

INTEGRATION THROUGH PARTICIPATION

FACING CHALLENGES TO MINORITY CONSULTATION

Roundtable Discussion – 17-18 March 2022

University of Glasgow & Liverpool John Moores University

The event will examine factors conducive to effective minority participation in decision- and policy-making at different levels of governance and in transborder cooperation. The workshop will focus on the role of the HCNM in these processes, and on how OSCE participating states may facilitate inclusiveness of consultative mechanisms as part of their due diligence responsibilities.

The event will examine ‘effective participation’ in its multiple variants and with reference to HCNM standards, most notably:

- Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life
- Ljubljana Guidelines on Integration of Diverse Societies
- The Bolzano/Bozen Recommendations on National Minorities in Inter-State Relations

The event is part of a project entitled ‘Integration through Minority Participation: Addressing Challenges to Social Cohesion in Post-Covid Europe’, implemented by the University of Glasgow and Liverpool John Moores University. The project recognises integration as a vehicle to participation and, with it, the interconnectedness of the three sets of HCNM standards as they concern participation and integration. The event will provide a forum to discuss the nexus between integration and participation in its multiple dimensions. Moreover, in light of the **2022 anniversary of the Ljubljana Guidelines**, the event will seek to examine the policy impact of the Guidelines in the sphere of participation and related challenges, taking into account case studies and political developments in selected OSCE participating states.

Additional principles on minority participation will also be taken into account, such as those included in the Council of Europe’s *Thematic Commentary No. 2: The Effective Participation of Persons Belonging to National Minorities in Cultural, Social and Economic Life and in Public Affairs*, under the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

While the focus of the event will be political participation, aspects of socio-economic participation may be referred to as appropriate, as complementary factors to political participation. One area of overlap likely to be considered relates to resources to be allocated by states for capacity-building and for the institutionalisation of inclusive decision-making.

Given the recent events in **Ukraine**, we have also included a session on the repercussions of the conflict on transborder relations and territorial claims involving national minorities with kin-states in the region. The discussion will take place on the second day of the event.

Overarching objectives

The project activities are guided by the following overarching objectives:

- Identifying opportunities to improve integration policy mechanisms in key areas, by promoting policies that are developed, implemented and evaluated through effective minority participation;
- Identifying ways of addressing challenges to societal cohesion by unpacking the connection between self-governance, integration, and security;
- Exploring new avenues to facilitate the implementation of HCNM principles on political participation

Specific objectives

The aims of the event are:

- To hold an in-depth discussion on the conditions that lead to effective participation, with a focus on consultative mechanisms;
- To examine existing challenges to consultation and instances of good practices; to assess the role of the of HCNM standards in these dynamics, particularly with reference to policy impact of the Ljubljana Guidelines and the Lund Recommendations;
- To examine in what way OSCE participating states may enhance the capacity of national minorities to engage in effective consultation in line with HCNM standards;
- To establishing mutually beneficial cooperation between stakeholders/policy-makers and academics in the sphere of minority participation and integration.

Format

The event will consist of:

- One introductory session (taking stock of existing challenges);
- Three sessions on three main areas of discussion (internal pluralism in minority consultation; external pluralism; transborder cooperation and kin-state engagement);
- One final session on ways forward.

For each session, one of the participants will be asked to provide a summary of what are, in their opinion, the most salient conceptual and/or practical issues (about 15 minutes). This will serve to stimulate the general discussion that will follow.

Each session will last 1.5 hour, with half an hour breaks between sessions. Three sessions will be held in the morning of 17 March and the remaining two on 18 March.

DAY/SESSION	
Thursday 17 March	Friday 18 March
Session 1	Session 4
Session 2	Session 5
Session 3	

The results of the discussion will be outlined in a report and be employed to formulate policy recommendations (see below – ‘follow-up’).

We will aim for an open and relatively informal discussion. To facilitate the discussion, a set of questions for discussion are listed.

See the detailed **programme** and questions for discussion on p. 3.

Geographical foci

Effective participation, and particularly the role of consultative mechanisms, will be examined in relation to the geographical areas which are particularly relevant for HCNM programmatic engagement, namely:

- Eastern Europe (especially Moldova, Ukraine)
- South Caucasus (Georgia)
- Central Asia (Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan)
- Western Balkans

With regard to self-governance, the case of Ukraine's Hungarian minority is particularly relevant in the context of:

- examining the links between self-governance claims, integration and de-securitisation; and
- linking the Lund Recommendations with the Ljubljana Guidelines and Bolzano/Bozen Recommendations on kin-states.

Follow-up

A policy report, containing a set of policy reflections and recommendations, will be developed jointly by the University of Glasgow and Liverpool John Moores University. The policy report will be made available for internal use by the HCNM Office.

A selection of the principal questions emerging from the first workshop's discussion and the policy report will be addressed during a follow-up event in Liverpool, which will take place on **22 June 2022**. As for the first workshop, the second workshop will be followed by a policy report compiled by the partner institutions.

Participants

Gaetano Pentassuglia, Liverpool John Moores University
Federica Prina, University of Glasgow
Andreea Udrea, University of Glasgow/Royal Holloway
David Smith, University of Glasgow
Anton Thomsen, HCNM Office
Elena Gjoreska, HCNM Office
Lamberto Zannier, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (keynote speech)
Andreea Cârstocea, European Centre for Minority Issues
Ljubica Djordjević, European Centre for Minority Issues
Marie Hagsgård, President Advisory Committee / FCNM
Sherrill Stroschein, University College London
Sergiu Constantin, Institute for Minority Rights, EURAC research
Markku Suksi, Åbo Akademi University
Stefan Wolff, University of Birmingham
Bob Deen, Clingendael Institute
Emma Lantschner, University of Graz

PROGRAMME

THURSDAY 17 March

Session 1 MINORITY CONSULTATION - EXISTING CHALLENGES	UTC	CET
	9.00 – 10.30	10.00 – 11.30

Introduction: *Lamberto Zannier, OSCE / Former HCNM*

Moderator: *Gaetano Pentassuglia, Liverpool John Moores University*

This session will consider challenges to the implementation of HCNM instruments the area of consultation in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and Central Asia. Challenges may include: the instrumentalisation of minorities abroad by kin-states and the securitisation of minorities; the multiplication of arenas through which national minorities pursue political interests; the lack of appropriate consultative mechanisms; the intensification of populist, nationalist rhetoric by some politicians in public discourse.

The session will refer to concrete case studies from CEE and Central Asia, taking into account political developments in the region that may have modified dynamics of HCNM (and Council of Europe/ACFC) activity in the sphere of minority participation.

Questions

- What challenges exist in minority consultation in CEE and Central Asia? How do these affect the implementation of HCNM instruments?
- What has been the policy impact of the Ljubljana Guidelines and Lund Recommendations in the sphere of participation?

Session 2 MINORITY CONSULTATION & INTERNAL PLURALISM	UTC	CET
	11.00 – 12.30	12.00 – 13.30

Introduction: *Anton Thomsen, HCNM Office*

Moderator: *Andreea Cârstocea, European Centre for Minority Issues*

There is a general expectation that minority organisations themselves will engage meaningfully with public authorities as part of the process of accommodation of minority groups into the state of residence. However, consultation processes may lead in certain cases to the exclusive representation of the views of the minority 'elite', and the control of these dynamics by ethnic entrepreneurs, sometimes for personal advantage. There is also a danger of co-optation of individual minority leaders by states, in both consultative bodies and representation in mainstream political parties. These dynamics clearly result in the dilution of minority political participation as a collective.

This session will examine how *internal pluralism* may be enhanced, through a process by which a range of views present in a community are incorporated into a position that can be attributed to *the group* by accountability and democratic standards.

Questions

- How can minority consultation bodies enable the full range of views present in a community to be represented?
- How can OSCE participating states enhance the capacity of a minority community to engage in effective consultations under its due diligence responsibilities?
- What additional guidance, in terms of international standards and engagement, is needed with reference to:
 - the composition and functioning of consultative bodies as they affect pluralism, including the gender dimension of participation;
 - acknowledging, and better responding to, the multiple ways in which identities are mobilised.
- As for minority involvement in mainstream parties, what consultative guarantees can be put in place to pre-empt possible co-optation of individual minority leaders, and facilitate representation of diverse minority interests from a particular minority community?

Session 3 MINORITY CONSULTATION & EXTERNAL PLURALISM	UTC	CET
	13.00 – 14.30	14.00 – 15.30

Introduction: Marie Hagsgård, President Advisory Committee / FCNM

Moderator: Federica Prina, University of Glasgow

‘External pluralism’ refers to the representation of the interests of a spectrum of minority groups residing in a state. This type of consultation can facilitate processes by which minority communities (and their subunits/individuals) contribute to policy-making, rather than simply being expected to implement policies and laws that are devised by the majority population’s political elite. Pluralistic minority participation contributes to social cohesion, as well as engendering more targeted policies, benefitting the population as a whole. General freedom of association standards are insufficient to deal with the complexity of issues linked to effective minority participation.

This session will consider what mechanisms facilitate minority participation across society, also taking into account gender issues.

Questions

- What mechanisms / conditions can facilitate the representation, in consultation processes, of the interests of the whole spectrum of minority groups present in a state?
- How can discussions on such mechanisms themselves (including their evaluation and review) be inclusive and mindful of a range of needs and opinions?
- How can diverse consultative mechanisms be established and operate in (semi-)authoritarian contexts?

FRIDAY 18 March

Session 4		
INTERSTATE AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES	UTC	CET
The Ukraine conflict	10.00 – 10.45	11.00 – 11.45
Transborder cooperation – general discussion	10.45 – 11.30	11.45 – 12.30

Introduction: Andreea Udrea, University of Glasgow

Moderator: Andreea Udrea & Gaetano Pentassuglia

Scholars have pointed to a multiplication of the arenas through which national minorities pursue their political interests and highlighted the potentially positive impact this might have for minority participation and democratisation. Over the past decade, scholars and practitioners have also noted a tendency towards the bilateralisation of minority protection in Europe on the one hand, and the instrumentalisation of a kin-state's engagement for purposes other than minority protection on the other.

Crucially, the invasion of **Ukraine** and resulting conflict have been a turning point, drastically altering the circumstances in which national minorities in the region find themselves. Given these recent developments, the session will have a special focus on the impact of the war on transborder relations and territorial claims involving national minorities with kin-states in the region, as well as minority policies for (post-)conflict scenarios.

The **general discussion** in the second part of the session will include (but will not be limited to): the role of minority communities in defining the scope of transborder cooperation through consultative mechanisms; cooperation and self-governance as they pertain to national minorities with links to an external kin-state.

The discussion will take into account the interconnectedness between the three sets of relevant HCNM standards. In particular, the Lund Recommendations are to be interpreted in light of the Ljubljana Guidelines (with regard to the strengthening of links between a society's diverse communities) and Bolzano/Bozen Recommendations (territorial integrity, good neighbourly relations). As the case of Ukraine's Hungarian minority illustrates, the multidimensional link between self-governance claims, integration, and de-securitisation requires further elaboration in light of the three sets of recommendations, so as to enable a holistic approach to self-governance.

Questions

Ukraine and Russia

- What are the repercussions of the invasion of Ukraine and resulting conflict on transborder relations and kin-state engagement more generally?
- What does the conflict tell us about the Russian approach to self-determination, secession, and self-governance in cross-border regions and where does it leave HCNM recommendations?
- What are the implications of the Russian invasion for minority standards in the separatist republics and the protection of national minorities in Russia?
- What impact could the conflict have on general minority policies and legislation in Ukraine and bilateral relationships with Russia, and how could HCNM recommendations/ international standards assist in this regard?
- What are the short term and longer term priorities of the HCNM Office in this context?

General questions

- How can the HCNM facilitate the striking of a proper balance between the requirements of societal and institutional integration *and* the need to address legitimate self-governance demands within a state?
- How can minority communities effectively participate in consultative bodies on transborder cooperation?
- Can the promotion of minority political agency in interstate and international politics ensure their survival as groups, protect and improve their accommodation in their home-states and enhance transborder cooperation?

Session 5 WAYS FORWARD	UTC	CET
	12.00 – 12.30	13.00 – 13.30

Moderator: Federica Prina, University of Glasgow

This short session will bring together the various discussions and reflect on how they may be translated into more targeted policies/practices on the implementation of the relevant HCNM recommendations/guidelines. It will focus on possible collaborations and research that may further these processes.

Questions

- What policy changes may be considered by the HCNM to address existing challenges in OSCE participating states?
- What kind of collaboration is needed between practitioners and academics to promote minority participation as a vehicle for integration?
- In particular, what kind of research would lead to insights into conditions that are conducive to effective minority consultation? What case studies from the region warrant particular attention? (see also above, 'geographical foci')