

# ヨーロッパ辺境地域における 地域文化の越境性と境界性

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## 1. 研究の概要

本報告書は、2011（平成 23）年度～2013（平成 25）年度科学研究費助成事業(学術研究助成基金助成金)(基盤研究(C))「ヨーロッパ辺境地域における地域文化の越境性と境界性」（課題番号 23530696）の成果報告書である。

本研究ではヨーロッパの辺境地域を対象に、その場所でなければならない「固有性」と「特異性」の空間的实践、使用価値としての地域の空間表象、表象の空間という点から、地域文化の越境性と境界性を実証的に分析することを目的とした。

そして、2007-9 年度基盤研究 C「グローバル化における『地域』概念の変容－フランスの周辺地域の文化活動を事例に」においてフランス国内の地域において見られた文化の越境性と境界性が、ヨーロッパ域内においても再現性があるのかを検証する研究である。

まず、越境性については、グローバル化によって持ち込まれた諸基準や国際市場での競合は、言語やその他の地域文化活動にどの水準で、どのような階層の人々によって推進されているのかを検討する。近年、地域間交流や EU の各種会議、アドバイザー制度などによって、行政職員や研究者、NPO や文化活動家の交流は多くなり、そこでの知識と技術の共有化が進んでいる。これが各地域社会においてどのように再構造化されて組み込まれているのか考察した。

第二に境界性については、地域内外の人に消費される地域文化が、いかにグローバル化されたパッケージや表象や記号をまとっているとしても、なぜ他の地域文化との差異と独自性を再構築しながら保てるのかを検討する。地域特性や文化の固有性が、歴史的事象の再解釈によって、その地域社会にとって「固有である」と認識され、差異化されていくのか、他とも異なる「違い」の正当性を分析した。

第三に越境性一境界性の錯綜に関して、EU の辺境に位置するエストニア、スロヴェニア、コルシカにおいて、ヨーロッパ的なるものを見出し、それを自らの伝統と関係させていく過程が EU 統合とともにあったと考えられる。そのヨーロッパ的なるものが EU 内の境界線を消す一方で、EU 外との境界性を際出せる機能を持っているとすれば、それはどのようなものなのか、そしてどの担い手によってヨーロッパ的なるものは見出され、再構築され、展開させられたのかを検討した。

分析に当たっては、アンリ・ルフェーブの空間論の《空間的实践》＝社会諸関係の空間的編成、《空間の表象》と《表象の空間》＝社会空間の再構造化、M.ドセルトの「文化の政治」、地域文化の担い手を分析するための「経済資本」「文化資本」「社会関係資本」の概念を援用した。年 2 回の研究会と 2 名以上で 1 回の現地調査を行い、対象地域において、地域文化活動家、知識人、そしてそれらの拠点を空間的实践、空間の表象、表象の空

間という視点から現地視察と半構造化インタビューを実施した。

具体的な調査は以下のとおりである。

(1)ラトヴィア調査

調査年月日 2012年2月27日—3月2日

調査地と調査対象

- ・ラトヴィア リガ 市場、占領博物館、ユダヤ人博物館、統計情報センター
- ・ダウガウピルス（ヴェラルーシ国境近く ロシア語話者の多い地域）

第六小学校 ダウガウピルス要塞 民族博物館

面接調査 社会学者 1名

ダウガウピルス 第六小学校教員6名

(2)スロヴェニア、マケドニア調査

調査年月日 2013年2月27日—3月8日

調査地と調査対象

- ・スロヴェニア（リュブリャーナ、ノヴァ・ゴリツァ）  
現代史博物館、旧市街地、ノヴァ・ゴリツァ（分断博物館）
- ・マケドニア（スコピエ、テトヴォ）
- ・テトヴォ 民族博物館、アルバニア人居住区
- ・スコピエ 旧ユダヤ居住地区 ホロコースト博物館

面接調査

スロベニア

- ・Tanja Petrovic（Center for interdisciplinary Research in Scientific Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts リュブリャーナ大学）、
- ・Dr. Aleš Gabrič（Institute of Contemporary History）

マケドニア

- ・Valentin Nesovski EU インフォメーションセンター
- ・A.J. Arno van der Pas(OCSE Programme Co-ordinator Inter-Ethnic Relations)

(3)フランス・コルシカ調査

調査年月日 2014年2月7日—2月14日

調査地と調査対象

Palais Fesch-musée des Beaux-Arts

Musée Départemental Pascal PAOLI

CRDP : Centre Régional de Documentation Pédagogique de Corse

Home of Napoléon Bonaparte

Musée régional d'Anthropologie

## 面接調査

- ・ Alain DI MEGLIO(Directeur des études a l'ESPE de Corse ESPE: Ecole superieure du professoral et de l'education
- ・ Marion TRANNOY Chef de service et Responsable du Musée de la Corse Musée régional d'Anthropologie
- ・ Jacque Thiers Directeur de Center cultural Universite Corse

これらの調査から得た知見は以下のとおりである。領域が集合的紐帯を維持するため文化的意味を必要とする場合、それは不完全な領域にならざるを得ない。それは2重の意味においてである。一つは、内部の要素から構成される集合的紐帯としての意味、たとえば歴史や伝統、英雄、言語といったものは、その空間と時間の狭間で人為的に構築されるものであり、本来異なる意味経験をもつ人々からなる集合に完全に共有されることはないからである。戦時など、脅威となる他者との対峙において一時的に意味が共有されたとしても、それが永続する保証はない。もう一つには外部との関係性は常に変化し、外部からの人の移動、モノ・カネの流動によって意味を変化させ、領域の境界性の濃淡そして境界の位置すら動かす可能性がある。こうした文脈において、どのような他者と対峙するのか、協働するのか、その時代によって領域は同一体であろうとするために選択し、政治的に集合的紐帯の意味—文化—を変化させるのである。

しかしながら、EU 統合にともなう規格・基準の統一や自由市場化の影響がそれぞれの文化の解釈にどれほど影響をもたらしているのか、この研究機関では検討が不十分であった。そこで、今回確認された知見を2014(平成26)-2016(平成28)年度科学研究費助成事業(学術研究助成基金助成金)(基盤研究(C))「ヨーロッパ辺境地域における文化の政治が表象する社会空間」(課題番号:26380715)においてEUの境界線上にある国・地域においてさらに検証を行う予定となっている。ルーマニア—モルドバ、ポルトガル—スペイン—モロッコ、エストニア—ロシアの区域においてどのような差異化が行われて、越境性と境界性が表象されているのか現地調査から明らかにする予定である。

個別の報告については、調査対象者への公開を意識して英語で書いている。英語での執筆にあたり、ご助力をいただいた Nickels Cory さんには心から感謝を述べたい。

2014 (平成26) 年3月  
研究代表者 定松 文

## 2. Comparison of Periphery Regions and Nations in the EU

SADAMATSU Aya

### 1. Introduction

The arguments of the second modern society and globality by U. Beck have been developed in recent years, and several regional studies have examined the aspect that the restructuring of regions has come more from globality than cultural uniqueness. The nation, the region, the company, and the family made a comparatively closed society in terms of the redistribution of welfare in the first modern society, but with the increase and acceleration of flowing capital, products, and people, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union, they have been put into globalization or Europeanization.

This study examines the characteristics and transnational tendencies of national/regional culture in European border nations or regions using the concepts of spatial practice to produce/reproduce the national/regional specificity, and spatial representation as a value in use in the global society.

Specifically, we adopt the following two points as a research theme. 1) What kind of influence do European standards and competition in the international market have on language and other national/regional cultural activities? 2) How can national/regional spatial representations of culture maintain their originality even when placed in a globalized setting? We try to consider how these areas, which are physically located on the boundary with Europe, create a distance between their own nation/region and the EU and/or other large neighboring states, and also the influence this has on cultural politics.

### 2. Theory of Space and National /Regional Comparative Studies in Europe

The purpose of this study is to examine whether the findings from our study, Local Culture Comparison in France 2007-2009 from the Sociological Viewpoint, have validity in minority language areas in other European nations/regions, and intends to analyze factors that these areas have in common and also how they maintain their own uniqueness. We also seek to confirm the validity of two other studies done in regional/national areas. The first uses the space theory to examine the industrialization of local physical cultural objects, including the landscape, and looks at other common aspects for interpreting the national/regional history. The other comparative research focuses on the originality of each nation/region.

## 2-1) National/Regional Space as Social Products

Henri Lefebvre said that the social space was a social product. His idea is based on the notion that there is a processing of nature, meaning people are kept away from natural space, and that each society produces its own space. The social space is composed of social relations for reproduction, for example family, sex, generations, and of productive relations, which include division of labor, labor organizations, and social functions of social stratification. Spatial practice has three leading concepts, which are, 1) the specific place and space placement to guarantee continuity and unification, 2) representation of space which includes productive relations and order, and 3) representation of space such as expressions in a complex symbol system.

In this paper, we interpret these three concepts in the following way and use them in our analysis. Spatial practice is perceived as concrete, physical space. Representation of space originally meant virtual space where a symbolic act was developed, but the meaning has expanded to include the space molded by art and buildings, cityscapes reconstructed because of sightseeing spots, and the recent storm of investment in financial capital and neoliberalism. The representation of space is a diagram to capture the formation of a space integrally, and the social space is constructed by the interpretation of various agencies.

Although the concept called the analytic borderlands, an issue of new space as proposed by Saskia Sassen, needs to be examined, due to the limited research time for this study the concept is not examined here. Sassen indicates “This analytics construction of these dynamics needs to accommodate both the national and the global as representing spatio-temporal orders with considerable internal differentiation and growing mutual imbrication. These internal differences may relate to each other in cumulative, conflictive, neutral, or disjunctive modes, both internally and across the national-global divide” (Sassen 2006:380). Sassen’s concept of analytic borderlands, which could appear in the results of this study, is especially relevant for countries whose boundaries of social space change frequently.

## 2-2. National/Regional Comparative Studies in Europe

As a base to consider national and regional differences, some previous studies are introduced. First, *The Politics of Europeanization* by Featherstone and Radaelli analyzes the differences in the political viewpoints of different states when they joined the EU. The researchers indicate the reason for each state’s difference is crucial both for our understanding of European integration and for the policy implications. This leads us to recognize that the EU member states are not a monolith, but rather that they had different motivations for joining the EU, and they have transformed their national systems to function within the system of the EU.

Secondly, *Linguistic Diversity in Europe* presents a perspective of the European multilingualism post-national era and examines language, identity, culture, state policy on language and language planning, polyglottism and education, and language and economy in Europe along with relevant societal levels of organization (European, national, and regional levels.)

The third study for reference is *On Baltic Slovenia and Adriatic Lithuania* by Norkus. He provides an internationally comparative causal analysis of the variation in political and economic outcomes since the first decade of post-communist transformations using plural political economic indexes. The study presents national comparisons and current differences by examining political systems and economic systems. In these case studies, Latvia is classified as Weberien-Friedman capitalism (bureaucratic liberalism model, Baltic countries), whereas Slovenia is listed as Weberien-Porter capitalism (bureaucratic adjustment market economy model, Central Europe and Slovenia).

It is important in this study to consider the influence of global trends, but it is not negligible to take into consideration politically comparative points of view. Each state and region as a political agency chose their system taking into consideration their own industrial condition in relation to globalization and entering the market economy. These situations led us to examine national/regional differences through further investigation, taking into consideration the administrative backgrounds which created the differences.

### 3. Research and Method

Our previous study, *Local Culture Comparison in France 2007-2009* from the Sociological Viewpoint, examined the concept of region as it has been used historically, and conducted research on the social movement of regional culture in Alsace and Corsica, social change in the intercultural area (tri-reggio), and the consumption of regional cultural symbols. In order to consider the differences and commonalities of the representation of cultures in other European border areas, as well as in France, for this study we did research in four countries over three years. In the interview investigation, we sent an investigation request and a questionnaire beforehand, and followed up with a semi-structured interview in the local language or in English.

The following countries and areas, all European boundary areas, were chosen as places for investigation: Latvia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Corsica in France. Latvia was chosen because it has distinguished itself from Russia and gone in the direction of the EU, particularly regarding the educational situation in Daugavpils where the number of Russian speakers is more than the number of Latvians. Slovenia was the fastest to become independent from the



former Yugoslavia, is located in the cultural sphere of Austria-Hungary, and now gropes for an independent economic way. Macedonia has not advanced towards becoming an EU member. Corsica is seeking cultural promotion as a region in the EU. For these countries and regions located on European borders, we examine how each one's "Europeaness" might be discovered, and the process they are going through towards EU integration.

Although the aim of this study is to reconsider the social space and redefine the cultural symbols of border regions that are swayed by large, economically powerful neighboring countries, due to research time constraints a hypothesis on the redefinition of cultural symbols could not be fully made.

### 3-1. Latvia

Research Date 27th February— 2nd March, 2012

Research Place and Contact Person

Riga World heritage city area, buildings and monuments of Soviet Union Era, Market, Occupation Museum, Jewish museum, National Statistics Information Center

Daugavpils A city in southeastern Latvia that borders Belarus and Lithuania, Russian speakers are the majority.

6th Elementary School, Fortress (currently in the application process to become a World Heritage Site), Ethnology Museum

Interviews Sociologist of the Latvian identity analysis

Six teachers and workers in Daugavpils 6th Elementary School

The Nazi occupation of the Soviet Union and the deportation of large numbers of people are emphasized in school education and in museums as part of the nation's history. Because Riga was a strategic point of traffic during the occupation, space representation of the city and buildings as an inheritance since the occupation of the Teutonic Knights has been developed. Although the cityscape of Riga has been beautifully maintained, German and Swedish capital have flowed in since Latvia's independence and integration into the EU, and statistics show increasing emigration because individuals cannot repay their loans. In other words, this may be a new type of forced moving caused by financial capitalism since Latvia changed to economic liberalism.

Latvia is working to expand its domestic manufacturing and transportation industries, which were originally major industries but were just inferior in power among international competition, and to find a market within the Russian economic zone. At the same time, Latvia is making efforts to maintain its cultural originality by keeping Latvian as the only official

language. The decision to make Latvian the only official language is, of course, to preserve the minority language but also to avoid complications arising out of Latvia's position as a small independent country between the EU and Russia. It is a space practice in a country whose history includes having been occupied by a larger country, and that also experienced an increase in radical politics and minor political parties during the period of economic stagnation and population outflow.

## 2-2. Slovenia and Macedonia

Research Date 27th February— 8th March, 2013

Research Place and Contact Person

Ljubljana Former city area, Muzej novejsje zgodovine Slovenije (Slovenia national Contemporary History Museum)

Nova Gorica A town and a municipality in western Slovenia, on the border with Italy  
Former border checkpoint, Division Museum

С к о п j e /Skopje in Macedonia

City area, market, former Judea residence district,

Holocaust Museum

Тетово/Tetovo in Macedonia (a city in the northwestern part of Macedonia, near the border with Kosovo, Albanians are a relative majority)

National Museum, Albanian township

Interviews

Slovenia Historian at the Center for Interdisciplinary Research in the Scientific Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts

Historian at the Institute of Contemporary History

Macedonia Representative of the EU Information Center

OCSE Programme Coordinator of Inter-Ethnic Relations

The difference in the backgrounds of Slovenia and Macedonia compared with that of Latvia in 2012 can be considered as the following. While the countries of the former Yugoslavia are socialist, Slovenia is different from other former Soviet Union countries in its policies and rebuilding of its towns and culture in the sense that they don't completely deny the socialist era because the country has had an economic connection with Western countries since the 1970s. Slovenia was also a cultural center in its historical connection with Central Europe, and forms a representational space seeking affinity with Europe. The redevelopment

of the town around the former city and sightseeing spots is regarded as a spatial practice.

What Slovenia and Macedonia share in common with Latvia is a weakened former main industry and increased unemployment that coincides with their integration into the EU, so they are groping for reclamation of their manufacturing industry and striving to strengthen their connection with the former Yugoslavia nation in order to seek a market. The old socialist state deepened the political opposition between all of the countries from the former Yugoslavia nation during the democratization of the 1990s and the 2000s, but some of those countries recognized the good parts of the socialist era after the economic crisis of the euro in 2009 and seemed to seek economic cooperation, while also reexamining their culture.

In this study, the investigation of Macedonia is of particular interest, because all of the other countries and areas we researched were in the EU. Therefore, the results of our research in Macedonia gave us the opportunity to examine the differences of countries inside and outside the EU. Notably, the standards and structures of the EU, including infrastructures, can actually create the border of the EU as a representation of space. Political systems, differences in industry standards, and the existence or lack of infrastructure and networks with other cities, including roads and railroads, make a huge difference in the representation of space. Latvia is situated in Northern Europe with a German finance and industry network, whereas Slovenia is in the Austrian economic zone and has a network with Italy. It might be said that Macedonia could avoid a sort of economical colonization by the EU, but its economic background is very weak. If the country strengthens its economic relationship with Turkey, it is possible to distance itself from the EU, and the multicultural policy since Ohridski ramkoven dogovor has made the domestic cultural bonds more solid as one state.

### 3-3. Corsica in France

Research Date 7th -13th February, 2014

#### Research Place and Contact Person

Palais Fesch-Musée des Beaux-Arts

Musée Départemental Pascal Paoli

RDP : Centre Régional de Documentation Pédagogique de Corse

Home of Napoléon Bonaparte

Musée Régional d'Anthropologie

#### Interviews

Directeur des Etudes a l'ESPE de Corse ESPE: Ecole Supérieure du Professorat  
et de l'Education

Chef de Service et Responsable du Musée de la Corse, Musée Régional

d'Anthropologie

Directeur de Centre Cultural Université Corse

Based on quantitative research about the language revival movement in the local cultural revival period of the 1970s, and the linguistic education development period of the '80s and '90s in Corsica, it shows that the language of Corsica was on its way to gaining status as an official language. However, although the language is in a higher position than other regional languages in France, the number of speakers has not increased sufficiently because it was not an official language and was only taught as an elective subject in schools.

Although it is difficult to demand having a regional language made an official one in France, still the Corsicans keep a positive mindset and are working to accumulate information on language rights and education within European regions, and continue to fight for the right to have their language made official. Since the last survey in 2009, not only the original Corsican textbooks, but also various teaching materials in Corsican have become available, including CDs, DVDs and information on the Internet. The Regional Museum prepares exhibitions which examine the history of current social trends, studies the regional culture with the aim of applying for world heritage registration, and is making progress in improving the museum's systematization and producing more refined, professional exhibits. The display contents are composed more of an accumulation of personal histories than a focus on regional cultural unification, and they look at the situation from an outside point of view. The municipal museum of Pascal Paoli, who was a leader of the independent government of Corsica, is located in his native village, but the access is inconvenient. On the other hand, the National Musée-de-la-Maison-Bonaparte has a multilingual guide, is advertised through fliers and other means around the main town, and emphasizes not only French national history, but also Corsica's history. This seems to show that Corsica's regional history is recognized by the country and is related to the region's special political position.

#### 4. Conclusion

When a certain domain needs a reason for a collective bond, it cannot but be an incomplete domain. There is a double meaning in this. On the one hand, cultural representation as a collective bond that is comprised of an internal element, e.g., the history, a tradition, a hero, the language and so on, is constructed artificially in an interval of space and time, but is not completely shared by the group of people who originally had the experience, or who had the experience with a different meaning. Even if the meaning, or cultural representation, was

shared temporarily by a group of people, for example during the time of war, there is no guarantee that it will last long. On the other hand, relationships with the outside always change and it is possible for a meaning, or cultural representation, to change based on the flow of people or money from the outside. This may move the borderline of light and shade inside the domain or even its boundary position. Various national/regional agencies choose and change the meaning, the cultural representation, of politically collective bonds depending on the era and whether they are collaborating with or confronting others in order to maintain the territory unit.

In this research, three nations/regions, each performing a reinterpretation of their culture while in the process of EU integration, were confirmed temporarily when they performed a different cultural practice because of different political circumstances and economic survival strategy. Cross-boundary spatial practices appear in the manner of conforming to EU standards, applying for registration as a world heritage and/or sightseeing spot, or standardizing the results and forms of migration and the market economy. The cultural practice of creating collective bonds to integrate a territory causes differences in cultural representation due to the strength or weakness of the neighboring country's power, the population scale, the main industry, the stability of the political system, the area's history including occupation and liberation experiences, and the affinity with the EU system. The factors creating the differences among the nations/regions discussed here need to be examined further and compared with other examples.

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### **3. Differentiation in the Understanding of “Nation” After the End of the Cold War**

KOMORI Hiromi

The concept of nation has been transforming since the end of the Cold war era, as former socialist countries bring their own understanding of nation into Europe. Thus we are facing a change in the meaning of nation, the impact of which appears to be as big as what was caused by the emergence of the notion of national minority in the international society at the end of World War I.

With the adoption of the Act of Hungarians Living in Neighboring Countries (the so-called Hungarian Status Law) in 2001<sup>i</sup>, heated debates over the concept of nation occurred. This law has had an impact not only in the political sphere, but also among the academic community. The Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 1735 (2006)<sup>ii</sup>, the Concept of “Nation”, which acknowledges the variety of understandings of nation and encourages member states to take a more tolerant approach to the issues of relations between states and national minorities, and also to take measures for the protection of the identity of cultural and national minorities.

The above-mentioned change in understanding has its historical roots in the interwar period, when national minorities sought to be recognized as part of a cultural nation regardless of the state boundary. However, at that time, the international society did not see the positive points in the idea itself or in the activities based on this idea, although limited cultural rights were protected under the national minority protection regime of the League of Nations. Additionally, in contrast to the interwar period, in the 21st century it is not the national minority, but the state that takes the initiative.

In this research essay, I examine three laws, namely the constitutions of Hungary and Macedonia, and the Law on Citizenship in Latvia. Here, my intention is not to compare these three, but to make a starting point for further study to clarify the possible outcomes based on a tolerant approach to the issue of relations between states and national minorities, especially in states which consider the nation as both cultural and historical. .

#### 1. Hungary<sup>iii</sup>

In 2011, the political party “Fidesz”, the controlling party of the government, succeeded in amending the constitution (The Fundamental Law of Hungary, put into effect on 1 January,

2012). It was controversial both in terms of its content and the procedure under which the amendments were made. However, here I have no intention of addressing the controversial points, but rather will focus on the understanding of nation.

As mentioned before, the Status Law actually had the same intention as the 2011 constitution. The aim of both legislative attempts was to differentiate the nation from the citizens of the country. According to the preamble to the constitution, the Hungarian nation is the historical and cultural nation which was torn apart in the storm of the last century. This means the Hungarian nation exists beyond the current state border of Hungary. At the same time, nationalities living within the Hungarian nation form a part of the Hungarian political community and a constituent part of Hungary.

What one needs to direct attention to is the differentiation between nation and nationality. Although the equality between two groups is guaranteed, in terms of the relation to the state, they are differentiated, or stratified. In other words, nationalities living in Hungary bear responsibility for the future of the state, yet Hungary is the state for the Hungarian nation.

Comparing Hungary with Spain, the meaning of this differentiation becomes clearer. In Spain's constitution, there is also a distinction between nation and nationalities. However, while a nation consists of nationalities (apart from the objections by the "nationalities" against this understanding) in Spain, a nation is distinguished from nationalities in Hungary.

As for people from the Hungarian nation living outside their kin-state, the ties with their kin-state are not just symbolic anymore, because the newly amended citizenship law of Hungary allows them to possess dual citizenship.

## 2. Macedonia<sup>iv</sup>

It is stressed in related literature that the 2001 amendment of the constitution of Macedonia is the consequence of compromises. While the preamble to the constitution says that Macedonia was established as a national state of the Macedonian people<sup>v</sup>, other nationalities enjoy the same rights as Macedonian citizens. Actually, from the 2001 amendment, made within the framework of the Ohrid Agreement, one other nationality, the Albanians, were provided with more than just equal rights. It can be said that this resulted in the institutionalization of bi-nationalism in Macedonia.

According to Amendment V, made to the constitution in 2001, any language-spoken by at least 20 percent of the population is also an official language in addition to Macedonian, and can be written using its own alphabet (Macedonian is written in Cyrillic, whereas Albanian uses the Latin alphabet). Also, any person living in a unit of local self-government in which at least 20 percent of the population speaks an official language other than Macedonian may



use that official language to communicate with the regional office of the central government which is responsible for that municipality.

Besides the institutionalization of bi-nationalism, the remarkable feature of the constitution of Macedonia lies in the distinction between Macedonian people and other people who share the country. According to Amendment IV, made to the constitution in 2001, the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, the Macedonian people, as well as citizens living within its borders who are part of the Albanian people, the Turkish people, the Vlach people, the Serbian people, the Romany people, the Bosniak people and others taking responsibility for the present and future of their fatherland, .....are equal in rights and obligations towards the common good - the Republic of Macedonia..... Here we consider the usage of the word “people” as almost equal to cultural nation.

In contrast to the Hungarian constitution, the Macedonian constitution does not cover subjects living beyond the state boundary. However, as with the Hungarian constitution, there is an understanding that the nation/people exist regardless of the state border.

### 3. Latvia<sup>vi</sup>

As for the constitution of Latvia, there is no distinction between nation and nationality, which is different from the two above-mentioned cases. Still we can recognize the same trend in the amendment of the law on citizenship as in the other cases discussed in this paper.

In 2013, an amendment was made to the law on citizenship, which permits the possession of dual citizenship under certain conditions. According to the law, Latvian citizenship is an enduring legal connection of a person with the State of Latvia. The content of Latvian citizenship is formed by the entirety of interrelated rights and obligations between a citizen and the state. However this does not mean that there is no distinction among citizens. The law on citizenship specifies a Latvian citizen as follows:

- 1) A person who was a Latvian citizen on 17 June, 1940, as well as a descendant of such person.
- 2) A person who belongs to the constituent nation (Latvians) or autochthon population (Livs) and fulfils certain conditions (such as knowledge of the Latvian language).

What is remarkable in the Latvian case is that Latvian citizenship is granted based on historical experience and national belonging. This does not rule out the possibility for people belonging to other nations to be granted Latvian citizenship. They can obtain citizenship through the naturalization procedure required, but the opportunity of the possession of dual citizenship is quite limited.

When comparing Latvia with the other two cases, it should be stressed that the aim of the

amendment of the law on citizenship in Latvia was also to include people who reside outside the country as Latvian citizens. Section 1 of the law says that the purpose of this law is to recognize dual citizenship in compliance with the political objectives and interests of the State of Latvia and to retain the aggregate of the citizens of Latvia under increased mobility conditions. Although the law uses the term “citizen”, we may consider it a nation or people, because the core of citizens of Latvia consist of Latvians as the constituent nation (“valstsnācija” in Latvian, from the words “valsts,” meaning state, and “nācija,” meaning nation).

In conclusion, based on findings within the framework of the JSPS research project (number 23530696; “Cross-border Influence and Local Uniqueness of Cultural Phenomena in Frontiers of Europe”), I point out two questions to be clarified in further studies.

First, we should investigate the current situation to clarify whether the recent understanding of nation beyond the state border, which is not only promoted by former socialist countries, but also supported for improving diversity by European institutions, such as the Parliament Assembly of Council of Europe, has had an actual impact on political, economic and social relations among states and peoples’ everyday lives.

The Latvian case clearly shows that what has caused the transformation of the understanding of nation is European integration and peoples’ movement beyond the state border. Indeed, as the recommendation by the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe points out, the concept of nation varies because of the historical background and the social structure of every state. However the interaction among European countries and peoples may cause a wide-ranging transformation in former socialist countries, as well as in other European countries moving in the same direction. At the same time we can see re-nationalization processes in nation-states as countermeasures against the influx of immigrants<sup>vii</sup>. Therefore the consequences of convergences and competitions of various trends need to be investigated.

Secondly, we should also consider what would occur if a distinction was made between nation and nationality in the cases of Hungary and Macedonia, and if the constituent nation was distinguished from others in the case of Latvia. It should be stressed that both nationalities and communities other than the constituent nation are guaranteed not only equal rights, but also collective cultural and linguistic rights through the decentralization of power and the specified school system<sup>viii</sup>. Under such circumstances, people belonging to the nation/constituent nation as well as people belonging to nationalities/communities other than the constituent nation seem to have become indifferent toward co-fatherlanders, while keeping their emotional ties with the fatherland, in other words, the place where they live. Here I

emphasize that granting cultural and linguistic rights or even territorial autonomy to national minorities does not necessarily produce social integration as a matter of course<sup>ix</sup>.

Multinational states, rather than the nation-state which emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, has become normative at least in Europe. However, federalism based on culture or ethnicity and decentralization are not necessarily the omnipotent solution.

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<sup>i</sup> Concerning the argument over the Hungarian Status Law, see Zoltán Kántor, Balázs Majtényi, Osamu Ieda, Balázs Vizi, Iván Halász (eds.), *The Hungarian Status Law: Nation Building and/or Minority Protection*, the Slavic Research Center, 2004.

<sup>ii</sup><http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta06/EREC1735.htm>(Retrieved 18 February, 2014)

<sup>iii</sup> The official English translation of the Fundamental Law of Hungary, *The special issue of Hungarian Official Journal*, [http://www.kormany.hu/download/2/ab/30000/Alap\\_angol.pdf](http://www.kormany.hu/download/2/ab/30000/Alap_angol.pdf) (Retrieved 18 February, 2014) .

<sup>iv</sup> The official English translation of the Macedonian Constitution, <http://www.sobranie.mk/en/default-en.asp?ItemID=9F7452BF44EE814B8DB897C1858B71FF>(Retrieved 18 February, 2014)

<sup>v</sup> “People” is a translation of the Macedonian word “народ” .

<sup>vi</sup> The English translation of the Law on Citizenship of Latvia consolidated by the State Language Center, [http://www.google.co.jp/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=8&ved=0CGIQFjAH&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.vvc.gov.lv%2Fexport%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Fdocs%2FLRTA%2FLikumi%2FCitizenship\\_Law.doc&ei=LPCU9mzPMS2kAW5ioDYDg&usg=AFQjCNGm6hbyjhIn4sb5SXA0pC8iiMTzPw&bvm=bv.61535280,d.dGI](http://www.google.co.jp/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&frm=1&source=web&cd=8&ved=0CGIQFjAH&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.vvc.gov.lv%2Fexport%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Fdocs%2FLRTA%2FLikumi%2FCitizenship_Law.doc&ei=LPCU9mzPMS2kAW5ioDYDg&usg=AFQjCNGm6hbyjhIn4sb5SXA0pC8iiMTzPw&bvm=bv.61535280,d.dGI)(Referenced 18 February, 2014).

<sup>vii</sup> Nation-building is an ongoing process. Corsica and Latvia are facing similar problems, such as how small nations can provide immigrants with incentives to learn the state language. At this point, the Latvian language enjoys a more favorable position as the state language, and it is quite understandable that one of the interviewees emphasized the necessity of the official status of the Corsican language.

<sup>viii</sup> Both in Macedonia and Latvia the education system is divided based on language, which is usually evaluated positively as one of the practices of multiculturalism. However, the problem of segregation exists, which is more serious in Macedonia than in Latvia.

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<sup>ix</sup> In this respect I bear in mind the cases of Macedonia and Latvia. Most probably this assumption does not fit the case of Corsica. Social integration is not a priority for Corsica, although immigrants occupy a significant part of the Corsican society and their inclusion is also necessary. There are several reasons for this difference. First, Macedonia and Latvia are states, which demand loyalty from their citizens, especially because of the contentious relations with their neighbouring countries/country. Second, the process in which Macedonia and Latvia gained their independence is relevant here. Since Albanians in Macedonia and Russians in Latvia were citizens of a larger state, the emergence of the perception of belonging to a new state takes time. Another problem is that Albanians and Russians are not satisfied with their status of “national minority,” and their perception regarding the state where they live is quite different from Macedonians and Latvians.

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## 4. Disputes over the Introduction of Bilingualism in Vukovar

MOMOSE Ryoji

In the year 2013, Croatia finally joined the European Union. That will be a memorable year for a lot of Croatian citizens. However, for some Croats, especially those from Vukovar, that year will be remembered as a year of turbulence, because of a series of disputes over the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet into the official language of the municipality.

Vukovar is known internationally as one of the bloodiest battlefields in the Croatian civil war of the 1990s, which has been called *Domovinski rat* in Croatian, meaning *the War for the Fatherland*. The city was totally destroyed in the battle. When the city finally fell into the hands of the Yugoslav National Army in November of 1991, a large amount of Croat civilians were killed and even more were deported from the city. The battle in Vukovar, the city itself, was presented as a symbol of the civil suffering of Croats, the brutality of the Serbs, and the tragic nature of the Croatian war.

After re-unification of Eastern Slavonia, including Vukovar, into Croatia, Vukovar was declared a Hero City, and it has played an important role as a remembrance of the Croatian civil war. In the city, there are many Serbs, which make up one of the biggest national minorities in Croatia. To adjust to becoming a member of the EU, Croatia has been improving the rights of minorities, including official use of minorities' languages. While the rights of Serbs have been improved, some disputes have occurred in Croatian society, especially in Eastern Slavonia. Vukovar is a typical example of how the introduction of bilingualism, meaning the use of Serbian as an official language, could be controversial. What changed the situation were the results of the 2011 census which were made public at the end of 2012. The census figures showed that the number of Serbs in Vukovar amounted to more than one third of the total number of Vukovar residents. This meant that the Serb minority satisfied the requirement to demand official use of their language. The Croatian government's announcement that there was a possibility of the introduction of Cyrillic script, which are the official letters of the Serbian language, provoked severe disputes and open protests by Croat war veterans in Vukovar.

### **The Linguistic Rights of Minorities in Croatia**

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The constitution of the newly independent republic of Croatia was adopted in 1990, and has been amended four times since then, guaranteeing rights for minorities. There are few mentions of national minorities in the original constitution, which only contains a general commentary about minorities in the Historical Foundation of the Constitution. It states that “the Republic of Croatia is hereby established as the nation state of the Croatian nation and the state of the members of its national minorities: Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Hungarians, Jews, Germans, Austrians, Ukrainians, Rusyns, Bosniaks, Slovenians, Montenegrins, Macedonians, Russians, Bulgarians, Poles, Roma, Romanians, Turks, Vlachs, Albanians and others who are its citizens and who are guaranteed equality with citizens of Croatian nationality and the exercise of their national rights in compliance with the democratic norms of the United Nations and the countries of the free world.”<sup>ix</sup> This phrase, found in the first version of the constitution adopted in 1990, defines Serbs as one of the national minorities in Croatia.

More details about national minorities and their rights are mentioned in Article 15:

#### Article 15

Equal rights for the members of all national minorities in the Republic of Croatia are guaranteed. *Equality and protection of the rights of national minorities shall be regulated by a constitutional act to be enacted under the procedure stipulated for organic law.*

*Over and above general suffrage, the right of the members of national minorities to elect their representatives to the Croatian Parliament may be stipulated by law.*

The freedom of the members of all national minorities to express their nationality, to use their language and script, and to exercise cultural autonomy shall be guaranteed.

While the part emphasized in italic font was added in the 2000 amendment, the other contents of the article were not fundamentally changed except for a slight adjustment in description. The process of guaranteeing minority rights has been advanced in a practical way by allowing minorities to participate in political decision making.

Official languages are stipulated in Article 12, as one of the Basic Provisions of the Constitution:

#### Article 12

The Croatian language and the Latin script shall be in official use in the Republic of Croatia.

In individual local units, another language and Cyrillic or some other script may be introduced

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in official use together with the Croatian language and Latin script under conditions specified by law.

No other details of minority rights, including the official use of their languages, are stipulated in the constitution. In order to acquire more information about minority rights, it is necessary to refer to related constitutional acts.

In December 2002, The Constitutional Act on National Minority Rights was promulgated in a decision by the Croatian Parliament. It stipulates language usage of national minorities as follows:

#### Article 10

The members of national minorities shall have the right to freely use their language and script, privately and in public, including the right to display signs, inscriptions and other information in the language and script of their use, in compliance with law.

#### Article 12

(1) Equality in the official use of a minority language and script shall be exercised in the territory of a local self-government unit in which the members of a national minority compose a minimum of one third of the population. (....)

According to the constitutional act, each minority group is able to officially use their language if they number one-third of the population, but the right has not been sufficiently exercised. The 2011 census says about 10% of the total population in Croatia has identified themselves as non-Croats. Some of them amount to one-third of the autonomous body where they live, but few have enjoyed the right of using their language officially. Czechs have the right in nine places, but have exercised it in only two places. As for Hungarians, they have exercised the right in eight places out of 38, and for Serbs, in seven out of 21 places. One successful example is the Italians, who mainly live in Istria and are the largest national minority there. They have exercised their right in 45 out of 47 places where Italians are allowed to use their language officially<sup>ix</sup>. It is likely that only the Italians have enjoyed the “minority right”.

### **Results of the 2011 Census and the Introduction of Cyrillic Script into Vukovar**

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The beginning of a historical series of events can be traced back to the end of 2012, when the results of the 2011 census were announced. According to the census figures, while 79.17% of the population in the Vukovar-Srem municipality is made up of Croats, 15.50% are Serbs, which represent the largest minority in the area. As for the city of Vukovar alone, the difference in numbers between the two groups is much smaller, with Croats making up 57.37% of the population and Serbs representing 34.87%<sup>ix</sup>.

Based on the results of the census, the members of the Croatian government confirmed that they would introduce the Serb Cyrillic script into Vukovar. While Željko Sabo, the mayor of Vukovar, proclaimed Serbs in Vukovar could claim the minority right regarding the use of their language, right wing parties argued that the right should be suspended for at least ten more years.

The most vigorous opponents were war veterans' associations, with the leading one being the Headquarters for the Defense of Croat Vukovar (Stožer za obranu hrvatskog Vukovara, SZOHV), which was founded on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January, 2013. According to its website, almost all associations of war veterans in Vukovar joined it, and the purpose of the foundation was to take action against the introduction of Cyrillic letters into Vukovar<sup>ix</sup>. They organized large scale demonstrations several times both in Vukovar and in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia. In reaction to the protests, political leaders only repeatedly responded that Croatia is a state that follows the law, and therefore the laws should be implemented as soon as possible.

Despite the war veterans' protests, bilingual plates with Latin and Cyrillic script were finally set on administration buildings in Vukovar on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September, 2013<sup>ix</sup>. Although there had never been incidents during previous demonstrations, at the next protest there was violence, including destruction of some of the bilingual signs. Ivo Josipović, the Croatian President, called for respect toward the Constitutional Acts and emphasized the accountability and duty of all political parties to explain to citizens why it is important for Croatia to accept bilingualism<sup>ix</sup>. War veterans associations pushed for a referendum on the issue, but the authorities refused. To this day, disputes over bilingualism remain unsolved.

### **Concluding Remarks**

The disputes discussed above could create a major division in Croatian society, especially between Croats and Serbs as a minority. It may also prevent refugees from returning to their homeland, which has been indicated as one of the problems Croatia will need to solve.

The events described above occurred due to two opposing demands being placed on the Croatian government, one made by the European Union and the other made by the local people.



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EU standards are universal, so it can be assessed that the Croatian government has made an effort to follow the standards and to implement the laws despite protests from its citizens. On the other hand, the government cannot easily ignore its citizens' requests. The people claim that their wounds have not yet healed and it is too early to accept Cyrillic script in Vukovar, which is an understandable opinion. This issue could remain unsolved for the next several years.

It is quite possible for similar clashes to occur in other places of former Yugoslavia where battles occurred with the Serbs during the 1990s and a Serb minority still lives now. In order to avoid more clashes in the future, the international community should more actively support the Croatian government which has been trying to promote multiculturalism. EU standards can assist Western Balkan countries in establishing laws that enhance minority rights and fight against corruption and organized crime. In the short term, however, the standards are likely to provoke social friction in places where people still hold vivid memories of the war. The disputes in Vukovar can provide valuable lessons in the process of further accession of Western Balkan countries to the European Union.

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