

ANNUAL SUMMER SCHOOL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES IN BORDER REGIONS

Minorities as Citizens | 24-31 July 2022 | Oñati, Spain





EUROPEAN CENTRE
FOR
MINORITY ISSUES

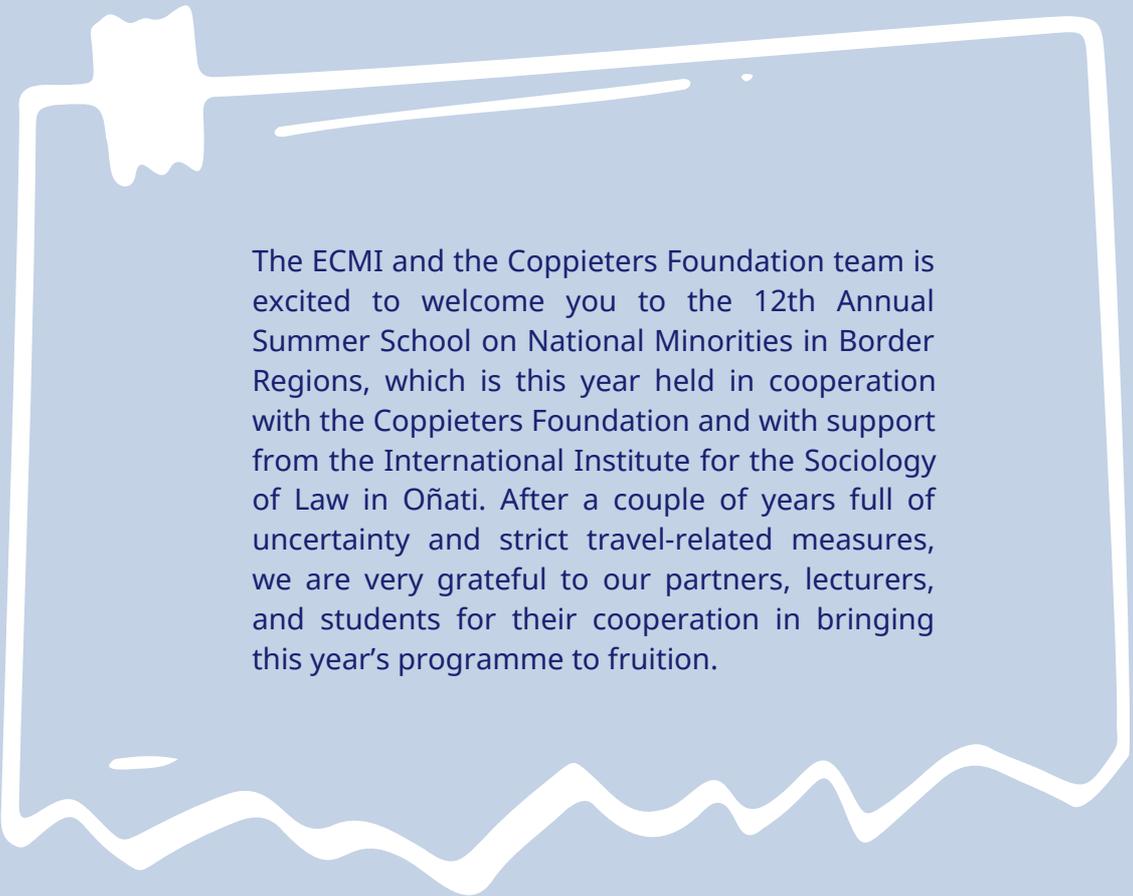


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This Summer School is a joint initiative of the European Centre for Minority Issues and the Coppieters Foundation. This event is financially supported by the European Parliament. The European Parliament is not liable for the content of the conference or the opinions of the speakers.

WELCOME TO THE 2022 SUMMER SCHOOL ON NATIONAL MINORITIES IN BORDER REGIONS!



The ECMI and the Coppieters Foundation team is excited to welcome you to the 12th Annual Summer School on National Minorities in Border Regions, which is this year held in cooperation with the Coppieters Foundation and with support from the International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Oñati. After a couple of years full of uncertainty and strict travel-related measures, we are very grateful to our partners, lecturers, and students for their cooperation in bringing this year's programme to fruition.

BACKGROUND ON THIS YEAR'S TOPIC

In 2022, the Annual Summer School on National Minorities in Border Regions will examine the participation of national minorities in political life. This topic encompasses a broad range of phenomena, starting with the legal definition of citizenship (that provides rights to participation), and continuing with political representation (parties), collective mobilization (social movements), transnational frameworks (European norms) and minority representative bodies (national councils).

While many of these phenomena are related to political science, others are sociological and legal. As a result, the Summer School will also be multi-disciplinary in scope and will thereby speak to many different audiences.

Furthermore, the Summer School will not only highlight conceptual lenses, but also profile practical examples and case studies. This will cover not only profiles of minority political parties, but also successful social movements, mechanisms for monitoring of European norms, and analyses of national minority councils.

ABOUT THE ECMI

The European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) was founded in 1996 by the governments of Denmark, Germany, and Schleswig-Holstein. Aiming to facilitate respect for diversity in all aspects of society, the objective of the ECMI is to address majority-minority concerns and the problems arising from these from a European perspective. Promoting high-quality research, policy analysis, training and co-operation in the minority field, the ECMI seeks to bridge the gaps between theory and practice, research and politics, mainstream politicians and minority activists.

This is pursued through interdisciplinary theoretical and empirical studies and practical activities and initiatives that improve the understanding of the dynamics of minority issues, promote new agendas and have an impact on the development of EU policies. Drawing on the synergy between standards, research and action, the ECMI is Europe's leading institution to implement the roadmap for minority empowerment. The ECMI's purpose is to provide actors with new knowledge and tool-kits that empower them to mitigate differences and encourage participation in civic fora for fostering democracy, intercultural dialogue and awareness, and social cohesion.



We believe that through heightened awareness of minority rights and minority issues among all relevant actors, we can facilitate respect for diversity in all aspects of society.

ABOUT THE ECMI SUMMER SCHOOLS

Since 2011, the ECMI Annual Summer School has trained over 200 young scholars and practitioners from all over Europe and around the world, who have advanced their knowledge on diversity management, border region challenges, and human and minority rights. Welcoming participants and lecturers in Flensburg and introducing them to the history and achievements of the German-Danish border region of Schleswig-Holstein, the Summer School has fostered cooperation and networking not only among participants, but also between local, regional, and international partners. The cooperation between the ECMI and the alumni is active, involving the alumni network in various ECMI activities, publication series, projects, and information exchange.



PARTNERSHIPS

For the past 12 years the ECMI Summer School has been organized in cooperation with various regional institutions in the Danish-German border region as well as other organizations. The University of Flensburg, the City of Flensburg, the Regional Government of Schleswig-Holstein in Kiel, the Robert Bosch Foundation, the Akademie Sankelmark, the ZEIT Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius, the office of the Schleswig Holstein Minister-President and the Jaruplund Højskole are some of our strong supporters from the previous years.

The 2022 Summer School is a joint initiative of the ECMI and the Coppieters Foundation, with financial support from the European Parliament for the fourth consecutive year. The Summer School is hosted by the The International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Oñati.



ABOUT THE COPPIETERS FOUNDATION

The Coppieters Foundation is a think tank focusing on European affairs. It develops new ideas and produces knowledge on the management of cultural and linguistic diversity, collective and minority rights, multi-level governance, decentralization, state and constitutional reform, statehood processes, self-determination, migration, peace studies and the protection of human rights in Europe.

It aims to influence decision-making process at the European level and create a legal framework that allows for better protection of diversity, equality and anti-discrimination of minority groups, enhanced implementation of the principle of subsidiarity and the right to self-determination.

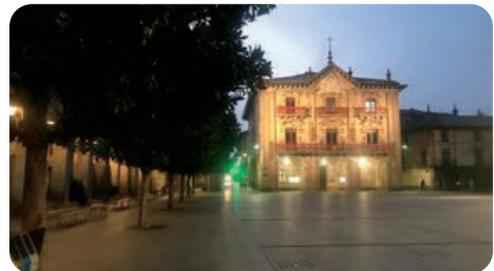
It aims to drive the EU towards an alternative institutional structure that is more democratic, more respectful of collective rights of unrecognised European peoples; to play a role as a platform for dialogue between academia, European institutions (the European Parliament, the European Commission and the Committee of the Regions) and other political actors; to transform scientific knowledge in the fields of political science, economy, sociology, philosophy and history into usable concepts for political action to help well informed decision making; and to feed the European Free Alliance with politically relevant concepts, ideas, data and knowledge, both in the institutional sphere and in EFA's action sphere outside European institutions.

ABOUT THE VENUE

The lectures and workshops will be hosted by the International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Oñati.

The International Sociological Association's Research Committee on the Sociology of Law and the Government of the Basque Country established the International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Oñati, Gipuzkoa, Spain in 1988. From the outset, the Institute created academic links and collaborative relations with various European and non-European universities by providing facilities for seminars, workshops, visiting scholars and library research. The Institute has as a result grown into an important base for the global network of scholars who work on law and social science issues.

The Institute is housed in a Spanish Renaissance building completed in 1543 as a university law school. The building, ceded by the provincial government ("Diputación Foral") of Gipuzkoa, has been renovated to accommodate the library, administrative offices, rooms for meetings and classes and a video centre. This building is situated in the heart of old Oñati, a short walking distance from another which provides accommodation for students, teachers and those who attend workshops at the Institute.



ACCOMMODATION & GETTING AROUND

The participants will be staying in [the Antia Residence](#) in Oñati, a short walk from the venue. Before arrival, each participant will be provided with 2 personal numeric codes: one with 6 digits to unlock the main entrance door and another one to unlock a security box where they will find a room key for their stay.

To get to Oñati, you can go by

- **BUS PESA:** buses from different parts of the Basque Country to Oñati, **ALSA:** Buses to the main towns in the Basque Country.
- **TRAIN RENFE:** Zumarraga train station, located 18 km from Oñati
- **PLANE** Donostia-San Sebastián airport: located 93 km from Oñati, Aeropuerto de Biarritz: located from Oñati, 121 km.
- **TAXI** Usual taxi fares to or from Oñati are: Bilbao 105 €; San Sebastián 105 €; Zumárraga 25 €

DAILY TIMETABLE

DAY 1
24/7
Orientation

A R R I V A L S

from 17:00
Welcome Session
Icebreakers and introduction to the programme
Aziz Berdiqulov & Stanislav Černega (ECMI)

DAY 2
25/7
Conceptual Foundations

9:00-9:30
Official Opening
Vello Pettai (ECMI) and Inaki Irazabalbeitia (Coppieters Foundation)

9:30-11:00
Lecture: Ethnicity, Nationalism & Ethnopolitics
Vello Pettai (ECMI)

C O F F E E B R E A K

11:30-13:00
Workshop: Ethnicity, Nationalism & Ethnopolitics
Vello Pettai (ECMI)

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14:00-15:30
Lecture: Three Tales for One Concept: Citizenship, What's in It, What Is It for, Where Does It Get You?
Francesca Strumia (The University of Sheffield / City, University of London)

C O F F E E B R E A K

16:00-17:30
Interactive Session: Citizenship
Francesca Strumia (The University of Sheffield / City, University of London)

20:30
Opening Dinner
Restaurant "Torre Zumeltzegi"

DAY 3
26/7
The Margins of Citizenship

9:30-11:00
Lecture: Non-Citizenship and Dual Citizenship in Contexts of Migration and Shifting Borders PART 1
Rainer Bauböck (European University Institute / Central European University)

C O F F E E B R E A K

11:30-13:00
Lecture: Non-Citizenship and Dual Citizenship in Contexts of Migration and Shifting Borders PART 2
Rainer Bauböck (European University Institute / Central European University)

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14:00-15:30
Panel Discussion: EU Citizenship and Minorities
Moderated by *Vello Pettai*
Panelists: *Rainer Bauböck, Francesca Strumia*

C O F F E E B R E A K

16:00-17:30
Simulation Debate on Citizenship
Aziz Berdiqulov & Stanislav Černega

D A Y T R I P T O D O N O S T I A - S A N S E B A S T I A N

DAY 4
27/7
Local context

8:00 Meeting at the Oñati Institute

8:15-9:15 Bus Oñati → Donostia-San Sebastian

9:30-11:00 Visit to Etxepare

11:00-11:30 Break

11:30-13:30 Walking Tour

13:30-15:00 Lunch

15:00-16:30 Visit to San Telmo Museum

16:30-21:00 Free Time

21:00-22:00 Bus Donostia-San Sebastian → Oñati

DAILY TIMETABLE

DAY 5 28/7 Institutionalised Political Participation of Minorities	9:30-11:00 Lecture: Ethnic Minority Parties in Europe <i>Edina Szöcsik (University of Basel)</i>	L U N C H	14:00-14:30 Academic Input: Redistribution of Political Power Within Mainstream Political Parties: Ethnicity and Gender Considered <i>Oana Buta (ECMI)</i>	
	C O F F E E B R E A K		C O F F E E B R E A K	
	11:30-13:00 Lecture and Case Studies: Ethnic Minority Parties in Europe <i>Edina Szöcsik (University of Basel)</i>		14:45-16:30 Discussion Session: Ethnic Women Minority Representation: An Inside Perspective <i>Oana Buta (ECMI)</i>	
DAY 6 29/7 Between Formal and Informal Participation	9:30-11:00 Lecture: Informality of Political Participation and Social Movements <i>Kyriaki Topidi (ECMI)</i>	L U N C H	14:00-17:00 Science Slam <i>Aziz Berdiquolov & Stanislav Černega</i>	
	C O F F E E B R E A K			
	11:30-13:00 Lecture: Minority Participation Through Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements <i>Ljubica Djordjević (ECMI)</i>			
DAY 7 30/7 Minorities as Active Citizens	9:30-11:00 Lecture: Minority Language Media as Political Participation Platform <i>Sergiusz Bober & Craig Willis (ECMI)</i>	L U N C H	14:00-16:00 World Café Session Experts: <i>Kyriaki Topidi, Ljubica Djordjević, Sergiusz Bober, Craig Willis</i> Moderated by <i>Aziz Berdiquolov & Stanislav Černega</i>	20:30 Closing Dinner Restaurant "Mauxka jatetxea"
	C O F F E E B R E A K			
	11:30-13:00 Workshop: Poster Session on Minority Language Media <i>Sergiusz Bober and Craig Willis</i>			
DAY 8 31/7 Goodbyes	9:30-11:30 Wrap-up: Discussion, feedback and evaluation, certificates, and coffee <i>Summer School Team</i>		D E P A R T U R E S	

SUMMER SCHOOL TEAM

AZIZ BERDIQULOV



Aziz is a Researcher with the Minority Map and Timeline of Europe (MMTE) project. His main research interests include nation-building, political mobilisation, official recognition, and elections, particularly in post-Soviet countries. Aziz helped establish links with several organisations and research institutes, including the American University of Central Asia and the OSCE Academy in Bishkek. He also is involved with the 2020 Summer School and identifying funding opportunities. Prior joining the ECMI, Aziz was working with the OSCE Office in Tajikistan on initiatives covering good governance, anti-corruption, youth

participation, and elections. He gained experience on the issues related to rule of law, self-governance, and access to justice from working with a local NGO in Tajikistan. Aziz is an alumnus of the OSCE Academy in Bishkek and the CrossCulture Programme by ifa (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen). He speaks English, Russian, Uzbek, and Tajik.

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STANISLAV ČERNEGA

Stanislav is currently in charge of communications at the ECMI. He was previously a project research associate at the Centre and managed projects such as Eastern Partnership Programme, Empower Future Minority Leaders in Moldova, and educational activities of the ECMI including the annual Summer School. Stanislav got his master's degree in European studies from the Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia where he was pursuing his PhD studies. His temporarily unfinished dissertation project focused on the role of Europeanization in a relationship between stateless national minorities and the EU. His research interest in minorities without kin-states stems from his own minority background as he belongs to the Ruthenian/Rusyn minority. He also spent a semester at the Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations and Nationalism at the University of Helsinki and did his internship at the Institute for Minority Rights at EURAC in Bolzano, Italy.



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IGNASI CENTELLES



Ignasi is the Coordinator of the Coppieters Foundation. He has extensive experience in the fields of communications, project management, and EU affairs. He has worked in the Eurobubble for more than 10 years and has done projects for the European Commission (DG Enlargement and the European Agency for Reconstruction - of the Balkans - when they actually existed) the European Parliament, other international organisations of the UN system and civil society associations. He is an expert in state and constitutional reform in multi-level systems of governance, management of diversity in complex

societies, and the protection of minority rights. He is a member of the political science association of Catalonia, the Union of European Federalists, and the European Association of Communication Directors.

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MICHELA BRAMARDI

Michela Bramardi is the Project Manager of the Coppieters Foundation. She has a background in Law and Cooperation and Development. After working for one year on projects on migration in West Africa, she moved back to Europe and focused on international development projects tackling climate change. She then joined Coppieters, helping with the implementation of activities related to cultural and linguistic diversity, collective and minority rights, multi-level governance, and the protection of human rights in Europe.

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GABRIEL HARITON

Gabriel Hariton is a twenty years old Bachelor student in political sciences at Sciences Po Lyon. He was born in France but spent his all childhood in Brussels and joined the Coppieters Foundation as an intern last June for his first internship as part of his studies. He is planning on studying international affairs for his master's degree and to work in the diplomacy sector.

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LECTURERS & SPEAKERS

VELLO PETTAI



Prof. Vello Pettai was appointed Director of the ECMI in May 2019 and assumed the position in March 2020. Prior to that he was Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Tartu, where he worked on topics ranging from ethnic politics to democratization to transitional justice. His research has appeared in a range of international academic journals including *Nations and Nationalism*, *East European Politics and Societies*, *Nationalities Papers* and *Europa Ethnica*. He has also published five books, most recently co-authoring the monograph *Transitional and Retrospective Justice in the Baltic States*, (Cambridge University Press, 2015). From 2006-2012, Vello also

served as Vice-Chair of the Executive Committee of the European Consortium for Political Research. For more than a decade, he was a member of the High Council of the European University Institute (including serving for a year as its Chair). Vello Pettai obtained his PhD in Political Science from Columbia University (USA) and has twice been DAAD Guest Professor (at Leuphana University Lüneburg and Friedrich Schiller Universität Jena).

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FRANCESCA STRUMIA

Dr. Francesca Strumia has been a Lecturer and Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Sheffield since 2014. In summer 2022 she is joining City, University of London as a Professor of Law. Francesca's research and writing focus on the concept, use and implications of citizenship in the transnational arena as well as on the relation between the status and rights of citizens, and the status and rights of migrants. She has published several articles and two books on these issues, including "Supranational Citizenship and the Challenge of Diversity-Immigrants, Citizens and Member States in the EU" (Martinus Nijhoff, 2013). Her



most recent work on the 'state and the citizen-as-migrant' in the EU is available here. Francesca has taught law in the US and in Italy, and prior to starting her academic career she has practiced law in major international law firms in London and Milan. She holds an SJD from Harvard Law School and a PhD in Comparative Analysis of Law, Economics and Institutions from the University of Torino.

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RAINER BAUBÖCK



Prof. Rainer Bauböck is part time professor in the Global Governance Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute. He is corresponding member Austrian Academy of Sciences and chairs the Academy's Commission on Migration and Integration Research. He teaches at the Central European University Vienna campus as a guest professor. From 2007 to 2018 he held the chair in social and political theory at the Department of Political and Social Sciences of EUI. His research interests are in normative political theory and comparative research on

democratic citizenship, European integration, migration, nationalism and minority rights. He co-directs GLOBALCIT, an online observatory on citizenship and voting rights. His recent books include *Democratic Inclusion. Rainer Bauböck in Dialogue*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2018 and *Migration & Staatsbürgerschaft*, Vienna, Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2021 (with co-author Gerd Valchars).

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EDINA SZÖCSIK

Dr. Edina Szöcsik is a political scientist. She is a research fellow and a lecturer at the Department of Political Science at the University of Basel. Her research investigates the role of nationalism and populism in party competition and electoral participation. Among others, she is currently working on a book on secessionist movements in Europe with Linda Basile, Anwen Elias and Nuria Franco-Guillén. In this book, she and her co-authors comparatively explore how regionalist parties and civil society organizations have shifted their position on secession and how they have framed their claims for secession over time in different European regions. Her articles have appeared in the *Comparative Political Studies*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Party Politics* and *West European Politics* among others.

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OANA BUTA



Oana Buta is in charge of the management of the scientific-informational infrastructure of the ECMI, and, to a limited manner, of doing desk research, event coordination and executing project action projects. Before re-joining ECMI, Oana was granted a PhD scholarship by the Bamberg School of Social Sciences and funded by the DFG. Additionally, her PhD studies have been funded also through the 'Step by Step Scholarship' offered by Women's Representatives of the University of Bamberg. Her PhD thesis, entitled 'Manipulation and Threat: the dismissal of Roma candidates', explains why Roma candidates are

nominated on the lists of mainstream parties, at the 2016 local elections in Romania, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. She holds a double degree in European Studies (M.A/ M.Sc.) from University of Flensburg and University of Southern Denmark and a BA in political Science from University of Bucharest. Her research interests include: Roma, minority groups, gender, intersectionality, political representation, party politics.

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KYRIAKI TOPIDI

Dr. habil. Kyriaki Topidi is head of the research cluster on "Culture & Diversity" and joined ECMI in 2019. She holds a degree in law from the Robert Schuman Faculty of Law in Strasbourg, an MA in International Studies from the University of Birmingham, a PhD in European Studies from Queen's University Belfast and a habilitation in Constitutional Law from the University of Fribourg. 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, minority protection rights and mechanisms (with a special interest in religion) and human rights law. She is the author and editor of a number of volumes, including *Constitutional Evolution in Central and Eastern Europe: Expansion and Integration in the EU* (Ashgate, 2011), *Transnational Legal Process and Human Rights* (Ashgate, 2013) and *Religion as Empowerment: Global Legal Perspectives* (Routledge, 2016). More recently, she has edited a collection on *Normative Pluralism and Human Rights* (Routledge, 2018). Her latest monograph focuses on *The Right to Difference and Comparative Religious Diversity in Education* (Routledge, 2020).

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LJUBICA DJORDJEVIĆ



Dr. Ljubica Djordjević is a Senior Researcher and head of the cluster Justice & Governance at the ECMI. 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. Ljubica holds a PhD and a LL.M. Eur. Integration both from the Faculty of Law, TU Dresden (Germany), and a LL.B. from the Faculty of Law, University in Niš (Serbia). Before joining the ECMI she was an associate professor in public law at the Faculty of European Legal and Political Studies (FEPPS)

in Novi Sad (Serbia). At the FEPPS she held the posts of the vice-dean (2011-2017) and the chairman of the public law department (2014-2017). Ljubica is a member of the Serbian Association for Constitutional Law, and a member of the National Minority Council of the Ombudsman of the Republic of Serbia. She was active in the Ethnicity Research Center based in Belgrade.

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SERGIUSZ BOBER

Dr. Sergiusz Bober is a Senior Researcher at ECMI and leads Politics & Civil Society cluster. He earned his doctorate in political science at the Jagiellonian University in 2010 with a thesis on the intellectual sources of the Argentine federal system. He also holds an M.A. in Law from the same University (2003) and studied Latin American Cultural Studies there. Within the field of minority studies, he is particularly interested in political parties/civic movements of national and ethnic minorities (in their organizational and ideological dimensions), minority language media, discourses produced by/on minority communities,

minorities striving for recognition, and minorities' engagement in cross-border cooperation. Before joining ECMI, Sergiusz was employed as an academic teacher and researcher at the Jagiellonian University (Faculty of Law and Administration, 2010-2011) and at the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow (The Institute of Political and Administrative Sciences, 2011-2016). Additionally, he was a visiting researcher at the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut in Berlin (2007), the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg and the University of Fribourg's Institute of Federalism (both in 2013).

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CRAIG WILLIS



Craig is a Researcher at the ECMI, primarily focusing on minority language media across Europe as well as on the role of national minorities in socio-economic participation and regional development. His other research foci and past publications have covered topics such as universal basic income, the Minority SafePack Initiative, ethnic data collection. Currently he is writing his PhD on the topic of minority language media and social attitudes towards minority languages, within which he was previously also a Visiting Researcher at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, for the autumn semester 2021. Craig is also a

member of the steering committee in the International Association for Minority Language Media Research. Craig is also enrolled as a PhD candidate at the Europa Universität Flensburg. His previous studies include the double award MA / MSc European Studies at Europa Universität Flensburg and the University of Southern Denmark, plus also the BA Business Management from the University of Brighton, UK.

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MIREN MANIAS-MUÑOZ



Dr. Miren Manias-Muñoz has a Ph.D. in Film and Media studies at the University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU (2015) and was awarded ex-aequo as the 2015 Best Doctoral Thesis by the SGAE Foundation. Her thesis looked into the economics and production conditions of Basque- language cinema, based on the recent past Culture Policy of the Basque Government. In 2016 she obtained from the Basque Government the Basque Visiting Fellow grant to join the Centre for Cultural Policy Research (CCPR) at the University of Glasgow. She was a postdoctoral researcher (2017-2019) at the University of Edinburgh (Celtic and

Scottish Studies Department) working on a three-year project about minority-language media in Europe with a stress on Scottish Gaelic broadcasting. She is one of the co-founders of the International Association for Minority Language Media and member of the current steering committee. Her research interests are focused on the national audiovisual structures as well as the protection mechanisms for minority-language media.

IMANOL OTAEGI MITXELENA

Imanol Otaegi is Director for the Promotion and Dissemination of Culture at the Etxepare Basque Institute. He holds a bachelor's degree in Audiovisual Communication and a diploma in Tourism, and has over 15 years of experience in the cultural sector. Over the course of his career he has worked on cultural projects of international impact and has extensive experience in the production of cultural projects in various disciplines. He worked for three years with Fundación Donostia / San Sebastián 2016 in charge of the international projects developed as part of the European Capital of Culture. He has also worked at the San Sebastian Film Festival as production coordinator for the Zabaltegi-Tabakalera section and the International Film Students Meeting. Previously, Otaegi worked as producer of various series and entertainment programmes for Basque Television (ETB), as well as for several dance and theatre shows.



SYNOPSIS OF THE 2022 SUMMER SCHOOL

The following part of the brochure presents the abstracts of academic lectures and presentations delivered by some of our guest speakers.

Most of the reading material [can be found here](#).

Ethnicity, Nationalism & Ethnopolitics

Vello Pettai

Monday 25 July | 09:30-13:00

Minority issues are grounded in a number of broader societal phenomena. The first of these is ethnicity and the nature of ethnic identities. How and why do humans acquire mutual identities based on culture, language or religion? How do ethnic identities vary across groups? Why are ethnic identities so important for societal cohesion and social trust?

A second level of analysis concerns the politicization of ethnicity or what we will call nationalism. What happens when ethnicity becomes the basis for a claim to political power or the basis for political legitimacy? How are nation-states an expression of this linkage between ethnicity and political rule? Are nation-states a natural norm or increasingly an exception? Lastly, since most states of the world remain multiethnic, there is always 'ethnic politics' going on or what is often termed ethnopolitics. Here we will examine, in particular, different ethnopolitical regimes, meaning ways in which political power is divided among ethnic groups. Such regimes vary across two spectrums: they seek either to reduce or preserve ethnic diversity, and they may do so either consensually or forcibly. Moreover, a regime in a given country can shift over time, depending on different political developments.

Each of these three levels of analysis will be presented first in lecture form and thereafter discussed based on concrete examples and interactive activities. The session as a whole will serve as a baseline moment, helping to put these broader phenomena in perspective before turning to more specific aspects of minorities and citizenship.

Three Tales for One Concept: Citizenship, What's in It, What Is It For, Where Does It Get You?

Francesca Strumia

Monday 25 July | 14:30-17:30

In offering an interdisciplinary introduction to the notion of citizenship, and a map of the key questions and debates in citizenship studies, this lecture will deploy three distinct but interrelated lenses on the concept: a more conventional one focusing on the content of citizenship, and two alternative ones magnifying respectively, the uses of citizenship and the citizenship-mobility nexus. Under the first lens the lecture will sketch the role of citizenship as status, rights, identity, and participation. Under the second lens, an increasingly important one both in legal and in sociology literature, the lecture will consider the uses of citizenship from the perspective of both states and citizens. It will consider the role of citizenship as a 'global sorter' in the words of Jossi Harpaz, as a form of insurance

and as a compensatory tool. Under the third lens, the lecture will problematize the relation between the status of citizen and that of migrant: citizenship is usually thought of as a settled condition within a state. The migrant is the very antithesis of the citizen. But several recent experiences of citizenship, from regional citizenship, to dual citizenship, to various forms of citizenship 'in absentia' challenge this assumption and invite to reconsider the relation between citizenship and movement also in a historical perspective. The two alternative lenses will ultimately be deployed to shed added light on some of the conundrums that emerge under the conventional lens of the content of citizenship. A part of the lecture will be structured as a debate inviting the students to reflect on a recent citizenship problem under one or more of the lenses proposed.

Background Readings:

- Harpaz, Yossi. 2019. "Compensatory Citizenship: Dual Nationality as a Strategy of Global Upward Mobility". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(6): 897-916
- Strumia, Francesca, "The State and the Citizen-as-migrant: How Free movement Changes the Social Contract", EUI RSC, 2021/79, Global Governance Programme-454, GLOBALCIT - <https://hdl.handle.net/1814/73020>

Non-Citizenship and Dual Citizenship in Contexts of Migration and Shifting Borders

Rainer Bauböck

Tuesday 26 July | 09:30-13:00

Non-Citizenship

The lecture will initially discuss two sources of mismatch between territorial and membership boundaries of states: shifting borders and international migration. The former can create external kin-minorities who may be granted citizenship in a kin state; the latter create migrant origin populations who may remain citizens of their countries of origin while living as non-citizen residents in their host countries. The second part of the lecture will discuss the citizenship relations of migrants to host and origin states and how to accommodate them through "denizenship" statuses, through supranational and local citizenships and through access to national citizenship via naturalisation and *ius soli*. It will also consider how the claims of immigrant origin groups differ from those of national and indigenous minorities. The third part of the lecture will discuss statelessness as the extreme case of non-citizenship and reasons for its persistence inspite of international commitments to eradicate this phenomenon.

Dual Citizenship

The second lecture will discuss the global trend towards toleration of dual and multiple citizenship and reasons why some states resist this trend. It will consider again the two contexts of migration and extraterritorial kin minorities and how they may generate dual citizenship. The lecture will then consider specifically contested phenomena involving purely instrumental uses of citizenship by states and individuals. These include citizenship-by-investment schemes, as well as policies of "passportization" of extraterritorial kin minorities that aim at destabilizing neighbouring countries or at bolstering electoral support for incumbent governments.

After each lecture, the participants will be asked to sharing practical examples (e.g. from their own countries of origin) that illustrate some of the issues covered in the lecture. Secondly, they will be asked to articulate their own views on how citizenship policies should be reformed in order to meet the challenges.

Background Readings:

- Bauböck, R. (2017). Political Boundaries and Democratic Membership. The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship. A. Shachar, R. Bauböck, I. Bloemraad and M. Vink. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 60-82.
- Bauböck, R. (2019). "Genuine Links and Useful Passports: Evaluating Strategic Uses of Citizenship." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45(6): 1015-1026.
- Vink, M., et al. (2019). "The international diffusion of expatriate dual citizenship." *Migration Studies* 7(3): 362–383.

Panel Discussion on EU Citizenship and Minorities

Panelists: Francesca Strumia and Rainer Bauböck

Moderated by Vello Pettai

Tuesday 26 July | 14:00-15:30

This panel discussion should focus on exploring how the notion of the EU citizenship affects minorities (national, ethnic, linguistic, and others) and minority rights. Does it provide a new arena for political participation of minorities? Do the rights stemming from the EU citizenship allow for more rights for minorities? What is the EU's role in the minority rights regime in Europe? These are some of the questions this panel should tackle.

Simulation Debate on Citizenship

Aziz Berdiqulov & Stanislav Černega

Tuesday 26 July | 16:00-17:30

"You have accepted an invitation to the political debate on national TV where you are supposed to present a short speech on the topic of minority policy & citizenship" – that's how we'll start this playful activity to let you use all the knowledge on minority issues you'll have gained by Tuesday evening. A little bit of role-playing and stepping out of one's comfort zone is never a bad idea!

Day Trip to Donostia-San Sebastian

Wednesday 27 July

We will visit the city of Donostia-San Sebastian which is one of the important centres of the Basque community in Spain. This whole-day trip will be an excellent opportunity to get to know the Basque way of life and find out more about the issues the Basque community has to face in their everyday life. We will get to know more about the mission of the Etxepare Basque Institute, learn about the secret corners of the city of Donostia-San Sebastian, and hear about the Basque history at the San Telmo Museum.

Visit to the Etxepare Basque Institute

The Etxepare Basque Institute is a public institution launched in 2010. Since then, it has worked to enhance the international presence and visibility of the Basque language and contemporary Basque creativity, to promote international cooperation and to foster exchange and communication between creators, professionals, stakeholders and public institutions. We will talk to Imanol Otaegi Mitxelena, Director for the promotion of the Basque culture, who will let us know more about the work of the Institute, and the Basque culture and language in general.

Walking tour

Munching on some delicious pintxos, we will take a walking tour around the beautiful city of San Sebastian (Donostia in the Basque language). Donostia-San Sebastián is the administrative capital of Gipuzkoa, one of the three provinces making up the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain. We will find out about its history and current state of affairs with our local tour guide.

Visit to the San Telmo Museum

The San Telmo Museum, inaugurated in 1902, is the oldest in the Basque Country; today it is reintroducing itself and its new objectives. Working from the basis of its funds, almost totally related to Basque society, San Telmo has been renovated to become a Museum of Basque Society and Citizenship. We will learn about the cultural and (sometimes rocky) historical past of the region. San Telmo is presented as a museum and, at the same time, a place to both disseminate knowledge and create thought whilst aiming to be an instrument to understand the present and build the future from knowledge of the past.

Ethnic Minority Parties in Europe

Edina Szöcsik

Thursday 28 July | 09:30-13:00

Do ethnic minority parties help to accommodate minority interests or do they exacerbate ethnic conflicts? In the first lecture, we will aim to assess whether this party family's impact is as bad as its reputation. To debate the role of ethnic minority parties in Europe, we will first clear the conceptual ground. We will start with a reflection on the different labels of this party family such as ethnic minority parties or stateless minority nationalist parties and discuss the shared characteristics and goals of the members of this party family. Having clarified what ethnic minority parties are, we will move on to discuss the state of the literature on ethnic minority parties' strategies and their impact on decentralization and secession in Europe. In this discussion, we will pay attention to the influence of the various political opportunity structures that these parties face across Europe.

The second lecture will delve into the question how we can empirically investigate ethnic minority parties' demands. Participants will be familiarized with the problems related to the measurement of ethnic minority parties' demands and the challenges that cross-national data collection projects need to master. As two examples, the Ethnonationalism in Party Competition (EPAC) and the Framing Territorial Demands (FraTerr) datasets will be introduced. Relying on these two datasets, we will compare how parties in Catalonia and Scotland have shifted their positions in favor of secessionism over time and how they have justified their claims for secession.

To read for the first lecture:

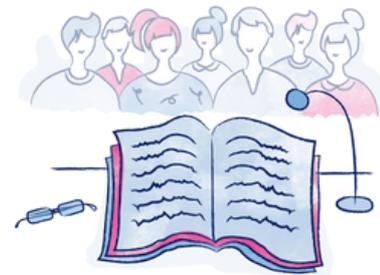
- Szöcsik, E. and Zuber, C.I., 2021. Does decentralisation turn minority parties into secessionists? Insights from Eastern and Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 44(4), pp.825-851.

Relevant for the second lecture:

- Szöcsik, E. and Zuber, C.I., 2015. EPAC—a new dataset on ethnonationalism in party competition in 22 European democracies. *Party Politics*, 21(1), pp.153-160.

Additional reading:

- Elias, A., Basile, L., Franco-Guillén, N. and Szöcsik, E., 2021. The Framing Territorial Demands (FraTerr) dataset: A novel approach to conceptualizing and measuring regionalist actors' territorial strategies. *Regional & Federal Studies*, pp.1-16.



Session on Minority Women in Politics

Moderated by Oana Buta

Thursday 28 July | 14:00-16:30

Redistribution of Political Power Within Mainstream Political Parties: Ethnicity and Gender Considered

Political representation has been a synonym for years with 'white male' politics. Yet, their domination has been challenged by minority groups and societies have slowly started to become more inclusive, to a lower or higher degree depending from case to case. In the literature on political representation, the focus has been mainly on the inclusion of two groups: women and ethnic minorities/migrants. Measuring the political representation of traditionally marginalized groups through a singular axis of analysis (gender or ethnicity) is problematic as it has ignored that ethnic minority women fall within these two categories and thus might face distinctive forms of exclusion. In order to explore the phenomena, the topic of the presentation will be ethnic women minority representation in Europe.

Three major aspects will be covered. First, it is important to familiarize yourself with the opportunities and challenges that minority groups face when they want to participate in the elected bodies of their home country. Although the outcome can be influenced by different factors, the focus on political parties should have priority because they can decide whether these groups are represented as well as 'who' within these groups. Next, in order to depart from an essentialist approach and highlight that inclusion can mean exclusion (Celis and Erzeel 2013, Hughes 2014, Celis, Erzeel and Mügge 2015, Mügge 2016, Murray 2016), the presentation will underline the benefits of applying an intersectional lens to the phenomena. Finally, it will explore the extent to which being a woman minority represents a double barrier or a complementarity advantage when they want to make their voice heard.

Background readings:

- Raffaella Dancygier (2018), 'Religious Parity versus Gender Parity' in Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics, Princeton University Press, pp. 141-169, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400888108>
- Karen Celis and Silva Erzeel (2015), 'The Complementarity Advantage: Parties, Representativeness and Newcomers' Access to Power', Parliamentary Affairs, pp. 43-61, doi:10.1093/pa/gsv043
- Kimberle Crenshaw (1989), 'Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics', The University Of Chicago Legal Forum

Ethnic Women Minority Representation: Panel Discussion

The panel discussion complements the presentation 'Redistribution of political power within mainstream political parties: ethnicity and gender considered' and aims to expand the debate on women minorities and their participation in the political sphere. As such, it will focus on the women's (minority) lived experience, on their views about representation, challenges and opportunities posed by the political space as well as potential lessons to be learned.

Digital Minority Activism

Kyriaki Topidi

Friday 29 July | 09:30-11:00

The internet has opened up virtual spaces for political participation that bypass traditional gatekeepers. Ethno-cultural minority groups, historically marginalized for the most, are currently in a position to engage in participatory politics and, in some cases, create the conditions for social change. The workshop will explore the dominant trends in minority online activism as opportunities for dialogue and dissent from the 'bottom up' (e.g. through the generation of public outcry or mobilization campaigns). It will also briefly touch upon the role of gender within such forms of activism.

Some of the issues covered will include: 1) the internet as a safe space for minorities; 2) distinct dimensions of minorities' internet activism; 3) case studies on ad hoc campaigns; and 4) the relation of digital activism with social change.

Optional Reading:

- Siapera, E. (2006), Minority Activism on the Web: Between Deliberative Democracy and Multiculturalism, Journal of Ethnic Minority and Migration Studies, 31:3, 499-519.
- Hall, N. and Ireland, P. (2016) Transformative Activism: Digital Era Advocacy Organizations, Stanford Social Innovation Review
- Karatzogianni, A. (2016) Beyond Hashtags: How a wave of digital activists is changing society, The Conversation
- Dobrin, D. (2020) The Hashtag in Digital Activism: A Cultural Revolution, Journal of Cultural Analysis and Social Change, Vol.5, Issue

Minority Participation Through Non-Territorial Autonomy Arrangements

Ljubica Djordjević

Friday 29 July | 11:30-13:00

Participation is one of the core pillars of minority protection. It does not only underpin preservation of minority identity, but also secures integration of a wider society. There are various channels for minority participation, with autonomy arrangements being one of them. Moreover, autonomy as a concept is perceived as a valuable tool for (internal) self-determination of minority groups that can ease sovereignty claims and prevent the risk of never-ending redrawing of state borders along ethnic lines. In the past decade(s), the concept of non-territorial minority autonomy has gained renewed attention in the academic literature, as a potentially effective means for decoupling ethnicity and territory, for addressing the need of minorities for internal self-determination, and, at the same time, preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state, thus keeping the dominant paradigm of the “nation state” intact.

The aim of the lecture is to present the practical implementation of the minority non-territorial autonomy through a few examples of the European South (Slovenia and Serbia) and North (Sami Parliaments). Through the prism of these examples, lecture will address conceptual aspects of non-territorial autonomy arrangements, membership/legitimation, institutional structure, competences, impact, and similar.

Optional Reading:

- Levente Salat, “Conclusion”, in: Tove H. Malloy, Alexander Osipov, Balasz Vizi (eds.), *Managing diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy. Assessing Advantages, Deficiencies, and Risks* (pp. 249-273), Oxford University Press, 2015.
- John Coakley, “Approaches to the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict: The Strategy of Non-Territorial Autonomy”, 15 (3) *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique* (1994), pp. 297-314.
- Athanasios Yupsanis, “Minority Cultural Autonomy in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia: A Real Opportunity for Cultural Survival or a Right Void of Substance?” *Europäisches Journal für Minderheitenfragen*, 2019, Issue 1-2, pp. 83-112.
- Adam Stępień, Anna Petrėtei, and Timo Koivurova, “Sami Parliaments in Finland, Norway and Sweden”, in: Tove H. Malloy, Alexander Osipov, Balasz Vizi (eds.), *Managing diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy. Assessing Advantages, Deficiencies, and Risks* (pp. 117-138), Oxford University Press, 2015.

Science Slam

Aziz Berdiqulov & Stanislav Černega

Friday 29 July | 14:00-17:00

The Science Slam is a forum in which participants present their research in a simple and entertaining way, with a time limit of four minutes.

Minority Language Media as Political Participation Platform

Sergiusz Bober and Craig Willis

Saturday 30 July | 09:30-11:00

Many of minority communities in Europe publish their own newspapers, produce TV and radio programmes, as well as expand towards digital formats such as internet portals, podcasts, social media etc. This is taking place in different financial and organizational contexts, with some minority language media (MLM) outlets enjoying financial support of kin- and host-states, and others operating as strictly commercial endeavours or crowdfunded bottom-up initiatives. Importantly, MLM also have prominent links to the issue of political participation, as by bringing minority communities together they frequently provide a platform for internal deliberations or for signalling issues perceived as problematic from the point of view of minority-majority relations. The aim of the present lecture, therefore, is to discuss MLM as an actor in broader participative processes involving minorities. This is going to be achieved through the initial introduction of several conceptual sub-topics, such as: theoretical approaches to the concept of MLM (with the particular emphasis on the purpose of MLM); international legal standards concerning MLM; the nexus between MLM and digitalization (as potentially enhancing its deliberative/participative capacity). In the second part of the lecture a set of empirical examples, illustrating the participative potential of MLM outlets will be presented, highlighting different regional and thematic foci, such as MLM and cross-border cooperation in the Danish-German border region or MLM and the provision of critical COVID-19-related information in minority languages.

Poster Session / Minority Language Media

Sergiusz Bober & Craig Willis

Saturday 30 July | 11:30-13:00

Building upon the previous lecture, this workshop will split the students into group work to consider various media outlets. Each group will then present their case using a poster presentation, aiming to highlight the differing ways in which the certain media type can facilitate political participation. This will focus on examples from the Basque Country, across the mediums of television, radio, newspaper and online social media. Students will be asked to consider aspects such as the outlets distance to the audience and to what extent each outlet offers a passive or more interactive possibility of engagement – with both the outlet and the fellow audience members.

World Café Session

Experts: Kyriaki Topidi, Ljubica Djordjević, Sergiusz Bober, Craig Willis

Moderated by Aziz Berdiqulov & Stanislav Černega

Saturday 30 July | 14:00-16:00

During the session, participants will have the opportunity to talk to the experts in small groups, rotating among the speakers to talk in more detail about their experiences, work, and research. Afterwards, participants will have a chance to reflect on what they learned throughout the Summer School.

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