

## **Managing Diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy: Assessing Advantages, Deficiencies and Risks**

Tove H. Malloy, Alexander Osipov, & Balázs Vizi (Eds.)

Oxford University Press, 2015, 336 pages

ISBN: 9780198738459

The book *Managing Diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy: Assessing Advantages, Deficiencies and Risks* represents a volume dedicated to conceptualization and analysis of non-territorial autonomy. The book was published by Oxford University Press and edited by Tove H. Malloy, director at the Flensburg-based European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Alexander Osipov, Senior Research Associate at ECMI, and Balázs Vizi, Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Minority Studies, Centre for Social Sciences at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The book – meant to be the first volume within a broader research project – explores the notions of non-territorial autonomy both by exploring the concept itself and by presenting different case studies from Europe and North America. Its ambition was to fill the gap in social sciences, in which much larger attention was given to the concept of territorial autonomy (TA), whereas forms of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) were inadequately explored, defined and evaluated.

The main part of the book is divided into three parts, each presenting case studies corresponding to different forms of non-territorial autonomy: *voice*, *quasi-voice* and *non-voice*. While *voice* regards the self-governing policies for ethnocultural minorities, *quasi-voice* regards self-management minority institutions established under public and private law in order to help minorities preserve their culture, while *non-voice* pertains to symbolic policies without meaningful ethno-cultural autonomy.

The first part of the book, presenting cases of *voice*, contains case studies of non-territorial minority arrangements in Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, as well as the case of Sami parliaments in Finland, Norway and Sweden. The second part of the book, dedicated to examples of *quasi-voice*, presents the cases of minority educational self-management in Canada, institutions of autonomy for Sorbian people in Germany

and the example of a “functional” non-territorial autonomy in Denmark and Germany across their common border. Finally, the third part of the book presents cases of *non-voiced*, such as the Russian national cultural autonomy in Estonia and different arrangements of non-territorial autonomy across post-Soviet space.

In the first chapter of the book, Sherrill Stroschein presents the concept of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) *vis-à-vis* the much more prevalent concept of territorial autonomy (TA) as a mechanism for addressing the main points of OSCE’s Lund Recommendations, self-governance and participation in decision-making. She explains how NTA might resolve the zero-sum game frequently present in TA arrangements, where more self-governance implies less participation in decision-making on the national level and where balance between the common state and mini-state tends to be unstable.

This is then followed by chapters presenting case-studies belonging to the first group on non-territorial autonomy arrangements, previously described as *voiced*. In chapter two, Balázs Vizi presents the system of personal cultural autonomy in Hungary, where minority (nationality) self-government is established on state, regional and municipal levels in order to allow national minorities decision-making powers regarding issues related to their cultural autonomy. In the third chapter, Antonija Petričušić presents the case study of national minority councils in Croatia, which similarly to the Hungarian model, allow national minorities certain competencies concerning their cultural autonomy on local and regional levels, but with limited results. In the fourth chapter, Tamás Korhecz presents the case study of Serbia, where national minorities are allowed to form their own national councils on the national level, which are expected to enjoy wide competencies concerning cultural autonomy of their ethnic groups. In the fifth chapter, Miran Komac and Petra Roter present the case study of Slovenia, where competencies concerning cultural autonomy are given to traditional – Italian and Hungarian – ethnic communities but limited to “ethnically mixed areas” in which the majority of members of these communities reside. Finally, in the sixth chapter of the book, Adam Stępień, Anna Petrétei and Timo Koivurova present the case of Sami parliaments, autonomy institutions of the indigenous Sami people (better known in English as the Lapps, though this term is derogatory in Scandinavia), established on national levels in Finland, Norway and Sweden.

The second part of the book is dedicated to case studies of what was defined as a *quasi-voiced*, the establishment of self-governing minority institutions under public or private law. This part of the book contains case studies of Canada, Germany and the German-Danish border region. In the seventh chapter, Daniel Bourgeois presents the case of Canadian minority educational self-management, where minority school boards are provided with significant competencies pertaining to education in minority lan-

guages (Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones in Quebec), but which show potential for expanding to other issues and are beginning to be considered an “order of government”. In the eighth chapter, Detlev Rein presents the case study of the Sorbian people in Germany, whose cultural autonomy in their historical homeland of Lower and Upper Lusatia (German states of Brandenburg and Saxony) is established through combined work of a public institution and an independent minority organization, thus adjusting the needs of cultural autonomy for minorities with the German legal system, which does not differentiate between people based on ethnicity. Finally, in the ninth chapter, Tove H. Malloy presents the case of a functional non-territorial autonomy for Danish and German minorities in the German-Danish border region, in which informal arrangements and networks of independent minority associations and media allow for a substantial level of national minority cultural autonomy.

Finally, the third part of the book presents the cases of *non-voice*, in which the established non-territorial autonomies hardly present anything more than symbolic participation without any substantial autonomy being granted. This part of the book contains the cases of cultural autonomy in Estonia and the analysis of minority non-territorial arrangements across post-Soviet space. In the tenth chapter, Alexander Osipov presents the aforementioned overview of post-Soviet states, including Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Estonia. Finally, the eleventh chapter, written by Vadim Poleschuk, describes the Estonian system of national cultural autonomy for the Russian linguistic minority, which despite significant traditions of non-territorial autonomy in the country, hardly provides any substantial autonomy to the community.

The conclusion of the book, written by Levente Salat, probably represents its most important chapter. It analyses all of the aforementioned case studies on the basis of terminology, ideological justification, the context of adoption, types of entrenchment, legitimacy, outcomes, intensity of self-rule, and finally, the institutional particularities of the arrangements, which include elections, legal status, competencies and financial aspects. Therefore, the conclusion of the book provides a thorough comparative analysis of the observed case studies, including a table containing all aforementioned data.

The book *Managing Diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy* thus offers a very interesting introduction to the concept of non-territorial autonomy and presents a large number of interesting case studies from Europe and North America, demonstrating that a wide variety of arrangements, as well as policies, might result from it. For those unfamiliar with the concept, the book will provide a very useful guide for assessing non-territorial arrangements, both from theoretical point of view and through exploration of different case studies.

The book also contributes significantly to bringing more scientific focus on the concept of non-territorial autonomy, since it was, as the authors themselves argue, largely

ignored in favour of the much more familiar concept of territorial autonomy. Moreover, the book manages to differentiate between non-territorial autonomy arrangements and the much wider concept of individual human rights, as the two often tend to be confused, usually at the expense of non-territorial autonomy as a distinct concept that provides collective rights for national minorities.

The book does justice to the concept by presenting both its possible successes and shortcomings, offering insight on how non-territorial autonomy arrangements should be designed in order to fulfil some of their designated outcomes and avoid being purely symbolic or dysfunctional. It should represent a very useful guide not only for those interested in scientific research of non-territorial autonomy, but also policy-makers interested in designing such autonomous arrangements.

The largest problem of the book is that it falls short of being a comprehensive study of non-territorial autonomy, as it only analyses a limited number of case studies, thus omitting a substantial number of similar autonomous arrangements in other countries. Even though this should not represent criticism of the book, having in mind that a study that analyses all examples of non-territorial autonomy would need to be significantly larger, it should still be noted that the book does not analyse enough case studies for its conclusions to be as strong as readers may desire. This, however, should be understood as an invitation to expand the book and build on its results to further explore the concept and its individual applications.

As non-territorial autonomy is surely a useful statecraft tool that has been both understudied and underused in practice, the book can be considered of high importance for those interested in this field of study. Almost each of its chapters contains abundant information on different existing NTA models in Europe and North America and is therefore significant in itself. The whole book, representing a fairly thorough study of the concept of non-territorial autonomy, surely merits a place on the bookshelf of those interested in increasing their knowledge in this field of study.

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