

FIRST
ENTAN
CONFERENCE



BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

**NON TERRITORIAL
AUTONOMY**
as a form of
**PLURINATIONAL
DEMOCRACY**

22–23 November

Belgrade

2019

PARTICIPATION

RECOGNITION

RECONCILIATION



CA18114: ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network

First ENTAN conference
*Non-Territorial Autonomy as a Form of Plurinational Democracy:
Participation, Recognition, Reconciliation*

Belgrade, 22 & 23 November 2019

Book of Abstracts



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ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network is a COST Action aimed at examining the concept of non-territorial autonomy (NTA). ENTAN particularly focuses on NTA arrangements for reducing inter-ethnic tensions within a state and on the accommodation of the needs of different communities while preventing calls to separate statehood.

The main objective is to investigate the existing NTA mechanisms and policies and to develop new modalities for the accommodation of differences in the context of growing challenges stemming from globalisation, regionalisation and European supranational integration. The network fosters interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary group work, and provides for the training and empowerment of young researchers, academic conferences and publications, as well as for the dissemination of results to policy makers, civil society organisations and communities.

www.entan.org

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Aleksandar Pavlović
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We express our sincere appreciation to our host institution:



Univerzitet u Beogradu
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INSTITUT ZA FILOZOFIJU I DRUŠTVENU TEORIJU
INSTITUTE FOR PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL THEORY



First ENTAN Conference:
*Non-Territorial Autonomy as a Form of Plurinational Democracy:
Participation, Recognition, Reconciliation*

Belgrade, 22-23 November 2019

PROGRAMME

FRIDAY 22 November 2019			
09.00-09.30	<p>Opening session Venue: EU Info Centre, Kralja Milana 7, Belgrade</p> <p>Chair: Tove Malloy, Chairperson of the First ENTAN conference committee</p> <p>Speakers: Aleksandar Pavlović, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory at University of Belgrade EU Delegation to Serbia representative, <i>tbc</i> Bratislav Marinković, National COST Coordinator for Serbia Losoncz Dávid, Representative of the Executive Committee of the Hungarian National Council in Serbia Ivan Dodovski, Chair of ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network</p>		
09.30-10.30	<p>Keynote: <i>Non-Territorial Autonomy in Plurinational States: The Time Has Come</i> Ephraim Nimni</p>		
10.30-11.00	Coffee/tea break		
	<p>First session Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>		
	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;">Panel A.1</td> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;">Panel B.1</td> </tr> </table>	Panel A.1	Panel B.1
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11.00-12.30	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;"> <p>Theorizing NTA</p> <p>Chair: Balazs Vizi</p> <p>Paper A.1.1: Legal Theory and the Concept of NTA <i>Jacob Dahl Rendtorff</i></p> </td> <td style="width: 50%; border: none;"> <p>Minorities in Border Regions</p> <p>Chair: Hynek Böhm</p> <p>Paper B.1.1: The Role of Minorities in the Border Divided Town Cieszyn/Český Těšín <i>Artur Boháč</i></p> </td> </tr> </table>	<p>Theorizing NTA</p> <p>Chair: Balazs Vizi</p> <p>Paper A.1.1: Legal Theory and the Concept of NTA <i>Jacob Dahl Rendtorff</i></p>	<p>Minorities in Border Regions</p> <p>Chair: Hynek Böhm</p> <p>Paper B.1.1: The Role of Minorities in the Border Divided Town Cieszyn/Český Těšín <i>Artur Boháč</i></p>
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	<p>Paper A.1.2: An Ethical Framework for Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements <i>Stipe Buzar</i></p> <p>Paper A.1.3: Peace with a Sunset Clause: Legal Theorization of NTA Solutions <i>Assaf Derri</i></p> <p>Paper A.1.4: Karl Renner’s Version of National Cultural Autonomy as a Centripetalist Model <i>Piet Goemans</i></p>	<p>Paper B.1.2: Modalities of Non-Territorial Autonomy: the Polish and Russian Minorities in the Multicultural Border Region of Latgale <i>Alina Romanovska</i></p> <p>Paper B.1.3: Aspect of Non-Territorial Autonomy in Multilevel Heritage Management: The Case of Kashubs in Poland <i>Tomasz Studzieniecki</i></p>
12.30-13.30	Lunch	
	<p>Second session Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>	
	Panel A.2	Panel B.2
13.30-15.00	<p>NTA and Statecraft</p> <p>Chair: Tove Malloy</p> <p>Paper A.2.1: Flipping the Script: Do Groups Claim Non-Territorial Autonomy? <i>Rémi Léger</i></p> <p>Paper A.2.2: Peace in the Middle East: The Matriarchal Version of Plurinational State <i>Erella Shadmi</i></p> <p>Paper A.2.3: The Organization of the French Abroad: A Form of Non-territorial Autonomy? <i>Tudi Kernalegenn</i></p>	<p>Cross-border Cooperation</p> <p>Chair: Marina Andeva</p> <p>Paper B.2.1: Minorities in cross-border cooperation – a forgotten potential or a challenge to the concept of minority? <i>Martin Klatt</i></p> <p>Paper B.2.2: Management of Cross-border Cooperation Involving Non-territorial Autonomy - A Case Study on Polish Minority in Zaolzie region, Czech Republic <i>Joanna Kurowska-Pysz</i></p> <p>Paper B.2.3: Polish minority educational institutions in the Czech Republic and their engagement in cross-border co-operation with Poland: proto-diplomacy or not? <i>Hynek Böhm</i></p>

	<p>Paper A.2.4: The Extent of Human Rights of Non-territorial Autonomy Networks in Terms of State Constraints and History of Development in the Territory of the Slovak Republic <i>Vladimir Benedik</i></p>	<p>Paper B.2.4: The Bulgarian National Minority in Serbia: Cross-Border Cooperation and Modalities of Non-Territorial Autonomy <i>Mariyan Tomov and Lilia Raycheva</i></p>
15.00-15.30	Coffee/tea break	
	<p>Third session Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>	
	Panel A.3	Panel B.3
15.30-17.00	<p>Theoretical and Historical Aspects of Diversity Management</p> <p>Chair: Konstantinos Tsitselikis</p> <p>Paper A.3.1: The Possibilities and Limits of Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements in Reaching Indigenous Self-Determination <i>Natalija Shikova</i></p> <p>Paper A.3.2: NTA and the International Arena in Historical Perspective: The European Nationalities Congress and the League of Nations <i>David J. Smith</i></p> <p>Paper A.3.3: The Syriac Tradition as a Different Form of Demos: Redefining Identity & Belonging Alongside Immigratory and Scattered Communities in Europe <i>Robert Isaf</i></p>	<p>Integration of Societies</p> <p>Chair: Branko Bošković</p> <p>Paper B.3.1: Social Rights of Minorities in Montenegro: Integration Based on Good Practice <i>Bojan Božović and Branko Bošković</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.2: Implementing Regulation Regarding Minorities Rights in Romania - Special Overview on the Use of Minority Languages <i>Flavia Lucia Ghencea and Mihnea Claudiu Drumea</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.3: An Overview on Romanian Strategies Regarding Roma Minority Concerning Education and Employment <i>Laura Patache and Octav Neguriță</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.4: Subjectively Perceived Quality of Life of Socially Excluded Roma Communities in the Liberec Region (Czechia) <i>Emil Drápela</i></p> <p>Paper B.3.5: Integration of Ethnic Minorities by Co-production of Public Services <i>Andrius Puksas and Dangis Gudelis</i></p>

SATURDAY 23 November 2019	
Fourth session Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 48%;">Panel A.4</div> <div style="width: 48%;">Panel B.4</div> </div>
09.00-10.45	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 48%;"> <p>Contemporary Perspectives on NTA</p> <p>Chair: Ivan Dodovski</p> <p>Paper A.4.1: The Effectiveness of Not-Territorial Cultural Autonomies in Central and South Eastern Europe <i>Balázs Dobos</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.2: Modalities of Non-territorial Autonomy in North Macedonia: A Preliminary Study <i>Marina Andeva and Ivan Dodovski</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.3: The Serbian Model of National Cultural Autonomy and NTA and Its Contemporary Challenges for Collective Identities and Political Participation of National Minorities <i>Svetluša Surova</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.4: The Perspectives of NTA in the Republic of Moldova <i>Florin Tudor, Valentina Cornea and Andrea Elena Matic</i></p> <p>Paper A.4.5: Non-territorial Autonomy the Lithuanian Way: The Case of the Lithuanian Tatars <i>Egdūnas Račius</i></p> </div> <div style="width: 48%;"> <p>Israel-Palestine: NTA and the One State Solution</p> <p>Chair: Ephraim Nimni</p> <p>Paper B.4.1: A Dual Non-territorial Autonomy for Palestine-Israel - A Way Further for a Stable Solution <i>As'ad Ghanem</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.2: One-State Solution: Is It More Feasible Than The Two-State Solution? <i>Amneh Badran</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.3: Can NTA Refine the (Post-Oslo) Debate between Liberals and Binationalists over a Single Non-partitioned State in Israel/Palestine? <i>Moshe Behar</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.4: NTA as a Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict <i>Ephraim Nimni</i></p> <p>Paper B.4.5: Protecting the Arabic Language in Israel as a Non-Territorial Autonomy Means to Create Civic Solidarity Between Arabs and Jews <i>Meital Pinto</i></p> </div> </div>

10.45-11.15	Coffee/tea break	
	Fifth session Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
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11.15-12.30	<p>Kurdish-led Autonomy in Syria: Decentralization and Pluralism</p> <p>Chair: Cengiz Gunes</p> <p>Paper A.5.1: Autonomy beyond State and Territory <i>Joost Jongerden</i></p> <p>Paper A.5.2: Minority Accommodation through Decentralization and Non-territorial autonomy (NTA): The Case of the Autonomous Administration of North East Syria <i>Cengiz Gunes</i></p> <p>Paper A.5.3: Women's Rights and the Practice of Non-territorial Autonomy in Northern Syria-Rojava <i>Rosa Burc</i></p>	<p>Aspects of Religion and Education</p> <p>Chair: Alexandra Ioannidou</p> <p>Paper B.5.1: Sharia in Greece and Europe after the Mola Sali case <i>Konstantinos Tsitselikis</i></p> <p>Paper B.5.2: Managing Religious Diversity in Education: Addressing Competing (In)equalities in Plural Societies <i>Kyriaki Topidi</i></p> <p>Paper B.5.3: Modalities of NTA in Latvia: Concerns of Muslim Youth <i>Anita Stasulane and Janis Priede</i></p> <p>Paper B.5.4: Education and Cultural Identities. Pedagogical Movements, History, Linguistic and Cultural Normalization in Catalonia during the Twentieth Century <i>Antonia M. Mora-Luna and Immaculada Colomina Limonero</i></p>
12.30-13.30	Lunch	

	Sixth session Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
	Panel A.6	Panel B.6
13.30-14.30	European Post-conflict Perspectives Chair: Aleksandar Pavlović Paper A.6.1: Beyond the Territory Principle: Non-Territorial Approach to the Kosovo Question(s) <i>Jelena Ćeriman & Aleksandar Pavlović</i> Paper A.6.2: Post Conflict Peace-building, Inter-ethnic Relations and Possible Chances for Reconciliation in Balkans <i>Olivera Injac</i> Paper A.6.3: Determination of the Economic Support in the Context of NTA Arrangements for Regional and Socio-economic Development in Bosnia & Herzegovina <i>Aleksandra Figurek, Una Vasković and Anatoly Goncharuk</i>	Historical Programmes of NTA for European Jews in the Early 20th Century (I) Chair: Roni Gechtman Paper B.6.1: Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA): Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews <i>Guido Franzinetti</i> Paper B.6.2: Genesis of an Idea: The Bund's Internal Debates on National-Cultural Autonomy at Its 1903 Congress <i>Roni Gechtman</i> Paper B.6.3: Jewish National Councils and Non-Territorial Autonomy at Paris Peace Negotiations: Ethno-national Diplomacy Limiting Ethno-national Sovereignty <i>Marcos Silber</i>
14.30-15.00	Coffee/tea break	
	Seventh session Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade	
	Panel A.7	Panel B.7
15.00-16.00	Speakers of Irish, Romansh and Breton: Non-Territorial Autonomy vs. Territoriality Principle Chair: David Smith Paper A.7.1: From Territorial to Network Community: Agency and Empowerment among Breton speakers in Brittany <i>Stefan Moal</i>	Historical Programmes of NTA for European Jews in the Early 20th Century (II) Chair: Roni Gechtman Paper B.7.1: Chaim Zhitlowsky's Concept of a Jewish Culture Nation and the Non-territorial Autonomy Strategies of Its Political Realization <i>Kay Schweigmann-Greve</i>

	<p>Paper A.7.2: The Irish Gaeltacht as a Trans-local Phenomenon <i>Steve Coleman and Éamon Ó Ciosáin</i></p> <p>Paper A.7.3: Non-Territorial Autonomy vs Territoriality Principle: Challenges to the Promotion of Romansh in Switzerland <i>Rico Valär</i></p>	<p>Paper B.7.2: Between Two Worlds: Antonio Gramsci and the Jewish National Question <i>Vincenzo Pinto</i></p>
16.00-16.30	<p style="text-align: center;">Closing plenary session Chair: Aleksandar Pavlović</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Venue: Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Kraljice Natalije 45, Belgrade</p>	



Non-Territorial Autonomy in Pluri-national States: The Time Has Come

Ephraim Nimni

Motto

“Give up yourself unto the moment

The time is now

Give up yourself unto the moment

Let's make this moment last”

Moloko

The aim of my presentation is to present a theoretical, historical and contemporary overview of NTA and to show what are its main principles. Pluri-national states, collective rights, minority representation, intertwined with individual rights, and how modalities of human rights have recently incorporated key elements of NTA.

I will show that territorial self-determination does not work for all aggrieved minorities as there are far too many nations than could possibly be turned into territorial states are possible. Moreover, in many cases, national communities share overlapping territorial spaces, making it impossible to exercise territorial self-determination. I will show that NTA results from the need to resolve the problem above, and, from the democratic deficit in the model of the nation state when the population is pluri-ethnic and multinational. The system of one person one vote does not represent minorities well by virtue of their numbers, creating minorities that feel alienated and under-represented because of their numerical status.

Following this, I will then briefly introduce the models of Otto Bauer and Karl Renner and briefly explain their historical circumstances and legacy. I will then discuss contemporary examples of NTA, showing that these models emerge simultaneously and in manners unrelated to each other, highlighting the fact that their simultaneity demonstrates that the problem of minority representation is recurrent. I will evaluate some criticisms of NTA and some notable contemporary empirical examples of the application of the model.

I will conclude by showing that we know little about the discontent of minorities emerges in different situations and that we need in depth empirical and theoretical studies on NTA. This is what ENTAN is for.

Ephraim Nimni. Before my retirement from Queen’s University Belfast, I was a Reader in Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict. I remain research active and my research follows two interrelated directions. I study comparative ethnic conflicts, theories of nationalism and minority rights, models of national self-determination that do not require separate nation states, multiculturalism and the applicability of the national cultural autonomy model to contemporary multinational states. The second direction is the study of the Israeli Palestinian conflict from the perspective of conflict resolution. I am a member of the board of the journal *Nations and Nationalism* and *Politikon*.

Panel A.1. Theorizing NTA

Paper A.1.1

Legal Theory and the Concept of Non-Territorial Autonomy

Jacob Dahl Rendtorff

Roskilde University jacrendt@ruc.dk

Abstract

This contribution will be a presentation of most important arguments from legal theory and social philosophy in relation to the concept of Non-territorial autonomy, as they appear in the theory and history of legal theory and philosophy of law. The paper will focus on the concept of justification of non-territorial autonomy in the perspective of these different theories. In particular, the paper will discuss the concepts of sovereignty, autonomy and integrity and the protection of minorities, as they are presented in these different concepts of legal theory and philosophy of law. Accordingly, the paper will briefly and schematically present and analyze the views of the concepts within the traditions of: 1. Classical natural law theory from Aristotle to Thomas Aquinas 2. Modern Natural Law Theory with Grotius and Pufendorf 3. The Historical School from Savigny 4. Legal Positivism of Kelsen and Hart 5. Legal Realism with Ross 6. Liberal Rights theory with Rawls and Dworkin, and 7. Postmodern concepts of law, polycentricity and legal pluralism. After the short analysis of the concepts within these traditions, the paper will suggest that the concept of Non-territorial autonomy needs a new foundation, building elements of the different traditions, but also transcending these traditions, faced with contemporary cosmopolitanism and challenges to human rights and sovereignty. The paper will, in this perspective mostly look at challenges and dilemmas in relation to the different traditions in order to understand the problems and possibilities of the legal concept of Non-territorial autonomy.

Keywords: *sovereignty, integrity, autonomy, human rights, constitutional protection of minorities, pluralism and multiculturalism.*

Jacob Dahl Rendtorff, PhD and Dr. Sc. Adm. is professor of philosophy and ethics at Roskilde University. Rendtorff's research covers business ethics, ethics and law, and philosophy of law. Rendtorff's recent publications are *Sustainability and Philosophy of Management*, Emerald 2019, *Cosmopolitan Business Ethics. Towards a Global Ethos of Management*, Routledge 2018. Rendtorff also wrote the book *Philosophy of Law (In Danish)*, Samfundslitteratur, 2005. Rendtorff is a member of the Steering Committee of FISP (International Federation of Philosophical Societies). Rendtorff is editor of the Springer Series *Ethical Economy*, Danish editor of *Retfærd*, the Nordic Journal of legal theory and legal philosophy. Presently, Rendtorff's research interests are political theory, philosophy of law and legal theory, ethics, sustainability, and cosmopolitan business ethics.

Paper A.1.2

An Ethical Framework for Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements

Stipe Buzar

Assistant professor, Libertas International University, sbuzar@libertas.hr; sbuzar@gmail.com

Abstract

The main purpose of the paper is to ask when are Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements (NTAAs) a morally appropriate/permisible/warranted response by states to various minority claims, given possible alternatives. As such, it is not about the relationships between minorities and majorities, but between minorities and the state. The two main questions are: (1) What are the criteria of moral appropriateness? (methodology); (2) When are any of the alternatives morally appropriate? (a typology based on the above-mentioned methodological criteria) Methodologically speaking, it makes sense to start from the most difficult of the alternatives to justify - secession - because it represents the most extreme possible claim of a minority towards a state (or even against a state). Once such a criterion or set of criteria is established, the criteria for other alternatives can only be reasonably lower, and the criteria for secession will be indicative of what these lower criteria could be. For each of the alternatives, the paper will establish a paradigmatic case, which can be historical, but can also be the result of a thought experiment, or a result of both, allowing for a casuistic approach.

Keywords: ethical framework, moral appropriateness, NTAA's, secession, states, minorities.

Stipe Buzar graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Culture at the University of Zagreb in 2009, where he also attained his doctorate in 2014 by defending a thesis about just war theory. His main research interests are in political ethics, ethics in international relations, and political philosophy. He regularly publishes in international and Croatian scientific journals. He is a member of the ENTAN network, and is currently a researcher in a scientific project on *Processes, actors, and justifications of state collapse* at Libertas International University, where he is affiliated.

Paper A.1.3

Peace with a Sunset-Clause: Legal Theorization of NTA Solutions

Assaf Derri

PhD Student at the University of Haifa, assafderri@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper suggests a comprehensive legal-theoretical framework for NTA solutions, premised upon the conceptions developed by Walter Benjamin for his legal theorem of war and peace, in his *Critique of Violence*. Benjamin noted and explained the need for a ritual of peace – even when war results are conclusive – by assigning to the peace treaty the functions and qualifications of a new 'law of the land' (*nomos*), binding on both parties, replacing a preceding lawless State of Nature.

NTA, designated for self-determination conflicts, is to be categorized – according to the paradigm suggested in the paper – as a liminal state, one in which war comes to an end but not necessarily by a peace treaty that signifies, more often than not, one party's victory and the other's defeat. Recognizing the prevalent, unfortunate, zero-sum character of many self-determination conflicts, that often entail prolonged, bloody struggles, NTA solutions structured along the lines of this paradigm will ideally offer an option for a long-term settlement, not necessarily forcing the hostile parties to abandon for good their full national aspirations, instead suspending them for an undecided period, at the same time allowing for a long-term peace *de-facto*.

In Benjamin's terms, in the absence of a final peace treaty with the full force of law, we may conceive of such a settlement as a law with a 'sunset clause', i.e. a legislative act containing a mechanism providing for its own annulment at some unstated time in the future (a 'temporary law'). Such theorization, I would argue, is absolutely essential for NTA if it is to survive as a viable alternative to self-determination wars in modern times, and to be regularly integrated into international instruments and gain recognition by international organizations such as the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice.

Keywords: *peace; nomos; temporary law; NTA*

Assaf Derri is a PhD candidate in the faculty of law at the University of Haifa and a lecturer in law in the College of Management Law School (Rishon LeZion, Israel). Assaf is a research fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute and at the Minerva Center for the Rule of Law under Extreme Conditions. He holds an LLM from American University (Washington College of Law, Washington DC) and an MA in literature from Tel-Aviv University. Assaf has recently published his first book (together with two co-authors) and has published in the past several papers in the fields of legal studies and literature, as well as two theatre plays.

Paper A.1.4

Karl Renner's Version of National Cultural Autonomy as a Centripetalist Model

Piet Goemans

Independent scholar, goemans.piet@gmail.com

Abstract

In this paper I argue that Karl Renner's version of national cultural autonomy (abbreviated as NCA) is centripetalist. This is controversial since NCA is sometimes associated with consociationalism, which contrasts with centripetalism. Authors like Arend Lijphart, Ephraim Nimni and Tove Malloy, have associated NCA with consociationalism. There are indeed surface similarities between NCA and consociationalism. Not only are both non-territorial models, NCA also shares basic characteristics with consociationalism, which, according to Lijphart, has four basic characteristics: grand coalition, minority veto, cultural autonomy and proportionality—NCA shares the last two. There are, however, also indications that NCA is more aptly associated with centripetal models. These models encourage the emergence and success of multi-ethnic political parties. Renner, who, certainly when it comes to NCA's institutional and legal details, was its intellectual father, shared this goal with centripetalism. He aimed at keeping his social democratic party multi-ethnic. Furthermore, Renner belonged to the centralist wing of his party—suggesting that he was closer to centripetalism than to consociationalism. This raises the question whether it is more apt to see Renner's version of NCA as a centripetal rather than a consociational model. To answer this question, I will first explain consociationalism and centripetalism. Then I will analyze Renner's model, taking into account all his relevant texts. I will ask to what extent Renner's version of cultural autonomy and proportionality are similar to those of consociationalism. Finally I will highlight important elements of Renner's model insofar as they aim to keep political parties multi-ethnic. It is important to excavate the centripetal origins of NCA, for, as such, it is one of the few models that grants minorities their due rights while aiming to keep parties multi-ethnic—an important cause of long-term political and federal stability.

Keywords: *Karl Renner, national cultural autonomy, centripetalism, consociationalism, multi-ethnic parties*

Piet Goemans successfully defended his PhD dissertation in December 2017 at the University of Pavia. My dissertation was entitled *Nations Without Nationalism. In Defense of National Cultural Autonomy*. It was well received by the jury-members: prof. Rainer Bauböck, prof. Helder De Schutter and my supervisor prof. Ian Carter. I obtained the “Lode”, the Italian second-highest distinction. After I obtained my PhD I taught, in 2018, a couple of course sessions on national minorities' right of self-government at the University of Pavia. In 2016 I was a visiting student research collaborator at the Department of Politics, Princeton University, under the supervision of prof. Alan Patten. I obtained an Mphil degree in philosophy at the University of Leuven (2011). My Mphil dissertation was also on the topic of national cultural autonomy. I have published on non-territorial autonomy and an article on group rights in the *University of Toronto Law Journal*.

Panel B.1. Minorities in Border Regions

Paper B.1.1

The Role of Minorities in the Border Divided Town Cieszyn/Český Těšín

Artur Boháč

Department of Geography, Technical University of Liberec, artur.bohac@tul.cz

Abstract

This paper focuses upon the political-geographical and cultural-geographical research of the status of minorities in the divided border town of Cieszyn (Poland)/Český Těšín (Czech Republic). The main goal of the text is to clarify the political, economic, social and especially cultural position of minorities in the town with an emphasis on the spatial context and cross-border cooperation. Borders have played a key role in the development of Central Europe, especially in the last century, and they created or exacerbated the problem of minorities. In the first half of the study the author outlines theoretical, political-geographical framework of divided cities, their organization and impact on the contacts between divided parts. Then he presents a turbulent history of the town in a broader context, because it was a part of so-called Teschen Silesia. The second half of the text is focused on the minorities and their existence within the town. This existence was connected with many difficulties, feelings of injustice and the creation, strengthening or importance of negative stereotypes of members of neighbouring national and ethnic groups. The application of non-territorial autonomy and connected phenomena in the town and the surrounding region will be studied. Attention is also paid to the functioning of towns that have been studied within the European Union, in other words in the euro-regions, which given long-term attempts to minimize the influence of national borders and the feeling of historical injustice among European nations, demonstrate a variety of positive and negative examples from recent events.

Keywords: *minority, divided city, border effect, cross-border cooperation, stereotype*

Artur Boháč is currently an assistant professor at the Department of Geography in the Technical University of Liberec. He holds a PhD. in Political and Cultural Geography from the University of Ostrava. His research interests are wide-ranging and include the geography of religion as well as political geography. He focuses on the situation of ethnic, religious and national minorities and their conflicts and coexistence in Central Europe as well as the Middle East. Besides being the author of a number of articles on these issues, he also participated in the project focusing on the detailed analysis of European cross-border co-operation. He is interested especially in the phenomenon of divided cities in Europe. He is a member of the Czech Geographical Society and international Borders and Migration Research Group.

Paper B.1.2

Modalities of Non-Territorial Autonomy: The Polish and Russian Minorities in the Multicultural Border Region of Latgale

Alīna Romanovska

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Abstract

Relations between different ethno-national minorities and national states, especially in neighbouring regions, are often problematic in terms of both cultural interaction and political priorities. It is determined by various cultural-historical, socio-economic, and political factors. In the Latgale region (Latvia) there are a lot of ethno-national minorities, including the Poles and Russians. They are two traditional types of non-territorial autonomy, based on the ethno-cultural features that are different from the Latvian national culture. The Latgale region is chosen for the study because the share of the Polish and Russian minorities here is the largest in Latvia. As a result, peculiarities of the non-territorial autonomy created by them are more clearly visible. Representatives of the Polish and Russian minorities have a different understanding of cultural autonomy, minority rights, and opportunities to realize their ethno-cultural potential in Latvia. The Latvian state has a common policy regarding the rights of ethnic and national minorities. However, the Polish and Russian minorities have different assessments of this policy and relations with the Latvian state. The study analyses the reasons for these different assessments in both an historical context and a more contemporary situation. To carry out the study, a survey was conducted among the Latgale youth (age group: 14-20) representing the Polish and the Russian minorities. The results of the study testify to the fact that the Polish and Russian young people have different views concerning the specifics of their minority rights, their belonging to the State of Latvia and participation in the cultural and socio-political life of the country. The study also presents the analysis of policy documents and the identification of cultural and historical aspects, which is based on the findings of Latvian researchers, the statistical data and the information from periodicals.

Keywords: *Non-territorial autonomy, ethno-cultural diversity, border region, ethno-national minority, minority rights*

Dr. Alīna Romanovska is a researcher of the Centre of Cultural Research of the Institute of the Humanities and Social Sciences at Daugavpils University, Latvia. Her research interests include identity, regional studies, contemporary Latvian culture and comparative literature. She has more than 70 publications, and is the author of a monograph, and the editor of the *Journal of Comparative Studies* issued by Daugavpils University. She has managed and/or participated in several international and national research projects, for example, *The Seventh Framework Programme*, Interreg, National Research Programme “Letonika”, Cost Action, H2020.

Paper B.1.3

Aspect of Non-Territorial Autonomy in Multilevel Heritage Management: The Case of the Kashubs in Poland

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Abstract

Many scientific papers have been devoted to the heritage of national and ethnic groups, however, there is a lack of analyses of the management of this heritage. The management of a heritage of non-territorial autonomy is a complex process due to the specificity of the goals and conditions of the functioning of key stakeholders representing NTA. There is a need to look for an adequate methodology to carry out appropriate empirical research. In the context of management sciences, theoretical solutions should be sought in subdisciplines such as territorial management, strategic management and organization management. In the analysis of the management of the non-territorial autonomy, a multi-level governance model can be used. It clearly presents the relations of NTA entities with government and local government authorities as well as international organizations. NTA heritage management can be analysed in terms of process in which the steering institutions affect the steered object in a way that allows the achievement of the intended goals using specific tools. The theoretical part of research requires literature studies and an analysis of secondary data. In the empirical part, the method of interviews, and surveys, supported by participatory observation, is used.

The subject of the study is the heritage of the Kashubs whose status oscillates between the ethnic minority and the national minority. The Kashubs are a group of over 200,000 inhabitants, living in northern Poland. Among the key stakeholders of the management model, the Kashubian Pomeranian Association plays a key role in the preservation and promotion of the Kashubian heritage. Kashubs do not have their own political party and thus do not have guaranteed seats in the national parliament. However, the Association has always acted as a spokesperson for the interests of indigenous Kashubian people towards the public authorities. Especially for the development of the Kashubian language, which thanks to the Association's many years of efforts is the only regional language legally recognized in Poland.

Keywords: *ethnic, national, minority, heritage, management, Kashub*

Dr Tomasz Studzieniecki is a founder and the president of the board of an international scientific non-government organization Academia Europa Nostra, and a coordinator of a regular conference promoting EU integration “Forum Europa Nostra”. He is a university teacher at Gdynia Maritime University (Poland) and an author of over 100 scientific publications. Studzieniecki is a specialist in international management and cross-border tourism and a member of several scientific organisations (such as the European Regional Science Association, Association of Advanced Baltic Studies, and the International Association of Scientific Experts



in Tourism). He is an EU expert of cross border cooperation and was a coordinator of several INTERREG projects on transnational heritage management. He worked as the director of the Baltic Sea Tourism Commission and collaborated with the European Institute of Cultural Routes. He also took part in initiatives for the development and promotion of Kashubian heritage. In 2013 he obtained the honorary title of Kaszuba for his activities. In 2018, the President of Poland awarded him with the Silver Cross of Merit for his lifetime achievement.

Panel A.2. NTA and Statecraft

Paper A.2.1

Flipping the Script: Do Groups Claim Non-Territorial Autonomy?

Rémi Léger

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Abstract:

Since the early 2000s, particularly since the publication of Ephraim Nimni's edited collection *National Cultural Autonomy and its Contemporary Critics* (2005), we have witnessed an explosion of interest in non-territorial autonomy among historians, political scientists and political philosophers. Key works here include those by Ephraim Nimni, Sherrill Stroschein, John Coakley, David Smith, Tove Malloy and Alexander Osipov. This rich scholarship has largely focused on what we could call 'models' of non-territorial autonomy – Renner and Bauer's model, the laws implemented in Estonia and Latvia in the 1920s, the scheme espoused by the Congress of European Nationalities, and institutional mechanisms created in Central and Eastern Europe over the past twenty years. Put simply, the scholarship is about institutions or principles rather than groups and their political claims. In this paper, I propose to 'flip the script', that is, I propose to examine the political claims of five language groups who do not exercise exclusive control over their homeland: the francophone minority communities in Canada, the Frisians in the Netherlands, the Kashubians in Poland, the Sorbs in Germany, and the Romansh in Switzerland. The paper proceeds in two main parts. The first part builds on Kymlicka's distinction between national minorities and ethnic groups, with the aim of exploring those groups that fall in-between. It serves to theorize, on the one hand, the large number of groups that exist in the real world and that don't constitute national minorities or ethnic groups, and on the other hand, to justify the five cases selected. The second part studies the political claims of these five language groups. Do these groups claim exclusive control in key domains including education and culture? Or more generally, do these groups claim *autonomy* (control of separate institutions) or *participation* (inclusion in majority institutions)? The answer to this question will help determine whether groups that could seemingly aspire to non-territorial autonomy actually claim non-territorial autonomy.

Keywords: *Will Kymlicka; national minorities; ethnic groups; in-between groups; societal cultures; political claims.*

Rémi Léger is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Simon Fraser University, Canada. His research examines the recognition and empowerment of linguistic minorities in comparative perspective. He currently serves as Editor of the journal *Francophonies d'Amérique*, as well as Chair of the research committee on The Politics of Language (RC50) at the International Political Science Association.

Paper A.2.2

Peace in the Middle East: The Matriarchal Version of Plurinational State

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Abstract

The resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is difficult to achieve for a number of reasons, such as the strong attachment to the whole region felt by both Jews and Palestinians; Witness the Palestinians' intimate connection to the locale – the specific homes and villages rather than the state or nationality. Both nations seem to shut themselves up within the boundaries of their identity, experience and history. All past peace treaties and current peace proposals are incapable and do not even attempt to liberate us from the true dictators – patriarchy, capitalism, nationalism, and religions. What is more crucial is that none of them pay enough attention either to the power relations between the two groups or their healing needs in face of their history of deep injury: the Shoah and the Nakba. They are different but they are ingrained in the bodies of both. Both feel vulnerable. Added to these issues are the changes on the ground: the growth of Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories and their political power; the expulsion, persecution, and oppression of Palestinians on an ongoing basis so as to make a peaceful solution more difficult; and steps towards the de-democratization and authoritarianization of the Israeli regime. To confront such complicated changes and considerations we urgently need to find a new way of thinking, a new vision.

Nevertheless, other changes within Israeli society should be acknowledged as they seem to open the doors to hope, such as: the trends of communitism, localization and the rise of the city; new kinds of activism by millennials that build a new social structure from below – including: restructuring of institutions such as the family, intimate relations, work and especially identity so that nationalism is challenged by sub-national identities, multiculturalism and queer perspectives. Moreover, the internal divisions within Israeli society are growing and localized, queer and generational disparities make such differences even greater, yet, I see them as opening the doors for peace. If this situation is recognized, the plurinational state of Bolivia may provide an appropriate approach.

Because I am deeply influenced by feminism and indigenous knowledge, but especially Modern Matriarchal Studies and the maternal gift economy, my peace proposal takes this NTA approach even further. I imagine an alternative political order between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, an order based on regions and zones open to all to build local communities (including urban areas), in which our common life is defined by sharing and gift giving rather than exchange and accumulation, a subsistence perspective and life production rather than goods production, inclusion of all – Jews, Muslim and Christian Palestinians, Druze, secular and religious, men and women and all other genders - balanced and consensual democracy, spirituality, respect for Mother Nature and all its inhabitants. Unlike other peace proposals on the table today, mine explicitly deals with the problematic of capitalism, nationalism, statehood

and liberalism as well as patriarchy – and it suggests how the power relations between Israelis and Palestinians may be truly altered. In this respect the principle of balance between communities is absolutely important. I am perfectly aware that implementation is not around the corner, but I believe the process has begun and such a vision may give the millennials as well as others a compass.

Keywords: *peace, matriarchy, Israel, Palestine*

Dr. Erella Shadmi is a feminist and peace activist and scholar living in Israel. She is the former head of the Women’s Studies Program at Beit Berl Academic College and a senior lecturer at the Department of Criminology and Law Enforcement. She published books and articles on social change movements, male violence against women, Whiteness, lesbianism, prostitution, maternal legacy, and critique of Israeli policing. As an activist, she co-founded Kol Ha’Isha - the Jerusalem feminist center, and the Fifth Mother – a women's peace movement. She has been active in Women in Black (a peace movement), a board member of B’tselem (an anti Occupation organization) and a member of the first and only Truth Commission established in Israel. She is now active in the Haifa Feminist Center, Isha Le’Isha, and currently leads the initiatives to establish the Museum of Women's Cultures and co-housing for elderly.

Paper A.2.3

The Organisation of the French Abroad: A Form of Non-Territorial Autonomy?

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Abstract

Governments sometimes think of their emigrants as an (extra)territorial extension of their administrative system. Ecuador or Chile's emigrants have thus been described as respectively the country's 5th or 14th region (Boccagni, 2014; Baeza, 2010). According to Michael Collyer (2014), this is a “rhetorical device” to create a “symbolic connection between core state institutions and emigrants” and reincorporate them into the body politic (Collyer, 2013). It is not only symbolic though. Increasingly, nation-states have been developing not only discourses, but also legislative and administrative devices to integrate better the emigrants in their home country body politic (Levitt and Dehesa, 2003; Ragazzi, 2014; Délano & Gamlen, 2014; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2016), and not only among emigration countries. In fact, France is one of the countries which has gone further in that direction. The French abroad not only keep their voting rights, they are also represented at local (with 443 consular councillors in 130 consular councils), “regional” (the Assembly of the French Abroad), and central levels (with 11 deputies and 12 senators). The aim of this presentation will be to analyse this French model and assess whether this can be assimilated to a form of non-territorial autonomy. We will first analyse the path-dependent process which created this very strong system of the representation of expatriates. We will then assess its politico-administrative reality, in comparison to the “internal” regions. We will finally question its symbolic dimension, as far as the imagination of the French nation-state is concerned. Is this new empowerment of emigrants a tool to reimagine sovereignty? How do emigrants participate in this new political and ideological opportunity structure?

Keywords: France, migration, institutions, transnationalism, sovereignty, democracy

Dr. Tudi Kernalegenn is a Marie Curie postdoctoral fellow at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL) and member of the Institut de Sciences politiques Louvain-Europe (ISPOLE). His research focuses on territorial politics, with an emphasis notably on regional politics, on migration politics and on political parties. He recently edited, with Romain Pasquier, a book assessing 30 years of regionalization in France (Berger-Levrault, 2018), and with Joel Belliveau and Jean-Olivier Roy, a book on national minorities during the long 1968 period (Ottawa University Press, accepted and to be published in Spring 2020).

Paper A.2.4

The Extent of Human Rights of Non-Territorial Autonomy Networks in Terms of State Constraints and History of Development in the Territory of the Slovak Republic

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Abstract

The protection of human rights is an integral part of developed democratic countries. Such rights as the right of association, freedom of religion, rights for national minorities and ethnic groups are also safeguarded. The article highlights the constraints created by the state that are necessary in a democratic society and that protect the public interest which then serves to protect the public order, health and other rights guaranteed by the Constitution or the highest law of any given state. The paper discusses individual constraints with regard to the principles of proportionality, necessity, legality and predictability, which are also used by the European Court of Human Rights in its judicial decisions in order to maintain a balance between rights and obligations. The article compares the historical development of the protection of human rights from the establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic to the present, with regard to the extent of the rights of national minorities and ethnic groups. At the same time it points out the clashes of the majority with the minority and the conflicts that arise due to the disrespect for history and the need to solve them. The paper summarizes the effective scope of the rights and obligations of the Non-Territorial Autonomy Network, which may be formed in the territory of the Slovak Republic. Finally, this paper offers possible solutions to the issue of the rights and obligations of the Non-Territorial Autonomy Network, which can alleviate conflicts and strengthen its culture, ethnicity and religion, but not to the detriment of democracy and the public interest.

Keywords: *Non-territorial autonomy networks, human rights, constraint, public interest, democracy.*

Vladimír Benedik, (Mgr. Ing., Ph.D.) [Male] graduated from the Faculty of Wood Sciences and Technology of the Technical University in Zvolen in the field of study 8.3.1. Protection of Persons and Property, and also graduated from the Faculty of Law at the Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica in the field of study 3.4.1 Law. He currently works at the Faculty of Security Engineering at the University of Žilina as an assistant professor in the Department of Crisis Management, where he also participates in the teaching of Crisis Management, Politology, the Legal Relationship of Crisis Situations, the Protection of the Population and Professional Practice. Within the framework of scientific profiling, he follows mainly the theme of the protection of people, in other words civil protection, fire protection, occupational health and safety, and the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

Panel B.2. Cross-border Cooperation

Paper B.2.1

Minorities in Cross-Border Cooperation – A Forgotten Potential or a Challenge to the Concept of Minority?

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Abstract

Non-territorial autonomy (NTA) is a concept that ensures the political and cultural participation of national minorities in society. It is intended to stabilize peace and develop constructive minority-majority relations. The concept furthermore aspires to appease minorities with living in a territorial state they do not identify with inherently and thus avoid threats to that state's territorial integrity. Many National minorities as understood by the European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM), are the result of the drawing up of controversial borders in the 19th and 20th centuries. When the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires finally collapsed at the end of the First World War, new states were established, and Europe's borders were rearranged. In the interwar years, many of the newly created or enlarged states attempted to nationally homogenize their territory, and minorities were perceived as a threat to national sovereignty. The same applied in 1945, when minority conflicts were perceived as a main caveat of the post Second World War order in Europe. Nevertheless, NTA settlements were achieved in some regions aiming to contain sensitive national balances without questioning borders. The EU integration project, on the other hand, has encouraged diversity and the overcoming of borders. Yet, neither research nor the more technocratic approach of EU initiatives such as Interreg have focused specifically on how NTA arrangements could involve minorities in border regions as potential agents of successful cross-border cooperation, or whether NTA discourages social integration and leads to the containment of national minorities. This presentation will examine two NTA cases focusing on the respective minorities' involvement in cross-border cooperation: Denmark-Germany (Schleswig) and Hungary-Croatia (Baranya). I will analyze cross-border cooperation and the involvement of the minorities; including the consequences of European integration and cross-border region building have had for the self-understanding of minorities and the concept of NTA.

Keywords: *minorities, non-territorial autonomy, cross-border cooperation, Interreg, regional development*

Martin Klatt *1964, has been Associate Professor at the Centre for Border Region Studies, previously the Department of Border Region Studies, at the University of Southern Denmark since 2005. He holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of Southern Denmark (2002). Previous appointments at the Danish Institute of Border Region Studies (2001-2003), the Research Department at the Danish Central Library for South Schleswig (1997-2000), and the Schleswig-Holstein Institute for Peace Research (1996). His research focuses on border region history, national minorities, cross-border regions in Europe and cross-border cooperation.

Paper B.2.2

The Management of Cross-border Cooperation Involving Non-territorial Autonomy - a Case Study of the Polish Minority in the Zaolzie Region of the Czech Republic

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Abstract

The issue of the Polish minority in the Czech Republic illustrates the problem of cross-border relations on non-territorial autonomy. The issue of the Polish minority in the Czech Republic illustrates the problem of cross-border relations on non-territorial autonomy. It provides a good example of how one can manage relations between two nations in a borderland to respect minority rights, but at the same time it involves the minority in the process of regional development as well as the integration process. The special tool helpful in this process is cross-border cooperation as well as cross border projects supported by the INTERREG Programme.

The Polish minority appeared in Czechoslovakia after the First World War and was associated with the nationality of Cieszyn Silesia. As a result of several border changes on the Czech side, around 120-150 thousand Poles remained in Zaolzie. It is estimated that currently about 130,000 people of Polish origin live in the Czech Republic (about 1.3 percent of the country's population), most of them - in Zaolzie and near Ostrava.

Although it can be said that the Polish minority lives in Czechia on territory without autonomy, thanks to good relations between Poland and the Czech Republic the ethnic Polish community has special rights which can serve as a useful example of good practice for other countries. The leading organizations that stimulate the cultural and social life of the Polish minority in the Czech Republic include the Polish Cultural and Educational Association, as well as the Congress of Poles in the Czech Republic, which associates around 30 Polish local organizations. Polish environments in the Czech Republic are integrated, among others through the activities of local clubs, cultural and social centres, and music bands. Polish organizations undertake many activities that help maintain Polishness in Zaolzie. These activities are strongly supported by the government of the Republic of Poland and the government of the Czech Republic, which support them financially as well as substantively. Conditions for conducting social and cultural activities by the Polish minority in the Czech Republic may provide model solutions for many other countries. A distinguishing feature of the situation of the Polish minority in the Czech Republic in the border region of Zaolzie is also the possibility of using funds from the INTERREG VA Czech Republic-Poland program. In addition to the Polish and Czech government funds, this is another very important source of maintaining the activity of Polish organizations in the Czech Republic.

The research problem of the work is to assess the possibilities of supporting national minorities living in non-territorial autonomy in the borderlands using funds for cross-border cooperation. As part of the work, three case studies on the inclusion of the Polish national minority in cross-

border projects implemented thanks to the support from the INTERREG VA Czech Republic-Poland Program will be analysed. This will demonstrate good practice in cross-border cooperation which supports the Polish national minority on non-territorial autonomy in the Czech Republic.

The purpose of the work is to identify important factors in managing cross-border cooperation with the involvement of national minorities in non-territorial autonomy. In order to achieve the aims of the work, qualitative research will be used such as desk research analysis (including the documentation of cross-border projects implemented with the involvement of the Polish national minority in the Czech Republic) and interviews with the representatives of the Cieszyn Silesia Euro-region as well as the representatives of the Polish minority involved in cross-border projects.

Keywords: *minority, cross-border cooperation, INTERREG VA, project management*

Joanna Kurowska-Pysz is a doctor of economic sciences in the field of management sciences. She has extensive experience in managing international projects, co-financed by Interreg, EEA Grants, Erasmus Plus, and the Visegrad Fund programs. She is also European Commission expert (DG REGIO) for territorial cooperation and she works as adviser for many local government units as well as non-governmental organizations, involved in cross-border cooperation. Joanna Kurowska-Pysz is involved in teams responsible for the evaluation of international EU programs, especially Interreg. She specializes in managing project partnerships and developing network collaboration in projects, communication with project stakeholders, and the monitoring and evaluation of projects. She combines her professional experience in this field with scientific interests, which resulted in many scientific publications on managing international projects, including cross-border projects, especially on the Polish-Czech borderland. Joanna Kurowska-Pysz also performs the function of the Director of the Research Institute on Territorial and Inter-Organizational Cooperation at WSB University in Dąbrowa Górnicza. She actively cooperates with international academic teams specializing in research on territorial and inter-organizational cooperation, namely: VALORIZA - Research Centre for Endogenous Resource Valorization at the Technical University in Portalegre, Portugal and Environmental Resources Analysis Research Group ARAM, University of Extremadura, Spain. She is a member of Polish Academy of Science.

Paper B.2.3

Polish Minority Educational Institutions in the Czech Republic and Their Engagement in Cross-border Co-operation with Poland: Proto-diplomacy or not?

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Abstract

The territory of Těšín Silesia, traditionally inhabited mainly by Polish speakers, was divided between Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1920. 90 years on and there are still some 26,000 inhabitants, who declared their Polish nationality during the last census in 2011. There are also 21 primary and secondary schools with Polish as the language of instruction in the region, where some 1,600 pupils study at the moment. These schools enjoy a high level of autonomy.

This paper analyses the cross-border co-operation activities of these schools as well as that of the public institutions working for the Polish minority in the Těšín Silesia region. It does it mainly by the analysis of the content of their cross-border co-operation initiatives and other co-operation activities with the kin-state of Poland. The contribution of non-territorial autonomy principles will be studied. Moreover, interviews with teachers from those schools as well as the parents of their pupils complement the information that has been obtained. Research also involves the opinions of representatives of the Czech majority society in the region.

In spite of this the research helped to reveal several recently launched strong initiatives preventing the progress of the assimilation of the Polish minority into Czech society, it came to the conclusion that the cross-border co-operation of Polish minority schools and other educational institutions does not present any danger of proto-diplomacy. On the contrary, the role of the Polish national minority in cross-border cooperation with the kin-state can be described as serving as a bridge between neighbours. This is probably also due to the application of non-territorial autonomy principles.

***Keywords:** Polish minority in the Czech Republic, schools, cross-border co-operation, kin-state*

Hynek Böhm holds PhD. in political geography. He has been professionally active in the field of cross-border co-operation (CBC) during most of his professional career in public administration, NGOs and academia. After having worked for the European Commission and the Czech public administration he worked for the Institut EuroSchola, which is a think-tank focused on cross-border co-operation on Czech-Polish-Slovak borders. He was also a founding member of Transfrontier EuroInstitute Network (www.transfrontier.eu), which has been operating since 2010. Currently he teaches political geography with a focus on border studies at Technical University of Liberec (CZ) and University of Opole (PL). His main papers focus on the cross-border co-operation, including the of national minorities in CBC, and para-diplomacy mainly in post-communist Europe and his work can be found on: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Hynek_Boehm

Paper B.2.4

The Bulgarian National Minority in Serbia: Cross-Border Cooperation and Modalities of Non-Territorial Autonomy

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Abstract

The Balkans is the European region with the most ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities as consequence of the longtime Ottoman rule, the Balkan and the two World wars, and the breakup of Yugoslavia. As a result, cross-border cooperation (CBC) in the light of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) in the region has always been a challenge, marked by many controversies and problematic issues. Some of these are the bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Serbia with regards to the 18,543 Bulgarians (Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Serbia, 2011) who stayed in the Serbian territory as a result of the Peace Treaty of Neuilly, signed between the Entente and Bulgaria on November 27, 1919.

The proposed research aims to examine in-depth the features of CBC and NTA arrangements that can help to resolve conflicts between the two Balkan countries. After a historic overview, four up-to-date case studies are analyzed using a comparative approach: (1) The review of the 2015 Action Plan of the Serbian Government for the protection of the rights of national minorities; (2) The impact of the media privatization process in Serbia on the right to information in its native language for the Bulgarian national minority; (3) The issues related to the economic underdevelopment of the municipalities of Bosilegrad and Dimitrovgrad, where the Bulgarians constitute a majority; and, (4) The requests coming from both the Bulgarian communities in Serbia and Bulgaria with regard to regaining the previous name of Dimitrovgrad which was Caribrod.

Serbian-Bulgarian relationships vary over time following various geopolitical interests and options. Nowadays, Bulgaria strongly supports the process of Serbia’s European integration. The research results presume that the increasing recognition of the collective ethnic minority rights and the regularly implemented NTA arrangements are the democratic discourse that will accelerate the successful CBC and provide the key factor for the stability in the Balkan region.

The paper has been developed within the framework of the research project of the National Scientific Fund of Bulgaria: DCOST 01/25-20.02.2017 and the Program *Young Scientists and Post Docs* of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science.

Keywords: *Cross-border cooperation, national minorities, EU integration, Bulgarian-Serbian relations*



Dr. Mariyan Tomov is a postdoctoral researcher (funded by the Program *Young Scientists and Post Docs* of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science) at the Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”, Bulgaria.. In September 2014 he successfully defended his PhD dissertation at the same University. His recent work is on diverse international projects related to political communication, populist discourse, ethnic minorities in the Balkans, migration, ICTs, and the virtual family. He has publications in factor rated journals. Mariyan Tomov is the author of scientific publications and of a number of conference papers including those presented at HCI International in Orlando, Florida, USA, 2019, XIX ISA World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, Canada, 2018. He has been awarded with grants for his participation in different projects.

Dr. Lilia Raycheva is Professor at the Department of Communication and Audio-Visual Production at the Faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication of the St. Kliment Ohridski Sofia University in Bulgaria. Her main scholarly interests are in the area of communication and media studies, AV production, media ecosystem, impacts of ICTs, and contemporary social issues. She is the author and editor of 21 books and of 24 SCOPUS indexed articles. Her HIRSH index is 3. She has been extensively published at home and abroad. She has also served as a member of the National broadcasting regulator – the Council for Electronic Media (2001-2008). Currently she is an expert at the Ministry of Education and Science. She has been the project coordinator of a number international and national research projects.

Panel A.3. Theoretical and Historical Aspects of Diversity Management

Paper A.3.1

The Possibilities and limits of Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements in Reaching the Indigenous Self-determination

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Abstract

Despite the expressed reservations of states about the affirmation of indigenous self-determination, indigenous peoples are the third and most recent category of the rights holders, recognized by the international law. The indigenous people form a separate legal category, that should not be subjugated to minorities or guaranteed minority rights. They do not perceive themselves as minorities, and according to them (and according to many international laws theorists), they are the “original peoples”, the first ones occupying the territory, a previously self-governed nation, and their identity is undoubtedly linked to the land to which they belong and with which they have a strong connection. In this regard, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) contains several articles that affirm the principle of internal self-determination for indigenous peoples, through: establishing and controlling educational institutions in their mother tongue; territorial autonomy; control over natural resources; and the promotion and maintenance of institutional structures, customs, procedures and practices in accordance with the internationally recognized human rights standards. One of these foundations on which the indigenous self-determination can be secured, apart from non-discrimination, respect for cultural integrity, social justice, development, and self-government is control over traditional land, territories and traditionally owned resources. This research is grounded on the theoretical dilemmas about the applicability of Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA) model to protect and promote the inherent rights of indigenous peoples. Although the practice can offer some positive examples (like the self – governance of the Saami People), the question still remains if NTA is to be the adequate model for reaching out to indigenous self – determination. The research will focus on the features of the NTA and its possibilities in addressing the indigenous communities’ self-government needs.

***Keywords:** Non-Territorial Autonomy; self- determination, indigenous groups, territory, self-governance*

Dr. Natalija Shikova is a lawyer and Assistant Professor at the International Balkan University in Skopje, the Republic of North Macedonia. Her main area of interest is Public law, in particular International Law. She is an author of a book and a number of articles and analyses in the related field, and some of them are: “Self-Determination of peoples in the Period of Globalization”, Skopje, Magor, 2009 (book); Articles: Economic Justification of the Secession; Case Analysis of



Kosovo's and Montenegro's Separation from Serbia, Political Science Forum, Vol. 6, No. 2, Fall 2017; and, Practicing Internal Self-Determination Vis-a-Vis Vital Quests for Secession; German Law Journal Vol. 17 No. 02, 2016. Apart from academia , she has more than 15 years professional experience in providing assistance to the national and international constituencies as a local and international consultant in the field of human rights protection, development of inter – ethnic relationships and creation of confidence building measures.

Paper A.3.2

NTA and the International Arena in Historical Perspective: The European Nationalities Congress and the League of Nations

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Abstract

In seeking to address claims for National Self Determination through the creation of new, putatively ‘national’ states, the post-First World War peace settlements amply confirmed the warnings previously expressed by Karl Renner and Otto Bauer at the turn of the 20th century. The new states that came into being in Central and Eastern Europe were to a greater or lesser extent plural society states containing sizeable national minority populations. The marginalisation of these minority communities during the early 1920s prompted their leaders to join forces through the transnational European Nationalities Congress (ENC – estd. 1925), which adopted NTA as a central guiding principle. This paper examines the nature of ENC and its founding programme, arguing that this should be situated within the sphere of an emerging international civil society committed to building a durable peace and a united Europe. At the outset, ENC leaders invested great hopes in the League of Nations, whose ‘minority protection’ system was supposed to ensure respect of treaty commitments entered into by the new successor states. In their eyes, however, these limited provisions were insufficient to ensure a sustainable regulation of the ‘nationality question’ – the ENC accordingly lobbied for genuinely pan-European system of minority rights based on NTA, which it portrayed as a modality for the genuine empowerment of minorities as democratic actors. In response, the League Secretariat produced an evaluation of the NTA model in 1931, but found no compelling evidence of its general applicability. The paper assesses the interaction between the two parties, the differing conceptions of statehood they brought to bear, and the reasons why the ENC was unable to advance its agenda. It also shows the continued resonance of these 1920s debates for the discussion of minority rights within the contemporary international arena.

Keywords: *NTA, minority rights, international organisations, Central and Eastern Europe, democracy*

Professor David J. Smith holds the Alec Nove Chair in Central and East European Studies at the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Glasgow, and is Co-Editor of the journal *Europe-Asia Studies*. Smith's main research interests are ethnic politics and the governance of diversity in Central and Eastern Europe, both past and present. He has written extensively on minority issues in inter-state relations, including the article ‘Framing the national question in Central and Eastern Europe: A quadratic nexus?’ (*Ethnopolitics* 2(1) 2002) and the monograph *Ethnic Diversity and the Nation-State* (Routledge 2012, with John Hiden). He has headed two large research projects examining historical and contemporary practices of minority non-territorial autonomy across the Central and East European region and the resonances these have carried for wider international debates on the accommodation of ethnic diversity.

Paper A.3.3

The Syriac Tradition as a Different Form of Demos: Redefining Identity & Belonging Alongside Immigratory and Scattered Communities in Europe

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Abstract

Whether called – and calling themselves – Assyrian, Aramaic, Syriac, or otherwise, the inheritors of the Syriac Tradition, indigenous to the most tumultuous swathe of today’s Middle East but present in ever-more significant proportion across Europe, represent a unique and pressing challenge to the question of what constitutes a ‘national group,’ and to how such groups can be represented in a more perfectly democratic and democratic system.

This paper explores, first, exactly how and why the Syriac Tradition resists definition according to established models of minority representation, and secondly, how attempts to re-define itself within these models has resulted in an existential fracturing that threatens both the Tradition’s viability as a cultural force and (ironically) its ability to ensure its own political representation within those same inadequate models.

Finally, the paper proposes a new approach to understanding the Syriac Tradition, one which defines it according to its own terms and perspectives instead of trying to contort its essential qualities to align with foreign, essentially western expectations. This in turn suggests and allows, within the European framework, modalities of autonomy that rely neither on territory, nor on an outwardly demarcated secular ethno-nationalism.

Neither older, calcified understandings of National Self-Determination nor mainstream interpretations of the supposedly more-flexible National Personal/Cultural Autonomy ideal are able to satisfactorily address the immigratory, scattered Syriac Tradition as it makes roots in Europe (or continues to look back towards, sometimes attempt to effect change in, its homeland). Current threads of plurinational or post-national theorizing in Europe, à la Habermas, handicap themselves by perspectives and starting assumptions too predominantly West-European. Precisely because of its illegibility from such perspectives, the Syriac Tradition, with new centres for instance in suburban Stockholm and rural Holland, becomes the perfect subject with which to initiate a re-examination of ‘nationhood’ at this crucial moment in Europe’s history.

Keywords: *Syriac, Religious Identity, Scattered Minorities, Migration and NTA, Democracy, Middle East*

Robert Isaf is working towards a PhD at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, where he focuses on literature and national identity formation. A (Syriac-tradition) Maronite himself, he is a professional poet and journalist; his first peer-reviewed academic paper, on “Assyrian Nationalism” at the end of the Ottoman Empire, will be published through Leiden University later this year. His areas of expertise cover the Germanic, Slavic, and Semitic worlds: he has translated extensively from Russian verse, his work with Serbo-Bosno-Croatian includes an



ongoing project on the Bosnian ‘national poet’ Mak Dizdar, and a soon-to-be-published long-form journalistic article takes as its theme collective memory and communal guilt in the context of contemporary Polish Nationalism. Research threads following sub-national communities and questions of representation, autonomy, narrative-building, and social choice in the Lebanese and American (Southern) contexts inform this proposed paper specifically, which he feels to be of immediate and unique relevance in our contemporary milieu.

Panel B.3. Integration of Societies

Paper B.3.1

Social Rights of Minorities in Montenegro: Integration Based on a Good Practice

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Abstract

During the years of dissolution of the Yugoslav federation, Montenegro managed to preserve its internal peace and multi-ethnic coexistence. Furthermore, it also opened wide its borders and became a refuge to columns of refugees and displaced persons. At one moment, the refugee and displaced population reached the number of one quarter of the total population of Montenegro. This contributed to the spread of the idea of additional non-territorial autonomy of national minorities in the former Yugoslavia and Montenegro. Adding to the already existing national minorities who lived in the country as Montenegrin citizens, it is possible to realise the actual multi-ethnic challenges Montenegro has faced. For this reason, particular attention had to be paid to the protection of national minorities and the possible ways their identity can be preserved, but also to encourage their integration in Montenegrin society. The paper will look into the challenges that the state faces in providing wider non-territorial autonomy to national minorities, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of doing so.

The paper will focus on the social rights of national minorities in Montenegro, as a very important part for non-territorial autonomy. The analysis will look into the employment and education of members of national minorities and minority communities in Montenegro, in order to show that non-territorial autonomy is highly dependent on two social rights. An insight into the legal and institutional framework will also be a part of the paper, as a part of the comparative analysis of Montenegro and other Balkan countries and the European Union. It will demonstrate that non-territorial autonomy is essentially necessary and will determine the actual level of autonomy, especially of the national minority councils. Finding Montenegro to be an example of good practice is the key aim of the paper.

***Keywords:** Montenegro, autonomy, national minorities, employment, education*

Bojan Božović graduated from the Faculty of Law of the University in Montenegro (Bachelor in Law) and the Faculty of Law of the University of Novi Sad (Master of Law). He currently pursues a Ph.D. at the Faculty of Law of the University of Zagreb. He has worked as a teaching assistant at the University of Donja Gorica (UDG) since 2008 in the following courses: International Public Law, Human Rights, International Private Law and EU Law. Bojan has been an active public speaker on human rights and international law and has presented at numerous



conferences. He was a research fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative and International Law Hamburg (Max-Planck-Institut für ausländisches und internationales Privatrecht Hamburg) in 2015. He has also served as the coach of the UDG university team for Moot Court competitions. Bojan has published numerous papers on international law and human rights in both Montenegro and abroad.

Branko Bošković teaches in the Humanities Department of the University of Donja Gorica, Podgorica, Montenegro. He was awarded his PhD at the University of Donja Gorica, with a thesis entitled “The Political Sociology of Anthony Giddens”. His main field of interest is political sociology, with the focus on welfare state transformation on the European continent. He has written several articles on the topic of social investment, which is the key field of his occupation. He is a member of the Centre for young scientists and researchers and a member of the Council for sociology, philosophy and psychology at the Montenegrin Academy of Arts and Social Sciences. He is a Science communication officer of the ENTAN network.

Paper B.3.2

Implementing Regulation Regarding Minority Rights in Romania – A Special overview on the Use of Minority Languages

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Abstract:

The general concept of non-territorial autonomy is analyzed in the specialized doctrine from various perspectives - considered, in fact, as its attributes – such as, cultural, linguistic, educational, traditional and religious perspectives- all considering the identity of the minority group that lives in a majority community.

The present paper, part of a larger research, proposes, on the one hand, an analysis of the legal framework regarding non-territorial autonomy in Romania - from the perspective of the regulations regarding the establishment, organization and functioning of the authorities with their role in the elections and the administrative structures at a local level and, whilst considering the role played by the minority groups in this framework. Because Romania has recently adopted a new fundamental regulation for the functioning of public administration – the New Administrative Code - which contains important regulations which have an impact on minorities' lives, another purpose of this research is to track how they are applied to the provisions on the linguistic rights of the national minorities included in Local Public Administrative Regulation .

The objectives of this research will be, first, to use the data obtained in national reports and secondly, to making recommendations on the most efficient way in which the legislative norms regarding the protection of minorities can be applied, focusing on costs, human and financial resources.

Keywords: *public administration, non-territorial autonomy, minorities, Romanian Administrative Code*

Mihnea Claudiu Drumea (BA 1999, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Ph.D. 2007, Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj) is a professor of labour law, transport law and the history of law at the Spiru Haret University. So far, he has published 8 course books on Labour Law, Social Security Rights, and Transport Law and over 30 papers at national and international conferences. He has lectured at workshops (Galati, 2013, France, 2009 and 2015) and within specific projects (2013-2015), he has delivered papers in over 40 conferences and participated in 9 projects with European Funds.



Flavia Lucia Ghencea gained a BA in law, 1999 in at the Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, and a BA in Psychology in 2018, from the Ovidius University of Constanța. In 2012 she gained her PhD in administrative law at the University of Bucharest). She is Associate Professor at Spiru Haret University and the Ovidius University. She is Course Coordinator for Administrative and Constitutional law, and Comparative Administrative Systems. Flavia is also a researcher at the Central Research Institute of “Spiru Haret” University, Bucharest, Romania. She has coordinated research projects on children’s rights, citizen’s rights and education. She has published 7 course books and over 45 articles in journals or chapters in books, and has delivered speeches in over 25 conferences and participated in 3 project with European Funds.

Paper B.3.3

An Overview on Romanian Strategies Regarding the Roma Minority Concerning Education and Employment

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Abstract

According to the Council of Europe, the Roma population in Romania makes up about 8.6 per cent of the country's population representing the largest minority group, exceeding the Hungarian minority. Demographic trends make the problem of the Roma minority even more stringent, through the fact that the population is aging despite the Romas' positive natural growth. Starting in 2001, the Romanian Government elaborated a Strategy for improving conditions for the Roma, which is permanently updated according to the political commitment at the international level, based on the following guiding principles: consensuality, social utility, sectorial division, decentralization in execution, legislative compatibility, identity differentiation, equality. Education provides the key to a better access to the labour market and in the last two decades the authorities have taken several actions concerning Roma social inclusion but the results are not the ones expected. It is a fact that, especially in the case of children, a low level of life, marginalized communities, rural area and culture and traditions may generate socially exclusion and inequality. The study aims to make an overview of the Romanian governmental policies regarding the improvement of the situation of the Roma minority, especially with regard to education and employment. The results of the study could be useful for a better correlation of social policies with an impact on the living conditions of the Roma.

Keywords: *Roma minority, education, socially assisted, traditions, employment policies, scattered minorities*

Laura Patache is an Associate Professor of Economics and a researcher at the Central Research Institute of "Spiru Haret" at the University, Bucharest, Romania. Laura received her B.A. from Ovidius University Constanta in 1999 and completed her Ph.D. in Economics at the Bucharest University of Economic Studies in 2009. She has co-authored more than 60 articles in journals or books of proceedings in the fields of: labour economics, regional development, social policies and education. She is working on research projects dealing with youth employment (HRD projects) and the concept of non-territorial autonomy (COST project). Her main research interests lie in the area of employment and the labour market; social programmes; higher education; and econometric methods for program and policy evaluation. She is a member of: the Romanian Regional Science Association (RRSA), the European Regional Science Association (ERSA), the Regional Science Association International (RSAI), the American Economic Association (AEA) and The National Association of Romanian Authorized Valuers (ANEVAR).

Octav Neguriță has been licensed in business administration since 2000, and graduated with a business administration postgraduate specialization in 2003. Between 2000-2006 he trained courses at the Doctoral School of "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University from Iași. He gained the title of doctor of economics in 2006. From 2001 onwards, he was an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Financial and Accounting Management from Spiru Haret University, and in 2006 he acquired a teacher's degree of lecturer and in 2012 he acquired the degree of Assistant Professor. He is the author or co-author of 9 university courses, and published over 35 articles in national or international specialist journals. He participated in several international scientific forums, with specialized articles, or as a member of the organizing and scientific committees.

Paper B.3.4

The Subjectively Perceived Quality of Life of the Socially Excluded Roma Communities in the Liberec Region (Czechia)

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Abstract

In the Czech Republic, a high percentage of the population of socially excluded localities are members of the Roma minority. In many cases, the majority population perceives a socially excluded locality as a place where Roma live, which is misleading and leads to the formation of negative stereotypes. Moreover, the presence of socially excluded localities in municipalities is negatively perceived by other residents; we often come across the idea that these sites need to be abolished or demolished, while the fate of their inhabitants is indifferent to people. However, what is the reality of the life of the Roma minority in socially excluded localities?

The paper describes the results of a two-year study (2018 - 2019) aimed at revealing how the Roma people of socially excluded localities in the Liberec region assess their life situation. The focus of attention was on the subjectively perceived quality of life and its individual parameters, which are not based on material goods but rather on relationships between people and the perception of the place where people live: (a) relationships with family, friends and neighbours; (b) satisfaction with the place where they live; (c) trust in people; and (d) a sense of security. The results of the Roma minority were then compared with the results of the majority population, and it was found that socially excluded Roma are on average in satisfaction with their lives as the majority, in some locations even more satisfied. The reason for this is a different perception of life priorities, where family and friends' relationships are more important for the Roma, while property does not play such an important role. This difference should then be taken into account when trying to socially include the Roma with respect to their different culture, potentially by some form of Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA).

Keywords: *Roma minority, socially excluded localities, quality of life, social inclusion, Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA), sense of place, cultural geography.*

Dr. Emil Drápela is a human geographer who specializes in regional development, social and economic development, and the geography of transport and tourism. After working for 8 years at the Transport Research Centre and in the private sector, he is now Deputy Head of the Department of Geography at the Technical University of Liberec. In his works, he uses the methods of spatial analysis and statistics, which implement historical, economic and social data. Since 2014, he has been focusing more on the Liberec Region in his publications, as an example of an interesting border region with a turbulent history and many current social, economic and environmental problems. During his career, he has worked on more than 60 research and education projects and has worked with entities from more than 30 countries.

Paper B.3.5

The Integration of Ethnic Minorities by the Co-production of Public Services

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Abstract

Democracy is the most satisfying governmental form for a majority with potential benefits for a minority. However, overall satisfaction with democracy is higher in those countries, where the integration for ethnic and other minorities is provided. Separatist movements and ethnic conflicts quite often arise when members of society are not treated as equal, understood, and respected or public services are not available to them on the equal basis. This raises questions about possible changes, including the possibility of forming a new national state. In order to prevent ethnic conflicts and integrate ethnic minorities, co-production, which provides opportunities for citizens and service users to get involved in the design, delivery, and assessment of public services (Loeffler & Bovaird 2016), is suggested as a public governance arrangement. Getting insights from co-production research (Ostrom 1990; Brandsen, & Honingh 2015; etc.) and cases of the contribution of ethnic minorities to the provision of public services, opportunities for the integration of ethnic minorities by their co-production of public services will be discussed.

Keywords: *ethnic conflicts; minority integration; co-production of public services.*

Andrius Puksas is a doctor of laws (in 2014 he defended his thesis ‘An Appreciable Effect on Competition and Trade Provision. The Problems of Agreements of Minor Importance’) He is the head of Law and Public Procurement Office at the Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius, Lithuania. He is a member of the Central Electoral Commission of the Republic of Lithuania, and the director of the Institute of the Lithuanian Scientific Society. He also is a member of Centre for Migration Studies at the Prague Business School, the Council at the Lithuanian Society of Young Researchers and the Lithuanian Scientific Society.

Dangis Gudelis is an associate professor of public administration at the Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius, Lithuania. His research interests include local governance, and public service management as well as migration issues.

Panel A.4. Contemporary Perspectives on NTA

Paper A.4.1

The Effectiveness of Non-Territorial Cultural Autonomies in Central and South Eastern Europe

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Abstract

In Central and Eastern Europe, despite the existing dominance of the nation state model (as well as the communist legacy) whereby public institutions have been widely viewed and often still function as the almost exclusive property of the titular nations, several countries started to create non-territorial autonomy frameworks for their domestic minorities from the early 1990s onwards, while the idea of attaching voting rights separately to ethnic communities can be traced back as early as the late period of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. Given the controversial nature of these existing Post-Communist arrangements, the crucial questions to be addressed are whether or not they were more likely created in a top-down manner, in a way to offer minorities only symbolic and apolitical power, and to what extent these systems can be considered as effective structures that empower and enable minorities to organize and represent themselves, or on the contrary, they serve rather as tools of the large expansion of state control over minority issues. The paper, from a theoretical perspective, but supported with electoral statistics and country experiences, aims to contribute to increasing understanding about whether such non-territorial regimes can be considered successful forms of diversity management and minority integration.

Keywords: non-territorial autonomy, national-cultural autonomy, minority self-governments/councils, minority elections, political participation, political representation

Balázs Dobos obtained MA degrees in history and political science at the Eötvös Loránd University and a PhD in political science at the Corvinus University of Budapest. Since 2007, he has been working as a research fellow, and since 2019 as a senior research fellow at the Institute for Minority Studies within the Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. He teaches courses on ethnic conflict and minority policies in East Central Europe at Corvinus. His research field mainly concerns the political and legal situation, the political participation and representation of national and ethnic minorities through various institutional channels in Hungary and in the broader Central and Eastern European region, in particular non-territorial cultural autonomies and Roma political mobilization.

Paper A.4.2

Modalities of Non-Territorial Autonomy in North Macedonia: A Preliminary Study

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Abstract

The paper examines the modalities of cultural (non-territorial) autonomy in the Republic of North Macedonia. This paper considers the main elements of Renner's model as depicted by K. Porter correlating legal and policy aspects of the Macedonian system along these principles: 1) a minority does not seek to secede; 2) a minority is entitled to maintain its distinct cultural identity; 3) a minority should publicly declare allegiance to the state while the state should in turn publicly acknowledge the freedom of the minority to maintain its identity and commit to protect it from discrimination; 4) the law should not impose an obligation on the state to expend resources to assist minority; and 5) effective participation in decision making processes should be established. Given that some territorial autonomy features have already been put in place, the key issue is whether an NTA model with a strong personality principle reflected in minority associations could be feasible in the Macedonian case. For the large ethnic Albanian community, such an instrument may not seem to add value to the existing protection that it enjoys; smaller in size minorities, however, could benefit greatly from such a mechanism. By using secondary research, this paper puts emphasis on the existing practices and instruments which affect the smaller in size minorities. It also investigates whether there is a potential to apply NTA modalities comparable to developments in other countries in Europe which offer a new prospect to a balanced and fair minority protection framework for all.

Keywords: *cultural autonomy, non-territorial autonomy, ethnic communities, Macedonia, personality principle.*

Marina Andeva, Ph.D is Secretary General of the University American College Skopje. She is also Assistant Professor at the UACS School of Political Science. Her other working engagements include the position of Research Fellow at the Institute of International Sociology in Gorizia (ISIG) since 2009. She gained her PhD on Transborder Policies for Daily Life and an MA in Methods in European Policy Making at the University of Trieste, Italy, and a BA in Law at the Faculty of Law "Iustinianus Primus", Sts. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, Macedonia.

Ivan Dodovski, PhD is Associate Professor in Critical Theory. Currently he is Dean of the School of Political Science at University American College Skopje. He studied general and comparative literature with American studies, and obtained an MA degree in Macedonian



literature and narratology at Sts. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. He holds a PhD from the University of Nottingham, UK. His recent research interests include identity politics, Balkan imagology, and contemporary drama. He has edited the volume *Multiculturalism in Macedonia: An Emerging Model* (2005), and nine recent volumes dealing with European integration, politics, economy and culture. He has also published academic papers, three poetry books and a collection of short stories.

Paper A.4.3

The Serbian Model of National Cultural Autonomy and Non-territorial Autonomy and its Contemporary Challenges for Collective Identities and the Political Participation of National Minorities

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Abstract

National minority councils as self-governing bodies for national minorities in Serbia were introduced in the year 2002. This paper examines the contemporary challenges of the Serbian model of national cultural autonomy (NCA) and non-territorial autonomy (NTA) regarding collective identities of national minorities. The implications of NCA and NTA for the collective identities of minorities are analysed both from a theoretical and empirical perspective. The topic is addressed from the perspective of political science by applying a new institutionalist approach and a qualitative research design. National minorities in Serbia enjoy special constitutional guarantees for the presentation of their identities. The constitution guarantees the freedom of expressing national affiliation and prohibits the obligation of declaring it. However, data on national and ethnic identities are collected for statistical purposes and there are official registries held by the public authorities about employees, birth certificates and voting registers for minority councils. Public censuses today in Serbia respects the right of the self-identification of national or ethnic identity. But the legal definition of national minority, which was introduced in the Serbian legal system in the year 2002, encompasses both subjective and collective criteria. For the elections of national minority councils, members of perspective minorities “have to” register themselves in special electoral registers, if they want to participate in the elections. Registration is voluntary and free, but minority identity is inspected by the public authorities. It is not clear at all, how authorities check the identities of minorities. National minority council elections are a predisposition for collective rights realisation and the right to the self-government of minorities. This study shows, that data collection on the identities of national minorities in Serbia is done for different purposes in very distinct and sometimes unusual ways. It is argued among scholars and practitioners, that the realisation of minority rights requires the collection or registration of data on collective identities not only in Serbia, but elsewhere too. Although this practise is widely accepted in Europe, it can have enormous implications for collective identities of minorities. Furthermore, it can pose a challenge for liberal democracy and even a threat for the political participation of minorities.

Keywords: *national minorities, national cultural autonomy, national minority councils, collective identities, data collection and registration, political participation*

Dr. Svetluša Surova is Senior Researcher at Gnarum, s.r.o. and Founder of non-institutionalized BARI-Global Network. She received her doctorate and graduated with honours in Political Theory at the Matej Bel University in Banska Bystrica. Dr. Surova is currently working on



projects examining collective identities in Serbia, analysing the Visegrad diaspora policies and on proposing a new definition of diaspora using combinatorics. Her research interests include political theory, comparative politics, international relations, diaspora studies, minority rights, ethnic politics, collective identities, identity politics and multiculturalism. She has won many competitive grants and prestigious awards such as Project Partnership Award, Office of the Embassy of Canada in Bratislava, 2017; Research Scholarship from National Scholarship Program of Slovak Republic 2017; BIARI Alumni seed award for the year 2016-2017 from Brown International Advanced Research Institutes at Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence, RI USA; and Erste Foundation Fellowship for Social Research, 2015-2016 among others. Her latest publication on open science was published in Political Science (<http://doi.org/10.24040/politickevedy.2019.22.2.204-207>) and paper on National and ethnic identifications among the Slovak diaspora in Serbia: stranded between state(s) and ethnicity?, was published in Nationalities Papers, 46:6, 1081-1100, (DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2018.1488825>).

Paper A.4.3

The Perspectives of the Non-Territorial Autonomy of the Republic of Moldova

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Abstract

Since 1991, when independence from the Soviet Union was declared, The Republic of Moldova has developed an ample legal context to protect the rights of the minorities. The minority groups in the Republic of Moldova represent approximately 24 per cent of the entire population. The juridical and political measures for the protection of the minority rights were oriented towards special forms and conditions of autonomy by implementing special regulations and legitimating them through organic laws. Making the autonomous Republic of Gagauzia by taking ethnic criteria into consideration and conferring a special status to the villages in Transnistria (on the left side of the Nistru river) are two precedents that outrun the non-territorial solutions for the other ethnic groups in the Republic of Moldova. The present study analyses the possibility of non-territorial autonomy in relation to the nature of the state, the way of governing, the identity crisis, and the civic administrative competence of citizens. Different interpretations of non-territorial autonomy as the hierarchical (from top to bottom) official policy of managing diversity are discussed; this policy is focused on the perspective that considers that the minority groups should be supported by taking special measures that facilitate the perpetuation of the cultural / ethnical identity as a matter that concerns the "local management" within the ethnical / cultural sphere based on the principle of decentralization. The study argues that any model of non-territorial autonomy is valid when it can ensure three challenges: the protection of the ethnical identity, the impact on the human development, and the maintenance of the national unity of the state. We endorse the opinion present in the specialized literature according to which the preliminary condition in order to apply the non-territorial autonomy is to avoid treating ethnic groups as social internal cohesive units. We suggest that the value-added of non-territorial solutions has to be evaluated by considering the criteria of human development that otherwise includes the cultural-ethnical component, as well.

Key words: *public administration, non-territorial autonomy, minorities, human rights*

Professor Florin Tudor is Dean of the Faculty of Juridical, Political and Social Sciences from "Dunarea de Jos" University of Galati. He is also the Coordinator of the Board of the Cross-Border Institute for International Studies and Criminal Justice from the same University. He is an

expert in international fiscal policy and fiscal policy, transnational economic crime and a specialist in regional studies. He is the author of 20 monographs and specialised books, in French and English, published in Romania and abroad. He has also published over 120 articles and specialized studies and participated in over 30 conferences. Tudor is also member and coordinator of transdisciplinary mixed teams in several national and international projects.

Valentina Cornea holds graduated in both in Philology and Law She completed her doctoral studies in Sociology. She is a lecturer at the Department of Administrative Sciences and Regional Studies. She teaches "Sociology", "Science Administration" "Methods and Techniques of Research in Social Sciences" courses. Her scientific interests evolve around the study of the administrative phenomena. Priority areas of scientific activity are the sociological approach to public administration systems and institutions within it. Cornea is the author and co-author of 6 books, over 40 articles published in conference proceedings and journals. She has worked as a consultant-expert in the program of good practices of Local public authorities in Moldova, financed by the Council of Europe; is an expert in the committee for the evaluation of projects on "Community Development", and trainer in the project "Language training for civil servants in Southern Moldova", a project implemented by IDIS "Viitorul" in partnership with the Inter-ethnic Office and with the support OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities;]. She is a trainer in the Integrated Program for local development, funded by PNUD and consultant-expert at the Community Development Foundation from Cahul.

Matic (Mirică) Andreea Elena is an associate professor at "Dunarea de Jos" University of Galati, Faculty of Juridical, Social and Political Sciences, where she started her professional activity in 2006. She has two bachelor degrees, one in Philosophy (2001) and the other one in Law Sciences (2004), both obtained at Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi, and she graduated from two master programs. In 2009 she became gained her PhD, at the University of Iasi. She is the author of three books and has published over 25 scientific papers in recognized international journals. At the University she teaches courses such as: philosophy of law, logic, international protection of human rights and ethics. She has been an active lawyer at Galati Bar since 2005.

Paper A.4.5

Non-Territorial Autonomy the Lithuanian Way: the Case of the Lithuanian Tatars

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Abstract

For more than six hundred years, Lithuania has had a unique ethno-confessional minority, known as the Lithuanian Tatars. Their diaspora started to form in the 14th century, when recently Islamized Turkic-speaking mercenaries, refugees and immigrants started settling on the territory of what was then was the (still Pagan) Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Because (or in spite of) their unique ethno-confessional background, the community was early on granted a wide-ranging socio-political and economic autonomy, which survived different states and regimes to re-emerge in post-communist Lithuania. The survival of a Muslim community so far removed from the centres of Islamic civilization and surrounded by a Catholic majority is itself unique in Europe. Even more so, today, the Tatars, through their branch of Sunni Islam, is officially recognized among nine traditional confessions in the country and the Tatars enjoy renewed cultural rights protected by the state itself. The paper will spell out the evolution of NTA pertaining to the Lithuanian Tatars and will seek to position this experience within the wider European context.

Keywords: *Lithuanian Tatars, ethno-confessional minority, religious rights, Islam in Lithuania, traditional religious communities*

Egdūnas Račius (PhD in Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Helsinki, 2004) is Professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic studies at Vytautas Magnus University (Kaunas, Lithuania). He is the Reviews Editor of the *Journal of Muslims in Europe* and a co-editor of the *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe* (both by Brill). His research interests encompass Eastern European Muslim communities as well as Muslim revivalist movements. Račius is a co-editor (together with Antonina Zhelyazkova) of *Islamic Leadership in the European Lands of the Former Ottoman and Russian Empires Legacy, Challenges and Change* (Brill, 2018) and the author of *Muslims in Eastern Europe* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

Panel B.4. Israel-Palestine: NTA and the One State Solution

Paper B.4.1

A Dual Non-Territorial Autonomy for Palestine-Israel - A Way Further for a Stable Solution

As'ad Ghanem

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Abstract

At present, Israel-Palestine is almost as far from the two-state solution as it was prior to the Oslo Accords. Certainly, at this stage of regional events, the possibility of forming a solution based on the idea of one joint, binational entity that is based on two-dual NTAs for both national groups- Palestinian-Arabs and Israeli-Jews, should be at the heart of the discussions for a future solution. According to this option, the Palestinian/Israeli ethnic/national schism will remain a key structural feature of the political system, which will be based on four principles of consociationalism; a broad coalition between the political representatives of the Jews and the Palestinians; mutual veto power regarding fundamental and substantive issues; a proportional distribution of social goods, including political and public institutions; and a significant degree of NTA for each group in the management of its own affairs.

In practice, the initial conditions for the establishment of such a system already exist, though basic changes are needed. The Palestinian National Authority will become no more than a waystation on the road to the establishment of a Joint binational system with an NTA. Its citizens will form a joint front with the Palestinians of Israel, constituting a single collective vis-à-vis the Jews; in the binational reality that will ensue, the state will convert, practically and formally into a state that expresses both collectives.

Keywords: *Palestine, Israel, Palestinians in Israel, bi-nationalism, Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Arab-Israeli conflict.*

Prof. As'ad Ghanem (PhD) is a lecturer at the School of Political Science, University of Haifa. His theoretical work has explored the legal, institutional and political conditions in ethnic states and conflict studies. He published 14 books and numerous articles about ethnic politics in divided societies, including about ethnic divisions and Arab-Jewish relations in Israel. In the context of Palestinian domain, Ghanem's work has covered issues such as Palestinian political orientations, the political structure of the Palestinian National Movement, and the future of the conflict with Israel. He has been the initiator and designer of several policy schemes and empowerment programs for Palestinians in Israel.

Paper B.4.2

One - State Solution: Is It More Feasible Than the Two-State Solution?

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Abstract

After decades of advocating for a two - state solution and working hard to convince the two parties to accept this political compromise, in recent years a number of Palestinian, Israeli and international academics and activists discuss the feasibility of a better formula, the one - state solution. Is that because the two-state solution is not feasible any more due to the obvious Israeli policies of land confiscation, settlement building and the dramatic increase of Israeli settlers living in the West Bank? Or is it because of the not often discussed reasons, that is the ideological, geographic, militaristic and security factors which concern the Israeli side? For the Palestinians, the two – state formula is not feasible because it fails to address issues of the right of return, Jerusalem, the control of resources mainly land and water, and sovereignty in the framework of independence and viability. If this is the case, is the one – state solution more feasible? Would such a state be a democratic one based on equal citizenship, or would it be a bi-national one, or would it adopt the non-territorial autonomy model? Each has its own peculiarities and pros and cons in terms of individual and collective rights. In addition, would the territory of such a state restore its original name, Palestine? And how would the incompatible national historical narratives be addressed? How would the issue of property and ownership be addressed as well? What strategies of struggle should be adopted locally and internationally to achieve a certain model of a one - state solution while bearing in mind the existing asymmetry of power between the two conflicting parties and the present international system or order?

Keywords: *Palestine, state, solution, power, feasibility, bi-national, non-territorial.*

Amneh Badran is a doctor of political science, a graduate of Exeter University, the UK. She has an MA in Middle East Politics from the same university. She is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science and the Global Studies Institute at AlQuds University, Palestine. Her publications concentrate on social movements in ethnic national states and peace building with a focus on the Palestinian – Israeli conflict.

Paper B.4.3

Can NTA Refine the (Post-Oslo) Debate between Liberals and Bi-nationalists over a Single Non-partitioned State in Israel/Palestine?

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Abstract

As a result of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, Great Britain opted to grant collective national rights to Jews in Palestine. Between 1917 and 1967, Arab Nationalism generally, and the PLO specifically, attempted to materialise in the territory a ‘standard’ anti-colonial struggle vis-à-vis Euro-Zionism and pre-1967 Israel, that is, de-colonisation of the homeland along the lines of the Indian/Algerian/Vietnamese struggles whereby colonialists are meant to exit from the colonised territory. The struggle’s frame of reference was 1917: pre-1967 Palestinian Marxists, Nationalists and the PLO Charter entertained a sociopolitical reversal to a 1917 state of (pre-colonial) affairs without granting individual (let alone collective) rights to colonial Zionist settlers. For a rainbow of reasons, in 1967 the frame of reference of the Palestinian-Arab struggle changed from 1917 to 1948. The new principal question became this: how to normalise in the colonised territory the existence of some 2.3 million Jewish Israelis without insisting on their exit (as ‘standard’ anti-colonial struggles otherwise command). The Marxist-Leninist PFLP was willing to grant Israel’s Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Jews individual rights as equal citizens of a secular-democratic Palestinian-Arab state, conceptualising them as members of a religious minority. After 1962 the Marxist *Matzpen* understood this framing as being ahistorical because it bypassed the possibility that a century of conflict had socially constructed into the Middle East a Hebrew-speaking collectivity that could no longer be conceptualised in individual-liberal terms alone, certainly by Marxists. *Matzpen* posited that a unified Arab Middle East is unlikely to materialise without institutionalising within itself collective national rights to Kurds, South-Sudanese and Hebrew-speaking Israelis. The paper weighs the extent to which the intra-Marxist PFLP-*Matzpen* divide remains relevant to 21st century controversies over the vision of a single non-partitioned state governed by liberal, binational and/or NTA arrangements.

Keywords: *Palestine/Israel, One-State, liberalism, bi-nationalism, NTA, PFLP-Matzpen, ethnicities*

Moshe Behar holds a PhD in Comparative Politics from Columbia University and since 2007 has been Senior Lecturer and Programme Director in Arabic & Middle Eastern Studies in the School of Arts Languages and Cultures at the University of Manchester. His work and publications study the relational consolidation of Jewish and Arab nationalism including in the anthology *Modern Middle Eastern Jewish Thought: Writings on Identity, Politics and Culture, 1892-1958* (Brandeis University Press).

Paper B.4.4

NTA as a Solution to the Israeli Palestinian Conflict

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Abstract

This paper analyses the international consensus on the Israeli Palestinian Conflict that there should be a two states solution and finds that it is unworkable on several counts. The conflict has no territorial solution: the high population density makes it impossible to partition the small land without leaving unwanted pockets of one people in the territory of the other; it is not possible for any Israeli government to dismantle settlements in the West Bank without causing a civil war; and in such a small and overcrowded territory, it is not feasible to have monocultural nation-states when the population is now evenly divided between the two conflicting national communities that reside in overlapping areas.

Demographic forecasts show in the short term, a decrease in the proportion of Israeli Jews and an increase in the proportion of Palestinians. In the face of this stalemate, the article recalls the ninety-year old proposal by enlightened Jewish personalities to create a binational state under the modality of National-Cultural Autonomy. Furthermore, and paradoxically, in a reversal of the situation ninety years ago, Palestinians and Israeli citizens are slowly creating a bottom-up series of autonomous communal organizations that provide self-government without territorial control, a model for non-territorial autonomy in a manner that reminds one of the earlier proposals of the Jewish Personalities. The article concludes that this could potentially be a way out of this stalled and protracted conflict. A plurinational state in Israel-Palestine, based on the model of National Cultural Autonomy, with a shared sovereignty and collective rights for all communities.

Keywords: *Israel, Palestine, conflict, national-cultural autonomy*

Ephraim Nimni. Before my retirement from Queen's University Belfast, I was a Reader in Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict. I remain research active and my research follows two interrelated directions. I study comparative ethnic conflicts, theories of nationalism and minority rights, models of national self-determination that do not require separate nation states, multiculturalism and the applicability of the national cultural autonomy model to contemporary multination states. The second direction is the study of the Israeli Palestinian conflict from the perspective of conflict resolution. I am a member of the board of the journal *Nations and Nationalism* and *Politikon*.

Paper B.4.5

Protecting the Arabic Language in Israel as a Non-Territorial Autonomy Means to Create Civic Solidarity between Arabs and Jews

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Abstract

Although the public debate on rights and policies regarding the Arab minority citizens of Israel focuses on non-territorial autonomy policies, which mainly concern cultural matters, such as language, religion, and education, supporting Arabic in Israel's public sphere is often perceived as a controversial and political issue. The debate is dominated by two opposing views. According to the first view, which stresses the Arab minority's interest in Arabic, protecting Arabic and advancing its presence in the Israeli public space is a necessary measure to preserve the cultural and national identity of the Arab minority in Israel. The second view perceives the protection and advancement of Arabic in Israel's public sphere as a dangerous step that bolsters the national aspiration of the Arab minority, and puts the status of Hebrew, along with the Jewish character of Israel, at risk. As I see it, both competing views are two sides of the same coin. The idea is that protecting Arabic is good for the Arab minority and therefore bad for the Jewish majority.

I would like to propose a third view, according to which protecting Arabic and advancing it in Israel's public sphere is a crucial measure for creating a strong civic solidarity between Arabs and Jews in Israel. Because elements such as nationality and religion will not help to make civic society stronger, so that giving comprehensive support to Hebrew and Arabic in Israel's public sphere is the only chance of creating and sustaining civic solidarity between Arabs and Jews. It is my hope that when Israel citizenship is identified with Arabic as it is identified with Hebrew, there will be a greater inclusion of Arabs in Israeli society, and there will be a stronger civic bond between Arabs and Jews.

Keywords: *Israel, Arabic, Hebrew, Language rights, Linguistic Policy, Nationality, Civic Solidarity.*

Dr. Meital Pinto is a senior lecturer at the Zefat Academic College School of Law, and the Ono Academic College School of Law, Israel. Meital has an S.J.D. (2009) and an LL.M. (2005) from University of Toronto, and an LL.B degree (2003) in Law and Government from the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya, Israel (Magna cum Laude). Prior to her graduate studies Meital served as a law clerk to Justice Asher Grunis of the Israeli Supreme Court, the former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Israel. Meital teaches in the fields of Jurisprudence, Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, Labour Law, Legal Ethics, and Introduction to Legal Systems.

Panel A.5. Kurdish-led Autonomy in Syria: Decentralization and Pluralism

Paper A.5.1

Autonomy Beyond State and Territory

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Abstract

In the night of July 18–19, 2012, the Peoples Protection Units (Yekîneyên Parastina Gel) YPG took control of Kobanî, an agricultural town with a population of 50,000 in Rojava, in the Kurdistan region in Syria. The revolution in Kobanî, as it was referred to, quickly spread to other cities and towns in the Kurdistan region resulting in the establishment of a network of self-administrating communes, cities and cantons. The Rojava self-administration referred to itself as autonomous. However, autonomy did not refer to a legal arrangement, in which part of the central state's sovereign powers are transferred to a decentral unit while preserving the territorial integrity of the state. The self-administration considered autonomy in terms of competences and social practices, that established an ordering mechanism beyond that of capital and the centralized bureaucracy we refer to as the state. The way the practice of autonomy developed as a socially constitutive self-activity can be conceptualized as a multi-layered non-statist form of autonomy, both territorially and non-territorially. In the language of the self-administration, this is referred to with the concepts of 'democratic autonomy' and 'democratic confederalism'. This paper will explore the conceptual and practical dimensions of this multi-layered form of autonomy

Keywords: *democratic autonomy, democratic confederalism, Kurdistan liberation movement, Syria, state*

Joost Jongerden is associate professor of Sociology and the Anthropology of Development, Wageningen University, the Netherlands and project professor at the Asian Platform for Global Sustainability & Transcultural Studies at Kyoto University, Japan. He studies the ways in which people develop alternatives for market- and state induced insecurities. This he refers to as 'Do-It-Yourself-Development'. A list of his publications is available at: <https://joostjongerden.academia.edu/>

Paper A.5.2

Minority Accommodation through Decentralisation and non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA): The Case of the Autonomous Administration of North East Syria

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Abstract

In July 2012, the Syrian military forces withdrew from the Kurdish majority areas in the north of the country to leave the Kurdish forces in control. This proved to be a significant opportunity for the Kurds, who set out to develop their autonomous administration and in January 2014, the Cantons of Rojava were established as an administrative body to manage their *de facto* autonomy. On 17 March 2016, the Cantons of Rojava were brought together under the umbrella federal administration of the Democratic Federation of Northern Syria (DFNS) and since September 2018, the entity is known as the Autonomous Administration of North East Syria (NES). Despite the Kurds being the main group behind the establishment of the NES, a distinguishing feature of the practice of autonomy there is that it is not solely for the Kurds. The NES aspires to be a multi-ethnic entity with decentralised administration and representative bodies to accommodate all of the ethno-cultural groups in North East Syria. Hence, despite being based on a ‘geographic concept and administrative and political decentralisation’, all ethno-cultural groups in the region are considered as components that collectively constitute the NES and they are able to organise through self-governments and exercise autonomy in social and cultural areas. This feature of the NES bears a strong resemblance to Renner’s ‘personality principle’ and the Non-Territorial Autonomy model.

This paper discusses the practice of Kurdish-led autonomy in North-East Syria. It first unpacks the model’s political and intellectual origins and then discuss developments on the ground in Syria and provides an account of the establishment and growth of the autonomous system in Northern and Eastern Syria. It highlights the values that underpin the system and sets out to explain how it aspires to protect and foster diversity and coexistence.

Keywords: *Kurdish autonomy; Syria; NTA; Pluralism; Decentralisation;*

Cengiz Gunes completed his PhD at the Department of Government, University of Essex, UK. His main research interests are in the areas of autonomy and the accommodation of minorities, peace and conflict studies, the Kurds in the Middle East, the international relations of the Middle East and Turkish politics. He is the author of *The Kurdish National Movement in Turkey: From Protest to Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2012) and *The Kurds in a New Middle East: The Changing Geopolitics of a regional Conflict* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2018) and co-editor of *The Kurdish Question in Turkey: New Perspectives on Violence, Representation, and Reconciliation* (London: Routledge, 2014). He has presented papers in national and international conferences and published articles in *New Left Review*, *Ethnopolitics* and *Peace Review*. He is currently an Associate Lecturer and an Honorary Research Associate in Politics at the Open University, UK.

Paper A.5.3

Women's Rights and the Practice of Non-Territorial Autonomy in Northern Syria-Rojava

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Abstract

The Kurdish-led autonomous entity – known as the Autonomous Administration of North and East Syria (NES) – considers women's liberation as an imperative condition for shaping a democratic society. The practice of autonomy in NES shares strong resemblances with the Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA) model and empowers women in Northern Syria in various ways to become active agents in building a plurinational democracy. As part of the institutions of Kurdish-led autonomy, various women's representative bodies have been created. This paper aims to examine (1) the intellectual and political origins of the political role ascribed to women in autonomous administrations and (2) how the practice of autonomy in North East Syria has advanced women's rights. The latter aspect will shed light on both institutional implementations of women's rights, as well as the creation of (non)-territorial spaces of women's emancipation within the autonomous model. The paper aims to contribute to the debate on how Non-Territorial Autonomy can be used as a framework to advance gender equality. The case of NES offers a good context to assess how NTA can foster gender equality and the participation of women in decision-making processes and more broadly contributes to the debate on the impact of multi-level governance structures on gender relations. The practice of autonomy in Syria offers an ideal context to examine whether NTA can facilitate the promotion of gender equality within the political demands of national minorities, which is an area of research that has not received sufficient attention in existing academic research.

Keywords: *NTA; gender equality; Syria; Kurdish autonomy; Plurinationalism*

Rosa Burç is a PhD researcher at COSMOS, Center on Social Movement Studies at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence/Italy. She focuses on radical democracy and the Kurdish question in the region, with a special emphasis on women's movements. She has been working as a research associate at the University of Bonn/Germany, after graduating with an M.Sc. in International Politics from SOAS, University of London. Rosa has been published in peer review journals and edited volumes, as well as news outlets such as CNN, BBC, Jacobin, Open Democracy.

Panel B.5. Aspects of Religion and Education

Paper B.5.1

Sharia in Greece and Europe after the *Molla Sali* Case

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Abstract

Greece is the only country in Europe where sharia courts operate as quasi-state institutions. These institutional relics which stem from the Ottoman times were encapsulated within a minority protection system (as a non-territorial autonomy), based on the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). Accordingly, Muslims of Thrace have the possibility to submit a case of family or inheritance law to sharia/mufti courts. Until 2018 it was still under question whether jurisdiction of the mufti was mandatory or optional. Insecurity of law was also engendered as substantial and procedural norms were not codified. A case brought before the European Court of Human Rights brought to the fore a series of issues dealing with a special religious legal order within the European construct of human rights and minority protection. The *Molla Sali v Greece* case brought new aspects to the discussion on sharia in Europe. After years of ambiguities, the case triggered a series of law amendments in Greek law, mainly on procedural aspects. Nevertheless, substantial issues still need to be addressed. Does the dual variety of regimes (civil law/sharia) represent a successful strategy to cope with legal pluralism, or does it embed the seeds of discriminative treatment? The coexistence of different legal systems could be seen as a laudable case of the pluralism of law, so long as it ensures everyone a choice to opt for one or the other legal system. The case of the application of sharia by the mufti in Greece is of key importance. Should the compatibility of sharia with human rights be at stake? Legal pluralism should ensure a balance between the legal orders involved, taking into account different ethno-religious particularities. Examining the changing status of sharia in Greece, one could draw useful lessons, of a political and legal character, for the on-going discussions on European Islam.

Keywords: *Sharia, minority, Islam, Greece, European Court of Human Rights.*

Konstantinos Tsitselikis (1967). Professor at the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies, and Dean of the School of Economics and Regional Studies, University of Macedonia (Thessaloniki, Greece). He lectures on human and minority rights, migration and refugee law. He has worked for the Council of Europe, the OSCE, the UN, the EU in human rights and democratisation field missions. Co-director of the Series of Studies of the *Research Centre of Minority Groups* at Vivliorama publishers (Athens). He is the author of a series of books, articles and studies on human rights, minorities, migration and refugee law. Special research interests include: Immigrants and refugees in Greece/Europe, language rights, and the legal position of minorities/immigrants in Europe. He is a member of scientific groups and research teams on minorities, migrants and human rights.

Paper B.5.2

Managing Religious Diversity in Education: Addressing Competing (In)equalities in Plural Societies

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Abstract

The role of religion in contemporary societies is plural. It may factor as a strategy towards conflict resolution but at the same time it can also function as an obstacle to it. Within social environments on a global scale that is gradually increasing used (not without contestation) to a greater visibility of religion in the public sphere, public education is an area where the reconfiguration of religious identities is constantly evolving. The state, communities, (new) religious organizations and actors, as well as individuals, are creating new patterns for believing and belonging. With the help from evidence from three case studies (the UK, South Africa and Israel), it will be argued that the currently limited state-centric understanding of the interaction between human rights and religious norms demands a ‘new methodology’ that addresses to a larger extent the expansion of religions, especially as a result of global immigration. In some instances, however, religion is seen to operate as a *culturalized* element of identity, relying on a groupist dynamic to resist change (as in Israel) or simply is treated as a taboo in the name of cultural pluralism (as in South Africa and in a different way in the UK). It invites the reification of religious identity and the illusion of homogeneity, which in public classrooms is shown to be far from the reality. Ultimately, the use of religion and religious identity in education in this paper will serve a dual purpose: first, to highlight existing inequalities in and through education between the different ethnic groups but also, secondly, to stress its potential use as a pathway to address these inequalities and promote cultural co-existence.

Keywords: *religious pluralism, public schools, education, (in)equality, identity*

Dr Kyriaki Topidi has lectured extensively and researched in the areas of Public International Law, European Law, Human Rights and Comparative Law. Her research interests focus on diversity management, minority protection rights and mechanisms (with a special interest in religion) and human rights law. Her current research project deals with religious diversity in education through the interplay between the rights to religious freedom, equality and education. She is the author and editor of a number of volumes, including *EU law, Minorities and Enlargement* (Intersentia, 2010), *Constitutional Evolution in Central and Eastern Europe: Expansion and Integration in the EU* (Ashgate, 2011), *Transnational Legal Process and Human Rights* (Ashgate, 2013) and *Religion as Empowerment: Global Legal Perspectives* (Routledge, 2016). She has recently edited a collection on *Normative Pluralism and Human Rights* (Routledge, 2018). Her next book will focus on her individual comparative research project on religious diversity in education (Routledge, forthcoming).

Paper B.5.3

Modalities of NTA in Latvia: The Concerns of Muslim Youth

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Abstract

By fully integrating in Western structures, Latvia has fulfilled all the preconditions for becoming one of the destination countries for immigrants. The difficulties and problems confronting Latvia are not local anymore, but are incorporated in the common ‘European dilemma.’ There is a dynamic interaction between the younger and older generations of the Latvian Muslim community and this interconnection is driven by the education migration factor: Muslim students have played and still play an important role in the community. Young people have been arriving from various Muslim-majority countries (Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Lebanon) to study in Latvia since the 1970s. Sections of these young people integrated into the labour market after their studies, therefore, currently this first generation of education immigrants belongs to the middle class. Since mainly males arrived to study here, families were founded with females from the local communities which provided an opportunity for them to successfully integrate into the local society by acquiring the local language and cultural traditions. The paper will present the findings of the FP7 collaborative research project “Memory, Youth, Political Legacy and Civic Engagement” (MYPLACE). Based on qualitative in-depth interviews with Muslim youth in Latvia, the presentation will discuss what the important concerns for young Muslims in Latvia are. In order to discuss the difficulties Muslim youngsters face when trying to make a place for themselves in Latvian society the paper will address: (1) factors determining the political participation of Muslim youth; (2) their understanding of democracy; (3) their motivation and capacity to take part in political life; (4) and their understanding of the relationship between religion and politics. Overall, the paper will demonstrate that Muslim youth in Latvia are not very motivated in taking part in social and political activities; they feel alienated from the state, and their attitude towards power structures is rather negative, as they do not trust political parties. According to the interviews, the factor limiting the activity of young Muslims is not their religion but language proficiency, the issue of citizenship, negative information about Muslims in the media, and a lack of information about the possibilities of participation, and the objective of their stay in Latvia.

Keywords: *young people, Muslims, integration, education, political participation*

Anita Stasulane is professor of the history of religions, director of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences at Daugavpils University. She graduated at the Latvian University (1985) and the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome, Italy (1998). She has been working mainly on



the new religious movements and youth culture. Currently she is conducting research on religious fundamentalism and islamophobia. With her expertise in ethnography and interdisciplinary research design, Stasulane has been team leader in a number of international research projects, the most important are: FP6 *SAL*, FP7 *MYPLACE*, FP7 *MYWEB* and two H2020 projects: *ECDP* and *CHIEF*. Editor-in-chief of “Kultūras Studijas” (Cultural Studies).

Professor Janis Priede is the Director of the Asian Studies Department at the University of Latvia. He has wide experience in ethnographic research and has been principal investigator on three EC FP projects: the first centred on youth subculture FP6 *SAL*, the second on youth civic engagement FP7 *MYPLACE*, and the third FP7 *MYWEB* on youth well-being. He has extensive experience of organising dissemination activities of findings within academic and non-academic communities on FP projects. His research interests are in cultural anthropology (with a particular focus on post-socialist societies); identity and transnationalism; violence, youth culture; qualitative research methods (ethnography, life story and family history), and the history of the study of religions in Latvia. His academic hobby is the Septuaginta and the development of Christian thought in early Christianity.

Paper B.5.3

Education and Cultural Identities: Pedagogical Movements, History, Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Normalization in Catalonia during the Twentieth Century

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Abstract

As we go deep in the analysis of the cultural identity in a given community, we cannot ignore the linguistic and the literary normalization covered in the educational system performed at elementary schools. Both are two prerogatives that, associated with nationalism, leave no space for any diversity. If along with these prerogatives, centralized policies are imposed that overlap in the same territorial space, such as those that took place during the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco in Spain, a huge tension is created that has not always been resolved most harmoniously, and nowadays is, once again, emerging. Through an empirical case study, it is our purpose to study the educational reality of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia starting from an historical and comparative perspective attending to the different movements of the Catalan pedagogical renovation at the edge of the 19th century, the different political and educational events that took place throughout the 20th and during the first decades of the 21st century. We will take into account the reality of the Catalan community before its Statute of Autonomy was approved in 1979, and also its contemporary situation when a part of the society manifested the political desire to reach the National Self Determination (NSD). To understand the educational system in this NTA community, we will analyze the linguistic, literary and cultural normalizations carried out in the classrooms and the complicated relationship with the nation-state guidelines issued in Madrid.

This empirical research will help to understand how nation-states (Spain) and NTA communities (Catalonia) have been gaining a greater understanding and reconciliation despite the different cultural and identity interests, or if on the contrary, still prevails a spirit of non-participation, non-recognition or even non-reconciliation. The research will illustrate the contemporary relationships of NCA and NTA highlighting the cultural and educational implications that are at stake.

Keywords: *Catalan education system, Catalan culture, cultural identity, nationalism*

Immaculada Colomina Limonero. Displacement and Refugees, focusing on Women and Children Studies are the main core of her specialization. She has multidisciplinary background and approach; on top of a Ph.D. in History (2008) Thesis about the Spanish children refugee in the former Soviet Union and special doctorate award, she holds two Master's Degree from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain, in Socio-Cultural Anthropology (2000) and



Information Sciences (2003). Currently, she is a postdoctoral Marie Curie Fellow at University Carlos III in Madrid, Spain. For five years she was a post-doctoral researcher at the Arizona State University, United States of America, leading a research about international humanitarian relief to victims during the Spanish Civil War and being closely involved in the three-year funded project from United States Agency for International Development (USAID) “Armenian Women’s Leadership” which has pioneered the development of a Center for Gender and Leadership Studies at Yerevan State University. She is a member of the Management Committee of ENTAN.

Antonia M. Mora-Luna, with a degree in Hispanic Philology (2003) and in Theory of Literature and Comparative Literature (2011) and a Ph. D. in Education (special doctorate award in social sciences in 2012) from the University of Granada in Spain, is a Research Fellow at the Instituto de Educação, Universidade de Lisboa (FCT—funded post-doctoral fellowship). She previously had a Post-doctoral Fellowship at the University Paris 4-Sorbonne and Paris 3-Sorbonne Nouvelle in France from 2013 until 2016. Currently, her main research interests are literary education and education policies with a special focus on literary education in Southern Europe (Spain, France, Italy and Portugal), as well as intellectual and educational cooperation after the First World War. She has been involved in several research projects in different countries and national and international universities. She published several articles and papers in refereed national and international conferences and is co-editor of the *Impossibilia*, *Revista Internacional de Estudios Literarios*. At present she is a member of the Management Committee of ENTAN.

Panel A.6. European Post-Conflict Perspectives

Paper A.6.1

Beyond the Territory Principle: Non-Territorial Approach to the Kosovo Question(s)

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Abstract

This paper presents an attempt to approach the dispute over Kosovo between Serbs and Albanians from a non-territorial perspective, with a particular focus on cultural heritage. Firstly, the authors argue that the Kosovo issue is at present commonly understood as an either-or territorial dispute between Serbia and Kosovo, a “zero sum game“ over sovereignty and recognition between Serbian and Kosovo Albanian politicians. However, as we submit our paper, the lasting resolution to the Kosovo issue actually needs to account for at least three separate problems – 1) Northern Kosovo which is ethnically Serbian and still maintains various ties with the Serbian state, 2) the status of Serbian cultural heritage, chiefly UNESCO world heritage with regard to the Serbian medieval monasteries and churches and 3) Serbian enclaves south of the river Ibar, which are small islands of Serbs surrounded by vast Albanian population. Secondly, the authors examine the possibilities of applying the NTA concepts to the Kosovo problem, particularly focusing on the current role, status and perception of Serbian cultural and religious heritage in Kosovo in both Serbian and Kosovar society. We analyse the legal framework surrounding Serbian cultural heritage in Kosovo, its preservation and protection, particularly of the Serbian Orthodox monasteries, churches and other historical and cultural sites. We also consider the media discourse on the Kosovo bids for UNESCO membership and the debate in Kosovo on the Law on Special Protective Zones, Prizren and Velika Hoča/ Hoçë e Madhe, grasping Albanian position on heritage. This analysis is complemented with the discussion on the applicability of the NTA to Serb communities and monuments in central Kosovo. Arguably, since these parts are not even included in any sovereignty or territorial exchange negotiations, the NTA approach is particularly valuable for these communities and cultural/religious monuments.

Keywords: *non-territorial autonomy, cultural heritage, religious heritage, Kosovo*

Aleksandar Pavlović is a full-time researcher at the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory of the University of Belgrade with a PhD in Southeast European Studies from the University of Nottingham. He was a visiting fellow at the Centre for Southeast European Studies in Graz, New

Europe College in Bucharest, the Albanian Institute for International Studies in Tirana and the OSA Arhivum in Budapest. He published two books: *Imaginarni Albanac* (Beograd: IFDT, 2019) and *Epika i politika* (Beograd: XX vek, 2014), and he co-edited *Rethinking Serbian-Albanian Relations: Figuring out the Enemy*, Routledge 2019, *Politics of Enmity* (Belgrade: IFDT/Donat Graf, 2018) and *Figura neprijatelja: preosmišljavanje srpsko-albanskih odnosa* (Beograd: Beton/IFDT, 201; Albanian edition: *Figura e armikut: ripërfytyrimi i marrëdhënieve shqiptaro-serbe*, Pristinë: Qendra Multimedia 2016). He publishes academic articles in the fields of Balkan studies, cultural studies and literature and occasionally contributes to printed and online media in the region and beyond.

Jelena Čeriman is a Researcher at the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory of the University of Belgrade with a PhD in Sociology from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. She has published on social engagement and social norms, social exclusion and gender. Her current research interests lie in protest movements, civil society and activism, and she is a national leader on the project *Disobedient Democracy: A Comparative Analysis of Contentious Politics in the European Semiperiphery*. She was engaged as a researcher in numerous projects supported by UN Women, UNICEF etc., and has coordinated several international projects concerning youth, poor or unprivileged social groups.

Paper A.6.2

Post Conflict Resolution, Inter-ethnic Relations and Possible Chances for Reconciliation in the Balkans

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Abstract

In the post conflict society, that faced inter-ethnic violence and the most extreme form of ethnic cleansing and genocide, efforts are usually made in conflict resolution (peace building, enforcing after-conflict interactions and post-conflict reconciliation). The dilemma is whether or not post-conflict society could be *recovered*, *reconstructed* and *reconciliated*, by externally initiated peace-building interventions for the promotion of stability, democracy, and good governance, if internal actors - opposed groups are not ready to confront the past and build a shared identity between them. As experts explained, very often it is achieved through the controlled and designed efforts to force inter-ethnic interaction, but for how long is this sustainable?

The aim of this paper is to assess the significance of the "non-territorial autonomy" approach for reaching out to ethnic conflict resolution and providing resilience in solving problems between former enemies which taking part in ethnic conflict and genocide. Is it possible for the NTA approach to survive in certain circumstances (Coakley, 1994) in ethnic divided countries and advocate efforts for resolving problems, but also to provide the solution for ethnic conflicts, when opponents are not ready for reconciliation?

The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina provides an adequate example of how divided post-conflict societies face a range of everyday challenges for reconciliation, especially with issues that are expected to be rebuild inter-ethnic relations (such as justice, trust, mercy, and sympathy). The facts demonstrate that in the post-conflict period, there was little progress in BiH in terms of reconciliation and the rebuilding of social trust (Eastmond, 2010:4). In some specific cases, the intentions for reconciliation and the building of inter-ethnic relations in post-conflict Balkan societies, depends on the local narratives and intentions of ethnic groups for understanding a common past and building a shared future. For the post-conflict Balkan societies, reconciliation is not just a way for healing and social interaction between former enemies, it is also one of the prerequisites for democratic consolidation, economic prosperity and security cooperation.

Keywords: *conflict, peace, reconciliation, ethnic, non-territorial autonomy, Balkan*

Dr. Olivera Injac, has a PhD in political science (international relations and security) which she completed in January 2011. Her specialization is in international relations and security, Dr. Injac completed in European Center for Security Studies „George Marshall“ in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany and Defence Institute of Legal Studies in Newport, Rhode Island, USA. At the Faculty of Humanistic Studies, Dr. Injac has been working since 2008, first as a teaching assistant (2008-2011), than as Assistant Professor (2011-2016), and from December 2016 as an Associate Professor in the field of Security Studies. She is author of numerous scientific papers



and monographies, which include: *Sociological Aspects of Contemporary Terrorism in Europe*, Belgrade 2011, ISBN 978-86-7558-806-1; 'Searching for the Sustainable Security Cooperation Model and Spreading of the Security Culture in Western Balkans', *Journal of European Perspectives*, Vol. 6/1, 2014, Ljubljana, ISSN 1855-7694; *Contemporary Terrorism and Propaganda – trends, models and dimensions*, *Sovremena Makedonska Odbrana*, Vol 15, No.29, 2015, ISSN 1409-8199.

Paper A.6.3

Determination of the Economic Support in the Context of NTA Arrangements for Regional and Socio-economic Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Abstract

Over the last decade, the concept of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) has stood out as an important part of academic and policy discussions. NTA arrangements represent valuable mechanisms for the respectation of the needs for different nationalities and their democratic rights. Considering the fact of the growing challenges of regionalization and future European integration, raises the urgent need for a detailed analysis of NTA mechanisms in Bosnia and Hercegovina (B&H). The main objective of this paper is to identify opportunities and support policies for national minorities in B&H, focusing on identifying the main factors which have a direct influence on the development of NTA in B&H and how the economic sphere the formation of self-governing structures by ethno-cultural groups takes place. All this is aimed at the building of inclusive democracies and stable and prosperous societies in B&H. The article concludes with recommendations for further research on NTA and how this might act on the minority groups within current processes of political community building.

Keywords: *NTA, national minorities, Bosnia and Herzegovina.*

Una Vasković - Faculty of Political Science 2016-2018 (International relations, University of Belgrade), from August 2018 - John Cabot University, Rome, International affairs, student. She has co-founded an Association “EHO”, Banjaluka and is the main “EHO” contact for the government of the United States of America.

Aleksandra Figurek - Assistant Professor, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, working in the fields of Regional development, the Management of human resources, and Agricultural economics. During her PhD studies she received an award from the President of the Republic of Srpska for her achievements. She has participated in more than 30 international and national projects, and co-author of 4 books, and over 50 scientific papers.

Anatoliy G. Goncharuk - Full Professor, International Humanitarian University, Odessa, Ukraine, Dr.habil. in business economics and management, Planning and Regulation of Economy. He has written 14 monographs, 20 textbooks and has published over 120 articles in refereed journals.

Panel B.6. Historical Programmes of NTA for European Jews in the Early 20th Century (I)

Paper B.6.1

Non-Territorial Autonomy (NTA): Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews?

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Abstract

The title of this paper refers to Ezra Mendelsohn's "Interwar Poland: Good for the Jews or Bad for the Jews" (1984). It would like to address –through a broad overview- the issue of the viability and the relevance of NTA for Jewish populations in Europe in the period 1870-1914, with special reference to Habsburg Europe.

The last two decades have seen a greater emphasis on the specifically Jewish aspects of political debates on the nationality question(s). So, the paper focusses on two different kinds of issues: (i) the emergence of NTA political projects in East-Central Europe and South-Eastern Europe; (ii) the specificities of Jewish NTA projects.

1. NTA projects should be seen as part of a wide spectrum of political solutions, which did not necessarily refer specifically to Jewish communities. These could range from Ottoman solutions (the *millet* system), to the Habsburg varieties ('Austrian' and 'Hungarian'). Reference should be made also to other kinds of solutions in Eastern Europe (Imperial Russia) and in Western Europe (e.g., 'Home Rule' in the UK).
2. The issue of Jewish specificity (if not uniqueness) should be taken as an issue to be examined, rather than taken for granted. How unique was the Jewish case of NTA? How did it compare with other diasporas? How did it relate to the issue of 'Non-historic Nations'?

Finally, what was the balance-sheet of Jewish NTA by 1914? Had it progressed from a mere theoretical plan? Had it actually backfired? In this sense, was NTA 'Good for the Jews' or 'Bad for the Jews'?

Keywords: *Non-Territorial Autonomy; Dualist Habsburg Monarchy; Theories of Nationalism; 'Non-Historic Nations'; Jewish Nationalism; Diaspora nationalism*

Guido Franzinetti studied Modern History with special reference to Eastern Europe Turin, Italy. He subsequently carried out research and worked in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Ukraine and Uzbekistan, and in various parts of the Balkans.

Paper B.6.2

Genesis of an Idea: The Bund's Internal Debates on National-Cultural Autonomy at its 1903 Congress

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Abstract

The Jewish Labour Bund in Czarist Russia was among the first parties (if not the very first) in Europe to adopt as its national programme the formula of national-cultural (non-territorial) autonomy. The adoption of national-cultural autonomy was the result of intense internal debates that stirred the party for several years. The Bund had rejected the notion that Jews were a nation, and that as such should be granted collective (rather than civil/individual) rights, in 1899, but further discussions led the party to reconsider and to develop its autonomist programme at its 1901 and 1903 Congresses. This paper will present a close analysis of the debates at the Bund's 1903 Congress, as reflected in the Congress's minutes, which provide a unique window into the genesis of the Bund's programme of national-cultural autonomy for East European Jews, that later became the most distinctive and accepted element of Bundism. I will argue that the Bund's national programme was first arrived at through debate and negotiation between the party's different ideological groups or factions and show how aspects of these groups' contrasting positions made their way into the programme. While at first national-cultural autonomy was a compromise between Bundists' conflicting views on national issues, once it was adopted the programme was systematized in party resolutions and in works such as Vladimir Medem's *The National Question and Social Democracy*, published three years later (Medem was one of the central figures at the 1903 Congress), that gave *a posteriori* theoretical justification to the idea of multi-national or multi-cultural states that would grant full recognition to all national-cultural groups within the state's territory

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Keywords: *national-cultural autonomy; Jewish labour movement; Jewish Labour Bund in Russia; Vladimir Medem; Marxist theorization of nation and nationalism; Jewish nationalism and anti-nationalism*

Roni Gechtman is an Associate Professor of History at Mount Saint Vincent University, Halifax N.S., Canada, where he has taught European history since 2004. His research explores the development of the views and proposals concerning national minorities in the Yiddish-speaking Jewish Labour Movement in early-twentieth-century Russia and Poland. He has published articles on the Austro-Marxists Otto Bauer and Karl Renner, on the Jewish Labour Bund's programme of national-cultural autonomy, on the Bund's cultural, recreational and sport organizations in interwar Poland, and on the its place in Zionist historiography.

Paper B.6.3

Jewish National Councils and Non-Territorial Autonomy at the Paris Peace Negotiations: Ethno-national diplomacy limiting ethno-national sovereignty

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Abstract

With the breakup of multinational empires in East-Central Europe in 1917-1919, and the reorganization of society along national lines, a new Jewish leadership that accepted nationality as a defining criterion, negotiated on behalf of the Jewish community with the new state institutions. The new leadership presented its vision of non-territorial national autonomy in the spirit of Karl Renner's *fin de siècle* proposals.

Organized around local Jewish National Councils (JNC) in the new nation-states in the making, they confronted at a local level the first steps of nation-state building in the new institutional framework, trying to recreate the older model of multinational states.

On the global level, implementing non-state diplomacy, they organized a transnational Jewish delegation to the peace negotiations in Paris in 1919 based on the delegations of regional and country-wide JNCs representing East-Central European Jewry. They created an institutional framework that consciously goes beyond the territorial structure of each nation-state. The proposed paper will claim that the transnationalization of the Jewish-National struggle for minority rights and NTA is, on the one hand, an essential factor resulting of their demand to limit the sovereignty of the nation-states over their ethno-national minorities. On the other hand, it is based on their belief in a transnational character of the Jewish nation. Following that, the paper will claim that to erode ethno-nationalism hierarchies as a constitutive principle of state-building, the JNC proposed in Paris another ethno-national principle, that of the multi-national state, to grant equal access to state resources, symbolic or real to all its citizens.

Keywords: *Jews, Paris Peace Conference (1919), Zionism.*

Dr. Marcos Silber is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Jewish History at the University of Haifa, as well as the Chairman of the Gotteiner Institute for the History of the Bund and the Jewish Labor Movement. At the core of his academic interest is the relationship between citizenship and ethnicity. He has written extensively on NTA and Jewish Diaspora Nationalism in the early 20th century. His Major Publications include *Different nationality, Equal citizenship! The Efforts to Achieve Autonomy for Polish Jewry during the First World War* (Hebrew, Tel Aviv 2014), dealing with the attempts to materialize NTA programs in the Polish State in the making. Silber edited a collection of documents on Jewish National Councils in Eastern Europe in 1917-1919 that is scheduled to appear in 2020. Articles, among others, in: Galed, Michael, *Journal of Baltic Studies*, *Journal of Israeli History*, Polin, *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook*, Shvut, Tzion, *East European Jewish Affairs* and elsewhere.

Panel A.7. Speakers of Irish, Romansh and Breton: Non-Territorial Autonomy vs. Territoriality Principle

Paper A.7.1

From Territorial to Network Community: Agency and Empowerment among Breton Speakers in Brittany

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Paper A.7.2

The Irish Gaeltacht as a Trans-local Phenomenon

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Paper A.7.2

Non-Territorial Autonomy vs Territoriality principle: Challenges to the Promotion of Romansh in Switzerland

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Abstract

These three languages are spoken by a minority of the population in Ireland, Switzerland and Brittany, although their official status differs greatly: as respectively the first¹ national language (before English), the fourth national language (beside French, German and Italian), and a constitutional sub-article (2008) mentioning regional languages merely as a part of the heritage of France, French remaining the only official language. Territory-focused approaches applied to the Swiss languages and the Gaeltacht areas in Ireland which were traditionally advocated by actors of the preservation and revitalization of minority languages. While this has helped fostering the use of Romansh in officially Romansh communes of the Swiss Canton of Grisons and in designated Gaeltacht areas, it is not always the case for members of these language communities who live outside these areas: half of the 60,000 Romansh speakers have left the Canton or moved to its capital Chur; there are now more daily speakers of Irish outside the Gaeltacht areas than inside and more and more Breton speakers in urban Upper-Brittany whereas the historical stronghold of the language has traditionally been rural Lower-Brittany. The territoriality principle complicates public funding (such as financing Romansh nursery schools or language and culture courses for Romansh pupils) but new recommendations addressing this issue appear in the Swiss Federal Council's Dispatch on Culture for 2021–24, which may lead to the implementation of non-territorial protection measures for the Romansh in the near future. Similarly, Breton and the Irish language communities are increasingly defined, or define themselves, as network – rather than strictly territorial – structures, especially but not only

through the use of ICT. Due to the monolingual ideology of French institutions, non-territorial self-empowerment has been the rule for Breton speakers, recognizing and using their own resources through a number of mostly bottom-up initiatives. Agency is at work among Irish speakers too, as shown by the new phenomenon of the 'pop-up Gaeltacht': temporary, portable, both territorialized and non-territorial. These renewed modes of democratic participation could raise interest among members of ENTAN from a variety of backgrounds.

Keywords: *Minority languages, linguistic rights, language policy, Breton language, Irish language, Romansh language, Territoriality Principle.*

Dr Stefan Moal is a senior lecturer in Breton Language and Culture at the university of Rennes 2, Brittany, France. His main research areas are sociolinguistics, language policy, multilingual education and media studies, all in the context of minority languages in general and Breton in particular. He is the director of CRBC Rennes (Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique – Rennes) where he is supervising four PhD thesis as of 2019. He was formerly a Breton lecturer at the IUFM (Teacher training institute of Brittany) and president of the Breton language teachers' union. He has also worked as an audio-visual translator for dubbing and as a part-time reporter for Breton TV and radio news. He took part in the activities of the NGO European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (1982-2010). In his hometown of Douarnenez, he has been involved in the local federation of Breton associations and in the National Minorities Film Festival (42nd edition in 2019). Prior to ENTAN, he participated in the COST Action “New Speakers in a multilingual Europe : challenges and opportunities“.

Dr. Éamon Ó Ciosáin is a lecturer of French and Breton in NUI Maynooth University, where he ran the French department between 2010 and 2013. He graduated from University College Dublin (NUI) in 1980 (French and Old Irish), spent some time studying and teaching in Brittany. He was appointed Lecturer in French and Irish at Regional Technical College Letterkenny in 1984, then to the Department of French, Maynooth in 1988. He subsequently went on to be awarded a doctorate in history (2007) by Université Rennes 2 for research on Irish migration to France, 1590-1685 and has published extensively on the subject of Irish migration to France 1590-1790 in history and literature. His research interests are about French language and literature, regionalism in France, Breton language and culture, Irish emigration to France (16th-18th c.) and translation.

Prof. Dr. Rico Valär is an associate professor of Romansh Language, Literature and Culture at the Institute of Romance Languages at the University of Zurich, Switzerland. His main research areas are sociolinguistics, language and cultural policy, the comparative approach to the history and present of minority Romance languages and Romansh literature. He lectures at the Universities of Zurich, Basel and St Gallen and for several Romansh language and culture institutions in the Canton of Grisons. He is vice-president of the public Foundation for Romansh Media (FMR) and works as a television presenter for an interview-program of the Romansh Broadcast Company. Formerly, he worked for the Swiss Federal Office of Culture as a cultural and language policy advisor and at the Swiss Federal Chancellery as a translator and terminologist for Romansh.

Panel B.7. Historical Programmes of NTA for European Jews in the Early 20th Century (II)

Paper B.7.1

Chaim Zhitlowsky's Concept of a Jewish Culture Nation and the Non-Territorial Autonomy Strategies of its Political Realization

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Abstract

1899, the Russian-Jewish Social Revolutionary Chaim Zhitlowsky (1865-1943) formulated his own theory of the origin and development of nations, which incorporated elements of Herderian nationality theory, the concept of "Volksgeist" as discussed at the Historical School of Law (Savigny) or the Völkerpsychologie (Lazarus / Steinthal) in Germany. He sought to found it with his own materialistic basis of "demands of the needs of functions in society". In 1899, he explicitly excluded the territory from the constituent features of a people/nation. In direct contradiction to Karl Kautsky he was convinced that with the development of capitalism on a world scale the national differentiation of the people would increase, not decrease. For that reason, Zhitlowsky proposed a solution of the non-territorial personal autonomy of the Jews, though the Kishinev pogrom in 1903 made him reconsider this point. The substance of his concept of Jewish culture, based on language and the secular appropriation of Jewish tradition, is compatible with both political concepts of personal autonomy and territorial demands. It is, therefore, particularly appropriate for the mediating position of the Jewish Socialist Workers Party (SERP), which inspired by his ideas, adopted a program that included future non-territorial autonomy for Jews. The call for Jewish non territorial self-government chambers ("Sejm") for cultural issues within states with relevant Jewish minorities, as called for by the SERP, provides a practical basis for a constructive minority policy, as used in the present by the Sorbs (the most western Slavic people) in East Germany without knowing about this historical precursor.

Keywords: *Chaim Zhitlowsky, culture-nation, non-territorial personal autonomy, nation building, Jewish identity, self-government chambers.*

Kay Schweigmann-Greve born in 1962, studied history, philosophy and law at Hannover University. 1992 1st State Law Examination, 1995 2nd State Law Examination. 1995/96 Lecturer in Labor Law at the Chemical Trade Union, since 1996 Legal Adviser to the Hannover City Council. 2012 Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Potsdam, publication of various essays in the history of the working-class movement, Jewish history, youth movements in the 20th century, history of philosophy and political thought (essays on the different socialistic and NTA concepts of the Jewish parties in Tsarist Russia, Translation of sources for that from Chaim Zhitlowsky and Vladimir Medem from Yiddish). Since 2018 with a job research project at the University of Hanover Law School on jurists, expelled from German universities after 1933.

Paper B.7.2

“Between Two Worlds” Antonio Gramsci and the Jewish National Question

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Abstract

The main target of this paper is to analyze Antonio Gramsci’s attitude towards the Jewish question and, specifically, the problem of the Jewish nation by focusing on nationalist “Territorialism”. The analysis will start from a general framework of Second International’s positions on the “Jewish” (national) question. It will then consider the personalities who have influenced Gramsci’s view of the Jewish question. Thirdly, it will analyze Gramsci’s sources on the Jews and Antisemitism. Fourthly, it will concentrate on the problem of the State in Zionist thought and politics. Lastly, it will propose some keys to understand the connection between Gramsci’s philosophy of praxis and Jewish nationalism.

Keywords: *Gramsci, Marxism, Zionism, Territorialism, Antisemitism, Italian Jewry*

Vincenzo Pinto (1974) holds a PhD in Contemporary History (Turin), Historical Sciences (San Marino), and Italian Studies (Grenoble). He widely studied Zionism, Nationalism, and Antisemitism. He published a biography of Vladimir Ze’ev Jabotinsky and the first Italian critical edition of Hitler’s “Mein Kampf”.





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