

The national minority as a driver of cultural cross-border cooperation and local development: Evidence from the Polish–Lithuanian borderland

Summary

This paper considers the issue of minority participation in local cultural development, as illustrated by the case of the Lithuanian minority in Puńsk, Poland. The authors identify some factors which support engagement of the national minority in cross-border cultural cooperation. The illustrative case demonstrates how cross-border cooperation based on a minority's activities can lead to improved relations between neighbouring countries. For the analysed territory, the Lithuanian minority's activities make an important contribution to balancing bilateral relations and agreeing the strategic goals of borderland development. The activities attract tourists who want to experience the specific Lithuanian culture in Puńsk and Lithuanian minority activities there have become a tourist attraction for borderland visitors. The Puńsk case study shows how the Polish community's development has been strongly influenced both by Lithuanian culture and by the minority's activities.



Conclusions and recommendations

1. National minorities are generally very interested in maintaining relations with their country of origin. When that country is the neighbour of the country of residence, national minority activities can strengthen cross-border cooperation. Such cooperation can dynamise the activities of the national minority in the country of residence and become a factor linking it with the country of origin. The only condition is that they are neighbouring countries.
2. Culture is a unique basis on which to develop relations between neighbouring nations. Each country can have national minorities naturally interested in the heritage, language and tradition of their neighbouring kin state.
3. Cultural activities are usually outside any political or historical tensions between neighbouring countries. Culture can contribute towards the strengthening of cross-border cooperation while avoiding topics of conflict.
4. National minorities' activities in the borderland sometimes change the balance in cross-border cooperation such that representatives of the same nation are involved on both sides of the border. In some borderlands, this kind of partnership is not treated as cross-border cooperation, because it does not provide real cooperation between neighbouring nations.
5. Active national minorities can act as a bridge between nations, thus enhancing cross-border cooperation. Two conditions apply: first, there should be positive cooperation between the nations, and second, the country of residence provides the national minority with adequate autonomy in its activities.
6. The experience from cultural projects can be turned into good practices and long-term policies affecting the whole borderland. In this way, project results will be more sustainable and made available to all borderland communities. They can be adopted into both local and cross-border strategies as separate axes, priorities or tasks.
7. The vibrant Lithuanian culture and heritage in Poland is becoming a competitive advantage for Puńsk on the borderland tourist map, with significant numbers of visitors enjoying the area in recent years. As a result, the national minority's potential and assets have become an important resource for Polish local development.

Introduction

Poland and Lithuania have a long history in common, including years of glory but also of conflicts caused by national tensions. Although a few political tensions still affect Polish–Lithuanian relations at the national and regional levels, the situation is notably better in the borderland where Poles and Lithuanians live together. Puńsk is one such example. Before World War II, this municipality in the Podlaskie region of Poland changed its affiliation to Lithuania, then later reverted to Poland. Poles and Lithuanians have always lived in the area. After World War II, Puńsk became the cultural capital of Polish Lithuanians. It is a good example of effective cooperation between Poles and the Lithuanian national minority in Poland. Puńsk plays an important role in the area’s cultural, social and tourist development. Lithuanian culture has become Puńsk’s key tourism asset and provides a platform on which to develop Polish–Lithuanian cooperation at the local level. From this example of good practices applied in the Polish–Lithuanian borderland, it is possible to identify factors which can contribute to engaging national minorities in cross-border cultural cooperation. The example also shows that ‘informal’ cultural autonomy¹ for communities like that of the Lithuanian minority in Puńsk can influence local development in a very positive way.

National minorities in the borderlands

The presence of national minorities in border regions is a sign of ethnic diversity² resulting, among other things, in a diverse cultural landscape. Borderland ethnic diversity can become one of the factors benefiting the cross-border cooperation.³ Cross-border relations are conditioned not only by institutional or financial factors but also by social factors (e.g. national minorities, language, cultural differences) and historical factors (e.g. past experiences, border changes).⁴ Cross-border cultural tourism can be a good platform on which to extend the relations between neighbouring societies. It is possible thanks to the minorities’ cultural education, local heritage protection and other activities, such as those related to literature, music and art.⁵ National minorities can play an important role in

1 PRINA, Federica; SMITH, David J.; SANSUM, Judit Molnar. National cultural autonomy in Central and Eastern Europe: Challenges and possibilities. In: *Democratic Representation in Plurinational States*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2018. p. 85-111.

2 KLATT, Martin. Regional Cross-Border Cooperation and National Minorities in Border Regions-a Problem or an Opportunity? *ROBEŽU PAPLAŠINĀŠANA: IDENTITĀTES UN KOPIENAS*, 2006, 239.

3 MALLOY, Tove H. Creating new spaces for politics? The role of national minorities in building capacity of cross-border regions. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 2010, 20.3: 335-351.

4 KUROWSKA-PYSZ, Joanna; SZCZEPAŃSKA-WOSZCZYNA, Katarzyna. The analysis of the determinants of sustainable cross-border cooperation and recommendations on its harmonization. *Sustainability*, 2017, 9.12: 2226.

5 WRÓBLEWSKI, Łukasz; KASPEREK, Andrzej. Euroregion as an Entity Stimulating the Sustainable Development of the Cross-Border Market for Cultural Services in a City Divided by a Border. *Sustainability*, 2019, 11.8: 2232.

building mutually beneficial relations by acting as a link between neighbouring countries. Their activity in the neighbouring country may also mitigate the impact of the cultural barrier (including the linguistic one) and may contribute to building mutual trust.⁶

The range of autonomy for the Lithuanian minority in Poland, including support from the Lithuanian and Polish governments

Expatriate Lithuanians were among those who fostered national values at a difficult time for Lithuania, and their activities strongly contributed to the restoration of Lithuania's independence on 11 March 1990. It is no coincidence that national relations with Lithuanians abroad have always been declared a state priority and that the first modest initiatives were taken immediately after the restoration of independence. As early as 1992, the Government of the Republic of Lithuania adopted a resolution aimed at assisting Lithuanians living abroad to study in Lithuania. The government also periodically approved support programmes for Lithuanian communities abroad. The Commission for Coordination of Affairs of Lithuanians Living Abroad⁷ was convened in 2009 for the first time. The Commission's task was to submit proposals to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania regarding:

- ▶ strategic directions of the state's relations with Lithuanians living abroad and their implementation;
- ▶ coordination of state institutions' actions in strengthening relations with Lithuanians living abroad to involve them in the political, social, economic and cultural life of Lithuania;
- ▶ the appropriateness of current and planned legislation regarding Lithuanian affairs abroad.

The 'Global Lithuania' programme (2011–2019)⁸ was aimed at involving Lithuanians living abroad in the life of the state and was a new stage in such relations. The programme measures and their implementation indicators are reviewed periodically. The programme was updated for the period 2012–2020, then again until 2021.

The approved inter-institutional action plan⁹ includes a number of institutions

6 LARUELLE, Marlène; PEYROUSE, Sébastien. Cross-border Minorities as Cultural and Economic Mediators between China and Central Asia. In: *China & Eurasia Forum Quarterly*. 2009.

7 Commission for Coordination of Affairs of Lithuanians Living Abroad (lt. Užsienio lietuvių reikalų koordinavimo komisija), available at: <https://urm.lt/default/lt/globali-lietuva/uzsienio-lietuviu-organizacijoms/uzsienio-lietuviu-reikalu-koordinavimo-komisija>

8 'Global Lithuania' programme, available at: <https://urm.lt/default/lt/globali-lietuva/globalios-lietuvos-programa/teisinis-reglamentavimas>

9 Inter-institutional action plan, available at: https://urm.lt/uploads/default/documents/AR_2021-01-01.pdf

implementing 'Global Lithuania' and the funds provided for programme implementation. For example, in 2020, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania confirmed that it would fully or partially finance 48 projects in 21 countries (76 project applications were submitted). A total of EUR 51,948 was allocated to the projects. Funds were provided for ten applications from Lithuanian organisations operating in Poland (five of the winning applications were submitted by the Lithuanian Society in Poland). Allocations of between EUR 300 and EUR 1,100 were provided to finance the activities of organisations operating in Poland. Such funded activities included covering the costs for organising the Assumption of Mary into Heaven Folklore Festival, World Lithuanian Prayer Day and similar events. The organisation of a series of activities dedicated to the 60th anniversary of the twice-weekly journal *Aušra* also deserves a separate mention. To implement 'Global Lithuania', a resolution was adopted on 1 July 2020 regarding procedures for supporting people going to Lithuanian organisations or communities abroad to conduct cultural activities. The legal act seeks to create the appropriate financial conditions for people who promote and nurture cultural activities by involving Lithuanian organisations and communities operating abroad. The financial support is aimed at:

- ▶ helping Lithuanians living abroad to preserve their intangible cultural heritage and identity;
- ▶ supporting the dissemination of intangible cultural heritage and Lithuanian culture abroad;
- ▶ creating conditions for cognition of cultural heritage and self-expression in the Lithuanian language;
- ▶ helping foreign Lithuanians to integrate into Lithuanian cultural processes.

The Press, Radio and Television Support Fund provides, on a competitive basis, partial support for press and online dissemination sources for Lithuanian communities abroad, especially in Poland (for instance, punkskas.pl).

The Lithuanian minority in Poland enjoys relatively good conditions for the development of cultural activities. Poland guarantees the freedom of Polish citizens belonging to national or ethnic minorities to maintain and develop their own language, customs, traditions and culture. The right to establish their own educational and cultural institutions is also assured, including those protecting religious identity. Citizens' freedom to participate in the resolution of matters concerning their cultural identity is also protected.¹⁰ Poland is a signatory to the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities¹¹

¹⁰ Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997.

¹¹ Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, drawn up in Strasbourg on 1 February 1995 (Journal of Laws of 2002, No. 144, item 209).

and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.¹² Matters related to the preservation and development of the cultural identity of national and ethnic minorities are regulated by legislation on national and ethnic minorities and regional languages.¹³ The care for minorities involves the minister of interior and administration, provincial leader, and local self-government. Each province has an official responsible for national and ethnic minorities.¹⁴ At the prime ministerial level, the opinion-making and advisory body is the Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities.¹⁵ The Commission also includes representatives of the Lithuanian minority in Poland. The Polish authorities are taking steps to support activities aimed at the protection, preservation and development of the cultural identity of minorities as well as their civic and social integration. The measures may include, in particular, targeted or specific-purpose subsidies. It is possible to provide funding for organisations or institutions carrying out such activities. Subsidies are awarded, among other things, for: cultural institutions' activities, minority languages publications, supporting television and radio broadcasts produced by minorities, protection of places related to the culture of minorities, education of children and youths, and promoting knowledge about minorities.

The Education Development Strategy for the Lithuanian minority in Poland¹⁶ is a manifestation of the Polish government's special care for the interests of the Lithuanian minority. The Lithuanian minority is not represented in the Polish parliament, but it is represented in the council of the Sejny district, in the Puńsk commune council and in the Sejny city and commune councils.¹⁷ The Lithuanian minority in Poland has declared a special need for support in such areas as education, culture and access to the media. Lithuanian organisations receive from the Polish Ministry of Interior and Administration the vast majority of the funds for activities aimed at maintaining the national identity of Lithuanians in Poland.

¹² European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, drawn up in Strasbourg on 5 November 1992 (Journal of Laws of 2009, No. 137, item 1121).

¹³ Act of 6 January 2005 on national and ethnic minorities and on the regional languages (Journal of Laws No. 17, item 141, as amended).

¹⁴ <https://www.gov.pl/web/mniejszosci-narodowe-i-etniczne/osoby-odpowiedzialne-za-sprawy-mniejszosci-narodowych-i-etnicznych-w-wojewodztwahtml>

¹⁵ „15 lat istnienia Komisji Wspólnej Rządu i Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych”, 7.10.2020, dostępny na: <https://www.gov.pl/web/mswia/15-lat-istnienia-komisji-wspolnej-rzadu-i-mniejszosci-narodowych-i-etnicznych> [25.11.2020] 15 years of operation of the Joint Commission of the Government and National and Ethnic Minorities”, 7.10.2020, available at: <https://www.gov.pl/web/mswia/15-lat-istnienia-komisji-wspolnej-rzadu-i-mniejszosci-narodowych-i-etnicznych> [25.11.2020]

¹⁶ “Strategy for the Development of Education of the Lithuanian Minority in Poland”, Interministerial Team for National Minorities, Ministry of National Education and Sport, Warsaw: 2001.

¹⁷ <https://www.gov.pl/web/mniejszosci-narodowe-i-etniczne/litwini>

Lithuanian minority cultural and tourism activities in Poland, especially on the Polish–Lithuanian borderland

Despite the modest and insufficient support from Lithuania, the Lithuanian national minority living in Poland has shown that it is not only important for them to integrate into Polish social and cultural life but also to foster the Lithuanian language, traditions and relations with Lithuania and its people. Many Lithuanian organisations operate on a national basis (e.g. the Lithuanian Community in Poland and the Lithuanian Society in Poland). Due to the lack of permanent sources of funding, most such organisations organise their activities on a voluntary basis. That is especially true in Puńsk, where the Lithuanian national minority is a significant part of this small town's population. The Lithuanian Culture House in Puńsk regularly organises cultural events attended by more than just the local Lithuanian population. The Lithuanian Ethnic Culture Society in Poland has been active in Puńsk since 1997. Active cultural and educational activities are also developed in Suwalki, Sejny and other areas with large Lithuanian populations. The Pontiff. A. Baranauskas Foundation's 'Lithuanian House' organises traditional cultural events in Sejny, including concerts by art groups cherishing cultural traditions. Sejny is also home to the Lithuanian St. Casimir Society in Poland, while the Lithuanian Society in Warsaw operates in the capital. Age-based organisations are also active, including the Lithuanian Youth Union in Poland.

Most events are traditional or related to certain historical events (e.g. the millennial celebration in 2009 of the first written mention of the name Lithuania). Well-known Lithuanian personalities from the worlds of culture, art and politics are also invited to participate in the events.

Language and culture are also fostered in educational institutions. For example, the Puńsk 11 March Lyceum participates in an international project on national minorities (2018–2020) co-financed by the European Union's Erasmus+ programme. Such activities ensure that the younger ethnic Lithuanians do not forget the language and remain acquainted with Lithuanian culture and traditions.

The opportunity for older people to express their religious beliefs in their mother tongue is particularly important. Mass is still said in Lithuanian in Puńsk, Sejny, Suwalki, Warsaw and other places.

It is important for Lithuania that the heritage of the almost extinct Baltic tribes be cherished on the Polish–Lithuanian border. The restoration of a Prussian and Jotvingian settlement near Puńsk (in Oszkinie, Poland) is also a good example of how Lithuanian heritage has been transformed into a very popular Polish tourism product. Together with Lithuanian cuisine and cultural events, the settlement has become one of the most attractive parts of Puńsk and the wider Sejny region for tourists. It attracts tourists seeking a diverse range of activities covering educational, historical and cultural aspects, and those who desire

unexpected emotions caused by contact with the metaphysical and mystical climate of Jotvingian heritage.¹⁸

The Lithuanian Cultural Centre in Puńsk as an example of the national minority's activities

Lithuanian culture in the region of Puńsk has been cultivated since the 15th century. In Puńsk, 80% of the inhabitants belong to the Lithuanian minority.¹⁹ It is the only bilingual Polish–Lithuanian commune in Poland. Lithuanian has the status of an auxiliary language there. Since 2008, the names of places and natural landmarks have also been written in the minority language. All Lithuanians living in Puńsk are fluent in Polish, which they use in communications with Poles and in their professional lives. High competences in the state language and Polish culture do not interfere with a strong sense of cultural identity. Culture is an important source of the Lithuanian identity. Many elements of the old Lithuanian heritage which have already disappeared in the Republic of Lithuania (including songs, dances, music and national rituals) have been preserved in the Sejny region. The Lithuanian Culture House was opened in Puńsk in 1956. It offers local residents and tourists contact with Lithuanian history, language, culture and national heritage. The Lithuanian Culture House is known for its regular cultural initiatives (festivals, competitions, exhibitions and performances) and also makes a significant contribution to the cultural life of the inhabitants of Puńsk and the surrounding area. Thanks to its efforts, performances by professional artists and bands from Lithuania are organised in Puńsk.²⁰ Many artistic groups are currently based in the Lithuanian Culture House in Puńsk²¹, and it arranges various cultural, artistic, patriotic and integration events. Those include various cultural and cross-border projects, including: ‘If hands could speak...’²²; Historical Festival ‘Mindauginės; Jore 2010 – Spring Festival’.²³ Three institutions documenting, protecting and promoting Lithuanian heritage are currently operating under the management of the Lithuanian Culture House in Puńsk, namely the Open-Air Museum, Regional Museum – Old Presbytery and the J. Vainas Ethnographic Museum. They play an important role in shaping and supporting Lithuanian identity, promoting the commune and increasing its tourist attractiveness.²⁴

18 <http://osada.prusaspira.org/> [05.03.2021].

19 Wójcikowska Katarzyna, „Mniejszość litewska w Polsce”, w: „Biuro Analiz Sejmowych”, nr 7(144), 4.04.2013. Wójcikowska Katarzyna, „Lithuanian minority in Poland”, in: “Biuro Analiz Sejmowych”, no 7(144), 4.04.2013.

20 “O nas” (About us), available at: <http://www.punsk-kultura.pl/o-nas/>

21 “Zespoły artystyczne” (Art. Groups), available at: <http://www.punsk-kultura.pl/zespoły-artystyczne/>

22 “Współpraca na rzecz włączenia społecznego – *Gdyby ręce mogły mówić...*”, available at: <http://www.punsk-kultura.pl/realizowane-projekty/wspolpraca-na-rzecz-wlaczzenia-spoecznego-gdyby-rece-mogly-mowic/> Cooperation for social inclusion – *If hands could speak...*

23 “Zrealizowane projekty”, available at: <http://www.punsk-kultura.pl/realizowane-projekty/>

24 Wójcikowska Katarzyna, „Mniejszość litewska w Polsce”, w: „Biuro Analiz Sejmowych”, nr 7(144), 4.04.2013.

The efforts of the Lithuanian Culture House in Puńsk confirm that cultural activities can strengthen the ties between the national minority's 'home' country and where it lives. Indirectly, these activities have become the basis for the development of tourism in Puńsk, as they are the area's key distinguishing feature. When tourists who want to experience a place where a foreign language is officially used in Poland, they go to Puńsk. Tourists curious about the life of a national minority which enjoys a unique, though 'informal' cultural autonomy in Poland, visit Puńsk. In doing so, they increase the demand for accommodation, restaurants, souvenirs and other elements indispensable for servicing tourist traffic. The local tourism sector also benefits from what can be described as 'sentimental tourism'. The essence of such tourism is the arrival of Lithuanian tourists interested in visiting places related to Lithuanian culture. This shows that the presence of the Lithuanian minority in this area is a factor that drives tourism and local development.

The case study: the cultural project enhancing the Polish–Lithuanian cross-border cooperation with the active participation of the Lithuanian minority in Poland

The co-authors of this report analysed the cross-border project 'If the hands could talk' that was realised in 2018. The leading partner was the House of Lithuanian Culture in Puńsk, with the Culture and Communication Centre in Alytus as the Lithuanian partner. Puńsk was one of only five communes in Poland in which, according to the 2002 and 2011 censuses, the Polish population was a minority. As such, when discussing the cultural cross-border cooperation between Puńsk and Alytus, one should take into account the cultural and national backgrounds. The Polish project partner was represented by Polish citizens from the ethnic Lithuanian community who speak both languages to the same level and regard both countries as their homeland. This is very specific cross-border cooperation, with the Lithuanian partner cooperating formally with the Polish partner represented by the Lithuanian minority in Poland. The specific objectives for the project were:

- ▶ the improvement of the cross-border social and cultural infrastructure,
- ▶ the social inclusion of elderly people based on the cross-border cultural activities, and
- ▶ networking the borderland culture and social support institutions.

The project was co-funded by the INTERREG Programme Lithuania – Poland 2014–2020.

The partners organised a series of workshops for representatives of the cross-border society, especially seniors (silver economy stakeholders), who worked out the specific aspects and solutions for mutual cooperation and the exchange of knowledge. The key merit base could be further culture activities and social integration, which is very enjoyable for the older population. The result of the workshops was the establishment of the Cross-Border Aging Policy Group.

Research framework and results

The co-authors of this report conducted qualitative research in the form of in-depth interviews (VII–VIII 2020) to answer the research question: *Do cultural activities of the national minority facilitate the development of cross-border cooperation or rather enclose it within a narrow group of people of the same country origin?*

The respondents were people attending various activities or events at the Lithuanian Culture House in Puńsk (20 people, including 10 people who declared that they belong to the Lithuanian minority).

The research allowed the following factors supporting cultural cross-border cooperation to be identified:

1. Knowledge of the neighbour's language in both parts of the borderland.
2. Common cultural heritage that is attractive to the inhabitants of both parts of the borderland.
3. Favourable or neutral historical conditions that do not hinder cross-border cooperation.
4. Good relations between minorities and the local community in their home country.
5. Possibility of involving the national minority in the implementation of cultural activities in their country of residence.
6. Funds for the development of the national minority's cultural activities in the country of residence.

The co-authors of the report also conducted a focus group interview concerning the assessment of the impact of cultural activities undertaken by the Lithuanian Culture House on Polish–Lithuanian cross-border cooperation. The target group was local leaders involved in cross-border activities. The findings clearly confirmed the positive impact of cultural activities undertaken by the Lithuanian Culture House on relations among the local inhabitants of Puńsk, on the social relations in the borderland and on the bilateral relation of the states. Such assessments prevailed both among the representatives of the Lithuanian minority in Puńsk and among the other inhabitants of the area. Polish respondents did not feel marginalised by the high activity of the Lithuanian minority. It is not without significance that nearly three quarters of the inhabitants of Puńsk have Lithuanian origins and declare Lithuanian identity. In this case, it can definitely be confirmed that the activity of the Lithuanian minority in the field of culture contributes to the development of cross-border cooperation. The complete research results have been published.²⁵

²⁵ Joanna Kurowska-Pysz and Andrius Puksas, National Minorities and Organizing Cross-border Cultural Cooperation: Evidence from the Polish-Lithuanian Borderland, *Cultural Management: Science and Education*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2020).

Policy implications

The answer to the question about the role of national minorities in the development of cross-border cooperation between their country of residence and the kin-state is strongly related to the analysis of the aforementioned six factors supporting this cooperation. The Lithuanian minority, which enjoys a rather wide 'informal' autonomy in Poland, has become an important stakeholder influencing the development of tourism. As tourists usually take the most attractive offer and explore the surrounding areas, the activities of the Lithuanian minority attract tourism to this part of the borderland and have a positive impact on the local development on both sides of the frontier.

Culture turns out to be a good and necessary platform for cross-border cooperation between the two countries. It fosters the building of relationships in everyday life, both in the area inhabited by minorities and across the entire borderland. Culture can be attractive to neighbouring countries as an area of cooperation, and it can be a factor in supporting both relations and tourism. To extend the borderland tourism offer, it is necessary to strengthen cross-border relations between neighbouring nations. Culture is an excellent basis for that.

Another important factor is access to finance for the development of cultural and tourism activities at the local, cross-border and international levels. Funds can come from the country of origin, the country of residence and international bodies, especially the INTERREG programme, which generally supports territorial cooperation and, in this case, cross-border cooperation in various fields, e.g. culture and cultural tourism. A national minority can be an attractive partner in developing cross-border cooperation if it can prepare a project which is interesting for selected target groups from both parts of the borderland, not just for a narrow group of people who identify with this minority. Otherwise, the project could be perceived as a waste of public funds.

Historical conditions are another important factor determining the possibilities of developing cross-border cultural cooperation with the involvement of national minorities. Where there are no historical antagonisms between border communities, it is usually much easier to develop good neighbourly relations, including those which build on the platform of a shared cultural heritage. There are many examples where political disputes have hindered the building of good relations in the borderlands.²⁶

When assessing the possibilities for the development of cross-border cooperation with the involvement of national minorities, one should always take into account how large a percentage of the borderland population the given minority represents (in the case study discussed, the Lithuanian minority is the majority on the Polish side, e.g. about 80% of the inhabitants of Puńsk, hence the domination of Lithuanian culture and language is a natural and widely accepted phenomenon there). It is also worth emphasising once again the important role played by the Polish policy in relation to minorities. If the policy was not favourable, such cooperation would be difficult or even impossible to establish.

²⁶ Popescu, G. (2008). The conflicting logics of cross-border reterritorialization: Geopolitics of Euroregions in Eastern Europe. *Political Geography*, 27(4), 418-438.

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