

**ECMI**

# **COURSE SYLLABUS**



**EUROPEAN CENTRE  
FOR  
MINORITY ISSUES**

## **The European Minority Rights and Minority Protection Regime**

**Winter Semester 2015/16**

**Time: Mondays, 10:00 – 12:00  
(26.10.2015 -17.02.2016)**

**Location: ZV 101**

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## DESCRIPTION

Minority issues have been part of European history and politics since the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Early on religious minorities and later national and linguistic minorities came to be seen as threats to the homogeneity of societies, as well as to processes of nation- and state-building. Minorities who left Europe for the New World experienced less pressure as distinct groups but were nevertheless met with lack of acceptance and respect. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, minorities in Europe became the object of major bellicose conflicts and were seen as an anomaly of international relations – at times as a “fifth column”. Domestically, traditional minorities had to fight their own way to be able to remain in their homelands while new arrivals were received with rejection and were expected to return home. At the same time, personal identity became a public domain item and minority groups emerged and formed on the basis of identity and difference. Whether in “old Europe” or the New World, minorities have often been seen as a threat to peace and security and mostly as outsiders who do not fit in. In the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century of inter-connected societies, minorities are more than ever seen as a threat to social cohesion. The Seminar addresses all these and many other aspects of minority history and politics as well as social and cultural issues related to the identities of minority groups.

## AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The major aim of this Seminar is to provide students with in-depth knowledge and robust skills on the basis of which to develop an informed understanding of minority issues in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The approach of the Seminar is multi-disciplinary. Minority issues will be examined from the perspectives of political science and law, including international human rights law and international relations studies, political theory, political sociology and cultural studies. The Seminar will familiarize students with critical and post-structural methods of analysis through the reading and discussion of key texts.

The specific objectives of the Seminar are:

1. to enable students to place the issues of minorities in the wider context of European history/politics and the practice of European governance,
2. To enable students to understand, critically analyse, and evaluate contemporary debates about minorities,
3. To enable students to understand the political and ethical implications of academic research in relation to minority issues.

## SEMINAR OUTPUT

The Seminar is divided in three parts. Each part deepens the student’s knowledge on the basis of the previous part. Students should have some basic background knowledge of European history. The Seminar is aimed at MA students.

## CAREER OPTIONS

The Seminar is relevant for students who wish to embark on a career in national or international government, international NGOs or social movements as well as for students who wish to continue in the academic disciplines of politics, law or sociology.

## **GENERAL OUTLINE**

### **Part I: History, International Law and Relations**

- European international law and institutions
- Inter-state relations and European integration

### **Part II: Concepts and Theories**

- Individuals and groups
- Conflict and unity
- Late-modernity society

### **Part III: Politics and Policy**

- Conflict mitigation
- Democracy, participation and empowerment
- Diversity management

The Seminar is taught once a week by the Course Director and Assistant Lecturers (see list below). Students will be expected to read assigned texts, as student discussions are an important part of each class.

It is expected that a number of public lectures given by prominent professors in the area of minority issues may be organized during the semester.

## **EXAMINATION**

Term paper (10 pages, 1.5 line spacing, 12 font)

## **TEACHING STAFF**

Dr. Alexander Osipov

Dr. Andreea Carstocea

Dr. Federica Prina

Dr. Hanna Vasilevich

Dr. Mindaugas Kuklys

Dr. Raul Carstocea

Dr. Tove H. Malloy

Dr. Zora Popova

Ms. Andreea Racles

Ms. Oana Buta

Ms. Sonja Wolf

Ms. Tamari Bulia

Ms. Viktoria Martovskaya

## COURSE OUTLINE

### *Part I: History, International Law and Relations*

This module aims to introduce the students to the major events in European history that led to the emerging protection scheme that exists today at the international level. The module will review a number of European treaties, from the Peace of Augsburg (1555) to the reformed Lisbon Treaty (2007). It will examine the international institutions, such as the League of Nations, the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union in relation to minority protection and minority issues. This will include examining the international human rights law system to understand the various types of minority rights in law. The module will also examine bilateral treaty systems and international security systems. In addition, it will review some of the national settlements achieved for minorities who live in distinct territories of homelands, such as the territorial autonomy arrangements in Finland, Northern Italy and Spain, as well as the less peaceful settlements and those that have become known as “frozen conflicts.” With European integration on the rise, the module will finish with an examination of how the moral force of norm diffusion has influenced Europe’s expansion and the ramifications of this within the European Union in terms of Roma migration. Topics to be covered:

1. History
  - The emergence of a protection regime (religious rights, ‘nation-state’ system)
  - 19<sup>th</sup> Century bilateral relations in Europe
  - The League of Nations and the Minority Treaties (self-determination, language rights)
2. European international law and inter-governmental institutions
  - The UN system and minority rights (cultural rights)
  - The European international law regime (language and cultural rights)
3. Inter-state relations and European integration
  - Bilateral treaties
  - Territorial and non-territorial autonomy (self-government)
  - Conditionality and norm diffusion
  - Roma migration

### *Part II: Concepts and Theories*

The identification of minorities is a central issue in the protection and accommodation of these groups in societies where minorities require special treatment in order not to suffer undue assimilation or persecution. This module will examine the concept of ‘minority’ in detail. What influences the way in which individuals self-identify with certain notions of culture, language or ethnicity? How do individuals of common identity foster joint loyalty and create collective action around notions of identity? And what happens when different identities meet in the market place of diverse societies? What types of policies serve best the aim of peaceful and respectful integration of human diversity? The module will examine theories of identity formation, as well as democratic theories that address the accommodation of diversity in modern societies. This will include reviewing classic theories of moral agency and social capital, as well as some of the recent theories and arguments about pluralism, liberalism and communitarianism. Finally, the module will examine issues of identity and difference in relation to characteristic markers. Topics to be covered:

1. Individuals and groups

- Personal autonomy and agency
  - Groupism, collective action and collective identity
  - Minorities within minorities
  - Culture, language and ethnicity
  - Anthropological approaches in minority settings
2. Conflict and unity
    - Nationalism, national identity and diversity
    - Social cohesion, solidarity and loyalty
    - Integration, co-habitation or parallel structures
    - Accommodation versus assimilation
  3. Late modernity
    - Identity and difference
    - Religion and the public space
    - Multiculturalism or inter-culturalism
    - Environmental degradation and minority rights

### ***Part III: Politics and Policy***

The enduring question for this module is whether multiculturalism is dead? Through the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, as societies became increasingly more diverse, governments have scrambled to identify adequate policies for accommodating difference in race, ethnicity, culture and sexual orientation. The aim of this module is to examine issues of policy making in the area of minority existence. Which policies work, and which do not? Which models and institutions provide minorities with voice, dialogue, and recognition? What are the exact purposes of policies? Often policies have unintended consequences, and many times they have hidden agendas. The module will examine current issues of human diversity in terms of minority existence and relate it to contemporary discourses on multiculturalism. Finally, the module will examine policy evaluation tools. What does a good minority policy actually look like? How do we measure implementation of minority policies? Topics to be covered:

1. Conflict mitigation policies
  - UN mechanisms
  - EU policies
  - NATO
2. Democracy, participation and empowerment
  - Representation and voice
  - Ethnic parties and mobilisation by elites
  - Autonomy arrangements
  - Inclusion and power-sharing
  - Social movements and public agenda-setting
3. Diversity management
  - Non-discrimination, inter-sectionality, and affirmative action
  - Minority education
  - Designing integration policies
  - Measuring diversity, indicators

## REQUIRED READINGS FOR THE COURSE

Malloy, T. H., (ed.), *Minority Issues in Europe: Rights, Concepts and Policy* (Frank & Timme, 2013);

Malloy, T. H., *National Minority Rights in Europe* (OUP, 2005);

Pentassuglia, G., *Minorities in international law: An introductory study* (ECMI-Council of Europe, 2002);

Galbreath, D. and McEvoy, J., *The European Minority Rights Regime: Towards a Theory of Regime Effectiveness* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012);

Jackson Preece, J., *Minority Rights: Between Diversity and Community* (Polity, 2005).

## COURSE PROGRAMME

DATES	LECTURE TOPIC	LECTURER
<b>OCTOBER</b>		
26.10.15 (Class 1)	Introduction to topic and sources	Prof. Dr. Tove Malloy Dr. Raul Carstocea
<b>NOVEMBER</b>		
02.11.15 (Class 2)	History of European Minority Rights	Dr. Raul Carstocea
09.11.15 (Class 3)	European International Law	Dr. Andreea Carstocea
16.11.15 (Class 4)	Theories of Nationalism	Dr. Andreea Carstocea
23.11.15 (Class 5)	Ethnicity, Culture and Language	Dr. Federica Prina
30.11.15 (Class 6)	Empowerment	Ms. Sonja Wolf
<b>DECEMBER</b>		
07.12.15 (Class 7)	Democracy and Participation	Dr. Andreea Carstocea
14.12.15 (Class 8)	Ethnographical and Anthropological Approaches to Minority Issues	Ms. Andreea Racles
<b>JANUARY</b>		
11.01.16 (Class 9)	Late Modernity	Dr. Raul Carstocea
18.01.16 (Class 10)	Conflict and Unity	Dr. Hanna Vasilevich
21.01.16 (Class 11)	Conflict Mitigation Policies and Mechanisms	Ms. Oana Buta
25.01.16 (Class 12)	Minority Education	Dr. Zora Popova
<b>FEBRUARY</b>		
01.02.16 (Class 13)	Diversity Management	Dr. Alexander Osipov
08.02.16 (Class 14)	Elite Mobilisation and Minority Groups as a Political Resource	Dr. Mindaugas Kuklys
11.02.16 (Class 15)	Right Wing Populism as a New Challenge for Minorities	Ms. Viktoria Martovskaya
15.02.16 (Class 16)	Environmental Degradation and Minority Rights	Ms. Tamari Bulia

## TEACHING ABSTRACTS AND CLASS READINGS

### Notes:

- The required readings of lectures are the relevant chapters from the course handbook\*.
- Other required readings are listed below each abstract.
- The further readings for each lecture can be found in the course handbook.

### Class 2

#### History of European Minority Rights – Dr. Raul Carstocea

##### Abstract

The lecture will address the main landmarks in European history that led to the emergence of minority rights and regimes of protection of minorities. The discussion will begin with a consideration of the issue of religious rights and their incorporation in various treaties starting with the Peace of Augsburg (1555). It will continue by exploring the redefinition of this protection regime as one of national minority rights in the context of the emergence of nationalism and the rise of nation-states in the 19th century, paying special attention to the formulations issued at the Congress of Vienna (1815) and Congress of Berlin (1878). The lecture will conclude with an assessment of the minority rights regime established at the end of World War One in the Minority Treaties and placed under the protection of the League of Nations, as well as discuss its failure to prevent conflict in the interwar period. The aim of the lecture is to provide students with a historical background to the history of minorities in Europe, as well to the emergence and evolution of issues such as minority rights, protection regimes, identity, nationalism, self-determination, etc.

##### Readings

Raul Cârstocea, 'European History of Minority Relations', Chapter 1, in Tove Malloy (ed.), *Minority Issues in Europe: Rights, Concepts, Policy* (Berlin: Frank and Timme, 2013), pp. 27-49.

Dan Diner, 'Introduction' and 'Interpretation: Two Varieties of Universal Civil War', *Cataclysms: A History of the Twentieth Century from Europe's Edge*, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), pp. 3-58.

Carole Fink, 'The Paris Peace Conference and the Question of Minority Rights', *Peace and Change*, 21(3), 1996, pp. 273-288.

Liliana Riga and James Kennedy, 'Tolerant Majorities, Loyal Minorities and 'Ethnic Reversals': Constructing Minority Rights at Versailles 1919', *Nations and Nationalism* 15(3), 2009, pp. 461-482.

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\* Malloy, T. H., (ed.), "Minority Issues in Europe: Rights, Concepts and Policy" (Frank & Timme, 2013);

### **Class 3**

#### **European International Law – Dr. Andreea Carstocea**

##### **Abstract**

A regional approach to legal minority protection was established in Europe after World War II, encompassing the Council of Europe and the European Union. This lecture will focus primarily on the Council of Europe, which, since its founding in 1949, has been the foremost promoter of human rights in Europe, including by acting as the moral leader on national minority rights. The lecture will provide an overview of the two main treaties protecting national minorities and their languages: the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). The role of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) in the protection of minority rights will further be examined. The lecture will reflect upon the benefits and shortcomings of the monitoring procedures under the FCNM and ECRML, which will be contrasted with the system of jurisprudence under the ECHR and the European Court of Human Rights.

##### **Readings**

Course handbook: Malloy, T. (ed). “Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy” (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 2;

Hofmann, R. 2008. ‘The Future of Minority Issues in the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe’, in *The Protection of Minorities in the Wider Europe*, M. Weller, D. Blacklock & K. Nobbs, eds. New York: Palgrave Macmillan;

Committee of Experts on Issues Relating to the Protection of National Minorities (DH-MIN). *The Impact of International Norms on the Protection of National Minorities in Europe: The Added Value and Essential Role of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minority*, December 2006;

Dunbar, R. 2008. ‘Definitively Interpreting the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages: The Legal Challenges’, in *The European Charter for Legal or Minority Languages: Legal Challenges and Opportunities*, R. Dunbar & G. Parry, eds. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

### **Class 4**

#### **Theories of Nationalism – Dr. Andreea Carstocea**

##### **Abstract**

Are nations real? If they are, when did they emerge and how? If however they are just a construct, why does the idea of the nation continue to be so important? The processes of nation building have long constituted a matter of debate among scholars, who have over time developed a range of theories attempting to explain when, where, how, and why the idea of the nation emerged, and why this concept has proven such an enduring one. Starting from the main theoretical approaches delving into the processes of nation building (primordialism, ethno-symbolism, and modernism), this lecture will provide a closer look at the most prominent theories of nationalism and will encourage students to think critically about concrete examples of nation building processes across Europe.

### Readings:

Benedict Anderson, Chapter 2 'Cultural Roots' and Chapter 3 'The Origins of National Consciousness', *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 9-36.

Ernest Gellner, 'Nationalism', in Ernest Gellner, *Thought & Change* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964), pp.147-178.

Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp.1-14.

Ronald Grigor Suny, 'Constructing primordialism: old histories for new nations', *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 73, 2001, pp. 862-896.

Henri Tajfel, 'Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations', *Annual Review of Psychology*, vol. 33, 1982, pp. 1-39.

## **Class 5**

### **Ethnicity, Culture and Language – Dr. Federica Prina**

#### Abstract

Ethnicity, culture and language are complex, multi-faceted concepts. They contribute to the identity of persons belonging to both the majority and minorities. When minorities call for recognition, they tend to call for their cultures and languages to be recognised and valued. Differing cultures, languages, and traditions may cause frictions between groups if they are not carefully managed; minority policies should ideally guarantee cultural pluralism while also seeking to integrate minority groups within the wider society. The notions of ethnicity, culture and language, and their significance for individuals and groups, will be analysed from a political science perspective in the European context, also incorporating into the discussions references to international norms protecting and promoting cultural and linguistic pluralism.

#### Readings

Course handbook: Malloy, T. (ed). "Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy" (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 4;

Kymlicka, W. "Individual Rights and Collective Rights" (Chapter 3 of *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995);

Reidel, L. "What are Cultural Rights? Protecting Groups with Individual Rights" (*Journal of Human Rights*, 9, 65-80, 2010);

O' Reilly, C. "When a Language is 'Just Symbolic' " (G. Hogan-Brun and S. Wolff, *Minority Languages in Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

## **Class 6**

### **Empowerment – Ms. Sonja Wolf**

#### **Abstract**

This lecture aims to introduce the students to empowerment theory and familiarise them with its implications for the European minority regime. The lecture will look at the meanings and understandings of the concept of empowerment and examine the origins and contents of empowerment theory. It will proceed to point out the influence of ideals of empowerment on minority research and activism and establish the concept in contrast to the advocacy regime. The students will work on case studies of different minority groups and design measures aiming at the empowerment of the respective community. The results – and possibly encountered problems – of the work will be discussed subsequently.

#### **Required Readings**

Malloy, Tove H.; Galbreath, David J. (2013), National Minorities Between Protection and Empowerment: Contemporary Minority Politics in Europe. Workshop Outline, ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, Mainz.

Zimmerman, Marc A. (2000), Empowerment Theory, in: Rappaport/Seidman, Handbook of Community Psychology, Volume 1, New York: Springer Science+Business Media, 2000, 43-63.

#### **Recommended Readings**

Wolf, Sonja, “The Danish Minority in Germany” Minority Map and Timeline of Europe Germany

Wolf, Sonja, “Irish Travellers in Ireland” Minority Map and Timeline of Europe Germany

Ministry for Agriculture, Food and Consumer Affairs (2005) The Sami – an Indigenous People in Sweden.

Minority Rights Group International, “Kurds” World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous People, <http://www.minorityrights.org/4392/turkey/kurds.html>

Speer, Paul W.; Jackson, Courtney B.; Peterson, Andrew N (2001), The Relationship between Social Cohesion and Empowerment: Support and New Implications for Theory, in: Health Education and Behavior, Vol. 28 (6), December 2001: 716-732.

## **Class 7**

### **Democracy and Participation – Dr. Andreea Carstocea**

#### **Abstract**

The lecture on ‘Democracy, participation and empowerment’ will be concerned with participation and representation of national/ethnic minorities from an identity perspective. As such, the discussion will focus on who should represent and mediate the participation of these groups to public life. Students will be introduced to concepts such as delegative vs. trustee forms of representation, descriptive, symbolic, formalistic, and substantive representation, and will have an opportunity to engage with these concepts and their implications for political participation of national minorities by applying them to several case

studies from both eastern and western Europe.

### Readings

Course handbook: Malloy, T. (ed). "Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy" (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 9.

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972);

Jane Mansbridge, Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes", in *The Journal of Politics*, 61(3), 1999, pp. 628-57.

## **Class 8**

### **Ethnographical and Anthropological Approaches to Minority Issues – Ms. Andreea Racles**

#### Abstract

Behind aspects related to minority rights, domestic or international minority regimes, kin state relations, European strategies and policies, people living in minority settings have to negotiate in their daily lives social boundaries, practices, positionalities, cultural values, and so on. Taking an anthropological stance, this lecture proposes a view beyond essentialised cultural identities and beyond the assumed internal homogeneity of "minority groups". Suggesting the need to depart from methodological nationalism tendencies and from groupist assumptions, the first part of the lecture is concerned with aspects related to people's dialectical movements between epistemological poles such as self-identification - ascription, commonalities - differences, traditional - modern, local - global. Examples of Roma's/Gypsies' responses to top down initiatives and European strategies will be provided. In the second part, students will be introduced to particularities of anthropological research in minority settings. For illustration reasons, the lecture will address the investigative process of how Roma people in north-eastern Romania negotiate their place in the world by means of household-related endeavours.

### Readings

Aspasia Theodosiou, Multiculturalism and the catachresis of otherness: Settling Gypsies, unsettling Gypsy belongings, *Critique of Anthropology*, 1, 2011, pp. 89-107.

Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, From 'identity' to 'belonging' in Social Research: Plurality, Social Boundaries, and the Politics of the Self, in *Ethnicity, Citizenship and Belonging: Practices, Theory and Spatial Dimensions* (edited by Sarah Albiez, Nelly Castro, Lara Jüssen, Eva Youkhana, and Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka), Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2011, pp. 199-219.

Rogers Brubaker, Ethnicity without groups, *European Journal of Sociology*, 43 (2002), pp. 163-189.

Marianne Holm Pedersen, Making Traditions in a New Society. Middle Eastern Immigrants' Celebration of Calendrical Rites and the Negotiation of Belonging to Danish Society, *Ethnologia Europaea*, 34 (1), 2004, pp. 5-16.

## **Class 9**

### **Late Modernity – Dr. Raul Carstocea**

#### **Abstract**

The lecture will address the significant impact of late modern societal changes on minorities, from the conceptual understanding of the term to the ways in which diversity and difference is managed in contemporary Europe. The discussion will start from an analysis of the global and regional forces that have affected European societies during the period following the collapse of communism, with a particular focus on their effects on the situation of minorities. The lecture will then address the new analytical tools and approaches designed to account for these changes, such as constructivism and critical theory, and their applicability to redefining previously existing views of culture and groups so as to better reflect the ever-increasing complexity of human interactions in the late modern world. These theoretical approaches will consequently be discussed with a view to some of the most important academic and public debates in contemporary Europe (e.g. the ‘end of history’; the resurgence of ethnic conflict in post-communist Europe and the ‘clash of civilisations’ interpretation; multiculturalism and its challengers; secularisation and the resistance of religious identity; the rise of the radical right during the last decade; the fragile balance between freedom of expression and respect for cultural differences).

#### **Readings**

Chapter 7 – “Minorities and Late Modernity – New Narratives, New Discourses”

Gunew, S., Chapter 1, “The Terms of (Multi)Cultural Difference”, in *Haunted Nations: The Colonial Dimensions of Multiculturalisms*, New York: Routledge, 2004, pp. 15-29.

Hall, S., “When Was ‘The Post-Colonial’? Thinking at the Limit”, in I. Chambers and L. Curti (eds.), *The Post-Colonial Question*, London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 242-260.

Huntington, S. “The Clash of Civilizations?” (*Foreign Affairs* 72(3), 1993, pp. 22-49)

Kymlicka, W. “Comment on Meer and Modood” (*Journal of Intercultural Studies* 33(2), 2012, pp. 211-216)

Meer, N. and Modood, T. “How Does Interculturalism Contrast with Multiculturalism?” (*Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33(2), 2012, pp. 175-196)

## **Class 10**

### **Conflict and Unity – Dr. Hanna Vasilevich**

#### **Abstract**

The lecture on “Conflict and Unity” will introduce the notions of ethnic conflict and unity with the respect to minorities, discussing all the complexity of this notion. Students will be also introduced to issues of minorities and their demands, with a special focus on minority demands and interstate relations, which will be followed by a discussion on the existing forms of ethnic conflict regulation with a special emphasis on the relationship within the triangle minority – state of residence – kin-state.

### Readings

Course handbook: Malloy, T. (ed). “Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy” (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 5;

Wheatley, S. “Minority Rights, Power Sharing and the Modern Democratic State” (P. Cumper and Wheatley, S. (eds.), *Minority Rights in the 'New' Europe*, Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 199-216, 1999);

Nagel, Klaus-Jürgen, “The 'Europe of the Regions' and the Identity Politics of Nations Without states” (*Scottish Affairs* 36, pp. 48-72. Edinburgh, 2001);

## **Class 11**

### **Conflict Mitigation Policies and Mechanisms – Ms. Oana Buta**

#### Abstract

Many international organizations have contributed to the mitigation of conflicts involving minorities. Three major ones have made a significant contribution through specific approaches and mechanisms that are not legally binding; these are the United Nations (UN), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This lecture is designed to familiarize students with international instruments and practices by presenting how these mechanisms function. It also intends to provide examples on how mitigation of conflicts takes place in reality, focusing on two important case studies: the Transnistria and Cyprus conflicts. While neither of these two conflicts has been solved, they both reflect the complexity of the issue on the one hand, but also the need for improvement of these mechanisms on the other.

#### Readings

Malloy, T. (ed). “Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy” (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 8.

Stefan Wolff, “ A resolvable frozen conflict? Designing a settlement for Transnistria”, *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 39, No. 6, November 2011, 863–870.

Ronald J Fisher, “Cyprus: The Failure of Mediation and the Escalation of an Identity-Based Conflict to an Adversarial Impasse”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2001, 307–326.

## **Class 12**

### **Minority education – Dr. Zora Popova**

#### Abstract

Education is a powerful developmental tool that can shape the mindsets of individuals and societies as a whole. As a driving engine for empowerment, education is by default controlled and managed by governmental policies. At the same time, the right to education is a right in itself. The right to education for people belonging to minorities is a political, cultural, linguistic and identity issue protected by the

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). The lecture will examine what are the international standards for minority education and education in the mother tongue as promoted by the two documents and will discuss the advantages and disadvantages concerning the implementation of the provisions.

### Readings

Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities- available at : [http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/1\\_AtGlance/PDF\\_H\(95\)10\\_FCNM\\_ExplanReport\\_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/1_AtGlance/PDF_H(95)10_FCNM_ExplanReport_en.pdf)

European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages – available at: [http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/default\\_en.asp](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/default_en.asp)

Commentary on Education under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities- available at : [http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3\\_FCNMdocs/PDF\\_CommentaryEducation\\_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/3_FCNMdocs/PDF_CommentaryEducation_en.pdf)

Malloy, T. H., (ed.), *Minority Issues in Europe: Rights, Concepts and Policy* (Frank & Timme, 2013) - chapters 4 and 10

Popova, Zora , *Promoting Minority Rights through Education*, ECMI Working Paper 66/2013, available at: <http://www.ecmi.de/publications/detail/66-promoting-minority-rights-through-education-265/>

Wisthaler, Verena, *Identity Politics in the Educational System in South Tyrol: Balancing between Minority Protection and the Need to Manage Diversity*, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Special Issue: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Education, Volume 13, Issue 3, pages 358–372, December 2013, available at: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/sena.12051/pdf>

## **Class 13**

### **Diversity Management – Dr. Alexander Osipov**

### Abstract

This lecture addresses different ways in which diversity policies are framed, rationalised and justified. The focus is placed on the comparison between major approaches to the management of ethnic and racial diversity namely non-discrimination, minority protection and multiculturalism and on the contexts of their emergence and evolution. A special attention is paid to the social and political limits of their application, to their role as instruments of symbolic policies, and to their unintended consequences. The participants are encouraged to discuss cases of national political frameworks and to trace application of a certain approach in different contexts.

### Readings

Course handbook: Malloy, T. (ed). “Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy” (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 10;

Joppke, C. (2010) ‘Minority Rights for Immigrants? Multiculturalism versus Antidiscrimination’, *Israel Law Review*, 43 (1): 49–66;

Tiryakian, E. A. (2003) ‘Assessing Multiculturalism Theoretically: E Pluribus Unum, Sic et Non’, *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 5(1): 20-39;

## **Class 14**

### **Elite Mobilisation and Minority Groups as a Political Resource – Dr. Mindaugas Kuklys**

#### **Abstract**

The lecture approaches ethnic minority groups and ethnicity from the perspective of elite theory. After raising the question “Which place does ethnicity take in the elite theory?”, the lecture continues with a review of two streams of literature on this subject, one of which is rather symbolist and the other more instrumentalist. The former focuses on interpretation of symbols, ideologies and discourses adapted by political elites; the latter is rather more concerned with the analysis of the instrumentalist logic found in the strategies and tactics of the political leaders seeking to manipulate the electorate. Although ethnicity is more than a political resource and mobilisation along ethnic lines is also possible through non-conventional political actions, ranging from spontaneous peaceful protests to violent revolutions, the lecture concentrates primarily on the role of political actors in conventional (electoral) politics of democratic societies.

#### **Mandatory Readings**

Brass, Paul R. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (SAGE Publications, 1991), Chapter 3.  
van Dijk, Teun A. *Elite Discourse and Racism* (SAGE Publications, 1993), Chapters 1 & 2.

#### **Recommended Readings**

Cohen, A. “Political Symbolism”, in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 8, 1979, pp. 87-113.  
Harff, B. & Gurr, T.R. *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics* (Westview Press, 2004), Chapter 5.  
Vermeersch, P. “Theories of ethnic mobilization: overview and recent trends” (Centre for Research on Peace and Development, 2011), CRPD Working Paper No. 3.

## **Class 15**

### **Right Wing Populism as a New Challenge for Minorities – Ms. Viktoria Martovskaya**

#### **Abstract**

‘A Spectre is haunting the world – populism’. This opening statement from Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner’s classic 1969 study of the topic of populism – paraphrasing the famous opening line of ‘The Communist Manifesto’ – rings more true today than it did at the time of its writing, more than forty years ago. Europe is once again facing a challenge that was impossible to imagine after the catastrophe of World War II. The rhetoric of hate is gaining power and seems to have become an ordinary method to attract public support through the creation of an external enemy (“Them”) and the strengthening of the internal (and increasingly) exclusive group of “Us” (“the people”). Addressing the delicate issues mainstream political parties try to avoid, populists create a fictional image of comprehensive and simple solutions to all possible problems. The effectiveness of such discourses, comprising anti-migrant and anti-minority

attitudes, is proven by the results of national and European Parliament elections (2014) in most European countries. This seminar will consequently address the recent rise of right wing populism, its roots and characteristics, as well as its impact on minority groups.

### Readings:

Part I "Constructing a conceptual framework" in Cas Mudde (ed.), *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 11-59.

Anton Pelinka, "Right - Wing Populism: Concept and Typology" in Ruth Wodak, Majid Khosravinik, Brigitte Mral (eds.), *Right Wing Populism in Europe. Politics and Discourse* (London / New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 3-22.

Gianfranco Pasquino, "Populism and Democracy" in Daniele Albertazzi, Duncan McDonnell (eds.), *Twenty-First Century Populism. The Spectre of Western European Democracy* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 15-29. Available at: <http://lawlib.shirazu.ac.ir:8080/pdfTemp/21century%20populism.pdf>

Michael Minkenberg, "The radical right in Europe today: Trends and patterns in East and West" in Nora Langenbacher, Britta Schellenberg (eds.), *Is Europe on the "Right" path? Right-wing extremism and right-wing populism in Europe* (Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2011), pp. 37-55. At: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/08338.pdf>

## **Class 16**

### **Environmental Degradation and Minority Rights – Ms. Tamari Bulia**

### Abstract

The lecture will address a newly developed topic within social sciences: the impacts of environmental degradation on human rights, focusing on particularly vulnerable groups: ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples. Often referred to as “the fundamental threat to sustainable development”, the issue of climate change has been a component of international and national strategies in the past decades. Although being a considerably controversial topic of discussions, a notable number of scientists and policy makers have agreed on the negative impacts of climate change on social aspects, such as its impacts on fundamental human rights, migration, conflicts and, in certain cases, its impacts on minority rights. The lecture will first introduce the topic in general terms, briefly outlining what is environmental degradation and what are its possible impacts on human rights in general. Later on, specific cases of impacts of environmental degradation on indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities will be presented. The presentation will outline the importance of the human rights approach to evaluating the impacts of environmental degradation and to constructing relevant future strategies. At the end of the lecture, the students will be able to reflect on linkages between environmental degradation and human rights, discuss the current state as well as possible developments in relevant policymaking.

### Readings

Abate R., Kronk Warner, E., 2013, ‘Commonality among Unique Indigenous Communities: An Introduction to Climate Change and Its Impacts on Indigenous Peoples’, *Tulane Environmental Law Journal*, Nr 179

Baird, R., 2008, 'The Impact of Climate Change on Minorities and Indigenous Peoples', Briefing Paper, Minority Rights Group International, London. Available online at: <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Document&id=3945>

Bulia, T., 2015, 'Eco-migration and vulnerability: linkages between human rights protection and environmental governance in Georgia', The Florida A&M University Law Review, pp 393-413.

Koivurova, T., Duyck, S., Heinmki, L., 2013, 'Climate change and human rights', in Climate Change and the Law, Erkki J. Hollo, Kati Kulovesi, Michael Mehling (editors), Ius Gentium: Comparative Perspectives on Law and Justice Volume 21 (2013), Dordrecht: Springer, pp 287-325.

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