

Jean Monnet Network
SECUREU



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Policy Summer School

Diversity Governance and Securitization in the EU and Beyond

July 2nd – July 8th 2023

Eurac Research

Bolzano/Bozen, Italy



Table of Contents

Welcome to the Policy Summer School	2
Organizing Team	3
Summer School Program	4
Lecture Abstracts	6
Sunday July 2 nd , 2023, Welcome Session	6
Monday July 3 rd , 2023, Cultural Diversity Governance, Security and Countering Securitization: Introductory Reflections	8
Tuesday July 4 th , 2023, Addressing Ethnic Diversity in Light of Securitization: National and International Perspectives	11
Wednesday July 5 th , 2023, Governing Diversity and Fears in South Tyrol	14
Thursday July 6 th , 2023, Migration, Religion, and (De)securitization.....	16
Friday July 7 th , 2023, Case Studies: Roma & Indigenous People and Reflections on Diversity Governance.....	19
Saturday July 8 th , 2023, Case Study: Russian-Speaking Minorities.....	22
Program Venues.....	24
Accommodations	25
Social Media and Contacts.....	26

Welcome to the Policy Summer School

The SECUREU Network and the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research welcome you to the 2023 Policy Summer School “Diversity Governance and Securitization in the EU and Beyond”.

The [Securitization of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities and the Rise of Xenophobia in the EU \(SECUREU\)](#) is a Jean Monnet Network funded by the Erasmus + Programme. The summer school is organized as part of the SECUREU activities.

The summer school is organized by the [Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research](#), in cooperation with the Institute Barcelona d’Estudis Internacionals and the University of Glasgow.

Eurac Research is a private research center based in South Tyrol, Italy, with researchers from a wide variety of scientific fields. Together, through scientific knowledge and research, they share the goal of shaping the future. Eurac Research focuses on three major themes: regions fit for living in, diversity as a life-enhancing feature, and a healthy society. Whereas the Institute for Minority Rights at Eurac Research pursues basic and applied research on the protection of minorities and the management of cultural diversity. It focuses on issues of cohesion and governance in pluri-ethnic societies, including the challenges related to securitization and governance regarding minorities.

Organizing Team



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Summer School Program



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<p>Sunday July 2 Welcome Session</p>	<p>18.00-18.15: Welcome to SECUREU Policy Summer School (Günther Rautz – Eurac Research; Andrea Carlà – Eurac Research) 18.15-18.30: Practical information (Sergiu Constantin – Eurac Research) 18.30-19.00: Knowing each other: experiences of “othering” and prejudices (Moderator: Giorgia Zogu – Eurac Research) 19.00-20.00: Welcome Aperitive</p>
<p>Monday July 3 Cultural Diversity Governance, Security and Countering Securitization: Introductory Reflections</p>	<p>09.00-10.30: The concept of security and securitization theory (Lene Hansen – Copenhagen University) 10.30-11.00: Break 11.00-12.30: The implications of securitization and counter-securitization (Georgios Karyotis – University of Glasgow) 12.30-14.00: Lunch 14.00-15.30: The intersection of ethnic diversity, autonomy, and security (David Smith – University of Glasgow) 16.00-17.30: Roundtable: Securitization in turbulent times: migrant ‘crisis’, pandemic, and war in Europe (Lene Hansen – Copenhagen University; Georgios Karyotis – University of Glasgow; David Smith – University of Glasgow; Moderator: Günther Rautz – Eurac Research)</p>
<p>Tuesday July 4 Addressing Ethnic Diversity in Light of Securitization: National and International Perspectives</p>	<p>09.00-10.30: Regimes of ethnicity and nationhood: typology of state policies and a theory of ethnic regime change (Şener Aktürk – Koç University) 10.30-11.00: Break 11.00-12.30: Regimes of ethnicity and securitization challenges: empirical insights from Germany, Turkey and Russia (Şener Aktürk – Koç University) 12.30-14.00: Lunch 14.00-15.30: The European multi-stakeholder minority protection regime – governance approaches by the EU, the Council of Europe and the OSCE (Andrea Gawrich – Justus Liebig University Gießen) 16.00-17.30: Germany’s minority protection strategies and attempts of de-securitization (Andrea Gawrich – Justus Liebig University Gießen)</p>
<p>Wednesday July 5 Governing Diversity and Fears in South Tyrol</p>	<p>09.00-10.30: Historical walking tour of Bolzano/Bozen: Conflicting historical narratives in South Tyrol (Georg Grote – Eurac Research; Josef Prackwieser – Center for Autonomy Experience) 10.30-11.00: Break 11.00-12.30: The South Tyrolean autonomy (Sergiu Constantin – Eurac Research) 12.30-14.00: Lunch 14.00-15.30: Visit to the South Tyrolean Provincial Council 16.00-17.30: Roundtable: Perspectives on South Tyrol (Elisabeth Alber – Eurac Research; Andrea Carlà – Eurac Research; Stefan Graziadei – EGTC European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino; Moderator: Sergiu Constantin – Eurac Research) – at Waag House</p>

Thursday July 6
Migration, Religion and (De)securitization

09.00-10.30: Securitization of migration: between spiralling and prejudices (Valeria Bello – University Ramón Llull)

10.30-11.00: Break

11.00-12.30: The intersection of gender and religion in the securitization of migration in the EU (Tutku Ayhan – IBEI)

12.30-14.00: Lunch

14.00-14.45: Governing migration and migrant integration in minority regions (Roberta Medda-Windischer – Eurac Research)

15.00-17.30: Role play: Minority regions and migration (Roberta Medda-Windischer – Eurac Research)

Friday July 7
Case Studies: Roma & Indigenous People and Reflections on Diversity Governance

09.00-10.30: Who is afraid of the Roma and why? Securitization and racial capitalism (Ana Ivasiuc – Maynooth University)

10.30-11.00: Break

11.00-12.30: The enduring legacies of nation-state creation for the securitization of indigenous peoples (Matthias von Hau – IBEI)

12.30-14.00: Lunch

14.00-15.30: Power sharing of Sami people & (de)colonization (Alexandra Tomaselli – Eurac Research)

Saturday July 8
Case Study: Russian-Speaking Minorities

09.00-10.00: “The Russian question “in Estonia and Latvia: securitization of minority issues in the context of Russia’s military invasion to Ukraine 2014-2023 (Kristina Kallas – Tartu University, Narva College)

10.00-10.30: Break

Saturday July 8
 11.00-12.45

SECUREU Public Event / D.Rad Hub on Minority Nationalism

Round table: Minorities in Conflict Settings and the Ukrainian War Between Desecuritization and Deradicalization

Speakers:

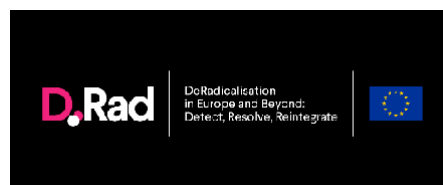
Kristina Kallas – Tartu University, Narva College.
 Hanna Vasilevich – International Centre for Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity Studies, Prague.

Benedikt Harzl – Graz University.

Welcome: Andrea Carlà

Moderator: Roberta Medda-Windischer

Eurac Research, Conference Hall



Buffet

14.00-15.30: Conclusions, Evaluations & Goodbyes

Lecture Abstracts

Sunday July 2nd, 2023, Welcome Session

18h00 – 18h15 Welcome to SECUREU Policy Summer School

(Günther Rautz – Eurac Research; Andrea Carlà – Eurac Research)

Dr. Günther Rautz was born in 1968 in German and Slovene speaking Carinthia — a region in Austria that illustrates the richness and the many-layered complexity of European diversity. For more than 2 decades, he has lived in the trilingual region of South Tyrol (Italy). Since 1997 he has been a Senior Researcher at the European Academy Bolzano/Bozen where he is Head of the Institute for Minority Rights. The institute provides policy advice in minority issues particularly in Europe but also around the globe, including in Asia, where Günther Rautz is coordinating Human Rights projects, such as advising Tibetans in living in exile. He was also teaching at the University of Timișoara/Temeschwar (Romania) and till 2017 he was General Secretary of MIDAS — a European umbrella organization bringing together over 30 dailies published in a regional or minority language. On European level he was author of the Commentaries in German and English of the CoE-Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, he drafted some recommendations of the European Citizen Initiative “Minority Safepack Initiative (MSPI)” presented to the European Commission by FUEN and covered the minority media sector of the OSCE-HCNM joint Report on “Mapping Integration Indicators. A Reference Tool for Evaluating the Implementation of Ljubljana Guidelines-based Policy”.

Andrea Carlà (PhD in Politics, New School for Social Research, New York, USA – Postgraduate studies in Diplomacy and International Relations, University of Bologna, Italy) is Senior Researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research in Bozen/Bolzano (South Tyrol – Italy). His research explores the interplay among ethnic politics/minority protection, migration studies and/or security issues, focusing in particular on the concepts of (de)securitization and human security and their application to minority issues. He is the co-editor of *Migration in Autonomous Territories. The Case of South Tyrol and Catalonia* (Brill-Nijhoff, 2015) and authors of articles in academic publications such as *Ethnopolitics*, *Nationalism and ethnic politics*, *JEMS* and *EYMI*. He is also a frequent contributor and author of editorials for the local South Tyrolean newspaper *Alto Adige*. Andrea served as the Principal Investigator of the Eurac Research team in the AMIF funded research project “Volunteer and Empower: Enhancing Community Building and Social Integration through Dialogue and Collaboration amongst Young Europeans and Third Country Nationals” (VOLPOWER) (12.2018-06.2021). Currently, he is Network Member and part of the Network Board of the Erasmus+ project “The Securitization of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities and the Rise of Xenophobia in the EU” (SECUREU) (11.2020-11.2023).

18h15 – 18h30 Practical information

(Sergiu Constantin – Eurac Research)

Sergiu Constantin is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research. He holds a law degree from the University of Bucharest (Romania) and a Master in European Studies from the University of Graz (Austria). His research projects focus on diversity governance with particular emphasis on language rights, political participation and territorial/cultural autonomy arrangements in Europe and beyond. He has published several papers, articles, and book chapters on these topics. Some of his recent publications include: “Language Rights and Protection of Linguistic Minorities: International Legal Instruments, their Development and Implementation” (with R. Medda-Windischer, in *The Routledge Handbook of Language Policy and Planning* edited by M. Gazzola et al. Routledge, 2023); *Litigating the Rights of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in Domestic and International Courts* (edited by B. De Villiers, J. Marko, F. Palermo and S. Constantin. Brill, 2021) and *Human and Minority Rights Protection by Multiple Diversity Governance. History, Law, Ideology and Politics in European Perspective* (edited by J. Marko and S. Constantin. Routledge, 2019). His most recent consultancy activities regard projects undertaken by

the Council of Europe and the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities in Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova.

18h30 – 19h00 Knowing each other: experiences of “othering” and prejudices

(Moderator: Giorgia Zogu – Eurac Research)

Giorgia Zogu is a doctoral candidate at the Institute for Minority Rights at Eurac Research and at the University of Vienna, with a master’s degree and a bachelor’s degree in political science from the University of Vienna. She is also member of the interdisciplinary group "Mobile People and Diverse Societies" at Eurac Research. Her research interest lies in Minorities, Political Participation, and Integration practices. The PhD project “The political participation of immigrants in rural areas in Italy: An inquiry into place-based factors” (IB- GAPP) explores the political participation of people with a migration background in conjunction with the area in which they live. It aims to compare how immigrants participate in associations, organizations, and politics with a focus on rural areas in Piedmont, Lazio and Campania. The PhD project contributes to the study of the processes of political involvement of immigrants based on their geographical location. Identifying various forms of political participation enables to better understand the possibilities that are available to them to participate in the political life of their communities. Additionally, the project investigates whether immigrants participate more in formal politics such as associations/organizations, political parties, or informal ones; whether there are differences in the mechanisms of participation in these different geographical contexts; and what the reasons for participation in local politics are. The project is funded by the Institute for Minority Rights at Eurac Research in collaboration with the University of Vienna, under the supervision of Univ.-Prof. Dr. Sieglinde Rosenberger and Verena Wisthaler, PhD.

Monday July 3rd, 2023, Cultural Diversity Governance, Security and Countering Securitization: Introductory Reflections

9h00 – 10h30 The Concept of Security and Securitization Theory by Lene Hansen – Copenhagen University

Abstract: This lecture provides an overview of how security has been conceptualized from a non-traditional perspective since the early 1990s. Non-traditional approaches to security argue that the traditional focus on national security (the security of the state) and military-political threats and responses should be widened to include non-military sectors and deepened to include f. ex. the individual, the global and ethnic groups. Non-traditional approaches vary in terms of how they call for such widening and deepening; the lecture points to the main lines of debate with a focus on securitization theory, poststructuralist security studies and feminist security studies. The lecture provides an introduction to the concepts of referent objects, securitization, and desecuritization. The main debates over the potentials and limitations of securitization theory as developed by the Copenhagen School, in particular by Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wilde are presented and discussed in more detail. The lecture emphasizes the role of speech acts and discourse in securitization theory and asks how silence and invisibility might be theorized within critical security studies. The lecture also introduces the concept of visual securitization, that is how images might securitize and be securitized. The ability of images to generate emotional responses is pointed out and the methodological challenges of researching emotions are discussed. The lecture will draw on a series of recent examples, including the securitization of migration, covid-19, and the war in Ukraine.

Lene Hansen is Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Copenhagen. She is author of *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (Routledge, 2006) and co-author (with Barry Buzan) of *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009; translated into Korean, Chinese, Brazilian-Portuguese and Spanish). Her main areas of current research are visual international politics, gender and security, critical security studies, discourse analysis and foreign policy, and critical methodologies and world politics. She has published on these and other issues in journals such as *International Studies Quarterly*, *European Journal of International Relations*, *Review of International Studies*, *Millennium*, *Security Dialogue*, and *Cooperation and Conflict*. She is a former editor of *European Journal of International Relations*. Lene Hansen is the Principal Investigator of *Bodies as Battleground: Gender, Images and International Security*, funded by the Independent Research Fund Denmark, 2018-2024. She is currently working on a book manuscript tentatively titled *Images and International Security: Theory, Methods, Cases*.

Suggested Readings:

- Hansen, Lene. 2000. "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School." *Millennium – Journal of International Studies* 29(2): 285-306.
- Williams, Michael C. 2003. "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 47(4): 511-529.
- Hansen, Lene. 2011. "Theorizing the Image for Security Studies: Visual Securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis." *European Journal of International Relations* 17(1): 51-74.
- Hansen, Lene. 2012. "Reconstructing Desecuritization: The Normative-Political in the Copenhagen School and Directions for How to Apply It." *Review of International Studies* 38(3): 525-546.

11h00 – 12h30 The Implications of Securitization and Counter-Securitization by Georgios Karyotis – University of Glasgow

Abstract: Is securitization always bad? Is desecuritization always good? Is counter-securitization a form of desecuritization? Building upon reflections about the process of securitization, this session zooms in on these questions and broader conversation about the implications of securitization, which have received comparatively less attention. Despite recognizing that securitization offers "tactical attractions" such as "focus, attention, and mobilization" and that it may in some cases be "unavoidable", for example when facing physical threats from an aggressor, the Copenhagen

School considers securitization the ‘failure of normal politics’, and therefore assert that “in the abstract desecuritization is the ideal” (Buzan et al. 1998: 29). The implicit Schmittian adversarial logic underpinning securitization processes, the tendency for security to suspend the political sphere and its detrimental effects on democratic processes (slow deliberation, oversight, accountability) has indeed led the majority of scholars in the field since to be wary of security (e.g. Williams 2003; Hansen 2011). Nevertheless, as Rita Floyd (2019), utilizing a consequentialist ethics approach, and others working within emancipatory (e.g. Nyman 2016) or crisis management (e.g. Karyotis et al. 2021) frameworks demonstrate, securitization can do different things, for different actors, at different times. This lecture will outline the variable effects of securitization and ‘counter-securitization’ (Paterson and Karyotis, 2021) and propose a set of analytical and methodological considerations as to how these should be studied and understood. It will argue that we cannot decide a priori whether securitization or counter-securitization will produce positive or negative outcomes; these must be studied empirically. It will also propose that we must account for the relational implications of security processes on the physical and ontological security of both referent objects and referent subjects, as a way to move away from reproducing ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ adversarial dynamics. Finally, it will call for a form of methodological pluralism, with choices over methods (qualitative; quantitative; or mixed-methods) driven by the research questions relevant for a particular project. Overall, the presentation and follow-up discussion aims to draw attention to and shed light on the complex, multi-dimensional and contested effects of (de)securitization contests.

Georgios Karyotis is Professor of Security Politics in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Glasgow. His main research and teaching interests lie in the areas of securitisation theory, crisis management, protest and voting behavior, and migration studies. Among others, he was the Principal Investigator on an ESRC/AHRC-funded project on the skills and aspirations of young Syrian refugees and the corresponding attitudes of host populations in Greece, Lebanon and the UK. His research has been published in top academic journals, including in the *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Political Studies*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, *International Political Sociology*, *Cooperation & Conflict*, *International Relations*, *Electoral Studies*, and *Mobilization*. For more information on his collaborative research projects on refugee, pandemic and austerity politics, and on affective polarisation and culture wars, see www.CrisisPolitics.net.

Suggested Readings:

- Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver, and Jaap de Wilde. 1998. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishing Inc.
- Nyman, Jonna (2016) “What is the value of security? Contextualising the negative/ positive debate.” *Review of International Studies* 42(5): 821-839.
- Paterson, Ian, and Georgios Karyotis. 2022. “‘We are, by nature, a tolerant people’: Securitisation and counter-securitisation in UK migration politics.” *International Relations* 36(1): 104-126.
- Karyotis, Georgios, John Connolly, Sofía Collignon, Andrew Judge, Iakovos Makropoulos, Wolfgang Rüdiger, and Dimitris Skleparis. 2021. “What drives support for social distancing? Pandemic politics, securitization, and crisis management in Britain”. *European Political Science Review* 13(4): 467-487.

14h00 – 15h30 The intersection of ethnic diversity, autonomy, and security by David Smith – University of Glasgow

Abstract: This session first considers why and how ethnic diversity came to be framed as a security ‘problem’ in the context of the rise of the modern nation-state during the 19th and 20th centuries, with a primary focus on the territories of Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe. It then introduces autonomy as a potential alternative modality for self-determination predicated on accommodating competing national claims within the framework of a common state, exploring both territorial and non-territorial approaches and the relationship between them. Setting the theory of autonomy against the practical experience of ethnic politics in the region over the past 100 years, the session goes on to consider what might be the necessary preconditions for shifting diversity away from the realm of security and making it an issue of ‘normal’ democratic politics. In this regard, particular attention is paid to how minority actors from transborder ethnic communities negotiate the complex nexus of relationships linking them with their home states

(states of residence) and the external 'parent states' which typically claim different forms of symbolic or legal jurisdiction over ethnic 'kin' populations living beyond their borders. Consideration is also given to the question of under which conditions, and to what extent, this often-securitized three-way interrelationship can be successfully nested within multilateral structures built around shared principles of democracy and protection of minority rights.

David Smith is Professor - Alec Nove Chair in Russian and East European Studies and Editor of *Europe-Asia Studies* at the University of Glasgow, where he has worked since 2002. From 2008-2016 he was Professor of Baltic History and Politics. Smith has published extensively on nationalism, ethnic politics, and national minorities (both historic and contemporary) in Central and Eastern Europe and the former USSR. He has led two large UKRI research grants on non-territorial autonomy in Central and Eastern Europe. In 2022 he was elected Member of the Advisory Committee on the Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in respect of the UK. In 2009-2012 and 2014-15 Smith was Head of Central and East European Studies at Glasgow, and from 2006-2009 Co-Director of the inter-institutional Language-Based Area Studies Centre of Excellence in Russian and Central and East European Studies (CRCEES). From 2005-2009 he edited *Journal of Baltic Studies*. Before coming to Glasgow, he lectured in the Contemporary History of the Baltic States at the University of Bradford, where he obtained his PhD in 1997. From 2012-2014 Smith was Visiting Researcher at the Institute for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Uppsala University, Sweden.

Suggested Readings:

- Bauböck, Rainer. 2001. "Multinational federalism: territorial or cultural autonomy?" *IWE Working Paper* 15 <https://eif.univie.ac.at/downloads/workingpapers/IWE-Papers/WP15.pdf>
- Kymlicka, Will. 2007. "National Cultural Autonomy and International Minority Rights Norms", *Ethnopolitics*, 6(3): 379-393, DOI: [10.1080/17449050701487389](https://doi.org/10.1080/17449050701487389)
- Palermo, Francesco. 2015. "Owned or Shared? Territorial Autonomy in the Minority Discourse." In *Minority Accommodation through Territorial and Non-Territorial Autonomy*, ed. Tove H. Malloy and Francesco Palermo, 13-32. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

16h00 – 17h30 Roundtable: Securitization in turbulent times: migrant 'crisis', pandemic, and war in Europe (Lene Hansen – Copenhagen University; Georgios Karyotis – University of Glasgow; David Smith – University of Glasgow; Moderator: Günther Rautz – Eurac Research)

Abstract: We live in a period of great turbulence. Over the past decade, Europe faced a (perceived) migration crisis marked by the construction of new symbolic and physical walls to limit the influx of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers; it experienced the COVID-19 pandemic and consequential emergency measures and limitations on individual freedoms; and it witnessed the re-emergence of Russian imperialism which led to Russia's devastating war against Ukraine. All these events pose significant challenges and raise profound security concerns. Pursuing security has become increasingly salient and there is an increasing need for a better understanding of (de)securitization processes involving various categories of state and non-state actors. Against this background, this roundtable will discuss the intersection of security and minority issues, exploring why, how, and when minorities and migrants are framed as a problem or even a threat. Speakers and students will discuss the various dynamics, narratives, practices, modalities, and actors involved in the ongoing processes of securitization of minorities and migrants, as well as their causes, outcomes, and implications (e.g., the resurgence of geopolitical kin-state activism, the processes of re-bordering, the rise of populism and extremism). Overall, the roundtable will shed light on how the events of the past decade have reshaped the security landscape and the challenge of providing security while addressing the securitization of minorities and migrants.

Tuesday July 4th, 2023, Addressing Ethnic Diversity in Light of Securitization: National and International Perspectives

9h00 – 10h30 Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood: Typology of State Policies and a Theory of Ethnic Regime Change by Şener Aktürk – Koç University

Abstract: What are the varieties of nation-states? How are state policies toward ethnic diversity related to different conceptions, models, or types of nationhood embodied in various modern states? How are these different types of nation-states distributed around the world? This lecture briefly and critically reviews extant scholarship on varieties of nationhood and introduces regimes of ethnicity as a new tripartite typology of state policies toward ethnic diversity. Ethnic policies are categorized and examined as to whether and how they do or do not restrict “membership” in the nation, often embodied in citizenship, to one or few ethnic categories only; and whether and how they do or do not allow for the “expression” of ethnic diversity by institutionalizing multiplicity of ethnic identities within the citizenry / nation. Policies related to “membership” and “expression” yield in three different regimes of ethnicity: monoethnic, antiethnic, and multiethnic. The lecture then talks about the usefulness of this framework for understanding both variation across different nation-states, and variation across time within a single nation-state, drawing on numerous examples around the world with a focus on Europe. The diffusion of particular ethnic policies (such as monoethnic and/or racist policies of citizenship and immigration) as well as the diffusion of each ethnicity regime from their European and American origins are also briefly discussed. Processes of ideational and institutional cross-fertilization that produce hybrid ethnicity regimes (e.g., monoethnic-multiethnic hybrid) are discussed with a focus on post-communist Eastern European polities. The consequences of different ethnicity regimes on political representation are also discussed.

Şener Aktürk is Professor in the Department of International Relations at Koç University. He is a scholar of comparative politics, with a focus on comparative politics of ethnicity, religion, and nationalism. After completing his BA and MA at the University of Chicago and his PhD in political science at the University of California, Berkeley, he was a postdoctoral fellow at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and a Visiting Lecturer at the Department of Government at Harvard University. His book, *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) received the 2013 Joseph Rothschild book prize. As a comparative political scientist broadly defined, the following countries were among the qualitative case studies in focus in his previous publications: Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, Iran, the Netherlands, North Macedonia, Pakistan, Russia, and the United States. His articles were published in *World Politics*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *European Journal of Sociology*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Problems of Post-Communism*, *Turkish Studies*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Osteuropa*, *Theoria*, *Ab Imperio*, *Insight Turkey*, *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, *Perceptions*, and various edited books. He is the recipient of Peter Odegard Award, Marie Curie International Reintegration Grant, Baki Komsuoglu Social Sciences Encouragement Award, Kadir Has Social Sciences Prize, TUBA Young Scientist Award, BAGEP Science Academy Award, and TÜBİTAK Incentive Prize.

Suggested Readings:

- Aktürk, Şener. 2011. “Regimes of Ethnicity: Comparative Analysis of Germany, the Soviet Union/Post-Soviet Russia, and Turkey.” *World Politics* 63(1): 115-164. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887110000304>
- Aktürk, Şener. 2020. “Comparative Politics of Exclusion in Europe and the Americas: Religious, Sectarian, and Racial Boundary Making since the Reformation.” *Comparative Politics* 52(4): 695-719. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041520X15786939438699>
- Aktürk, Şener, and Yury Katliarou. 2021. “Institutionalization of Ethnocultural Diversity and the Representation of European Muslims.” *Perspectives on Politics* 19(2): 338-405. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720001334>
- Mylonas, Harris, and Maya Tudor. 2021. “Nationalism: What We Know and What We Still Need to Know.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 109-132. Link: <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041719-101841>

11h00 – 12h30 Regimes of Ethnicity and Securitization Challenges: Empirical Insights from Germany, Turkey, and Russia by Şener Aktürk – Koç University

Abstract: Each ethnicity regime, whether it is monoethnic, antiethnic, or multiethnic, almost invariably generates constituencies with ethnically specific grievances, and may face opposition and demands for revision of ethnic policies by counter elites who gain the support of such constituencies with ethnically specific grievances, while being supported by yet other groups in society who benefit from and/or are habituated and socialized into the status quo. What are the various challenges of securitization that different ethnicity regimes often engender, facilitate, or provoke? Is it possible to have an ethnicity regime that generates no grievances? How, why, when, and where did immigrant "guest workers" in Germany, Kurds and other ethnolinguistic minorities in Turkey, and some Jews, Germans, and ethnic Russians in post-Soviet Russia opposed the state policies toward ethnic diversity that prevailed in their countries for most of the 20th century? How can and were state policies toward ethnic diversity changed in Germany, Russia, and Turkey? Why and how did Germany change its citizenship law in 1999/2000, but did not change most of its other ethnic policies? Why did Turkey allow for state-funded broadcasting and elective courses in Kurdish and other indigenous minority languages in public schools starting by 2009-2011, but did not change most of its other ethnic policies? Why did Russia remove ethnicity from individual internal passports in 1997, but did not change most of its other ethnic policies? What kind of securitization challenges Germany, Russia, and Turkey faced before and after these reforms? Does every reform with an alleged purpose of widening inclusion implicitly or explicitly create, revive, or activate yet other exclusions?

Suggested Readings:

Aktürk, Şener. 2012. *Regimes of Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139108898>

Aktürk, Şener. 2017. "Post-imperial democracies and new projects of nationhood in Eurasia: transforming the nation through migration in Russia and Turkey." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43(7): 1101-1120.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2016.1246177>

Aktürk, Şener. 2018. "One nation under Allah? Islamic multiculturalism, Muslim nationalism, and Turkey's reforms for Kurds, Alevis, and non-Muslims." *Turkish Studies* 19(4): 523-551.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2018.1434775>

Aktürk, Şener. 2023. "Ethnicity and Religion in Russia." In Susanne Wengle (ed.), *Russian Politics Today: Stability and Fragility*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 482-505.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009165921.025>

14h00 – 15h30 The European multi-stakeholder minority protection regime – governance approaches by the EU, the Council of Europe and the OSCE by Andrea Gawrich – Justus Liebig University Gießen

Abstract: The European minority protection system is characterized by a rather traditional understanding of the definition and protection of minorities. On the one hand, it distinguishes between minority groups with and without a titular state. On the other hand, the legally enshrined protection rights are rather traditional in the sense of non-discrimination, political participation and protection of cultural heritage. In contrast to this, the main improvements in other fields of protection, like non-discrimination of migrant groups and other minorities (e.g. on grounds of gender) is less taken into account by the European minority protection system at the treaty level. From an academic perspective, the main challenge in addressing European minority protection is the interdisciplinary transfer of approaches and findings to a political science or social science way of thinking. Despite the relevance of these legal bases created by the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the EU, their minority rights issues are not of great interest to

political science thinking. This is in contrast to topics related to issues of non-discrimination, migrant studies, postcolonial thinking, etc. However, it is expected that knowledge of the provisions and shortcomings of European minority protection will be fruitful for a comprehensive understanding of anti-discrimination policies of various kinds. Against this background, the focus of this lecture is to provide an overview of the legal basis, monitoring mechanisms and compliance (or lack thereof) of minority protection by the EU, the Council of Europe and the OSCE.

Andrea Gawrich is a professor of political science and holds the chair for International Integration at the Institute for Political Science, Justus Liebig University Giessen (Germany). She is the chairwomen of the German Association of Political Science and deputy director of the Giessen Center on Eastern European Studies. She is the coordinator of the EU Horizon project “Rethinking and Reshaping the EU’s Democracy Support in Its Eastern and Southern Neighbourhoods” (<https://shapedem-eu.eu/>) & principal investigator of the research project “Understanding Eurasian Regionalism – Actorness and Interaction in Economy and Security”. She was guest lecturer in Tartu (Estonia) and Tbilisi (Georgia). She received her PhD (Dr. rer. soc.) from the Ruhr-University Bochum 2002 (dissertation on Minority Policy in Poland) and her post-doctoral degree (Dr. habilitata) from the University of Kiel 2011 (on the OSCE’s and Council of Europe’s democracy promotion). 2003 to 2012 she was Assistant Professor at the University of Kiel and Acting Professor at Universities in Kiel & Duisburg-Essen. 2002-2003 she was director of the Program on Central East Europe at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Berlin. Her research focus and teaching experience lie in the field of EU, OSCE and Council of Europe related to democracy promotion, human and minority rights, security governance, conflict managements. She published e.g. in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, *Caucasus Survey*, *Journal of East European Politics, Society and Culture*, *European Security*, *Journal of International Peace and Organization*, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, *Ethnopolitics*, *Central Asian Survey*.

Suggested Readings:

- Agarin, T., and Cordell, K. 2016. *Minority rights and minority protection in Europe*. Rowman & Littlefield Unlimited Model, Chapter 3 European Nation-States and Minority Representation, 57-81.
- Galbreath, D. 2012. “European organizations and minority rights in Europe: On transforming the securitization dynamic.” *Security Dialogue* 43(3): 267–284.
- Malloy, Tove. 2014. “National Minorities between Protection and Empowerment: Towards a Theory of Empowerment”. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 13(2): 11-29.

16h00 – 17h30 Germany’s minority protection strategies and attempts of de- securitization by Andrea Gawrich – Justus Liebig University Gießen

Abstract: The German minority protection system is indeed divided into different legal frameworks, different policy instruments and support mechanisms. Germany offers a minority protection system in the narrow sense, which is rather traditional and conservative, but does not address newer societal challenges. A main feature is the strict distinction between minorities (and the rights granted to them) and immigrants and mechanisms of integration and non-discrimination that are not as comprehensive as those of recognized minorities. Even in German society it is hardly known that minority protection in the narrower sense is applied to the four officially recognized national minorities in Germany. These are the Danes, the Frisians, the German Sinti and Roma and the Sorbs. There is an established legal framework for them in Germany, which is characterized by a fairly high rate of compliance with international treaties and obligations on minority protection. However, the German minority protection system is exclusively reserved for these four minorities. As a result, newer and more modern challenges to the protection of minority groups within German society are implemented on a different legal basis and within a different policy framework. In a first step, this lecture presents the foundations, mechanisms and instruments offered by the German minority protection system. In a second step, the lecture identifies the crucial gaps in the German minority protection system, both in relation to the major immigrant groups in Germany and to the protection of non-ethnic minorities, such as gender minorities. For both areas, the lecture applies framings of (de)securitization.

Wednesday July 5th, 2023, Governing Diversity and Fears in South Tyrol

9h00 – 10h30 Historical walking tour of Bolzano/Bozen – Conflicting historical narratives in South Tyrol by Georg Grote – Eurac Research and Josef Prackwieser – Center for Autonomy Experience

Abstract: Our tour, which takes some 90 mins across the city center of Bozen, visits some significant Lieux des memoirs highlighting the very complex and interesting history of the capital of South Tyrol throughout the centuries. It is particularly the late 19th and early 20th century which brought about major ruptures to the design of the urban landscape and its embedded sites of memory and commemoration. German and Italian nationalisms prior to 1918, the annexation of the area by Italy after World War I, Fascism and National Socialism all left their solid traces in today's cityscape and create a highly compelling urban memory cosmos, the highlights of which we will visit and thus generate a lively picture of a city and a region steeped in a multi-faceted history.

Dr. Georg Grote is a senior researcher in the Institute for Minority Rights, Eurac Research. He previously worked as Associate Professor at University College Dublin. In his academic work he has focused on collective emancipation movements in Europe past and present and the role of history and historiography in peoples' self-definition. He has published on Irish cultural nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, on the German process of coming to terms with its Nazi past, and extensively on the South Tyrol question between historical nationalism and European regionalism. His most recent publications comprise a three-volume social history of South Tyrol based exclusively on private archives employing letters, postcards, diaries and photographs from the late 19th and the 20th century: *Im Schatten der Zeitenwende. Leben in Tirol 1900-1918*, *Die zerrissene Generation. Südtiroler Schicksale im Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus 1922-1942*, *Das bittere Ende. Südtiroler Erfahrungen im Zweiten Weltkrieg und in der Nachkriegszeit, 1943-1956*, Athesia, Bozen 2019-2022.

Josef Prackwieser was born in 1987 in Meran, graduated in Contemporary History, studied Medieval History and Philosophy in Freiburg im Breisgau and then specialized at the Department of Jewish Studies at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) in Munich with a thesis on the Jewish community in 15th-century Rome. At the same University he is currently doing a PhD, focusing his research on the 20th-century reception of medieval Jewish Rome. In addition to his academic activities, he has worked for several museums and documentation centers in Munich and Bozen, in the publishing sector and as a translator. Various articles and essays on Jewish and South Tyrolean history.

11h00 – 12h30 The South Tyrolean autonomy by Serqiu Constantin – Eurac Research

Abstract: Scholars and practitioners generally agree that South Tyrol is widely regarded as one of the most successful examples of minority protection through cultural and territorial self-governance. This small province enjoys extensive autonomy within Italy's asymmetric regionalism, thanks to its complex legal-institutional framework based on the principle of power-sharing among three linguistic groups: German, Italian, and Ladin. This lecture will provide an overview of South Tyrol's autonomous institutions and mechanisms, explaining their role and functioning. The first part will focus on the implementation of the 1972 Autonomy Statute, with a particular emphasis on the special mechanism of joint commissions. In the second part, the four key elements of South Tyrol's consociational democracy will be examined: (1) the participation of all linguistic groups in the joint exercise of power, (2) the right of veto to protect each group's vital interests, (3) proportionality through a quota system based on declarations of belonging (or affiliation) to linguistic groups, and (4) cultural autonomy for each group. The lecture will conclude with a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of South Tyrol's autonomy arrangements.

Suggested Readings:

Alber, Elisabeth and Carolin Zwillig. 2022. "A Primer on the Autonomy of South Tyrol: History, Law, Politics". In *Autonomy Arrangements in the World*, 2nd edition. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.57749/KEAY-Z424>.
Carlà, A. and Constantin, S. 2019. "Territorial and Cultural Self-Governance in Italy: Strengths and Challenges of South

Tyrol's Autonomy". In *Minority Self-Government in Europe and the Middle East*, ed. O. Akbulut and E. Aktoprak, 154-182. Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Larin, S. J., and Röggl, M. 2019. "Participatory consociationalism? No, but South Tyrol's Autonomy Convention is evidence that power-sharing can transform conflicts". *Nations and Nationalism* 25: 1018– 1041. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12478>.

Woelk J., Palermo F. and Marko J. (eds.). 2008. *Tolerance through Law. Self-Governance and Group Rights in South Tyrol*. Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

14h00 – 15h30 Visit to the South Tyrolean Provincial Council

16h00 – 17h30 Roundtable: Perspectives on South Tyrol

(Elisabeth Alber – Eurac Research; Andrea Carlà – Eurac Research; Stefan Graziadei – EGTC European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino; Moderator: Sergiu Constantin – Eurac Research) – at Waag House

Abstract: The roundtable will discuss in depth the South Tyrolean territorial and cultural diversity governance, generally considered a good example for addressing ethnic tensions, from socio-political as well as transnational perspectives. South Tyrol's system has both a domestic and international dimension; in addition, over the years it has acquired a transnational dimension, in particular with the creation of the European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino. In this light, the roundtable will explore how in the province, measures to govern diversity and local and transnational institutions affect the relationship among the linguistic groups and other segments of the population and intersect with processes of securitization of minorities, as well as processes of otherings and bordering. The discussion will pursue the following goals: to provide insights on the extent the decade-long peaceful cohabitation in South Tyrol has translated into an integrated society, diluting the ethnic cleavage and the boundaries among communities; to debate how the perceptions of the linguistic groups and their fears towards each other as well as other segments of the South Tyrolean population has developed over time; to explore how social and democratic innovations have challenged the ethnic-linguistic division and fostered cooperation and integration among the linguistic groups; to shed lights on the European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino as a tool for improving interstate relations and cohesion, overcoming negative views on borders, and overcoming physical as well as imaginary boundaries. Overall, the roundtable will provide different perspectives on mechanisms to address ethnic tensions and their intersection with transnational dynamics.

Dr. Elisabeth Alber leads the research group Participation and Innovations at the Eurac Research Institute for Comparative Federalism. She also is head of the fellowship program Eurac Federal Scholar in Residence and lecturer at the University of Innsbruck. Her work examines law and politics in federal and regional States, with a focus on divided societies, democratic innovations, and participatory governance (in border areas). She has worked as an expert in constitutional reform and decentralization processes for several international organizations and foundations. She has also co-led the two-year participatory process Autonomy Convention in South Tyrol. Her publications include *Federalism and Ethnic Relations*, *South Tyrol's Model of Conflict Resolution: Territorial Autonomy and Power-Sharing*, *Federalism and Constitutionalism: A Relation Based on Interdependency and Von Government zu Governance*. Her main working languages are English, German, and Italian. She also reads French and Spanish, and her email is éalber@eurac.edu

Dr. Stefan Graziadei holds a PhD in law from the University of Antwerp and a master's degree in European studies from the University of Padua. His research interests include the politics and law of divided societies, in particular concerning its institutional aspects. He works for the EGTC European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino, a public law organization based on European law that pursues the mission of bringing together people and administrations of the historic county of Tyrol in a European spirit.

Thursday July 6th, 2023, Migration, Religion, and (De)securitization

9h00 – 10h30 Securitization of migration: between spiralling and prejudices by Valeria Bello – University Ramón Llull

Abstract: The securitization of migration is not a linear process but a spiralling phenomenon, which involves different actors, and their policies, practices, and narratives, in a spiralling progression that both self-fulfils and reinforces migration-security nexus' dynamics. By proposing a cognitive ontology to understand the social construction of migration as a security threat, the theory of the spiralling proposes a categorization of cognitions, mandates, constituencies, and interests of state and non-state actors to analyze what starts and what spirals the process. Through a dichotomization of these categories, it is possible to clarify how and why different actors either socially construct or deconstruct migration as a threat. In particular, the theory of the spiralling identifies in prejudicial cognitions one of the main reasons for which a variety of actors enact practices and produce narratives that contribute to both securitizing migration and reinforcing its nexus with crime, and the consequent social construction of 'migration crises'.

Valeria Bello is Full-time Professor in Migration and Security and Director of the master's in advanced studies in International Affairs at the Blanquerna School of Communication and International Relations, Ramón Llull University. She is the author of *International Migration and International Security. Why Prejudice is a Global Security Threat* (Routledge 2017). She has published more than 50 works on the topic of migration, including articles, books, book chapters and high-level reports. Her latest edited book, *The Spiralling of the Securitisation* (Bello and Léonard 2023, Routledge) collects several researchers' contributions applying her theory of the spiralling (Bello 2017; Bello 2022). Her work is mentioned in several UN documents and her 2017 book has been the fourth most read book in the UN Hammarskjöld library in 2018.

Suggested Readings:

- Bello, V. 2022. "The spiralling of the securitisation of migration in the EU: From the management of a crisis to a governance of human mobility?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1851464?src=recsys>
- Bello, V. 2022. "The role of non-state actors' cognitions in the spiralling of the securitisation of migration: prejudice, narratives and Italian CAS reception centres." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1851472>
- Bello, V. 2021. "Normalizing the exception: prejudice and discriminations in detention and extraordinary reception centres in Italy." *International Politics*. Online First. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-021-00290-8>

More Readings:

- Léonard, S., and C. Kaurert. 2022. "The Securitisation of Migration in the European Union: Frontex and its Evolving Security Practices." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (6): 1417–1429.
- Panbianco, S. 2022. "The EU and Migration in the Mediterranean. EU Borders' Control by Proxy." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (6): 1398–1416. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1851468>.
- Webb, J. 2022. "The 'Refugee Crisis' and its Transformative Impact on EU-Western Balkans Relations." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (6): 1363–1380.
- Crepaz, K. 2022. "Overcoming Borders: The Europeanization of Civil Society Activism in the 'Refugee Crisis.'" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48 (6): 1448–1461.

11h00 – 12h30 The intersection of gender and religion in the securitization of migration in the EU by Tutku Ayhan – IBEI

Abstract: This lecture examines the intersection of gender and religion in the securitization of migration, with a focus on European responses to forcibly displaced communities from the Middle East, particularly the case of Yezidi migrants and refugees. Drawing from a comparative analysis of Germany and France, this lecture explores the extent to which European securitization narratives are influenced by the ethno-religious and gender identity of migrant groups. The lecture begins by conceptualizing Yezidis as a liminal minority from the Middle East whose religious beliefs have been

stigmatized and underrecognized. It raises critical questions about how the securitization narratives in Western Europe about Muslim refugees and migrants from the Middle East change when applied to Yazidis, considering the potential differential treatment based on religious identity. The research presented reveals a complex and nuanced picture. On one hand, special humanitarian asylum quotas and rehabilitation programs are designed specifically for Yazidis, considering the high level of violence they have faced and their victimhood as a result of Muslim persecution. Furthermore, Yazidis do not feature prominently in securitization narratives in the media or political sphere, unlike many Muslim migrant communities in Germany and France. However, a gendered perception prevails, as Yazidi women and children are given priority in migration policies, while Yazidi men experience prolonged asylum processes, higher rates of rejection, and challenges in family reunification. The lecture argues that the differential response to Yazidis compared to Muslim migrant communities is more rooted in a gendered perception of women and children as victim groups needing protection, rather than an ontological insecurity standpoint based solely on religious identity.

Dr. Tutku Ayhan is a Fellow in International Security at Barcelona Institute of International Studies (IBEI). Before joining IBEI, she was a postdoctoral research fellow at the Institute for Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention at State University of New York, Binghamton. At IBEI, she is teaching courses on Research Methods, International Security, and Gender and Development. She is the coordinator of The Securitization of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities and the Rise of Xenophobia in the EU (SECUREU) project. As a security studies scholar, she is mainly interested in gender, violence, and politics. Other research interest includes ethnic conflict, and transnational justice. Her research examines gendered dimensions of war from an intersectional framework. She is currently working on a book manuscript on Yazidi women's post-genocide experiences of resilience and empowerment, which is based on her fieldwork in Iraqi Kurdistan, Germany, and the United States. Her work has also been published as book chapters and political commentaries in several different outlets. Her other research project focuses on the post-genocide challenges of Rohingya women and is based on her field research in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh.

Suggested Readings:

- Enloe, C. 1990. "Women and children: Making feminist sense of the Persian Gulf crisis." *The Village Voice*, 25(9), 1990.
- Gerard, A., and Pickering, S. 2014. "Gender, securitization and transit: Refugee women and the journey to the EU." *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 27(3): 338-359.
- McGee, T. 2018. "Saving the survivors: Yazidi women, Islamic State and the German Admissions Programme." *Kurdish Studies*, 6(1): 85-109.
- Banai, A., and Kreide, R. 2017. Securitization of migration in Germany: the ambivalences of citizenship and human rights. *Citizenship studies*.

14h00 – 14h45 Governing migration and migrant integration in minority regions by Roberta Medda-Windischer – Eurac Research

15h00 – 17h30 Role play: Minority Regions and Migration by Roberta Medda-Windischer – Eurac Research

Abstract: Migration is an important reality for many sub-national autonomous territories where traditional-historical groups (so-called 'old minorities') live, such as Flanders, Catalonia, South Tyrol, Scotland, Basque Country, and Quebec. Some of these territories have attracted migrants for decades, while others have only recently experienced significant migration inflow. The presence of old minorities brings complexities to the management of migration issues. Indeed, it is acknowledged that the relationship between 'old' communities and the 'new' minority groups originating from migration (so-called 'new minorities') can be rather complicated. On the one hand, interests and needs of historical groups can be in contrast with those of the migrant population. On the other hand, the presence of new minorities can interfere with the relationship between the old minorities and the majority groups at the state level and also with the relationship between old minorities and the central state as well as with the policies enacted to protect the diversity of traditional groups and the way old minorities understand and define themselves. Using South Tyrol as a case study, this lecture analyses whether it is possible to reconcile the claims of historical minorities and of new groups originating from migration, and whether policies that accommodate traditional minorities and migrants are allies in the pursuit of a pluralist and tolerant society. In a simulated scenario, participants will assume the roles of politicians and engage in

the preparation and presentation of opinions that either support or oppose an inclusive or restrictive diversity policy.

Dr. Roberta Medda-Windischer (LL.M, PhD) is a Senior Researcher and Group Leader for Equality and Diversity in Integrated Societies at Eurac Research Institute for Minority Rights (Bolzano/Bozen – Italy), is an international lawyer specialized in minority issues, human rights, diversity management and minority protection. Dr. Medda-Windischer worked as Legal Officer for various international organizations, including the European Court of Human Rights (CoE/ECHR, Strasbourg), the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, BiH), the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE/ODIHR, Albania), and the UN Centre for Human Rights (OHCHR, Geneva). At Eurac Research, her research focuses on the protection of minorities in international law and on new minorities stemming from migration, on which she has authored and edited monographs and multi-authored volumes and published numerous articles and chapters in edited volumes both in Italy and abroad. Dr Medda-Windischer lectured in various postgraduate programs, including the European Master Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation (EIUC - Venice School of Human Rights).

Suggested Readings:

- Medda-Windischer, Roberta and Kössler, Karl. 2017. Regional Citizenship: A Tool for the Inclusion of New Minorities in Subnational Entities? *European Yearbook of Minority Issues* 13(1): 61-78. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.
- Medda-Windischer, Roberta and Popelier, Patricia (Eds.). 2016. *Pro-independence Movements and Immigration: Discourse, Policy and Practice*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.
- Medda-Windischer, Roberta and Carlà, Andrea. (Eds.). 2015. *Migration in Autonomous Territories. The Case of South Tyrol and Catalonia*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill – Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Jeram, Sanjay, van der Zwet, Arno and Wisthaler, Verena. 2015. "Friends or Foes? Migrants and Sub-State Nationalists in Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(8): 1229-1241.
- Zapata-Barrero, Ricard (Ed.). 2009. *Immigration and Self-government of Minority Nations*. Brussels: Peter Lang.

Friday July 7th, 2023, Case Studies: Roma & Indigenous People and Reflections on Diversity Governance

9h00 – 10h30 Who is afraid of the Roma and why? Securitization and racial capitalism by Ana Ivasiuc – Maynooth University

Abstract: The Roma are one of the most policed minorities in European societies. They have been historically constructed as a threat and governed through security-related policies, but in our current ‘security paradigm’ – a time when a securitarian framing has taken over other concerns such as rights and equality – they constitute a protracted object of policing. Grounding my talk in ethnographic research on the formal and informal policing of the Roma in Italy – more specifically Rome. I will chart how the Roma turned, from social inclusion subjects in the 1980s, to dangerous subjects, and how their securitization was supported by policies and security laws. I will also connect the securitization policies that have impacted their lives and livelihoods over the last decennia in Rome with the broader framework of racial capitalism. Finally, I speculate on what policies informed by social justice rather than security might look like for the treatment of Roma in Italy and elsewhere and aim at opening the discussion towards a kind of future policy-making that decenters fear of minorities and recenters social justice and human rights.

Dr. Ana Ivasiuc is a social anthropologist, currently lecturer in the anthropology of crime and policing at Maynooth University, Ireland. Ana’s research has focused on Roma-related issues both as applied and academic knowledge since 2008. Her most recent research on the topic is an ethnography of formal and informal policing of the Roma in the peripheries of Rome, through which she examined the securitization of Roma migrants from Eastern Europe in Italy. She is co-editor of *Roma Activism: Reimagining Power and Knowledge* (with Sam Beck, Berghahn Books, 2018) and of *The Securitization of the Roma in Europe* (with Huub van Baar and Regina Kreiden, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019). She is currently President of the European Association of Social Anthropologists.

Suggested Readings:

- Bhattacharyya, Gargi. 2017. *Rethinking Racial Capitalism: Questions of Reproduction and Survival*. London: Rowman and Littlefield. Introduction and Chapter 1, 1–38.
- Ivasiuc, Ana. 2020. “Threatening the Social Order: The Security – Morality Nexus in the Crisis of Capitalism.” *Journal of Extreme Anthropology* 4(1): 227–49. <https://doi.org/10.5617/jea.8081>.
- van Baar, Huub, Ana Ivasiuc, and Regina Kreide. 2019. “The European Roma and their Securitization: Contexts, Junctures, Challenges.” In *The Securitization of the Roma in Europe*, ed. Huub van Baar, Ana Ivasiuc, and Regina Kreide, 1–25. London: Palgrave Macmillan

11h00 – 12h30 The Enduring Legacies of Nation-State Creation for the Securitization of Indigenous Peoples by Matthias von Hau – IBEI

Abstract: Over the last decades, indigenous politics has gained salience as a challenge to the present system of nation-states and individual rights regime, informing legal frameworks, state institutions, and public policies. In conjuncture with these legal and normative changes powerful indigenous movements emerged, something unthinkable even a generation ago, especially given that indigenous peoples were historically among the most marginalized and deprived sectors of their respective societies. This lecture presentation focuses on the interconnection between indigenous politics and security. One focal point will be the securitization of indigenous peoples, and more specifically when powerful actors such as the state and dominant society characterize indigenous communities as an existential threat to the established order. We will review a set of working hypotheses about the role played by distinct historical models of nation-building in shaping subsequent patterns of minority securitization. Another focal point are indigenous political actors themselves, and with what consequences they have employed the language of “security” to characterize contemporary conditions of their communities. Here we will explore when indigenous political actors’ security claims gain authoritative acceptance, not just among the groups they represent but also among the state and dominant society. Comparative-historical case studies of indigenous peoples in

Argentina and Chile form the main empirical illustrations, though illustrative examples will be drawn from across the world.

Matthias vom Hau is an associate professor at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). He has a PhD (2007) in sociology from Brown University and previously held a postdoctoral fellowship at the University of Manchester. He has also been a visiting researcher at Princeton University, the Freie Universität and the Humboldt Universität in Berlin, the Universidad de San Martín (UNSAM) and Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) in Buenos Aires, the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) in Lima. He is currently the PI of the ERC consolidator grant ETHNICGOODS and leads the Jean Monnet Network SECUREU. Matthias' research is centrally concerned with the relationship between ethnic politics, nationalism, state institutions, and development, with a comparative-historical focus on Latin America and Spain.

Suggested Readings:

Greaves, Wilfrid. 2018. "Damaging environments: land, settler colonialism, and security for indigenous peoples." *Environment and Society* 9(1): 107-124.

Warren, Sarah. 2013. "A nation divided: Building the cross-border Mapuche nation in Chile and Argentina." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 45(2): 235-264

Lesley-Ann Daniels, Matthias vom Hau, Margaux Dandrifosse, and Francesc Teodoro-Alandete. 2023. "Securitizing Like a State: The Secessionist Movement in Catalonia." Manuscript, Barcelona: IBEI, June.

14h00 –15h30 Power sharing of Sami people & (de)colonization by Alexandra Tomaselli – Eurac Research

Abstract: Power-sharing systems of and for indigenous peoples cannot be discussed without tackling their rights to self-determination, land, and autonomy – the former two now broadly considered as prerequisites for the exercise of their other rights. Their right to autonomy is less guaranteed at international level, but a number of States have recognized and established forms of (territorially based) indigenous autonomies or self-governments at domestic level. Furthermore, there are a variety of *de facto* autonomy arrangements of indigenous peoples living in urban, rural or forest areas. In this frame, this lecture will first discuss with students the recognition and the concepts of the three above-mentioned indigenous rights. Second, it will present the power sharing system of the so-called "Sami Parliaments" that the three Nordic states (Finland, Norway, and Sweden) have established to enhance indigenous Sami peoples' political participation and to give them a(n) (albeit, limited) possibility to have a say over their matters. Third, it will analyse the colonial structure that permeates such parliaments. Finally, it will discuss the recent establishment of and the preparatory works to create a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in each of these three countries as a way to rebalance the state supremacy.

Dr. Alexandra Tomaselli is a Senior Researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research (Italy), and a Visiting Researcher at the Faculty of Legal Sciences, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Tarragona (Spain). Since 2004, she has been working in various socio-legal research and international cooperation projects in Europe, Latin America and South Asia. Her publications include the single-authored book *Indigenous Peoples and their Right to Political Participation. International Law Standards and their Application in Latin America* (Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2016) and the co-edited collection titled *The Prior Consultation of Indigenous Peoples in Latin America: Inside the Implementation Gap* (Routledge, London, 2019). Alexandra also acted as a member of the Committee on the Implementation of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the International Law Association (ILA) from 2014 to 2020.

Suggested Readings:

Castellino Joshua. 2008. "Territorial Integrity and the 'Right' to Self-determination: An Examination of the Conceptual Tools." *Brooklyn Journal of International Law* 33(2): 503-568.

Josefsen Eva, Ulf Mörkenstam and Ragnhild Nilsson. 2016. "The Nordic Sámediggis and the Limits of Indigenous Self-Determination." *Gáldu Čálá – Journal of Indigenous Peoples Rights* 1: 1-49, free open access at <https://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/20660/article.pdf?sequence=3>.

Spitzer Aaron John and Selle Per. 2020. "Is Nonterritorial Autonomy Wrong for Indigenous Rights? Examining the

'Territorialisation' of Sami Power in Norway." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 28(3): 1-24, free open access at https://brill.com/view/journals/ijgr/28/3/article-p544_544.xml.

Tomaselli Alexandra. 2016. "Exploring Indigenous Self-governments and Forms of Autonomies." In *Handbook of Indigenous Peoples' Rights*, ed. Corinne Lennox and Damien Short, 83-100. Routledge, London, New York.

Saturday July 8th, 2023, Case Study: Russian-Speaking Minorities

9h00 – 10h00 “The Russian question” in Estonia and Latvia: securitization of minority issues in the context of Russia’s military invasion to Ukraine 2014-2023 by Kristina Kallas – Tartu University, Narva College

Abstract: Russian-speaking population outside of the Russian Federation has been in the focus of minority researchers for last three decades. The share number of the diaspora – 25 million – begs for research effort. The main question in recent decades, however, has been the issue of heavy securitization of Russian-speakers by historical homeland Russia building up a comprehensive framework of compatriot policy. However, in the shadows of the compatriot policy are Russia’s geopolitical strategies where Russian-speaking population plays a significant role. In this lecture we will look at the process of securitization of Russian-speakers in two Baltic states – Estonia and Latvia – where in each of them the minority makes up a third of population. We will analyze the impact of external historical homeland on the process of integration of Russian-speakers, their identification and feeling of belonging. The main questions for researchers and policy-makers alike are whether the de-securitization of the Russian question in the Baltics is possible and foreseeable and what have been the impacts of Russia’s war against Ukraine on the securitization of the Russian-speaking population.

Dr. Kristina Kallas is Minister of Education and Research of Estonia as of April 2023. She is also a research fellow at Tartu University Narva College. Her main research work focuses on the question of Russian-speaking population outside of Russian Federation after the collapse of the USSR, mainly in Estonia and Latvia. She has researched the questions of securitization of the minority, the issues of identity and belonging, of language, citizenship, and education of the Russian-speakers. She is expert consultant for OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities for Ukraine, Moldova, and Kyrgyzstan. She has PhD in political science from the University of Tartu and master’s degree in modern history from the Central European University in Budapest. She has worked as a researcher in the faculty of the political science at the University of Tartu and a director of Tartu University Narva College.

Suggested Readings:

Kallas, Kristina. 2016. “Claiming the diaspora: Russia’s compatriot policy and its reception by Estonian-Russian population.” *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe* 15(3): 1-25. <https://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/downloads/publications/JEMIE/2016/Kallas.pdf>

Cheskin, Ammon. 2015. “Identity and Integration of Russian Speakers in the Baltic States: A Framework for Analysis.” *Ethnopolitics* 14(1): 72–93. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17449057.2014.933051>

SECUREU Public Event / D.Rad Hub on Minority Nationalism

11h00 – 12h45 Round Table: Minorities in conflict settings and the Ukrainian War: between desecuritization and deradicalization

(Kristina Kallas – Narva College, Tartu University; Hanna Vasilevich – International Centre for Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity Studies, Prague; Benedikt Harzl – Centre for East European Law and Eurasian Studies, Graz University; Welcome: Andrea Carlà – Eurac Research; Moderator: Roberta Medda-Windischer – Eurac Research)

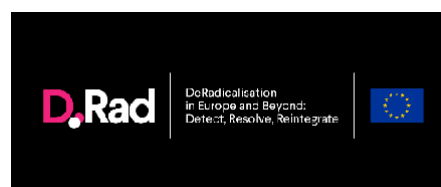
Abstract: Against the backdrop of the ongoing war in Ukraine, the roundtable aims to discuss (de)securitization and (de)radicalization processes linked to the interplay between minority nationalism, nationalizing home state, and kin-state activism. The primary objective is to discuss the challenges related to separatist violence, extremism, and fear towards minorities in Ukraine and neighboring countries, while also considering potential strategies to overcome these real or perceived threats and (re-)establish social cohesion among majorities and minorities. The speakers will focus on several relevant questions such as: How were and are minority claims in the region instrumentalized by different stakeholders to pursue nationalist and neo-imperialist agendas? To what extent are minority groups framed and perceived as security threats? How can perceived or real feelings of injustice foster dynamics of

alienation and polarization contributing to violent forms of minority separatism? What is the impact of these dynamics on intergroup relations and how could securitization and radicalization processes be addressed? The roundtable is expected to bring up different perspectives and possible approaches to tackle the challenges of minority nationalism, securitization of minorities and violent extremism.

Dr. Hanna Vasilevich is Chair of the Board at the International Centre for Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity Studies, Prague. Hanna has been a Visiting Research Fellow at Queen’s University Belfast and a Visiting Research Fellow at the Law & Anthropology Department of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle/Saale. before that she worked at the European center for minority issues in Flensburg, Germany. Her research interests include state ideology and propaganda, identity issues, conflict resolution, interethnic relations, national and religious minorities, diaspora and kin-state relations, linguistic diversity, and the issues of equality and non-discrimination with an emphasis on language and ethnicity.

Dr. Benedikt C. Harzl is Associate Professor at the Centre for East European Law and Eurasian Studies of the Law Faculty of the University of Graz. He is General Editor of the journal *Review of Central and East European Law* and the book series *Law in Eastern Europe* (Brill Nijhoff). He graduated in Law at the University in Graz and completed the “East European Studies” MA program at the Free University of Berlin in 2010. After working at the Institute for European Studies in Minsk and the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin he was a researcher at the European Academy in Bolzano/Bozen (2007–2012) and worked as a university researcher at the REEES Centre between 2012 and 2016. He completed his PhD in law at the University of Frankfurt and was based at Johns Hopkins University between 2016 and 2017 as a Marshall Plan Foundation Fellow. His habilitation thesis examined matters pertaining to international law in the post-Soviet space. He is co-editor of *Unrecognized Entities: Perspectives in International, European and Constitutional Law* (Brill Nijhoff, 2022) as well as *Diversity Management in Russia* (Routledge, 2013).

Sponsored by SECUREU and D.Rad Project



Program Venues

Summer school venue: Unless otherwise indicated, all activities will take place in the **Seminar Room 1-2-3** of Eurac Research.

Venues for special events within the summer school:

- Wednesday July 5th: Visit to the South Tyrolean Provincial Council located in Bolzano/Bozen's city center.
- Wednesday July 5th: Round table "Perspectives on South Tyrol" will take place at the **Waag House** located in Bolzano/Bozen's city center.
- Saturday July 8th: Round table "Minorities in conflict settings and the Ukrainian War: between desecuritization and deradicalization" will take place in the **Conference Hall** of Eurac Research.

Eurac Research

Viale Druso/Drususallee 1
39100 Bolzano/Bozen

Waag House

Via Portici/Laubengasse 19A
39100 Bolzano/Bozen

South Tyrolean Provincial Council

Piazza Silvius Magnago/Silvius-Magnago-Platz 6
39100 Bolzano/Bozen

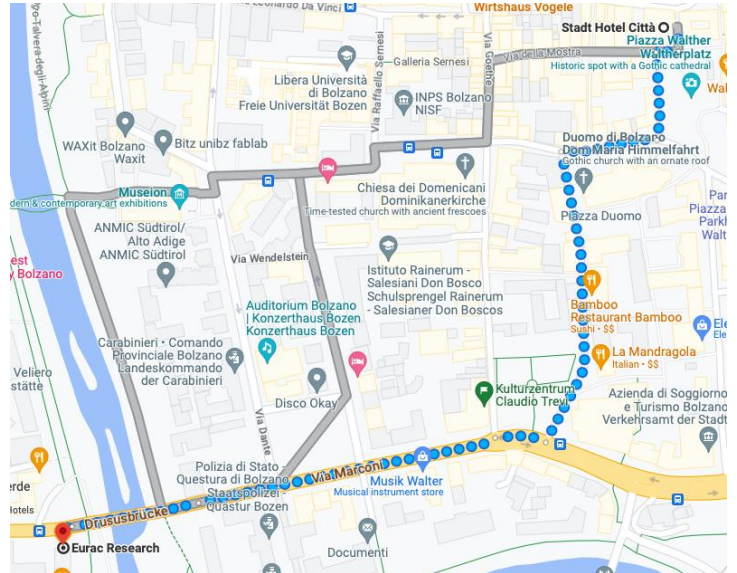
Accommodations

Hotel Città (lecturers)

Via Argentieri, 1
39100 Bolzano/Bozen
<https://www.hotel-citta.com/>

Hotel Città → Eurac (approx. 11 minutes walking)

1. Head south toward Via della Mostra/Mustergasse
2. Turn right onto Via della Mostra/Mustergasse
3. Turn left toward Pfarrpl./Piazza della Parrocchia
4. Turn right onto Pfarrpl./Piazza della Parrocchia
5. Turn left onto Via dell'Isarco/Eisackstraße
6. Turn right onto Piazza Giuseppe Verdi
7. Continue onto Via Marconi/Marconistrasse
8. Continue onto Drususbrücke/Ponte Druso
9. Continue onto Viale Druso/Viale Druso Drususallee

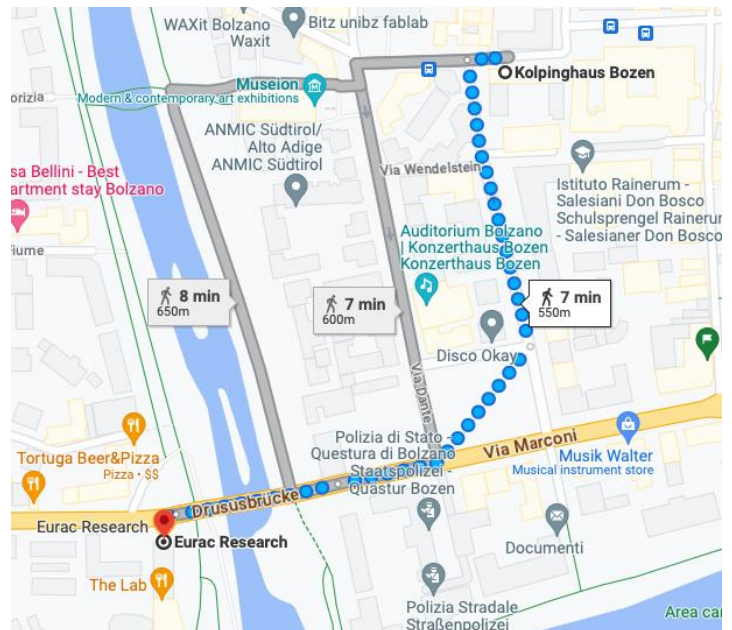


Kolping House (students)

Largo Adolph Kolping, 3
39100 Bolzano/Bozen
<https://www.kolpingbozen.it/>

Kolping House → Eurac (approx. 7 minutes walking)

1. Head west on Adolph - Kolping - Str./Largo Adolph Kolping toward Piazzetta Charles Darwin
2. Turn left onto Via Giosuè Carducci/Giosuè-Carducci-Straße
3. Turn right onto Via Marconi/Marconistrasse
4. Continue onto Drususbrücke/Ponte Druso
5. Continue onto Viale Druso/Viale Druso Drususallee



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SECUREU

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Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research

 [@EuracMinorities](https://twitter.com/EuracMinorities)

 [@EURACMinorityRights/](https://www.facebook.com/EURACMinorityRights/)

 [@MinorityRights.EuracResearch](https://www.youtube.com/@MinorityRights.EuracResearch)

Want to tweet about the summer school? Use hashtags:

#EuracSummerSchool

#EuracMinorities

#Securitization

#DiversityGovernance

Any Questions? Contact us!

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