



ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network

Third ENTAN Conference:
*Realising Linguistic, Cultural and Educational Rights
Through Non-Territorial Autonomy*

Constanta, 13 & 14 May 2022

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.

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Third ENTAN Conference:
*Realising Linguistic, Cultural and Educational Rights
Through Non-Territorial Autonomy*

Constanta, 13–14 May 2022

PROGRAMME

Schedule	
	FRIDAY 13 May 2022
08.30–09.00	Arrival and registration
09.00–09.30	Opening session Venue: Ovidius University, Campus, building A, alea Universității no. 1 Chair: <i>David J. Smith</i> , Chairperson of the Third ENTAN Conference Committee Speakers: <i>Dan-Marcel Iliescu</i> , Rector of Ovidius University <i>Adrian Stoica-Constantin</i> , Dean of Faculty of Law and Administrative Sciences, Ovidius University <i>Enikő Katalin Lacziko</i> , Secretary of State in the Romanian Government, Department for Interethnic Relations <i>Varol Amet</i> , Deputy in the Romanian Parliament, representing the Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslim Tatars in Romania <i>Vergil Chițac</i> , Mayor of Constanța <i>Ivan Dodovski</i> , Chair of ENTAN – the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network
09.30–10.30	Keynote lecture Non-Territorial Autonomy and Minority (Dis)Empowerment: Past, Present and Future <i>Federica Prina</i> , University of Glasgow
10.30–11.00	Coffee break



First session Venue: Ovidius University, Campus, building A, aleea Universităţii no. 1		
	Panel A	Panel B
11.00–13.00	<p>Theoretical Perspectives on NTA and the State Chair: Adrian Stoica-Constantin</p> <p>Globalisation, Non-Territorial Cultural Autonomy and the Future of Cultural Difference <i>Jacob Dahl Rendtorff</i></p> <p>ICCPR Article 27 and the Protection of Ethnic Minorities and Indigenous Peoples’ Rights to Enjoy Culture in Norway <i>Øyvind Ravna</i> (online)</p> <p>Recognising and Protecting Religious Minorities in Europe: Challenging the State Monopoly in Diversity Management Through NTA <i>Kyriaki Topidi</i></p> <p>Protection of Religious Diversity in Western Liberal States Through the Non-Territorial Autonomy Principle <i>Jahid Hossain Bhuiyan</i></p>	<p>Assessing the Functionality of NTA: European Cross-Regional Perspectives I Chair: Flavia Lucia Ghencea</p> <p>NTA and Minority Rights: Impact of the Self-Governing National Communities on Minority Protection in Slovenia <i>Ljubica Đorđević-Vidojković</i></p> <p>Cultural Autonomy – Safe Haven or Window-Dressing? Institutions Maintained by Minority Self-Governments in Hungary <i>Balázs Dobos</i></p> <p>Protecting the Culture of Indigenous Peoples under the Concept of Environmental Autonomy: The Case of the Sámi People <i>Zerrin Savaşan</i></p> <p>‘Living a Complete Life’? NTA and Minority Language Protection in the South and North <i>David J. Smith</i></p>



13.00–14.00	Lunch	
14.00–16.00	Second session Venue: Ovidius University, Campus, building A, aleea Universității no. 1	
	Panel C	Panel D
	Delineating NTA in Contemporary Romania Chair: David J. Smith The Implications of Administrative Decentralisation for the Development of Non-Territorial Autonomy Practices: The Case of Romania <i>Valentina Cornea, Mirela Paula Costache and Andreea Elena Matic</i> Education in National Minority Languages in Romanian Legislation – Between Regulation and School Performance <i>Flavia Lucia Ghencea and Laura Patache</i> The Evanescence of Autonomy for Minority Groups: The Hungarian Minority in Romania and the Complex Nexus of Dependence <i>Andreea Udrea</i>	NTA in South-Eastern Europe: Practices and Precarities Chair: Ivan Dodovski NTA Arrangements in North Macedonia: Legal and Political Aspects for the Implementation of Linguistic Rights in North Macedonia <i>Marina Andeva</i> Media and Non-Autonomy in the Balkan Region: Who is Represented? <i>Branko Bošković</i> Fairy Tales and Local Teachers: The Silencing of a Language in 21 st Century Greece <i>Alexandra Ioannidou (online)</i> Linguistic Rights in Greece: Crossing Through Territorial and Non-Territorial Arrangements <i>Konstantinos Tsitselikis</i>



SATURDAY 14 May		
09.00–10.00	<p>Keynote lecture The NTA Concept – in the Light of Recent Scholarship <i>Levente Salat, Babeş-Bolyai University</i></p>	
10.00–10.30	Coffee break	
<p>Third session Venue: Ovidius University, Campus, building A, alea Universităţii no. 1</p>		
10.30–12.30	<p>Panel E</p> <p>NTA in Serbia: Evaluating Contemporary Practice Chair: Ljubica Đorđević-Vidojković</p> <p>Critical Analysis of the Linguistic Rights Strategy of the Hungarian National Minority Council in Serbia <i>Katinka Beretka</i></p> <p>Legal Framework for the Role of NTA Arrangements in the Implementation of Linguistic Rights: A Comparative and Serbian Perspective <i>Vladimir Đurić and Vasilije Markovic (online)</i></p> <p>Minority National Councils in Vojvodina (Serbia): A Success Story? <i>Aleksandar Pavlović</i></p>	<p>Panel F</p> <p>Assessing the Functionality of NTA: European Cross-Regional Perspectives II Chair: Marina Germane</p> <p>From Nation States to Plurinational States: The Role of NTA in the Representation of Minority Communities and in Multicultural Education <i>Ephraim Nimni (online)</i></p> <p>Can NTA Help in Enforcing the Linguistic, Cultural and Educational Rights of Roma? <i>Natalija Shikova and Immaculada Colomina Limonero</i></p> <p>Civil Society Within a Non-Territorial Autonomy and Double Citizenship Context: The Case of the Sámi in Norway <i>Kristin Strømsnes</i></p> <p>Cultural Autonomy and Minority Language Rights in Hungary <i>Balázs Vizi</i></p>
	12.30–13.30	Lunch



Fourth session	
Venue: Ovidius University, Campus, building A, aleea Universității no. 1	
Panel G	Panel H
<p>NTA and Ideology: A Historical Perspective Chair: David J. Smith</p> <p>On Common Ground: Soviet Nationalities Policy and the Austro-Marxist Premise <i>Matthias Battis</i></p> <p>13.30–15.30 Jewish and German Minorities, NTA and Minority Rights in Interwar Europe <i>Marina Germane</i> (online)</p> <p>Illiberal Forms of NTA: The Sudeten German Party Case <i>Oskar Mulej</i> (online)</p> <p>The Continued Reverberations of a Failed Experiment: The Bearing of the Talysh-Mughan Republic upon Contemporary State–Society Relations in Azerbaijan <i>Karli-Jo Storm</i></p>	<p>Experiences of NTA in the Baltic Sea Region Chair: Antonia Maria Mora-Luna</p> <p>The Dilemma of Responsibility: Kin-States’ and Nation States’ Role in Implementing NTA Models to Realise Minorities’ Linguistic, Cultural and Educational Rights <i>Martin Klatt</i></p> <p>Cross-Border Cooperation as a Tool to Support National Non-Territorial Autonomies in the Baltic Sea Region <i>Tomasz Studzieniecki and Tadeusz Stegner</i></p> <p>Impact of a Symbolic Autonomy: The Cases of Finnish and Swedish Cultural Self-Governments in Estonia <i>Triin Tark</i> (online)</p>
15.30–16.00	<p>Closing session Venue: Ovidius University, Campus, building A, aleea Universității no. 1 Chair: David J. Smith, Chairperson of the Third ENTAN Conference Committee</p>



Keynote lecture

Non-Territorial Autonomy and Minority (Dis)Empowerment: Past, Present and Future

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Abstract

The paper will examine academic debates on non-territorial autonomy (NTA), from the renewed interest in the concept in the mid-2000s up to the present. First, the paper will provide a brief overview of the meaning of NTA and the rationale behind it, highlighting how, in academic literature, NTA oscillates between positions that treat it as an attractive option and a highly impractical system. Second, the paper will highlight recent academic debates, which have approached NTA with various emphases: the functions it fulfils (or has fulfilled); its (at times) supplementary role vis-à-vis territorial autonomy; and the dynamics that have led to its introduction in some countries, with the attendant implications. Third, the paper will outline some of NTA's complexities and possible future areas of research, with reference to the interaction of territoriality and non-territoriality, collective rights and participation, and potentially negative consequences of NTA regimes. The paper will draw from a review article published in *Ethnopolitics* in 2020.

Federica Prina is a lecturer in security studies at Central and East European Studies (CEES), School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Glasgow. She has published widely on minority rights and inter-ethnic relations in the Russian Federation. She is a managing editor of the *European Yearbook of Minority Issues* and sits on the editorial board of *Europe-Asia Studies*. She was a research associate for an ESRC-funded project on NTA and minority participation in central and eastern Europe at the University of Glasgow (2014–2017) and a researcher at the European Centre for Minority Issues, Flensburg (2011–2013).



Globalisation, Non-Territorial Cultural Autonomy and the Future of Cultural Difference

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Abstract

This paper will deal with some elements of the hermeneutics of cultural difference and intercultural dialogue, in order to find ways to protect the non-territorial autonomy (NTA) of cultures in the process of globalisation. The paper will look at different models of cultural encounters and the protection of cultural NTA that can overcome the domination of the individual in a 'one world' situation. These models involve: (1) everyday conversation and interaction; (2) intellectual cultural education; (3) listening dialogue based on education; and (4) intense conversation between cultures based on mutual recognition of language and history. The different models of intercultural encounters will be applied to the topic of protection of cultural NTA in globalisation. Using these different intercultural encounter models, it may be possible to put into force elements of cultural dialogue in times of cultural uniformisation. Within a context where the hegemony of world culture is dominating individuality and cultural difference, we may ask what the future of cultural difference really is. We need to find and respect difference in the movement towards a world culture. Here, we can draw on the concept of cosmopolitanism as proposed by Jacques Derrida in his essay on hospitality and cosmopolitanism. Hospitality towards strangers is, according to Derrida, the most important manifestation of cosmopolitanism, and we may also regard this as respect for cultural difference. I open myself up to the other through my home, my house, my language, my culture and my nation. Such unconditional hospitality seems to go beyond even the Kantian concept of hospitality. Hospitality as the openness to the other becomes a fundamental ethical principle of respect for cultural difference in the context of NTA in a world faced with the danger of the hegemony of 'world culture'.

Keywords: *world culture, cultural non-territorial autonomy, clash of civilisations, cultural encounter, cultural difference, respect for the other (toleration)*

Jacob Dahl Rendtorff, PhD and Dr Scient. Adm., is a professor of philosophy and ethics at the Department of Business and Social Sciences, Roskilde University, Denmark. Rendtorff's research includes a broad perspective on organisation theory, management, responsibility, ethics and legitimacy of business firms and corporations, corporate social responsibility, business ethics, sustainability, bioethics and biolaw, human rights, political theory and philosophy of law. Rendtorff has written and edited work on issues of existentialism and hermeneutics, French



philosophy, ethics, bioethics, business ethics and philosophy of management, as well as philosophy of law. Rendtorff has recently also worked on issues of philosophy of culture, recognition and globalisation, with a focus on French philosophy, existentialism and hermeneutics, post-structuralism and deconstruction.



ICCPR Article 27 and the Protection of Ethnic Minorities and Indigenous Peoples' Rights to Enjoy Culture in Norway

(via video link)

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Abstract

In the autumn of 2021, the Supreme Court of Norway unanimously found that the construction of two wind power plants in a reindeer husbandry area was violating the rights of the Sámi herders pursuant to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Article 27. The judgement means that the permission to build one of Europe's largest wind power projects has been deemed illegal, with the possibility that it must be removed.

The judgement, which is based on case law from the UN Human Rights Committee, clarifies where the threshold for interference in minorities' material cultural basis lies in Norwegian law. It also discusses the importance of consultation and mitigation measures, and that ICCPR Article 27 does not allow for the interests of society at large to be weighed against the interests of the minority.

In this presentation, the Supreme Court's use of ICCPR Article 27, which is part of Norwegian law, is analysed and explained, with a view to determine what it means for future interventions in Norway, in neighbouring countries such as Sweden and Finland, and perhaps in other European countries.

Keywords: *minority law, Fosen, wind power, threshold for violation of ICCPR 27*

Øyvind Ravna, PhD in law (2008), is professor and head of the research group on Sámi and indigenous peoples law at UiT The Arctic University of Norway, Tromsø, and adjunct professor at Sámi University of Applied Sciences, Kautokeino. His field of research is indigenous peoples law, property law with a particular focus on land rights claims in the Sámi areas, human rights and legal history. Ravna teaches Sámi and indigenous peoples law and property law. Ravna has published the monographs *Same- og reindriftsrett* [Sámi and reindeer husbandry law] (2019), *Fra Little Bighorn til Standing Rock: En modern indianerhistorie* (2018), *Finnmarksloven – og retten til jorden i Finnmark* [The Finnmark Act and the rights to the land in Finnmark] (2013), *Rettsutgreiing og bruksordning i reindriftsområder* (2008). He is editor-in-chief of *Arctic Review on Law and Politics*.



Recognising and Protecting Religious Minorities in Europe: Challenging the State Monopoly in Diversity Management Through NTA

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Abstract

The legacy of minority protection on the European continent is characterised by the intention to avoid violent ethnic conflicts, with a focus on territorially concentrated groups' aspirations to govern themselves. The debates surrounding minority recognition of ethno-cultural groups are not, however, the same today. In the post-secular age, the state is not the only institution shaping society. We are looking at increasingly complex constellations of interactions between the nation state, the market and non-state (including religious) actors. Just as important, as a result of population movements, are the increasing number of hybrid religious identities, and government policy as well as legal interventions are being called upon to take account of the growing spread of hyphenated ethnicities.

This contribution will argue that we are confronted with a new cultural and social moment, where religious faith is reimagining its agency from the bottom up, and is working openly within civil society, with less focus on religious traditions per se. This development inevitably modifies the role of the state from being a 'neutral' moderator of the public space to becoming a partner in the effort to 'accentuate the positive'. The discussion of the evolution of the role of the state in the management of religious diversity from a European perspective inevitably involves renewed interest in the different forms of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) which could be used in the realisation of cultural/religious rights.

The paper will describe this process as follows: first, the connection between minorities and state recognition will be outlined, in order at a second stage to develop the patterns in the input of both states and minority religious actors in the quest for inclusion of religious minority groups within multicultural societies on the basis of NTA. The final part of the discussion will attempt to connect agency with group recognition, as a precondition for inclusive legal and policy making in relation to religiously plural societies.

Keywords: *religious pluralism, agency, states, NTA, religious minority, inclusion*

Kyriaki Topidi is a senior researcher and head of the research cluster 'Culture & Diversity' at the European Centre for Minority Issues (Flensburg, Germany). She 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 and minority protection rights and mechanisms (with a special interest in religion). She is the author and editor of a number of volumes and articles. Her latest monograph focuses on *Law and Religious Diversity in Education: The Right to Difference* (Routledge, 2020). Her upcoming co-edited collection with Jessika Eichler is entitled *Minority Recognition and the Diversity Deficit* (Hart Publishing). At the ECMI, she is currently researching minority identity and digital governance, as well as the intersection of minorities with social movements.



Protection of Religious Diversity in Western Liberal States Through the Non-Territorial Autonomy Principle

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Abstract

Liberal democracies in the West are secular. Their laws are believed to be religiously neutral. According to the liberal demographic perspective, enabling fundamental individual rights serves to accommodate ethno-cultural minorities. However, European liberal-democratic nations are increasingly being pressed to accept various religious views, putting pressure on long-standing institutional arrangements and the need to strike a compromise between competing rights. Citizenship rights are increasingly being viewed as inadequate. Collective or group-differentiated rights are necessary in some situations. Despite the fact that international human rights law helps to ensure that (a) members of religious minorities can engage in their religion alongside one another, and (b) states avert forcible integration or practices that undermine cultural minorities, hostilities prevail between communal autonomy and individual religious freedom. It is necessary to find the right balance between institutional religious autonomy and fundamental individual rights; for instance, the right not to be discriminated against. Furthermore, women, minors and dissenters are vulnerable even inside their own religious communities. Non-territorial autonomy (NTA) represents one strategy to address religious diversity. India is a good example of this in action. The country is culturally diverse. It has many religious communities. The Constitution of India departed from the traditional principle of liberalism. Although it accepts and endorses the principles of autonomy and non-discrimination, it assumes that it is not possible to ensure equal treatment for all religious communities by giving equal rights to individuals. Therefore, the Constitution attempts to ensure that no religious community is excluded from the public sphere. It also provides autonomy to every religious community to live their lives as they wish. This paper examines how autonomy has worked, and how religious minorities are represented in India. It identifies what NTA can teach western liberal states striving to protect religious diversity.

Keywords: *religious diversity, liberalism, autonomy, India*

Jahid Hossain is a Humboldt Postdoctoral Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg, Germany. He holds a PhD in law from the University of Queensland, Australia. He has published several papers in the area of law and religion.



NTA and Minority Rights: Impact of the Self-Governing National Communities on Minority Protection in Slovenia

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Abstract

Slovenia has a highly developed system of national minority protection, with several interesting peculiarities, one of them being the self-governing national communities (SGNCs) for the Italian and Hungarian communities. The model combines personal and territorial elements in an interesting way: self-governing communities can only be established on ‘ethnically mixed territories’, whereas they are elected solely by persons registered as belonging to the respective community. Moreover, there is also a second tier: regional national self-governing communities, with indirectly elected members representing local SGNCs. Most of their competences (at both levels) fall under the category of ‘shared-rule’; that is, they participate in managing institutions (schools, for instance) or in decision-making through providing consent or opinion, while no state powers (for instance, in education or culture) are (entirely) delegated to these bodies.

The SGNCs are deeply entrenched in the Slovenian system of minority protection, but they are often taken for granted and are rarely assessed with respect to their real impact. There is no systematic monitoring of their performance, and tracked evidence of their work is scarce and scattered. Against this background, this paper is based on an analysis of the implementation monitoring of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) in Slovenia, and the issues pertinent to the SGNCs which have appeared in the monitoring so far. A general finding is that the institutional position and the formal role of the SGNCs have been acknowledged, but their concrete contribution and impact on the implementation of minority rights, as indirectly stipulated in the FCNM, have been tackled in a rather superficial way. Nevertheless, the monitoring documents offer a valuable insight into the issues pertinent to the functioning of the SGNCs which have attracted attention in the past 25 years of monitoring practice. The paper offers a brief overview of the most striking issues relevant for the functioning of the SGNCs and the implementation of minority rights, as documented in the FCNM monitoring.

Keywords: *Slovenia, self-governing national communities, minority rights, Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*



Ljubica Đorđević-Vidojković is senior researcher and head of the ‘Justice & Governance’ cluster at the European Centre for Minority Issues (Flensburg, Germany). As a constitutional lawyer, her main research interests focus on European and national legal frameworks, implementation of minority rights, indicators and ethnic data, institutional frameworks, as well as minority language rights. She holds a PhD and an LL.M. Eur. Integration, both from the Faculty of Law, TU Dresden (Germany), and an LL.B. from the Faculty of Law, University of Niš (Serbia).



Cultural Autonomy – Safe Haven or Window-Dressing? Institutions Maintained by Minority Self-Governments in Hungary

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Abstract

In Hungary's history of national cultural autonomy (NCA), the emphasis since the mid-2000s has been on institutionalisation, with the aim of minority self-governments (MSGs) establishing, taking over and maintaining various cultural and educational institutions with the appropriate budgetary support. These MSGs are the local manifestations of NCA, which had previously remained a largely theoretical aspiration during the 1990s. As a result, there are now hundreds of institutions – kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, dormitories, museums, libraries, theatres, research institutes, etc. – that are run by minorities. In this way, MSGs have become some of the main actors in implementing linguistic, cultural and educational minority rights in the country. This is all the more important because recent experiences have shown that the transmission of minority languages and identities in families has been largely interrupted; therefore, minority educational institutions in particular now have an increasingly important role to play. However, this process was by no means uncontroversial, and still characterises minorities to differing degrees; for example, those who were already recognised during the communist era and thus already had a network of institutions are in a better position. The establishment of institutions for those minorities that were recognised later, under the 1993 minority law, has only been possible in the last two decades. In some places, the intention to take over institutions such as schools by the MSG was met with resistance from the local population and parents. While in other places, and especially during the Orbán governments of the 2010s, the takeover represented a kind of escape route, meaning that the school in the municipality would not be closed, or maintained by the state or the church. It is also a question of how these minority schools perform on a variety of indicators as to whether it is worthwhile for parents to enrol their children there. In addition, some institutions, especially certain research centres employing only one person, can hardly be considered as real institutions. In order to address the above issues, the major aim of the study is to introduce and analyse the complex process of institutionalisation, to summarise and evaluate its experiences, especially with regard to the impact of these institutions on the linguistic, cultural and educational rights of minorities.

Keywords: *non-territorial autonomy, national cultural autonomy, minority self-governments, minority institutions, minority schools, cultural rights, linguistic rights, educational rights*



Balázs Dobos obtained MA degrees in history and political science at the Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), 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 in Budapest. He teaches courses on ethnic conflict and minority policies in East Central Europe at Corvinus and ELTE. 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 mobilisation.



Protecting the Culture of Indigenous Peoples under the Concept of Environmental Autonomy: The Case of the Sámi People

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Abstract

This article aims to study an ‘environmental autonomy (EA)’ paradigm arising as a new priority subject in the field of the non-territorial autonomy debate, and questions whether it can play a positive role in protecting/improving indigenous peoples’ cultural rights. To this end, first, the concept of EA will be clarified in legal terms, based on the relevant main legal documents. Second, indigenous peoples’ cultural rights will be evaluated according to their level of dependence on the environment and the natural resources needed to protect their culture. Third, a case study will be provided on the basis of the Sámi people, and a comparative analysis will be made of regulations in Norway–Finland and Sweden relevant to the topic, along with their implementation. Finally, the article will conclude with an appraisal of the current situation and instances of lessons that should be learned, and also potential ways for promoting indigenous peoples’ cultural rights under EA in response to the challenges emerging in practice.

Keywords: *cultural rights, environmental autonomy, indigenous peoples’ rights, Sámi people*

Zerrin Savaşan is currently working as an associate professor (public international law) in the Department of International Relations, Sub-department of International Law, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences, Selçuk University, Konya, Turkey. She is a member of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) World Commission on Environmental Law (WCEL); a founder and coordinator of the Academy of Environmental Studies, Volunteer Youth Community; a consultation council member of the Turkish Bar Association, Commission on Environment and Urban; a founding member of the Environmental Peacebuilding Association; a member of the INECE and also INECE Correspondent, and also a research fellow for the Earth System Governance Project. She specifically studies environmental law and policies, and climate law and policies. She also works as an EU Climate Ambassador, a climate leader/mentor for the Alliance for Climate Protection/The Climate Reality Project, and as a mentor for the ASIL WILIG Mentoring Program. Savaşan obtained her PhD degree from the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University (METU). Her master’s degree is from the Department of European Studies, METU, and her bachelor’s degree is from the Faculty of Law, Ankara University. Her postdoctoral research was conducted at the Institute for Transnational Legal



Research (METRO), Law Faculty, Maastricht University, Maastricht, the Netherlands. Her PhD research was carried out at the Max Planck Comparative Public Law and International Law Institute, Heidelberg University, Germany, and at the Center for Environmental Studies, Vrije University, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.



‘Living a Complete Life’? NTA and Minority Language Protection in the South and North

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Abstract

According to relevant international legal instruments, and in the eyes of the relevant linguistic communities themselves, the protection of minority languages entails more than simply symbolic recognition – it is about ensuring the continued reproduction of a language and its wider culture (‘a way of life’), which are often intimately connected to a specific place. Many theorists have held up non-territorial autonomy (NTA) as a potentially promising means of realising this objective, in so far as it allows possibilities for communal self-determination and self-governance in the functional spheres of language and culture. What, though, does actual practice in different contexts tell us about the possibilities and limits of NTA in this regard, and what are the factors and actors that come into play? This paper addresses the functionality of NTA first with reference to the system of National Minority Councils (NMCs) established in Serbia since 2009. Among the plethora of contemporary arrangements bearing the label NTA that have come into being in central and eastern Europe and the Western Balkans, this system is often hailed as the most substantive. Drawing on interviews with representatives of the Hungarian NMCs and other minority actors, the paper assesses the practical impact of the NMCs in terms of realising linguistic, cultural and educational rights. It then assesses the Serbian experience in relation to longer-standing practices found in northern Europe – most notably the Sámi parliaments found in the Nordic countries. While applicable to an indigenous people rather than to a national minority, this system is nevertheless frequently held up as an example of NTA good practice, and has been used as a benchmark for assessing arrangements in post-communist Europe. This second part of the paper draws on work from a current ENTAN-supported project, ‘Gaelic and Sámi: Promoting Mutual Learning in the Protection of Indigenous Languages’.

Keywords: *non-territorial autonomy, language, linguistic rights, Serbia, Hungarians, Sámi, Nordic countries*

David J. Smith is professor of Russian and east European studies at the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Glasgow, where he also edits the journal *Europe-Asia Studies*. Smith researches ethnic politics and minority issues in central and eastern Europe, with a particular focus on NTA, transnational minority activism and minority–kin-state relations. He is the author of *Ethnic Diversity and the Nation State* (Routledge, 2012) and *Estonia: Independence and*



European Integration (Routledge, 2001), and he has published extensively in leading international journals as well as editing or co-editing special issues of *Ethnopolitics* (2008, 2021), *Nationalities Papers* (2020), *Eurasian Geography and Economics* (2021) and numerous collected volumes. He leads ENTAN's working group on cultural identities and is a member of the Erasmus + Jean Monnet SECUREU Network (The Securitization of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities and the Rise of Xenophobia in the EU, 2020–2023).



The Implications of Administrative Decentralisation for the Development of Non-Territorial Autonomy Practices: The Case of Romania

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Abstract

This study analyses non-territorial autonomy (NTA) as a practical category under conditions of administrative decentralisation. The aim is to elucidate the way in which a decentralised administrative system creates premises and a favourable context for the development of entities with responsibilities in the ethno-cultural field. The main question concerns the extent to which decentralisation supports practices associated with NTA. The paper argues first that Romania's decentralisation model allows the development of practices associated with NTA. National minority organisations are the most well-defined element in this regard. Second, it argues that both decentralisation and NTA are effective with the same variables and factors. These include ethnic activism, the typology of responsibilities assumed by entities with ethno-cultural responsibilities and administrative responses to issues related to the protection of national minorities. We conclude that under conditions of decentralisation, minority groups benefit from support for the development and maintenance of cultural particularities, while NTA creates a favourable framework for empowering minority groups to self-administer. Decentralisation reinforces and legitimises NTA processes when correctly and responsibility done.

Keywords: *non-territorial autonomy, decentralisation, public utility, competences*

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Andreea Elena Matic is an associate professor at ‘Dunărea de Jos’ University of Galați, Faculty of Law and Administrative Sciences, where she began her professional activity in 2006. She has two bachelor’s degrees, one in philosophy (2001) and the second in law sciences (2004), both obtained at Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi, and she also graduated from two master programmes. In 2009, she gained her PhD at the University of Iasi. She is the author of three books, and has published over 25 scientific papers in recognised international journals. At the university, she teaches courses including philosophy of law, logic, international protection of human rights and ethics. She has been an active lawyer in the Galați Bar since 2005.



Education in National Minority Languages in Romanian Legislation – Between Regulation and School Performance

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Abstract

Public service education is one of the largest services organised and provided by the state for its citizens. Because it reaches every home, it is a subject widely covered in political disputes. It is both an ongoing theme of minority parties highlighted (if not exaggerated) during election campaigns and an instrument of non-territorial autonomy (NTA), which, when properly managed, can lead to the reduction of inter-ethnic conflicts and peaceful coexistence. Because a community's mother tongue is a defining part of a person's identity, representatives of minority groups understandably want equal opportunities for their children in school and the preservation of their cultural and linguistic identity. It is therefore necessary for the majority people of a nation state to ensure, through concrete regulations, the right of minorities to study in their mother tongue.

First, the present paper aims to analyse the existing legal regulations in Romania, which give national minorities the right to education in their mother tongue as an instrument of NTA arrangements. Second, we conducted a study in a multicultural territorial area, Dobrogea, where 17 minorities live together, in order to identify the perceptions of these minority populations regarding the use of their mother tongue in education and its implications for further personal development.

The study used an online questionnaire with pre-set questions distributed among members of national minorities in Dobrogea – parents with children in primary and secondary school (0–14 years). The research covered: education exclusively in the mother tongue; bilingual education – mother tongue plus official language; and mother tongue as an optional subject of study in the educational curriculum. Despite the promotion of national identity by some minorities, in Dobrogea there is no alternative to exclusive or bilingual teaching in a language other than Romanian. Most respondents occasionally speak their mother tongue within the family or in the community. We also noticed a trend towards changing the perception of minority members, in the sense of a new orientation towards education with at least bilingual teaching, and a decreased desire to study exclusively in the mother tongue.



The study has some limitations regarding the selection of the sample and the restriction of the area of application, which could give rise to future avenues of research.

Keywords: *education in minority languages, public service, national minorities, educational system, NTA*

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Laura Patache is an associate professor of economics and a researcher at the Central Research Institute of 'Spiru Haret' University, Bucharest, Romania. She received her BA from Ovidius University Constanta in 1999 and completed her PhD 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 NTA (COST project). Her main research interests lie in the area of employment and the labour market; social programmes; higher education; and econometric methods for programme 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).



The Evanescence of Autonomy for Minority Groups: The Hungarian Minority in Romania and the Complex Nexus of Dependence

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Abstract

During the last two decades, kin-state engagement in Europe has been welcomed for its support in promoting the identity and language of kin-minority groups in their home states. The trans-sovereign involvement of kin-states in the fate of their kin-minorities has primarily contributed towards strengthening their identity, and protecting and promoting their culture in the home states. At the same time, many home states have adopted policies which have advanced the recognition and accommodation of their ethno-cultural minority groups according to the principles of liberal democracy. Together, these developments have contributed towards advancing and strengthening the idea of autonomy for minority groups in Europe, and institutionalising it as individually exercised minority rights, territorial self-rule and/or non-territorial autonomy.

This paper examines the nature and extent of autonomy for minority groups in the context of the Hungarian minority in Romania. It shows that, rather than being a mechanism through which states fulfil their obligation to protect people's fair opportunities for self-determination, autonomy is merely a vehicle through which minority rights are administered. While national minority groups in Romania enjoy clearly established forms of recognition, which translate into generous linguistic, cultural and educational rights, a focus on the Hungarian minority highlights the extent to which autonomy is dependent upon the financial aid it receives from the home state, as well as the kin-state, and the political support of the majority parties in the two countries. I argue that the exercise of autonomy in cases such as the one discussed here is at odds with the legal and political development of the idea of autonomy for minority groups in Europe, and has not only weakened its normative foundations, but more worryingly, caused it to become evanescent.

Keywords: *autonomy for minority groups, the right to self-determination, minority rights, kin-state engagement, Hungarian minority in Romania*

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focusing on kin-state–kin minorities relations, international responsibility and multiculturalism. Recent publications include: ‘Minority Protection and Kin-State Engagement: *Karta Polaka* in Comparative Perspective’ (with D. Smith; *Ethnopolitics*, 2021); ‘The Kin-state Policies of Hungary, Romania and Serbia in 2015: An Increasingly Centred Approach on Extraterritorial Citizenship’ (*European Yearbook of Minority Issues*, 2017, vol. 14); ‘Kin-state Responsibility, Reparations, and Extraterritorial Citizenship: A Comparative Analysis of Romania’s and Hungary’s Legislation on Kin-minorities’ (in *Extraterritorial Citizenship in Postcommunist Europe*, 2015, eds T. Agarin and P. Karolewski).



NTA Arrangements in North Macedonia: Legal and Political Aspects for the Implementation of Linguistic Rights in North Macedonia

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Abstract

The paper examines the legal and political aspects and instruments used to ensure that linguistic rights are promoted and protected in North Macedonia. Specifically, the paper first gives an overview of the modalities of language rights protection in the country since its independence in 1991. The paper focuses on an analysis of the legal implications of the current regulations regarding the use of languages in the country, and proposes modifications and arrangements closely resembling a non-territorial autonomy (NTA) model. The authors propose NTA solutions to the long-standing debates on language use, and try to examine other forms and instruments for tackling minority rights in the country. The paper will present both analytical content research conducted by the author, as well as qualitative analysis of structured interviews conducted by the author on the topic.

Keywords: *North Macedonia, NTA, language rights, power-sharing, policy*

Marina Andeva is an associate professor at the School of Political Science, University American College Skopje (UACS), and acting president of the University Senate. Andeva has been active both in research and teaching since 2009. She completed her PhD and MA at the University of Trieste in political science (cross-border cooperation and minority rights, and migration and integration policies). She has been engaged in a research project at the Institute of International Sociology of Gorizia since 2009, working on project research and management in projects financed mostly by European Commission funding programmes. At the UACS she teaches courses related to basic concepts in political sciences, migration and international organisations.



Media and Non-Autonomy in the Balkan Region: Who is Represented?

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Abstract

The ways in which minorities are represented in the media and their image may differ widely, from the stereotypical and alienating to more open narratives, depending on different factors. The media can be an important component in creating an independent cultural sphere, where minorities' identities can be strengthened, and as a significant resource of protection of their culture, identity and language. The paper looks at electronic media in Montenegro, Croatia and Serbia, in order to identify whether there are media and programmes that only aim at minorities, or are owned by or entirely devoted to them. It considers electronic media at the level of local, regional and national media. The three countries are multicultural societies, and minorities need to use the media to strengthen their identities. Moreover, this is also a way of strengthening their cultural autonomy. The paper will look at the media and programme content aimed at minorities, in order to identify how minorities are presented, how many programmes are available, how many citizens of the country as a whole can watch or hear them, and in which language they are provided. The paper will also analyse how these media and programmes influence minorities' perceptions, and whether they are considered as important for their members. Their scope and actual content can play a crucial role in strengthening autonomy, because they can be a way of articulating minorities' interests and identities. This is especially the case if they are provided in the minority language. In addition, the paper will show how these media/programmes differ between countries, which minorities actually benefit from them, and how they are perceived by other national groups. The aim is to show whether these programmes are a good way of improving the cultural autonomy of minorities, or whether they are just a way of offering a shallow channel of articulation for minority identities, which has no effect in strengthening and protecting their culture and identity.

Keywords: *media, autonomy, minorities, language, programme*

Branko Bošković is an assistant professor at the University of Donja Gorica in Podgorica, Montenegro, where he teaches courses in the area of socio-political analysis. He earned his PhD at the University of Donja Gorica, with a dissertation on the political sociology of Anthony Giddens. He is a president of the Council of the Agency for Electronic Media in Montenegro, and he is also a member of the two research councils in the Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts. He participates in international and national research projects at the university, and is actively



involved in COST Actions, as science communication manager of the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network (ENTAN) and as work group co-leader of WG5 for the European Family Support Network (EurofamNet). He has published in relevant journals in the area of social policy analysis.



Fairy Tales and Local Teachers: The Silencing of a Language in 21st Century Greece

(via video link)

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Abstract

In 1910, the second volume of the magazine *Laografia* (Folklore Studies) was published in Greece under the auspices of the most prominent founder of Greek folklore studies, Nikolaos Politis. In this most important volume, a teacher from the then Ottoman, now northern Greek region of Macedonia, published a fairy tale entitled ‘Naiden’ in two different versions. The fairy tale in Macedonian entitled ‘Naiden’ (meaning ‘the one who was found’) was printed on the left of the magazine page, and the Greek version of the fairy tale was printed on the right of the page. The Macedonian fairy tale was printed using Greek transliteration, although it remained accurate in terms of the syntax and grammar of the Macedonian language. More than 100 years later, in 2021, a publication of Macedonian fairy tales from the region of Edessa, with excellent illustrations and framed by introductions, foreword and analysis of the fairy tales’ typology based on international cataloguing, along with references to the multilingualism of the region and even to Albanian fairy tales(!), completely forgets to mention that the anthology is entirely translated from the Macedonian. The publication of this book, which was celebrated as an important achievement, represents the Greek dystopia which seems to have worsened over the years: the ignoring or even complete silencing of a language and culture as potentially dangerous for national reasons. Nikolaos Politis described the role of local teachers in the development of folklore studies, always in relation to the benefit for the so-called ‘national cause’. The 2021 book we refer to is the work of a teacher, and the questions that arise are as follows: how else can the popular heritage of ‘non-speaking’ populations be presented with the help of local educational authorities? What policy could be implemented to avoid phenomena like this, and to cultivate the language and knowledge of a minority culture in Greece that has been suppressed and censored since the end of the Balkan Wars?

Keywords: *Macedonian fairy tales, minority language, Greece, censorship*

Alexandra Ioannidou was born in 1966 in Athens, Greece. She studied Slavistics in Heidelberg (Russian and Polish literature, Bulgarian linguistics) from 1984 to 1992. Her dissertation on Russian symbolism was published in 1996 by Peter-Lang Verlag. She has conducted research on the Slavic dialects of Greece in Greek Macedonia (1994–1996). She has published mainly in



German, English and Greek on Russian literature, Slavic dialects in the Balkans and comparative literature. She has translated from German, Russian, Bulgarian and Polish into Greek theoretical and literary books by several Slav writers (Bakhtin, Makanin, Pelevin, Ulickaya, Kohout, Miłosz). Currently, she is a professor at the Institute for Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies at the University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki. In 2009, she was awarded a national award for her book ‘The Kouloufakos Case’ (Kastaniotis Editions, 2008). In 2013–2014, she received a DAAD scholarship and was a guest professor at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena.



Linguistic Rights in Greece: Crossing Through Territorial and Non-Territorial Arrangements

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Abstract

Since 1913, when Greece significantly increased her territory, minority protection has come under the spotlight of international consideration and guarantees. During the past 110 years, language rights, among other minority rights, were either reluctantly granted or ignored. Although minority languages have been treated asymmetrically and incoherently, a particular pattern seems to have emerged: minority languages spoken by Christians (Vlach, Slavic languages, Arvanite) are subject to assimilation dynamics, whereas minority languages spoken by non-Christian speakers (Muslims, Jews) are governed by protection norms, with or without territorial criteria. This trend was shaped by international political influences and legal regulations through a very narrow perspective, which actually screened out any attempt at establishing non-territorial arrangements. Today, only one minority language enjoys special rights (mostly in the field of education), namely, Turkish spoken by the Muslims of Thrace. Despite this, migratory flows after 1990, primarily from Albania, the former USSR and the Middle East, once again brought up the question of multiculturalism, language contact and language management. However, subsequent Greek governments have been reluctant to introduce special language rights for immigrants and refugees. Since Greece refrains from adhering to the main European legal instruments which safeguard language rights, such as the Charter on Minority Languages or the Framework Convention on National Minorities, the single protective mechanism granting linguistic rights remains the Treaty of Lausanne, which is limited to a specific minority language within a specific region. The legal protection of linguistic otherness in Greece was and still is fragmented and ambivalent, ranging from non-territorial autonomy invisibility to strict institutional territoriality.

Keywords: *language rights, minorities, education, Greece*

Konstantinos Tsitselikis (1967) is a professor in human rights and international organisations at the University of Macedonia (Thessaloniki, Greece), and since 2018 he has been dean of the School of Economic and Regional Studies. He is the author of a series of books, studies and articles on human rights, minorities, refugees, migration and territorial sovereignty. He has also taught at the universities of Thrace and Bilgi (Istanbul), and has cooperated with the universities of Harvard, Sorbonne II, Tampere, Aix-en-Provence, SOAS, Aga Khan (London), Erlangen and Koya



(Kurdish Region, Iraq), among others. He has worked for the Council of Europe (1992–1995), the OSCE, the UN and the EU (1997–1999) on human rights and democratisation field missions. He is a member of the secretariat for the Centre for Research on Minority Groups (KEMO) and chairman of the Hellenic League for Human Rights (2011–2017). He is co-director of KEMO's series of studies published by Vivliorama (Athens). He is a member of the Bar Association of Thessaloniki and a lawyer at the European Court of Human Rights.



Keynote lecture

The NTA Concept – in the Light of Recent Scholarship

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Abstract

There is wide consensus in the non-territorial autonomy (NTA) literature which holds that the concept of personal autonomy is the outcome of socio-political engineering: the concept itself refers to a political construct depicting a particular type of institutional arrangement aimed at accommodating diversity, deployed by state authorities. Formal, legally entrenched recognition and listing of the delegated competences are, according to the prevailing wisdom, key ingredients of a genuine NTA. This dominant view, originating from Karl Renner's and Otto Bauer's legacy, has recently been challenged by two complementary developments in the scholarly literature: (1) comparative analyses have uncovered severe limitations – the lack of genuine autonomy above all – in cases which fit precisely into the predominantly statist framing of NTA; (2) examples available in historical sources, on the one hand, and contemporary instances described in recent publications, on the other hand, highlight the irrelevance of state recognition and power delegation in particular circumstances of self-empowerment. There are, in other words, arrangements that fit the commonly accepted definition of NTA, which fall short, however, of effective power-sharing, and community practices which are not called autonomies, yet their substance embodies important aspects of non-territorial self-empowerment. The presentation will try to suggest a new framing of the NTA concept, building on these recent findings.

Levente Salat is professor of political science at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, and an external member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His research focuses on the political consequences of diversity, ethnic politics and inter-ethnic relations. He has published four books, edited or co-edited 15, and has made several contributions to collective volumes and journals, mainly in Hungarian, Romanian and English. Among others, he has co-edited *A New Balance: Democracy and Minorities in Post-Communist Europe* (2003), *Romanian–Hungarian Relations and the French–German Reconciliation* (2004), *Autonomy Arrangements Around the World* (2014) and *Non-Territorial Autonomy and Decentralization* (2021).



Critical Analysis of the Linguistic Rights Strategy of the Hungarian National Minority Council in Serbia

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Abstract

The Hungarian National Minority Council – the non-territorial autonomy body of Hungarians living in Serbia – has evolved its activities since the first democratic elections held in 2010, to include a creative strategic framework in the field of official languages of communication in Hungary. Its first mid-term (five-year) strategy for the development of the linguistic rights of Hungarians was adopted in 2012, its primary goal being to improve the legal background for official communication in minority languages in general in the country, to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the application of the relevant rules by the public authorities, and to develop the linguistic awareness of Hungarian national minorities by raising their awareness of language rights. These strategic goals were supported by a range of programmes primarily focused on information, financing, providing law enforcement and assistance, etc.; some of them were even copied by other minority councils in Serbia as examples of good practice.

The second linguistic rights strategy was adopted in 2021 (after a delay of a few years). Besides containing similar provisions with respect to strategic programmes in the field of official communications as the first document from 2012, its subject matter covers some other spheres of language use as well, such as the use of Hungarian in education, information or culture, and it relies much more on the benefits of information technology. Because 'each strategy is worth as much as it is accomplished', this paper is aimed at presenting and critically analysing the valid linguistic rights strategy of the Hungarian National Minority Council in light of its possible practical implications in the future, with special regard to the already existing experience gained during the realisation of the previous strategy.

Keywords: *National Minority Council, Hungarians, Serbia, linguistic rights, strategy*

Katinka Beretka, PhD (1985, Bačka Topola, Serbia), is a company lawyer and part-time associate professor in private law schools in Serbia and a guest lecturer at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, University of Szeged, Hungary, in charge of mandatory and facultative courses covering international public law, democracy, autonomies and regional/local self-governance. Her substantive research in legal science focuses on territorial and non-territorial autonomy, vertical division of power and the linguistic rights of national minorities. Her memberships and affiliations



include: legal councillor for linguistic issues in the Hungarian National Council in Serbia (2010–2014); elected member of the Hungarian National Council and its Committee on the Official Use of Language and Script (2014–2018); member of the presidency of the Vojvodinian Hungarian Academic Council (2016–2021).



Legal Framework for the Role of NTA Arrangements in the Implementation of Linguistic Rights: A Comparative and Serbian Perspective

(via video link)

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Abstract

The paper aims to offer an overview and analysis of the legal framework for the role of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) arrangements in the implementation of linguistic rights, both from a comparative and from a Serbian perspective. In many countries where institutionalised NTA arrangements exist, such arrangements have public powers and a recognised role, inter alia, in the implementation of those rights. Therefore, the paper will first analyse the normative framework of public powers of such bodies. Bearing in mind that the scope of public powers in the field of the exercise of linguistic rights is different, the focus of this paper will be on the analysis of comparative compliance and the scope that NTA arrangements can achieve in the implementation of linguistic rights. Some of the powers in the field of language rights that will be analysed in this context refer to the role of the NTA arrangements in terms of determining the name of the language of the communities represented by such arrangements, its standardisation and official use. In that sense, special focus will be directed towards the analysis of the distinctive role of national councils of national minorities in the Republic of Serbia, in terms of determining the traditional names of settlements. This unique form of public power with regard to NTA arrangements has a somewhat contradictory standing in the Serbian legal system, since on the one hand it is defined as a very extensive and authoritative power, and on the other hand it is under constant threat of transfer of its exercise to the government, so is limited by short deadlines.

Keywords: *NTA arrangements, linguistic rights, Republic of Serbia, public powers, official use of language and script*

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advisor to the Minister for Human and Minority Rights and the Minister for Religion/Religion and the Diaspora, and also as an independent consultant on various projects conducted by relevant international institutions (such as the CoE and OSCE) His most recent books on NTA include ‘Legal Framework of Cultural Activities of National Minorities’ (2018) and the ‘Non-Territorial Minority Autonomy/Self-Governance’ trilogy (book 1, Non-Territorial Minority Autonomy/Self-Governance in Comparative Law’ (2018); book 2, ‘Non-Territorial Minority Autonomy/Self-Governance in the Republic of Serbia – Legal Position, Powers, Financing and Control’ (2019); book 3, ‘Non-Territorial Minority Autonomy/Self-Governance in the Republic of Serbia – Elections’ (2020)).

Vasilije Markovic is a PhD student at the Faculty of Law, University of Belgrade, and a research assistant at the Institute of Comparative Law in Belgrade. He obtained his master’s degree in the public law module and the administrative law sub-module, with an MA thesis entitled ‘Public Powers of Ethno-Confessional Forms of Non-Territorial Autonomy in the Republic of Serbia’. In addition to his studies at the Faculty of Law, he also attends a multidisciplinary master’s programme in religion in society, culture and European integration at the University of Belgrade. So far, he has published several articles in the fields of legal theory, public law and human and minority rights.



Minority National Councils in Vojvodina (Serbia): A Success Story?

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Abstract

The positive effects of establishing national councils (NCs) in Vojvodina (Serbia) have been readily recognised in recent scholarship as a safeguard for protecting minority rights, which ‘could potentially offer a template for addressing ethnic tensions in other Central and East European countries’ (Smith and Semenyshyn, 2016). However, while the history, activities and effects of the Hungarian National Council has been thoroughly researched (Korhecz, 2015; Beretka, 2019; Đorđević-Vidojković, 2021; Beretka, 2019; Lendák-Kabók, 2021), the NCs of other, numerically smaller ethnic groups in Vojvodina, such as Slovaks, Croats and Romanians, have attracted less attention. The goal of this paper is to compare and analyse the effects of these other NCs in protecting their minority rights in Vojvodina. Research questions that this analysis aims to address are: does the general acclaim for NCs in Serbia change once we take a step back from the Hungarian National Council and take a broader look at various ethnic minorities in Vojvodina as a whole? Have other NCs in Vojvodina utilised their legally recognised rights to personal and cultural autonomy in a way similar to the Hungarian national minority, and what are the main similarities and differences between them? What are their financial and organisational capacities, and are NCs capable of effectively functioning and exercising their rights without the financial and political support of their neighbouring mother states?

Keywords: *national councils, Serbia, Vojvodina, minority rights, non-territorial arrangements*

Aleksandar Pavlović is a full-time researcher at the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory of the University of Belgrade, with a PhD in south-east European studies from the University of Nottingham. He was a visiting fellow at the Centre for Southeast European Studies in Graz, the New Europe College in Bucharest, the Albanian Institute for International Studies in Tirana and the OSA Arhivum in Budapest. His published books include *Imaginarni Albanac* (Belgrade: IFDT, 2019), *Epika i politika* (Belgrade: 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* (Belgrade: Beton/IFDT, 2021); Albanian edition, *Figura e armikut: ripërfytyrimi i marrëdhënieve shqiptaro-serbe* (Pristina: 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.



From Nation States to Plurinational States: The Role of NTA in the Representation of Minority Communities and in Multicultural Education

(via video link)

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Abstract

The term 'nation state' is a misnomer. The overwhelming majority of states are actual plurinational states, as they include more than one national, linguistic or ethnic community within their territory. The first aim of this paper is to show the contradiction in the term 'nation state'. Most states represented in the United Nations are not nation states in the literal sense of the term. The inconsistency between the identification of the state through the dominant ethnic community undermines in many cases the rights of minority national or ethnic communities. This often leads to violent conflicts. Under these circumstances, this paper will show how non-territorial autonomy (NTA) is an important mechanism in securing the incorporation and participation of all the communities residing within a state. The role of education is crucial here, because it is through multicultural education that communities can learn and appreciate the role of others in their society. The second aim of this paper is to show how NTA acts as a powerful tool to achieve multicultural education. The systemic recognition of the rights of minority communities granted through NTA mechanisms requires having a curriculum with a multicultural educational perspective, one that supports cultural pluralism through mechanisms for the representation of minority communities, and, in this way, leads to social integration at an early stage of the educational process. Forms of multicultural NTA are rooted in principles of equality, equity, solidarity, as well as democracy and human rights. Here, the existing cultural diversity, such as the country being multilingual, will define the aims and goals of education, and will prepare young people for plurinational citizenship.

Keywords: *NTA, nation state as misnomer, minority community recognition, plurinational states, multicultural education*

Ephraim Nimni is a professor emeritus from Queen's University Belfast, and previously a senior lecturer at Flinders University of South Australia, Adelaide, and the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. He has published extensively on national cultural autonomy and NTA, and edited the only English translation of the seminal book by Otto Bauer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*. He was the keynote speaker for the First ENTAN Conference and wrote the script for the ENTAN video, 'What is Non-Territorial Autonomy?'



Can NTA Help in Enforcing the Linguistic, Cultural and Educational Rights of Roma?

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Abstract

The discriminatory policies and racism against Roma are present in both eastern and western Europe. The methods of repression have varied over time, but it is striking that policies of open or tacit discrimination and expulsion of Roma are still present in the current policies of the older democracies and in the transitional ones, in EU member states and those that are candidates for EU membership. The troubling fact is that the xenophobic statements and actions against Roma often come from leading politicians or even from national governments. In addition, despite the variety of international and regional human rights instruments, the ongoing structural discrimination that Roma face is not properly addressed within the existing legal framework. The measures that address their social exclusion and marginalisation in most of the countries are largely unenforceable, and they tend to overlook the harsh living conditions, lack of access to public services, low level of education as well as the prejudices and hostility against Roma. The paper presents the violability of human rights of those who are commonly marginalised in societies. Although in many cases, the human rights protection regimes for separate cultures are enacted, the measures are not designed for groups that are non-dominant and territorially dispersed. The paper illustrates an example of the position of Roma in respect of their language, cultural and educational rights in Spain and in North Macedonia, and points to how the establishment and implementation of possible non-territorial autonomy (NTA) arrangements can help in overcoming this long-standing situation of discrimination. There is no unique model for NTA. Non-territorial autonomy is applied differently in separate contexts and circumstances. However, in essence, NTA arrangements can help minorities to carry out cultural or other activities without a territorial limitation. Non-territorial autonomy can support the protection of territorially dispersed cultures and can alleviate the harsh practices that Roma face.

Keywords: *Roma, discrimination, policies, Spain, North Macedonia, options, NTA*



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Immaculada Colomina Limonero, PhD, is the chair of the undergraduate programme in humanities at the Valencian International University, a former visiting professor and postdoctoral fellow researcher (Marie Curie Grant) at the University Carlos III of Madrid, Spain. For five years she was an invited postdoctoral researcher at the Arizona State University, USA. In addition to a PhD in history, Colomina holds master's degrees in socio-cultural anthropology and information sciences. Due to her multidisciplinary background, her analyses are always cross-sectional and transversal. International solidarity and refugees as a consequence of the Spanish Civil War, with a focus on women and children, are the main core of her specialisation. She is the author of two books and several papers and essays on the subject.



Civil Society within a Non-Territorial Autonomy and Double Citizenship Context: The Case of the Sámi in Norway

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Abstract

A vibrant civil society is important in democratic systems, and its contact with, opposition to and control within the political system is crucial for the democratic system to survive. In this paper, we look at the relationship between the Sámi Parliament and Sámi civil society, as seen from the perspective of the party leaders and representatives, the civil society organisations and the voters. We find that Sámi interest and participation in civil society is at the same level as that of the population at large, when we measure participation in Sámi and Norwegian organisations combined. We also find that the level and type of contact between the parties represented in the Sámi Parliament and Sámi civil society organisations are limited, and that little points in the direction of these organisations having an important advocacy role. Their control and opposition role is weak. We conclude that the political role of the Sámi civil society is weak and challenging for the Sámi political system and democracy.

Keywords: *Sámi Parliament, Sámi civil society, voluntary organisations, Sámi elected representatives, indigenous politics*

Kristin Strømsnes is a professor and deputy head of department at the Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen, Norway. Her main field of research is in political mobilisation and participation. She has published extensively on voluntary organisations and civic engagement, the environmental movement, forms of political participation, and trust and social capital. During the last ten years, her research interest has to an increasing degree concerned the Nordic indigenous people, the Sámi, with a special focus on Sámi dual citizenship, Sámi citizen-identity, non-territorial autonomy and the consequences of Sámi urbanisation.



Cultural Autonomy and Minority Language Rights in Hungary

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Abstract

Minority self-governments in Hungary have wide-ranging competencies in the fields of culture, education and language rights. However, in practice they have little influence in securing the effective implementation of minority language rights, since language use is not guaranteed in areas where the minority self-government does not have exclusive competence. Among other things, language use in public administration, street signs, etc. requires effective cooperation with local authorities. This paper offers an overview of minority language rights as they are formulated in Hungarian legislation, and how are they implemented in practice, based on the available expert reports and sociolinguistic field research results.

The main aim of this paper is to identify the structural and eventual legal difficulties of implementation that small, in most cases bilingual or linguistically assimilated minorities face in the field of language rights. Besides the analysis of the implementation of domestic legislation, the paper reflects also on how these norms and practice conform to international minority language rights standards.

Keywords: *cultural autonomy, minority language rights, Hungary*

Balázs Vizi graduated in law at the ‘Eötvös Loránd’ University (Budapest). He obtained a PhD in political science from the University of Leuven (KUL). He has specialised in international human and minority rights law. From 2002, he has worked at the Institute for Minority Studies, Centre for Social Sciences (Budapest). He is associate professor at the Department of International Law, Faculty of Public Governance and International Studies of the Ludovika University of Public Service (Budapest), and he lectures at the ‘Eötvös Loránd’ University (Budapest). He is author of several publications on minority issues in the context of European integration, and is editor of several books on minority rights protection.



On Common Ground: Soviet Nationalities Policy and the Austro-Marxist Premise

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Abstract

This paper argues that the nationalities policy under Lenin and Stalin, its commitment to territorial autonomy notwithstanding, effectively put into practice the Austro-Marxist vision of a socialist multinational state that patronised national culture in order to assuage separatist tendencies. Highlighting the ideological kinship between Habsburg remedies for imperial disintegration along national lines and Soviet policies for imperial integration along these same lines, it should interest not only historians of Soviet, Russian and Habsburg history, but also those studying nationalism, Marxism, the cross-fertilisation of ideas between the two and the accommodation of national diversity within states.

Keywords: *Austro-Marxism, non-territorial autonomy, accommodating national diversity, Soviet nationalities policy*

Matthias Battis trained in history and cultural studies at the European University Viadrina (BA), the University of Warsaw (Erasmus) and the University of Oxford (MPhil, DPhil). Battis researches nationalism and orientalism in late imperial Russia and the Soviet Union, including Persianate Central Asia. Having held fellowships at the Higher School of Economics, University College London and the Austrian Academy of Sciences, he is currently part of the ERC project 'Non-Territorial Autonomy' at the University of Vienna.



Jewish and German Minorities, NTA and Minority Rights in Interwar Europe

(via video link)

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Abstract

German and Jewish minorities formed the two biggest factions at the Congress of European Nationalities (ENC, 1925–1938), as well as spearheading minority rights movement in their respective home countries during the interwar period. Their shared commitment to the idea of non-territorial autonomy, which they saw as a possible solution to the minority question in central and eastern Europe, underpinned their domestic parliamentary struggles and the ENC's lobbying efforts at the League of Nations. In 1933, this transnational minority collaboration came to an abrupt end when the ENC failed to meet the Jewish faction's demand to issue a statement explicitly condemning the anti-Jewish policies of the Reich. After the Jewish delegates left the congress in protest, it was gradually taken over by Sudeten Germans already firmly under the sway of Nazism. This paper traces the short-lived cooperation between these two minorities – in the words of Mark Mazower (1999:13), 'the most dynamic lobbyists for European minorities' – from its origins in eastern Europe (with examples from interwar Latvia, Poland and Romania) to its culmination at the ENC in Geneva during the 1920s, and then to its demise during the ENC Bern Congress of 1933. Set against a wider historical background, the paper highlights both similarities and differences in the situation the Jewish and German minorities found themselves in after World War I, compares their respective ideological stances, and also examines the strategies and tactics they deployed in order to achieve the rights guaranteed them by the peace treaties in practice.

Keywords: *Germans, Jews, non-territorial autonomy, European Nationalities Congress, interwar Europe*

Marina Germane is a research fellow at the Institute for East European History of the University of Vienna, working on the ERC-funded project 'Non-Territorial Autonomy as a Form of Minority Protection in Europe'. Her research interests include nationalism and identity, minority rights, non-territorial cultural autonomy and transnationalism. She is currently working on a monograph about transnational cooperation among minority rights activists in interwar Europe.



Illiberal Forms of NTA: The Sudeten German Party Case

(via video link)

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Abstract

The paper aims to present an illiberal variant of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) by focusing on the historical example of the autonomist proposals developed during the 1930s in Czechoslovakia by the far-right Sudeten German Party (SdP). Known under the joint title *Volksschutzgesetze* (Laws for the Defence of Nationality), the six bills that the SdP presented to the Czechoslovak Parliament in 1937 foresaw a far-reaching reorganisation of the state along national lines and on a purely non-territorial basis.

As such, the SdP legal demands can be treated as a clear example of NTA. At the same time, they may also be viewed as an instance of a radical nationalist and openly illiberal adaptation of the concept. Informed by contemporary *Völkisch* sociological, legal and political thought, the bills aimed at transforming Czechoslovakia into a federation of largely autarchic ethno-national communities. This was to be done on the basis of an involuntary, binding and essentialising definition of nationality and a fundamentally illiberal conception of collective rights, in which the rights of the national group came before those of their individual members. The envisaged scope of national self-rule was furthermore meant to extend far beyond the confines of culture and education, encompassing a wide array of other spheres of life also considered to be essentially 'national'.

Lastly, the *Volksschutzgesetze* also effectively negated Czechoslovakia's self-understanding as a nation state by transposing the notion of sovereignty from the whole of its citizenry to the individual ethnic groups inhabiting it. In clear contrast to the 1925 Estonian Law on Cultural Autonomy as the model interwar example of NTA, they were thus effectively at odds with both liberal democracy and the nation state.

Keywords: *Czechoslovakia, Sudeten Germans, non-territorial autonomy, illiberality, ethno-nationalism, far-right*

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PhD degree in the comparative history of central, eastern and south-eastern Europe. His core research interest is the political and intellectual history of central Europe in the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, where he has particularly focused on liberalism and its close, yet not always easy historical relationship with national movements and nationalism. He has also engaged in research on youth subcultures and various problems of modern Slovene history.



The Continued Reverberations of a Failed Experiment: The Bearing of the Talysh-Mughan Republic upon Contemporary State–Society Relations in Azerbaijan

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Abstract

In Azerbaijan, the use of the descriptor ‘Talysh’ to describe the people and territory in the south-easternmost districts of the country is often problematic. Depending upon the context and who is doing the speaking, verbalisation of the word ‘Talysh’ is frequently viewed by officials and their acolytes as support for separatism. Suspicion of representatives of minority groups in Azerbaijan is not uncommon by any means, but, for Talysh activists, the suspicion is particularly acute. In the proposed paper, I seek to examine the role played by the short-lived Talysh-Mughan Republic (June–August 1993) in official discourse and popular memory pertaining to Azerbaijani (nation) statehood since the early 1990s. The aim is to better understand how and why the contemporary relationship between the Azerbaijani governing elite and the Talysh collective came into being in its current shape and form. The findings of the proposed paper open the door to further discussions regarding the future of majority–minority relations in Azerbaijan and the chances (or lack thereof) for the future implementation of non-territorial autonomy mechanisms in the country.

Keywords: *Azerbaijan, Talysh, Talysh-Mughan Republic, discourse, memory*

Karli-Jo Storm holds a PhD in human geography from the University of Eastern Finland, as well as an MA degree in Russian and east European studies from Indiana University (USA) and a dual BA degree in international relations and politics from Drake University (USA). Storm is a two-time Fulbright grant recipient, having served as an English teaching assistant in Azerbaijan from 2009–2010 and as a doctoral student grantee in Finland from 2013–2014. She is presently employed as a postdoctoral researcher with the Formas-funded research project, ‘Planning for Integration: Landscapes of Power in Borderland Governance’ (InBorder, 2021–2025), where she works alongside colleagues in Sweden (Malmö and Lund Universities) to study borderland(er) integration mechanisms in Estonia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Storm’s work currently focuses on issues surrounding the integration/assimilation of Azerbaijan’s Talysh minority into wider socio-cultural and political structures in the country.



The Dilemma of Responsibility: Kin-States' and Nation States' Role in Implementing NTA Models to Realise Minorities' Linguistic, Cultural and Educational Rights

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Abstract

My paper will deal with the dilemma of responsibility regarding the implementation of models to guarantee the realisation of the linguistic, cultural and educational rights of minorities. Education is a central tool in helping individuals to develop identity and opportunities to contribute to their society, and especially in helping minorities to maintain and develop their language and culture (Wisthaler, 2011). The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (Language Charter, Council of Europe, 1992) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM, Council of Europe, 1995) have introduced legal standards securing these rights (Kymlicka, 2008). Implementation of these rights, though, still depends on the states' decisions as to which group to grant minority status. Spiliopoulou Åkermark considers the affirmation of minority languages and cultures to be primarily instrumental, mainly seeking the social integration and assimilation of minority groups, rather than promoting the importance of minority cultures for members of the minorities and for the societies in which they live (Spiliopoulou Åkermark, 2012), and thus implying that there is room for improvement.

I will illustrate the dilemma of responsibility using a case study of the reciprocal minorities in the Danish–German border region of Schleswig, which is widely considered as a 'model' of conflict resolution and minority accommodation (Klatt, 2014). While the principal model of reciprocal minority non-territorial autonomy is universally accepted, resource conflicts are present and rather unexpectedly disturbed the minority peace in 2010–2012 (Klatt, 2014; Köhl, 2012; Hughes, Megoran and Benwell, 2020). The Danish–German model of minority institution financing is characterised by the important role of kin-state support, especially for the Danish minority in Southern Schleswig. The paper will discuss who is responsible for not just guaranteeing but also implementing and securing minorities' linguistic, cultural and educational rights, and why, summarising the need for universally (or at least European) concepts of ensured cultural, linguistic and educational diversity within nation states.

Keywords: *implementation of minority rights, social responsibility, kin-state, state of residence, cultural diversity, linguistic diversity*



Martin Klatt (1964) has been an associate professor at the Center of Border Region Studies, University of Southern Denmark, Sønderborg, since 2005. Previous scientific positions included research fellow at the Schleswig-Holstein Institute for Peace Research (1996), the Research Department of the Danish Library for Southern Schleswig (1997–2000) and assistant professor at the Danish Institute for Border Region Studies (2001–2005). His research activities concentrate on national minorities in border regions, regional cross-border cooperation, cross-border regions in history and today, and cross-border regional governance. Current international research projects include: ‘Borders in Globalization’ (BIG), a global research project involving partners from four continents researching the development of global borders in the 21st century; the European Non-Territorial Autonomy Network (ENTAN), a COST Action examining the concept of non-territorial autonomy from both a comparative and comprehensive perspective.



Cross-Border Cooperation as a Tool to Support National Non-Territorial Autonomies in the Baltic Sea Region

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Abstract

The Baltic Sea region (BSR) is an excellent example of a transition from confrontation to advanced international collaboration. There are many concepts of the BSR, but according to the most common one this region consists of nine states bordering the Baltic Sea, as well as Norway and Belarus. All these countries are significantly different in many social, economic and political aspects. These differences are the result of various situations impacting their evolution, through a combination of historical, geopolitical, social and cultural factors.

There are numerous non-territorial autonomies in the BSR countries. They include both national minorities living throughout Europe (e.g. Roma and Tatars), as well as indigenous peoples living in individual countries (e.g. Kashubs in Poland, Latgals in Latvia). Some minorities live in cross-border areas (e.g. the Sámi minority lives in the borderland of Finland, Sweden and Norway). Of interest is the status of Åland island, which is a Swedish-speaking administrative region of Finland, but with internationally guaranteed autonomy.

The EU enlargement in 2004 has created new opportunities for non-territorial autonomies in the BSR. Within the framework of the EU's Cohesion Policy and Neighbourhood Policy, the EU has allocated significant resources to cross-border cooperation in the BSR. The purpose of this article is to answer the question of how the cross-border cooperation implemented from 2007 to 2013 and from 2014 to 2020 contributed to the support of national and ethnic minorities in the BSR. Seventeen cross-border projects have been identified, and their contributions to the support of national and ethnic minorities have been described. The new EU Financial Perspective, 2021–2027, is an opportunity to support and promote BSR national and ethnic minorities, as long as these issues are strongly articulated in the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea Region.

Keywords: *minority, ethnic, national, cross-border, non-territorial autonomy, Baltic*



Tomasz Studzieniecki is the founder and president of the board of an international scientific NGO, Academia Europa Nostra, and a coordinator of a regular conference promoting EU integration, 'Forum Europa Nostra'. He is a university teacher at the Maritime University in Gdynia (Poland), an author of over 100 scientific publications and a specialist in international management and cross-border tourism. Studzieniecki is a member of several scientific organisations (e.g. European Regional Science Association, Association of Advanced Baltic Studies, International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism) and is an EU expert on cross-border cooperation. He was a coordinator of several INTERREG projects on transnational heritage management, worked as director of the Baltic Sea Tourism Commission and collaborated with the European Institute of Cultural Routes. He has taken 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 the Silver Cross of Merit for lifetime achievement.

Tadeusz Stegner is a full professor at the University of Gdańsk and was the director of the Institute of History at the University of Gdańsk. He deals with the history of Polish political thought, national and religious issues in central and eastern Europe and issues of everyday life. He has over 150 publications on his scientific studies. The most important of them include 'Liberals of the Kingdom of Poland 1904–1915', 'Protestant Poles in the Kingdom of Poland 1815–1914', 'God, Protestantism, Poland: Biography of Pastor Leopold Martin Otto', 'Evangelicals of the Polish Lands of the Nineteenth Century' and 'History of Tourism – Poland and the World'. He was awarded the Order of Polonia Restituta by the president of Poland for outstanding achievements in the field of education, science, sport, culture, art, economy, national defence, social activity, state service and developing good relations with other countries.



Impact of a Symbolic Autonomy: The Cases of Finnish and Swedish Cultural Self-Governments in Estonia

(via video link)

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Abstract

Some of the most important key aspects of non-territorial autonomy are solving and preventing various issues regarding ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity, reducing tensions and increasing the participation of minorities. Against this background, a rather symbolic form of autonomy may seem incomplete and flawed at the outset. However, it can be assumed that if a minority group has decided to make use of such a symbolic form of autonomy, they have something to benefit from it. In this case, it is possible that not only specific minority groups but society as a whole can benefit from the ostensibly symbolic autonomy which gives meaning to its existence. Cultural autonomy in today's Estonia is a typical form of a symbolic autonomy, which in the beginning was intended to be a carrier of historical continuity rather than a serious mechanism to address the needs of minorities or solve the issues of ethnic diversity. Two minority groups in Estonia, Finns and Swedes, have nevertheless established cultural self-governments, which have been functioning since 2004 and 2007, respectively. Having been active for far more than ten years, they must have gained from the autonomy in some ways. However, so far there has been little evidence presented on the impact of cultural autonomy on Finnish and Swedish minorities in Estonia. This study will analyse the activity of both cultural self-governments, focusing on the positive effects of autonomy on the one hand, and on the struggles the minorities have had to face since the establishment of their self-governments on the other hand. In doing so, the historical and societal context that shaped the outcomes will be considered.

Keywords: *cultural autonomy, symbolic non-territorial autonomy, Estonia, Finnish minority, Swedish minority*

Triin Tark holds a doctorate in history from the University of Tartu (2021), with a thesis on the official policies and practices of ethnic categorisation in Europe in the first half of the 20th century. She has been researching minorities and minority politics in interwar Estonia since her bachelor's studies, and has published several articles on this topic in Estonian as well as in international journals. In recent years, she has focused more on the issues of ethnic assignment and national registries in the context of non-territorial autonomy. She is researching these topics as a member



of ENTAN and in cooperation with the ERC-project, ‘Non-Territorial Autonomy as Minority Protection in Europe’. Her related research interests broadly include the implementation of cultural autonomy in Estonia, both from a historical perspective and in its current form, as well as the impact of autonomy on both the society and individuals.