Journal of Foreign Languages, Cultures and Civilizations
June 2014, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 65-91
ISSN: 2333-5882 (Print), 2333-5890 (Online)
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Published by American Research Institute for Policy Development

Minority Languages and the Media: Their Development under the Protection of the Council of Europe and the European Union

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Abstract

As a consequence of migratory flows, border modifications and wars, many European nations now host groups of citizens who possess characteristics (such as language, religion and ethnicity) that distinguish them from the majority of their fellow citizens. Many European governments now pay special attention to helping such minorities defend their rights. This article discusses the international protection of national minority groups, with a focus on the work of the Council of Europe. The article also discusses the protection of minority languages, and includes examples of legislation that some countries have adopted – following Council of Europe rules – to protect minorities and help them defend their languages. In addition, the article discusses the media to which national minorities have access, as the media are valuable tools for maintaining and disseminating language and culture.

Keywoord: National Minorities, Minorities Languages, Council of Europe, International Protection, Mass Media

You could expect to hear a Hungarian child saying "Nekem van hideg emlő" ("Mom, I'm cold") if you are in the heart of Budapest, however you may be surprised if you were walking on the streets of the ancient region of Transcarpathian Ruthenia, a part of present day Ukraine².

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² At the end of 2008 and the beginning of 2009, due to the confrontation about energy between Ukraine and Russia, Ruthenians had a short episode of prominence on the media when, taking advantage of the situation, they claimed for political independence from Ukraine. Even a self-proclaimed Ruthenian president, Petr Getsko, requested support from Moscow under the excuse that an important portion of gas pipelines were on Ruthenian territory. Nothing happened, and the

This is because, even if the language is a way of distinguishing one group of people from another, the use of the mother tongue not always matches the geographic frontiers of a State.

Because of migratory flows, the creation of nation-states, or border modifications as a consequence of wars, diverse human groups maintaining a series of characteristics that distinguish them from their neighbors are above the present Europe's map divisions. Now, in order for those groups to be considered national minorities³, they must meet some requirements such as holding the nationality of the host country, generally for several generations, but distinguishing from the majority either by language (most frequently), religion, or ethnicity. As a matter of fact, there is not a definition of national minorities that is widely accepted by the States. Thus, even the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Strasbourg, 1994/1995) has decided not to include a definition that may limit the Treaty ratification.

1. Legal Protection for Minority Groups Overview

"It was inside the 19th century Congresses when first appeared some international guarantees for national rights on behalf of integrated groups in existent States, but also divided among several States. Of course, such an invocation is concomitant with the protection of religious minorities by means of the freedom of conscience protection (...) After Berlin, indeed, the religious minorities are going to be, little by little, mixed with national minorities".

Further, the authors explain that "the principle of nationality has made obvious its own limits, as well as the inherent dangers for the people it intended to emancipate, though. (ROLAND ET AL, 1999:136-137).

reporters were the only ones echoing those petitions. There was another problem, in case that the demand had been considered, Transcarpathian Ruthenia (Zakarpattia Oblast) is inhabited not only by this national minority, but also by Russians, Gypsies, Romanians, and others. Right now we are living a situation of request for independence by the Russian minority in Ukraine.

³ The European Council or the OSCE use the term national minority. However other organisms, the United Nations for example, refer to religious, ethnic, or linguistic minorities. The term national minority, in this sense, covers the other groups, following Lerner (1993).

Bear in mind that it was common for States that had been confronted, once the peace was signed, to sign international treaties regarding the situation of former inhabitants whenever the border's modifications affected their nationals.

Well into the 20th century, the Society of Nations took care of the minorties issue in a global way when their collective rights were recognized, although the pace treaties have not the intention of making "subjects of rights" those minorities. (ROULAND ET AL, op. cit: 172). However, for the first time, there was the conviction that protecting minorities rights meant working for peace and security. By that time, principles such as self-identity or non-discrimination were addressed, having as a result the defense of rights such us freedom of religion, among others. But, in the prcatice, to exercice the rights was difficult due to the fact that those rights had to be excercised collectively, and there were legal requirements to fulfill before the Society of Nations. Also, as an aditional guarantee, a mechanism for international observation was established which included periodic visits. Intead of having a positive effect, this visits were interpreted by the States as interferences in internal affairs.

After World War II, the concept of protection will change. Instead of recognizing collective rights, individual rights will be protected. It was considered that the protection would also permeate to the collective level. Nevertheless, nor in the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights nor in the United Nations Charter, there are not concrete references to minority group's protection, although they include principles such as the non-discrimination principle or the religious freedom right. As Resolution 217 explains, even if the General Assembly was conscious that protection for minority groups was necessary, it was incapable to "reach a uniform solution about this complex and delicate matter which has so many particular aspects http://daccess state where it is expressed" (Available at: ods.un.org/TMP/2354681.34284019.html).

⁴ The reason is that, after 1945 and as a consequence of the new frontiers, many states asked their minority groups either to emigrate or to assimilate. Thus, actions from the United Nations were necessary in order to eliminate, or at least reduce, the effects of this kind of policies.

About the same time, in 1947, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities was created under the Economic and Social Council⁵, but without effective legal capacity to impose its decisions.

It was only after the 1996 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights' approval (in effect since 1976) that an international protection mechanism for minorities was found. In article 2.1 the Covenant said: "Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". It fallows in article 21: "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language". (Available http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm). Some years later, in 1992, the United Nations approved the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (Resolution 47/135 in 1992).

On the other hand, the OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) was also concerned about the situation of minorities and, in 1992, has created the High Commissioner on National Minorities, in order "to identify and seek early resolution of ethnic tensions that might endanger peace, stability or friendly States" relations between OSCE participating http://www.osce.org/hcnm). However, since it does not have direct competence on human rights, it works mainly on security issues, and it only performs supervision activities. Remember, however, that one of the main OSCE's concerns is, precisely, prevention of ethnic conflicts. It is in this terrain that the OSCE has succeeded in several occasions. In words of K. Vollebaeck, "we cannot increase security in Europe without looking at minority issues. Majority-minority conflict leaves deep scars in the societies affected. They do not always heal well. In addition, this type of conflict often draws in neighbouring States.

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⁵ Originally it was formed by 12 members. It depends of the Human Rights Commission. At present and after the 1999 reorganization, the Commission has 26 members who must be independent experts. They have a four-year term even if half of the Sub-Commission is renewed every two years. They meet every year during a three-week period; the sessions are attended by an important number of observers from different places. They are to investigate situations relevant to their area of expertise and they have to submit reports and recommendations to the Commission.

What starts as a snowball can often become an avalanche. This is why I believe we must build further defences together against interethnic conflict in the OSCE area. This particularly applies to the inter-State dimension because it has a direct and immediate impact on European security". He continues: "Many of the causes of conflict in the OSCE area can be traced back to the failure to find agreement between majorities and minorities. The protection of coethnics in a neighbouring State often gets in the way. If we are genuine in our desire to make Europe more secure in the future, we must address national minority issues (2010: 2-3).

2. National Minorities' Rights In Europe

Within the European scope, the European Parliament was one of the first institutions to step forward for the recognition of these rights. As early as 1981, it voted for approval of a community charter regarding regional languages and cultures, and another charter about ethnic minorities' rights⁶. Two years later, the European Parliament approved a Resolution about measures in favour of minorities' languages and cultures; and in 1987, it approved another Resolution about regional ethnic minorities' languages and cultures in the European Community⁷. Resolution, states that "its is essential for member States to undertake the recognition of linguistic minorities within the framework of their legal systems, in order to create conditions for the preservation and development of the cultures and languages of the regional and ethnic minorities". As a consequence, it "immediately invited the member States that have inscribe into their Constitutions general principles for minorities' protection, in order to assure, as soon as possible and by means of regulations, the concrete practice of these principles" (DOC 318, 30.11.1987, p.2). In 1988, another Resolution referred to the role of regions and the regional policy of the community. In 1994, a similar Resolution asked the member States to approve legal statutes for minority languages in their respective territories.

⁶ The foundational treaties did not include references to this matter, maybe because the founder States, being democratic countries with advanced legislations did not consider it necessary.

⁷ Remember, even if the European Parliament's resolutions have not legal effectiveness and they have rather a testimonial value, they show a specific attitude and a clear orientation.

Within the European Union framework, and in accordance with the most recent legislation, we must mention the Lisbon Treaty which includes the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union proclaimed by the European Institutions in Strasburg on December, 2007⁸. Article 21.1 of the above mentioned Charter states: "all discrimination is forbidden, especially the one motivated by sex, race, colour, ethic or social origin, genetic characteristics, language, religion or convictions, political opinion or other kind, being part of a national minority, heritage, birth, handicap, age, or sexual orientation". In addition, article 22 states that "the Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity" (DOCE, 2000/C 364/01).

Nevertheless, it is the European Council the pioneering institution on the minorities' rights defense. When the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms was approved (1950), Article 14 already prohibited discrimination based on language, or for being part of a national minority. Now, the Parliamentary Assembly itself considered that a wider recognition was needed, thus it recommended the inclusion of specific references in the second additional protocol. Then, the 1961 Recommendation 265 asked for the inclusion of the following article: "individuals that are part of a national minority cannot be deprived from the right to have their own cultural life, use their own language, open their own schools and be instructed in the language of their choice, or to profess and practice their own religion, along with the other members of their group, and within the public order limits".

(Available at

http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/minorities/1 atglance/PDF Text F CNM_es.pdf). This proposal was never approved due to the existing conflict about the teaching language in Belgium⁹.

⁸ The Charter is binding on all member Sates except for Poland and the UK.

⁹ In Belgium, there are two main linguistic groups. Speakers of Flemish or Dutch live in Northern Belgium, and the French-spoken community lives in the South. Both groups have been constantly confronted due to the historical and international pre-eminence of the French language, and due to the rejection of Flemish to be assimilated. More than a linguistic problem, Belgians have a social problem, since the Belgian union is equivalent to linguistic union. In 1970, the Constitution included the principles of cultural autonomy established in 1962 when the "linguistic frontier" was created and Belgium became a regional State. After that, three communities were recognized: Flemish, French and German (this one located in the East part of the country. German is a minority language with regards to the other two). Also, the Cultural Councils were created with ruling competences in cultural and (non-linguistic) educational issues. Nevertheless, even after this important change, in the practice things have changed very little and very slowly. That is why, in 1980, new reforms were made for political decentralization, and Belgium virtually became a federal State.

Eventually, in 1973, the proposal was ruled out since it was not considered to be legally indispensable. In the same sense, Recommendation 1134 arrived in 1990.

Then, after a proposal from Austria in 1993, Recommendation, 1201 reintroduced the idea of including specific references to national minorities into the Additional Protocol to the 1950 Convention. Finally, during the Vienna Convention (1993) it was agreed to write a Framework Convention to assure the effective protection of the national minorities' rights.

Taking into consideration this background, it is not surprising that the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council has finally provided Europe with the first international legal instruments for the protection and defense of national minorities as a whole, as well as for minority or regional languages specifically. Those instruments are the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages¹⁰, and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. The latter was approved during the 95th meeting of the Parliamentary Assembly, and it came into effect on February, 1998; at present, it is formed by 44 States¹¹. Regarding the subject matter of this study, the right to free expression of the minority language, as well as the necessity to quarantee the access to receive and to offer information on that language is recognized in Article 9. In the same way, the access to the written or audiovisual media is regulated. It also points out the importance that the media promote tolerance and cultural pluralism, to make sure that the contents are interesting for minority groups, and for the State to provide the necessary funds to undertake such an action. Article 10 is also important since it refers to the right to express on the own language because it is "one of the main means to assure and preserve identity" (COE: AV/TG/MJ, 788/94. CON page 26). Of equal importance is Article 14 referring to the right to learn the minority language. This one does not imply the demand for special funding from the government. It is also important to emphasize Article 11 referring to the right to write names, surnames and others in the original phonetic form, or Article 12 which includes the necessity to promote the knowledge of both, the own minority culture as well as the national culture in order to promote mutual knowledge, tolerance and coexistence.

¹⁰ Mainly, this Treaty was a consequence of the 1981 Recommendation 928 referring to the problems on educational matters due to the poor use of minority or regional languages.

¹¹ Kosovo is subject to a specific monitoring arrangement in conformity with the 2004 Agreement between UNMIK and the Council of Europe

Article 13 recognizes the right to create own learning centers, under the norms and supervision requested by the laws on educational matter in each State. It is important to keep in mind that this Convention also refers to the necessity of respecting the national Constitution and the laws in each State, as well as to the personal decision of every member of a minority group to accept the most convenient national and international legislations, and the right to accept or not being recognized as part of a specific minority group.

3. Minorities Protection at the National Level

During the last decades of the 20th Century, the National States showed an increasing interest on defending and assuring the use of cultural heritage, especially the language. Thus, at present, many of the constitutions of the European States include specific references to national minorities¹². Now, there is not unanimity on the treatment the States give to their minority groups. For example, even if the legislations of countries such as Switzerland, Belgium, or Finland record the existence of minorities, they do not allow for them to be legally treated as such, but they have the same rights and they are treated equally than the rest of the citizens. On the opposite side, France does not recognize the existence of minorities in the country. Close to this position is Greece¹³. Other countries that do not recognize the existence of minorities in their territories are San Marino, Malta, or Liechtenstein.

Remember that after the Berlin Wall Fall the Soviet Union was disintegrated. Also the access to democracy for many States has had a positive effect for the national minorities' protection. For example the paradigmatic case of Moldavia that, regardless of being one of the poorest countries, it has made important efforts on this matter. The Independence Declaration (August, 1991) already stated that the State will guarantee "the practice of the social, economic, and cultural rights as well as the political freedom of all the Moldavian Republic nationals, including individuals belonging to ethnic, linguistic, and religious national groups..." (ACFC/SR (2000) 2). Its Constitution, approved on July 1994, has maintained the same spirit.

¹³ Odd enough, as explained by Csba Tabajdi, a Hungarian representative, during an interview on February, 2009: "if France or Greece would apply today for admission to the European Union, it would be denied since they have not ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages nor the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, both binding documents on the European Council". In addition "the twelve new member States had to fulfil the minorities' protection requirement, but the old ones did not apply it" (Ref.: 20090202STO47935 Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/public/story_page/019-47956-033-02-06-902-20090202STO47935-2009-02-02-2009/default_es.htm).

Spain has a particular position since, even if all nationals have equal rights according to the Constitution, the existence of Self-governed Communities and the recognition of the "differential fact" create a specific context in which there are not minority groups as such, but there is recognition and protection for the languages, the culture, and other aspects of the diverse nationalities living within the Spanish State.

Then, article 3 of the Spanish Constitution states that "Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty of know it and the right to use it". Furthermore, "the other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Self-governed Communities in accordance with their Statutes". It is also stated that "the wealth of the different linguistic variety of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be specially respected and protected". (Available at:

http://www.boe.es/aeboe/consultas/enlaces/documentos/ConstitucionCAS <u>TELLANO.pdf</u>). A similar situation occurs in Germany. Its Constitution recognizes for all groups living within its territory the same rights included in the basic law. In addition, there are specific laws for each länder inhabited by national minorities. Italy is also a special case since its Constitution only recognizes linguistic minorities; as a consequence important minority groups with a large population in the country, Gypsies for example, are left without protection. At the other end, we can find States such as Hungary that recognizes in its Constitution up to thirteen ethnic minorities whose rights are protected by article 68. It establishes the legal mechanisms for their presence in the public life, to assure the creation of their own government organisms at the national and regional level, it also promotes the defence and protection of their own cultures, education, and languages. Similar to the Hungarian case, we can mention the Czech Republic, Albania, Ireland, Macedonia, or Ukraine. And, these countries make also reference to the protection of their own minorities living abroad. Now, do not forget that from the international law perspective, it is clear that the human rights protection for individuals belonging to a national or ethnic, linguistic and/or religious minority is the responsibility of the State where they reside. At present, this is a basic content of the Human Rights international law, regardless of the fact that the States have or have not ratified specific agreements on the matter (...). Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 30 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child, Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities 11, as well as the non-discrimination clauses included in all the human rights agreements,

and many other documents of political nature underline the fact that the corresponding for minorities (and their members) are a fundamental part of the human rights, which must be respected wherever they live, independently that the State in question recognizes or not their presence, as it can be attested on the observations of the supervision committees". (RUIZ VIEIYTEZ, 2009:3).

4. Specific Protection for Minority Languages

Although the work of the European Union and that of the European Council are complementary and even overlap in certain aspects, it is important to distinguish them. We have seen that the European Council has been pioneer on minority rights issues; and it has been able to offer instruments for broad effective international actions. In fact, the European Union has taken responsibility for some of the actions performed by the European Council, for example, the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights or even the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which are already included in legislative heritage of the UE.

The UE states that it "has a positive policy towards regional and minority languages, enshrined in Article 22 of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, which states the Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity" (Available at http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/languages-of-europe/doc139 en.htm). It is important to notice that as a consequence, there is a series of specific actions that reflect the Communities' concern on this matter. This policy has had two well separated phases. The first one goes up to year 2000, and it centered on supporting diverse practical initiatives aiming to protection and promotion of minority languages. The second phase has initiated along with the new century with the empowerment of the European Bureau for the Lesser-Used Languages (EBLUL) and the centralization of all related activities in this organism. The use of the information net Mercator has also been empowered.

EBLUL (http://www.eblul.org/) was born in 1982 by initiative of the European Parliament. This office represent the diverse minority language communities, it works in favour of their common interests, and acts as an intermediary between the communities and the political authorities. In addition, it gives orientation on related issues to the institutions that so request it. It also works as a documentation center, and even as an information agency since it has a permanent news service related to minority languages issues.

At present, the headquarters of EBLUL is in Dublin, but there are also offices in Brussels. As for the Mercator Net, it "was founded in 1987, as a direct result of the Kuijpers Resolution on the protection of the languages and cultures of regional minorities within the European Union.

This resolution pointed out that EC member State Governments and the European Commission should take positive action to recognize regional and minority languages" (Available at http://www.mercator-research.eu/organization/history). The three action areas of the net are: education, legislation, and media of communication.

In 1992, the European Commission requested a detailed study on the situation of regional and minority languages in the member States. The Euromosaic: The production and reproduction of the minority language groups in the European Union was published for the first time in 1996, but due to the incorporation of new member States, it has been extended with the purpose of having up to day information. The last edition was issued on September 2004, it included information about Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. There is also a website named *Euromosaic*, administered by the University of Oberta and the Catalonia Generalitat. It provides information 38 different minority languages. Furthermore, the information regarding these studies can be accessed on the http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/languages-ofeurope/doc145 en.htm of the European Commission. Finally, the Commission has funded several projects such as **ADUM** (2004-2005)(Available at http://www.adum.info/adum/); its main purpose is to collect all the available information on individuals and organizations working on the minority languages field, and to inform on available European funding for related projects. Another project is CRAMLAP (Available at http://www.cramlap.org/), it evaluates the presence of minority languages (especially Celtic) in higher education in Europe.

Also, since 2003 the European Commission finances the Language Planning Net (http://www.languageplanning.eu/) that has been created in 2001 with the purpose of promoting cooperation among the authorities responsible for language planning. At present, the net is formed by eight institutions. On 2013 a new programme, LEARNME, became operational. This programme is linked with Mercator Network Project. It depends on the Mercator European Research Centre which was born in 1987. Nowadays the Mercator Research Centre focuses on research, policy and practice in the field of multilingualism and language learning.

As for the European Council, above all actions, the approval of the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, entered into force in 1998, is remarkable. By the year 2014, it has been ratified for 25 States.

Eight other Sates have signed it, but they have not ratified it yet.¹⁴ Together, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, open to be signed in 1995 and in effect in 1998, and the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages constitute the most important set of legal instruments for the defence and protection of national minorities, since they include mechanisms to supervise their application by the signatory States.

Regarding the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, it is important to notice that it does not protect language of scarce existence, dialects, or endangered languages, but languages that are minority in a State where a language is spoken by majorities. That is, important languages such as Russian, is a minority language in Armenia or Rumania, for example, where the majority speaks Armenian or Romanian, the respective official languages of the mentioned States. Another example would be German; it is spoken by certain groups living in Northern Italy or Denmark, or Kurd, a minority language in a State where Turk is the official language. On the other side, Catalan which is recognized as the official language of a Self-governed Community, could not be considered a minority language inside of the Spanish State, neither Basque nor Galician. However, some of these languages are spoken outside of the Spanish State, for instance, Catalan or Basque in France. In this case both languages would be considered minority language in the French context. In fact, when Spain ratified the Charter, along with the ratification it included a declaration stating that "for the foreseen effects of the mentioned articles, it is understood for regional or minority languages, the recognized official languages in the Self-government Statues of the Self-governed Communities of the Basque Country, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, Galicia, Valencia, and Navarra". Also, it is added that "for the same effects, it is also understood for regional or minority languages those protected under the Selfgovernment Statues in the territories where traditionally those languages are spoken".

¹⁴ Notice that there are important absences: Albania, Andorra, Belgium, Bulgaria, Estonia, Georgia, Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Monaco, Portugal, a Marino and Turkey. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Azerbaijan, France, Iceland, Italy, Malta, Moldova and Russia, have not ratified it yet. But bear in mind that French National Assembly voted, on 28 January 2014, in favour of a constitutional amendment permitting the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by France.

It stands out the fact that the Charter does not include a definition of minority language, although according to Article 1, regional or minority languages "are languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population; they are different from the official language(s) of that state". Thus, as expressed in the same text, the dialects of the official language(s) of the state and also the languages of migrants are left out.

Another important aspect of the Charter that we must emphasize is the specificity for protection, which is mainly cultural, but not political. It is obvious, and it would be naive to deny it, that under the mentioned cultural protection a political problem underlines in many cases. However, the Charter's intention is not primarily political-social, but cultural. That is why the Charter cannot and should not be used as an argument for pro-independence, disintegration, or border modification demands. Take into account that this was one of the foremost risks of the Charter. Going into the political controversy terrain it would risk the ratification of the States and its eventual application. One of the controversial aspects is the one related to the territory, which in the Charter is defined as "the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people". Thus, it can be deduced that in order to exercise protection for a minority language, within the Charter framework, the existence of a defined geographic area where a language is spoken by a specific group of people is necessary.

Then, the question rises: What happen with those languages without a defined territory? That is, "languages without territory". The answer is quite discouraging in that sense since most of the measures, goals, and purposes of the Charter require the existence of a defined geographic area in order to be established. It is also important to keep in mind that the long of the European geography, there is at least one language to be considered without territory, the Romani, language of the Gypsy people. Nevertheless, some of the signatory States such as Germany, Austria, Slovakia, Slovenia, Finland, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Rumania, Serbia, or Sweden have included Romani among the protected languages. One of the most important critics to the Chart rises precisely because of this situation. That is, each State decides which languages are to be protected and the degree of protection. Logically, this situation causes important differences among the languages as well as among the States, and it diminishes the Charter's effectiveness.

4.1. Control Mechanisms of the Charter¹⁵

The European Council has a control mechanism for the application of the Charter's principles inside the signatory State. It consists on the submission of periodical reports to the General Secretariat. The Sates are obligated to submit a report every three years. The report must include detailed references on the measures adopted by the State in order to bring into effect the application of the Charter, the improvements in that matter, as well as the general overview of the country's situation divided into sectors (education, media of communication, administration, judicial power, political representation, and so on). Those reports are thoroughly studied by an independent Experts Committee, who must be nationals of the signatory States.

This Experts Committee meets in plenary sessions in Strasburg about four times every year (the frequency of the meetings may vary depending on the needs). Previously, the experts have received information on the country or countries to be studied along with the reports submitted by those countries. There is a first round for discussion. Then a Sub-Committee is elected based on the fields of expertise and interests of the different experts to further study the report. At the same time, the Committee's Secretariat organizes a visit to the country under study. A Sub-Committee of four experts visits the country, they not only verify the veracity of the report, but also interview different authorities (national, regional and/or local, depending on the case), NGOs, and civil representatives for the minority communities. They also visit the seat of the media of communication, schools, and more. The specific content of the visit depends, of course, on the own idiosyncrasy, the needs, and the situation of each country.

After the visit, a report including the Sub-Committee's conclusion is written and then presented at the following plenary session. In Strasburg, the report in question is analyzed and discussed in plenary point by point. The conclusions presented by the Sub-Committee are taken into account, and they listen to the national expert. Finally, the initial report is approved or not. The necessary recommendations are issued and presented to the Committee of Ministers. They will later take the recommendations to the Parliamentary Assembly which is in charge of informing the member State on the result.

¹⁵ The control mechanisms are practically the same for both, the Framework Convention and the Charter of Minority Languages.

The State in question is expected to implement those recommendations within a three-year term, when a new report is due. It is important to notice that these are broad recommendations; the national authorities will decide how to implement them. No sanctions are foreseen for those countries failing to honor the recommendations. However the fact that the reports and the recommendations are made public once they have been approved, gives the European Council moral strength to obtain an effective implementation of the Conventions that have been signed. During the process, all documents, discussions, and diverse drafts are restricted and cannot be made public.

At present, under the terms of its Article 15, a total of 61¹⁶ reports from different countries have been approved and the relevant recommendations have been made. Also, every two years, the Secretary General of the Council of Europe has to present to the Parliamentary Assembly a report on the application of the Charter. At the present, he had presented 6 reports. The last was presented in December 2011 and it made public in 2012.

5. Minority Languages, Freedom of Speech and Media of Communication

Keep in mind that the Charter not only offers protection on the subject matter but, the protection also refers to the freedom of speech and the media of communication offered by the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. Article 9 states: "The Parties undertake to recognise that the right to freedom of expression of every person belonging to a national minority includes freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas in the minority language, without interference by public authorities and regardless of frontiers. The Parties shall ensure, within the framework of their legal systems, that persons belonging to a national minority are not discriminated against in their access to the media". It also adds: "the Parties shall not hinder the creation and the use of printed media by persons belonging to national minorities. In the legal framework of sound radio and television broadcasting, they shall ensure, as far as possible, and taking into account the provisions of paragraph 1, that persons belonging to national minorities are granted the possibility of creating and using their own media.

¹⁶ This figure refers to the report submitted by the Secretary General in December 2011

In the framework of their legal systems, the Parties shall adopt adequate measures in order to facilitate access to the media for persons belonging to national minorities and in order to promote tolerance and permit cultural pluralism".

According to data from the European Parliament, 300 groups that are considered national or ethnic minorities live in Europe. This means that one of every ten Europeans belongs to a minority group. As for the languages, more that 90 languages are spoken in European land, from those only 37 are official or co-offcial. To make possible to know the actual situation of these linguistics communities inside their respective countries, the European Council makes available the reports. These are a first-hand instrument, although biased, that allow us to evaluate the presence of the minority languages in the media. They also provide with an overview of the selected countries regarding the protection each one has for their minority languages. Thus we will be able to make a global balance of the minority languages' situation in Europe.

5.1. Finland¹⁷

Besides the constitutional recognition of minority languages, for several years now Finland has developed a series of institutions to prevent discrimination among minority groups. Namely, the Non-Discrimination Act (2004) which includes the equality principle for all individuals, regardless of their racial or ethnic origin. Also the Ombudsman for Minorities, in effect since 2001 and with increased functions under the Non-Discrimination Act; it assures the non-existence of discriminatory situations and mediates between the minority groups and the corresponding authorities. There is also the Discrimination Board, a self-governed independent institution which enforces the full application of the laws, and assures that non-discriminatory situations occur under the protection of those laws. Lastly, there is the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations (ETNO) which promotes cooperation and dialog among public institutions, political parties, and NGOs representing minority groups. It also give advice on the matter to the correspondent minister.

This Northern country, in compliance with Article 15 of the Charter, has already submitted three reports before the European Council. The last one, presented in 2006 (MIN-LANG/PR (2006) 1), will be the reference for the present study.

¹⁷ Keep en mind that the Charter does not apply to the Anland Islands, where Swedish is the main language. They have an special status after a decision made by the Society of Nations in 1921.

According to this document, the national languages are Finnish and Swedish¹⁸. The former is spoken by the majority of the population; then, the latter has a special condition that places it among the minority languages, even it has the condition of official language. Other minority languages are also recognize: Russian (with the largest number of speakers), followed by Estonian, English, Somali, and Arab. The Constitution includes Sami¹⁹ as a minority or regional language. Sami is the language spoken by the indigenous population of Finland (although there are Sami groups in Norway, Russia, and Sweden). Less than 2.000 individuals consider Sami their mother tongue, taking into consideration that there are three variations of this language: Northern Sami (the majority), Skolt Sami, and Inari Sami. In addition, Finland distinguishes the "languages without territory": Romani, the language of the Finnish Gypsies (about 10.000 according to the report); Russian, the second minority language, is considered to be the mother tongue of 5.000 individuals approximately²⁰. Also Tatar, a Turkish language, is spoken by some 800 persons of Turkish descendant. In the same way, Yiddish is recognized as a language without territory since it is used for private communication among Jewish groups, although the language used at the Jewish school is Hebrew, the official language. That is, Yiddish is reserved for cultural activities. Finally, even if it does not have the minority language status, the report refers to Karelian, spoken in some Eastern Finland municipalities. Karelian is the heritage language of the Orthodox community that resided at the North of Ladoga Lake before World War II. After the war, the area was transferred to Russia.

As for the presence of these languages in the Finnish media, there is a clear distinction between Swedish and the other languages. While the presence of Swedish in remarkable, the absence of the other languages is foremost striking. All programs in the two analogue TV channels with national coverage are in Swedish. Recently a digital channel, Swedish FST, began to operate also with national coverage. The report points out that for the year 2004, 11% of the broadcasted hours were in Swedish.

¹⁸ The Language Act and the Knowledge of Language required of Personnel in Public Bodies came into effect in 2004. The purpose was to facilitate for individuals to freely choose to express in Finnish or Swedish when acting before the public powers, as is expected in a bilingual State. The Aland Islands, where Swedish is the official language, is the exception.

¹⁹ Also, in 2004 the Sami Language Act came into effect. It makes obligatory for authorities to promote and defend the linguistic rights of the Sami minority.

²⁰ The report refers 37.253 Russian speakers; from those, 24.625 are Russian nationals, that is the reason why the historical speaking Russian population amounts up to 5.000 speakers.

As for radio broadcasting, there are two channels with 29.932 hours of transmission in Swedish every year, that is 15,5% of the total. Take into account that many Finnish TV programs include Swedish subtitles (in the same way, programs in Swedish have Finnish subtitles). In addition, there are five regional channels distributed in areas with a large Swedish population. The presence of Swedish in the media is complemented with internet information, teletext services as well as Swedish TV programs reaching Finnish regions where Swedish is spoken. The rest of the languages have a scarce presence in the media, being Russian the exception. There is a 45-minute daily news program in Russian, scheduled three times a day. Also channel YLE Radio1 broadcasts a daily short news report in Russian. Saturday evenings, YLE Mondo broadcasts a 2-hour news summary. All these programs have national coverage. The Finnish Broadcasting Company offers programs in Russian produced by the BBC World Service. As for short wave, different programs in Russian can be reached three times per week. As for internet, Russiainfo, a web page with information about language and culture, began operations in 2005. Russian speakers may access publication in Russian in university's libraries, such as Helsinki's, or in research centers. There are several newspapers in Russian, for example the Ortodox Message, issued by the Ortodox Parish in Helsinki.

There are also the *Analogi*, summarized versions of the Ortodox Message in the cities of Tampere, Türku y Hämeenlinna. Another important newspaper for the Russian context is the Russkij Svet, sponsored by the Tampere Russian Club financed in part by the State. Since 1998, the Ministry of Education funds the Russian speaking bulletint Spekt which is distributed without cost 10 times every year with 20.000 copies. It also sponsors the literary journal Literatus, born in 2003. The Jewish community, thinking about Russian speakers, includes articles in Russian in the newspaper Hakehila. As for the Romani community, since the language is rarely used in public life, it presence in the media is poor. After 2005, a 15-minute news program is broadcasted by YLE Radio 1. There are three magazines for the Gypsy population, but most of the articles are written in Finnish. The rest of the minority languages has no regular presence in the media. Although, the government is making important efforts to increase the teaching of Sami, and it is adopting some measures in order to extend and consolidate its presences in the national territory since the beginning of the 21st Century. This means that there is hope for Sami to present in the media. Remember that this minority, as an indigenous group, has an important recognition in the Finnish legislation, for example the Sami Language Act, in effect since January 2004. The Sami community also has government organs such as the Sami Parliament.

5.2. United Kingdom

This country has already presented three reports, the last one in 2009 (MIN-LANG/PR (2009) 2). Although the Charter is in effect in all the national territory, included the Island of Man where Manx Gaelic²¹ has reborn. Due to the 1999 transfer process to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland²², many of the aspects included in the Charter depend on the parliaments of each region. Now, regarding the media issues, these are competence of the United Kingdom.

The recognized minority languages of the UK are: Cornish, spoken in the Cornwall region; Irish, in the North Ireland region; Welsh, the language of Wales; Scottish Gaelic, extended all over Scotland, and the variants Scot and Ulster-Scots, no census records the number of speakers of this two languages. Lastly, there are not recognized languages without territory at the UK. As we will see, not all the minority languages have active presence in the media. However the most extended languages, such as Welsh, have an important presence in the media.

Regarding Cornish, the BBC broadcasts on Radio Cornwall a 5-minute daily news report that may also be accessed on the internet. The web page MAGA, dependent of the Cornish Language Partnership, offers diverse information in this language. Besides, the 2003 Communications Act requests for the media to abide by the code of conduct which forbids discrimination of any kind, that is discrimination based on language, race, religion, or believes. The committee OFCOM (Office of Communications) is in charge of enforcement of the code. In case of failure, the committee imposes the sanctions that have been established. Article 22 of the code of conduct includes the demands established by the Television Without Frontiers Directive on the matter.

In Wales, the TV channel Sianel Pedward Cymru (S4C) operates since 1982 with the government's support. The programming is mainly in Welsh (47 hours per week, analogue; and 80 hours digital in two different channels).

²¹ This is a Celtic language. Still in the 18th Century, an important sector of the population considered Manx Gaelic their mother tongue. During the 19th Century it disappeared little by little, but during the last decades of the 20th Century it has recovered to the point that in the 2001 census, 1689 persons reported to be able to read, write and speak the language.

²² In this case, there was suspension of powers in October 2002, but they have been recovered in 2007.

In addition, since 2008 two programs for children add six and a half hours to the weekly programming; and in 2009, a program for teenagers began. The BBC programming adds 10 more hours every week. Also, the BBC Wales and the HTV Wales broadcast programs in Welsh. Let's not forget BBC Radio Cymru, in operation since 1977 providing full coverage in Wales. It offers 20 hours a day (140 hours per week) of programs in Welsh. Radio Ceridigion, in Aberystwyth (Ceredigion County), as well as Champion FM with full coverage of North West Wales, also broadcast programs in Welsh. As for audiovisual activities, it is important to notice that up until 2006 the Media Agency produced films, TV programs, and news programs in Welsh.

As for the written press, an important number of Welsh publications exist with different frequency. Among the weekly publications, *Cymro* or *Golgw* are important. There is a total of 55 monthly local publications. Golwg, a sort of information agency, is in operation since 2008; it offers news in Welsh and there is also a written version with the most relevant events. And by Welsh Language Measure (2011) the Welsh was granted official status in Wales.

BBC Gaelic, is the BBC department responsible for radio and TV programming in Scottish Gaelic. There are special radio and TV programs for different age sectors. The programs look to promote and preserve culture and traditions. There are also on-line services in Gaelic on the BBC web page. Recently, a digital TV service (open TV) promoted by the BBC began to operate; and Gaelic Media Service (MG Alba) that is considered an important boost for emissions in this language includes specific programming for the teaching of the language. Radio nan Gaidheal, operated by BBC Scottish, has programs in this language. One of the most remarkable programs is the monthly "Leugh an Leabhair" where the literary production of the previous month is reviewed. Eight of the eleven existing radio channels have some programs in Gaelic, most of them are musical programs. The BBC Scotland regularly produces programs in the Scots dialect, some of them being very popular, for example, *Still Game* or *Chewin´the Fat*.

As for the written media, it is frequent to find articles written in Gaelic in several papers such as *Scotsman, The Press and Journal* or *Inverness Courier*, but there are also publications exclusively in Gaelic, for example the monthly paper *An Gidheal Ur* or the magazine *Cothrom* (bilingual), and others free press examples. There are publications with the purpose of teaching Gaelic, such is the case of Naidheachd, edited by the Atlantic Gaelic Academy.

Dealing with oral traditions and history of the North American Gaels, the Am Braighe is edited in Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. Finally, we have to mention the literary journal Gairm; even if it has disappeared in 2002, it represented a great tradition since 1952.

There are web sites in Gaelic with diverse contents, included educational ones. A well known site is *Aig Cridhe ar Ciúil*, dependent of BBC Alba, which offers not only entertaining and cultural information, but it also allows to create of songs and contents that may be accessed for other users. With the same intention there is *Sgleog* for teen agers.

The Broadcasting Act (of Tynwal) in 1993 establishes that concessions for broadcasting licences in the Island of Man territory must demand operators to commit themselves to broadcast a certain number of hours in Manx Gaelic. The specific number of hours depends on each case. Most of the programs in this language are offered by Manx Radio, and it also has a weekly program with local news that can be accessed on the internet. Now, the most popular programs such as "Claare ny Gael" (Tuesday evening), and "Shiaght Laa" (Wednesday evening) are bilingual, or mostly in English, as it is the Sunday program "Moghrey Jedoonee".

As for the Irish language, there are two TV channels, RTE and TG4. Also, the BBC Northern Ireland broadcast weekly programs in that language since 2008. They have invested to increase the presence of this minority language in both, radio and television.

5.3. Hungary

This Central Europe state has already submitted four reports since it was one of the first countries signing the Charter. We will use as reference the last report from January, 2009 (MIN-LANG/PR (2009) 1). Keep in mind that Hungary is a multicultural country. Recently, such a condition has been threatened by several assimilation policies.²³

²³ Remember that after 1945, strict assimilation policies came into effect all over Eastern Europe, due to the new borders. The option was to accept being assimilated, otherwise relocation into the respective original State was obligatory.

That is why, after regaining democracy, and in accordance with international policies on minority groups in effect after the Cold War, Hungary has made an important effort to recognize, promote, and respect the rights of minority groups. As a matter of fact, the Hungarian Constitution records the existence of 13 different minority groups²⁴: Armenian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Croatian, German, Greek, Gypsy, Polish, Rumanian, Slovakians, and Slovenian. Subsequently, 13 is also the number of recognized minority languages; although in the case of the Gypsy group there are two languages, Romani and Beash. Article 68 of the Hungarian Constitution, especially the Act for Minorities, recognizes not only the right to use their mother tongue in both private and public life, but also the possibility of being educated in their own language. According to the 2006 voter registration list, based on the 2001 census, Gypsies are the largest minority group with 189.984 registered individuals. Germans are the second largest group with 62.105 individuals. Slovakians are in the third place, with an important numeric difference though, only 17.693 individuals. Ruthenians form the smallest group, with only 1098 individuals²⁵. In 1990, the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities was created with the purpose of providing general protection to all these groups.

This office depends of the Ministry of Justice and it is in charge of coordinating diverse government policies on the matter. Periodically, it evaluates the situation of minority groups; it analyzes and presents improvement projects to the government. After 1993, minority groups have the right to create self-governed regions, in accordance with the National and Ethnic Minorities' Rights Law. In 1998, after the elections 1.376 self-governed communities where established all over the country, nine of them located at the capital. (Available athttp://www.mfa.gov.hu/NR/rdonlyres/37369B79-50E0-4963-BD41

<u>F86BA176F32B/0/etnispa.pdf</u>). With these organisms, minority groups can decide on issues such as local public education o media of communications in their specific area. Regarding the subject matter of this study, it is important to point out that each minority group has a permanent representative at the Hungarian Television Public Foundation and at the Hungarian Radio Public Foundation since the year 2005; representatives are appointed by their own self-government community.

²⁴ The Act of Minorities states that in order to be considered minority, a group ought to have inhabited Hungary for a century at least.

²⁵ Keep in mind that this numbers refer to Hungarian citizens who are at least 18 years old, that is those who can vote. Thus the number of actual size of these minority groups must be larger. For example, as recorded in the report, 34% of the Ukrainian group are not Hungarian citizens, thus they are not included in the 2006 voter registration list.

As for the presence of this groups in the media, the Act on Radio and Television Broadcasting (1996) demands public media to include programs in the minority languages and programs that disseminate the culture and traditions of these groups. In the same line, the 2007 Act on Broadcasting and Digital Switchover guarantees same rights for emission on this format. In addition the 2006 Minorities Act amendment, allowed for the Minority Editorial Board to operate along with the Editorial Board of the Hungarian television centered on specific programming for minority groups. One of the first actions was to include subtitles in minority languages in regular Hungarian programming. Another important step after 2006 was to make accessible the content of minority groups programs in MTV via internet. The practice of not having programs in minority languages during the festivities of each group was also abandoned, increasing the number of days for emissions. In general, public television offers every week specific programs for each one of the 13 recognized groups. Every two weeks, there is a program in Hungarian summarizing the general programming of the previous weeks. The purpose is to promote communication and knowledge among the minority groups and the majority. There is also local programming depending on each self-governed entity; the extension of these emissions varies according to the group.

With regards to radio broadcasting, as a result of complaints on poor representation of minority groups, a new channel, MR4, with national coverage began to operate on February 2007 with exclusive programming for these groups. Also, a special budget was approved for the production of programs dealing with minority issues. As a consequence, there are two daily hours with specific programming for Croatians, Germans, Rumanians, Serbians, and Slovakians in their own language. For the Bulgarians, Greeks, Polish, Ruthenians, Armenians, Slovenians, and Ukrainians there is a half-hour program in their own languages every week; though Armenians have a bilingual program (Armenian/Hungarian). A 30-minute program with specific content for Gypsies is broadcasted in Hungarian from Monday to Friday. In addition, on Saturdays, there is a 1-hour program in Hungarian called "Egy hazában". In this program literary novelties and classics of the minority languages are reviewed. As for cable services, around 29% of the local programs is for minority groups. Every month, the Public Foundation for National and Ethnics Minorities (MNEKK, abbreviation in Hungarian) sponsors 150 minutes of programming. The MNEKK also sponsors some television programs.

Access to this programming is also available in several websites, such as Danube-Körös-Maros-Tisza-Euroregion supported with funding from the European Union. Several self-governed minority groups also finance their own programs; some times they even get funding from their original states. That is the case of Serbians who receive support from the Serbian government. Or the *Croatica Internet Radio* financed by the self-governed entity since 2005. There are also across-the-border agreements for minority groups to access the programming of the neighbour States, that is the case for Slovenian and Austrian governments.

Referring to the written press, there is at least one newspaper with national coverage for each one of the recognized minority languages with governmental support. Also some national newspapers include supplements about minorities, some of them in the minority language and the rest in Hungarian. Several minority groups have successful magazines such as *Porabje*, published every week by the Slovenian minority in their language.

To summarize, even if Hungary has made an enormous effort during the 20 years of democracy, the truth is that the effective presence of the diverse minority groups in the media has not been equal. Croatians, Germans, or Slovenians are far more represented than other groups considered as recent minorities by the Hungarian Constitution. That is the case of Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians, and Ruthenians. The most extended minority, the Gypsies, has the lesser representation at present, even if in the last decade the government has adopted special measures to promote their presence in the public life.

6. AS a Closure

It is important to consider that, from the legislative point of view, national minorities as well as their respective languages are protected in Europe²⁶. Besides, the progress on this matter during the last decades has been spectacular. First, the European Council has contributed with the two international conventions we have been reviewing in this study.

²⁶ According with *The Guardian* (17 February 2014) "at the European level, around 55 million speak languages other than one of the EU's official languages" (http://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/feb/17/languages).

Then the European Union, for the first time, states in the Lisboan Treaty²⁷ that protection of the national minorities is a fundamental part of the human rights; as such, it is part of the communitarian heritage that all member states as well as candidates must make their own. Thus, this is a very important challenge especially for the former Eastern Europe where, in many cases, minorities are the majority. As seen in the studied examples, the constitutional and legislative changes have occurred, but the work is no finished yet, since the legislation must be effective beyond papers. It has to become rooted in the citizens' minds and become a natural way of coexistence.

Because of space limitation, we have not deal with another problem: the necessity of adopt measures to establish across-the-border agreements, especially for those countries that share population groups in both side of the border. The same applies for the original state and the state hosting minority groups. There are already diverse laws, however the road is still long due to the diverse aspects that come into play, for example, the feeling that these laws are colliding with sovereignty itself. Do not forget that the Framework Convention itself refers to this situation on the second paragraph of Article 18, where it urges the Sates to adopt measures to promote across-the- border cooperation. The Charter in Article 14 refers to the coexistence of the groups that share a common language in several sides of the border, and ask for the states to establish relationships, especially at the local and regional levels in subjects such as education, communication and culture.

Finally, without diminishing the importance of to the two legal instruments we have analyzed, lets point out that their weakest aspect is the possibility for follow-up, and the possibility to assign sanctions in case of failure of the states to submit the reports. Remember that submission of reports to the Experts Committee resides on the good disposition of the States, as well as implementing the recommendations. The submission of reports also depends on the moral authority the Committee has, as well as the fact that the European Council makes public those reports. There is not mechanism for the Committee to decide on possible demands, or to request from the States to adopt specific measurement on the matter. Summing up, we are essentially before a self-controlled state system which at the end depends on the measure and regulation adopted by each state, and their good faith to enforce them.

²⁷ The European Constitution included this aspect too, but since it was not approved, the Lisbon Treaty is considered to the first one.

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CRAMLAP (www.cramlap.org)

Euromosaic (http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/)

European Bureau for Lesser-Used Language (EBLUL) (www.eblul.org/)

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