIPRI).

ECMI IN NUMBERS 2010

Information resources

Table 1. Access frequency on the main website www.ecmi.de

SITE/PAGE AREA	UNIQUE VISITORS	AVERAGE UNIQUE VISITORS/DAY
www.ecmi.de (The Whole Website)	595.940	1.633
/elinks/ (ECMI Links Database)	198.132	543
/jemie/	84.138	231
/emap/(ECMI Ethnopolitical Map of Europe)	72.457	199
/doc/ombudsman/	14.239	39
/doc/CoE_Project/	12.980	36
/doc/Parallel_Reports_Database/	7.292	20

Table 2. Access frequency by Research Cluster

SITE/PAGE AREA	UNIQUE VISITORS	AVERAGE UNIQUE VISITORS/DAY
Conflict & Security	4.313	12
Culture & Diversity	1.465	4
Citizenship & Ethics	1.375	3.8
Justice & Governance	1.340	3.7
Politics & Civil Society	1.336	3.7

Table 3. Frequently visited ECMI programme sites

SITE/PAGE AREA	UNIQUE VISITORS	AVERAGE UNIQUE VISITORS/DAY
Ecmirom.org	40.635	111
Ecmigeorgia.org	9.588	26.2
Ecmikosovo.org	3.945	11
Culture & Diversity	3.791	10.4
Politics & Civil Society	2.092	6
Ecmi-eu.org (OMC)	451	1.2
Ecmimoldova.org	328	1
Equal Economic Opportunities	216	0,6

ECMI IN NUMBERS 2010

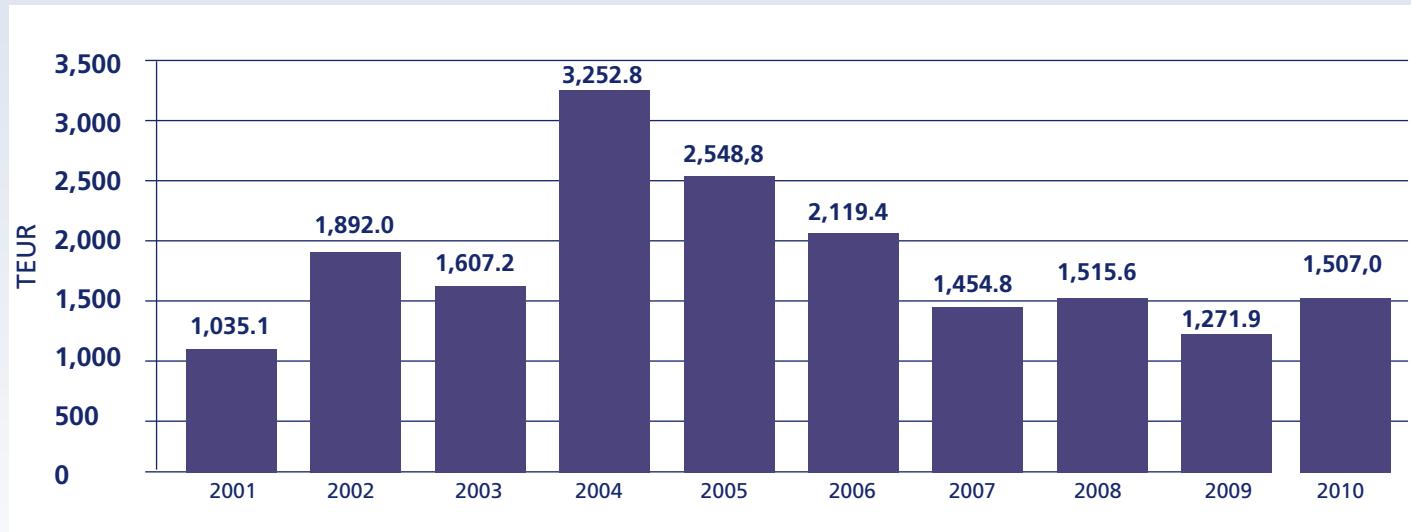
Finances

Finances and Project Funds

In 2010 ECMI received funding from its institutional founders covering the costs of the core staff, library and maintenance at headquarters in Flensburg. Additionally ECMI also raised funds for several international projects.

ECMI Total Funding 2007-2010
Contributions from founders and other donors in EUR

	2007	2008	2009	2010	
Kingdom of Denmark	346,000	346,000	346,000	446,000	
Republic of Germany	187,000	187,000	187,000	237,000	
State of Schleswig-Holstein	141,100	141,100	142,000	205,000	
Subtotal contribution from founders	674,100	674,100	675,000	892,000	
Contributions from donors	758,897	812,429	586,000	603,000	
Other funding	21,849	29,061	10,908	12,000	
Total	1.454,846	1.515,590	1.271,908	1.507,000	





ECMI Externally Funded Projects 2010
Region and Project Title

Donor

Georgia

"Enhancing good governance - Human rights and the rule of law in Georgia"

Council of Europe
Denmark's Caucasus Programme

Training events
"Meskhetian Turks repatriation"

Council of Europe
OSCE HCNM

Several training events
Denmark's Caucasus Programme

Council of Europe

Kosovo

"Support to minority communities in the Kosovo during the Kosovo status transition period"

Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Switzerland

"Support to minority communities during and after the decentralisation process in Kosovo"

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland

"Enhance and integrate community concerns within the work of the government of Kosovo"

Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Switzerland

"Development of the annual strategy, action plan and implementation tools for the Kosovo Community Consultative Council"

Foreign and Commonwealth Office Great Britain

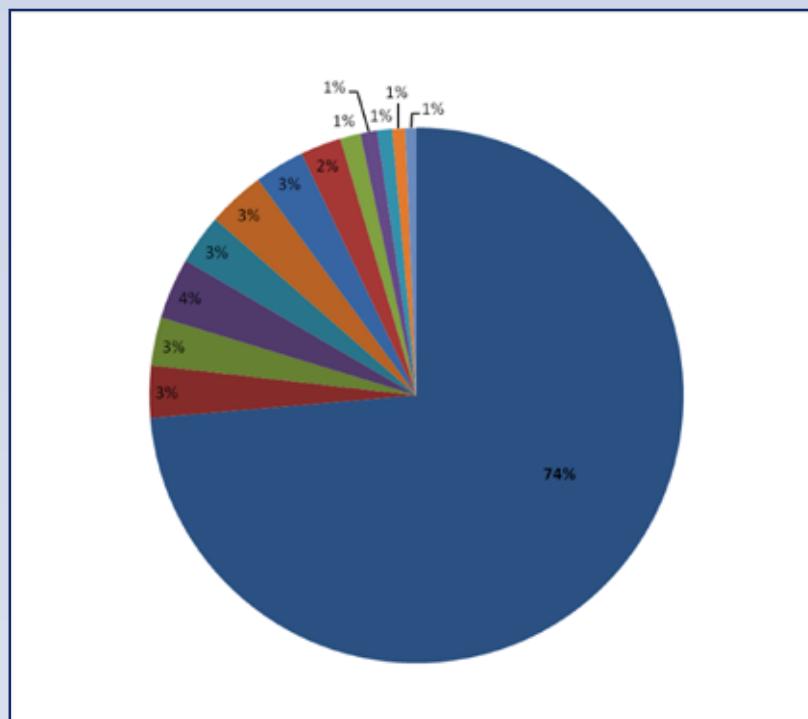
"Institutionalisation of Kosovo Consultative Council for Communities"

Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Federal Republic of Germany

" Language competencies of municipal officials"
"Building sensitivity to Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian Communities in Schools"

OSCE HCNM
OSCE HCNM

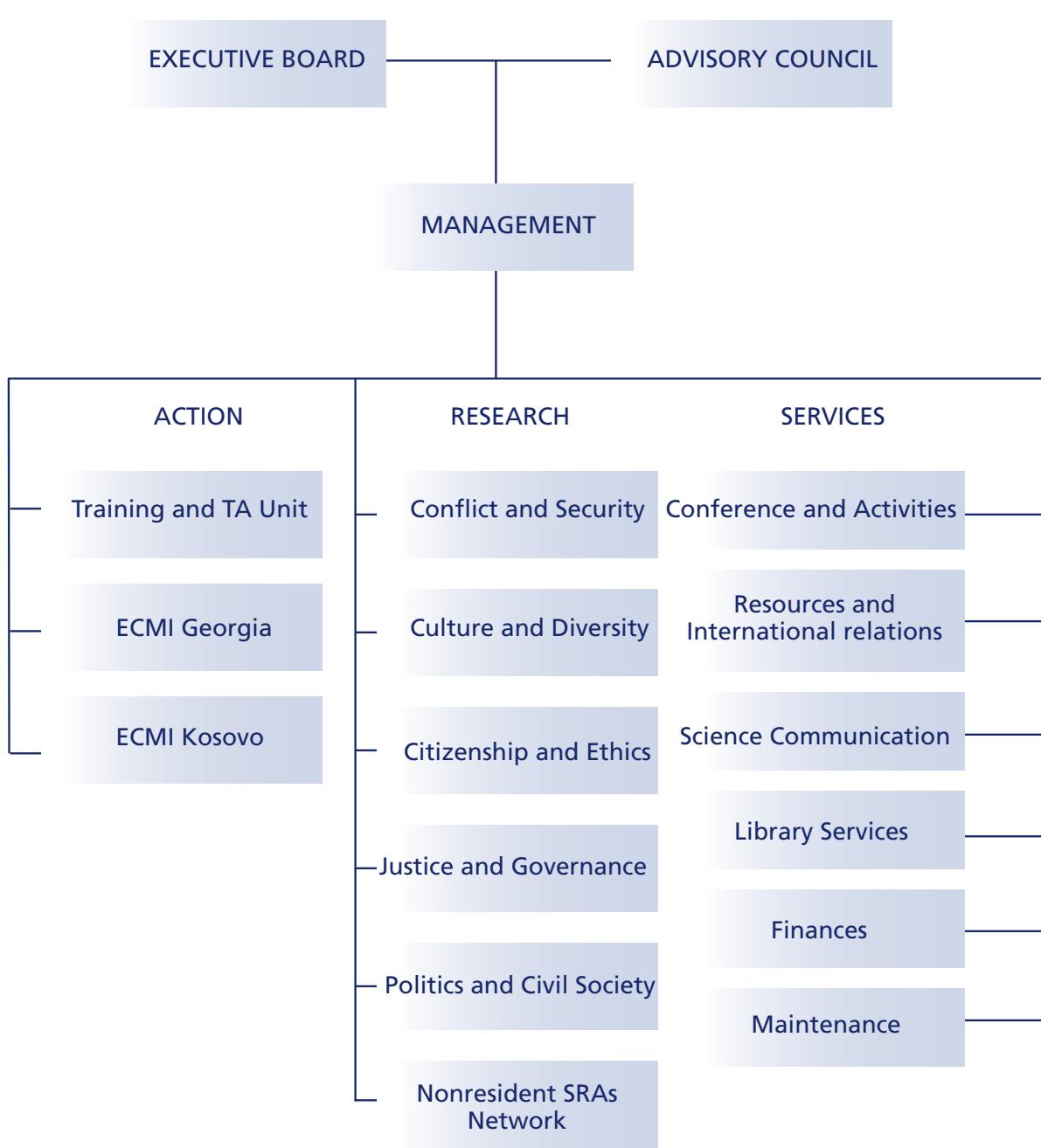
ECMI CORE FUNDS DISTRIBUTION 2010



1. Staff salaries	657,000
2. Equipment/Communication	28,000
3. Maintenance	27,000
4. Services	27,000
5. Library acquisitions	26,000
6. IT	22,000
7. Board meetings	11,000
8. External costs	8,000
9. Representation	9,000
10. Events	33,000
11. Publications	31,000
12. Staff development	7,000
13. Other	6,000
Total funds	892,000

ECMI ORGANIZATION 2010

Chart



PUBLICATIONS

ECMI Brief #23

Malloy, Tove H., Convergence in European Policy Making: What do Article 15 (FCNM) and the EU Regional Policy have in common?

Download: http://www.ecmi.de/uploads/tx_ifpubdb/brief_23.pdf

ECMI Brief #24

Malloy, Tove H., National Minorities in the 21st Century Europe: new discourses, new narratives?

Download: http://www.ecmi.de/uploads/tx_ifpubdb/brief_24.pdf

Trier, Tom, Election Monitoring Report-Georgia Local Elections, 30 May 2010

Download: http://www.ecmi.de/uploads/tx_ifpubdb/ECMI_Election_Monitoring_Report_Dmansi_2010.pdf



European Yearbook of Minority Issues Vol. 7, 2007-8 now published

General Editors: Arie Bloed, Rainer Hofmann, Joseph Marko, James Mayall, John Packer, Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Marc Weller
Managing Editors Volume 7, Emma Lantschner, Katherine Nobbs

The European Yearbook of Minority Issues provides a critical and timely review of contemporary developments in minority-majority relations in Europe. It combines analysis, commentary and documentation in relation to conflict management, international legal developments and domestic legislation affecting minorities in Europe.

Part I contains scholarly articles and, in 2007/8, features two special focus sections on Minority Rights and Conflict and Participation.

Part II contains scholarly articles and features two special focus sections on Minority Rights & Conflict and Participation.

External publications by ECMI staff

Chylinski, Ewa, "Effektivität in der Minderheitenverwaltung". In Vogt, Matthias Theodor: Mehrwert durch Minderheiten? Zu einer Forschungsfrage des Collegium PONTES Görlitz-Zgorzelec-Zhořelec, Die Praxis der Idee Europa, Schriften des Collegium Pontes Band 6. Teil II, Peter Lang, 283-296 (Winter, 2009)

Malloy, Tove H., Standards to Eliminate Compounded Discrimination: The Case of the Intersectionality of 'Minorities within Minorities' Or, why Universal Legal Standards Must Engage with the Concept of Culture. In Henrard, Kristin (ed.). Double standards pertaining to minority protection. Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 259-296.

Malloy, Tove H., "Creating New Spaces for Politics? The Role of National Minorities in Building Capacity of Cross-Border Regions" in Regional and Federal Studies, Vol. 20, No. 3 (July, 2010)

Malloy, Tove H., "Co-nationhood and co-nationship: A research framework in quest of a philosophy that binds" in IES Proceedings (Summer, 2010)

Malloy, Tove H., "Minority Rights and Conflict: From Managing Conflict to Managing Diversity" in European Yearbook of Minority Issues, Vol. 7 (Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010)

Malloy, Tove H., "Minority Indicators: A New Era for the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities" in European Yearbook of Minority Issues, Vol. 7 (Leiden and Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010)

Trier, Tom, Hedvig Lohm and David Szakonyi, Under Siege. Inter-Ethnic Relations in Abkhazia. London: Hurst & Co., 2010, 159 pp.



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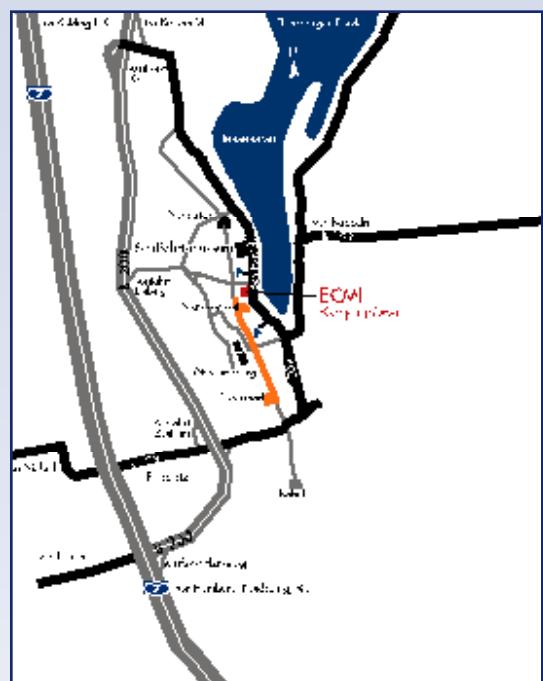
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