

ABSTRACT

*Lőrincz Csaba Award***ÓDOR, Bálint: The nation's political advocacy: opportunities in the EU after the Lisbon Treaty** 3

The European Union is a sui generis co-operation bloc destined, under permanent internal and external pressure, to go on simultaneously with both vertical integration and enlargement. The sustained inter-institutional work entails changes also in the minority protection toolbox, the overview of which became timely in the light of experiences gained since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, with special regard to the 6 months of the Hungarian EU Presidency. The author undertakes to take stock of the EU's legal sources and other tools national minorities may have recourse to in their effort to enforce their rights and reduce their own exposure to discrimination. The study devotes due attention to the latest developments in minority-related policy fields and outlines possible directions of further development within the framework of the European Union.

*The Western Balkans and the Integration Process***SAMSON, Ivo: EU Enlargement: Continuity or „break“** 19

Has the dynamics of EU enlargement been caught in crisis? In theory it has not, neither the European Commission nor the EU as a whole has abandoned the open door policy.

Nevertheless, serious symptoms of a new stage of helplessness cannot be overlooked. The original criteria for EU membership as – roughly – stipulated in the Copenhagen criteria are not a safe guideline for any EU candidate country. At this moment, i. e. under the pressure of financial and even identity problems, the EU's warning finger at EU-enlargement optimists seems to be quite appropriate.

Without doubt, the EU ambitions of Turkey and, of course, the Ukraine will be dampened. Putting it shortly, the EU cannot afford such a big adventure as to allow these countries an EU access and not to expose the European project to a mortal danger at the same time.

ŻORNACZUK, Tomasz: Prospects for the EU enlargement process in the Western Balkans during the Polish Presidency of the Council of the European Union 27

After the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon, the rotating presidency of the EU Council retained many important prerogatives in the EU's enlargement policy. However, key decisions remain the responsibility of the main EU institutions. These, in turn, are shaped by the Member States, which make the decisions at each stage of progress in the integration of European countries aspiring to membership.

Poland consistently supports enlargement and probably will be using the presidency period to express its preference for the EU's open-door policy and to urge other countries to have a greater understanding of this policy.

Progress in enlargement will be most apparent for Croatia in the second half of 2011, when the time comes to sign the accession treaty with the EU. Among the other Western Balkans states, Serbia is likely to receive candidate status for membership, and Montenegro will have the chance to begin negotiations if it fulfils the conditions of the European Commission.

On the one hand, these goals for EU enlargement in the Western Balkans do not exceed the expectations. If all three accessions happen, the Polish presidency will be one of the most effective in recent years at using the EU's enlargement policy for the Balkan states.

STRÁŽAY, Tomáš: The Visegrád Four and the Western Balkans - in search of new areas of inspiration 39

The paper's aim is to examine some areas in which the Visegrád Group could serve as an inspiration for the Western Balkans. In the first part, the author reviews the most important arguments underpinning the Visegrád Group's interest in the Western Balkans. These include, among others, challenging economic co-operation, support for the open-door policy of the EU or cultural closeness. The second part identifies the most obvious differences between the Visegrád and Western Balkan regions, e.g. different levels of integration with the EU and NATO or unfinished state-building processes; and points out the ways of overcoming barriers to know-how transfer. The final part discusses some particular areas of inspiration, while specific attention is paid to the role and possibilities of the International Visegrád Fund.

SZILÁGYI, Imre: Regional co-operation and EU integration in the South-Slavonian region 45

After the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the regional co-operation of the peoples living in the South-Slavonian region was made possible by the Dayton Peace Agreement signed at the end of the war in December 1995. The Declaration signed in 1996 in Sofia showed that the peoples of the region them-

selves were also aware of the necessity of co-operation, but in fact this process initiated by the EU took shape in the different regional organizations established since December 1995. As a result, the EU promoted co-operation in more and more fields and provided more and more accurate definitions of the goals and tools of the co-operation. Since 1999, Balkan regional co-operation has not only been assisting establishing peace, stability and security in the region, but helped EU integration as well. In recent years, different forms of co-operation have been established by the countries of the regions themselves.

SEMANIC, Hana: EU integration through separation:

institutionalising ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina 57

This paper analyses Bosnia and Herzegovina's EU integration efforts with a special focus on its ethnic groups. It first presents the three main ethnic groups or „constituent peoples“ (Bosnians, Croats and Serbs) who are deeply segregated due to the institutionalised divisions between them cemented by the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement. The paper then goes on to outline the issue of „ethnic“ as opposed to „civic“ focusing on the questionable existence of Bosnian identity through the lack of political agreement and a common idea of statehood and belonging. Finally, the paper illustrates that the obstacles Bosnia and Herzegovina face do not affect the country's internal politics, but stand in the way of its EU integration process. The author identifies two overarching factors for this limitation: first, the current political situation; second, a large number of international actors present on the ground. The paper concludes by referring to several areas where progress has been achieved and by proposing some recommendations that could build on positive future developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

NAJŠLOVÁ, Lucia: Turkey's Arab Spring and European Winter 67

While only a few years ago the hottest theme debated in relation to Turkey was its EU membership, this has now become almost a non-issue, only to be replaced by heated discussions on Turkey's independent foreign policy and growing role in the Arab Spring. Well, let's not rush that much to conclusions. Although it has become popular to denounce the accession process as dead, and instead rejoice (Ankara) or mourn (European capitals) over Turkey's new diplomacy „independent from the West“, Turkey's relations with the rest of Europe and the rest of the Middle East are more interdependent than it might originally seem. No matter which way the EU accession process (formally still alive) will go, Turkey and the EU do need a strategic relationship. And no matter how far Turkey's governing elite will push its Middle Eastern agenda, it sooner or later has to realize that the strongest engine for Turkey's regional leadership is (and should be) democracy and reform at home. In the final count, the Arab spring might not only be an occasion for flexing Turkish diplo-

matic muscle, it might as well be a reminder and inspiration for the Turkish elites and public: that regional leverage, especially if rhetorically framed on „leading by example”, starts with focusing on democracy, freedom and prosperity at home in the first place. And Europe – no matter how easy and justified it is to criticize its reluctance to be a player – still has something to offer, when it comes to strengthening quality of governance and expanding civic freedoms.

Roma minority: education, church, culture

PAPP Z., Attila: the rate of the Roma pupils at schools and its impact on the competency results 77

The paper analyses the rate of the Roma pupils at schools and their regional distribution. It can be shown over a certain period that both the rate and the absolute number of Roma pupils have been increasing in recent years, while the total number of pupils participating in primary education in the country have been decreasing. There is a kind of North-South division in the country, i.e. the rate of the Roma pupils is higher in the Northern regions than in the Southern regions.

Based on the database of the competency tests, we found that the number of ghetto-type settlements (where more than 50% of the inhabitants are Roma) started to rise again after 2006-2007, and, by 2009, 263 settlements were classified by the school headmasters as having Roma majority. There is a direct link between the increasing number of Roma and the decrease in average competency in a settlements concerned. But, evaluating the results, particularly if we take into account the family background index of the schools, then it becomes clear that it is not an ethnic, but a social issue: the performance of schools having the same socio-economical status shows ethnic influence only in cases of extreme segregation, while ethnically heterogeneous settlements (with a 1-70% Roma population) perform generally better than their counterparts in the same type.

KOZÁK, Gyula: Approaches to the study of Roma employment in Romania 105

Despite the fact that several research reports, studies and papers have been published on the employment of Roma people in recent years, we still know very little about the defining mechanisms of Roma integration into the labour market or the lack of it. One of the main reasons is that the relevant studies tend to be status analyses, which do not intend to discern and understand the economic, social or political phenomena related to employment. The paper tries to identify some possible approaches based on a sociological survey and

on the relevant literature analysing ethnic economy, investigating labour recruitment, which might help clarify the available data about Roma employment.

FOSZTÓ, László: What is the role of the Roma in Transylvanian churches?

Religious institutions and social integration 113

This study is the first result of a major research project to investigate the local and regional integration of the Roma through the Hungarian speaking churches in Transylvania. The analysis presents the religious structure of the general population and the distribution of the ethnic groups in the different churches. Obviously, several churches have clear ethnic profiles (Calvinists, Unitarians and Roman Catholics are seen as Hungarian churches), and there are also regional clusters of Hungarian and Roma belonging to these churches. The gist of the argument is that, in spite of the ethnic boundary, belonging to the same religious and language community can increase social integration if local institutions invest in *bonding social capital* within local community, while, in regions where Roma are Pentecostals in higher proportion, investment in *bridging social capital* between communities is needed.

TOMA, Stefánia: The „the cup is full” and ethnic conflicts in Romania 123

This article present how „insignificant affrays” lead to „the cup is full” in the complex of local grievances that evolve into deeper tensions and open conflicts. It argues that the perception of the „cup-is-full” event determines the overall process of conflict interpretation, conflict-management and post-conflict restructuring. The interpretation of these conflicts in public discourse appears in four main types: a) „Roma delinquency discourse”; b) „minority rights discourse”; c) „economic deprivation discourse”, and last but not least d) „discourse of shared responsibilities”. These narratives were circulated directly by tertiary actors of the conflicts (mass media, NGO representatives) and indirectly by their secondary actors (local administration). Local administration took a direct role only in the phase of conflict-management and post-conflict interventions. But all these direct and indirect interventions were shaped mainly by the way the „cup-is-full” event was perceived. The „cup-is-full” event was perceived as the cause of the conflict, but, as argued, it is rather a part of the representation of the conflict and one of the factors of an already existing tension in the community.

BALOGH, Lídia: Aesthetics for public purposes.

The community function of symbols, myths and allegories

in the nation-building efforts of the Roma minority 144

The article focuses on the community function of symbols, myths and allegories, with a special attention to the theory of „ethno symbolism” associated

with Anthony D. Smith, according to which symbols and myths play key roles in elite-led nation-building projects. The thesis of the author is that the theory of ethno symbolism is applicable when analysing current Roma nation-building initiatives, taking place on a European or global level. The first part of the article presents different approaches of the community function of symbols, myths and allegories, from the fields of cultural theory and cultural anthropology. In the next section, the author provides an overview of the relevant concepts of ethno symbolism within the context of mainstream nationalism theories. Then, after indicating the most important milestones of the Roma nation-building movement, the author presents the evolution of the Roma national flag and the Roma national anthem, and analyzes these symbols as functional tools of self-representations – based on the experiences related to the reception of the Roma flag and anthem by different Roma communities living in Hungary.

Review

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