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Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between States along the New Eastern Borders of the European Union

Series of project research reports

Reports on qualitative sub-studies

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Research Report # 18-2

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Report on expert interviews

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(methodology, data, main outcomes)

Lithuania

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About the ENRI-East research project (www.enri-east.net)

The Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: Nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union (ENRI-East)

ENRI-East is a research project implemented in 2008-2011 and primarily funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Program. This international and inter-disciplinary study is aimed at a deeper understanding of the ways in which the modern European identities and regional cultures are formed and inter-communicated in the Eastern part of the European continent.

ENRI-East is a response to the shortcomings of previous research: it is the first large-scale comparative project which uses a sophisticated toolkit of various empirical methods and is based on a process-oriented theoretical approach which places empirical research into a broader historical framework.

The distinct ethno-national diversity in this region, along with the problems resulting from it was generated by dramatic shifts of borders, populations and political affiliation which have continued until today. The prevailing pattern of political geography of this part of Europe was the emergence and the dismemberment of empires, a process which created ethno-national enclaves within the boundaries of new nation states. These minorities were frequently drawn into interstate conflicts and subjected to repression, ethnic cleansing and expulsion. The subjects of interests were ethnic minorities in the supra-region "Wider Eastern Europe", i.e. the region between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, along the current geo-political "East-West" division line. Estimated 8 to 10 millions of people are affected by "ethnic splits" or minority groups, whose ethnic compatriots would constitute a titular majority in another country, some of them even on each side of this contemporary geopolitical east-west diving border line.

The complex ENRI-East study was designed as a comprehensive set of theoretical, methodological, empirical and comparative work streams exploring the interplay of identities among the twelve ethnic minorities in the supra-region of Central and Easter Europe. These ethnic groups are: Russians in Latvia and Lithuania, Belarusians and Ukrainians in Poland, Slovaks in Hungary, Hungarians in Slovakia and in Ukraine, Poles in Ukraine, in Belarus and in Lithuania, Belarusians in Lithuania as well as Lithuanians in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast). The project includes also a case study of Germany, where our target groups were the ethnic Germans returning to their historical homeland after the centuries of living in other European countries as well as Jewish immigrants (so called "quota refugees" who had moved to the country since 1989).

ENRI-East addresses four general research themes. The first one deals with the interplay of identities and cultures by comparing 'mother nations' and their 'residual groups abroad'. The second theme is a cross-cutting approach which addresses the nations and the states: more exactly, the attitudes and policies of 'mother nations' and 'host nations' toward the 'residual groups' and vice versa. The third research theme comprise the reality of self organization and representation of "residual groups abroad" (ethnic minorities) along the East European borderland. Finally, the last research theme of the project deals with path dependencies, historical memories, present status and expected dynamics of divided nations in Eastern Europe.

The empirical data base for ENRI-East was generated through 5 sub-studies implemented in all or several project countries:

- ENRI-VIS (Values and Identities Survey): face-to-face formalized interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries, 6,800 respondents;
- ENRI-BIO: qualitative, biographical in-depth interviews with members of 12 ethnic minority groups in eight countries (144 interviews);
- ENRI-EXI: semi-structured expert interviews with governmental and non-governmental representatives of ethnic minority groups in eight countries (48 interviews);
- ENRI-WEB: online content analysis of weblogs and Internet periodicals run or maintained by ethnic minority group members;
- ENRI-MUSIC: special study on cultural identities and music; an innovative, multi-disciplinary pilot effort in Hungary and Lithuania.

The series of ENRI-East research reports (www.enri-east.net/project-results)

Main outcomes of the ENRI-East research program are summarized in the series of research papers and project reports as outlined below. The whole collection of papers will be publicly available on the project web-site by December 2011, while some papers can be accessed since September 2011.

Individual papers are written by ENRI-East experts from all project teams and the whole series is edited by the Coordinating Team at the CEASS-Center at the Institute for Advanced Studies under the guidance of the Principal Investigator Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Project Coordinator Dr. Alexander Chvorostov.

Summarizing and generalizing reports

- 1. Theoretical and methodological backgrounds for the studies of European, national and regional identities of ethnic minorities in European borderlands (Edited by Prof. Claire Wallace and Dr. Natalia Patsiurko)
- 2. Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities among the ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe (main results of ENRI-East empirical program) (Edited by Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich and Dr. Alexander Chvorostov)
- 3. ENRI-East Thematic Comparative papers and synopsizes of authored articles of ENRI-East experts (9 tender papers and further bibliography of project-related publications)

Contextual and empirical reports on ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Europe: (edited by respective team leaders)

- 4. The Polish Minority in Belarus
- 5. The Slovak Minority in Hungary
- 6. The Russian Minority in Latvia
- 7. The Belarusian Minority in Lithuania
- 8. The Polish Minority in Lithuania
- 9. The Russian Minority in Lithuania
- 10. The Belarusian Minority in Poland
- 11. The Ukrainian Minority in Poland
- 12. The Lithuanian Minority in Russia (Kaliningrad oblast)
- 13. The Hungarian Minority in Slovakia
- 14. The Hungarian Minority in Ukraine
- 15. The Polish Minority in Ukraine
- 16. Special Case Study Germany

Series of empirical survey reports:

- 17. ENRI-VIS: Values and Identities Survey
 - Methodology and implementation of ENRI-VIS (Technical report)
 - ENRI-VIS Reference book (major cross-tabulations and coding details)
- 18. Qualitative sub-studies of ENRI-East project (methodological and technical reports)
 - Methodological report on Biographical Interviews (ENRI-BIO)
 - Methodological report on Expert Interviews and data base description (ENRI-EXI)
 - o Methodological report on the pilot study on Musical cultures and identities (ENRI-MUSIC)
 - Methodological report and main findings of the Pilot study of web-spaces (ENRI-WEB)

Disclaimer:

The treatment of historical, statistical and sociological data and facts, their scientific accuracy and the interpretations as well as the writing style are the sole responsibility of the authors of individual contributions and chapters published in the ENRI Research Papers. The positions and opinions of the project coordinator and of the editors of ENRI-East series of research papers as well as of the ENRI-East consortium as a whole may not necessarily be the same. By no means may the contents of the research papers be considered as the position of the European Commission.

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http://cordis.europa.eu/fp7/ssh/home_en.html

http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/index_en.html

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1 INTRODUCTION INTO THE ENRI-EXI SUB-STUDY

1.1 Background and rationale for the expert interviews in the ENRI-East project

Expert interviews (ENRI-EXI) are an integral part of the ENRI-East project design. They complement the quantitative part of the project (ENRI-VIS) and another set of qualitative interviews (ENRI-BIOG).

The main task of the qualitative blocks of the project (BIOG and EXI) was to complement the quantitative part by collecting the interviews that elaborate, contextualize and explain the information from the surveys of minorities. Surveys may provide incomplete and at times contradictory data requiring further elaboration, and ENRI-BIOG and ENRI-EXI were tailored precisely to accomplish the task of elaboration. First, they elaborate on the survey findings by providing a rich textual evidence of people's opinions and understandings on the issues of ethnicity, ethnic groups, and citizenship. Second, interpretative explanations in qualitative interviews put survey findings into a broader context, linking particular views or events into a more comprehensive whole and allow a deeper understanding of identity, politics, or group dynamics. Thirdly, qualitative interviews help to explain contradictory or partial findings from the survey by supplying additional information unavailable in short and limited-choice answers to a survey question. Hence, qualitative interviews provide a different perspective on the issues of ethnicity, nation-hood and belonging studied by the project.

ENRI-EXI differs from ENRI-BIOG in three important ways. First, it collected information from community leaders and other experts, who examine minority issues not only from an individual perspective, but also by providing insights about the situation of minority at the societal level, by commenting on political and cultural relations between ethnic groups in the society as a whole. Experts are better equipped to evaluate the situation of various ethnic groups based on their knowledge and experience of working in (or with) the minority organisations in particular societies. Correspondingly, ENRI-EXI addresses a different set of questions compared to the biographical interviews. While the biographical interviews deal with personal understandings of ethnicity, citizenship and Europeanness, expert interviews examine the minority position in society, its relation to other ethnic groups and majority, country's policies toward minorities, and relationship of the minority to its ethnic homeland. Finally, ENRI-EXI provides different perspectives on these questions by interviewing leaders of the community and government officials, who might have divergent views on the same minority group and hence different evaluations of the situation of minorities in the country.

1.2 Methodology of the ENRI-EXI

Methodology of ENRI-EXI is based on semi-structured qualitative interviews with government officials and representatives of minority organisations at the national, regional, and local levels. Below we consider the process of sample selection, provide statistics of the collected interviews, describe the interviewing method and issues raised in interviews, and discuss advantages of the research design.

Experts were chosen to broadly represent two groups:

- governmental officials or NGO representatives (preferably at the national or regional level), working with several ethnic minorities, and
- representatives of cultural, religious or political organizations representing a particular ethnic minority studied by ENRI-East.

Experts in groups (A) were interviewed to provide an analysis of ethnic minorities in the studied country in general (including the minorities studied by ENRI-East), while experts in group (B) were interviewed to provide an insider overview of the situation of the particular minority studied.

The number of interviews per country and per group was limited by the time restrictions and budgetary concerns. As a result, in most countries three interviews were collected per minority group, while only two interviews per group were collected in Slovakia and Hungary, but four interviews per group were collected in Ukraine. One more minority group, Lithuanians living in the Kaliningrad region, had to be omitted for logistic reasons: despite repeated attempts, the research team was unable to obtain a permission to conduct these interviews from the local authorities in Russia.

The table below summarises the collected interviews and the type of organisations they represent:

Country	Group	Officials	NGOs	Ethnic minorities organizations	Total per	Totals per country	
		National or regional	National or regional	National , regional, or local level	group		
	Ru(LT)	0	2	1	3		
Lithuania	By(LT)	1	0	2	3	9	
	PI(LT)	2	0	1	3		
Latvia	Ru(LV)	0	1	1	2	2	
Daland	Ua(PL)	1	1	1	3	6	
Poland	By(PL)	1	1	1	3		
Hungary	Sk(HU)	1	0	1	2	2	
Slovakia	Hu(SK)	1	0	1	2	2	
Belarus	PI(BY)	1	1	1	3	3	
Ukraina	Hu(UA)	1	0	3	4	8	
Ukraine	PI(UA)	2	0	2	4	6	
Total		11	6	15	32	32	

In result, the study collected 32 interviews in seven countries. Of these, 15 were the interviews with minority leaders from various organisations, 11 were governmental experts, came from the NGOs working with the minorities of interest, but not necessarily representing them.

Two more groups of experts were interviewed within ENRI-EXI project: recent Jewish immigrants and ethnic German immigrants from Russia to Germany. This part of the study was conducted with somewhat different objectives, methodology and location outside of the new border countries of the EU. Due to these differences, the discussion of the German study is omitted from this report and presented in a separate working paper.

ENRI-EXI study was carried out through the in-depth semi-structured interviews on the selected number of topics. The aim was to conduct extensive interviews on the topics of respondent's expertise. The interviews lasted approximately 1.5-2 hours. Experts were asked to answer the questions in an analytical and reflective way, using the information available to them. Therefore, the interviews were not conducted in a simple question-and-answer manner, but resembled a structured in-depth interview. Interviewers started by asking a few questions from each proposed section, but only when they established that the expert gave meaningful and informed answers, they continued to ask the remaining questions from that section, requesting the respondent to elaborate and prompting as appropriate. Interviewers were encouraged to ask additional relevant questions for the sections on which they saw respondents having an appropriate expertise. By contrast, the interviewers could shorten the sections where they established that the interviewee was not very knowledgeable.

The FIRST set of questions was addressed to the government officials and the NGO representatives. These experts were supposed to be able to comment on the situation of several ethnic groups in the country. It aimed to provide a perspective on ethnic groups in the country as a whole, and on the situation of particular ethnic group(s) studied by ENRI-East in this country. Therefore, it was preferable that the selected government officials and the NGO representatives could comment on the particular ethnic group(s) of ENRI-EAST interest.

Interviews with the governmental experts and NGOs were based on the following set of issues:

- Organisation and its mandate (+ functions, membership, and place);
- Laws and regulations on ethnic minorities in the country;
- Social integration and discrimination of ethnic communities in general and of the studied group in particular;
- State support for the ethnic minority organisations in general, and for the particular minority organisations in particular;
- Conflicts/tensions between the majority and minorities in general, and the studied minority group in particular;
- Politics around ethnic minorities issues in general and issues of the studied group in particular;
- Cooperation with the kin countries on ethnic minorities in general and with the kin country of the studied minority;
- Role of European initiatives on facilitating the integration of all ethnic groups in the country and the studied minority group in particular;
- Contacts between governments (or NGOs) and minority groups in the country.

The SECOND set of questions was designed for the representatives of organizations in the particular ethnic minority studied in ENRI-East in your country. It could be addressed to the representatives of any cultural, religious, or political organisation of the minority in question. It aimed to find out how the minority organisations were created and functioned in this country, what kind of issues they worked on, and how they represented the minority in question.

Interviews with the representatives of minority organisations were based on these issues:

• Organisation and its mandate (+ functions, membership, and place);

- Laws and regulations on the ethnic minority expert represents;
- Social integration and discrimination of the studied ethnic minority;
- State support for organisations of the studied minority;
- Conflicts/tensions between the majority and the studied minority group;
- Politics around the issues of the studied ethnic group;
- Cooperation with the kin country of the studied minority;
- Role of European initiatives on facilitating the integration of all ethnic groups in the country and the studied minority group in particular;
- Ethnic belonging and identity in the studied minority group
- Contacts between governments, NGOs and the studied minority group.

What are the advantages of such design? Firstly, we expect that a division into the specified two groups—experts working with minorities and experts representing minorities -- would provide a contextualized review of the minority policies, issues, and integration with regard to the country in residence in general and to the studied minority in particular. Therefore we will obtain a more nuanced overview of the relationship between the majority and various ethnic groups in a given society, while maintaining a focus on studied minority group. Furthermore, the two groups of interviews would provide two different perspectives: that of the officials and policy makers, and that of the insiders of minority organizations, thus problematising minority issues from the vantage points of the majority and minority. Government officials will also provide an insider view of the development and implementation of policies on ethnic minorities, a legislation many countries in the region had to adopt completely anew after the fall of communism and gaining independence. In most countries the adoption and implementation of this legislation is a work in progress, and the experts may point out to how such policies are discussed and shaped.

EXI interviews are particularly valuable for discussing the views and positions from minority organizations and NGOs in the region, since not much research has been done on regional minorities that could provide a comparative overview of minority activism using such primary sources. An additional advantage of the EXI interviews is that, used in conjunction with BIOG interviews, they provide a better understanding of the dynamics of the civil society participation and minority activism in the region by contrasting the views of ordinary minority members with the views of their leaders.

While distinction between the insiders and outsiders is primary in the design of EXI study, we also strived to select experts on several territorial levels: national, regional and local. This will expose the work of both government officials and minority activists not only in the national capitals, but also in the regions. Insights into the activities of government officials and minority leaders at the regional revel are particularly relevant for the cases where the minority population is concentrated in a specific region.

Finally, expert interviews can be used in conjunction with the biographical interviews and minority survey to provide an in-depth analysis of specific minority issues, such as discrimination, integration, relationship with the kin state, and others. It is rare to find examples of research on minorities in Eastern Europe that uses both qualitative and quantitative sources, and even more so if it can benefit from a comparative perspective.

Collected data include 32 interview transcripts with associated documents. All 32 transcripts are available in English. In addition, 28 interviews are available in original languages (no transcripts in original language for interviews conducted in Hungarian and Lithuanian).

1.3 Description of ENRI-EXI dataset

This section describes the dataset and the conditions of its use to the members of ENRI-East Consortium, in the form it appeared in the database with associated data.

The database of EXI interviews consists of twelve folders with data, corresponding to 11 studied ethnic minorities in seven Eastern European countries, plus a study of minorities in Germany. The database also includes two explanatory files, the reporting table and the matrix of interviews.

Each data folder is named by the ethnic group and the country it studies. Thus, folder *exi_pl(BY)* contains interviews with experts on Polish minority collected in Belarus, whereas *exi_by(PL)* contains interviews with experts on Belorussian minority in Poland. Each folder contains between 2 and 4 interview packages, one for each fully reported interview. German folder contains 8 interviews.

In turn, each interview package includes the following files:

- Transcript in English (named as 'en_exi_.....')-- available for 32 interviews from Eastern Europe, and not available for interviews from Germany;
- Expert profile form in English, named as 'exi_fb_.....',-- available for all 40 interviews;
- Transcript in original language, named as '(language)_exi_(group)_(number)' available for all interviews except for those conducted originally in Lithuanian, Latvian, or Hungarian.
- Additional information files, available only if collected.

EXI reporting table summarizes the collection process and gives the number of expert interviews for each minority group. There are 40 interviews available in this collection, with 2 to 4 interviews per ethnic group in Eastern Europe (32 in total), and 8 interviews available for Germany.

EXI_Matrix of Interviews provides summary information on each collected interview. It is an overview of all interviews, case by case. For the interviews accepted by quality control, the matrix provides basic demographic information about the expert, including gender, educational level, age, organisation the expert represents, type of organization, and expert's position within it. The matrix also lists the documents available for each interview, such as local or English-language transcripts, expert profile forms, or additional documents. Documents available for each interview are marked with '/' in the corresponding column, with non-collected documents marked as 'NA' or 'INP'. Furthermore, technical documents (feedback forms) are not included into dataset due to issues of anonymity.

ANONYMITY of experts and DATA USE: expert names were anonymised in all documents. ANY ANALYSIS PRODUCED BY THE ENRI-EAST MEMBERS MUST USE THE INTERVIEWS ONLY IN SUCH A WAY THAT INDIVIDUAL EXPERTS CANNOT BE IDENTIFIED. In addition, the EXI data must not be shared with any third parties: THIS DATASET CAN BE USED ONLY BY THE MEMBERS OF ENRI-EAST CONSORTIUM.

Please refer to Annex Two of this report for further details on access to and further exploitation of empirical data bases produced within the frameworks of ENRI-East project.

2 SUMMARY FINDINGS OF ENRI-EXI SUB-STUDIES

2.1 General Summary

The principal goal of expert interviews was to illuminate the issues of minority treatment in the countries of residence, issues in minorities' self-organisation, their links with 'ethnic homelands', and the impact of the EU extension on the situation of minorities. Expert interviews are unique in seeking to answer these questions from three perspectives: the perspective of minority organisations themselves, the perspective of NGO activists and the perspective of government officials. The study collected 40 expert interviews, including 32 interviews on minorities along the 2004 European borders. The research study represents the first cross-national comparative analysis of this sort for minorities in the European borderlands. Expert interviews were conducted in five EU border-countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia), and two non-EU border-countries (Ukraine and Belarus).

Interviews document a *strong revival of minority communities* in the European borderlands in the last twenty years, primarily in cultural and educational activities. While countries of residence provide some support in this process, re-emerging civil society among the minorities themselves is the main driving force behind it. The number of cultural organisations, such as culture houses, has proliferated during the period and created an extensive base for cultural participation of the rank-and-file minority members. Religious activities fostered cohesion among minorities in Ukraine, Belarus, Poland and Lithuania. The number of educational institutions for minorities grew in Poland and Slovakia, while minorities in Ukraine and Hungary voiced to the need for more minority educational establishments in their countries. The diversification in the types of minority organisations is observed in all countries of the region, and minorities in Slovakia, Ukraine and Hungary have political parties representing their interests at various levels of regional and national politics.

Questions of tolerance and historical memories are at the forefront of the *issues for minority groups* in the European borderlands. Although some attempts were made to arrive at reconciliation on historical questions at the state level (e.g., recognition of the problematic treatment of minorities between Ukraine and Poland), the relationships between minorities and majorities in their countries of residence are not straightforward. Polish minority in Lithuania and Russian minority in Estonia appear as the groups with the most difficult relationship to majority. Experts from the minority organisations point out to insufficient recognition of minority issues and unwillingness to resolve them at the state level. All countries of residence have adopted some legislation favouring minority rights, but in most cases the associated institutions either do not work, have limited capability, or lack continuity to implement any consequential policies. Many experts hence point out to the lack of the necessary broader cultural change aimed at recognition and acceptance of the cultural (and ethnic) diversity of Eastern European societies.

Although *the states of residence support* cultural activities of minorities and have adopted appropriate legislation recognising minority rights, many minorities along European borders are structurally discriminated. They live in the economically disadvantaged regions (Hungarians in Ukraine, Slovaks in Hungary, Belarusians in Poland) and have lower-than-national opportunities in higher education and the labour market. This limits their integration into the societies of residence. Yet government representatives more often cite cultural opportunities for minorities and the absence of significant conflicts with majority as evidence of minorities' successful position.

Support for minorities *from their kin states varies across the region*. Poland and Hungary provide the highest levels of support, including financial help, educational support, facilitation of cultural activities, a limited way of membership (Polish ID card, Hungarian Status Law), or citizenship (Hungary). Russia and Slovakia provide moderate financial, educational, and cultural support to their minorities, coupled with political pressure of Russia on the countries with Russian minorities (Latvia and Lithuania). Ukraine and Belarus provide very limited to no support to their minorities in Poland and Lithuania. In these cases, minorities must rely on the European Union institutions for provision of additional rights.

Conducted expert interviews illustrate that the *influence of Europe and European projects* on the situation of minorities in the region is rather limited. Primarily it includes adoption of the laws on minority prompted by the conditionality clauses of acceptance in the EU and other international organisations. These clauses heightened the awareness about minority issues around the time of joining the EU in 2004, but had little consequence for structural improvement of the situation of minorities afterwards. The interviews suggest that the collapse of communism and a more liberal treatment of minorities by the states of residence afterwards have so far been more significant for the status of minorities in Eastern European borderlands than the EU extension in 2004. Nevertheless, the EU extension provided additional institutional safeguards for minorities in Eastern European states, where visions of society remain largely mono-cultural, with limited recognition of group rights for the minorities.

The chapters below summarise the expert interview findings for four minority groups, while more detailed accounts on the interviews can be found in specific minority reports.

2.2 Overview sample reports for four ethnic minorities

2.2.1 The Belarusian Minority in Lithuania

Three experts were interviewed on issues of Belarusian minority in Lithuania. One expert came from the Department of Ethnic Minority Affairs at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania. Two other experts were representatives of two large Belarusian organisations of the country: the Union of Belarusian Non-Governmental Organisations and the Belarusian Society of Political Prisoners and Exiled. The experts provided a comprehensive picture on the situation and treatment of the Belarusian minority in the country.

Major issues: Among the major issues facing the Belarusian minority in Lithuania were the language instruction at Lithuanian secondary schools, higher unemployment rates among minority groups in the country, and the issues of financing Belarusian cultural organisations. It is interesting to note that most of these issues were raised by the government official expert, while the representatives of the minority organisations generally expressed opinions that members of the community were treated fairly and faced no urgent issues or discrimination.

On the issue of school instruction in the language of the minority, the government expert mentioned that only one secondary school in Vilnius had Belarusian as the language of instruction, and otherwise the language was taught mostly by community efforts as Sunday schools across the country. Hence minority organisations consider such level of instruction insufficient and seek to stop the decline of the existing language training institutions, if not to expand them. By contrast, the state has to reach a difficult balance of maintaining instruction in minority language while ensuring that the minority representatives also master Lithuanian as the state language. Lack of proficiency in the state language leads to situations where minority members are less

integrated in society and end up with lower levels of labour market participation, the governmental expert notes. The government aspires to correct this situation by providing free courses of Lithuanian language instruction, but so far such programs bring only limited results.

The two representatives of Belarusian organisations did not consider minority to be discriminated to any noticeable extent: according to them, the minority is thought to be well represented in leading professions, achieves high levels of education, and participates in cultural and political life of the country. However, both representatives negatively evaluate the recent transfer of minority policies to the competence of the Ministry of Culture rather than Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad, since it resulted in a much decreased level of state funding for the minority organisations. Now Belarusian organisations have to compete for funding with other cultural organisations from the entire country, regardless of whether they represent minorities or the majority.

Policies and Problems: The Law on National Minorities was passed in Lithuania in 1989, but since 2010 the Law is suspended and a working group in the Ministry of Culture is charged with writing the new project of the law. Minority organisations of the country form the Council of National Minorities which cooperates with state institutions in solving minority questions. One minority group expert stressed that such cooperation of minorities with the government officials was very effective, particularly during the existence of the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad. Minority representatives had regular meetings with the president and the prime minister during that period, but the attention to minority issues have decreased since the Department was disbanded. The new Department of National Minorities at the Ministry of Culture focuses primarily on the cultural issues of minorities, while the educational functions, relationships with the kin states, and issues of minority integration were transferred to other relevant ministries. Such fragmentation, in the view of experts, significantly decreased attention of the nation-state to national minorities, whereas the previous close cooperation of the state and minorities was credited as crucial in creating the society where inter-ethnic conflicts were largely absent.

The experts do not mention any politicization of the relationship between the Belarusian minority and the Lithuanian majority, which they think is the sign of absence of discrimination of this minority in Lithuania.

Minority self-organisation and political representation: The Union of Belarusian Non-Governmental Organisations in Lithuania unites 19 Belarusian organisations across the country. The other interviewed expert represents a smaller grass-root Belarusian organisation. Minority organisations were created or revived in the late 1980s through the grass root activities of participants. The second expert described how his organisation was created in this way by personal efforts of participants.

Belarusian organisations in Lithuania are divided in their attitudes to the political system in Belarus: they range from a strong opposition to conspicuously non-critical attitude towards the current Belarusian regime.

The Belarusian representatives are elected as politicians in the parliament, but there is no Belarusian political party in the country, which, according to experts, testifies to the lack of minority issues conducive to political mobilization. However, Belarusians in Lithuania became members in the Coordination Council of Belarusians Abroad, an organisation representing interests of Belarusians living in other countries.

Relationships with ethnic homeland: All three experts noted the support that Belarus gives to the Belarusian community in Lithuania. This support is primarily manifested in support of the ethnic homeland for the Belarusian secondary school in Vilnius, both in educational and financial terms. Belarusian authorities secure the functioning of the school, provide yearly opportunities for obtaining higher education in Belarus for several dozens of students from Lithuania, sponsor various cultural events, and organise excursions of Belarusian Lithuanians to the country. Finally, Belarus operates a visa-free entry regime for the Lithuanian citizens, which extends opportunities for contacts with the kin country.

Generally the relationships between the two countries are perceived as friendly, especially after the new Lithuanian president took the line of improvement of relationships between countries, despite some reservations towards the political regime in Belarus. The government expert notes that Belarusian Lithuanians are well-integrated as Lithuanian citizens, and evaluate life in Lithuania much more favourably compared to life in Belarus. Although Belarusian organisations in Lithuania are divided in their attitude to the political situation in Belarus, both governmental and minority experts are satisfied that the contacts between the two countries are improving.

Influence of EU and European projects: Only the governmental expert noticed the importance of European projects in supporting minorities in the country. But the expert also noted a limited effectiveness of such integration projects, which were directed more towards some communities than the others (eg. Romany community as primary beneficiary), and lasted for very short periods to bring any tangible results. Experts from the Belarusian community, by contrast, saw no influence of the EU programs on the Belarusian community in the country, and also did not notice any change in the situation of the community associated with Lithuania's entry to the EU.

2.2.2 The Belarusian Minority in Poland

Three experts were interviewed on issues of the Belarusian minority in Poland. One of them represents the regional governmental administration, one is a representative of an NGO working in the Belarusian region, and the third one is a representative of a minority organisation. The governmental expert is a deputy provincial governor for the affairs of ethnic and national minorities in Podlasie. The NGO expert represents the Jacek Kuron Foundation and the management of the Open University in the village of Teremiski in Podlasie. The third expert is am executive of the Belarusian Student Association (BAS). The experts provide a comprehensive overview of the situation of Belarusian minority in the country.

Major Issues: The major issues emphasized by the experts for the Belarusian minority in Poland refer to the poor recognition of minorities (including the Belarusian one) in the Polish society, a lack of cultural cooperation between the majority and the minority, decline of the Belarusian language, and some tensions between the Belarusian and Ukrainian minorities, as well as Polish majority, in Podlasie.

All experts pointed to a poor recognition of minorities in the Polish society as an important issue for a Belarusian minority. Even historic minorities, despite being historically rooted on the country's territory, are not perceived as a legitimate part of the Polish society. This is a lasting legacy of homogenisation policies implemented in the communist period and before, which recognised and promoted the rights of the dominant majority. As the NGO expert notes, the majority often perceives minorities not as Polish citizens, but as representatives of other countries, and the Belarusian community is strongly affected by such misattribution. This leads to defensive reaction by the minorities, when they strive to affirm their citizenship and insist on their legitimate place in

society, or when they increasingly relegate their identity to the private sphere and avoid recognising it in public. In the words of the NGO expert, the Podlasian Belarusians strive for recognition of their ethnic origin together with recognition of Poland as their homeland. She adds that low awareness about minorities in the larger society is also induced by the Polish educational system, by the way history is taught at school. The minority organisation expert stresses that the older generations of minority are particularly fearful and ashamed to express their identity in public.

The governmental expert recognises this problem, attributing it to the consequence of the pre-1989 policies of homogenisation and the nominal rather than genuine representation of minorities by the minority organisations in the communist period. He notes that even inhabitants of the Podlasie region are not always aware of the region's multicultural nature represented by six minorities. He also argues that the low recognition results in a certain self-closure and separation of the Belarusian group, where they increasingly conduct their activities not in interaction with the larger society, but in the minority communities themselves.

According to all experts, the use of Belarusian language or dialects is also more relegated to the private sphere, and is less noticeable in public now than 40 years ago. Publically, the Belarusian language is often associated with the folklore, and is often seen as relic from the past to be ashamed of. This 'ghettoisation' of minority, government representative states, needs to be stopped by increasing its interaction with the majority and by presenting its activities not only in the region, but in the wider society. The NGO expert also points to the need to increase the recognition of the Belarusian language as a regional cultural asset and heritage, especially given that the language is experiencing low public prestige and is declining not only in Poland, but even more so in Belarus.

Experts do not describe the Belarusian minority as 'discriminated', but rather point to incidences of intolerance by the majority and a decline of language use as part of this process. The government expert notes that the education in Belarusian is well developed at the level of primary and secondary school instruction, but the language and cultural programs at the university level are closing due to the lack of potential students. The minority organisation expert notes that the intolerance and prejudices are contributing to discrimination, and are also reflected in the lower position of the minority in the labour market. She notes that it is hard to meet Belarusians in high positions in society. In addition to promoting a greater tolerance to the minority, she also notes that the minority would also benefit from a greater recognition of its religious calendar and granting the corresponding days off, from the improvement of census implementation (electronic census), and from liberalisation of religious classes for the minority in secondary education. However all experts note that the group with the most serious problems of discrimination and integration in the Polish society are the Romas.

Experts observe some tensions between the Ukrainian and Belarusian community in the region. Generally, as the governmental expert remarks, they revolve around historical interpretations about the origins of ethnic groups and interpretation of historical events by the two groups. One of the ongoing historical debates between them is the Ukrainian stance on the singularity of ethnic origin of the two groups in the region. One of the current problems is the disagreement whose language has to be used on the bilingual street signs, foreseen in the provisions of the Act on National Minorities and Regional Languages. In addition, the Belarusian community sees Ukrainian organisations as better organised and using very pro-active strategies of recruiting ethnic Belarusians into their ranks.

Some tensions appear over the interpretation of historical events and memorials not only between the two minorities, but also between minorities and the majority. They refer to memorial plaques, street names and monuments. However, all experts agree that the public debates on the issues of minorities are not so prominent in mainstream Polish media, given the marginal size and position of minorities in society. The Belarusian minority, according to the governmental expert, consists of some 350,000 members, but the last census results show a considerably lower figure, reflecting a marginalisation of the minority. Any debates involving minorities are more likely to be reflected in the minority media rather than anywhere else. The BAS expert adds that the mainstream media only comments on the Polish minority issues abroad, but never mentions the existence or issues of the Belarusian minority in Poland.

Policies and Problems: Experts mark a beginning of a more positive policy towards minorities in 1989, when the Commission on National and Ethnic minorities was established in the Polish Sejm and issues of minorities were brought to the competence of the Ministry of Culture. More recently, all three experts positively evaluate the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and Regional language adopted in 2005. The Act regulates minority rights and usage of minority languages, as well as guarantees state support for minority organisations. The government expert recognised that the Act took a long time to develop and represents a huge initiative which so far satisfies the minority policy needs. Its main advantage, in his view, is that the place and rights of minorities in the society are clearly spelled out and regulated for the first time in the postcommunist period. But he notes that even five years after the Act's adoption, minorities are quite unaware of the many opportunities for activities it provides, and have to develop more initiatives to fully use the Act's potential. On the other hand, the minority organisation expert considers that the act and its provisions should be popularized more, so that the communities can take advantage of it. She sees the Act as the document that would work perfectly in the ideal starting conditions of tolerance and recognition of minorities, which are yet to be achieved in Poland. Hence she argues that the Act's provisions may remain underused, as long as the state is unwilling to encourage more affirmative action by minorities, and promotes the policies of noninterference rather than the policies of encouragement towards minorities.

One current example of the Act's implementation includes introduction of the bilingual street signs in majority and minority languages. Currently six districts in the region are due to implement the bilingual sign policy. In addition, the government expert also points out that his position of the regional governor's commissioner on the issues of national and ethnic minorities was also proscribed by the Act itself. The Act gave regional governors an option to appoint a commissioner on minority issues, representing the regional executive power in charge of minorities. The principal role of the commissioner is to monitor the situation of the minorities and to ensure their functioning at the regional level. Regional government carries out discussions with minorities about the priorities of their development and can contribute to the formulation of policies by the central government. But, according to the expert, the regional government has a limited capacity to come up with various policy initiatives, due to limited funding and lack of other instruments to influence policy. The main function of the regional government is monitoring, and it helps minorities with limited practical issues, such as providing premises for minority organisations.

The main executive body responsible for the minority policies implementation is the Joint Commission of the Government and National Minorities, which was also established in 2005 after the adoption of the Act on Minorities. The commission is in charge of funding various minority projects selected in an open competition each year. Experts admit that minorities which are better organised and more active in the application receive more funding. In addition, large-scale pro-

jects and projects with long-term effects are less likely to be funded. The NGO expert also adds that a competition for funds is not conducive to cooperation of minorities. Furthermore, according to the governmental expert, the cooperation of the minority organisations with other NGOs in the Polish society is practically non-existent.

Minority self-organisation and political representation: BTSK, Bielarusian Socio-Cultural Association is the largest organisation of minority, created in 1956 and mainly involved in preserving cultural heritage of the community. The minority has a number of media outlets, such as the newpaper 'Niwa', a radio station, and several TV programs in Bialystok. The current work of the Sejm's Commission on National and Ethnic Minorities, according to one expert, aims to increase minority representation in the media.

A number of other influential minority organisations located in Poznan, Bialystok, and Warsaw emerged in the late 1980s. They include the two organisations represented in expert interviews: the Jacek Kuron Foundation for Education in Teremiski and the Belarusian Association of Students. The Jacek Kuron Foundation works with Polish, Belarusian and Lithuanian communities in the region and runs the Open University and a theatre in Teremiski. It aims to foster cultural cooperation between the groups indigenous to the region. The Foundation organises educational, cultural and artistic activities, aiming at long-term and grass-roots cooperation, and aspires to create a new atmosphere for cultural exchange, based on respect and recognition of various cultures of the region. Historical education -- arguing that cooperative cohabitation of various ethnic groups is beneficial --is very important in this respect.

The Belarusian Association of Students (BAS) was the second organisation of the Belarusian community in Poland, registered anew in 1988. Its aims are social and cultural: fostering of Belarusian student culture, activisation of the Belarusian civil society and organising cultural and artistic events, such as the music festival Basowiszcza. It operates in a group of other organisations of similar orientation: the Union of Belarusian Youth and Association for Children and Youth Studying the Belarusian language (ABBA), which appeared in early 1990s. The BAS expert emphasizes the cultural orientation of the organisation and its unwillingness to get involved in political matters.

The Belarusian minority does not have a political force representing their interests in the parliament, but has individual deputies elected as candidates of mainstream parties. The present minority deputies were elected as part of the list of the mainstream political parties (Civic Platform, Union of Democratic Left) which allocated certain positions in their lists to minority representatives. The BAS expert particularly values the contribution of the Belarusian representative to the work of the Sejm's Commission on minorities, considers political representation as important and stresses the need to increase awareness about it among the minority members.

Relationship with ethnic homeland: Interviews point out that the minority organisations in the region work overwhelmingly on the issues of the Belarusian community in Poland and do not foster any relationship with Belarus.

The government expert notes that Poland and Belarus have agreements on good relationship, and on cooperation on culture, science and education, which recognise mutual national minorities. However, the expert does not consider the contributions of the Belarusian state as significantly influencing the Belarusian minority in the region. He notes that the Belarusian state provides educational resources to some schools in Poland, and that some cultural-educational events are carried between the two states, but does not consider such inter-state cooperation as particularly relevant to the issues of the minority. He notes several positive initiatives developed between the

two states, such as facilitated trans-border movement in the 50 km radius, but generally considers the relations between the two states as unrelated to minorities. In his view, such relations are the primary competence of the Ministry of Foreign affairs.

The minority organisation expert has a similar opinion on the significance of relationship with Belarus. In her view, the Belarusian state provides much fewer resources for its minority in Poland compared to the Poland's support to its minority in Belarus. She also notes that the nature of political regime in Belarus and the strained relationship between the two countries complicate the activities of Belarusian organisations in Poland. These organisations, despite disapproving the regime in Belarus, become very conscious about expressing any political affiliation in their activities, and have difficulties in organising cultural exchange between countries due to visa restrictions imposed by Belarus. In her view, any cooperation with Lukashenka's Belarus would only harm the minority, by increasing the negative stereotypes about it in Polish society.

Influence of the EU and European Projects: Experts note that EU's general influence as a guarantor of minority rights in Poland is more significant rather than any concrete projects, especially with regard to the Belarusian minority. In the governmental expert's view, the EU's first and foremost contribution to safeguarding minority rights was the mere fact of adoption of the Act on minorities in Poland as the result of the EU accession process. He also notes a positive influence of the European Commission on averting some local initiatives in Poland aiming to implement retaliatory restrictive policies with regard to minorities whose homelands were perceived as discriminating their Polish community. Such mediation, the expert notes, increases the overall standards of minority policies implemented across the EU, and develops more tolerant policies in the region.

Minority organisation expert sees Poland's entry to the EU as having a positive influence on the Belarusian minority, not only from economic perspective, where the EU subsidies improve regional agriculture, but also because recognition of the region as European gives a new appreciation to the culture of the minority as its integral part.

2.2.3 The Polish Minority in Belarus

Three experts were interviewed on issues of Polish minority in Belarus. One expert represents a large minority organisation, while two others are high-ranking representatives of governmental organisations. The first expert is one of the leaders of the Union of Poles of Belarus (*Związek Polaków na Białorusi*). The second is a government representative and works as a consultant at the Office of Commissioner on the Issues of Region and Nationalities, an executive body subordinated to the Council of Ministers of Belarus. The third expert represents legislative power and is the Chair of the Standing Commission on Human Rights, National Relations and Media at the Chamber of Representatives of the National Assembly of the Republic of Belarus, the lower chamber of the Belarusian parliament. The experts provided a comprehensive picture on the situation of the Polish minority in the country.

Major Issues: Belarusian community in Poland faces a particular set of issues, becoming the only minority community in the region falling a victim to destabilising relationships between the country of residence and ethnic homeland. Poland is one of the leading critics of the autocratic regime maintained by president Lukashenka, vigorously enforcing sanctions against it on behalf of the European Union. The confrontational relations between the two countries led to divisions within the Polish minority in Belarus. The three experts in Belarus unanimously emphasized the split of the Union of Poles in Belarus into two organisations – the UPB recognised by Poland and

the UPB recognised by Belarus – as the major issue for the Polish minority in the country. The experts themselves reflect the split, as their views represent the official Belarusian position on the minority and do not represent the views of the opposition.

The split occurred in 2005, when the UPB elected leadership that voiced concerns about democracy in Belarus and stood in opposition to the current Belarusian authorities. Belarusian authorities, in line with repressing other oppositional organisations, did not recognise this critical leadership of the UPB as a legitimate opposition, but instead accused them of unlawful descent and destabilization of ethnic relations in the country. By contrast, Poland recognised this leadership as the only legitimate representation of the Polish community in Belarus, entitled to funding from the Polish state. Such action of the two states precipitated a split within the minority organisation: a remaining part of the UPB carried out another election and chose a leadership loyal to the Belarusian authorities, which then stood in the head of the only Polish organisation in the country recognised by the state of Belarus. Hence, since 2005 the Union of Poles in Belarus is de-facto split in two organisations, one supported by Poland and one supported by Belarus. Hence, a political position on democracy and attitude to authorities in the country of residence became a decisive factor in the split of the organisation. The UPB loyal to the Belarusian authorities inherited the pre-existing infrastructure of the organisation, including the newspaper and the website. The opposition part of the UPB had to establish a new website and a new newspaper, published online, both funded by the Senate of Poland.

The experts negatively evaluate the consequences of the split on the situation on Polish minority in Belarus. The minority organisation expert (from Belarusian official UPB) argues the issue of the split was excessively politicized in the last years, and this weakens Polish community in the country and unjustly sanctions regular members. According to one government expert, the split has hardly affected the relations between the Polish community and the rest of society on everyday level. Another government expert argues that the conflict had more resonance in Poland and Europe than in Belarus, and that it was artificially escalated by a small group of people. According to him, the meetings at the PACE had later established that the conflict concerned not so much the issue of the treatment of minorities, as the issue of freedom of association.

Aside from the split of the UPB, there are no particular tensions affecting Polish community or its relationship to other ethnic communities. According to the minority organisation expert, small tensions refer more to religious belonging than to ethnicity. The government expert both mention that Belarus is characterized by the absence of ethnic tension because of its successful policy of cohabitation of different ethnic groups. According to the parliamentary expert, the country is 'an island of freedom free of any ethnic animosity'.

The experts do not consider the Polish minority in the country to be discriminated in any way. Poles are well represented in managing positions in the economy and in the state institutions, and there is no discrimination on ethnic principle in the job market. Poles are also represented in the parliament proportionally to their share in the total population of the republic. According to the UPB expert, majority of Poles in Belarus also position themselves as Belarusian citizens of Polish descent, which contributes to their successful integration into society. The historical memory of their roots, and in particular of 1939 as the changing year for the situation of the Polish community, is still alive and important for sustaining Polish identity. According to one governmental expert, the majority of minorities are well integrated because they are treated as equal citizens of Belarus. The Roma continue to be the most disadvantaged community in Belarus, and the situation of other minorities is much better in this respect. The second government

agrees that no members of ethnic communities are discriminated because they are treated primarily as the citizens of Belarus.

The governmental experts note that the Polish community in Belarus receives the same support from the Belarusian state as other minorities, since current legislation on minorities entitles all ethnic groups to equal support from the state. However, the share of the financial support received by the Polish community is the largest, due to the fact that the group is the largest ethnic minority in the country. Equally, the Polish community commands the largest infrastructure compared to other ethnic groups, consisting of 16 Polish Houses across the country. According to the expert representing the community, two schools with Polish language of instruction now operate in the country, supported by efforts of the community organization. A government expert adds that 120 educational establishments of other sorts (vocational schools, open classes) are now supported by the state, where national languages are studied, and the Polish language is studied by more than 4,700 pupils.

Policies and Problems: experts point to a developed legal base that regulates relationships between nationalities in the Republic of Belarus. First, the basic provisions for national communities are spelled out by the Belarusian Constitution, which guarantees equality between the national communities in the country and respect to their rights and interests. It refers to national minorities as 'national communities', emphasizing the equality of different ethnic groups before the law. All three experts underline its importance. Further rights are detailed in the Law on national minorities of 1992, which the second expert considers the cornerstone of the legislation on minorities. The new redaction of the law from 2004, notes the expert from the Chamber of representatives, regulates all present work in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations.

Provisions for minorities are also made in the law on languages, the law on religion, and the law on education, which foresee educational facilities in the languages of nationalities in the places of their dense residence. The expert from the UPB mentions the law on voluntary public organisations in Belarus as a defining document enabling public activities by the minority. According to him, carrying out of cultural activities by minority organisations is not obstructed by the state, and many organisations representing various ethnic groups have emerged in Belarus in recent years.

Polish minority, experts remark, is treated on a par with other nationalities and it receives the same provisions as other ethnic groups in the country. The overall goal of social policy in the country, the UPB expert adds, is to provide equal conditions for the development of national minorities. Belarusian state supports the national organisations by providing funding for their activities, allocated each year through the Consultative council at the Commissioner of Issues of Religions and Nationalities.

The second expert notes that the activities of almost 25 national associations in the country are coordinated by the office of Commissioner on Religion and Nationalities, the main executive body on minority policy. The NGOs representing national minorities are united into the Consultative Council at the Commissioner, an advisory body that fosters cooperation between organisations of various minorities. The UPB expert provides examples of such cooperation and evaluates it positively. But he also argues that a creation of an independent union of various minority NGOs would strengthen representation of minorities in the country. The Council meets three times a year and advices on policy implementation and distribution of financial support to minority organisations.

The Commissioner on religion and national minorities, according to the second expert, supports long-term and high-impact cultural projects, publications from minority organisations, festivals of culture, and monitors formation of tolerant relations between the minorities. It establishes preferential rates of rental for minority infrastructure, such as cultural houses and centres. Two venues for minority organisations, the Centre of National Cultures and the House of friendship are the financed by the Ministry of Culture of Belarus. Local municipal organisations also provide support for events organised by the Polish community. The Commissioner also cooperates with corresponding bodies regulating ethnic minorities in other FSU countries, in particular Moldova, Russia, and Lithuania.

Finally, the parliamentary Commission on human rights, national relations and media monitors the acting laws to assure that they contain no discrimination on national, ethnic or religious grounds.

Minority self-organisation and political representation: The Union of Poles in Belarus was created in 1988, representing one of the first organisations in the revival of Polish culture in Belarus. The mandate of the organisation is the revival of the national culture, education in Polish language, preservation of Polish cultural traditions and historical heritage. The organisation is the largest community organisation representing ethnic Poles, although the membership of the official UPB has decreased from around 20,000 to 7,000 or 8,000 after the split of the organisation in 2005, when the membership in UPB became associated with problems, the UPB expert notes. The initial membership of the UPS consisted of the older people who were in touch with their Polish roots, but this membership was extended by the younger people in the recent years. There are also other organizations catering to specific parts of ethnic community, such as Polska Macierz Szkolna, a cultural-educational organisation supporting the spread of education in the Polish language in 'the national, Christian and civic spirit' among the young. Its principal mandate is to support education of school children in the traditions of Polish culture through organisation of teaching in Polish, organisation of school competitions and festivals.

The UPB publishes a newspaper and a journal, but the publication of these periodicals suffers from the lack of financial support after the split of organisation.

There are no political parties of the Polish minority in Belarusian parliament, and the minority expert does not consider the existence of political representation of minorities as necessary. The government experts agree that representation of individual members of minorities in the parliament is sufficient, and the political organisations based on ethnic principles would run against the fundamental principle of the Belarusian system that ensures equal opportunities to all ethnicities.

Relationship with ethnic homeland: according to the minority organisation expert, Poland created significant advantages for persons of Polish origin on the territory of the former Soviet Union by introducing the Polish ID card. The card provides many advantages for the people of Polish origin while visiting Poland, in obtaining education, carrying out business, and other activities. The card also provides other privileges and equal treatment of people of Polish origins on the territory of Poland, except providing citizenship and the right to vote. For people of Polish origin residing in Belarus, the Polish ID card gives privileges in obtaining visas for visiting Poland, and many Belarusians of Polish origins take advantage of this document. The expert evaluates this policy initiative of Poland positively. The second government expert agrees that the initiative stimulates the exchange between the two countries and has positive consequences.

On the other hand, the UPB expert negatively evaluates the influence of Poland on the internal situation of the Polish community in Belarus. In his view, the Polish state contributes to the split

of the Belarusian movement in Belarus by supporting and financing only the oppositional part of the UPB. The controversial nature of the Polish support for the community in the country is manifested by the conspicuous absence of Polish officials at the events organised by the official UPB. In his view, the activities of the official UPB -- providing the education in Polish and promoting the Polish culture -- unjustifiably suffer from such policies. Europe and Poland, he argues, are selective in listening only to protesting part of organisation. Both the government and the minority experts note that the support of the Polish state for the activities of the Polish minority in the country became smaller and more selective since the split of 2005.

Influence of the EU and European Projects: according to the government experts, the European projects and initiatives have little relevance for Polish community. One EU-sponsored program provides funding for students of Polish origin from Belarus willing to study in Europe. The remaining European projects do not concern Polish community and affect other minority groups. The UPB expert acknowledges the role of the EU in harmonisation of policies towards minorities. According to him, EU's attention to issues of minorities, development of common policies and providing financial support for minority organisations is a positive development. But he notes a more positive impact of such programs for the minorities in Poland rather than for minorities in Belarus.

2.2.4 The Polish Minority in Lithuania

Three experts were interviewed on issues of Polish minority in Lithuania. Two came from governmental organisations, and one represents a large minority organisation. The first expert is an adviser at the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture, and a coordinator at the Council of National Minorities. The second expert advises the Prime minister of Lithuania on Polish questions, and the third is a representative of the largest Polish minority organisation in the country, Union of Poles in Lithuania, UPL (*Związek Polaków na Litwie*). The experts provided a comprehensive picture on the situation of the Polish minority in the country.

Major Issues: Polish minority faces a number of issues in Lithuania. The first group of issues concerns the impact of revisions in the national laws concerning support of national minorities, and the integration of the adopted international laws into the national legislature. This group includes issues of secondary education, use of Polish language in public signs, and spelling of Polish surnames in the documents. These issues are particularly relevant to the Polish minority as one of the largest minority groups in the country. The second group of issues relates to the more historical questions of social integration of Polish minority in Lithuania and ethnic tensions between the Lithuanian majority and Polish minority.

Issues of education are at the forefront of Lithuanian ethnic minorities for several reasons. Firstly, the newly planned law on national minorities is supposed to have fewer provisions for the state support for education of minorities than it had before 2010. Furthermore, the law on education is revised, and presupposes reduction of training in ethnic languages, as well as an increase in the obligatory instruction in the state language in certain subjects in secondary schools. According to the second governmental expert, minorities are watching this process anxiously, and Polish and Russian minorities are not supporting such reductions. In addition, the expert from the minority organisation notes that the planned reform of educational institutions is problematic not only for the minorities, but also for the majority. He points out that the minorities would like to see the continuation of education in ethnic languages as guaranteed by the previous law on national minorities.

The question of Polish language in public signs relates to implementation of the European Convention on minority rights which Lithuania adopted in 2000. According to the first governmental expert, the prospective minority law should close the gap between the rights of minorities to their ethnic language and the law on the use of Lithuanian as the state language. His working group proposes to introduce the parallel inscriptions in minority languages where the concentration of minority exceeds 33.3% of the total population.

The issue of spelling of Polish names in the documents continues to mobilize the members of Polish community. According to the Lithuanian law on language, the names on the documents should be spelled in Lithuanian language, which does not allow the members of Polish community to use the Polish transliteration. This long-standing issue continues to be raised in talks between the Polish and Lithuanian authorities, but is not resolved so far.

Experts do not see the Polish minority in Lithuania suffering any visible disadvantages in integration. The two governmental experts noted that the most disadvantaged minority in the country are the Roma. They pointed out, however, that minorities in Eastern Lithuania (Poles including) are somewhat isolated, because they are generally less educated than the rest of the population; lack of state language command creates for them some problems in the labour market. The minority expert does not notice any disadvantages of the Polish minority at all compared to the rest of the population, and states that the group does not face any social exclusion.

Tensions between the Lithuanian minority and the Polish minority are acknowledged by all three experts. The two governmental experts see them as the results of distancing of some national groups from majority. Tensions are often historically motivated, and relate to the visions of relations between the Polish and Lithuanian groups dating as far back as the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom and emergence of the Lithuanian national movement in the 19 century. A particular social climate is created at the present, where politicians and public persons, the second expert argues, amplify the stereotypes and create the atmosphere of distrustfulness and distance toward certain groups. The tensions are then amplified, the governmental experts note, when the national card is used to consolidate minorities during the elections, and minorities stand in opposition to the majority. The cooperation of minorities in elections is not viewed favourably by the majority, which perceives such cooperation as a threat.

The governmental experts also acknowledge, however, that the majority shows prejudices to some ethnic groups, sometimes against Poles, but more likely against Roma, Jews and recently Muslims. Unification of national minorities in opposition to majority is perceived as a threat; a vulnerability developed by the Lithuanian majority in the course of the short national history towards surrounding national powers and their minorities is stressed in the first interview. That weakens cooperation between minorities and the majority. The second governmental expert notes also a lack of cooperation from the side of the Polish minority, which for some time did not send a representative to the National Communities Council.

In turn, the expert from the minority organisation sees the Lithuanian politicians as reluctant to cooperate with large minorities and listen to their demands; he notes that the concerns of minorities are omitted in elaboration of new minority policies. This expert sees the need for promoting tolerance towards ethnic groups and other minorities, stating that Lithuania's Soviet past did not create preconditions of such tolerance towards others. The state, in his view, should take a more proactive attitude in that regard. While some tensions are observable at everyday level, general lack of tolerance is more visible and should be addressed in state initiatives.

All three experts mention the diminishing financial support of minorities. According to the governmental experts, economic crisis resulted in less financial support for minorities, when the state tried to fulfil at least the minimum goal of keeping the basic infrastructure for minorities (the National community house and a few other centres). One expert defends a greater differentiation in financing minority organisations, stating that organisations not loyal to the state of residence should not receive funding. Expert from the minority organisation expresses the wish that the funding of the Polish minority in Lithuania has to be brought at least to a similar level as the funding of Lithuanians in Poland. He advocates a creation of institute of national minorities which would coordinate the implementation of the national policy on national minorities.

Policies and Problems: the pervasive problem mentioned by all experts was the instability in the laws and institutions safeguarding the rights of minorities in Lithuania. Experts note the importance of the first Law on National Minorities adopted in 1989, but point out that the law was due to be revised and the institutions dealing with minorities were to be restructured. This was not done on time and without a careful preparation. As a result, the old Law on National minorities is not in force since 2010, but the new law was not prepared in time to replace it. From 2010 until present ethnic minorities in Lithuania are not regulated by any law on minorities. Similarly, the institutional base for support of minorities was not carefully revised, and the transfer of functions from the Department of National Minorities and Lithuanians Living Abroad to the Ministry of Culture was accomplished sporadically and without appropriate planning. First expert considers these changes inadequate and the establishment of the prime-minister commission for minorities as an insufficient tool replacing earlier, more effective cooperation with minorities. This new commission, according to the second expert, deals with the proposal of liquidating education in the language of national minorities. Minorities are unhappy about the proposal and may withdraw from the process.

Hence, the end of the implementation of the first law on minorities seems to correspond to a mounting insecurity about what kind of inter-ethnic policy the Lithuanian state should adopt. The two governmental experts voice a concern about the overall design of the Lithuanian minority rights system, based on the recognition and special rights of traditional minorities. The first governmental expert points out that granting special rights to ethnic minorities amplifies the rifts between ethnic minorities and the majority, eliminating a possible emphasis on a common civic culture in the state of residence. According to him, such policy encourages excessive intervention of the kin states into the affairs of their respective ethnic communities in Lithuania. It also prevents increasing identification of minorities with the Lithuanian state, and it remains low due to a short period of existence of the independent Lithuanian state so far. The usefulness of the trilingual state education system is also questioned. The concept of Lithuania, in his view, has to change from ethno-linguistic to civic. The second governmental expert also recognises problems with recognition of special status of minorities, since it continues ethnic divisions in society.

The third expert, the representative of Polish minority, is against a complete return to the civic conception of the state, by stating that the rights of minorities should be clearly defined in the new law to promote integration rather than assimilation. Furthermore, the UPL representative states that the provisions of the European Convention on Minorities should be introduced into the Lithuanian laws.

Minority self-organisation and political representation: Union of Poles is the largest NGO of minority in Lithuanian, established in 1989, and includes about 11,000 members. The main mandate of the organisation, according to the expert from the UPL, is the promotion of education and culture. The union has 15 branches over the country, and is a member of the European Polish

Union. The main goals of the organisation-- culture and education--, are linked to preservation of Polish identity. According to the expert, the organisation clearly differentiates integration from assimilation: the goal is not to assimilate but to integrate with the majority. Promotion of young people's involvement is also an important part of organisation's activities, as is commemoration of historical events related to Polish Lithuanian community. Polish minority cooperates with other minorities in Lithuania and organises joint events.

Polish minority in Lithuania has its own political party, Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania. The governmental experts generally do not consider the political system consisting of ethnic parties as favourable. According to them, the political landscape should not be divided between ethnic parties, and Europe now generally moves away from ethnic/national representation to regional representation. But for the moment the ethnic parties in Lithuania represent interests of the population and receive some electoral support. The Lithuanian majority and national minorities (Poles and Russians), according to the experts, are more likely to rally around ethnic divisions than around substantive issues. The minority organisation expert, by contrast, stresses importance of the fact that the interests of some population groups get representation through the Polish minority party. He is particularly positive about the participation of Polish representatives in the municipal countries (53 members), noting that they help to solve problems of the minority at the local level. In addition, three members of parliament defend interests of ethnic Poles at the national level.

Relationship with ethnic homeland: The relationships between the Polish community in Lithuania and its ethnic homeland have not been straightforward. On the one hand, according to the third expert, Poland provides financial support for the community (such as construction of the Polish house in Vilnius), and other support. Generally the Senate of Poland oversees the types of support provided. Support from the kin country is necessary, because support received from the Lithuanian state is insufficient.

On the other hand, Poland, in the opinion of governmental experts, is not using its community in Lithuania as an instrument of influence on Lithuania. To the contrary, as the first expert notes, Poland has been a stabilizing force in balancing the relations between the Polish minority and Lithuanian majority. The second expert agrees that the two countries exist in a common European space and are interested in wider cooperation, apart from supporting each other's communities. Although Poland provides support to the Polish community culturally, financially, and so on, it is more interested in broader cooperation between the two countries, in particular in economic cooperation and investments. Interests of Poland in Lithuania are not centred on the Polish community, because this group is intellectually and economically regressive, one expert remarks. But the situation of minority is taken into account when dealing with the minority kin state. A different, more regional identity of Poles in Lithuania, also contributes to a certain distance in group's communication wit the kin state.

Influence of the EU and European Projects: Both governmental experts note that international legal and European documents are not easily adaptable to the Lithuanian situation. Given the vulnerability of the Lithuanian state, laws on ethnicity should not be copied blindly, but require adaptation to the local situation. According to the second expert, possibilities of external influence in the case of Lithuania are limited, and relationship and institutions things have to change internally before external influence can have any effect. NGOs are weak, civil society underdeveloped and the level of inter-ethnic cooperation in them is low. Because of these factors, the few European initiatives undertaken so far have little real impact. In his view, the influence and importance of the European projects is rather in the message they send than in what they accom-

plish. European projects, according to the minority exert, provide important support to Polish minority in Lithuania, and open possibilities to international cooperation.

ANNEX ONE: MANUAL FOR ENRI-EXI SUB-STUDY

Version 10 as of December 9, 2010

1. Introduction and General Frame of ENRI-EXI (ENRI-East Expert Interviews)

This is a manual for the ENRI-East Experts interviews (ENRI-EXI). This manual was designed by a team of ENRI-East experts and includes contributions made at different stages of its design from: Claire Wallace (Uni Aberdeen); Natalka Patsiurko (Uni Aberdeen), Barbara Dietz (Osteuropa Institute); Natalia Waechter (IHS), Alex Chvorostov (IHS) and Lyudmila Nurse (OX-XXI).

The manual was edited by Claire Wallace (Uni Abdn), Natalka Patsiurko (Uni Abdn), Lyudmila Nurse (OX-XXI), and the coordinating team (IHS).

- This manual is the main reference and guidelines document for the national teams in preparation, conducting and reporting of the ENRI-East Experts Interviews during the field work period between October 2010 and January 2011.
- Taskforce on ENRI-EXI: Claire Wallace, Natalia Waechter, Barbara Dietz, Lyudmila Nurse, David Rotman
- Contact details of the ENRI-EXI field work coordination team:
 - → Natalka Patsiurko: natalka.patsiurko@abdn.ac.uk
 - → Lyudmila Nurse: lyudmilanurse@oxford-xxi.org
 - → Anna Gibson: info@oxford-xxi.org

The general frame for ENRI expert interviews is presented in the Description of Work in the following way:

From Description of Work

Expert interviews with representatives of NGOs and local, regional and national officials:

There will be 5 to 15 interviews taken per country, 150 interviews in sum.

Main interview themes are: issues of self-governance and political representation of ethnic minorities, state policies toward ethnic minorities in general and toward particular groups, official Diaspora policies and relations with neighbouring countries, media coverage of interests and needs of these groups, etc.

Method: semi-structured interviews in the expert's most convenient language; interviews shall be tape-recorded and fully transcribed in the taken language and summaries or specific fragments presented in English. Duration of each interview is 1 to 1.5 hours.

2. Suggested sample

The expert interviews with the leaders of relevant NGOs, governmental officials, and representatives from minority organizations for each minority studied by ENRI-East will be conducted in the countries and locations of the ENRI-VIS quantitative survey.

However, there is one exception:

• Inclusion of Germany into this particular field-work (covering at least two ethnic groups: German and Jewish "repatriates" from the former USSR).

The objective of the interviews is to obtain expert analysis on the situation of minority groups in each country studied by ENRI-East, for the country as a whole and for the particular minority groups of interest to the project. Therefore, we aim to obtain analyses coming from organisations representing minorities themselves, and from the organisations working on or with minorities, but not necessarily representing them.

In light of that objective, two to four experts will be interviewed for each minority group in each country. These experts must be recruited from the following two categories of organizations/institutions:

- one or two governmental official(s) or a NGO representative (preferably at the national or regional level), dealing with several ethnic minorities (and NOT just ONE single minority), and
- one or two representatives of cultural, religious or political organizations representing *a* particular ethnic minority studied by ENRI-East.

Experts in groups (A) should be able to provide an analysis of ethnic minorities in this country in general (including the minorities studied by ENRI-East), while experts in group (B) should represent an organisation of the ethnic minority studied by ENRI-East and will comment on the situation of this particular community on the ground.

The proposed categorisation into two groups therefore has two implicit dimensions:

- representatives of a minority organisation **vs.** representatives of other organisations (dealing with a minority, but not necessarily representing it)
- national analysts vs. regional or local analysts.

By specifying only two groups (and not four) for the above dimensions, we assume that the two dimensions generally coincide with each other: that is, that the ethnic minority organisations generally operate at the local level, and the experts working with minorities (but not necessarily representing them), generally operate at the national level. We also implicitly assume that organisations at the local level represent one single ethnic community, while the organisations at the regional or national level dealing with ethnic minorities (but not representing them) generally work with many ethnic minorities.

Obviously, this will not always be the case. Sometimes, the representatives of a particular ethnic minority studied by ENRI-East will operate at the national level, while the governments or NGOs operate at the local level. Similarly, it might sometimes be the case that the organisations on the ground represent more than one ethnic minority, while the national organisations working with minorities (but not representing them) work exactly with one single minority studied by ENRI-East.

If such 'confusion of dimensions' is present in your selection of potential experts, we recommend that you prioritize your choice of respondents by the first dimension, that is, are the experts representing the minority studied by ENRI-East, or do they work on such minority, without representing it.

Note: the issue of 'representation' here could be a tricky one: does a Roman Catholic priest working in a Ukrainian community 'represent' a Polish minority or 'works' for them? Here, we suggest that you proceed by asking the expert himself: if he feels that he *represents* a particular community, and

not merely *works with* the community, interview him as a representative of the local organisation of the minority studied by ENRI-East. This should be the case even if his parish includes members from more than one ethnic community.

Your second prioritizing dimension should be *the level dimension*, i.e., are the experts representing *the national* or *the regional/local* organizations or governments. That is, the officials and NGOs representatives should preferably come from national or regional levels, and the representatives of the ethnic minorities organizations should preferably come from regional or local levels. The government officials and NGOs should be able to present to us the national and regional situation with ethnic minorities in the country as a whole, whereas the representatives of the minority organizations should be able to present the local and regional perspective on a specific ethnic minority on the ground. However, this division should be taken as a guide only: if you find a representative of the studied minority at the national level and they are willing to talk to you, do the interview. In the German case, it is strongly recommended to interview at least one representative of the minority organizations operating at the national level, for each ethnic group studied.

In the final count, it would be preferable that the experts representing the ENRI-minority are one half of your entire expert sample, and the experts working with or on the ENRI-minority are another half of your sample. Similarly, the division between the national and local experts should also be roughly half and half, as reflected in the table below. However, the sample for each country is very small, so these numbers should be taken more as a guide than the rule.

	matrix

Country	group	case	Officials, leaders, NGOs National or regional	Ethnic minorities organiza- tions(political, cultural, religious organizations) Regional, local, or national level	Totals per group	Totals per country	
	Ru(LT)	1	1-2	1-2	3		
Lithuania	By(LT)	2	1-2	1-2	3	9	
	PI(LT)	3	1-2	1-2	3		
Latvia	Ru(LV)	4	1	1	2	2	
Poland	Ua(PL)	5	1-2	1-2	3	6	
Polatiu	By(PL)	6	1-2	1-2	3	0	
Cormany	De(DE)	7	2	2	4	0	
Germany	Jew(DE)	8	2	2	4	8	
Hungary	Sk(HU)	9	1	1	2	2	
Slovakia	Hu(SK)	10	1	1	2	2	
Belarus	PI(BY)	11	1-2	1-2	3	3	
Ukraine	Hu(UA)	12	2	2	4	- 8	
UNIAIIIE	PI(UA)	13	2	2	4	0	
Russia (Kgd)	It(RU)	14	1	1	2	2	
Totals:			21+/-	21+/-	42	42	

TOTAL 42 expert interviews (14 minorities and 2/3/4 interviews each)

Another note relates to the *types of organisations* included in categories A and B.

Category (A) includes national and regional experts who are government officials or representatives of various NGOs, or, in some cases, represent media or academic circles. Any expert selected in this group should have a broader overview of national minorities in the country.

The government officials should come from the executive or legislative branches of the government, and represent offices dealing with ethnic minorities or minority policies. They should preferably represent national or regional branches of governments, in order to be able to present a broader picture of minority groups in the country. As part of this category, you can also interview an official at the local level where a particular minority is concentrated, provided that she or he can discuss the minority situation in the area in the context of the national situation with minorities.

An NGO could be any non-governmental organisation that, as part of its mandate, advocates for the rights of minorities, deals with cultural, economic, or political issues related to minorities, and generally works on *more than one* ethnic minority in the country. The representatives of the selected NGO should be able to comment on the minority issues for the entire country or region, and discuss them for *several* minorities, preferably including the minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in the country.

Note: If the NGO you selected *represents* the interests of ONE particular ethnic minority studied by ENRI-East in this country, you can interview its representatives as part of the quota for the category (B).

Exceptionally, national or regional experts can be the representatives of the media or the academic world, but in either case they should be sufficiently knowledgeable to discuss the situation of several ethnic groups in that country, and preferably including the specific minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East.

Category (B) includes representatives of an organization of the particular ethnic minority studied by ENRI-East. Such organization could *be cultural, religious, or political organization of the minority in question*. It can be regional, local, or sometimes a national organisation, but it should *represent a particular ethnic group we are studying in this country*. For each organisation, we should choose one of its most senior members who is able to discuss the situation of this particular ethnic group in the society as a whole, but who can also comment on the particular minority organisation they represent, in terms of its membership, role, and significance. The aim of selecting this category of experts is to find out how the minority organisations emerge, how they function, and what is their role among other institutions in society.

Generally, the main criterion for selecting the respondents for category (A) is that they should be sufficiently involved in working with minorities, and should be able to present an informed perspective on the situation of many ethnic minorities in the country as a whole, including ENRI-minorities, in terms of treatment of minorities by the state and by the state policies. By contrast, the main criteria for selecting the respondents within group (B) should be that they should be sufficiently informed about the situation of the ENRI-studied minority locally and nationally, *and* that they represent a minority organisation that is sufficiently strong in terms of membership and its significance for the life of this minority in the region or in the country. For this reason, we recommend choosing the most senior persons in such organisations. In some countries, where there are clearly opposing factions in the minority organizations, one representative from each faction should be chosen in group (B).

For each group of experts, we have prepared a separate tailored questionnaire (see Tools/Interview Guide section).

Preliminary identification of experts for interview:

- Government offices/ NGO organizations working on ethnic groups: start with research on who is in charge of minorities policies at the national and regional level and what are the possible NGOs of interest. Within these organizations, identify potential experts by contacting the organisations and asking for senior members who can be interviewed.
- <u>Minority group organizations:</u> start with the research on which minority organizations have been established at the national level and in the regions of concentration of ENRIminorities. The organizations can be cultural, educational, religious, civil rights, etc. Check that these organizations exert important influence within the ENRI-studied ethnic minority and that they have significant membership. Find out who are the important leaders/senior members of these organizations that can effectively answer the questions formulated in our research, and contact them requesting an interview.

3. Suggested interviewing method

A method of semi-structured interviews will be undertaken, based on the specific themes and questions that will be discussed in a face-to-face interview.

Two groups of questions are designed for face to face interviews, in accordance with the two proposed sample categories.

The FIRST set of questions will be addressed to the government officials and the NGO representatives. This first set of questions group will be addressed to the experts who can comment on the situation of several ethnic groups in the country. It aims to provide a perspective on ethnic groups in the country (or region) as a whole, and on the overall situation of the particular ethnic group(s) studied by ENRI-East in this country. Therefore, it would be preferable that, in addition to commenting on the situation of several ethnic groups in the country in general, the selected government officials and the NGO representatives could comment on the particular ethnic group(s) we are studying in this country.

(For the list of questions in **the first group**, see **Section A** in the *Interview Guide*)

The SECOND set of questions is specifically designed for the representatives of organizations in the particular ethnic minority studied in ENRI-East in your country. This set is addressed to the representatives of any cultural, religious, or political organisation of the minority in question. It aims to find out how the minority organisations are created and function in this country, what kind of issues they work on, and how they represent the minority in question. Even if some experts represent more than one ethnic minority (priests, for example), the main set of questions on minorities in such interviews should still center on the ENRI-minority group.

(For the list of questions in **the second group**, see **Section B** in the *Interview Guide*).

Experts will be asked to answer these questions in an analytical and reflective way, using the information that is available to them. Therefore, the interviews should not be conducted in a simple question-and-answer manner, but should resemble a structured in-depth interview. Interviewers should start by asking a few questions from each proposed section, but once they establish that the expert gives meaningful and informed answers, they ask the remaining questions from that section, requesting the respondent to elaborate and prompting as appropriate. Interviewers are encouraged to ask additional relevant questions for the sections on which they see that the respondent has appropriate expertise. By contrast, the interviewers can shorten the sections on which they establish that the interviewer is not very knowledgeable. The aim is to conduct an in-depth interview on the topics of respondent's expertise. The interviews should last approximately 1.5-2 hours. Shorter interviews are unlikely to cover the sections in sufficient depth or provide a good overview of the situation of minorities in the studied country.

The interview questions should be sent to the experts in advance, in order to give them an opportunity to familiarise themselves with main issues to be covered. When making an appointment, please remind an interviewee to bring any printed or visual materials which describe his organisation or an ethnic group -- such as tables, articles, reports, etc. -- to the interview. You can also ask for a copy of such materials during an interview, if you see that the expert is using them.

Interviewers will also be asked to fill in **two supporting documents** during and after the interview. First, they will fill in **the Experts profile form** with the help of the experts being interviewed at the beginning or at the end of each interview. This form contains general information about experts, such as age, gender, education, position etc. Expert profiles should be completed for all interviewed experts.

(see **Expert Profile Form** in **Section C** of the **Interview Guide**)

Second, interviewers will also fill in a short **Interview Feedback Form** describing interview circumstances, such as location, interview duration, atmosphere of the interview, and other remarks and observations of the interviewer, after the interview was conducted.

(see **Expert Interview Feedback Form** in **Section D** of the **Interview Guide**)

4. Data base / deliverables

- The interviews have to be digitally recorded and transcribed word by word in the language of the interview ("original language").
- A full set of the interview documents (transcripts, expert profile, interview feedback form) is required to be translated into the English language (except supporting materials, if any).
- Completed interview packages must be submitted to: info@oxford-xxi.com and natal-ka.patsiurko@abdn.ac.uk
- Each of the interview reports will be archived and stored in a database for further use in the analysis.

Deliverables from partners:

- 1. Full anonymized transcripts of the interviews in the original language
- 2. English translation of the full interview transcript (not required for interviews from Germany)
- 3. Expert profile, interviewer feedback, and any supporting materials (if available)
- 4. Short technical report on collected interviews (about 2 pages per ethnic group), zed providing: justification of the selection of particular experts; detailed description of the national data collection; summary of interview circumstances and other methodological notes and specific observations.

Note from Project Coordinator

ENRI teams must be aware that they are expected to write a summarizing report of the results of their analysis of the ENRI-EXI sub-studies, appending these reports to their respective chapters of "Minority reports". These reports of results do not constitute a compulsory deliverable for WP5, but are compulsory as your contributions to WP2.

Deliverables from the coordinating team (Aberdeen University and Oxford XXI)

- 1. This ENRI-EXI Manual with annexes (i.e., template for national technical reports, guide on data delivery, etc.)
- 2. General technical report on ENRI-EXI, summarizing the details of the study in all participating countries and describing the collected data base. Draft technical report and a Matrix of collected interviews will be provided by Oxford XXI.
- 3. ENRI-EXI database itself.

The data base of ENRI-EXI shall be maintained by the Oxford XXI, Aberdeen University, and the project Coordinator in the IHS-Vienna. This will be <u>secured data storage</u>, <u>accessible only for responsible coordinators from these three teams</u>. Later on we must decide about the ways and mode in which this data collection shall be made available to all participating teams and experts.

5. Timetable, coordination and quality assurance

Timeline:

• Expert interviews will take place between November 2010 and January 2011

• Technical reporting: February 15, 2011

Coordination

Coordination of this study will be implemented by the University of Aberdeen (Claire Wallace and Natalka Patsiurko) and the technical field-work coordination will be taken by Oxford XXI team (Lyudmila Nurse and Anna Gibson).

- Design of Expert interviews (this manual): Wallace (leader), Patsiurko, Waechter, Chvorostov, Dietz, Nurse
- General coordination, including production of the Manual and guidelines for a study and quality assurance: Wallace/ Patsiurko
- Field-work coordination, data base management (Nurse/Gibson)
- Field-work will be carried out by the national project teams and by Ilona Matysiak and Anna Domaradzka in Poland. The Kaliningrad interviews will not be carried out by the national project team but the new team of interviewers will still have to be confirmed.

Quality assurance procedures

- Every reported interview is subject to quality checks by the Oxford and Aberdeen team (full transcripts/translations will be checked).
- Interviews that get rejected in the process of quality control have to be repeated/completed/corrected and will not be paid until corrected interviews will have been accepted.

6. Interview Guide and Tools

Before the interviews, the interviewers are required to read the ENRI-"Minority Reports" on the interviewed ethnic group(s), to have preliminary understanding of the situation of the ethnic groups in each country, see http://www.enri-east.net/work-packages/wp2/en/. (Note: the minority report draft for Ukraine is apparently ready but not yet on the web, and there is no report for Poland unfortunately). In addition to minority reports, the interviewers should also familiarize themselves with the issues facing each studied minority by looking at media information and reports, and, if possible, with the legislative acts referring to the studied minorities.

Issues of anonymity have to be clarified *before t*he interviews. When you make an appointment, please tell the respondent that the interviews are anonymous if the expert chooses such an option. Inform the respondents that any personal information that we ask for during the interview will be used in the research only in a generalized way and for statistical purposes, and that we will not refer to expert's name or specific position within the specific organisation they represent in any documents produced by the project. Inform respondents that the research results will be used only for academic purposes, such as sociological publications and presentations about minorities.

Each interview must start with a short presentation of the ENRI-East project (handouts such as project leaflet, Bulletin, project pen and bag, etc.)

Furthermore, confirm once more with the respondents if they wish to remain anonymous. If the respondent wishes not to be identified by his or her name, put appropriate note in the Expert Profile Form, and only mark the interview number on the Expert Feedback Form, without recording the name. Record the respondent's organisation and his or her position within it on the Expert Form, while at the same time assure the respondent that no research outcomes will explicitly mention his or her name or the specific position within the organisation they represent.

Then the experts will be interviewed in a semi-structured in-depth interview, using the themes and questions in Section A or B, depending on the type of organisation that the expert represents.

Section A lists questions for the government officials and representatives of NGOs, who will comment on the general situation of ethnic groups in the country as a whole and on the situation of the ethnic group(s) studied by ENRI-East in this particular country.

Section B lists questions for the representatives of the particular ethnic minorities organisations studied by ENRI-East in this country, and focuses on the work and impact of these organisations.

Important Note: It is important to note that each interviewed expert will be able to answer some questions better than the others. Therefore questions in Sections A and B provide a General GUIDE to an interview rather than the exact list of questions to be posed. In either case, make sure that you ask at least several (2-3) questions in each of the 10 groups specified within Sections A and B, and then pursue those topics about which the expert is more knowledgeable and informed. This last suggestion does not mean, however, that you simply ask 2-3 questions in each section and then move on in a mechanical and question-and-answer manner to the next section. Remember that we are looking for in-depth analysis, and once you establish that the expert can knowledgeably answer the questions in a particular section, ask as many questions from that section as you can, request the expert to elaborate or prompt him/her as appropriate. Aim for the interviews that last 1.5-2 hours.

Furthermore, there are two supplementary forms to fill in for each interview.

Section C provides Expert Profile Form, to be filled by the interviewer with the input from the expert being interviewed at the beginning or at the end of each interview (this is a short form to provide a background on the person being interviewed, and this form is required for all interviews).

Section D provides Interview Feedback Form, to be filled in by the interviewer immediately after the completion of the interview (this is a short form only to indicate the circumstances and any concerns about the interview; the form is required for all interviews).

Section A

Questions ONLY for the national or regional government officials and representatives of NGOs (organizations dealing with several ethnic minorities in the country, preferably at the national or regional level):

1. EXPERT'S AREA OF WORK AND EXPERTISE:

- Please describe your area of expertise and which ethnic groups your work relates to.
- Do you work on the issues of the XXX minority as well? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).

2. EXPERT'S ORGANISATION:

How did your organisation emerge historically, and what are its main goals and activities?

3. LAWS AND REGULATIONS ON ETHNIC MINORITIES IN YOUR COUNTRY:

- What laws and regulations exist concerning ethnic minority groups in your country? Specify for language, legal rights, etc.
- What is the impact of these laws and regulations? Do they function as intended? If not, what might be the reason? Are there regional/local differences in their functioning?
- What ideas about the national identity formation do these laws and regulations promote?
 Do they foster common national identity in the country or recognise the multicultural nature of a society?
- Do these laws promote a common European identity for ethnic groups in the country? If so, how?
- Comment on the impact of these laws and regulations on XXX ethnic minority(ies). (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).

4. SOCIAL INTERGRATION OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES:

- How is the concept of social integration defined with respect to ethnic minorities in your country? Specify for language, legal rights, values, etc.
- Is the concept of social integration defined differently for XXX ethnic minority(ies)?
 (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country). If so, how?
- In what aspects are ethnic minority groups disadvantaged in your country (for example: educational system, labour market, housing, political participation)?
- Are the disadvantages different for XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country). If so, what are they?

5. STATE SUPPORT FOR ETHNIC MINORITY ORGANISATIONS:

- Does the state (or the government) support ethnic minorities' organisations in any way? Why or why not? If so, is this support efficient and what can be done to improve it?
- Do some ethnic minorities receive a preferential support compared to others? Can you provide examples?
- Is support different for the XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country). If so, in what ways?

6. <u>CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MAJORITY AND MINORITIES</u>

- Are there any conflicts/tensions between the majority (titular nation) and ethnic minorities in your country?
- Are there conflicts/tensions between different ethnic minorities themselves?
- Are these tensions/conflicts "old" or "new"? Has the situation changed when the country became independent, or when it became an EU member (*if applicable*)?
- How are these conflicts/tensions reflected upon in the media?
- Who is normally involved in resolving such conflicts? Who must be involved?
- Are there any specific conflicts related to the XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).

7. <u>POLITICAL DEBATES SURROUNDING ETHNIC MINORITIES AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES</u>

- What are the topics of the current public political debates on the ethnic minority groups in your country? How strong or salient are these debates?
- Are the debates different or stronger the XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).
- Are minority groups represented in the political life of your country? Is such political representation desirable/important?
- How about the XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).
- What is your opinion about representatives of ethnic minorities who are "non-citizens"?
 Who represents their political views and opinions? If they are not represented, who do you think should represent them in the political life of the country?

8. <u>COOPERATION WITH THE 'MOTHER' COUNTRIES ON ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS</u>

Are the legal status and social situation of ethnic minorities discussed in bilateral relations/agreements between your country and the 'mother' countries of these groups? How

about the XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).

- Are some 'mother' countries supporting their minorities in your country? In what ways? Is this the case for the XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).
- Do you think that the support received from the 'mother' countries to the ethnic minorities makes an impact on the status of the ethnic minorities? If yes, what is it, especially for the XXX communities studied by ENRI-East in your country?
- Are some 'mother' countries lobbying for a special status of their minorities in your country? In what ways? Is this the case for the XXX ethnic minority(ies)? (INSERT HERE specific ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East in your country).
- Are the policies of your country towards its ethnic minorities and the policies of the XXX
 'mother' countries (PUT HERE 'mother' countries of the ethnic minorities studied by ENRIEast in your country) towards their ethnic minorities different? In what ways?

9. EUROPEAN INITIATIVES

- Do European initiatives and/or European integration projects play any role for the social integration of ethnic minority groups in your country? In what way? Could you give an example of such projects/initiatives?
- What role do they play in lives of the XXX ethnic minority(ies) studied by ENRI-East project?

10. CONTACTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS (or NGOs) AND MINORITY GROUPS

- How are contacts between the government or NGOs (*CHOOSE depending on the expert's organisation*) and ethnic minority groups developed? How do they function?
- Are contacts between the government or NGOs (*CHOOSE depending on the expert's organisation*) and the minority groups different *for the XXX ethnic minorities studied by ENRI-East*? In what way do they differ, and how do they function?

Section B

Questions ONLY for representatives of ethnic minority organisations (can be cultural, religious, or political organisations, preferably at the regional or local level):

1. EXPERT'S AREA OF WORK AND EXPERTISE:

• Please describe your area of expertise and which ethnic group your work relates to.

2. EXPERT'S ORGANISATION:

- How did your organisation develop historically? What are its main goals and activities?
- Does your organisation contribute to the self-governance and mobilisation of your ethnic group in this country? If so, how?
- What is the place of your organisation among other organisations in your ethnic community?
- What is the role of your particular organisation in representing your ethnic group in this country? Does it improve the position/status of your ethnic groups in this country? If so, in what ways?
- What is a demographic profile of your organisation: by age, gender, etc.

3. LAWS AND REGULATIONS ON YOUR ETHNIC MINORITY GROUP:

• Which governmental laws and regulations do you consider relevant for your ethnic minority group in this country? E.g., language, legal rights, etc.

- How do you evaluate these laws and regulations? What is the impact of these laws and regulations on your ethnic group? Are there regional/local differences?
- What ideas about the national identity formation do these laws and regulations promote?
 Do they foster common national identity in the country or recognise the multicultural nature of a society?
- Do these laws and regulations facilitate the integration of your ethnic group into society? Why or why not?
- Do these laws promote a common European identity within your ethnic minority? If so, how?
- What difference, if any, do EU policies and the Enlargement of the EU make on the situation of your ethnic group in this country?

4. SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF YOUR ETHNIC COMMUNITY:

- Which models of social integration are relevant for your ethnic minority group in this country? Why?
- In which aspects is your ethnic community "disadvantaged" in this country (for example, ask for educational system, labour market, housing, political participation)?
- Are the disadvantages experienced by your ethnic group similar or different to the disadvantages experienced by other ethnic minorities in this country?
- What would you wish to see improved regarding your ethnic minority group living in this country?
- What would you be prepared to do to change this situation?

5. STATE SUPPORT FOR YOUR ETHNIC MINORITY ORGANISATIONS

- Does the state (or the government) support organisations in your ethnic community in any way, and your organisation in particular? How or how not? Is such support desirable, and in what way?
- Is the governmental support of your ethnic group and your organization different from the support given to the organizations of other ethnic groups in your country? If so, in what way?

6. <u>CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MAJORITY AND YOUR MINORITY GROUP, AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN YOUR MINORITY GROUP AND OTHER MINORITIES IN THIS COUNTRY</u>

- Are there any conflicts/tensions between the majority population (titular nation) and your ethnic minority group in this country? Please describe the nature of such conflicts and comment on them.
- Are there any conflicts/tensions between your ethnic minority and other ethnic minorities in this country? Please describe the nature of such conflicts and comment on them. What are the relations of your ethnic minority group with other minority groups with a similar home country background?
- If there are any conflicts or tensions, are they "old" or "new"? Has the situation changed when the country became independent, or when it became an EU member (*if applicable*)?
- Who is normally involved in resolving such conflicts? Who must be involved?

7. POLITICAL DEBATES SURROUNDING YOUR ETHNIC MINORITY AND ITS POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

• What are the topics of the current public political debate on your ethnic minority group(s)? How strong or salient are these debates?

• Is your minority group represented in the political life of this country? Is such political representation desirable/important?

9. COOPERATION WITH THE 'MOTHER' COUNTRY ON MINORITY GROUP ISSUES

- What are the relations like between your ethnic minority group and your former home/sending country? Specify with respect to cultural, economic, political and social relations.
- Does XXX country (*INSERT the name of 'mother' country as appropriate*) support its minority in your country? If so, in what ways?
- If the 'mother' country provides support, do you think that the support received makes an impact on the status of your ethnic minority in this country? If yes, in what ways?
- How the support of the 'mother' for your community differs from support given by other 'mother' countries to their ethnic communities in this country?
- Are the legal status and social situation of your minority discussed in any bilateral agreements between your country of residence and the 'mother' country of your ethnic group?
 If so, give examples.
- In what respect is the relationship to your 'mother' country important for your ethnic group? What types of cooperation with the mother country would you like to see improved?

9. ETHNIC BELONGING AND IDENTITY IN YOUR MINORITY GROUP

- How do people from your ethnic minority group define their ethnic belonging and identity? What are the various aspects of their ethnic identity, how is it formed and passed on?
- What are the European, national and regional dimensions of the ethnic identity of your ethnic minority group?

10. CONTACTS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT, NGOs AND YOUR MINORITY GROUP

- What are the relations between your ethnic minority group and governmental institutions in this country? How are contacts between the government and your ethnic minority groups developed? How do they function?
- What are the relations between your ethnic minority group and NGOs in this country? How are contacts between the NGOs and your minority group developed? In what ways do the NGOs express the interests of your ethnic group, and are they important in representing your ethnic group in this country? Are NGOs cooperating with your particular organisation? If so, in what way?

Section C:

Expert's Profile Form

Date of the interview:	
Expert interviewed:	
■ Name (optional)	
 interview number: (required, e.g, exi_pl(UA)_01, to be filled by the inter- viewer) 	
Expert's Occupation:	
Organization expert represents:	
name of the organization:	
 Is it governmental, NGO, or an ethnic minority organization (cultural, political, religious, other specify)? 	
 Location of the organization (name of the city, name of the town, name of the region) 	
Expert's position within the organization:	
Expert main responsibilities/ activities in his/her position:	
Expert's Age:	
Expert's Gender:	
Expert's Education:	

Section D:

Interview Feedback Form

Interview number: (E.g., exi_pl(UA)_01, required)	
Date of the interview:	
Interviewer:	
Interview Start Time: Interview End Time: Duration of the Interview (hours, mins):	
Location at which interview took place:	
Language of the Interview:	
Respondent used supplementary materials (reports, statistical reports, articles in printed form during the interview), YES/ NO	
Supplementary materials (reports, statistical reports, articles used in printed form during the interview) provided to the interviewer, YES/ NO	
General observations about the interview: (good, bad, other people contributing etc.)	
Respondent's attitude and cooperation with the interviewer (cooperative, skeptical, uncooperative):	
Main difficulties arising during the interview:	
Other remarks and observations of the interviewer:	

7. Reporting Logistics and formats

Each national team should store the audio files for their interviews in a secure location, to be able to submit them if the need arises. They can be destroyed after the completion of the project.

Each interview will be represented by a set of 5 to 6 files:

- Recorded in an audio file (to be kept by the national team coordinator, and reported only if requested)
- Reported in the required set of 4 files (two transcripts: original and English, two forms: Expert Profile and Interview Feedback),
- Reported with an optional file of supporting materials (if available).

The following pieces constitute the ENRI-EXI **Reporting Package:**

- Transcripts of the interviews in both the local and English language.
 (Exception: no English transcripts are required for Germany)
- 2. Expert Profile form in English.
- 3. Interviewer feedback form in English.
- 4. Scans/electronic versions of any supporting materials provided by the expert.
- 5. Short technical report on collected interviews (about 2 pages per ethnic group), providing: justification of the selection of particular experts; detailed description of the national data collection; summary of interview circumstances and other methodological notes and specific observations.

<u>Technical reports</u> (item 5 above) are to be reported by *February 15, 2011* and should be written using the template provided in the *Annex 1 of this Manual*.

The remaining parts to be reported – items 1 to 4 above, the actual interview files and supplements-are to be reported *by the end of January 2011.*

Reporting formats for the interview files and their supplements are presented below.

1. Digital audio recording (to be kept by the field research team and, in a case of need, provided in MP3 format for the centralized storage)

The file name should have the following format:

exi_aud_minority group(country)_#of the interview.mp3

Here is an example of file name:

For a an audio file of an interview with a Polish person in Lithuania:

exi_aud_pl(LT)_02.mp3]

There will be altogether 2 to 4 audio files per each ethnic group; 40 audio files for the project in total.

2. Transcripts of the interviews in the original language, in MS Word format (required).

The file name should have the following format:

language of interview_exi_minority group(country)_#of the interview.doc

Here is an example of file name:

For a transcript in Lithuanian language:

[It_exi_pl(LT)_02.docx]

There must be altogether 2 to 4 such files in English and 2 to 4 such files in the local language per each ethnic group; 40 files for the project in total

3. Transcripts of the interviews in English, in MS Word format (required).

The file name should have the following format:

en_exi_minority group(country)_#of the interview.doc

Here is an example of file name:

For a transcript in English language:

[en_exi_pl(LT)_02.docx]

There must be altogether 2 to 4 such files in English and 2 to 4 such files in the local language per each ethnic group; 40 files for the project in total

4. Expert Profile Form, in English, in MS Word format (required).

The file name should have the following format:

exi_pr_minority group(country)_#of the interview.doc

Here are examples of file names:

Profile in English:

[exi_pr_pl(LT)_02.docx]

There must be altogether 2 to 4 such files in English; 40 files for the project in total.

5. Interview Feedback Form, in English, in MS Word format (required).

The file name should have the following format:

exi_fb_minority group(country)_#of the interview.doc

Here are examples of file names:

Feedback in English:

exi_fb_pl(LT)_02.docx]

There must be altogether 2 to 4 such files in English; 40 files for the project in total.

6. Related interview materials (articles, reports, tables provided by the expert) (only if applicable).

These materials should be sent in PDF or medium-quality JPG formats.

Here is are examples of file names:

For the first additional file related to an interview with an expert on Polish minority in Lithuania:

[exi_pl(LT)_01_extra1.pdf]

For the second additional file related to an interview with an expert on Polish minority in Lithuania:

[exi_pl(LT)_01_extra2.pdf]

and so on.

There might be NO or several additional files related to a particular interview.

8. Interview checklist

Before the interview, the interviewer should:

- Contact the expert of your choice, and provide them with the tentative list of topics to be discussed, creating it from questions in section A or B, as appropriate. Tell them that the interview will be face-to face and anonymous. Also, mention to group (a) experts in your sample that you will want to discuss the situation of ethnic groups in the country in general, with special reference to specific groups studied by ENRI-East in your country. You may ask experts to bring any supporting materials helping to demonstrate their arguments with them to the interview.
- Familiarize themselves with the issues facing the studied minorities, by looking at media reports, legislation on minorities, and ENRI-East minority reports.

Going to the interview, the interviewer should take the take the following items with him/her:

- ENRI-East leaflets, materials, bags, pens;
- audio recorder;
- list of topics and questions to discuss (A or B);
- expert profile form (fill in with the respondent at the beginning or the end of the interview).

After the interview:

• interviewer completes feedback form .

9. Structure for national technical reports

Deadline: End of January 2011

Length: 1-2 pages

Structure:

In the technical reports, please answer the following questions:

- 1. Justify <u>the selection of particular experts.</u> Do you think you sample provides a good selection of the experts in each group (A and B), or is it rather limited? Why or why not?
- * To what extent does your sample provide (or does not provide) a good overview of the governmental bodies and NGOs dealing with ethnic groups in your country? Why or why not?
- * To what extent does you sample provide (or does not provide) a good overview of the ethnic minority organisations for the groups studied by ENRI-East in your country? Why or why not?
- * How, in your view, does the sample affect the findings of the expert interviews?
- 2. Have you noticed any differences in <u>the interview circumstances</u> (such as problematic questions, redundant or omitted questions, openness of experts, willingness to participate) for the two groups of experts, A (government and NGO experts, national and regional) and B (ethnic organisations experts, regional and local)? If so, indicate briefly how these groups were different on interview circumstances.
- 3. Have you noticed <u>any specific problems</u> that emerged during the interviews and differentiated group A experts from group B experts? If so, indicate briefly how these groups were different on specific problems.
- 4. Do you have any <u>other specific observations or concerns</u> that differentiated group A experts from group B experts? If so, indicate briefly how these groups were different on specific observations and concerns.

ANNEX TWO: PROJECT'S EMPIRICAL DATA BASES AND RULES OF ACCESS

1. Overview of empirical data sets produced within the frameworks of ENRI-East

Description of exploitable fore-ground	Confi- dential	Foreseen embargo date	Exploitable prod- uct(s) or meas- ure(s)	Timetable, commercial or any other use	Patents or other IPR exploita- tion	Owner & Other Bene- ficiary(s) involved
Values and Identity Survey (ENRI-VIS)	Yes	Till October 2015	Survey manual, sampling tables, SPSS data file, Code & reference book; technical report		only in consort cooperation (all benef	Project consortium (all beneficiar- ies)
Biographical Interviews (ENRI-BIOG)	Yes		Methodology and survey tools; survey manual; transcripts of interviews in original languages; accompanying information and files; summaries or translations in English; technical report	Starting from 2012		
Expert interviews (ENRI-EXI)	yes					

2. General rules of access to and exploitation of ENRI-East empirical data bases

The exploitable foreground of the project consists of different data bases:

- ENRI-VIS: quantitative data base, 6800 respondents of the ethnic minority groups
- ENRI-BIO: 144 qualitative, biographical interviews with members of the ethnic minority groups
- ENRI-EXI: 40 qualitative expert interviews with representatives of NGOs, mass media and governmental officials

The data is exclusively held for the use of the ENRI-East consortium for three years after the end date of the project after which time they will be made generally available to a wider public to conditions explained below.

ENRI qualitative interviews (expert interviews and biographical interviews) are stored on a password secured online storage platform (interview transcripts, technical reports, related documents and graphic files) until three years after the end of the project. Every project team leader has access to this platform. The co-ordinating team will then transfer the data set to an appropriate institution for scientific data bases.

The quantitative data base will be available for all consortium members after the closure of the project as before. Access is guaranteed through the ENRI-East website in the member section until three

years after the project. The co-ordinating team will then transfer the data set to an appropriate institution for scientific data bases.

Access rights may be granted to third parties royalty-free or to fair and reasonable conditions. All requests for access rights shall be made in writing to the co-ordinator, who will than initiate further actions. The granting of access rights to third parties is conditional on the acceptance of co-authorship of at least one party of the ENRI-East consortium, including ensuring that data will be used only for the intended purpose and that appropriate confidentiality obligations are in place.

Within the next years and beyond the foreground will mainly be exploited in form of publications in academic journals. First analyses and interpretations are included in the ENRI-East reports on every minority and available in the ENRI-East Working Paper Series on the project website (http://www.enri-east.net/project-results).

The project ENRI-East, a cross-national study of trans-boundary social and ethnic groups in Europe did not create any foreground which leads to patents, trademarks, registered designs or the like, except the acknowledged publications in peer-reviewed journals and a variety of other media sources.