Dear reader,

You are reading the second issue of ENRI-East Bulletin.

The project ENRI-East – Interplay of European, National and Regional Identities: nations between states along the new eastern borders of the European Union – is an innovative international collaborative research project, mainly funded by the European Commission through its Seventh Framework Program (FP7). The study has equally strong theoretical, methodological and empirical components.

We have already introduced the main methods and goals of the project in the First issue of the ENRI-Bulletin. Now you may learn more about the on-going and completed project activities, such as the 8-nations “Values and Identities Survey”, a piloting study on “Cultural Identities and Music” in Hungary and Lithuania, cross-national Biographical Interviews, and other pieces of research. Moreover, we will also give an overview about the upcoming ENRI-East sub-studies and surveys and report about the progress and some first findings of the ENRI-East project.

We also provide an overview of the project’s dissemination efforts and our main project events and meetings. ENRI partners have been very active over the last year in presenting the first project results at international conferences, such as the World Congress of Sociology in Gothenburg, the ICCEES congress in Stockholm and many others. Besides, the project was a real news-maker in the media in Belarus, Slovakia and some other countries. If you have any project related questions or just would like to learn more about our work, please feel free to contact the coordinating group at IHS Vienna or any consortium partner.

Sincerely,
Dr. Alexander Chvorostov,
ENRI-East Project Coordinator
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In 2010 we have invited 13 prominent social scientists from 8 countries to join the Advisory Board of the project. These experts shall act as “internal peer-reviewers” of the main project research reports, take part in various public presentations and discussions of project outcomes and help to develop an effective dissemination strategy. Another task of the Board is to recommend the project’s further research program beyond the official end of the project in September 2011.

Four members of the Advisory Board joined the Steering Committee Meeting in Yalta, Ukraine in September 2010.

Members of the ENRI-East Advisory Board:
Prof. Christian Haerpfer (Chair), University of Aberdeen
Prof. Alexander Etkind, Cambridge University
Prof. Ronald Inglehart, University of Michigan
Prof. Leonid Ionin, Higher School of Economics, Moscow
Prof. Aleksandra Jasinska-Kania, University of Warsaw
Prof. Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin
Prof. Alexei Miller, Central European University, Budapest
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Prof. Paul Robertson, European Cultural Parliament
Prof. James Scott, Joensuu Karelian University, Finland
Prof. Renata Simienska, University of Warsaw
Prof. Stephen White, University of Glasgow
The historical path of national minority identities in Eastern European Borderlands in 20th century

Excerpt from a historical overview
Tom Rollings
Freelance Journalist,
Consultant to IHS-Vienna Team

The Project’s slogan “Moving borders, moving peoples” captures the essence of national minority politics in the twentieth century. Migration was not necessarily a pre-condition for the emergence of a national minority in Eastern Europe’s modern nation states: an ethnic group could live historically in the same area as another nation. For instance, this was the path of ethnic Slovaks in Hungary and ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia. However, different languages and customs did not in themselves lead to the emergence of a national identity. The Hungarians and Slovaks were different peoples, with different ethnic origins, but lived side-by-side for hundreds of years before either people consolidated themselves into modern nation states. When the Slovaks did emerge as a nation with their own national culture in the 19th century, it was very different from the identity of the Slavs in their area who formed the state of Great Moravia in the 9th century. The same applies to their Hungarian neighbours, whose identity also evolved.

Ethnic minority identity should not be seen as a list of criteria, but as a process that has its own internal unity according to each specific national minority group. The core of national identity and minority identity is rather a “shared community”. In most cases, ethnic minority identity today is organically linked to national identity on the part of the kin-nation abroad where it constitutes the majority.

However, due to the multi-ethnic composition of medieval and feudal Empires, many nations emerged as ethnic minorities before they successfully achieved their own state in a
course of political emancipation in 19th and 20th centuries. The path of political history on the European continent over the last century has re-drawn the geographical borders considerably, as one can see on the maps on page 2 of Europe in 1914 and 2010: the previous empires and political alliances have disappeared, new countries have emerged and the re-established “East-West” political dividing line has moved eastwards. Markers for these changes are the dramatic historical and geopolitical events, such as the two World Wars, the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon, the Munich and “Molotov-Ribbentrop Pacts”, mutual “counter-balancing” efforts of NATO and Warsaw Treaty organization, establishment and disappearance of the USSR and COMECON, the birth and subsequent enlargements of the European Union, etc.

After World War One Sudetenland Germans, Baltic Russians and Hungarians in Czechoslovakia became overnight national minorities. International borders changed again during and after World War Two, notably in Poland and Czechoslovakia. This time they were accompanied by unprecedented repatriation of national minorities to their kin-state abroad, or their forced relocation to areas far from the border with their kin-state where they had lived historically.

Apart from national minorities that have been historically resident in the countries where they live today, there are other paths to national minority evolution. In the Baltic the Latvians were often discriminated against in their native country, first by the Teutonic Knights, and then, together with the Lithuanians, oppressed by Russian Tsarism and, more recently, in the Soviet period after World War Two. With the fall of the USSR ethnic Russians went from being the “dominating” nation, even though they were a minority within their respective Baltic states, to being a national minority without moving or seeing the borders of their state move.

Ethnicities that won statehood became new “titular Nations”, such as Poles in Poland or the Slovaks in the Slovak part of Czechoslovakia. At the same time communities belonging to these nations that resided in other countries remained ethnic minorities, or “residual ethnic groups”, such as Poles in Ukraine or Slovaks in post-Trianon Hungary. As a result, one can observe certain divergence in the patterns of “ethnic identities” of the same ethnicity. This divergence leads to variation both within and between nations among national minorities in their experience of belonging to a nation and is the central area of study in the ENRI-East empirical studies.

A central reason for the variation in the experience of belonging to a national minority is the variety of policies towards minorities that are pursued by states, which have varied historically from aggressive assimilation or national oppression to peaceful cultural, social and economic integration. A critical assessment of such policies forms a central aspect of the project’s research program.

ENRI-East in Slovakia: Scientific neutrality of research and charged political discourse

The scientific disputes among the ENRI-East experts turned out to be very important with regard to several politically sensitive issues. Most notably the status and the development of ethnic minorities in Ukraine, Slovakia and Hungary, which are located on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains has been discussed.

An eloquent example of such tension has been the usage of a seemingly neutral geographical term “Carpathian Basin”, which was originally suggested in the project description as a common denotation of the region. However, the emerged discussion showed that researchers cannot ignore “political reality” in their countries – the Slovak national discourse would interpret this term as an euphemism for “Great Hungary”, which was of course not meant by the project consortium. Thus, in order to avoid a possible misunderstanding, especially by the public presentation of project results we decided rather to refer to the region of Central Europe, or just naming the particular countries.

Furthermore, the mass-media are often adding “fuel to the fire” by biased and incorrect interpretation of empirical data. For instance, the ENRI-VIS survey outcomes were misinterpreted the following way: “About 4% of Slovak citizens of Hungarian origin speak Slovak at home” (TASR 20.5. 2010). The correct survey outcome says that 75% of our respondents (Hungarians in Slovakia) speak Hungarian at home and about 21% speak both Slovak and Hungarian. Almost 70% of the respondents consider the ability to understand official language of their country important (the fieldwork was carried out by bi-lingual interviewers from the sociological agency FOCUS).
One of the main tools of the empirical program of the ENRI-East study is the large-scale formalized survey that has been conducted among representatives of 12 ethnic minorities in 8 countries in three project regions: the Baltic (Lithuania, Latvia and Russia’s Kaliningrad province), Eastern Europe (Poland and Belarus) and Central Europe (Hungary, Slovakia and Ukraine).

The main tools of this cross-country survey were a Questionnaire (60 core-questions and batteries, many of which are compatible with other international surveys) and tailored sampling frames (a justified combination of three standard sampling methods).

**ENRI-VIS Questionnaire**

- Master version designed in English, translated into 6 project languages and localized for each survey country
- 60 questions or batteries in the Master Version, up to 10% of questions could vary from country to country (country specific)
- Half of questions (batteries) are the same or compatible with other international surveys: NEB, ESS, WVS, EVS, ISSP
- Average duration of a face-to-face interview 50 minutes
- Response rates: 0.32 to 0.87 depending on ethnic group and particular sampling method

ENRI-VIS Questionnaire was designed departing from the outcomes of theoretical efforts as well as several desktop studies. The background theoretical efforts included a critical analysis of various theoretical aspects of identity formation among ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe, relationships between nation and state, etc. (see ENRI-East Bulletin Issue #1 and forthcoming project report “Theoretical and methodological backgrounds for studies of Europe, national and regional identities”, edited by Prof. Clare Wallace.) Further inputs have been secured through a thorough inventory of past international surveys dedicated to the relevant issues (research report from TARKI team) as well as a detailed review of national statistics with regard to ethnic composition of population up to the NUTS3/LAU2 levels in EU countries or up to province/district levels in CIS countries.

The survey tools were designed by a special task-force in the Spring-Summer 2009, piloted in September in Belarus and Hungary and finally approved in October 2010. Questionnaire and detailed sample frames were localized and translated into 8 survey languages and the field work was carried out from November 2009 until May 2010.

**Sampling methods**

- RRS (Random route sampling), applied in the locations (districts or settlements) with density of a target ethnic group is 30% and higher
- RR-FE (RRS boosted with focused enumeration) applied in the locations with ethnic density 10% to 30%
- SB (Snowballing) applied in the locations with ethnic density below 10%

**Main themes of the questionnaire:**

- Screening section and socio-demographic questions
- Language issues: usage at home, education, media etc. (WVS)
- Ethnic identity and attachment (ISSP)
- Diaspora issues and density of ethnic contacts
- National and ethnic pride (ISSP, EVS, WVS, CCEB, NDB)
- Issues of trust (EVS, CDEB, NDB, WVS)
- Xenophobia scales (Bogardus) (ISSP)
- Issues of discrimination and perception of conflicts
- Music and identity, culture and identity
- Issues of EU, CIS and other supra-regions (CCEB, ISSP)
- Organization and political behavior (WVS, NEB)
- Issues of religion (ESS)
- Household and familial ethnic descent grids
- Prosperity and well-being grids

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**ENRI survey: three types of national pride**

This chart illustrates the cross-country summary of answers from our survey respondents to a standardized question measuring the degree of “pride”. The questions were tailored for each particular ethnic group. Taking the Slovakian minority in Hungary, the question would sound as follows:

- “How proud are you of being Slovak?” (measures the general ETHNIC pride)
- “How proud are you of being Hungarian?” (measures the locational HABITUAL pride)
- “How proud are you of being a Hungarian Slovak?” (measures the particular MINORITY pride)
The ENRI-VIS aims to be representative for all persons belonging to ethnic groups aged 18 and over and resident in private households in the country for at least one year at the time of interviewing, regardless of their citizenship status and/or languages spoken at home. Our respondents are only those persons who see themselves as belonging to minority ethnic groups, thus we have used a subjective approach while identifying suitable interviewees.

Due to varying regional population patterns, we have deployed a complex sampling system allowing the highest possible coverage of the target population in terms of survey locations. While doing this, we have counted on the experiences of other well-documented studies, such as EU-MIDIS survey and have re-utilized some their technologies. Provinces and districts involved in the ENRI-VIS sampling cover 70% to 90% of particular ethnic groups. Depending on the absolute and relative size of a minority group, two sampling targets have been defined: 800 or 400 respondents per ethnic group. (see ENRI-East Bulletin Issue #1 for further sampling details).

The survey was done in 653 locations using the Random Route Sampling (RRS) procedures; a classic RRS and RRS boosted with focused enumeration (RRFE). Adding the snowball chains – the third sampling method used in the survey, we have reached a reasonable dispersion of 978 PSU that allows us reliable generalizations about the surveyed populations.

Very strict procedures of quality control have been applied in the course of the survey: first, an internal quality control by national survey agencies (at least 10% of all respondents were contacted a second time as a matter of assurance of the fact of the interview, its length and other related circumstances); secondly, we undertook an external peer-to-peer control by mutual visits of project partners (detailed checks of survey documentation, such as route sheets, protocols of internal control, etc.); thirdly, there was a technical and logical control at the stage data unification and merging in the course of the production of a unified cross-country data set.

By now, all collected data have been controlled and approved and harmonized into an internal data base. The conducted quantitative survey now provides empirical data for all topics studied in the project.

### Regular contacts with people from „sending“ countries

The chart shows the answers only for „regular contacts“ (at least weekly) with different communication counterparts.

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**First presentations of ENRI-VIS data in mass media**

Some project partners have already made public presentations of preliminary outcomes of ENRI-VIS (ENRI Values and Identity Survey). The regional Vice-Director for CIS countries, and leader of the team from the Belarusian State University, Prof. David Rotman, gave a short press-conference outlining some results of the survey of the Polish minority in Belarus. Some Belarusian papers published these preliminary data (“Narodnaya Gazeta” on 24 February and “Glos” on 26 February), which, subsequently re-posted on the web-site of the Belarusian Embassy in Poland.

The survey has shown very low rates of experiencing of discrimination among the Polish minority in Belarus (98% of respondents have never experienced any discrimination during the last 12 months); quite high rates of national pride (77% of respondents said they are very or rather proud of being Polish); have very close feeling to the country Belarus (63% of respondents); very low rate of tension between Polish minority and Belarusian majority in Belarus (or between any religious groups in the country (respectively, 80% and 72% of respondents have noticed no such tension).

In February 2010 the mass-media was overloaded with stories reporting a conflict around an NGO called the “Union of Poles in Belarus” and their building: there were sharp speeches of its leaders, charged meetings, and, of course a series of related statements from official bodies in Poland and Belarus. This local conflict disappeared from the media space during the following weeks and was replaced by a wave of much more constructive and peaceful discourse. Nevertheless, it is no wonder that the outcomes of the ENRI study have been used by one of the parties in the international debate.

Once these data were made public, the Project Coordinator was contacted by a representative of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Dr. Klemens Buescher, who asked about the reliability of ENRI-VIS data and further circumstances of the study. This dialogue has resulted in a personal meeting of the Project Coordinator Dr. Alexander Chvorostov with Dr. Klemens Buescher and an agreement to continue mutual consultations and keep the OSCE experts informed about the project’s ongoing results.
Qualitative studies of the ENRI-East project: an overview

The project embraces a set of qualitative studies, which collect “soft data” that show the different political, social, economic and cultural contexts of life which different ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe have to deal with. Moreover, the surveys aim to provide new insights on socialization in educational, professional and cultural terms as well as on the historical and social memories of the investigated minorities.

The project’s qualitative studies include a set of inter-related empirical efforts, each of which constitutes a particular sub-study and contributes to national chapters in the „Minority Reports...“.

Content analysis of web-sphere – The corps includes 330 web-based documents. First report presented in September 2010

Biographic interviews of members of ethnic minorities – a classical method of in-depth study of target groups.

“Cultural Identities and Music” – an innovative pilot effort in Hungary and Lithuania.

Expert interviews - series of semi-structured face-to-face interviews with governmental officials and NGOs.

On-line survey of teenagers – an experimental effort approaching younger cohort of ethnic minorities.

Content analysis of web-blogs and online periodicals

Internet communications by members of ethnic minorities or by minority organizations (online-periodicals, blogs, organizations websites, etc.) represent the opinions of the active and organized elites such as journalists, writers, scientists, and politically involved citizens. In the framework of ENRI-East, the content analysis of internet resources complements the surveys, enabling a comparison between the investigated minorities. It complements the qualitative studies because it draws on contextual knowledge. On top of that, it is a non-reactive method and has a high degree of traceability.

Resources are identified by using smart keyword combinations for searches. For example, the combination “Russian”+ “identity” yields 150,000 hits using various search engines. Apart from the search engines like google.com, the web-sites of organizations like kamunikat.org are used which contain a stock of relevant resource addresses online. The available internet resources like online-periodicals etc. are screened and narrowed down according to the criteria of relevance for the main research topic, namely identity. The target sample is 30 documents per source to allow for variance and validity.

Preliminary results show significant diversity between minorities and sources, starting from the purely numerical observation that the Slovak and Ukrainian minorities in Hungary have a very limited internet presence in stark contrast to e.g. Russians in the Baltic, Poles in Belarus or Hungarians in Slovakia. The number of resources, thematic diversity, and not least the ideological pluralism and critical stance displayed suggest a high level of social activity on the part of ethnic minorities.

When it comes to substance, references to “cultural encounter” (implying attempts to arrive at a peaceful coexistence with the host nation, tolerance and mutual understanding with other ethnicities) are most frequent with Belarusians in Poland, Poles and Hungarians in the Ukraine, least frequent with Russians in the Baltic. “Europe” is a popular reference object by Poles and Hungarians, to a much lesser degree by the Russians. “History”, understood as an often dramatic road of the formation of nation and the nation state, is the most important aspect of national identity for Ukrainians in Poland and Hungary as well as for Hungarian ethnic Slovaks.

Biographic Interviews

The methodology of the ENRI-East biographical study was developed within the conceptual framework of the European biographical approach, with its main aim to map individuals’ life course and experience at different stages; from childhood to adolescence and beyond. In our study’s context of evolving Eastern European identities, as affected by significant historic and social changes, the biographical method was used to convey individual accounts of life experience within contemporary cultural settings. Biographical interviews are designed for decoding meaning in the system of respondents’ self-identification; as such, our study rests on the view of individuals as creators of meanings which form the basis of their everyday lives. When most of the remaining data has been collected (documents, quantitative and qualitative data), the biographical interviews will be used to create the “story” that collates this information in a meaningful way. Much of the fieldwork has already been completed, and by the time this bulletin goes to publication, ENRI-BIOG national teams will have undertaken half of the biographical interviews.
This empirical study was undertaken in Hungary and Lithuania by a joint team of researchers from Oxford XXI (Dr. Lyudmila Nurse, Tom Houston), TARKI (Prof. Endre Sik, Anikó Bernát, Blanka Páthy-Dencső), and the Lithuanian Social Research Centre in Vilnius (Prof. Arvydas Matulionis, Dr. Viktorija Zilinskaitė). The study includes a combination of several methods: online interviews of the school children from the local schools -“Three-generation interviews” (when school children were interviewing their parents and grandparents); and a series of “Musical” focus groups with selected families who took part in the first and second stages of the study (3G interviews).

**Hungarian Study**

During October and November 2009, the Cultural Identities and Music survey was conducted in Tótkomlós, a small town about 200km from Budapest in South-East Hungary, with a population of 6,500 people. The town was founded in 1746 by 80 Slovakian families, who came to this uninhabited part of Hungary with the permission of the Habsburg Emperor, Maria Therese. In 1946, 3,000 Slovaks from Tótkomlós were forcibly removed to Slovakia, and 1,500 Hungarians were forcibly moved from South Slovakia to Tótkomlós in their place. Most of the population now has a dual identity, and Hungarian seems to be the first identity for the majority of Slovaks in Tótkomlós. This intertwining of national identities makes the region a particularly interesting case for analysis in this study, brought to light in the interviews through the respondents’ personal affiliation with different musical genres.

To this end, data was collected from 210 respondents in total, with 70 school children completing online interviews and 70 parents and 70 grandparents completing semi-structured questionnaires. Furthermore, 34 people participated in 4 focus groups, with 2 groups consisting of school children and 2 groups consisting of 3-generational families (two groups from both Slovakian and Hungarian communities).

**Preliminary Findings**

The preliminary analysis of combined data shows that 13% of those interviewed in Tótkomlós identified their nationality as Slovaks, and 87% as Hungarians.

The first musical memories of the Hungarians and the ethnic Slovaks were similar: mostly children’s songs, and mostly Hungarian. But the place where these songs were first heard differed significantly, with Slovaks referring to public places and Hungarians referring instead to their families and home - private places. The variety of sources for the first musical memory was also greater overall in the ethnic Slovakian population, including more media sources, such as cinema and TV. This contrasts with the Hungarian community, where live performances were far more common.

For Hungarians, their favourite music to take to a desert island was the Hungarian national anthem, while the Slovaks referred to Hungarian rock/pop music in this case. But when asked why, the Hungarians tended to refer to the tune, rather than its patriotic nature – an interesting rationale.

In addition, so-called foreign classical and popular music (not of Hungarian or Slovakian origin) appeared to be more of a favourite among Hungarians than Slovaks.

**Lithuanian Study**

The Lithuanian study, following Hungary’s precedent, took place in April-June 2010. This study was conducted in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital with a population of over half a million people(548 835), comprising approximately 16% of the Lithuanian population. The largest ethnic minority in Vilnius is Polish; the second is Russian.

The Cultural Identity and Music survey was conducted in six schools: 2 Lithuanian schools, 3 Russian schools and 1 Polish school. Data was collected from 433 respondents, with 205 school children completing online interviews, and 131 parents and 97 grandparents completing semi-structured questionnaires.

6 focus groups were also held, with 34 people participating: 3 groups consisted of school children, with 1 group being Lithuanian, 1 Polish and 1 Russian. The other 3 groups consisted of 3-generational families, again with 1 being Lithuanian, 1 Polish and 1 Russian. By the time this Bulletin is published, the Lithuanian study data will be in the process of analysis.

**Presentation of Results**

A paper “Reconstruction of families’ cultural identities through musical memories” was presented to the International Sociology Association at the XVII World Congress of Sociology – “Sociology on the move” at the RC38 session: “Biographical processes and supranational identity formation in a European context: Civil Society”.
ICCEES (International Council for Central and East European Studies) VIII World Congress “Prospects for Wider Cooperation in Eurasia” (20 - 31 July 2010 in Stockholm, Sweden)

The ENRI-East project held two thematic panels on Identities in Central and Eastern Europe during this congress. The team also coorganised panel sessions on Post-Cold War Memories in cooperation with the Ludwig Boltzmann Institut as well a special session on Central Asia studies (in cooperation with the HITT - CIS consortium) and conflict resolution in the Trans-Dniester region. 9 papers were submitted and published by ENRI experts.

4 papers resulting fully or partially from the ENRI-East studies were presented at two thematic sessions chaired by Alexander Chvorostov (Project Coordinator) and Hans-Georg Heinrich (Principal Investigator).

ENRI-East project was represented by Alexander Chvorostov, Hans-Georg Heinrich, Victor Cebotari, Natalia Waechter and Elisabeth Schimpfoessl.

Presentations and papers can be downloaded at the project website www.enri-east.net.

XVII ISA (International Sociological Association) World Congress of Sociology “Sociology on the Move” (11 - 17 July 2010 in Gothenburg, Sweden)

Seven ENRI experts took part in this Congress. ENRI-East was represented in several thematic sessions by Alexander Chvorostov, Natalia Waechter, Lyudmila Nurse, Claire Wallace, Arvydas Matulionis, Viktoria Zilinskaite, Elisabeth Schimpfoessl and Victor Cebotari. At the conference Natalia Waechter got elected vice-president of the RC-34 (Sociology of Youth) of the International Sociological Association.

ENRI-East outcomes in Slovakian and Hungarian media

The first presentations about some outcomes of the studied Hungarian minority in Slovakia were made in May 2010. This resulted in articles in the Slovakian newspaper “SME” and in the Hungarian paper “Magyar Nemzet” (both on 20 May 2010). Findings from the ENRI-East project that were referred to these contributions address the identity transformation of the Hungarian minority under generational aspects.

Presentations of the ENRI-East project

Prof. Hans-Georg Heinrich

ENRI-East Research Consortium

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