The European Minority Rights and
Winter Semester 2017/18

Time: Mondays, 10:00 – 12:00

Location: OSL 231
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DESCRIPTION

Minority issues have been part of European history and politics since the middle of the 16th 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 20th 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 21st Century of interconnected 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 21st 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.

As part of the course, students are also expected to attend 4 public lectures delivered by prominent international experts in the area of minority rights. The lectures will take place on Mondays – Sept 25, Oct 30, Nov 20, and Dec 11 – at the ECMI HQ on Schiffbruecke 12, Flensburg.

**EXAMINATION**

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

**TEACHING STAFF**

Prof. Dr. Tove H. Malloy
Dr. Andreea Carstocea
Dr. Tamara Hoch
Dr. Mindaugas Kuklys
Dr. Zora Popova
Ms. Caitlin Boulter
Ms. Tamari Bulia
Mr. Stanislav Černega
Ms. Viktoria Martovskaya
Ms. Sonja Wolf

**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)
   - 19th 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

**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 20th 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);


# COURSE PROGRAMME

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<th>DATES</th>
<th>LECTURE TOPIC</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SEPTEMBER</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>18.09.17 (Class 1)</td>
<td>Introduction / History of European Minority Rights</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Tove Malloy</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.09.17 (Class 2)</td>
<td>European International Law</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Tove Malloy</td>
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<td>25.09.17 5:00PM at ECMI</td>
<td>ECMI Public Lecture: Kosovo</td>
<td>Adrian Zeqiri</td>
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<td><strong>OCTOBER</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>02.10.17 (Class 3)</td>
<td>Theories of Nationalism and Ethnicity</td>
<td>Dr. Andreea Carstocea</td>
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<td>09.10.17 (Class 4)</td>
<td>Conflict and Unity</td>
<td>Stanislav Černega</td>
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<td>23.10.17 (Class 5)</td>
<td>Minorities and Empowerment</td>
<td>Sonja Wolf</td>
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<td>30.10.17 (Class 6)</td>
<td>Europeanization</td>
<td>Dr. Tamara Hoch</td>
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<td>30.10.17 5:00PM at ECMI</td>
<td>ECMI Public Lecture: Intersectionality</td>
<td>Dr. Reetta Toivanen</td>
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<td><strong>NOVEMBER</strong></td>
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<td>06.11.17 (Class 7)</td>
<td>Minority elites</td>
<td>Dr. Mindaugas Kuklys</td>
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<td>13.11.17 (Class 8)</td>
<td>Democracy and Participation</td>
<td>Stanislav Černega</td>
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<td>20.11.17 (Class 9)</td>
<td>Minority Education</td>
<td>Dr. Zora Popova</td>
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<td>20.11.17 5:00PM at ECMI</td>
<td>ECMI Public Lecture: The Roma Minority</td>
<td>Dr. Eben Friedman</td>
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<td>27.11.17 (Class 10)</td>
<td>Minority and media</td>
<td>Caitlin Boulter</td>
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<td><strong>DECEMBER</strong></td>
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<td>04.12.17 (Class 11)</td>
<td>Modernity and populism</td>
<td>Viktoria Martovskaya</td>
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<td>11.12.17 (Class 12)</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Tamari Bulia</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.12.17 5:00PM at ECMI</td>
<td>ECMI Public Lecture: The Roma Minority</td>
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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 required readings will be uploaded on Moodle (if possible)†.
- The further readings for each lecture can be found in the course handbook.

Class 1: History of Minority Rights - Prof. Dr. Tove Malloy

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
Course handbook: Malloy, T. (ed). “Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy” (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 1;

* Malloy, T. H., (ed.), “Minority Issues in Europe: Rights, Concepts and Policy” (Frank & Timme, 2013);
† Please note that the readings will be uploaded according to the German copyright rules and guidelines, therefore we might not be able to distribute all the readings via Moodle or email. Please refer to the ECMI Library in such cases.
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;

Class 3: Theories of Nationalism and Ethnicity – 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
Class 4: Conflict and unity – Stanislav Černega

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;
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 5: Minorities and Empowerment – Ms. Sonja Wolf

Abstract
Minorities are often framed as disadvantaged and marginalised groups, living in the periphery of society and struggling for subsistence. Their relationship with the state is usually understood as hierarchical with the state being the active provider and the minorities being the passive beneficiaries. However, the last decade has seen minorities increasingly breaking out of this role and becoming actors in various ways. In minority research, empowerment has become one of the tools to try and understand this phenomenon. This seminar provides an introduction to empowerment along three guiding questions: What is empowerment? How does it work? What is its impact? Additionally, the seminar contains a discussion of the normative foundation and implications of empowerment with regards to minority policy.

Mandatory Readings
Recommended Readings


Class 6: Europeanization – Dr. Tamara Hoch

Abstract

The concept of Europeanisation concerns the domestic effects of European integration processes. Thus, the perspective of Europeanisation is becoming useful in the aim to analyse the link between the European Union (EU) and minorities, specifically the effects on domestic minority rights as a consequence of EU-promoted rules, norms and governance structures. There are different avenues through which the EU can influence domestic minority rights, both directly and indirectly. This is seen in the EU enlargement processes and the EU neighbourhood policy which show how the EU matters directly as a source of change through external relations by pushing EU accession states and neighbouring countries to reform domestic minority rights systems. Indirectly, the EU can affect the domestic minority rights policies of existing member states through EU law and policy, but by also providing opportunities for minority groups to participate in EU policies. EU frameworks have, therefore, potential for fulfilling the protection, preservation and promotion of minority rights.

Readings

Course handbook: Malloy, T. (ed). “Minority issues in Europe: rights, concepts, policy” (Frank and Timme, 2013), Chapter 3

Radelli, C. “Europeanisation: Solution or problem?” (European Integration online Papers (EIoP) 8(16), 2004. Available at: http://eiopt.or.at/eioip/pdf/2004-016.pdf);

Kanner A.A. and Gurses Mehmet “The complexities of minority rights in the European Union” (The International Journal of Human Rights 16(2), 2012);

Haverland, M. “Does the EU cause domestic development? Improving case selection in Europeanisation research” (West European Politics 29(1), 2006).

Class 7: Elite Mobilization 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**


**Recommended Readings**


**Class 8: Democracy and participation – Stanislav Černega**

**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**


**Class 9: 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


European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages – available at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/default_en.asp


Class 10: Telling Your Own Story: Media, Migrants and New Minorities – Ms. Caitlin Boulter

Abstract
Media plays an enormously powerful role in constructing our ideas of nationhood, identity and inclusiveness, in ways that are both readily apparent and more subtle. Are media discourses a forum for broad and varied discussion, or merely a loudspeaker for those with enough influence to steer it towards their own interests? How does reading the news shape our view of the world we live in, and our place within it? How do we know whether what we are reading is true or not? What are the consequences for marginalized groups? This seminar will discuss several key texts on media from cultural theory, and use them to examine several topics – the importance of diversity in discourse, the benefits of media-by and media-for minorities, how mainstream media affects the perception of various groups within society – and ultimately to ask the question: whose voice do we listen to?

Readings


Class 11: 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:*


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**Class 12: 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*


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