

## **PANEL 1: THEORY**

Markus Thiel (FIU)

### **Missing in Action? The lack of diversity and identity politics in European integration theory**

This paper sets out to investigate how the political processes that come about through European integration affect the diverse minority populations of the member states and to what extent the salience of these groups is mirrored in existing integration theories. It focuses mainly on bottom-up (social) movements which represent segments of the European citizenry who are in danger of marginalization yet at the same time, struggle for recognition and equality – Muslims, Women, Sexual and Cultural Minorities etc. Politics recognizing the diversity of European societies are labelled intercultural or multicultural identity politics, based on the liberal democratic order established on the national level, and reinforced by the mainstreaming policies of European integration. The Union, however, constitutes a new political order in which transnational synergies among these groups can be utilized to create more pluralistic European societies. I argue that aside from newer theories focusing partially on the discursive impact of some minorities on the development of the EU's regulatory and legislative output, no theory exists that systematically accounts for the growing influence of these groups in the integration process. Finally, I present some main challenges that such a new theory would have to incorporate to substantiate its explanatory value.

Antje Wiener, University of Bath

### **The Invisible Constitution of Politics: Contested Norms and International Encounters**

As social practices now frequently extend beyond national boundaries, experiences and expectations about fair and legitimate politics have become increasingly fragmented. Our ability to understand and interpret others and to tolerate difference, rather than overcome diversity, is therefore at risk. The book focuses on the contested meanings of norms in a world of increasing international encounters. The paper will discuss the main argument of the book, namely, that cultural practices are less visible than organisational practices, but are constitutive for politics and need to be understood and empirically 'accounted' for. Comparing four elite groups in Europe (Londoners, Berliners, German Brusselites and British Brusselites), the book shows how this invisible constitution of politics matters. By comparing individual interpretations of norms such as democracy and human rights, the case study demonstrates why and how they can mean different things, even to frequently travelling elite groups. The book concludes that rather than generating a process of Europeanisation writ-large similar to Deutschian expectations, the process of European integration has been generating "pockets of Europeanisation" in transnational arenas. It therefore can be taken to enhance rather than reduce diversity in Europe.

Birgit Locher and Elisabeth Prügl, FIU

### **Gender and European Integration**

This paper probes the contribution of feminist research and theorizing to understanding the process of European integration. While feminism is no theory of integration, feminist constructivism invites a research program that

- Reveals biases in existing integration theories
- Assumes that gender is (re)constructed in the process
- Validates the standpoints of situated agents.

Thus, a feminist constructivist approach to studying European integration emphasizes critique, starts from an ontology of gendered becoming, and suggests an inclusionary methodology.

We showcase two distinct contributions that feminist constructivism has made to understanding European integration. The first is to make visible the power of agency and activism, the second is to conceptualize the EU as a postmodern, patriarchal state. We illustrate these contributions in two case studies, one focusing on the EU's policy to combat sex trafficking, the other on the gender implications of agricultural policy reform.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Sociology, University of Illinois

### **No need for unanimity: Twenty-first century multiculturalism**

Kissinger complained that the EU doesn't have a single phone number. In contrast, Cerny argues that Europe derives its transformative power precisely from the circumstance that it is not a 'unit actor' but is internally multilateral. With regard to identities and minorities similar paradigm frictions arise. On the one hand, calls for social cohesion built on premises of unity and assimilation and, on the other, network and nodal approaches to sociality and social cooperation. What is at issue, both in relation to conceptualizing Europe externally and internally, are rival paradigms, as in Robert Cooper's defensive modernism to characterize the US approach to power and postmodernism for Europe's pooling of sovereignty, and in relation to culture, 'national multiculturalism' in contrast to global multiculture and flexible acculturation.

## **PANEL 2: ISLAM IN EUROPE**

Amir Mirtaheri, FIU

### **European Muslims: Caught in the Middle**

September 11<sup>th</sup> and the following associated incidents in London and Madrid as well as the events in Denmark and The Netherlands brought, once again, the question of Muslims and Europe to the fore. Indeed, this is an old question going back to the earliest encounters well before the Crusade. Despite the diverse historical contexts of this question, however, the common theme has revolved around the notion of identity. The purpose of this paper is to revisit this old question in the context of *European integration based on European principles and the perception of that integration outside Europe* in order to understand the consequences of both for European Muslims. The central argument is that European Muslims are caught in the middle of two powerful forces arising from their two-sided identity. On the European side it is the well-established tradition of secularism which includes both objective secularism (separation of Church and state) and, more importantly, subjective secularism (separation of public and private spheres and the retreat of religion to the latter). While this subjective secularism renders religion irrelevant in social life, many European Muslims find the public-private distinction problematic and, corollary, they perceive themselves as isolated. As a result, some of them have looked beyond Europe for "points of reference." Not surprisingly, the traditional Muslim World (i.e. the Middle East and North Africa) appears to be the prime candidate for such points of reference. In identifying with these non-European perspectives, however, European Muslims encounter with the second powerful force: the non-European narrative of European integration. This narrative, far from that of Europe or North America, is well tied with the enduring legacy of European colonialism (not to mention with strong sentiments). Here, the EU appears more as an increasingly important international actor and less as a role model or a normative power. In short, in the current situation, European Muslims are caught in the middle of these two identity forces which make them vulnerable to radicalization and, furthermore, have significant strategic implications for the European project of integration.

Dusan Ugrina, Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies & FIU

### **Segmented Assimilation: the Creation of Ethnic/Religious Hierarchy in Europe?**

In this paper, I will discuss segmented assimilation theory as described by Portes and Zhou (1993) in the U.S., and its possible applications in the European context. I will first discuss the polemics regarding its applicability in Europe, and important differences that must be kept in mind when translating this theory from one continent to another. Next, I will discuss how the legal exclusion of the so called Third Country Nationals (TNCs) from the socio-economic provisions of European citizenship, combined with the prevalent xenophobia directed against these racially and religiously distinct immigrants and the dissolution of the social state in Europe, create favourable conditions for the establishment of permanent racial and religious hierarchies (similar to the U.S.), which did not exist in Europe in last hundred years. Elaborating on the "modes of incorporation" (consisting of governmental policies in relation to the immigrants, levels of prejudice in the host society, and characteristics of the group itself), I will also discuss some of the groups most vulnerable to downward assimilation. While doing this, I will problematize the prevalent focus on ethnic groups as main units of social science analysis and show that the internal divisions within these groups make it hard to talk of whole ethnic groups failing (or succeeding) to assimilate. In contrast, I will argue that certain individual characteristics are more important to understanding some "groups" downward assimilation in the European context.

Gonul Tol, FIU

### **Institutionalization of Islam in Western Europe: Beyond Jurisdiction**

Despite the deepening European integration, the nation-state remains to be the key actor in drawing the boundaries of the public sphere in Europe. Through their citizenship laws and immigration policies, European countries address the questions of rights, duties and identity: who has the right to entry; what kinds of political rights do the immigrants have; what options do they have in the labour market; what level of social integration does the host country expect from the immigrant. The answers to these questions refer three core elements underpinning the nation state: the sovereign control over external borders, the regulation of political rights and a nation's cultural self-understanding. These are questions of "inclusion within, or exclusion from, the national political community". Islam, pushed outside the political community in some countries and integrated into the structure in some other, is looking for its place in the European public sphere. Looking at the Turkish Islamist movement Milli Gorus in Germany and its Dutch counterpart, this paper argues that whether Islamic organizations play a bridge role between the host and the immigrant community or become an impediment to integration is determined by the political and legal conditions of the host country.

Murat Somer, Koc University

### **Political Islam, Social and Political Diversity, and Turkey's EU Membership**

Can Turkey join the EU? If it does, how would this affect Europe's identity, social-cultural diversity, and political-economic development? On one hand, the answers to these questions depend on the EU's social and political evolution, and to what extent it will be able to accept a predominantly Muslim society as an equal member of the union. To a significant extent, opposition to Turkey's membership feeds on European concerns that Turkey's cultural and religious differences from the rest of Europe would undermine EU's institutions and social-political "harmony." The more the EU views itself as culturally homogenous and "Christian," the more we may expect these concerns to grow. On the other hand, the answers depend on how democratic and, thus, European, Turkey becomes. In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the country embarked on a path of major political-economic reforms and began the accession process for EU membership, although it still falls short of EU norms in areas such as human rights and the rule of law. Turkey has a reasonable chance of becoming the first predominantly Muslim country with a consolidated democracy. Significantly, most of the reforms were accomplished under the ruling AKP (Justice and Development Party). The AKP is a pro-EU and pro-democracy party which defines itself as "conservative democratic" and is ideologically rooted in moderate Islamism and a relatively liberal version of Turkish-Muslim nationalism. Thus, it is crucial to examine the social and political values of the AKP and its constituency. How sustainable is the AKP's zeal for democratization? How compatible are the social-political values of the AKP and its constituency with liberal democracy in general, and with western European social and political norms in particular? Could Turkish Islamic-conservatives become part of the European social-political space like the Christian democrats? The more one can answer these questions affirmatively, the more one can expect Turkey to join Europe, and the more one can expect it to make a positive contribution to European diversity and political-economic development. Discussing these themes, the paper will draw on the findings of a major empirical project, which systematically content-analyses the discourse of major Islamic-conservative newspapers and social and economic associations in Turkey, between 1996 and 2004. A large literature acknowledges the difficulties Islamists face in embracing social and political pluralism in a modern, liberal-democratic sense, while also observing that these ideologies are dynamic and have demonstrated significant skills to change and adapt. Before the AKP's foundation, in the 1980s and 1990s, Turkish Political Islam defended views opposing western, liberal democracy. The content analysis suggests to what extent political-Islamic values changed insofar as these are reflected by the media, in which areas (such as social and political pluralism, the image of the West, etc.) and how. Historical event analysis is employed to identify how change was affected by domestic and external mechanisms, in particular the changing image of the EU. The analysis thus complements existing research on polls and focus groups, to which the paper refers.

### **PANEL 3: GENDER & SEXUAL MINORITIES**

Amy Elman, Kalamazoo College

#### **Intersectionality, inequality and EU law (Or, what venue(s) might lesbians use against discrimination?)**

Over the last decade, the EU has expanded the definition of illegal discrimination to include race, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation. Does the added recognition of these discriminations confront the manifold dimensions of oppression that women simultaneously experience? The assertion that women are not a monolithic group may now be common, but what (if any) are the material implications of this insight? This paper seeks to answer this query by focusing on the intersectional discrimination faced by lesbians throughout Europe.

Gabriel N. Toggenburg (EURAC)

#### **Sexual orientation and sexual transformation: what the EU's constitutional Court had to say (and what it did not say)**

EU law is very well known for its strong and clear cut stance when it comes to the discrimination between men and women. The Union's engagement in this area did not meet critique at the political level. All this is different when it comes to less prominent sex-related phenomena, namely the issue of transgender and homosexuality which both have an obvious minority-connotation. Already from the legal perspective things seem complex: it is quite foggy to which degree the principle of equality (as it has been defined at the federal level of governance) expands to these outer areas of legal sexual discourse. And at the political level a front of resistance is building up against what is in some corners perceived to be a silent libertarian revolution trickling down from Brussels into the national legal systems, bypassing thereby crucial value decisions (to be) made by the Member States (only). At this background it is telling to have a look what the European Court of Justice has to say in this respect and to draw a line between the areas of law and politics in this very sensitive aspect of European diversity.

Snjezana Vasiljevic, Zagreb University School of Law, Columbia Law School

#### **Are we defined by our similarities or is it our differences? Precautions against intersectional cases in the EU.**

"Democracy arises out of the notion that those who are equal in any respect are equal in all respects; because men are equally free, they claim to be absolutely equal (Aristotle, *Politics*)". An equal society recognizes people's different needs, situations and goals and removes the barriers. This definition recognises, as the current EU legal framework does not, that factors such as gender, age, disability, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation can interact to create multiple or intersectional disadvantage. The fact that the current legislation does not expressly address multiple or intersectional discrimination leaves the most disadvantaged members of society, unable to challenge the discrimination they experience. Yet, more and different action is needed to address those inequalities that are proving particularly hard to shift, and where progress is very slow. Anti-discrimination laws are designed to combat a complex set of different "wrongs", which take various forms across the different equality grounds. A purpose clause would convey the basic principles and link together different concepts such as dignity, diversity, substantive equality and so on, to give a fair idea of the aims and ambitions of equality and anti-discrimination law in general. It would also give some direction to the courts on how to interpret the legislation.

Katrina Z. S. Schwartz (with Conor O'Dwyer, University of Florida)

### **Minority Rights After EU Enlargement: A Comparison of Anti-Gay Politics in Poland and Latvia**

This paper examines the recent backlash against gay rights in Poland and Latvia as a test case of the depth and breadth of “europeanization” in the new post-Communist member states. We argue that anti-gay mobilization in these countries constitutes illiberal governance (and thus a failure of europeanization) on three grounds: failure of institutional protections for sexual minorities, including freedom of speech and full protection of the law; broad inclusion of illiberal elites in mainstream politics (parliament and government); and virulence of anti-gay rhetoric by political elites in the public sphere. To explain why the EU accession process failed to secure the adoption of liberal norms toward sexual minorities in these countries, we apply two analytical models that have been widely used to explain successful norm adoption in a range of cases: the “external incentives” and “social learning” models. We find that in the case of gay rights, EU conditionality was weak, and national identity and “resonance” operated against norm adoption, as did domestic institutions (namely, weakly institutionalized party systems). The EU might have overcome these obstacles through persuasion, but deliberative processes were lacking

### **PANEL 4: CULTURAL MINORITIES**

Colin H Williams, School of Welsh, Cardiff University

#### **‘Let Freedom Reign: The Impress of EU Integration on Minority Survival’**

European integration and the devolution of responsibilities to regional level governments within parts of the EU has brought government closer to the citizens and in terms of minority cultures and language policy has changed both the tone and the context of democratic deliberations. However, I will argue that the promise of robust, rooted governance and enhanced deliberative democracy has not yet been realized. This is in part because of the need to build greater capacity within the devolved administrations, but it also reflects deep seated ideological differences about the nature of EU integration, political representation, decision-making and the role of civil society in agenda setting and evidence-based policy.

I will examine the nature of the debates which surround key issue, namely

- a) the extent to which existing legislation, which is predicated on the responsibilities of bodies to deliver services, should be amended so that the rights of the individual and the rights of the employees within public bodies and organizations should be specified more clearly.
- b) for the extension of language plans into the private and voluntary sector;
- c) the calls for the establishment of Language Commissioners in certain regions;
- d) the incorporation of language clauses into the mainstream equality legislation;
- e) the various discourses relating to minority representation.

The final part of the paper will refer to selected developments within broader European contexts where language promotion has gradually been reinforced by more active professional lobbying, such as the role of the European Language Boards/Agencies Network, and it will assess the various influences on more holistic policy-formation and implementation process.

Dovile Budryte, Georgia Gwinnett College

### **Social Integration, Adaptation, or Segmentation? Minority Rights Issues and Discourses in Lithuania since EU Expansion**

The latest round of EU expansion (2004) focused international attention on the issues of identity politics and minority rights in the post-Soviet Baltic states. In Latvia and Estonia these issues were framed, by and large, as the “Russian question.” The governments of these two countries were criticized by international actors for denying automatic citizenship to a large number of Russian speakers. Lithuania, in contrast, was not subject to similar criticism. In fact, it was even praised for its inclusive citizenship laws and progressive minority rights legislation which extended cultural rights to traditional minorities (ethnic Poles and Russians). Recent public opinion data, however, suggests that there is increasing intolerance toward small communities of “non-traditional” minorities in Lithuania, such as Muslims, and toward Roma. It appears that progressive legislation (most of which was adopted before Lithuania became an EU member in 2004) and increasing internationalization has not resulted in the cultural and social changes that are necessary for this legislation to be successfully implemented. Is Lithuania capable of making the cultural and social changes associated with the European integration, which imply ethnic and racial tolerance? How are questions about minority rights framed in public and scholarly discourses? To gain insight into these questions, this paper will explore the attempts that have been made by the Lithuanian government and by non-governmental actors to incorporate EU anti-discrimination directives and other international norms against racism and ethnic discrimination into Lithuanian society. This paper will outline the public debates about the status of Lithuania’s Roma community, which has become one of the most visible minority rights issues in Lithuania since EU expansion.

Maria Ilcheva, FIU

### **Keeping An Eye on the Prize: EU Conditionality and Bulgaria’s Minority Issues**

The promise of European integration is a powerful force influencing policies in candidate member states. The conditionality for accession, articulated in formal EU documents and policies, and conveyed by diplomats, is intended to provide a pathway to accession that requires profound transformations in the economic, political and social arenas. The continued importance of nationalism in the region warrants a detailed examination of the role the European Union plays in addressing relations between ethnic minorities in the candidate countries. The following article explores the mechanisms the European Union has used to prevent the perceived danger of ethnic conflict in Bulgaria, the reactions and involvement of political actors within the state, as well as the resulting policies seeking to alleviate ethnic tensions.

## **PANEL 5: MIGRANTS**

Emek Ucarer, Bucknell University

### **Mainstreaming Third Country National Integration**

During the last ten years, integration of third country nationals (TCNs) has been introduced into the joint policy domain of the European Union. Starting with the Amsterdam Treaty, gathering steam at the Tampere European Council, and receiving another mandate with the Hague Program, the integration dossier is not yet as developed as some of the other dossiers in the joint governance of immigration and asylum. Nonetheless, the Brussels debates on integration of TCNs continue to gain momentum, pushed by certain services of the Commission, (Brussels-based) nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and certain Presidencies of the EU. The modest policy output that has been frequently criticized for taking a minimalist approach can partially be attributed to divergent national practices which member states are hesitant to harmonize, differing organization cultures within the different Directorates General of the Commission, and the relative constraints places on successful NGO advocacy in the Justice and Home Affairs field. This paper tracks the ascent of TCN integration in the EU policy discourse, identifies the key actors in pushing for the mainstreaming of this portfolio, and reviews and assesses the policy output to date. Using the Family Unification and the Antidiscrimination Directives as case studies, it seeks to explain why the mainstreaming of TCN integration generally demonstrates a minimalist trend.

Helen Schwenken, University of Kassel

### **Third Country Migrants in the European Union: Negotiating complex social inequalities in the frameworks of *Gender Mainstreaming*, *Managing Diversity* and *Anti-Discrimination***

The European Commission declared the year 2007 as the European Year of Equal Opportunities for all, followed by 2008's European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Dedicating a year to something always hints at constituting parts of the self-image which are not yet fully achieved. Both years' mottos address issues of great importance for migrants and ethnic minorities, particularly women: How can equality and a peaceful living together in diverse societies be achieved? Which are the most effective approaches, anti-discrimination, gender mainstreaming or the acknowledgement of diversity? Which priorities should be set by migrants' organisations – lobbying politicians, organising within communities etc.? By referring to the history of women's and migrants' policies in the European Union (EU) and the theoretical concept of intersectionality, I am going to shed light on these questions. I argue that the often assumed fundamental differences between the approaches of *gender mainstreaming*, *managing diversity* and *anti-discrimination* are of minor importance as the EU policies are characterised by an "equality patchwork" (Shaw 2005) which comprises elements from each of the concepts. My second point is that due to inherent and political limitations of these three approaches, EU-based migrant and pro-migrant organisations might be more successful if they concentrated more on organising and building up strong collaborations instead of more narrow lobbying to influence the exact wording of policy declarations. However, EU-level organisations tend to focus on the latter.



Michael Minkenberg, NYU

## **"The Radical Right and Anti-Immigrant Politics in Europe"**

This paper examines the rise of right-wing radical anti-immigrant politics and violence in a variety of European democracies and their impact on established parties and mainstream debate. It expands on the usual focus on the size or rhetoric of radical right or anti-immigrant parties to include not only mobilization by non-party formations, but especially the importance of how established parties have responded to the successes of radical right parties. It underscores the ways in which established political actors have sought to preempt or co-opt radical right mobilizations, thus conferring on them a legitimacy they did not previously enjoy. The interrelationships among three elements are of particular interest: the organizational strength of a party or movement, its ability to mobilize voters, and how elements of the larger political environment attempt to cope with the emergence of such parties as a potentially disequilibrating aspect of the political landscape. It is also important to note the ways in which public opinion serves as a resonance chamber for anti-immigrant politics.

Martin Schain, New York University

## **The Success and Failure of Integration Policy in France, Britain and the United States**

In this paper I will examine three different strategies of immigrant integration in France, Britain and the United States. I will first argue that each country has developed a different form of multicultural strategy, and for each the implicit or explicit objective has been a different form of integration. I will then look at questions of success and failure of integration. How can we understand success, and what constitutes failure? How do political actors understand these questions? How have success and failure been politicized, and why are some "failures" a measure of "success"? I will argue that different dimensions of integration may not be related, and that different strategies of integration are related to different forms of success.