

Foreword

Minorities and Migrants in the Post-Communist Region during the Process of European Integration: New Challenges and Perspectives

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Regardless of the apparently successful enlargement process so far, there is a crisis in the search for a European identity. Although there is great variety of historical and cultural interpretations, even the basic blocs of European identity are not evident. Europe does not know the extent of its boundaries and it is not obvious who is European and who is not. This applies not only to individuals and cultures but also to states. Eastern or southern Europe and Russia can be seen as being 'European' in very different modes. Providing a positive answer to the question of what Europe means is difficult; the negative identity though usually appears more easily (see Delanty 2002). Social psychology confirms that the negative identity paradigm is more powerful than the positive. Yet contemporary European democracy is well aware that negation is not the solution.

It is sometimes argued that Europe is a reality regardless of theoretical difficulties to define it. However, the questions whether Europe is a Christian club, whether it is just a market economy area, or a secular political project of democracy is often very important to know for those who are not in the very centre of this reality. In the attempts to define Europeanness, it may not be so difficult to find oneself declaring that "we are European". However, it is less easy to answer whether we truly are just beneficiaries or rather suppliers, and whether we belong to the decision-makers. Discovering that we do not may add a very specific colour to our Europeanness.

Closure and openness will matter for both the core and the periphery of the new Europe. Those who publicly declare openness and condemn radicalism sometimes happen to be a closed and phobic group in their social practices. A new consideration of what intolerance and xenophobia is in the contemporary world is required. Even though at present it is hardly possible to imagine a person with a single and one-dimensional ethnic identity, policies of nation-states are often based on such a premise. The declaration and practices of multiculturalism are also to be seen in their contexts, because after simply declaring the equality of cultures it remains unanswered how different groups are inter-linked among themselves. Moreover, it is often the case of the post-communist states that multiculturalism is just a well-learned slogan. It was relatively easy to apply the rhetoric of multiculturalism to the so-called

national minorities, because the representation of cultural and ethnographic practices is often the main and only field of minority policies. Old declarations will need new interpretations.

The growth of migrant groups will indeed test if states have adequate minority policies. Is cultural representation enough? How can inclusion and civic involvement be developed? Is it legitimate to distinguish between historical ethnic groups and migratory ethnic groups? Which set of institutions will deal with issues of equality and diversity?

Many eastern European states have experienced emigration to Western Europe and for some time will remain the suppliers of migrants. On the other hand, there is an increasing awareness about another role eastern Europe may be expected to play, i.e. to absorb migrants and prevent them from migrating to other EU states. However, at the same time the post-communist states become transition or destination countries not only to the people from specific war-torn or impoverished areas of the world, but also to their own neighbours. Thus migration and ethnic diversity should not be seen as anything too exotic; it remains a regular part of regional experience.

Migration ladder is specifically actual issue for EU border countries such as the Baltic states. More generally, ethnic intermingling only reminds us of multiple identities, and various forms of diasporas may appear in the new settings of the enlarged Europe. New minorities can appear, old minorities can be joined by new migrants, and all of them will search for their place. The political elite of the Baltic states who declared a pro-EU stance were actually little concerned about the varying preferences and understanding of the public. Ethnic minorities often remained ignored in the process of public mobilisation related to EU membership. Such a marginalisation is not only problematic for democracy, it is also not rational from a political point of view. Instead of developing a sense of national identity in such circumstances, minorities are likely to transgress the national level, in other words, to be ethnic and European without having a national belonging. Another identity option interesting to consider in this context is the regional identity. Will the regional identities appear in eastern Europe as intermediary ones – between the state and 'Europe'?

These questions refer to ethnic dimension that requires serious consideration in the whole post-communist region. On 21–22 November 2003 the Institute for Social Research in Lithuania organised an international seminar "Perceptions of European Integration: the Ethnic Dimension of Civic Life" which was sponsored by OSF-Lithuania. This issue of *Ethnicity Studies* introduces the readers to some of the papers presented at the seminar.

The articles included in the first part of the volume examine the issues related to formation of European identity and the dynamics between European, national, and ethnic identities. *Meilutė Taljūnaitė* (Mykolas Romeris University, Lithuania) discusses the role of citizenship in the processes of social integration in the EU and presents an overview of essential dimensions of new citizenship

in the enlarged EU. *Irena Ąutinienė* (Institute for Social Research, Lithuania) analyses data of qualitative research carried out in Lithuania in 2003 and examines how European identity is constructed at the level of individual. *Aksel Kirch, Mait Talts*, and *Tarmo Tuisk* (Institute for European Studies, Audentes University, Estonia) explore the attitudes of the urban population in Estonia towards the EU. The authors conclude that the membership of Estonia in the EU does not necessarily mean the loss of Estonia's national identity.

The articles included in the second part of this publication present and analyse substantial data on people's attitudes towards European integration in different countries. *Tadas Leonėikas* (Institute for Social Research, Lithuania) analyses the dynamics of attitudes towards the EU in the main ethnic groups in Lithuania in 1999–2003. The author discusses the main factors shaping the attitudes of ethnic groups towards European integration. *Inese Ąūpule* (Baltic Institute of Social Sciences, Latvia) analyses data of sociological research and referenda regarding EU membership in Latvia. The data reveals differences in EU perception among some social groups in Latvia. Some reasons for the negative attitudes towards European integration of the substantial part of Russian population in Latvia are discussed by the author. The perceptions of European integration by different social groups in Slovakia are insightfully investigated by *Ol'ga Gyārfāġovā* (Institute for Public Affairs, Bratislava, Slovakia). *Horatiu Rusu* (University "Lucian Blaga" of Sibiu, Romania) focuses on the characteristics of social groups in Romania that express negative or no attitudes towards the EU. The articles included in the second part of this volume introduce substantial empirical data and present insightful analyses of the material, allowing a number of common perceptions about the EU across the countries of eastern and central Europe to be noticed.

The articles included into the third part of the volume examine the social and economic situation of ethnic minorities and migrants in some European countries and discuss the influence of European integration on these groups. *Cesarina Manassero* (University of Turin, Italy) focuses on the legal situation of minorities and migrants in Italy. *Vera Klopėė* (Institute for Ethnic Studies, Slovenia) investigates the social and economic situation of Roma in Europe in general and in Slovenia in particular. *Simona Zavrātnik Zimic* (University of Primorska, Science and Research Center of Koper, Slovenia) considers contemporary migratory processes in Europe in general and in Slovenia in particular and presents some models of the integration of new immigrants into host societies.

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Citizenship versus Nationality under European Integration

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ABSTRACT. In order to study new potentials for citizenship as a medium of social integration that is not reducible to juridical processes, different areas of integration policy can be distinguished: human mobility, social exclusion and/or social vulnerability, social stratification, nationality and national identity, and a thematisation of citizenship as an alternative or positive approach to social integration. The article deals with the changing quality and the context of the social dimension in the European Union. Exploring why and how citizenship and nationality under European integration became a concern for member states, the article also seeks to identify and track the changing aims, objectives as well as the conceptual framework of social integration in the Baltic states and EU.

Key words: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, SOCIAL INTEGRATION, NATIONAL IDENTITY, EUROPEAN IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP.

Introduction

The idea of Europe as a unified political system has enjoyed a long history. By the mid-1990s, the further enlargement of the European Union, encompassing the countries of central and eastern Europe, became critical to the future of European integration (Preston 1997: 3). In the past, the enlargement debate was more fragmented, and focused on the problems of particular states and policy areas. Though the EC has, from time to time, engaged in more wide-ranging debate about the effects of diversity, for instance in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the likelihood of enlargement into the Mediterranean increased, pragmatic compromises were usually found, and the more fundamental implications of recasting the whole system were left unexplored (Preston 1997: 4).

The new social and political trends under European integration are dealt with by various researchers nowadays. Every EU citizen has EU rights protected by the national law, which includes a huge set of new relations between the citizen and the state. The principles of effectiveness and non-discrimination are well developed on a legal level, but their implementation in practice is still a new question. Fundamental freedoms, competition, and autonomy received new content, and remarkable development in legitimacy. Judicial

Tautinių grupių europinio identiteto formavimasis iš dalies susijęs su jų savijauta, tautinių identitetų ypatumais. Tautinių grupių, ypač mažumų, europiniam identitetui labai svarbios europinės kultūrinio pliuralizmo vertybės. Europinis identitetas mažumoms atstovams leidžia išvengti kai kurių su jų tautiniais identitetais susijusių neišvengiamų bei prieštaračių, taip pat mažumoms statuso keičiamą sąlygą ir problemą.

Turint galvoje, jog identitetai reikalauja individų lygmenyje yra veikiama situacijos, galima manyti, kad individo lygmenyje šis identitetas formuojasi kaip europinio institucijų veiklos pasekmė, visų pirma per institucinį europinės pilietybės atvirtinimą, kai aktualu tampa ne tik narystės Europos Sąjungoje teikiama nauda bei teisės, bet ir su šia pilietybe siejamos atsakomybės.

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SEARCH FOR EUROPEAN IDENTITY BY LITHUANIANS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES

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SUMMARY. European identity formation is an institutionally supported project and political goal, but its experience at the level of the individual is still problematic. The article examines possible symbolic resources for European identity formation in Lithuanian ethnic groups. The empirical basis of the article is qualitative sociological research on the perception of European integration by Lithuanian ethnic minorities. The research was carried out by the Institute for Social Research in Lithuania in 2003. According to the results of the analysis, the cultural “idea” of Europe (the important re-

source of durable and resonant European identity) is relevant only for intellectual elites. The positive attitudes towards EU expressed by the respondents of other classes do not have many attributes for the construction of a European identity as a sense of belonging. The opinions of respondents reveal signs of possible identity conflicts: those conflicts may derive from peoples' definition of themselves as "different Europeans" and from particular nationalistic doctrines that they endorse. The development of a European identity among ethnic minorities may be related to how they experience their status as a minority (through the problems of national identification and through the aspirations to escape minority status).

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Áteikta spaudai 2004 metų gruodá

The Identity Dynamics of the Estonians and the Russians Living in Estonia Before and After the EU Referendum

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ABSTRACT. In this article, the analysts of the Institute for European Studies (Estonia) examine the attitudes of the urban population in Estonia towards accession to the European Union, based on empirical data from the cities of Tallinn, Tartu, Viljandi, and Narva (N=235 persons). Data were gathered during the European Union enlargement process in Estonia in the end of 2002 and in April–June 2003, some months before the EU referendum held on 14 September 2003. The *Identity Structure Analysis (ISA)*, elaborated by Prof. P. Weinreich (University of Ulster) for research of the personal structure of identity, has been applied. Some basic factors that influenced the attitudes of residents of Estonia in the EU accession phase in 2002–2003 have been determined. The most important finding is their positive attitude towards Estonia's accession accompanied by the aspiration towards the European values and together with following European cultural tradition. The new international context gives new opportunities for local ethno-national integration. During the debate, which took place immediately before Estonia joined the EU, the majority of the citizens realised that EU membership does not mean the unconditional loss of Estonia's national identity, but provides new possibilities to define the country's position on Europe's geopolitical and cultural map instead.

Keywords: TRANSFORMATION, EU ENLARGEMENT PROCESS, EUROPEAN IDENTITY, PERSONAL IDENTITY DYNAMICS OF ESTONIANS AND RUSSIANS IN ESTONIA.

Introduction: visions of societal integration

Today Estonian population can be described as relatively diverse by several indicators: by ethnic background (Estonians, Russians, Ukrainians, Finns, etc), by language use (mainly Estonian or Russian), by income differences (Gini index = 0,37), by citizenship (more than 86 thousand permanent residents are Russian citizens), by political preferences (six parties are represented in the Parliament). How can we now characterise the situation – has the social, political, and cultural divergence made the society more fragmented, introducing more disintegration into society? Even if so, this can also be described as new circumstances for the development of democracy evolving new challenge for social integration of the society on a new level. The process of social integration can be analysed also from the aspect of reforming a common national identity of Estonian people (Estonians, Russians, Finns and other groups).

„aš – Europos žmogus“⁸, jis išsaugo savigarbą ir išlauna orumą. Remti Europos idėją – tai būdas išvengti susidūrimo su dalyvavimo nacionalinėje valstybėje problema, tai būdas atsiriboti, peršengti mažumos-daugumos santykių problemą. Kartais tai – nesąmoningas mėginimas išveikti savo situacijos problemas, marginalizacijos grėsmė. Marginalumas nebūtinai reiškia absoliutą atotrūkį arba socialų gyvenimą. Atsidūrę tarp dviejų kultūrų, nelietuvių tautybės žmonės ne visuomet suranda atramą: praradę vienos kultūros pagrindus (pvz., ryšį su savo etnine bendruomene arba jos kultūra), negali pritaipyti prie kitos (dailes, kurioje gyvena). O tokios atramos egzistavimas – gana svarbus dalykas daugelio visuomeninių nuostatų formavimuisi.

Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad skirtinga nuomonė kaita patvirtina, jog etninė dimensija yra svarbu, kad etninės grupės nevienodai reagavo į tuos pačius veiksnius, arba jų nuostatoms buvo svarbios skirtingos aplinkybės. Vis dėlto menkesnė ir pasyvesnė mažumų parama integracijai atspindi, kad informacinės kampanijos poveikis joms buvo ribotas, o prieš referendumą besimobilizuojanti visuomenės dauguma nesugebėjo į savo gretas atitraukti tam tikrą gyventojų grupių. Be to, tikėtina, kad „eironuostatų“ ypatumai yra susiję su platesnėmis pilietinio pasyvumo ir marginalumo tendencijomis mažumų grupėse, su menkesniu aktyvumu balsuojant, su menkesniu domėjimusi ir tapatinimusi su Lietuvos politinėmis realijomis. Prieš referendumą išreikštos mažumų nuostatos dėl Lietuvos integracijos į Europos Sąjungą lieka aktualios ir Lietuvai tapus ES nare, ypač siekiant užtikrinti sėkmingus integracinius procesus.

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ATTITUDES OF ETHNIC GROUPS TOWARDS EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN LITHUANIA

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SUMMARY. The survey data on the extent and differences of support for Lithuania's accession to the European Union in the major ethnic groups of Lithuania (Lithuanians, Russians, and Poles) reveal differences and encourage one to search for the reasons behind those differences. The major informa-

⁸ Interviu (2001 m. birėelis, N. Kasatkina).

tional activities targeted at the ethnic minorities and their own motivation behind supporting or disliking European integration may also interestingly reflect more general features of the minority situation in the country.

The number of supporters of Lithuania's membership in the EU was greater than that of the sceptics in all the major ethnic groups at three different moments in the country's preparation for membership. The data for comparison come from 1997–1998, the second half of the 2000, and from February 2003, the latter being just a few months before the referendum took place (May 10–11). The data come from Vilnius; the European Committee to the Government of Lithuania; and the Delegation of the European Commission in Lithuania. Although usually the share of minorities in a regular public opinion survey sample is too small, these data are aggregated (or come from an extra large sample in the case of the February 2003 survey) and enable specific trends to be spoken about. The support of Lithuanians for integration increased during the period, while minorities were a little less enthusiastic. Although the number of undecided decreased over time in all the groups, it remained largest among the Poles. However, the greatest change occurred among the Russians, who were the strongest supporters of integration before 1999. In the second half of 2000, one-third of the Russians had a negative attitude. Even the active campaign did not affect the minorities to the extent that their enthusiasm would reach as high a level of support as Lithuanians exhibited a few months before and during the referendum.

A few years ago, the explanation of differences in the attitudes of the various socio-demographic characteristics of the ethnic groups seemed feasible. The higher rate of Russians with higher education and residing in cities corresponded well with the general trend of higher support to EU membership in towns and among the educated. However, after the sudden change of attitudes, the schematic socio-demographic explanation no longer seems appropriate.

It is worthwhile to notice the deficiencies in the information activities oriented to non-Lithuanian (in ethnic terms) audiences. Although various agencies produced several editions of printed information or broadcasted special programmes, they were not a part of any coherent information policy. Still, ethnically Polish people seem to have received more attention than Russians did. As far as the interest of minorities is concerned, it is much harder to assess. Nonetheless, there seems to be more interest expressed by the Polish public organisations, while in the case of the Russians, individual inquiries prevail (in terms of the queries received at information centers).

Apart from the above, other factors have appeared that may have affected minority attitudes. While membership in the EU was becoming closer, the attitudes of ethnically related states became clearer. Yet they had different effects. For instance, Poland is actively pro-European, and this can have some authority even for Lithuania's Poles. For Russians, the complicated future situation of Kaliningrad after Lithuania's accession to the EU may have evoked reservation.

However, for the general explanation we suggest that the attitudes of the minorities depend on the success of their adaptation and integration into the society at large: the more a group is integrated, the more its attitudes (European integration included) resemble the majority. A review of several recent pieces of data on loyalty, identity, and status suggest that Poles can no longer be seen as a "problematic" minority. Also, they can be addressed with similar arguments and informational strategies as the ethnic majority. At the same time, we notice that Russians have an identity crisis, have lower identification with Lithuanian citizenship, and feel that they have gone down in terms of their social status. Given this, relatively higher education or social success is not an adequate explanation for the Russian support and, later, loss of support for European integration.

The low support among Russians and high rates of indecision among Russians and Poles reflect the failures of adaptation, the estrangement of minorities from public participation. This hypothesis is indirectly confirmed by a tendency of relatively low voter turnout, low civic activism, and low level of identification with a specific political part among the ethnic minorities. It also contradicts the stereotypes about the well-integrated Russian minority and hard-to-integrate Polish minority in Lithuania.

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The Referendum on Latvia's Accession to the European Union: Analysis and Conclusions

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ABSTRACT. The results of a referendum and sociological data (Baltic Institute of Social Sciences) show that a large portion of ethnic Russians (44 percent) voted against accession to the European Union, while 20 percent voted in favour and 36 percent did not participate. The Latvian ethnic group was much more positive: 57 percent in favour, 18 percent against, and 24 percent did not participate. Representatives of other ethnic groups in Latvia voted 33 percent in favour, 25 percent against; 41 percent did not participate. The answer to the question why the attitudes towards accession to the EU are quite negative among ethnic Russians was sought both in quantitative and qualitative data. The results of this analysis testify that attitudes towards the EU are based on fear, a sense of inequality, uncertainty, and disappointment and among the Russian-speaking population also in a sense of inequality and exclusion. These negative emotions are based mainly in dis-satisfaction with implemented public policies.

Key words: EU INTEGRATION, ETHNIC GROUPS, RUSSIAN SPEAKING POPULATION, REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN, FACTORS SHAPING ATTITUDES TOWARDS EU.

The referendum on Latvia's accession to the EU was held on the 20 September 2003, a Saturday. The voters had to answer the question "Are you in favour of Latvia joining the European Union?". The date of the referendum had great significance in Latvia's case, because it was the last of the candidate countries to hold a referendum and there was information about the positive vote in other countries, including Estonia a week earlier. As a result, a week before the referendum, special maps were prepared asking: on which side would Latvia stand – on the side where the "old" and "new" European Union countries are, or alongside Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine? The article presents and analyses the campaign and the main results of the referendum on Latvia's accession to the EU and suggests some factors shaping the attitudes of voters' in Latvia regarding EU membership.

Referendum on Latvia's accession to the EU: Campaign and the main results

In characterising the pre-referendum campaign, it must be noted that the government granted a sum of million Lats to the campaign organising committee.

Perceptions of European Integration in Slovakia

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ABSTRACT. The study describes and analyses Slovakia's path to membership in the European Union depicting the milestones of the Slovak integration process. It analyses the background of national and European identities at the theoretical level ("return of identity") and shows the main features of both in Slovakia. The expectations of the citizens have been high and focused mainly on social and economic improvement. However, as numerous public opinion polls have indicated, the benefits are seen in the mid- or long-term perspective. Positive perceptions of EU membership provided ideal conditions for the smooth course of the euro-referendum. However, turnout (52 percent) reached only slightly more than the necessary quorum, while 92 percent voted in favour of becoming a member of the organisation. By becoming the full-fledged member of the European Union, the ultimate goal has been fulfilled. However, new member states witnessed an extremely low turnout in their first election for the European Parliament. The author concludes with an evaluation of the extremely low turnout and the outcomes of the historic election for the European Parliament in Slovakia.

Key words: NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY, SLOVAKIA'S PATH TO THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, REFERENDUM ON THE EU ACCESSION, ELECTION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT.

European vs. national?

At the time of integration and globalisation on the one side, and "regionalisation" and decentralisation on the other, the national identity faces new challenge. In this section we will focus mainly on national, ethnic, and European identities, their main components and main interactions in four countries in central Europe.

In modern sociology the concept of identity is used widely and loosely in reference to one's sense of self and one's feelings and ideas about oneself. Identity is not just there, it must always be established, it has to be bound with the verb "to identify," associating oneself with something or someone, classifying a group of things or people.

National identity, the dominant collective identity, fulfils various functions. One of the most important is the integrating function that creates a spirit of solidarity among particular members of the community, their feeling of togetherness that can also function as a unifying and mobilising factor. Identity of a

Romanians and the Idea of European Integration. An Analysis Based on Romanian Public Opinion Barometers

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ABSTRACT. In Romania we trace one of the highest levels of support for the European Union and for European integration in Europe. However, in this article the author attempts to capture the profile not of the sustainers of the European Union and European integration but the profile of those people who do not favour it and those who have no opinion about the EU. The analysis reveals that the profile of these people is rather similar to the profile of the people who traditionally vote for leftist parties in the post-communist Romania.

Key words: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, ATTITUDES TOWARDS EU, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.

In Romania we trace one of the highest levels of support for the European Union and for European integration in Europe and the highest from the central and eastern Europe countries: "current support for the European Union is highest in Luxembourg, followed by Romania, the Netherlands and Cyprus" (Eurobarometer 59 – Comparative Highlight Report, 2003: 3). In the following material, the author examines some of the attitudes and perceptions of the EU and EU integration in Romania based on Romanian Public Opinion Barometers.

Romania and the idea of European integration: A short introduction

Although the Romanians always called themselves and perceived themselves as Europeans, they never dreamed as much as now about (and maybe they were never closer than now to) European integration. Although Romania put forward its request for EU membership on 22 June 1995, up to the end of the 1990s¹ the subject of European integration seldom appeared in the public agenda and only somewhat more often in the political agenda (especially in

¹ In December 1999 the European Council invited Romania to start accession negotiations.

Italy: The Paradise and the Hell of Minorities¹

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ABSTRACT. The author deals with the legislative framework related to minorities in Italy. In the Italian Constitution, written in 1948, we can find two paragraphs related to minorities. It is argued that essential change in legislation in Italy occurred in 1999 when a general state law was passed. This provided forms and models of protection not only for the biggest groups but also for the smaller ones. So there is now a specific provision for Albanians, Catalonians, Germans, Greeks, Croatians, Friulani, Ladini, Occitani, and Sardi. The chosen criteria is a territorial one. This law promotes trans-border and inter-regional cooperation as the most qualified instrument to reinforce and to protect cultural identities from the risk of assimilation by the predominant cultures. It is argued that the problem is still very thorny. Italy, like most other Western countries, experiences the phenomenon of substantial migration. It is discussed whether it is possible to speak about minorities also in reference to migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

Key words: MINORITIES, MIGRANTS, LEGAL STATUS, CULTURAL IDENTITY, MINORITY RIGHTS.

Problematic concept of minority

The concept of minority is particularly difficult and complex. In general, we can observe that a minority is a group of persons with some elements of distinction from the other people. It is possible to belong to a minority-group as an old person or as a young one, as an adult or as a child, as a rich person or as a poor. The elements of distinctions can be the most various.

But on the juridical level, it is not possible to take in consideration every group as a minority with distinctions. A minority group is considerable only if and when the juridical framework contains a specific means of its protection. With the term minority, in our model, we generally consider groups of people united by race, language, or religion that are different from the predominant

¹ I am particularly grateful to my Professor and friend Elisabetta Palici di Suni, who has brought me to discover this important field of studies and to Professor Natalija Kasatkina who has organised the international seminar "Perceptions of European Integration: The Ethnic Dimension of Civic Life" in Vilnius in November 2003.

Roma in the Process of European Integration

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ABSTRACT. The article deals with the position of Roma in the process of European integration, as unique challenge that offers possibilities for the greater visibility of the Roma in the public sphere in Europe. New Roma movement emerged in Europe to get, for the first time, self organised Roma leadership in a structural manner for further empowerment of Roma as a community. In Slovenia the status of Roma is regulated by special legal stipulations. The focus of the article is on those elements that are common to all Roma in the states of Central and Eastern Europe. At the moment, there are a number of projects aimed at the protection and improvement of Roma status within the framework of the Council of Europe, the European Union, the Open Society Institute and other international institutions. The article presents results of the regional project "RWCDI/Romany Women Can Do it" as an example of a good practice.

Key words: ROMA, LEGAL STATUS, EXCLUSION, MINORITY RIGHTS, EMPOWERMENT,
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

European perspective

Although Roma have lived in Europe for at least six or seven centuries, they were until recently systematically excluded from the decision making process concerning politics, economics, or culture at the international, national, and local level¹. "Discrimination and exclusion are fundamental features of the Roma experience", – concludes the OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities in the "Report on the Situation of Roma and Sinti in the OSCE area" (2000).

After the year 1989, along with political changes in the eastern and central European countries and positive developments at the European level in the field of human rights protection, anti-discrimination, respect of cultural diversity, and protection of national minorities, some international documents addressed also the specific position of the Roma as a vulnerable group. The

¹ In the article we use term "Roma" as the most common term for Roma and Sinti in the region.

More than Foreigners, Less than Citizens. Migrants and Their Membership in the Enlarged EU

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ABSTRACT. Contemporary migration processes, both global and local, have an important relationship with the notions of membership, differences of identity and therefore with the possibilities of immigrants becoming and being citizens. The article deals with the perspective of integration of immigrants into new societies, starting from the principle of two-way intercultural communication, as integration policies do not involve immigrants more nor any less than other members of society. Care for others indicates an 'ethical imperative' of such integration policies that are mainly concerned with norms and values in society and aim to accomplish social solidarity and social cohesion. In addition, the case of Slovenia is given as an illustration of recent migration trends in the enlarged European Union, along with the prevailing management of border control as a key element of migration policies.

Key words: MIGRATION, INTEGRATION, MEMBERSHIP, EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, SLOVENIA.

Introduction

If two decades ago migration could hardly be placed at the top of the European governments' agenda, this is completely turned around in contemporary societies where migration issues frame a broad spectrum of political debates. Recently, migrations represent complex and heterogenous issues, highly relevant for academics, state institutions, the international community and civil society. Migration trends are indeed global in scope, diversified in structure, and highly politicised in profile, and along with this, of enormous importance for European policies. Policy-makers on the level of nation-states or the European Union have responded to these new dynamics of people's mobility mainly by 'hardening' their borders, i.e. by preventing immigrants from entering their states. The major European response to these processes is described in short by the metaphor of "Fortress Europe". It seems today that migration policies are somehow caught between a European and national *Realpolitik* that controls and restricts migrations on one hand and demands consistent respect for human rights, the rule of law, and the social state on the other hand. The latter is presented especially by various NGO's working directly in the fields of migration and human rights.