# MITJA ŽAGAR Diversity Management – Evolution of Concepts

The article presents the concept, work and development of the International Colloquium on Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation and its Constitutional Network that connected worldwide scholars and institutions studying international, constitutional, legal and political regulation and management of diversity and ethnic relations. Among their activities, the series of international scholarly conferences on international, constitutional, legal and political regulation and management of ethnic relations and conflicts at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century contributed to the development and transformation of the field of diversity management and within it the prevention, management and/or resolution of crises and conflicts. This field underwent a dynamic development that transformed the conflict management and conflict resolution as two initially opposing and incompatible concepts and approaches to conflict into diversity management, of which an important component is the prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts that in an innovative way combines approaches of conflict management and conflict resolution. Successful diversity management requires a global (long-term) strategy that includes education and training as its important contents and dimension. Education and training are life-long (learning) processes that shall in formal and informal programs and frameworks include all individuals and distinct communities in a pluralist and asymmetrical society. Their key functions are preparing and enabling every individual, distinct community and diverse society for a successful coexistence, work and life in a pluralist, diverse and asymmetrical environment, developing their knowledge and skills important for peaceful and democratic management of diversity and, especially, democratic and peaceful prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts.

Keywords: ethnicity, diversity, diversity management, prevention, management and/or resolution of crises and conflicts, peace and conflict studies, training and education – life long learning, civic education (education for democratic citizenship)

### Upravljanje različnosti – evolucija konceptov

Članek predstavlja delo in razvoj mednarodnega kolokvija za proučevanje etničnosti "Etničnost: konflikt in sodelovanje" ter mednarodne "ustavne mreže", ki je povezala v okviru mednarodnega kolokvija strokovnjake in institucije, ki se ukvarjajo z mednarodnim, ustavnim, pravnim in političnim urejanjem ter upravljanjem etničnih odnosov. Serijo petih mednarodnih znanstvenih konferenc o urejanju in upravljanju etničnih odnosov in konfliktov lahko štejemo med pomembne aktivnosti "ustavne mreže", ki so prispevale k razvoju področja upravljanja različnosti ter preprečevanja, upravljanja in/ali razreševanja kriz in konfliktov ob koncu dvajsetega in na začetku enaindvajsetega stoletja. To področje je v tem času doživelo dinamično preobrazbo, ki je upravljanje konfliktov in razreševanje konfliktov, kot dva različna in po mnenju ključnih avtorjev med seboj nekompatibilna pristopa, preoblikovalo in preobrazilo v upravljanje različnosti, v okviru katerega preprečevanje, upravljanje in razreševanje kriz in konfliktov, ki na inovativen način združuje oba prej omenjena pristopa v skupno strategijo, predstavlja pomembno vsebino in ključne aktivnosti. Prispevek se posebej ukvarja z vzgojo, izobraževanjem in usposabljanjem, ki se morajo razviti kot vseživljenjski proces, v katerega so prek različnih formalnih in neformalnih oblik in dejavnosti vključeni vsi posamezniki v posamezni notranje raznoliki in asimetrični skupnosti. Prav uspešni vzgoja, izobraževanje in usposabljanje so ključni pogoji, ki naj posameznika in družbo usposobijo za uspešno življenje in delo v pluralnem okolju, predvsem pa prispevajo k miroljubnemu in demokratičnemu preprečevanju, upravljanju in razreševanju kriz in konfliktov.

Ključne besede: etničnost, različnost, upravljanje različnosti, preprečevanje, upravljanje in/ali razreševanje kriz in konfliktov, mirovne študije in študije konflikta, izobraževanje in usposabljanje (vseživljenjsko učenje), državljanska vzgoja.

INTERNATIONAL, CONSTITUTIONAL, LEGAL AND POLITICAL REGULATION AND MANAGEMENT OF ETHNIC PLURALISM AND RELATIONS, INCLUDING PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT AND/OR RESOLUTION OF CRISES AND CONFLICTS AS COMPONENTS OF DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT <sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION (TO THIS SPECIAL ISSUE OF THE JOURNAL AND TO THE ARTICLE)

This introduction is actually a general introduction to this special issue of the scholarly journal *Razprave in gradivo / Treatises and Documents* and to my own contribution that as the first and the most general contribution should establish a framework for the following contributions that address some specific issues relevant for the international, constitutional, legal and political regulation and management of ethnic pluralism and relations and diversity.

Almost seventeen years ago I met Otto Feinstein in Dubrovnik and this is where the story begins. After the first post World War II democratic multiparty elections in Slovenia and Croatia, when the first armed skirmishes had already started in Croatia, and just before tragic historic developments and wars in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, we gathered there at the international conference on ethnic conflict and cooperation organized within an international research project coordinated by Rodlofo Stavenhagen and sponsored by UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development).<sup>2</sup> This Dubrovnik conference,

• • •

1 This article is based on the research work and findings: within the long term basic research project Ethnic Dimension of Integration Processes in Plural Societies and the Management and Resolution of Conflicts coordinated by the author and financed by the Ministry of Science and Technology of the Republic of Slovenia (1993-2002), within the research program Ethnic and Minority Studies and Slovene National Question (2000-2008) at the Institute for Ethnic Studies funded by the Public Agency for Research of the Republic of Slovenia, within the EU Feasibility Study on the Creation of a South-Eastern European Educational Co-operation Centre coordinated by the Institute of Education of London University, and within the Specific Targeted Research Project under the Sixth Framework Programme of the European Community Minority rights in the Life Cycle of Ethnic Conflicts - Minority Rights Instruments and Mechanisms: Minority Protection along the Conflict Continuum (MIRICO 2006-2008) coordinated by Professor Joseph (of the University of Graz) Marko and the European Academy of Bolzano (Accademia Europea per la ricerca applicata ed il perfezionamento professionale Bolzano) in which the Institute for Ethnic Studies participates as one of the partners. The author benefited from the work, activities and results of the International Colloquium 'Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation and its Constitutional Network, and important information was gathered while he participated as a member in the work of the Special Delegation of Council of Europe Advisors on Minorities and while working as a member and chair of the Task Force 1 on Human Rights and Minorities of the Working Table I on Democratization and Human Rights of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (2000 - 2003). In preparing this article the papers and discussions produced within the Scholars Initiative Project on the former Yugoslavia coordinated by Professor Charles Ingrao (of the Purdue University) were useful, although they were not directly used and cited. Thankful for all mentioned inputs, the author, of course, is solely responsible for all shortcomings and mistakes. The article was completed while the author was a visiting fellow at the National Europe Centre of the Australian National University in Canberra in the fall of 2007.

2 Main results of this project are presented in: Stavenhagen, Rodolfo (1996). Ethnic conflicts and the nation-

organized by Silva Mežnarić and the 'Yugoslav team' explored different cases of ethnic cooperation and conflict in the world and provided a framework – in a wonderful historic setting of this ancient city and using facilities of the Inter University Centre – for interesting discussions and plans that (by far) exceeded the scope of the conference.

Among those plans was the initiative of Otto Feinstein (then a Professor at the Wayne State University from Detroit, Michigan) that in a word that was being torn apart by ethnic strife and conflicts, scholars studying these issues should do something to contribute to the improvement of the current global situation in our globalizing world and to the improvement in individual environments, especially those most affected by surges of nationalism and ethnic conflict. He suggested establishing an international network of scholars that would be called the International Colloquium 'Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation.' Simultaneously, he initiated a new scholarly journal that would discuss issues of ethno-development, a theoretical concept developed by Rodlofo Stavenhagen calling for such a development in multiethnic societies that would take into account specific situation and interests of distinctive ethnic communities based on the principles of (social) equality and justice (Stavenhagen 1990). By coincidence, with Otto Feinstein, Eric Bockstael, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, Siva Mežnarić and some others participants of the conference I became one of founding members of the International Colloquium. Although at the time I was just a young member of the research team at the Institute for Ethnic Studies that was one of partner institutions in the Yugoslav part of the UNRISD project, I was trusted with a task to establish an international network of scholars dealing with international, constitutional and legal regulation of ethnic relations. Less than a year later Otto Feinstein already organized the first conference of the International Colloquium in Detroit, Michigan,<sup>3</sup> and soon afterwards the first issue of the Journal of Ethno-*Development* was published there. Among important outcomes of the Dubrovnik conference and the International Colloquium, I should mention a series of courses and conferences on divided societies initiated by Silva Mežnarić and organized annually at the Inter University Centre in Dubrovnik that in 2007 celebrated their tenth edition, and the establishment of the International Institute for Policy, Practice and Research in the Education of Adults.

*state.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan in association with UNRISD (<u>United Nations Research</u> <u>Institute for Social Development</u>) / New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press. More, see: Rupesinghe, Kumar & Tishkov, Valeriĭ Aleksandrovich, eds. (1996). *Ethnicity and power in the contemporary world*. Tokyo, New York: United Nations University Press.

<sup>3</sup> Contributions from this conference: Feinstein, Otto, Ed. (1991), *Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation*, International Colloquium Reader, Volumes *One* and *Two*. Detroit: Michigan Ethnic Heritage Studies Center, Detroit, 1991.

The international network on international, constitutional and legal regulation of ethnic relations - called the Constitutional Network - was established formally at the first conference of the International Colloquium, I was appointed its coordinator and the Institute for Ethnic Studies in Ljubljana was determined to be its coordinating institution. Conferences of the International Colloquium at least once annually served as the opportunities for the meeting of the Constitutional Network. Since 1995 one of its activities coordinated and organized by the Institute for Ethnic Studies was a series of - so far five - international scholarly conferences on constitutional, legal and political regulation of ethnic relations that were all held in Ljubljana and supported by the ministry of the Republic of Slovenia responsible for research. One of results of this process and especially of the fifth conference in December 2003 is this special issue of the journal Razprave *in gradivo / Treatises and Documents*. Namely, the participants of this conference decided that an attempt should be made to prepare a special publication that would address and explore some relevant issues connected with constitutional, legal and political regulation of ethnic relations within the context of diversity management. At this occasion the editorial board - composed of editors of this special issue - was established and entrusted to carry out this task.

The list of possible topics determined at the fifth international conference was expanded with some relevant topics that had been indicated by previous conferences. The fifth conference listed some possible authors for individual contributions that included not only those who participated in the work of the Constitutional Network, but other prominent scholars in the field of ethnic relations and related fields. Determining the concept of the publication and instructions for authors (taking into account the rules of the journal) the editors invited selected authors to participate and write their contributions, explaining to them the process and possible problems (including the lack of funding, especially for language editing) that we foresaw in it. As it is usually the case in such projects, unfortunately - for different reasons, not all invited authors were willing or able to participate or to complete their contributions in a determined time. Additionally, following the editorial process and decisions of editors not all contributions that had been revised in accordance with reviews and editorial comments were included in this special issue. However, the editors believe that this special issue of the Journal of Ethnic Studies Razprave in gradivo / Treatises and Documents is an important result of the series of the international conferences and a relevant presentation of a part of the work of the International Colloquium 'Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation' and its Constitutional Network. We consider this special issue to be a tribute to the work and enthusiasm of the late Otto Feinstein and Eric Bockstael, two of the initiators of the International Colloquium that stimulated related activities and initiatives.

As mentioned, this special issue includes a selection of contributions on relevant issues regarding international, constitutional, legal and political regulation and management of ethnic relations and conflict that express the often diverse views of the authors. As the introduction to this special issue my article tries to establish a broader conceptual framework for the following contributions. Using some personal experiences and perspectives, the Constitutional Network and its work as basic references that establish a historic context I address the concept of diversity management as the broadest context for the management and regulation of ethnic relations and the protection of minorities. I focus on the evolution of management and resolution of crises and conflicts, on the development of a concept of the prevention, management and/or resolution of crises and on an attempt to develop a global and universal international strategy of diversity management that would include the prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts. Such a global strategy should enable concerted action by all relevant actors at all levels (from local, regional and national to international) mobilizing their resources and creating synergies. An important element of this strategy is education and especially civic education - education for democratic citizenship, observed as a life-long learning process in which a number of different actors take part and which includes diverse formal and informal programs and formats. In the context of diversity management the education should pay special attention to teaching and training in approaches, mechanisms, techniques and skills for the (successful) prevention (of the escalation of crises and conflicts), management and resolution of crises and conflicts.

# TRANSFORMATION OF THE WORLD AND EVOLUTION OF CONCEPTS: FROM CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT TO DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT

The 1980s and 1990s were an interesting and dramatic period. Some of the great transformations of the Twentieth Century were taking place simultaneously, in many ways intertwined. The Communist world as we knew it after WW II was transforming and started to disintegrate; largely, by the end of the 1980s it was gone, at least in Europe. The process of reforms and transition from Communism started and in many ways it still continues in the beginning of the Twenty First Century. However, contrary to optimistic expectations and beliefs this transition was not always and everywhere a simple transition to democracy. As always in the past, the transitions at the end of the twentieth century were complex and complicated processes, very specific and different in various environments, with their ups and downs. Rather than speaking of a transition we should recognize that there were and are several transitions and transformations. Although their main common characteristic might be democratization, again, to a different extent and

at different levels, outcomes of these transitions could vary substantially. Some societies in transition have actually to a large extent transformed into democracies, while in many other environments one type of the authoritarian and/or totalitarian regime was replaced by another one that by no serious standards can be considered democratic. The same is true of economic and market reforms and transformation. Although in almost all environments they declared the introduction of some kind of market economy, outcomes differ substantially. In some countries market economies developed, at very different levels of development and applying rather different standards, while in other environments command economies hardly saw any changes or were replaced by specific arrangements to a larger or smaller extent dominated by states or other key actors, including new economic tycoons.

Similarly profound and tectonic, as described political and economic changes and transitions at the national level, were changes and transformations in the international community. With the collapse of Communism and centrally planned (communist) economies in Europe, and the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, the bipolar world that characterized the international community in the post WW II period ended. For a while, the globalization that had been one of the main global processes already seemed to accelerate beyond the wildest dreams. Observing processes of democratization and globalization, some were so thrilled that in their enthusiasm expected the end of the history as we knew it before (Fukuyama 1989, 1992; Huntington 1991).

However, soon we realized that these profound transitions and transformations, as important and predominantly positive as they were in most cases, brought problems and new dilemmas. One of the immediate consequences of these changes was an increased level of instability in individual countries and at the regional and global level. At the global level no adequate mechanisms and ways existed that would be able to replace the formerly existing stable bipolar arrangements; as precarious and unstable as these bipolar arrangements (that stimulated armament race, hoping to deter the opposite side by their arsenal of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction) were, they still provided a relatively stable and predictable international environment. After the collapse of bipolarism some saw the USA the only remaining super power that will (have to) introduce Pax Americana (alluding to Pax Romana in the period of the peak of the Roman Empire) and manage the world using its vast resources. However, even the power and resources of the USA proved inadequate for such a role and did not eliminate or substantially decrease global instability. Additionally, the USA continued to pursue their strategic interests and policies - to a large extent determined by the US domestic (internal) affairs and politics - and did not pay necessary attention to all corners of the globe. Furthermore, with their actions and responses, especially with their interventions, they sometimes increased instability and fuelled crises and conflicts. On the other hand, when the action of the international community was required urgently in a specific crisis, the USA often proved to be the only international and global actor able to undertake the necessary action. However, this was due to the position and policy of the USA that did not show much interest in developing adequate global international mechanisms (possibly by the reform of the UN) that would be able to play such a role.

This new era of global development required new concepts to be developed that would help in understanding and managing the complexity of the contemporary world, characterized by instability (actually instabilities), escalating crises and conflicts in different parts of the world that were often reflections of ethnic strife and cleavages, which in many environments led to protracted conflicts and civil wars. In such a situation in the 1990s many, including the US administration, believed that there was an adequate (relatively simple and ready made) answer available, which they saw in the concept of the *clash of civilizations* framed by Huntington (1993, 1996). In agreement with several other authors (Rashid ed. 1997), I consider this concept an inadequate and prejudiced one that leads to (over)simplified and mono-dimensional understanding of our contemporary world and its diversities. My main criticism is that this concept, built on a specific ideology, on ideological reductions and interpretations of other cultures and their traditions, which Huntington sees as clashing civilizations, might be considered problematic from the perspective of 'other civilizations' since it implies superiority of the Western civilization, based on Judeo-Christian traditions and a specific type of democracy, based predominantly on individualism and competition. However, due to its seeming and operational simplicity the concept of the clash of civilizations was and is used and followed in daily politics and policies, especially foreign policy strategies, policies and measures of the USA, and some other countries (especially in the West), and NATO (within which the USA play the central role). Consequently, in many ways this concept is becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The Yugoslav crisis in the 1980s and 1990s and consequent historic developments in the region could be considered parts of described processes and transformations. This crisis that affected all spheres of life became an obvious context for the observation of the escalation of several diverse conflicts in Yugoslavia. Among these (types of) conflicts I shall mention (at least) the following:

- conflicts between traditionalists and reformers;
- conflicts between advocates of democratic reforms and political pluralism and those who demanded the return to one-party system and reinforcement of the absolute monopoly of the League of Communists (as the Communist Party of Yugoslavia renamed itself following its internal reforms in the 1950s);

- conflicts between those who demanded profound economic reforms, development of market economy and economic liberalization and those who believed that the solution to the growing economic crisis would (re)introduction of some form of command economy;
- conflicts between those who advocated decentralization and increased autonomy of federal units and those who demanded (re)centralization and strengthening of the federal institutions, including the increasing social and political role of the Yugoslav People's Army (JLA/JNA). The JLA/JNA was by many centralists and hard-core communists seen as the ultimate defender of socialism/communism, territorial unity, sovereignty, and glorious traditions of the Yugoslav Partisan Army and the National Liberation Movement during WW II; etc.

Although these conflicts in their nature could be described as predominantly political and economic conflicts, they soon became perceived as ethnic conflicts when different positions were associated with individual republics. In other words we could say that we saw the transformation of social, economic and political conflicts in the former Yugoslavia into ethnic conflicts when ethnicity was used as a key factor for political mobilization. In this context, nationalism and nationalist policies played central roles (Klemenčič and Žagar 2004, Ramet 2002).

This was the time when after my graduation my academic career in law and political science began, building especially upon my previous work, information, knowledge and experiences accumulated in some ten years of my continuous engagement within the UN Clubs of Slovenia and the federal organization of the UN Clubs in Yugoslavia.<sup>4</sup> In the late 1980s and early 1990s I was fortunate to par-

#### • • •

4 The Organization of the UN Clubs of Slovenia and the association of the UN Clubs from republics and autonomous provinces at the Yugoslav level were NGOs that focused on the study of the UN (structure, activities, projects and processes), their special agencies and other related international organizations. The main aim of the organization was on the promotion of knowledge on the UN and their ideals, especially human rights, peace and peaceful cooperation in the international community among the youth and general public. They participated in different activities of the UN and were, for their contributions, educational activities and promotion of peace, awarded a special peace award (Peace Dove) by the UN Secretary General. The UN Clubs had a strong tradition of studying international relations and specific international developments and produced a number of studies and newsletters that were distributed among their members, mostly pupils and students in primary and secondary schools and at universities, but the interested youth in local communities. At its peak in the mid 1980s, the UN Clubs of Slovenia had more than 12,000 members and more than 650 clubs existed in different environments throughout Slovenia. In the 1980s I was first responsible for the education and research (study) activities of the UN Clubs of Slovenia and for their international cooperation. Between 1982-1986 and 1988-1899 I was the president of the UN Clubs of Slovenia, a member of the federal leadership and in the mid 1980s the representative of the UN Clubs of Yugoslavia in the ISMUN (International Student's Movement for UN). Unfortunately, in the 1990s this organization, that was well integrated into educational system and depended on public funding, almost collapsed due to the lack of public funding and some internal organizational problems. Consequently, currently there are only a few UN and UNESCO Clubs at some primary schools in Slovenia assisted by the UN Association of Slovenia.

ticipate in some activities of the Pugwash Conferences and their efforts organized to raise public awareness, promote peace and human rights in the world, and to demand and stimulate disarmament, especially elimination of nuclear and other arms of mass destruction. These occasions and contact with members of the Pugwash Council and Conferences further shaped my interests in these areas and confirmed my attitude that scholars' role is not just studying their objects, scientific disciplines and scholarly areas but adequately responding to social situation and needs.<sup>5</sup> Being interested in comparative constitutional law and comparative politics and government, I started to study political and constitutional systems and the functioning of their institutions in the East and West, paying special attention to contemporary developments and social processes in Central and Eastern Europe - especially social, economic and political crises in Yugoslavia, attempts and processes of democratization and reforms there, developments following the Perestroika in the Soviet Union and other communist countries of the Soviet block.<sup>6</sup> At that time I started to realize that substantial differences that existed among these countries and influenced contemporary developments in different environments. More and more, I became aware of substantial differences and gaps in development within individual countries that were usually considered a homogenous block. There were a number of colleagues with whom we discussed issues that we found interesting and important, and in these discussions we shaped our views and thoughts.7 A frequent topic of our discussions was the exist-

#### • • •

5 After being introduced by Marko Vrhunec to the Pugwash Conferences, an organization aiming at bringing "together, from around the world, influential scholars and public figures concerned with reducing the danger of armed conflict and seeking cooperative solutions for global problems," I participated in a few of their activities and meetings – including one in the village of Pugwash, Nova Scotia, Canada which gave the organization its name after its first meeting was held there in 1957. (See: <a href="http://www.pugwash.org/about.htm">http://www.pugwash.org/about.htm</a>, accessed 2 October 2007) At these occasions I met several distinguished scholars and led lengthy discussions with them. We developed some common activities and projects. Among them I should mention (listed in alphabetically according their family names): Anatol Rapaport, Rita Rogers, Joseph (Józef) Rotblat – Nobel Peace Laureat (1995), founder and then president of Pugwash Council, Metta Spencer, Vamik Volkan, etc.

6 Here, I should mention especially my participation in the International Project Transition to Democracy in a World Perspective (1988-1992; 1992-1998), coordinated by Bogdan Denitch, professor at the City University of New York Graduate School that gathered a number of scholars on transition from North and South America, Europe and Africa, where I focused mostly on the study of the Yugoslav crisis and transition in the successor states, but on global context of transition and global sustainable development. This project served as the basis for the UNDP / UNESCO Unitwin Project "Global Pilot Project of Linking of Ten Universities in the Policy Studies and Implementation for Sustainable Development" (1991-1993) and the "International Project on the Inter-University Cooperation in Policy Research for Sustainable Development" (1993-1998).

7 In the late 1980s I was fortunate to benefit from meeting and working with several intellectuals and scholars from Slovenia, Yugoslavia and abroad who co-shaped the intellectual space and developments in my immediate environment and globally, among others (listed in alphabetical order of their family names): Stanley Aronowitz, Peter Bekeš, Vlado Benko, Stefano Bianchini, Adolf Bibič, Borut Bohte, France Bučar, Branko Caratan, Bogdan Denitch, Vojin Dimitrijević, Dušan Dolinar, Milan Gaspari, Vladimir Goati, Damir Grubiša, Ferenc Hajos, Michael Harrington, Irving Howe, Albin Igličar, Peter Jambrek, Tone Jerovšek, John Keane, Peter Klinar, Stane Kranjc, Lev Kreft, Ivan Kristan, Slaven Letica, Sonja Licht, Arthur Lipow, Seymour Martin Lipset, ing ethnic diversity of populations of different countries, changes in their ethnic structures and relations. We tried to determine their impact on historic developments and transformation of these societies. Discussing respective developments in Yugoslavia, and in the Soviet Union we were witnessing how political leaders, especially those who wanted to present themselves as national leaders were using nationalism and nationalist policies for political mobilization of people along ethnic lines. Increasingly ethnic mobilization and nationalism were becoming key factors in social and political processes and in shaping the public and political discourse, bringing in it new formulations of national interests, specific views of ethnic injustices and exploitation, issues of ethnic equality and adequate social position of all or some ethnicities in a certain multiethnic society, and demands for increased autonomy of regions and ethnic communities, protection of minorities, and/or - in some cases - self-determination, independence, dissolution of existing multinational states and/or secession.<sup>8</sup> Following my growing interest I searched for and started to study all available literature and relevant materials on ethnic studies and nationalism in Slovene libraries which at that time due to financial limitations had some problems in acquiring contemporary foreign literature. Luckily, I had the access to some libraries abroad, especially the library of the Johns Hopkins University graduate school in Bologna with its rich collections. This turned out to be the main source of foreign books and periodicals that I used in research and in writing my doctoral dissertation. Here I discovered interesting literature on conflict, conflict resolution and conflict management, which attracted my attention due to my specific interest in ethnic relations and conflict.<sup>9</sup> Taking into account contemporary developments, social crisis and esca-

Sonja Lokar, Boris Majer, Tomaž Mastnak, Jože Mencinger, Silva Mežnarić, Nenad Miščević, Rasto Močnik, Miloš Nikolić, Mario Nobilo, Vukašin Pavlović, Ernest Petrič, Rajko Pirnat, Janko Pleterski, Matjaž Potrč, Branko Pribičević, Žarko Puhovski, Ciril Ribičič, Rudi Rizman, Franjo Štibler, Mijat Šuković, Zdravko Tomac, Lojze Ude, Andrej Ule, Mirjana Ule, Stane Vlaj, Slavoj Žižek, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Similar discourses, concepts and demands were not unknown in the past, see, e.g., Bučar, Bojko & Kuhnle, Stein, Eds. (1994). *Small States Compared: Politics of Norway and Slovenia*. Bergen: Alma Mater.

<sup>9</sup> Among the key authors and their works that at the time had substantial influence on my thinking and on development of my concepts regarding the regulation and management of ethnic relations, peaceful international cooperation and development, and handling of conflicts, especially those with ethnic dimensions, I should list the following: Anderson, Benedict (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso; Armstrong, John (1982). *Nations before Nationalism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Avruch, Kevin & Black, Peter W. & Scimecca, Joseph A., Eds. (1991). *Conflict resolution: Cross-cultural perspectives.* (Contributions in ethnic studies, No. 28.) New York: Greenwood Press; Azar, Edward E. & Burton, John W., Eds., (1986). *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice.* Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books; Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers; Banac, Ivo (1993, © 1984). *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics.* Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press; Banton, Michael (1983). *Racial and Ethnic Competition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Barth, Frederick, Ed. (1969). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organization of culture difference.* Oslo: Universitesforlaget / Boston: Little & Brown; Burton, John W. (1969). *Conflict & communication: The use of controlled communication in international relations.* London: Macmillan; Burton, John W. (1979). *Deviance, terrorism & war: The process of solving* 

lation of conflicts in Yugoslavia and with a goal to ensure equality and recognition of specific interests of distinct communities in ethnically plural societies, my doctoral dissertation on modern federalism and asymmetrical federation in multi

unsolved social and political problems. Canberra: Australian National University Press (1979); Burton, John W. (1984). Global Conflict: The Domestic Sources of International Crisis. Brighton, Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books; College Park: Center for International Development, University of Maryland; Burton, John W. (1987). Resolving Deep-Rooted Conflict: A Handbook. Lanham, MD: University Press of America; Burton, John W. (1990). Conflict: Resolution and Prevention. New York: St. Martin's Press; Burton, John W., Ed. (1990). Conflict: Human needs theory. New York: St. Martin's Press; Burton, John W. & Dukes, Frank (1990). Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement, and Resolution. New York: St. Martin's Press; Connor, Walker (1984). The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy. Princeton University Press; Curle, Adam (1971). Making Peace. London: Tavistock Press; Deutch, Karl (1966). Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality. (2nd Edition.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press; Deutch, Karl W. (1970). Political Community at the International Level: Problems of Definition and Measurement. Archon Books, USA (1970); Deutsch, Morton (1973). The Resolution of Conflict. New Haven CT: Yale University Press (1973); Fisher, Roger & Ury, William & Patton, Bruce (1991). Getting to Yes: Negotiating an Agreement without Giving In. (The Second Edition.) London: Business Books Limited; Fisher, Ronald J. (1990). The Social psychology of intergroup and international conflict resolution. (Springer series in social psychology.) New York: Springer Verlag; Galtung, Johan (1975). Peace: Research, education, action. (Prio Monographs 4.) Copenhagen: Ejlers; Galtung, Johan (1980). Peace and world structure. Copenhagen: Ejlers; Galtung, Johan (1984). There are alternatives! Four roads to peace and security. Nottingham, England: Spokesman / Chester Springs, PA.: U.S. distributor Dufour Editions; Gellner, Ernest (1983). Nations and Nationalism. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press; Giddens, Anthony (1985). The Nation-State and Violence: A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, Vol. 2. Cambridge: Polity Press; Hobsbawm, Eric J. (1990). Nations and Nationalism since 1789: Programme, Myth, Reality. Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press; Horowitz, Donald L. (1985). Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press; Kedourie, Elie (1993). Nationalism. (Fourth, expanded edition.) Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell (© 1960, 1961, 1966); Kellas, James. G. (1991). The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity. London: Macmillan; Kriesberg, Louis (1968). Social processes in international relations: A reader. / New York: J. Waley; Kriesberg, Louis (1973). The sociology of social conflicts. Englewood Cliffs., N.J.: Prentice-Hall; Kriesberg, Louis & Northrup, Terrell A. & Thorson, Stuart J., Eds. (1991). Intractable conflicts and their transformation. (First edition) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press (1989); Kriesberg, Louis & Thorson, Stuart J., Eds. (1991). Timing the de-escalation of international conflicts. (1<sup>st</sup> Edition; Syracuse studies on peace and conflict resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press; Macartney, C. A. (1934). National States and National Minorities. Humprey Milford, London: Oxford University Press; Monteville, Joseph V., Ed. (1990). Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies. Lexington, Toronto; Lexington Books; Moore, W. Christopher (1986). The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass; Rapaport, Anatol (1971). The big two: Soviet-American perceptions of foreign policy. (American involvement in the world.) New York: Pegasus; Rapaport, Anatol (1974). Conflict in man-made environment. Harmondsworth, Baltimore: Penguin Books; Rapaport, Anatol (1960). Fights, games, and debates. (A publication from the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution, the University of Michigan.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Rapaport, Anatol, Ed. (1965). Game theory as a theory of conflict resolution. (Theory and decision library, Vol. 2.) Dordrecht, Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Company (1974); Rapaport, Anatol & Chammah, Albert M., Ed. (1974). Prisoner's dilemma: A study in conflict and cooperation. (by Anatol Rapoport and Albert M. Chammah. With the collaboration of Carol J. Orwant.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1965; Seton-Watson, Hough (1977). Nations and States. London: Methuen; Smith, Anthony D. (1986). The Ethnic Origin of Nations. Oxford, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers; Touval, Saadia & Zartman, I. William (1985). International Mediation in Theory and Practice. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, ; Väyrynen, Raimo, Ed. (1991). New directions in conflict theory: conflict resolution and conflict transformation. London: Sage (in association with the International Social Science Council); Wallensteen, Peter & Galtung, Johan & Portales, Carlos, Eds. (1985). Global militarization. (Westview special studies in peace, conflict, and conflict resolution.) Boulder: Westview Press; etc.

ethnic societies developed the theoretical model of asymmetrical federation as a possible tool for managing asymmetries and diversities in societies and a normative framework for the (co)existence of (two or more) different institutional and legal arrangements, and for different political systems within the same country (Žagar 1990, 1992). In its main elements this model was welcomed and suggested by the Presidencies of the (Socialist) Republics of Slovenia and Croatia as one of possible options for the reform of the Yugoslav federation that, hopefully, could provide for coexistence of diverse concepts and ideas about the nature and future development of the system, and for coexistence of different ideologies. However, this proposal was rejected immediately by Milošević and those who opposed the introduction of multi-party democracy. They demanded total centralization of the federation and ruling party - the League of Communists of Yugoslavia - that should strengthen the political monopoly and (absolute) power of the communist regime. The rejection of this proposal and consequently of asymmetrical federalism did not surprise me, however, considering the escalating crisis and contemporary situation I expected some interest for conflict management and conflict resolution, especially for models, methods and skills that they were offering for handling of conflicts. On the other hand there was interest for my work and concepts abroad, where conflict resolution and conflict management were developing rapidly. Soon, I discovered that - taking into account several problems in the existing federal systems and federal projects in history and at present - there were many scholars of different disciplinary background and from various environments who shared my view on federalism as a possible and effective tool for the regulation and management of complexity, diversity and asymmetries of modern societies at different levels, from a sub-national and national to transnational/international level (Ortino et al. 2005)

Living there and studying the Yugoslav crisis in the 1980s and early 1990s and reading on conflict management and resolution changed my perceptions and understanding of conflicts profoundly. I was socialized in a traditional way, being taught that conflicts are something to fear, something undesired and harmful, something that we should avoid at almost any cost because of their negative potential and possible destructiveness. Consequently, observing the growing crisis and escalation of diverse conflicts in Yugoslavia, my fears grew. Influenced by literature on conflict management and conflict resolution, but by my own research of conflicts in different environments and situations and at different levels, I soon started to realize that my socialization and traditional perceptions of conflicts were not adequate. True, conflicts if not managed adequately and successfully might destroy social stability in every, especially plural and diverse, environment and result in devastating consequences. However, recognizing a number of diverse and possibly opposing interests in every environment I realized that conflicts were normal social phenomena and the logical state of affairs in every pluralist society. In other words, conflicts are logical and normal consequences of the existence of diverse, often competing and conflicting interests in an environment. Rather than considering conflicts as negative phenomena and fear them (as most of us have been taught to do), we should realize that a more productive approach from individual and social perspective would be to recognize their existence, life cycles and potentials and learn how we could manage and/or resolve them in a way that would decrease tensions and produce positive results. Namely, as conflicts might carry negative and destructive potentials they might lead to positive and creative consequences, if handled properly. They can be a stimulus to necessary change and positive development; they might help develop innovations and creative solutions that benefit individuals and societies. So, one of central interests and tasks of all pluralist societies should be the adequate handling of conflicts, possibly in a democratic way – especially at the macro levels.

Studying literature and carrying out research, but trying to do some practical work in conflict management and resolution, I came to a conclusion that two competing concepts at the time - conflict resolution and conflict management<sup>10</sup> - with their traditional approaches and specific goals separately often did not offer adequate answers and strategies in concrete situations. As some other colleagues at the times I learned different methods, techniques and skills and started to combine them and both afore mentioned approaches. Although following a traditional view combining both concepts would be described as inconsistent at the time, believing that their approaches and strategies are incompatible, my experiences in practice were that the best results were reached when both approaches were combined, simultaneously or at different times; this proved true in addressing different situations, crises and conflicts that existed in specific environments, even in cases when a specific situation involved only two individuals. When I presented my findings and views at the first conference of the International Colloquium (Žagar 1991) they did not provoke many reactions, although some interest and reservations were expressed informally. Simultaneously I realized that rather than being a solution to problems regarding the regulation and management of ethnic pluralism and relations, asymmetries and diversities in modern societies, the concept of a nation-state with its presumption of ethnic homogeneity, determination of an official language, culture and history that is based on perceptions of a titular nation, which sees its nation-state as the ultimate tool for the realization of national interests actually could contribute to problems and might

#### • • •

<sup>10</sup> Schematically, we could summarize that conflict resolution was geared at resolving conflicts and developed its strategies accordingly to achieve this (often long-term) goal, while conflict management rather than attempting to resolve conflicts, especially protracted ones focused on their management and developed its strategies accordingly aiming at de-escalation of the current level of conflicts and their management by peaceful and hopefully democratic means.

sometimes stimulate escalations of conflicts in ethnically plural environments; this traditional concept of a nation-state does not correspond to our reality, which is that all societies are ethnically plural – at least to a minimal extent (Žagar 1994, 1994-95, 1996-97). In an actual escalation of crises and conflicts within a state the rivalry of nationalism(s) of dominant (titular) nations and other ethnicities, often defined as minority nationalism(s) can play crucial roles, being used as the basis for political mobilization of masses (Keating and Mcgarry 2001). As the cases of the former Yugoslavia, but other historic experiences from the Balkans show, nationalisms as expansive or defensive (political) ideologies, policies and movements, but exclusive collective (ethnic) identities (mis)use ethnic sentiments and identities of people to mobilize and homogenize members of a respective ethnicity for the realization of *national interests* (as defined by nationalist movements and politicians); in such a situation diverse social conflicts acquire their ethnic dimensions and transform (or predominantly) into ethnic conflicts. Because of their exclusive nature that stressing (internal) homogeneity and unity of a respective ethnicity rejects internal diversity, pluralism and other (political) views declaring them opposing to *national interests* that they advocate, nationalisms might be considered incompatible with a concept of modern democracy that is based on the principle of inclusion and requires the existence of pluralism as the necessary precondition (Žagar 2001).

When the Constitutional Network started to work and grow - with the inclusion of scholars and institutions from different parts of the world in the early and mid 1990s - the interest for diverse approaches to regulation and management of ethnic pluralism and diversity, including management and resolution of crises and conflicts was increasing as well. Observing the role of the international community in the Yugoslav crisis and in other crisis situation we started to focus on the international, especially regional and global level. It became obvious that successful regulation and management of ethnic pluralism and relations and adequate prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts are important elements of peace and security. By the time the first and following international scholarly conferences on the international, constitutional, legal and political regulation and management of ethnic relations and the prevention, management and/or resolution of ethnic crises and conflicts was organized in Ljubljana the concepts of transformation of conflict, especially the Transcend method developed by Johan Galtung and collaborators in TRANSCEND: A Peace and Development Network,<sup>11</sup> and different combinations of conflict management and conflict resolution became more common, and a number of new and elabo-

• • •

E.g., Galtung, Johan (1996, 1997, 1998). Conflict transformation by peaceful means (The TASCEND Method).
 A Manual Prepared for the United Nations Disaster Management Training Program; Galtung, Johan & Jacobsen,
 G. Carl & Brand-Jacobsen, Kai Frithjof (2002). Searching for Peace, The Road to TRANSCEND. Pluto Press; etc.

rate approaches, methods and concepts were being developed.<sup>12</sup> This remarkable trend of development in management, transformation and resolution of conflicts has continued throughout the 1990s and still continues (Byrne and Senchi 2008, Kriesberg 1997; the same could be said for all other disciplines and fields relevant for the regulation and management of ethnic pluralism and relations, the protection of minorities, but for the development of diversity management in general. The *Constitutional Network* benefited from this development; however, its activities, members and collaborators (at least to a certain extent in different ways) contributed to it in different ways. In this context one could consider every its effort to develop and promote ethnic and diversity studies in all their complexities, including attempts to develop concepts and strategies of diversity management and/or resolution of (ethnic) crisis and conflict.<sup>13</sup> As the framework within which all mentioned issues, concepts and fields could be observed and linked together the concept of diversity management has been developed that

#### . . .

12 See, e.g., Byrne, Sean (1995). 'Conflict regulation or conflict resolution: Third party intervention in the Northern Ireland conflict: Prospects for peace', In <u>Terrorism and Political Violence</u>, No. 7/1995, pp. 1-24; Dukes, Francis (1995). *Resolving Public Conflict: Transforming Community and Governance*, Manchester: Manchester University Press; Galtung, Johan (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage; Gurr, Ted Robert & Harff, Barbara (1994). *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics*. (Dilemmas in World Politics.) Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press; Ross, Martin Howard (1993). The Management of Conflict: Interpretations and Interests in Comparative Perspective, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Rothman, Jay (1992). *Form confrontation to cooperation: Resolving ethnic and regional conflict*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage; Rothman, Jay (1997). Resolving Identity Based Conflict in Nations, Organizations, and Communities, San Francisco: Jossey Bass (1997); Väyrynen, (1991); Zartman, L. William, Ed. (1995). *Elusive Peace: Negotiating and end to civil wars*. Washington: The Brookings Institute; Zartman, L. William & Rasmussen, J. Lewis, Eds. (1997). *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and techniques*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press; Žagar (1994); Žagar, Mitja (1997). "Exploring Ethnicity: Constitutional Regulation of (Inter)Ethnic Relations: New Approaches to a Multicultural Education." In <u>Questions de formation / Issues int the Education of Adults</u>, No. 16/1997, pp. 141-155; etc.

13 See, e.g., Žagar, Mitja (2000). "Breaking the Vicious Circle: The management of ethnic relations and the management and resolution of ethnic conflict in South Eastern Europe." Paper prepared for the International Conference on Constitutional, Legal and Political Regulation and Management of Ethnic Relations organized by the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, 8 - 10 December 2000 and for the ISCOMET Conference on Democracy, Human Rights and the Protection of Persons Belonging to Ethnic and Religious Minorities in South Eastern Europe, Bled, 23 - 25 February 2001. Ljubljana, 2000 (43 p.); Žagar, Mitja (2000), "Ali je možno razkleniti začaran krog? Strategije in koncepti za upravljanje in razreševanje etničnih konfliktov." ("Is it possible to break the vicious circle? Strategies and concepts for the management and resolution of ethnic conflict.") In Razprave in Gradivo / Treatises and Documents (Revija za narodnostna vprašanja/Journal of Ethnic Studies), No. 36-37/2000), pp. 11-32; Žagar, Mitja (2001). "Kako bi lahko razklenili začaran krog? (2) Posredovanje, mediacija ter usposabljanje za preprečevanje in razreševanje etničnih konfliktov." ("How could we break the vicious circle? (2) Intervention, mediation and training for the prevention and resolution of ethnic conflict.") In Razprave in Gradivo / Treatises and Documents (Revija za narodnostna vprašanja/Journal of Ethnic Studies), No. 38-39/2001, pp. 68-93; Žagar, Mitja (forthcoming 2008). "Strategies for the Prevention, Management and/or Resolution of (Ethnic) Crisis and Conflict: The case of the Balkans." In Byrne, Sean & Sandole, Dennis J.D. & Sandole-Staroste, Ingrid & Senehi, Jessica, Eds., A Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution. Routledge (28 p.).

tries to address all detected dimensions of diversities in contemporary societies and suggests ways and means for their successful management, if only possible in a democratic way.

Considering the mentioned goal of promoting its activities and fields, with an aim to attract and include interested students, especially young researchers and scholars, and recognizing the importance of the constitutional regulation of ethnic diversity, the protection of minorities and human rights in general in this context in 1994 the Global (International) Students' Research and Action Project Democracy and Ethnic Relations was established. Within it the students' research project Democratization, Ethnic Relations and Resolution of Ethnic Conflict: Management and Resolution of Ethnic Conflict in Democratic Societies began working in 1995 with sub-projects on the constitutional protection of ethnic minorities and the regulation of human rights, democratic institutions and procedures and on the social integration of marginal communities - focusing on the Roma.<sup>14</sup> While the former was active until 2002,<sup>15</sup> the later that is usually called the Aristotle Project still exists and continues to work. Since its establishment almost hundred undergraduate and (post)graduate students of different faculties of the University of Ljubljana, but some other universities, have participated in the Aristotle Project that in the 1990s established long-term cooperation with the University of South Australia from Adelaide. Based on a rather complex methodology and criteria within this project more than 120 texts of the constitutions of the countries of the world have been analyzed regarding the constitutional regulation of ethnic pluralism, ethnic relations and protection of minorities and more than 100 constitutions regarding the constitutional regulation of human rights in general; the project has developed a substantial electronic data base that is being updated and revised constantly by the inclusion of additional constitutions and taking into account contemporary constitutional amendments or the adoption of new constitutions in many countries.<sup>16</sup> Some findings and results of this project

. . .

14 The establishment of this project and its initial activities were supported by the grant of the USIS - US Congress Democracy Program - Small Grants.

15 Its work and some research results are presented in Žagar, Mitja with Kostevc, Nuška & Košak, Alenka & Rupnik, Nataša. (1999). "Das studentische Forschung- und Aktionsprojekt 'Roma in Slowenien – die gesellschaftliche Integration von Randgruppen'." ("The Students' Research and Action Project on the Roma in Slovenia: The integration of marginalized communities.") In Klopčič, Vera & Polzer, Miroslav, Eds. (1999) *Wege zur Verbesserung der Lage der Roma in Mittel-und Osteuropa: Beiträge aus Österreich und Slowenien*, (Ethnos, 54). Wien: Braumüller, pp. 52-66.

16 A part of this data-base is currently been transferred and organized on the internet; when the whole data-base is established and operational, and all necessary protection and other system requirements and services that are being developed will be functional, the data-base will be accessible to those who will acquire the password. The initial idea was that based on this data base an educational CD or educational internet site should be developed that could be used in secondary and tertiary education, but this part of the project that would require specific expertise in is development is being delayed due to the lack of resources and time. Basic

were presented at several international scholarly conferences, among them all Ljubljana conferences of the *Constitutional Network* on constitutional, legal and political regulation of ethnic relations and in a few scholarly articles and other published contributions (Žagar and Novak 1998/1999, Novak and Žagar 2007), including the article "Comparing Constitutional Protection of Human Rights in Europe: What Can We Learn From Comparative Analysis?" included in this special issue.

# CONCLUSION: GLOBAL STRATEGY FOR PREVENTION, MANAGEMENT AND RESOLUTION OF CRISIS AND CONFLICT IN THE CONTEXT OF DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT – FOCUSING ON THE ROLE OF EDUCATION AND CIVIC EDUCATION

A search for a broader framework of the regulation and management of asymmetries in all contemporary societies, ethnic pluralism and relations, protection of minorities, prevention, management and/or resolution of crisis and conflict (especially of those crises and conflicts that were perceived and interpreted as ethnic ones) in the late 1990s and in the early 2000s led to the recognition and development of a new concept - the concept of diversity management. The name of this concept is to a certain extent accidental, but it reflects its nature and main contents very well. Namely, in (political) debates on multiculturalism and interculturalism at that time a need was stressed to develop a concept that would enable modern societies to regulate and manage all diversities and asymmetries that exist in them; speaking of that need the phrase diversity management started to be used as a catch word. As it is often the case in such situations, this concept was borrowed from different sources, disciplines and fields, such as biology and ecology in natural sciences, where it is most frequently used in the context of preserving and managing biodiversity and existing resources that are crucial issues for the future development and survival, or economy and (business and public) management and in social sciences, where they most frequently use it in connection with the prevention of all kinds and forms of discrimination and regarding the management of resources, human resources and workforce that might be (internally) diverse according to different criteria, including language, culture(s) and ethnicity.17

information on this project and some initial results and data, organized in tables with links to adequate articles and paragraphs of respective constitutions were presented at: <u>http://www.unisa.edu.au/lavskis/zagar/slovenia.</u> <u>htm</u>

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., Colfer, Carol J. Pierce, Ed. (2005). The equitable forest: Diversity, community, and resource management. Washington, DC: Resources for the Future / Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research; Cope, Bill & Kalantzis, Mary (1997). Productive diversity: A new, Australian model for work and management. Annandale, N.S.W.: Pluto Press; Pol se, Mario & Stren, Richard, Eds. (2000). *The social sustainability* 

In managing diversities in contemporary societies<sup>18</sup> in all parts of the world, we should be aware that there are diversities of diversities and a number of asymmetries in every society. However, a simple post-modern approach or understanding focusing on partial and specific characteristics would not be sufficient, since for successful management of diversities one should take into account the whole, global picture with all its dimensions - including all relevant contexts. In other words, effective diversity management should provide a social and normative framework in which all different existing and possible socially relevant diversities and asymmetries could be detected, expressed and recognized, but taken into account in social and political processes when participating actors desire so and express their interests. In this process conditions, needs, interests, rights (including duties) and actions of every possible and detectable actor (mostly diverse collective entities with their formal or informal forms of organization, but individuals) should be taken into account, however, in the context of global society taking into account specific and common conditions, needs, interests and rights of all other possible/detectable actors. Consequently, diversity management is a useful tool for the creation, promotion and strengthening of social cohesion in diverse societies, based on recognition and respect of existing and possible diversities - taking into account that societies (as well as all their components) rather than being static and permanent categories are processes with their temporal dimension in constant evolution and transformation. Diversity management should establish a normative and actual framework, and provide for democratic expression, reconciliation and coordination of all expressed interests and for the formulation of common interests - shared by all or almost all members of a society - that are the long term basis for internal cohesion and stable existence and development of diverse societies. If such shared common interests do not exist and do not bind together and lead collective actions of diverse collective entities and individuals the consequence might be lack of the necessary social cohesion and possible crises and escalation of conflicts, especially in cases when certain collective entities, most frequently distinct communities and individuals feel exploited and/or discriminated against. For this reason I would like to stress the social importance of the adequate protection of diverse minorities and distinct

of cities: diversity and the management of change. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Riccucci, Norma M. (2002). Managing diversity in public sector workforces. Boulder: Westview Press; Sako, Mari & Sato, Hiroki, Eds. (1997), Japanese labour and management in transition: Diversity, flexibility and participation. London, New York: Routledge; Shapiro, Debra L. & Von Glinow, Mary Ann & Cheng, Joseph L.C., Eds. (2005). Managing multinational teams: Global perspectives. Amsterdam, San Diego: Elsevier JAI; etc.

<sup>18</sup> These societies are very different and are for the purpose of comparative analysis and/or easier understanding often classified in categories according to specified criteria and nature of classification; so, e.g., we could differentiate among pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial societies that are often described as information societies, or among pre-modern, modern and post-modern societies, while sometimes one hears even of post-post-modern societies; etc.

communities and rights of minorities as the necessary elements of diversity management in contemporary societies.

Considering that diversities, asymmetries, existence of diverse and sometimes conflicting interests, and consequently possibilities for escalation of conflicts are normal phenomena in plural societies, necessary components of diversity management should be strategies and mechanisms for the prevention of escalation of crises and conflicts and for their management and/or resolution in cases, when preventive strategies, mechanisms and measures do not succeed in preventing their escalation. Additionally, specific strategies, approaches and policies are needed for the management of diversity in post conflict situations, where again special attention should be paid to the situation and protection of diversities that include e.g., gender, social, labor and workforce, professional and all other socially relevant diversities the *Constitutional Network* and our work and research focus on ethnic dimensions of diversities and diversity management, which in its own right is an immense and extremely complex field of research.

As already mentioned in my own research in the past decade, building on the case study of the Balkans I was studying and developing a global strategy for the prevention, management and/or resolution of ethnic crises and conflicts that would adequately coordinate all relevant levels, from the local, regional and national to sub-continental, continental and global international ones. Based on findings my belief is that only concerted, timely and adequate strategies, policies, measures and activities of most, possibly all relevant actors can produce successful and lasting results - especially if preventive strategies, mechanisms, measures and activities prove adequate and manage to prevent the escalation of crises and conflicts in specific environments. Recognizing the importance and the best effectiveness of preventive strategies for successful diversity management they should address all relevant fields and issues/questions in a certain diverse environment that might potentially lead to escalation of crises and conflicts in ways that decrease the likelihood of such escalations. Analyzing situations in different parts of the world, including the Balkans, South Caucasus, Middle East and Central Asia, I came to conclusion that successful long term, but shorter term global strategies for diversity management and for the prevention, management and/or resolution of crises and conflicts should focus on long term strategies, policies, systems, programs, projects and activities in the following key fields (Žagar 2008):

#### • • •

<sup>19</sup> This was the reason for the development of the already mentioned research project MIRICO that is the basis for the development of an international network specialized in these issues and for the development of a joint European doctoral program in diversity management and governance in the European and global context, initiated by the Universities of Bologna, Graz and Primorska / Littoral from Koper and by the New Bulgarian University from Sofia.

- Economy, which includes economic and social development that should ensure decent and acceptable living of people, their economic and social security, but offers a decent perspective of life for them and their families. In the context of economy an important issue is planning, regulating and managing migration and successful integration of immigrants and their communities;
- Education and training that includes encompass all formal and informal education and training at all levels and in all spheres, understanding education and training as life-long processes and permanent activities that, above all, should enable people to cope with social and technological change and development and actively participate in economic, social and political processes;
- **Institution building, democracy and human rights** that provide the necessary basis for stable functioning and development of democratic institutions and processes, which require permanent institution and human resources building and promotion of the highest standards of human rights, including special rights of minorities.

In these and all other fields that might in specific environments be identified as relevant for successful diversity management strategies should always take into account circumstances, situation, needs and interests that exist there and should be adjusted to these specificities. For this reason it is essential that a strategy for every specific environment clearly defines and specifies and tries to establish the broadest possible consensus regarding the following:

- (1) General goals, especially long term goals;
- (2) Specific approaches and goals that are derived from general, long term goals and should be considered their concretization;
- (3) Institutional and organizational framework; and
- (4) Relevant actors, their relations and cooperation, and their roles regarding general and specific goals in all relevant fields (Žagar 2008).

It is equally important that relevant actors agree on their strategy regarding the acquiring of necessary resources of all kinds (financial, material, human, etc.) that should make the common strategy feasible.

My research, especially interviews with several hundred individuals, including some leading politicians, public opinion leaders and intellectuals in the Balkans have confirmed that three listed fields are of crucial importance for diversity management, especially for diversity management in post conflict societies. However, they have to be put into an adequate social context and other relevant fields should be taken into account. Among other fields often they have mentioned security, which they did not understand simply as security provided by police and military, security in the narrowest sense, but rather as human security that links this field with three mentioned but all other fields that are relevant for the life of an individual or community. In this context, again and again a central role of education and training for successful diversity management has surfaced as well.

Consequently, at the end my article I am trying to summarize some key elements of the global strategy for diversity management and for the prevention, management and/or resolution of crises and conflicts in the field of education and training, paying special attention to permanent civic education – education for democratic citizenship that should enable every individual in an environment to actively participate in social and political processes, relevant for (the realization of) individual's diverse interests if she or he chooses to. Although this strategy is based on the case study of the Balkans, its elements might be relevant for other environments – taking into account their specific situations and circumstances.

Following the above scheme, I would define the following general goals in the fields of education and training:

- increasing general level of knowledge, education and training and improving specific skills, considering specific needs of the Balkan societies in different fields, such as economy (especially regarding the possible future demand for workforce and its structure), public administration and services (including education), culture, research and science, etc.;
- improving the quality of education and training, paying special attention to adequate education and training of teachers and support staff and to constant development of educational and training systems and programs taking into account current development and strategies of future social development that are agreed upon in a certain environment;
- improving the accessibility and preventing discrimination in all forms and programs of formal and informal education and training, including the adequate development and functioning of education and training for minorities and persons belonging to them; etc.

Considering the actual and possible importance of adequate civic education for successful democratic development and diversity management in every individual society specific goals could be:

- development and promotion of democratic political and social culture, especially regarding democratic dialogue and democratic procedures;
- increasing and promoting of understanding and general knowledge about human rights, including the rights and protection of minorities;
- increasing and promoting of understanding and general knowledge about democracy in general, about democratic developments and institutions in a respective society, including their competencies and mutual relationship; democracy should be accepted as a key yard-stick of successful social development in a certain environment;
- increasing and promoting the knowledge about possibilities for active democratic participation of individuals and (distinct) communities in diverse social and political processes and the relevance of such participation that would stimulate individuals and communities to actually take part and participate in these processes;
- developing and improving skills necessary for the successful democratic participation in political processes and democratic institutions at all levels, including the knowledge and skills that could enable an individual or community to allocate the level and institutions that would most likely enhance their attempts to realize their specific needs and interests;
- teaching and training everybody in a certain environment for respectful and nonviolent behavior in all situations, based on human rights, respect of everybody and prevention of all forms and types of discrimination; such teaching and training should provide adequate knowledge and skills for the prevention of escalation of crises and conflicts in specific situations and environments, but should develop necessary skills for the management and/or resolution of crises and conflicts in situations when preventive measures and activities did not prove successful; etc.

Approaches, methods and techniques applied in this context might vary from environment to environment. However, considering the nature and pace of social processes and developments it should be an imperative that they are developed and carried out as permanent, life-long processes, programs and activities that would utilize all available teaching and training techniques and stimulate active participation of all participants. Experiences show that role playing and simulations that base on active participation of all involved produce the best results and prepare participants for their actual participation in democratic decision making processes at all levels and in diverse democratic institutions and structures. Consequently, they are better able to integrate in such processes and institutions and contribute to their better functioning.

The Council of Europe with its concept of education for democratic citizenship and different NGOs, such as e.g., the Civitas, Centers for Human Rights, Forum for Interethnic Relations, etc., bur majority of scholars in the field stress the importance of designing and developing civic education as a life long learning process that would include everybody in respective societies. That would require that the contents relating to civic education become an integral part of all formal educational programs and projects in all environments and at all levels - from pre-school to post-graduate programs; the contents, techniques, ways, methods and approaches of teaching and training, of course, should be adjusted to specific target populations and should take into account all relevant characteristics of participants. However, formal educational programs and systems only include a part of the population. Consequently, it is very important that different forms and/or programs of non-formal civic education and training include those who currently do not participate in formal educational and training programs. These programs could be carried out by different actors and institutions, from formal educational institutions, public and governmental institutions, political parties and politicians, to diverse private educational and training institutions and NGOs. An important role, especially in primary socialization should be played by families and immediate living environment of children. Throughout our lives, in the context of formal and informal civic education important actors are mass media and the system of mass communication that not only transmit knowledge and skills, but diverse ideologies that are relevant for political and social processes. This leads us to the definition of key actors in the field of civic education, among which - not only in the case of the Balkans, but in other environments that I studied - the most important are the following: families and immediate environment of an individual, formal educational systems, institutions and programs from pre-school to post-graduate level, different additional licensed programs of civic education offered by public of private institutions and companies, (at least potentially all) institutions of a political system at all levels, political parties and their structures, politicians and elected representatives, civic society with NGOs and different forms of non-formalized associations (e.g., mass-movements, gatherings, events, etc.) - including ones in culture, sports and entertainment, companies and businesses, etc.; simultaneously, we should not forget the role of different international and external actors that include universal (e.g., the UN, their special agencies and other universal international organizations), regional (in case of the

Balkans especially e.g., the Council of Europe, EU, OSCE) and sub-regional governmental organizations (again in the case of the Balkans e.g., the CEI, Alps-Adria Working Community, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and its successor, the Cooperation Council, etc.), but international NGOs (e.g., the International Helsinki Committee, educational initiatives, etc.) and private companies that with their concerted involvement and activities can contribute to successful developments and increase synergies.

Ideally, specific interests and goals and, consequently, strategies, policies, measures, programs, projects and activities of all actors listed above are concerted and the adequate mechanisms for their coordination exist or are developed. However, the reality is often different from an ideal situation. In reality, different actors have different interests and goals that sometimes are compatible and can be coordinated, while at other times they conflict. For this reason it is very important that relevant actors agree on main elements and goals of their common strategy, realizing that such an agreement and concerted action can improve not only general conditions in a specific society and region, but perspectives for the realization of their specific interests and goals. Again, the ability to develop and pursue common or, at least, shared goals and interests might be key determining factors in developing a successful global strategy for diversity management and for the prevention, management and/or resolution of crises and conflicts in the field of civic education. The existence of common goals and strategies is usually the most efficient basis for the mobilization of necessary resources and for the will of individual actors that they realize their role in the strategy that is (formally) agreed upon; consequently, their willingness to participate and contribute should be considered important guarantees for the success of the global strategy.

**REFERENCES:** 

- ANDERSON, Benedict (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso.
- ARMSTRONG, John (1982). *Nations before Nationalism.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- AVRUCH, Kevin & BLACK, Peter W. & SCIMECCA, Joseph A., Eds. (1991). Conflict resolution: Cross-cultural perspectives. (Contributions in ethnic studies, No. 28.) New York: Greenwood Press.
- AZAR, Edward E. & BURTON, John W., Eds. (1986). *International Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice.* Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books; Boulder: L. Rienner Publishers.
- BANAC, Ivo (1993). The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press (© 1984).
- BANTON, Michael (1983). *Racial and Ethnic Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BARTH, Frederick, Ed. (1969). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The social organization of culture difference.* Oslo: Universitetesforlaget / Boston: Little & Brown.
- BUČAR, Bojko & KUHNLE, Stein, Eds. (1994). *Small States Compared: Politics of Norway and Slovenia.* Bergen: Alma Mater.
- BURTON, John W. (1969). *Conflict & communication: The use of controlled communication in international relations.* London: Macmillan.
- BURTON, John W. (1979). Deviance, terrorism & war: The process of solving unsolved social and political problems. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- BURTON, John W., (1984). *Global Conflict: The Domestic Sources of International Crisis.* Brighton, Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books; College Park: Center for International Development, University of Maryland.
- BURTON, John W., (1987). *Resolving Deep-Rooted Conflict: A Handbook*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- BURTON, John W. (1990). *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention.* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- BURTON, John W., Ed. (1990). *Conflict: Human needs theory.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

- BURTON, John W. & DUKES, Frank (1990). *Conflict: Practices in Management, Settlement, and Resolution.* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- BYRNE, Sean (1995). 'Conflict regulation or conflict resolution: Third party intervention in the Northern Ireland conflict: Prospects for peace', In Terrorism and Political Violence, No. 7/1995: pp. 1-24.
- BYRNE, Sean & SENEHI, Jessica (forthcoming 2008). "Conflict Analysis and Resolution as a Multidiscipline: A Work in Process." In Byrne, Sean & Sandole, Dennis J.D. & Sandole-Staroste, Ingrid & Senehi, Jessica, Eds. (forthcoming 2008). A Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution. Routledge.
- COLFER, Carol J. Pierce, Ed. (2005). *The equitable forest: Diversity, community, and resource management.* Washington, DC: Resources for the Future / Bogor, Indonesia: Center for International Forestry Research.
- CONNOR, Walker (1984). *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy.* Princeton University Press.
- COPE, Bill & KALANTZIS, Mary (1997). *Productive diversity: A new, Australian model for work and management.* Annandale, N.S.W.: Pluto Press.
- CURLE, Adam (1971). Making Peace. London: Tavistock Press.
- DEUTCH, Karl (1966). *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality.* (2nd Edition.) Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- DEUTCH, Karl W. (1970). *Political Community at the International Level: Problems* of Definition and Measurement. Archon Books, USA.
- DEUTSCH, Morton (1973). *The Resolution of Conflict.* New Haven CT: Yale University Press.
- DUKES, Francis (1995). *Resolving Public Conflict: Transforming Community and Governance*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- FEINSTEIN, Otto, Ed. (1991). Ethnicity: Conflict and Cooperation, International Colloquium Reader, Volumes One and Two. Detroit: Michigan Ethnic Heritage Studies Center, Detroit.
- FISHER, Roger & URY, William & PATTON, Bruce (1991). *Getting to Yes: Negotiating an Agreement without Giving In.* (The Second Edition.) London: Business Books Limited.
- FISHER, Ronald J. (1990). *The Social psychology of intergroup and international conflict resolution.* (Springer series in social psychology.) New York: Springer Verlag.

- FUKUYAMA, Francis (1989). "The End of History." In *The National Interest*, No. 2/1989, pp. 3-18.
- FUKUYAMA, Francis (1992). *The End of History and the Last Man*. Free Press, New York, N.Y. 1992.
- GALTUNG, Johan (1975). *Peace: Research, education, action.* (Prio Monographs 4.) Copenhagen: Ejlers.
- GALTUNG, Johan (1980). Peace and world structure. Copenhagen: Ejlers.
- GALTUNG, Johan (1984). *There are alternatives! Four roads to peace and security.* Nottingham, England: Spokesman / Chester Springs, PA.: U.S. distributor Dufour Editions.
- GALTUNG, Johan (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- GALTUNG, Johan (1996, 1997, 1998). *Conflict transformation by peaceful means (The TASCEND Method).* A Manual Prepared for the United Nations Disaster Management Training Program.
- GALTUNG, Johan & JACOBSEN, G. Carl & BRAND-JACOBSEN, Kai Frithjof (2002). Searching for Peace, The Road to TRANSCEND. Pluto Press.
- GELLNER, Ernest (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press.
- GIDDENS, Anthony (1985). *The Nation-State and Violence: A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, Vol. 2. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- GURR, Ted Robert & HARFF, Barbara (1994). *Ethnic Conflict in World Politics.* (Dilemmas in World Politics.) Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press.
- HOBSBAWM, Eric J. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1789: Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press.
- HOROWITZ, Donald L. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century.* (The Julian J. Rothbaum distinguished lecture series, Vol. 4) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. (1993). "The clash of civilizations." In *Foreign affairs*, Summer, 1993, pp. 22-49.

- HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- KEATING, Michael & MCGARRY, John, Eds. (2001). *Minority nationalism and the changing international order*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- KEDOURIE, Elie (1993). *Nationalism.* (Fourth, expanded edition.) Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell (© 1960, 1961, 1966).
- KELLAS, James. G. (1991). *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*. London: Macmillan.
- KLEMENČIČ, Matjaž & ŽAGAR, Mitja (2004). *The former Yugoslavia's diverse peoples: A reference sourcebook,* (Ethnic diversity within nations). Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.
- KRIESBERG, Louis (1968). *Social processes in international relations: A reader.* New York: J. Waley.
- KRIESBERG, Louis (1973). *The sociology of social conflicts*. Englewood Cliffs., N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- KRIESBERG, Louis & NORTHRUP, Terrell A. & THORSON, Stuart J., Eds. (1991). Intractable conflicts and their transformation. (First edition) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.
- KRIESBERG, Louis & THORSON, Stuart J., Eds. (1991). *Timing the de-escalation of international conflicts*. (1st Edition; Syracuse studies on peace and conflict resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press.
- KRIESBERG, Louis (1997). "The Development of the Conflict Resolution Field." In Zartman, L. William & Rasmussen, J. Lewis, Eds. (1997), *Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and techniques.* Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, pp. 51-77.
- MACARTNEY, C. A. (1934). *National States and National Minorities*. Humprey Milford, London: Oxford University Press.
- MONTEVILLE, Joseph V., Ed. (1990). *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. Lexington, Toronto; Lexington Books.
- MOORE, W. Christopher (1986). *The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- NOVAK, Aleš with ŽAGAR, Mitja (2007). "The Constitutional Regulation of Ethnic Diversity, Protection of National Minorities and (Special) Rights of Persons Belonging to National Minorities and/or National Minorities: The Countries of South Eastern Europe and the European Context." (An additional research report.) Ljubljana: MIRICO – 'Minority Rights Instruments

and Mechanisms: Minority Protection along the Conflict Continuum' (EU/ EC 6th Framework Project - STREP), 2007 (iii+57 p.).

- ORTINO, Sergio & ŽAGAR, Mitja & MASTNY, Vojtech, Eds. (2005). *The changing faces of federalism: Institutional reconfiguration in Europe from East to West, (Europe in change).* Manchester, UK, New York: Manchester University Press; New York: Distributed exclusively in the USA by Palgrave.
- POLÈSE, Mario & STREN, Richard, Eds. (2000). *The social sustainability of cities: diversity and the management of change.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- RAMET, Sabrina P. (2002). *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević.* 4th edition, Boulder: Westview Press.
- RAPAPORT, Anatol (1971). *The big two: Soviet-American perceptions of foreign policy.* (American involvement in the world.) New York: Pegasus.
- RAPAPORT, Anatol (1974). *Conflict in man-made environment*. Harmondsworth, Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- RAPAPORT, Anatol (1960). *Fights, games, and debates.* (A publication from the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution, the University of Michigan.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- RAPAPORT, Anatol, Ed. (1965). Game theory as a theory of conflict resolution. (Theory and decision library, Vol. 2.) Dordrecht, Boston: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1974.
- RAPAPORT, Anatol & Chammah, Albert M., Ed. (1974). *Prisoner's dilemma: A study in conflict and cooperation*. (by Anatol Rapoport and Albert M. Chammah. With the collaboration of Carol J. Orwant.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965.
- RASHID, Salim, Ed. (1997). *The clash of civilizations? Asian responses.* Karachi, New York: Oxford University Press.
- RICCUCCI, Norma M. (2002), Managing diversity in public sector workforces. Boulder: Westview Press.
- ROSS, Martin Howard (1993). *The Management of Conflict: Interpretations and Interests in Comparative Perspective.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- ROTHMAN, Jay (1992). Form confrontation to cooperation: Resolving ethnic and regional conflict. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage.

- ROTHMAN, Jay (1997). Resolving Identity Based Conflict in Nations, Organizations, and Communities. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- RUPESINGHE, Kumar & TISHKOV, Valeri Aleksandrovich, eds. (1996). *Ethnicity and power in the contemporary world.* Tokyo, New York: United Nations University Press.
- SAKO, Mari & SATO, Hiroki, Eds. (1997). *Japanese labour and management in transition: Diversity, flexibility and participation.* London, New York: Routledge.
- SETON-WATSON, Hough (1977). Nations and States. London: Methuen.
- SHAPIRO, Debra L. & VON GLINOW, Mary Ann & CHENG, Joseph L.C., Eds. (2005). Managing multinational teams: Global perspectives. Amsterdam, San Diego: Elsevier JAI.
- SMITH, Anthony D. (1986). *The Ethnic Origin of Nations*. Oxford, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- STAVENHAGEN, Rodolfo (1990). *The ethnic question: Conflicts, development, and human rights.* Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- STAVENHAGEN, Rodolfo (1996). *Ethnic conflicts and the nation-state.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan in association with UNRISD (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development) / New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press.
- TOUVAL, Saadia & ZARTMAN, I. William (1985). *International Mediation in Theory and Practice*. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press.
- VÄYRYNEN, Raimo, Ed. (1991). *New directions in conflict theory: conflict resolution and conflict transformation.* London: Sage (in association with the International Social Science Council).
- WALLENSTEEN, Peter & GALTUNG, Johan & PORTALES, Carlos, Eds. (1985). *Global militarization.* (Westview special studies in peace, conflict, and conflict resolution.) Boulder: Westview Press.
- ZARTMAN, L. William, Ed. (1995). *Elusive Peace: Negotiating and end to civil wars.* Washington: The Brookings Institute.
- ZARTMAN, L. William & RASMUSSEN, J. Lewis, Eds. (1997). Peacemaking in International Conflict: Methods and techniques. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (1990). *Sodobni federalizem s posebnim poudarkom na asimetrični federaciji v večnacionalnih državah* (Modern Federalism and the Applicability of the Theoretical Model of the Asymmetrical Federation in

Multi-Ethnic States). Ph.D. Dissertation. Ljubljana: Univerza Edvarda Kardelja v Ljubljani, Pravna fakulteta (University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Law).

- ŽAGAR, Mitja (1991). "Measures and mechanisms for the management or/and resolution of ethnic conflicts" - in Feinstein, Otto, Ed.: Ethnicity: *Conflict and Cooperation.* (International Colloquium Reader, Volume Two.) Detroit: Published by Michigan Ethnic Heritage Studies Center, pp. 96-109.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (1992). "The Model of Asymmetrical Decision-Making as a Mean of Protection and of Assuring Equal Rights for Ethnic Minorities in Multi-Ethnic (Ethniucally Plural) Societies." In *The Journal of Ethno-Development*, Vol. 1, No. 1/March 1992, pp. 91-108.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (1994). "Nation-States, Their Constitutions and Multi-Ethnic Reality: Do Constitutions of Nation-States correspond to ethnic reality?" In *The Journal of-Ethno-Development*, Vol. 3, No. 3/1994, pp. 1-19.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (1994-1995). "Constitutions in Multi-Ethnic Reality." In *Gradiva in razprave / Treatises and Documents*, No. 29-30/1994-1995, pp. 143-164.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (1996-1997), "Rešitev, ki je postala problem: Nacionalne države in večetnična realnost." ("A Solution that became a Problem: Nationstates and multiethnic reality.") In *Gradiva in razprave / Treatises and Documents* (Revija za narodnostna vprašanja/Journal of Ethnic Studies), No. 31/1996-1997, pp. 7-13.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (1997), "Exploring Ethnicity: Constitutional Regulation of (Inter)Ethnic Relations: New Approaches to a Multicultural Education." In *Questions de formation / Issues int the Education of Adults*, No. 16/1997, pp. 141-155.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja with KOSTEVC, Nuška & KOŠAK, Alenka & RUPNIK, Nataša (1999).
  "Das studentische Forschung- und Aktionsprojekt 'Roma in Slowenien die gesellschaftliche Integration von Randgruppen'." ("The Students' Research and Action Project on the Roma in Slovenia: The integration of marginalized communities.") In Klopčič, Vera & Polzer, Miroslav, Eds. Wege zur Verbesserung der Lage der Roma in Mittel-und Osteuropa: Beiträge aus Österreich und Slowenien, (*Ethnos*, 54). Wien: Braumüller, pp. 52-66.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (2000). "Breaking the Vicious Circle: The management of ethnic relations and the management and resolution of ethnic conflict in South Eastern Europe." Paper prepared for the International Conference on Constitutional, Legal and Political Regulation and Management of Ethnic Relations organized by the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, 8 – 10

December 2000 and for the ISCOMET Conference on Democracy, Human Rights and the Protection of Persons Belonging to Ethnic and Religious Minorities in South Eastern Europe, Bled, 23 – 25 February 2001. Ljubljana, 2000 (43 p.).

- ŽAGAR, Mitja (2000a). "Ali je možno razkleniti začaran krog? Strategije in koncepti za upravljanje in razreševanje etničnih konfliktov." ("Is it possible to break the vicious circle? Strategies and concepts for the management and resolution of ethnic conflict.") In *Razprave in Gradivo / Treatises and Documents* (Revija za narodnostna vprašanja/Journal of Ethnic Studies), No. 36-37/2000), pp. 11-32.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (2001). "Kako bi lahko razklenili začaran krog? (2) Posredovanje, mediacija ter usposabljanje za preprečevanje in razreševanje etničnih konfliktov." ("How could we break the vicious circle? (2) Intervention, mediation and training for the prevention and resolution of ethnic conflict.") In *Razprave in Gradivo / Treatises and Documents* (Revija za narodnostna vprašanja/Journal of Ethnic Studies), No. 38-39/2001, pp. 68-93.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (2001a). "Ethnic relations, nationalism, and minority nationalism in South-Eastern Europe." – In Keating, Michael & Mcgarry, John, Eds., Minority nationalism and the changing international order. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 325-341.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja (forthcoming 2008). "Strategies for the Prevention, Management and/or Resolution of (Ethnic) Crisis and Conflict: The case of the Balkans." In Byrne, Sean & Sandole, Dennis J.D. & Sandole-Staroste, Ingrid & Senehi, Jessica, Eds., A Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution. Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution. Routledge.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja & NOVAK, Aleš (1998/1999). "La protección de las minorías nacionales en la Europa Central y del este a través del derecho costitucional e internacional." ("Protection of national minorities in Central Europe in constitutional and international law.") In special issue: *Derechos y libertades en las nuevas democracias de la Europa del Este*, (Humana jura, 8/9, 1998/1999). Pamplona: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Navarra, 1998/1999, No. 8/9, pp. 19-68.
- ŽAGAR, Mitja & NOVAK, Aleš (1999). "Constitutional and international protection of national minorities in Central and Eastern Europe." - in Žagar, Mitja & Jesih, Boris & Bešter, Romana, Eds. The constitutional and political regulation of ethnic relations and conflicts: [selected papers], (*Ethnicity*, 2). Ljubljana: Institute for Ethnic Studies, 1999, pp. 177-214.