
Book Review

Tove H. Malloy, Alexander Osipov, and Balázs Vizi (2015) (eds.) Managing Diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy: Assessing Advantages, Deficiencies, and Risks. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Despite the broad field of autonomy studies, Anglo-American scholarly research has paid little attention to models of non-territorial autonomy (NTA) at least until recently. Overshadowed by the much broader field of study of territorial autonomy (TA), NTA potential as a policy tool for effective accommodation and promotion of ethno-cultural diversity through public institutions has been largely unexplored. However, recently NTA arrangements have been argued to be capable of consolidating the state and promote social unity through accommodating ethno-cultural demands.

Managing Diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy is an exception to the research on autonomy studies and in this short article I review this recently published volume edited by three prominent specialists in minority rights and non-territorial autonomy studies – Tove H. Malloy, Alexander Osipov and Balázs Vizi. *Managing Diversity through Non-Territorial Autonomy* is the first in a series of five books founded on the output of a major programme initiated by the European Centre for Minority Issues and a number of partner organisations. As the main editor of the series Tove H. Malloy explains in the Introduction, the central aim of the book is to initiate the production of conceptual knowledge of NTA in law and the social and political scenes, which may be particularly useful for policy-makers.

As the title of this book suggests the book offers a discussion of the possible approaches to diversity management through various models of NTA and critical evaluation of these arrangements in terms of empowering minority voices. Guided by the Ruth Lapidot's argument for self-regulating institutions that ensure the protection of personal (cultural) autonomy for minorities living dispersed among the majority population, the volume focuses on three key approaches of NTA functions that devolve power to ethno-cultural groups living dispersed within multicultural states, which the authors defined as **voice** (realised through strong minority self-government institutions); **quasi-voice**, (enforced through minority self-management institutions); and **non-voice** (refers to minority symbolic participation in their own affairs and within their community). The book is divided accordingly into three parts, each dedicated to assessing various degrees of power devolution in terms of the strength of voice that ethno-cultural groups have in their own affairs and within their community. This volume uses a number of existing examples of NTA arrangements in different regions of the world, from Canada to the post-Soviet space, through Western Europe, Central and South-Eastern Europe, and the North of Scandinavia.

Part I (*Minority Self-Government*) focuses on the aspect of the strongest form of NTA approach – **voice**. Sherrill Stroschein starts the section with possible strategies of accommodation of ethno-cultural groups, such as territorial autonomy and non-territorial autonomy. She uses examples of NTA arrangements in Belgium and

outlines the benefits of NTA as a peaceful solution to inter-ethnic settlement, which can be implemented in states like Kosovo, Ukraine, Bosnia and Herzegovina instead of TA. The section continues to focus on the aspect of *voice* through institutions of self-government. Chapter 2 by Balázs Vizi details the unique Hungarian system of minority self-government, its historical development and its strengths and weaknesses. In Chapter 3 Antonija Petričušić describes NTA arrangements such as the national minority councils in Croatia. Chapter 4 by Thomás Korhecz, similarly to Antonija Petričušić, discusses national minority councils in Serbia, where they have proved to be more efficient than in Croatia but are still requiring more empowerment and recognition from the authorities. Miran Komac and Petra Roter in Chapter 5 analyse the Slovenian NTA arrangements for Hungarian and Italian minorities that enable their participation in decision-making processes. Adam Stępień, Anna Petrétei and Timo Koivurova conclude PART I by analysing the success of the institutional model of self-government of Sami Parliaments in Finland, Norway and Sweden, however, the authors note that currently the success of the Sámi Parliaments depends largely on access and relationship with municipalities and ministries.

Part II (*Minority Self-Management*) explores the weaker notion of autonomous public institutions to ethno-cultural minorities, and is termed by the authors as *quasi-voice*. In Chapter 7 Daniel Bourgeois describes the model of self-management of minority education in Canada, which is still waiting to realise its full potential. Chapter 8 by Detlev Rein discusses the institutional framework for the Sorbian minority in Germany through strong civil society umbrella organisation and public law foundation for financial and assets management. In Chapter 9 the main editor – Tove H. Malloy finalises the section with a cross-national analysis of functional NTA arrangements between Denmark and Northern Germany, which proved to be somewhat more effective than the classic NTA agreements in terms of minority influence on the government control.

PART III (*Symbolic Participation*) discusses the weakest form of autonomy in the context of two cases, which represent what the authors have termed *non-voice*. The section starts with Alexander Osipov's chapter on NTA legislation without any self-governing or self-management empowerment of ethno-cultural groups in a number of post-Soviet countries. Vadim Poleshchuk in Chapter 11 analyses the National Cultural Autonomy legislation for the Russian minority living in Estonia, which was once successfully used during the inter-war period but now serves as an example of symbolic participation of ethnic communities without any real value. Finally, in the concluding chapter Levente Salat recaps the institutional approaches introduced by the authors and offers a classification of NTA institutions regarding their strengths.

What makes the book inspiring and important, is its overall contribution to the field of autonomy studies and the innovative perspective that it offers for minority rights experts and policy-makers on the disputed issue of diversity management, accommodation and promotion. For example, some policy-makers may find that diversity management through the *voice* approach or minority self-government like in Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia and Scandinavian countries is an appropriate way to manage minority claims. Or some may determine that *quasi-voice* or minority self-

government model like in Canada, Germany and Denmark is an alternative and lower-risk approach to diversity management. And finally, some may build on the *non-voice* or symbolic participation of minority communities experience in the post-Soviet space and introduce a much more efficient way to establish a meaningful relationship between the state and its minority communities. The differentiated NTA approaches are richly illustrated by a range of historical and contemporary cases. I especially enjoyed the concluding chapter by Levente Salat, which provides not only a summary of the volume itself but it also offers a very useful typology of the discussed country cases in terms NTA arrangements, which can be useful for policy-makers and policy advisers alike.

At the same time, the volume compresses a lot of contextual analysis that demands constant thinking and understanding of domestic legislation, forms of autonomy and issues associated with effective implementation of various NTA arrangements. The variety of NTA approaches and theories chosen by the authors makes it somewhat difficult for the reader to keep track of the arguments put forward in this volume. Additionally, after reading all of the country cases of diversity management, some may question the efficiency of what seem to be NTA arrangements. Most of the examples are far from ideal and call for further empowerment of minority voices. Contrary to the legal reality of NTA arrangements, even what the authors termed as the strongest NTA approaches seem to significantly lack efficiency in practice and have no real value. Although Levente Salat provides an analysis of the value of various NTA models and their possible use in the concluding chapter, this issue can be resolved if each chapter were to state clearly the value of the described NTA arrangements to policy-makers and encourage or discourage its use in other situations.

The book is well structured and is essential reading for those working in the area. It applies an original approach that provides informed contextual knowledge on the basis of which decision-makers and policy experts may determine the viability of NTA as a diversity management tool in multicultural and multi-ethnic states. While the book is aimed at the specialists working in the field and policy-makers, this study is also very useful for those who believe that the potential of NTA arrangements has not been fully realised and the ideology behind the concept can offer a lot to society.

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