

# ***Towards Multicultural Pluralism***

Non-territorial cultural  
autonomy as alternative  
tool for managing ethno-  
cultural diversity

# Challenges of the Post-Yugoslavian Peace-building

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- How to manage ethno-cultural diversity?
- How to recreate multicultural pluralism?
- How to guarantee minority rights so that majority does not feel to be threatened?
- Omit possibility to secession and disintegration!
- How to support inter-ethnic communication, understanding and acceptance?
- Result would be strengthening of mutual trust and tolerance and thus it would contribute to emergence of stronger and established civic society
- ...but because it is question of national dignity it is hard to receive compromises
- Alternative tool: non-territorial cultural autonomy

# ***Roots of Ethnic Conflicts***

How to Explain Ethnic  
Violence in Post-  
Yugoslavian Balkans?

# Burden of Balkanism

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- Western efforts to explain: Balkan is different
- Violent by nature (pre-modern)
- Frozen national conflicts (nationalists)
- On civilization fault-line (religious conflict)
- Small states are instable and non-cable for survive
- Balkanization = disintegration of Ottomans would led to chaos and increase instability
- Ethnic cleansing (compare Holocaust) term invented to describe massacres
- Not fully European

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- "If Balkan has not existed it would have needed to be invented"  
Hermann Keyserling (1928)
  - ...but that is what happened.
  - Origin of notion: western geographers in the late 19th century  
(imagined barrier: mountain range)
  - Orient in Europe (geographically European but not culturally)
  - Balkan as well as Eastern Europe bear features of the Orient  
BUT are not totally oriental
  - Instability, revolts, secretiveness but also culture of violence
  - Also folly Europe
  - Balkan adjective, no borders, more important what is to be  
Balkan than who are Balkan

**Cathie Carmichael: *Ethnic Cleansing in the Balkans. Nationalism and the destruction of tradition (Routledge 2002)***

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: ”...the Balkans suffered ethnic quakes, largely because the impact of **European ideas** (initially nationalism, then fascism and communism) was so profound and clashed so indelibly with the older 'autochthonous' ideas found in religious practice and traditional culture. Although the forms that violence took during ethnic cleansing were often 'traditional' in the sense that they had a large symbolic content and involved the honour of the individuals involved, the ideas that inspired this violence were modern and European in their origin.”

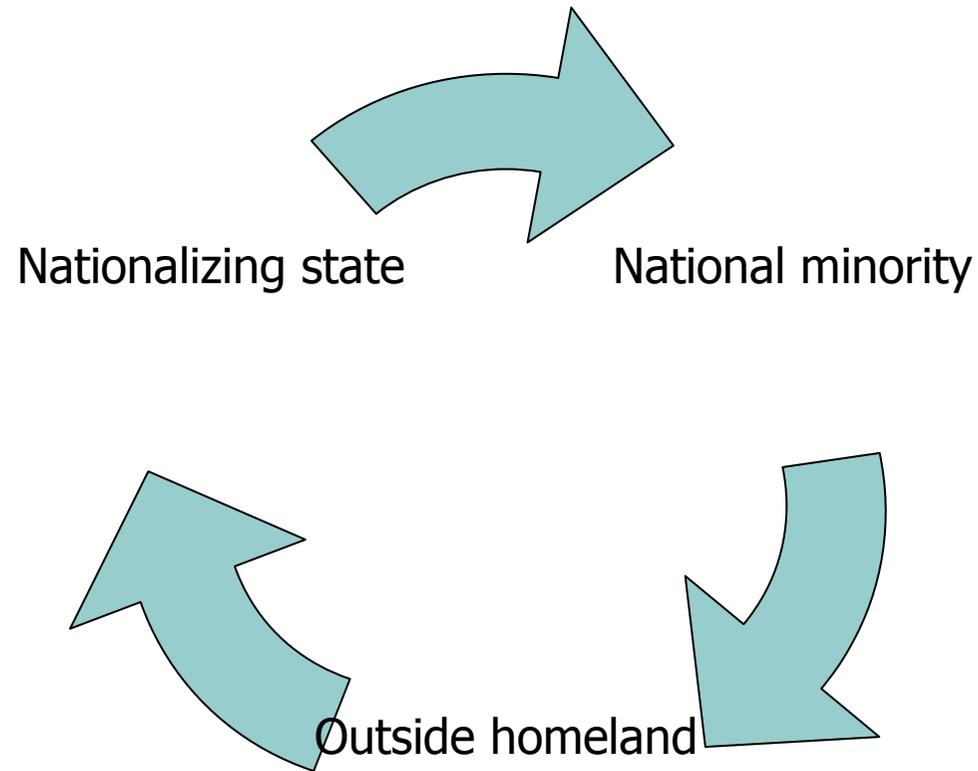
# Nationalism

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- We live on era of nationalism
- Liah Greenfeld: Nationalism is 'a particular perspective or a style of thought' in which the very idea of 'nation' forms a nodal point. And, a nation signifies, in particular, 'a unique sovereign people'.
- National identity is, fundamentally, a matter of dignity.
- Nationalism is political principle that political and national units should be congruent (self-determination, sovereignty)
- Myth of ethnic (eastern) and civic (western) nationalism: all are aiming for uniformity of identities
- But belonging to community and its dignity is defined differently
- The old world of the empires accepted multiple political identities within certain limits
- Dilemma of nation-state: how to tolerate multi/trans - nationalism
- Problem of weak-states

## **Roger Brubaker's Triadic nexus (explaining national conflicts)**

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# Ottoman Legacy: Multiethnic diversity

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- Mark Mazower: Salonica. City of Ghosts. Christians, Muslims and Jews 1430-1950 (2005)
- Continuity of Byzantine city (Greek orthodoxs)
- Safe heaven for Spaniard Jews (Sefardim)
- Ma'min: Jews converted to Islam late 17th century (separate, secular, radical)
- Late Ottoman violence
- Ethnic diversity
- Regulated through millet-system
- Demonisation of Ottoman legacy in national narratives (legitimizing independence)

# Balkan experiences

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- Ethnic/national unification has continued for a century
- 1923 population exchange between Turkey and Greece (0,5 million Turks from Greece and 1,5 million Greeks from Turkey)
- Macedonia: after Balkan Wars exodus of Slavs to Bulgaria, unification policies in Greek and Serbian Macedonia
- Tito's Yugoslavia: first experience of territorial autonomy, birth of current Macedonia
- Post-Yugoslavian wars
- How is Balkan different? Are different tools required?
- Attempts to craft the western nation-state model onto Central and Eastern Europe were fraught with difficulty
- Balkan (and East Central Europe in general) is different because of more fragmented ethnic structure and that is why western European models are not fitting to solve minority question
- Mix of ethnic and civic nationalism
- Need new tools for solving dilemma of ethno-cultural diversity

# ***Non-territorial cultural autonomy and other tools***

How to guarantee self-  
determination for minorities  
without the fear of  
secession?

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- How to manage ethno-cultural diversity? What are models for guaranteeing minority rights?
  - Dilemma of liberal state how to guarantee right of collective community.
  - Institutionalization of individual rights cannot easily accommodate political demands for collective or group rights for national and ethnic minorities in civic nation
  - Problem: demands of autochthonous minorities for recognition and rights that are not applicable to the national majority
  - Territorial autonomy vs non-territorial cultural autonomy
  - Problems of territorial autonomy (separatism, secessionist aims)
  - Kosovo, Southern-Ossetia, Abkhazia, Transdniestria etc.

# Non-territorial cultural autonomy

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- Idea: Karl Renner (1870-1950) & Otto Bauer (1881-1938)
- End of Habsburg Empire, Austro-socialists
- Example: interwar Estonia
- Personality principle: the idea that autonomous communities are organized as sovereign collectives whatever their residential location within multinational state.
- Make it possible of different ethnic identities to co-exist in a single polity
- Allow representatives of national groups to set up public corporations and elect their own cultural self-governments
- For example control over schooling
- Two tiers of governance: Jurisdiction would not be confined to particular territorial subregion of the state but to all citizens who professed belonging to the relevant nationality
- Aim is to prevent secession by offering national and ethnic minorities constitutionally guaranteed collective rights, wide cultural autonomy and cultural (non-territorial) autonomy

## Benefits of NCA model

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- According to Ephraim Nimmi
- 1) Members of national/ethnic minority are not subject to the cultural practices of the majority but have their own trans-territorial national organization
- 2) Enhances the cooperation between communities because allow internal dissident within minority and cross-cultural cooperation takes place between equals
- 3) Better guarantee national rights in era of trans-national political organizations
- 4) A strong container of separatist nationalism
- Awiel Roshwald: a golden midpoint between balkanization and banalisation (melting pot)
- Balkan example: similarities with millet-system

# Problems and limitations

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- Will Kymlicka: historical minorities (stateless nations, kin state minorities) vs. new minorities (migrants)
- Would fit to latter (including etc. Roma)
- Historical minorities: link between national identity and territory is very deep (national homeland), have a local majority
- De-territorializing minority rights not right way but to liberalize and democratize substate nationalism
- Combination would be better
- Role of international organizations: an important battlefield from League of Nations to current (UN, Council of Europe, international intergovernmental institutions)
- Not recognize non-territorial cultural autonomy
- Balkan experiences: international dominance of models to manage ethno-cultural diversity

# ***Balkan experiences***

Bosnia, Kosovo,  
Macedonia

## **Bosnia and Hertsegovina**

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- Pre-Dayton plans: Vance – Owen plan: 10 cantons which all were multiethnic, aim to preserve Bosnia as uniform multiethnic state without giving self-determination to Bosniaks, Serbs or Croats
- Dayton agreement 1995
- Territorial arrangement (federation)
- Preserved territorial arrangement created the war and established in practice three mini-nation states
- Failure, still unstable country

# Kosovo from Rambouillet to the Ahtisaari Plan

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- Rambouillet plan (based on NCA) 1999 (sovereignty within larger unit and within Kosovo NCA for different groups)
- Ahtisaari Plan: decentralisation
- Provides enhanced municipal competencies for Serb-majority municipalities in education, healthcare and cultural affairs; clustering Serb-majority municipalities, allows to cooperate with Belgrade
- Problem: Belgrade's and local Serbs resistance (turning points 2004, 2008)
- Parallel Belgrad institutions in education and health care
- Albanian opposition – fear of losing control
- Could NCA constitute an alternative and solve deadlock?

# Macedonia

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- Relative success story?
- 2001 conflict
- Ohrid Framework Agreement with support international community
- Seek to turn Macedonia into a "civic state"
- Use of Albanian language (municipalities (>20%), with representatives of central government, parliament etc.)
- Proportional representation of ethnic Albanians (i.e. police)
- Voting capacities in parliament plus Council of Interethnic relations
- Problem: Decentralization is slow (giving authority to municipalities, reorganizing borders)
- Problem: Did not solve conflict with Greece over name of the state (and nation) -> keep situation unstable
- Problem: ethnisation of all political issues

# CONCLUSION

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- Applied peace building models based on decentralisation (except Bosnia) - territorial
- Rely on international supervising
- Road to multiethnic states has been hard one!
- Civic state vs. ethnically divided state
- Learn from non-territorial cultural autonomy
- Relationship with self-determination, identity and territory should be reconsidered
- Need to seek more intensively common and shared legacy (and not just concentrated on protection of rights) but that may not possible through current arrangements