Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM)
Department of Politics
8th Annual Conference
Joint international multidisciplinary conference with Migration Research Unit (MRU), University College London (UCL) and University of Roehampton, UK
The Future of Multiculturalism: Structures, Integration Policies and Practices
26 – 27 June 2012
PROGRAMME AND ABSTRACTS

Jazz Life by Salongo Arts
Migration Research Unit, UCL

Founded in 1988, the Migration Research Unit (MRU) undertakes research, teaching and consultancy on migration. Members of the MRU are all based in the geography department and their research focuses broadly on diasporas, transnationalism, asylum and refugees, national and international migration policies, measuring and mapping migration and ethnicity, theorising mobilities, development and migration. The MRU also runs the Masters Programme in Global Migration at UCL, a highly successful interdisciplinary programme which first recruited students in 2010-11.

www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/research/mobility-identity-and-security/migration-research-unit

Department of Social Science, University of Roehampton, London

The Department of Social Science at Roehampton brings together academics involved in teaching and international research in four distinct yet complementary areas: sociology, childhood and society, human rights and criminology. The success of Social Science at Roehampton is built on the research excellence of the department, and its two research centres, Human Rights centre Crucible and Centre for Research on Migration and Multiculturalism (CROMM).

www.roehampton.ac.uk/social-sciences

Dear Delegate,

Welcome to CRONEM’s Eighth Annual Conference. It’s a pleasure to have you join us, pro tem, at the University of Surrey.

This year’s conference promises much, and has attracted a great variety of papers and speakers from across the globe as we think about the future of multiculturalism in a political context which does not appear auspicious. I look forward to hearing and participating in the debates over the next two days.

Our conference has been organised with colleagues at UCL, particularly Dr Claire Dwyer of the Migration Research Unit, and Prof John Eade, representing both UCL and Roehampton. I am very grateful to them both and also to Prof Martyn Barrett and Dr Roberta Guerrina for their support and expertise. I would also like to acknowledge the financial contributions to the event made by the UCL Migration Research Unit, the University of Roehampton and Palgrave.

CRONEM is changing, and in fact this conference marks the end of its first incarnation. The ‘new’ CRONEM will be launched over the summer, and will focus on researching the everyday impact of European integration from a multidisciplinary perspective. I hope that our new research agenda will be of interest to you.

I would like to thank all those who have contributed so greatly to CRONEM’s success in the past, as its Directors, Advisory Board members, its researchers and supporters at the Universities of Surrey and Roehampton and beyond. I hope I can steer the tiller as successfully in the future, and would like to thank Mirela Dumic not only for her sterling work in organising this conference, but also for helping me so much with the transition process.

With best wishes for a successful, stimulating and enjoyable conference, and as indulgent a conference dinner as research expenses allow.

Prof Alex Warleigh-Lack
Executive Director, CRONEM
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<td>REGISTRATION AND COFFEE</td>
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<td>1600-1730</td>
<td>Britishness, Social Cohesion and 'Suspect Communities', Professor Mary Hickman, London Metropolitan University</td>
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<td>Respondents:</td>
<td>Dr Chris Allen, University of Birmingham and Mr Don Flynn, Director, Migrants’ Rights Network, UK</td>
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<td>1800-2230</td>
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<td>Citizen Participation – Findings from the PIDOP Project</td>
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<td>The 'Retreat' of Multiculturalism? (Panel 1), Chair: Lord Professor Shikhu Parekh, University of Westminster</td>
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<td>1545-1715</td>
<td>The 'Retreat' of Multiculturalism? (Panel 2), Chair: Professor Taqi Modood, University of Bristol</td>
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This paper explores the way in which local and national policy and practice has changed over the last ten years and provides details of a range of programmes which have enjoyed support, especially at the local level. This experience suggests that ICD must actually build upon some of the real successes of multiculturalism, for example in respect of rights and equality, whilst at the same time addressing the concomitant reductionism and adapting to the era of super diversity and globalisation. The paper also seeks to demonstrate that a new and compelling narrative of ‘interculturalism’ can begin to steer the debate away from the notion of the ‘failure’ of diverse societies and create a positive framework for cohesion and difference.

Ted Cantle is Professor at the Institute of Community Cohesion (iCoCo) and an Associate Director of the IDeA. He now works exclusively for both organisations on the community cohesion agenda. In August 2001, Ted Cantle was appointed by the Home Secretary to chair the Community Cohesion Review Team and to lead the review of the causes of the summer disturbances in a number of northern towns and cities. The report, known as the ‘Cantle Report’ was produced in December 2001 and made 70 recommendations. The concept of ‘community cohesion’ was subsequently adopted by the government and he was asked to chair the panel which advised ministers on implementation. Ted Cantle is the author of ‘Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity’, published by Palgrave Macmillan. He was awarded the CBE in 2004 for his work on community cohesion and services to local government.

Professor Mary Hickman, London Metropolitan University, UK

**Britishness, Social Cohesion and ‘Suspect Communities’**

In 1990s Britain a constrained form of multiculturalism became an acceptable discourse for discussing alterity. By the turn of the 21st century multiculturalism had become identified as part of the problem of social cohesion, and post 11th September 2001 this was reinforced. Multicultural societies can only function now, it is argued, on the basis of some minimal convictions shared by all its members. In Britain this led to a renewed emphasis on the role of Britishness in achieving a workably diverse society. In the nationalist rhetoric and practices of New Labour, and of the Conservative party, the complexity of social cohesion is rendered redundant and it is equated with ‘community cohesion’. Present in most discussions and representations of ‘community cohesion’ is the spectra of the ‘suspect community’ that threatens the way of life of the tolerant British people. The taken-for-granted relationship between migration, cohesion and society that shapes most of these political and policy debates largely stems from Durkheimian notions of solidarity. In contra-distinction to this I propose a definition of social cohesion that conceptualizes it as an individual and social ability to navigate or negotiate inequality and difference. I discuss this, and its implications for the future of multiculturalism, drawing on research that compared the impact of ‘being suspect’, as part of counter-terrorism policies, on the lives of Irish and Muslim people in Britain and the findings of a nation-wide study of the everyday rhythms and realities of immigration and cohesion.

Mary Hickman is Professor of Irish studies and sociology at London Metropolitan University. She established the Irish Studies Centre at the former University of North London and is now director of the Institute for the Study of European Transformations (ISET). Among other roles, she was a member of the Irish Governments Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants (2001-2002). Her current research interests include: migrations and diasporas; national (re)formations; analysis of ethnic and racial differentiations and discriminations; and comparative processes of integration/social cohesion. Her publications include: Migration and Social Cohesion in the UK, Palgrave Macmillan (with Helen Crowley & Nick Mao) 2012, Thinking Identities: Ethnicity, Racism and Culture, Macmillan (co-editor with A. Brah & M. Mac an Ghaill), 1999 and Migration, Environment and Globalization, Macmillan (co-editor with A. Brah & M. Mac an Ghaill), 1999.

**RESPONDENTS**

**Dr Chris Allen, University of Birmingham, UK**

For the past decade, Dr Chris Allen has been at the forefront of academic research into the phenomenon of Islamophobia. Having completed his Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC) funded doctoral studies that explored the discourse and theory of the phenomenon in the Theology Department at Birmingham, he has since gone on to work closely with a number of different partners and institutions including the House of Lords Select Committee on Religious Offences, the All party Parliamentary Group on Islamophobia & Anti-Muslim Hate Crime, the Centre for European Policy Studies, the Equality & Human Rights Commission, the European Commission on Security Issues in Europe and the Greater London Authority amongst others. In 2010, Ashgate published Allen’s monograph entitled “Islamophobia”.

**Mr Don Flynn, Migrants’ Rights Network, UK**

Don Flynn, the MRN Director, leads the organisation’s strategic development and coordinates MRN’s policy and project work. Don researched and founded MRN after many years experience of working with migrant community organisations through his previous roles as Policy Officer with the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants and as an immigration caseworker in London. He also chairs the UK Race and Equality Network (UKREN) and the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants (PICUM).
The ‘Retreat’ of Multiculturalism?

27 June

11.00-12.30 Chaired by Lord Professor Bhikhu Parekh, University of Westminster

15.45 – 17.15 Chaired by Professor Tariq Modood, University of Bristol

Speakers:

Lord Professor Bhikhu Parekh (University of Westminster)
Professor Tariq Modood (University of Bristol)
Professor Per Mouritsen (Aarhus University, Denmark)
Dr Paul Thomas (University of Huddersfield)
Dr Ephraim Nimni (Queen University Belfast)
Dr Nasar Meer (Northumbria University)
Dr Varun Uberoi (Brunel University)

This double panel explores whether, how and where multiculturalism has retreated, whether such a retreat precludes ‘multiculturalist advances’ and whether replacements for multiculturalism are necessarily different from it. Chaired by Bhikhu Parekh and Tariq Modood, the papers presented will be based on research either recently published or soon to be published. Varun Uberoi begins the first panel by discussing how in a period in which multiculturalism in Britain is meant to be in retreat or in question, there has been a ‘multiculturalist advance’. This paper is based on a co-authored article with Tariq Modood which will appear in Political Studies. Nasar Meer then discusses whether interculturalism can plausibly be conceived as a replacement for multiculturalism as some claim. This paper is based on a recent article in the Journal of Intercultural Studies also co-authored with Tariq Modood who will conclude the first panel with a paper written for the British Academy, arguing that multiculturalism is a mode of integration that is being used even by its critics. The second panel begins with Paul Thomas presenting research from his 2011 book Youth, Multiculturalism and Community Cohesion, that shows how the alleged replacement of multiculturalism with community cohesion is not necessarily occurring. Ephraim Nimni argues that minority nationalists and multiculturalists are converging, advancing and learning from each other. Per Mouritsen then examines the backlash against multiculturalism in Western Europe through the emergence of debates about civic integration, Leitkultur and liberal intolerance.
Dr Paul Thomas, University of Huddersfield, UK

Paul Thomas is a Reader in Youth and Community Work at the University of Huddersfield. He is a founder member of the University’s Academy for the Study of Britishness, which promotes debate both across the University and with external partners around issues of national identity, cohesion and integration. Prior to this, Paul worked on Global/Development Education youth work and schools projects, was a regional manager for a national voluntary youth work organisation, and was North of England Youth Policy and Campaigns Officer for the Commission for Racial Equality. He has recently published his monograph ‘Youth, Multiculturalism and Community Cohesion’ with Palgrave Macmillan. In December 2009, Paul appeared as an ‘Expert Witness’ at the Inquiry into the ‘Preventing Violent Extremism’ (PVE) initiative held by the House of Commons Communities and Local Government Select Committee.

Dr Ephraim Nimni, Queen’s University Belfast, UK


Dr Nasar Meer, University of Northumbria, UK

Nasar Meer is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Northumbria. His research focuses on the relationships between minority identities and citizenship programmes, and during his Center for European Studies fellowship he will explore the extent to which Europe has witnessed an observable ‘retreat’ from approaches of multiculturalism across a variety of national citizenship regimes (and specifically what a retreat of multiculturalism in Europe actually resembles). His recent publications include Citizenship, Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism (Palgrave-2010); European Multiculturalism(s): cultural, ethnic and religious challenges (co-edited with A. Triandafyllidou and T. Modood) (EUP-2011), and Race and Ethnicity (Sage-Forthcoming). He is also working on a monograph under contract with Palgrave-Macmillan entitled Despots After Political Death: Case Studies and Developing Legal Frameworks.

Dr Varun Uberoi, Brunel University, UK


Rabab ABDULHADI, San Francisco State University, USA

Gender and Diasporas: Palestinian Women in North America

Focusing on feminist, communal and political activism among Palestinian and other Arab (Muslim, Christian, and Jewish) women in North America, and locating the roots of diasporic identifications in the multi-layered social and political spaces that lie at and intersect with the ambiguities of what constitutes “home” and “homeland”, this paper examines the ways in which gendered and sexualized Arab diasporas are constructed and experienced in the U.S. This paper further explores how alliances forged between Palestinian and Arab women, on one hand, and other feminist activists (especially feminist activists of color), on the other, inform a distinct contentious politics that is mediated by multiple structures of inequality, such as race, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, class, gender, and sexuality. In general, the paper offers a critical examination of UPWA history and sketches a conceptual framework for Mapping Arab Diasporas especially in the global North.

Olga ACHÓN RODRIGUEZ, GRECS Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

The Concentration of Foreign Manpower. The Political Spanish Response to Migration Fluxes

Once the model of family farming was substituted by an industrial agricultural system of production based on hired labor, the agricultural catalan (Spain) union Unió de Pegasos, with the consent of the State, reinvented itself as a provider of services related with the acquisition of manpower through a recruitment and supply system -as we designate the set of practices that materialize the recruitment of foreign workers abroad and their concentration in lodgings controlled by the Union. The State’s migration polity is responsible of the emergence of such a system, and we can trace its origin in the symbiotic relation between the State and the Union, whose interests- the social control of the foreign worker and the just in time delivery of labor- are harmonized in it. In the lodgings a transformation is intended through different devices -lodging regulations, the presence of personnel in charge of the facilities, a visit regime and exit permissions, among others - close to other institutions, as labor camps, where the theme of individuality is aimed through its subordination to a dominating power in order to create a new subject, whose value is exteriorized in its obedience to the will of those who administrate the institutions. We propose through this communication the study of the responses given by the State to stem the migration flow and redirect it to productive sectors suffering from labor shortages. The debate revolves around issues related to the migration policies raised by the Spanish government and its legal consequences, which primarily manifest in the issuing of rules about foreigners. They have sought the emergence of a system of recruitment and labor supply based on the removal of freedoms and the deprival of any enjoyment of fundamental rights.

Tawhida AHMED, Reading University, UK

The EU, Diversity and Minority Rights: A Project in Construction?

This paper analyses the “diversity policy” of the EU, with a focus on the rights of minorities. It argues that despite the context of the current global backlash against multiculturalism, EU law offers increasing opportunities for the protection of minority rights and the flourishing of diversity. Many of the relevant examples of these opportunities come in legally binding form, although the trend of soft law promotion of cultural diversity also continues to flourish. Examples include: the 2009 reference in the TEU to the EU being founded on, inter alia, the rights of persons belonging to minorities; the entry into legally binding form of Article 22 of the EU Charter which prohibits discrimination against persons on grounds of their membership
Hardeep AIDEN and Terri-Anne TEO, University of Bristol, UK

Global Multiculturalism in Local Contexts: Conceptualising Ethnocultural Diversity in Japan and Singapore

While forms of ‘multiculturalism’ have been exported to all parts of the globe, there is still a tendency among scholars to focus on multiculturalism as it is manifested in European and Anglophone contexts. It is therefore timely to explore some of the varied ways that issues of ethnocultural diversity are conceptualized elsewhere, especially in Asia. Japan and Singapore provide two interesting cases for comparison. In contrast to Singapore’s high ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity, foreign residents account for less than two percent of the relatively homogeneous Japanese population, and both countries have followed very different sociopolitical trajectories in the postwar period. Indeed, Japan and Singapore have developed particular approaches for managing cultural diversity issues under the guise of ‘multicultural coexistence’ and ‘multiracialism’ respectively. In this paper we chart the evolution of these policy approaches with reference to the political institutions and citizenship regimes which underpin them. Adopting a comparative perspective, we aim to explore how the global concept of multiculturalism is being negotiated ‘locally’ in non-Western contexts.

Garifallia ANASTASOPOULOU, Panteion University of Athens, Greece

Migration Policy in Greece: Prospects for a Rational Management of Migration Flows, in the Midst of the Economic Crisis

In 1922, after the end of the Great War and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, Greece was, for the first time, faced with the task of managing a substantial volume of migration flows. Seventy years later, Greece finds itself in a similar position having to manage, in the nineties, a considerable migration wave from Albania. During these two cases, Greece exhausted its capacity for managing migration flows. Nevertheless, as a result of geopolitical changes, Greece became, during the next 15 years, an entry country for a large number of immigrants from Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. This paper aims to identify the causes that led the Greek state to allow the immigration flows and accept the settlement of immigrants under a regime of self-regulation regarding residence status, integration policies and entry into the labour market. Today, in the midst of an economic crisis and as the number of illegal immigrants is estimated at 500,000, the question needs to be addressed of whether Greece is in a position to apply a rational management of migration flows.

Bona ANNA, Macquarie University, Australia

Social Integration and Social Fragmentation: Axel Honneth’s Theory of Recognition Applied in Everyday Multiculturalism

The social integration of culturally diverse societies is one of the major challenges occupying the contemporary West, current concerns focusing on value pluralism, social cohesion and security. This paper, drawn from my current PhD project, applies Axel Honneth’s recognition theory in the multicultural arena. It posits that reciprocal recognition is constituent in developing solidarity amongst disparate communities, highlights the fragmenting effects of misrecognition and proposes some themes in migrant responses to denigration. Utilising an everyday multiculturalism research approach and Honneth’s conception of integration through achievement recognition, the study focuses on a Pacific Island migrant community in multiethnic New South Wales, Australia. Participants’ experiences of and reflections on the routine realities of their lives in family, work and schooling domains were recorded through the medium of open-ended interviews, narration, conversation and participant observation. The findings reveal experiences of denigration that, it is argued after Honneth, diminish the participants’ abilities to maintain self-esteem and autonomy. Drawing on a diverse multiculturalism literature the paper presents fine-grained analyses of some of these injurious experiences, teasing out multidimensional elements and complex dynamics. Of significance are the variable responses to misrecognition, participants either resigning themselves to denigration, struggling to maintain agency or actively challenging the disrespect shown to them.

Elleni ANDREOU and Caroline HOWARTH, London School of Economics, UK

‘Has Multiculturalism Failed?’ Everyday Perspectives in Schools Across England

In Britain and Europe generally, multiculturalism is increasingly seen as a failed project that has encouraged segregation and extremism. As a response to these concerns, there has been a move towards more assimilationist policies in the UK and other European states. Against this political background, this paper proposes that successful social policy needs to rest on an in-depth understanding of how lay people construe and relate to multiculturalism and its assumed failures and successes in the context of their everyday lives.

Saliha ANJUM and Andrew McKINLAY, University of Edinburgh, UK

Discourses of Acculturation by British Muslims

The UK Prime Minister has recently declared that the doctrine of multiculturalism has failed and should be abandoned and that Muslims should embrace British values. Indeed, a senior conservative, Baroness Warsi, had even suggested in a recent speech “Prejudice against Muslims has passed the dinner-table test and become socially acceptable in the UK.” In the face of these changing social and political scenarios Muslims are reconstructing their cultural and religious identities. The present study focuses on the acculturation of Muslims living in Britain and the major challenges associated with their integration in today’s world. Data were collected using in-depth semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The study sample included first and second generation Muslims of both genders. Interviews and focus groups were transcribed and analyzed using discourse analysis. The results show that Muslims’ constructions of their religious and cultural identity play an important role in the process of acculturation. Their descriptions of their own integration into British draw on talk about religious and cultural limits. However in contrast to ongoing political debates about multiculturalism, Muslims’ self-discourses are not built around talk of pressures to integrate in Britain. Instead they are constructed around the religious freedom they describe themselves as possessing in Britain compared to their homelands.
Eduardo ARAÚJO, CRIA-Center for Research in Anthropology, Portugal

Portuguese Ethnicity in Switzerland: Swiss Immigration Policies, Migrant Voluntary Associations, and the Construction of an Ethnic Identity

Even though Switzerland has been for decades a migrant-receiving country (having nowadays 20% of immigrants on the total population), the Confederation policies on migration have been neither multicultural nor assimilationist. Legislation was not made for “migrants” but for “foreigners”, and the main federal law on foreigners (existing since the 1930s) has always imposed serious limitations on migrant’s mobility, labor, civil and political rights. These policies have been quite successful in bringing “foreign workers” to the country while keeping “foreign people” as far away from Swiss society as possible. Migrant voluntary associations are a case in a point: the right for migrant association appeared early in Switzerland and was always encouraged by the federal government, as it directs daily lives to the inside of the ethnic community, as opposed of directing them to Swiss society. This interpretation helps to explain the high number of Portuguese migrant associations: we identified 270 associations for 180,000 immigrants in 2008. Using our experience from some fieldwork stays in Switzerland to elaborate on this premise, we will try to better understand how Portuguese ethnicity has been constructed/maintained in a context that doesn’t try to assimilate nor to include migrants on a culturally unifying landscape.

Niklas BERN SAND, Lund University, Sweden

“Bukovinian Tolerance”: Non-Transformative Multiculturalism and Claims to Europeaneness in Chernivtsi, Ukraine

Focusing on non-Western European varieties of multiculturalist discourse this presentation deals with local modes of conceptualising ethnocultural diversity in Chernivtsi in Ukraine’s multi-ethnic Bukovina region that historically has been part of the Habsburg Empire as well as of Romania and the Soviet Union. The paramount expression of local multiculturalist discourse connecting a celebration of the city’s (highly problematic) multi-ethnic past with establishing post-Soviet Chernivtsi as a forward-looking European framework is the notion “Bukovinian tolerance”. It can be described as non-transformative, as it recognises existing ethnic diversity as an intrinsic good and self-obvious value, and does not see diversity as a tool for the moral transformation of the Ukrainian majority population. It is generally conservative in terms of values and perspectives as it focuses on (essentialist notions of) ethnic cultures and traditional religions, while e.g. gay rights or feminist positions are not part of this discourse. This notion is often praised in local intellectual, political and media discourse and differs from both Western European academic discourses and from notions of ethnicity and inter-ethnic relations developed in the Soviet period. Bukovinian tolerance can thus both be instrumentalised by political elites claiming the city’s European belonging and be reconciled with Ukrainian post-Soviet nation-building.

Alexander BROWN, University of East Anglia, UK

Multiculturalism and the Rainbow of Hate Speech Regulations

Hitherto multiculturalist theories and perspectives have tended to focus on the need to respect and/or recognise the deeper cultural and group identities that underpin different ways of life and modes of being in diverse societies. Thus, in the context of the moral debate about the appropriateness of emerging hate speech legislation some multiculturalist theorists, such as Anna Elisabetta Galeotti and Tariq Madood, have defended the legal instrument of hate speech prohibition as a way of showing respect for cultural and group identities in multicultural settings. However, the range of hate speech prohibitions that are now implemented through local statutes, national legislation, and human rights instruments is much larger than multiculturalists imagine. The failure to disaggregate hate speech prohibition into its numerous sub-categories is like someone trying to decide whether or not a hammer is the right tool for a job without pausing to reflect on the many different kinds of hammer available (e.g. ball-peen, cross-peen, claw, dead-blow, framing, gavel, rock pick, sledge, stonemason’s, tack, and so on). The intention of the paper is to take a sample of hate speech prohibitions from legal systems around the world and to provide a taxonomy of the different categories found therein (e.g. denial of history, hurtful or insulting expression, group defamation, denial of dignity, incitement of hatred, discriminatory harassment, public order offences, the hate crime of incitement, and so on). Having provided this taxonomy the paper then argues that the argument from respect and/or recognition for cultural and group identity is more suited to some than other categories of hate speech prohibition. The grounds for this argument are that respect and/or recognition, properly understood, demand that individuals should be prohibited from stirring up hatred or inciting violence against others on the basis of race or religion, say, but does not necessarily mean that individuals should be prohibited from denying the history of, or expressing hatred for, others on such bases.

Adina BOZGA, University of London / Heythrop College, UK

Sharing Values and the Death of Multiculturalism

On the 5th February 2011 - the same day that the English Defence League was staging yet another demonstration in Luton - David Cameron publicly announced in Munich the death of state multiculturalism. The speech was shortly followed by the publication of a new Prevent strategy in which a more active, “muscular” liberalism was heralded. My paper will explore the consequences of debating multiculturalism in the context of national security and of the shift made from violent extremism to extremism in recent counter-terrorism strategies. It will also investigate the assimilation undertaken by current governmental discourses and the role of dissent in defining “shared, British values”. Finally, it will explore the reality of some of our core values, of our beliefs and attitudes on civil liberties and the reasons why the English Defence League is not so “extreme” in the UK. It will conclude by highlighting the ways in which multiculturalism could bring about a safer, more reflective and enriched society.

Marco CASELLI, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy

Transnationalism and Co-development. The Peruvian Associations in Lombardy

Immigrant associations are increasingly, at least in Italy, key actors in the integration of foreign populations into local society; integration understood not as assimilation but as construction of a dialogue that, while respecting mutual differences, can enrich immigrants as much as natives. Not by chance, the objectives pursued most frequently by immigrant associations are both integration and the promotion of the specific culture of the populations (and countries) of which they are expressions. On the one hand, therefore, immigrant associations seek to interrelate their members, and in general the communities which they represent, with the population and culture of the host country. On the other hand, however, these same associations increasingly seek to maintain and build relationships between immigrant communities and their countries of origin, thereby becoming transnational actors. In this regard, immigrant associations sometimes promote projects and initiatives to foster the development of specific areas of their countries of origin, fuelling a process which has been termed co-development. Moreover, co-development may be an occasion to activate or consolidate collaboration among immigrant associations and other organizations in the host country. The paper analyses the topics just outline on the basis of data collected by a research project on the associations of Peruvian citizens in Lombardy.

Jennifer CHENG, Macquarie University, Australia


Whilst multiculturalism has received negative attention in both Australia and other countries in recent times, there is another perspective to multiculturalism that is much less publicised. Indeed many Australian politicians praise ‘Australian style’ multiculturalism as being responsible for the successful integration of
immigrants in Australia over the past few decades. This paper analyses Australian federal parliamentary debates from 2006 – 2007, a period when the government proposed changes to citizenship laws that would make it more difficult for immigrants to obtain Australian citizenship. In these debates, those defending multiculturalism see the extended requirements for naturalisation as a metaphorical assault on multiculturalism. They depict social conflict as a result of the government’s undermining of multicultural policy. The alleged failure of multiculturalism in other countries is not seen as a reason to forego multicultural policy but instead, a demarcation is drawn between successful ‘Australian’ multiculturalism and the kind that is unsuccessful. This paper offers, firstly, a competing perspective to current dominant attitudes towards multiculturalism in much of the Western world. Secondly, it investigates Australian politicians’ conceptualisation of ‘Australian style’ multiculturalism and determines whether this is simply a political argumentation strategy or whether there is any validity to this supposedly unique ‘Australian’ multiculturalism.

Phillip CONNOR, Pew Research Centre, USA

Super-Diversity of Immigrant Populations? Evidence For and Against

In recent years, the theory of super-diversity of immigrant populations in Europe has emerged as an important consideration for multiculturalism debates. However, little empirical research has examined if immigrant populations have truly become more diverse during the past couple decades. Using data from Pew’s Global Religion and Migration Database and the World Bank’s longitudinal Global Bilateral Migration Database, origin and religious change of immigrant stock since 1990 is analyzed for several European countries. Findings demonstrate that although the number of immigrant origins is increasing, the actual concentration of diversity by other measures is relatively the same during the past twenty years. In other words, as new immigrant groups become larger, older immigrant groups are shrinking, but actual diversity is only marginally increasing. Newer immigrant countries in Northern and Southern Europe are experiencing greater religious and origin diversity of its immigrant population since 1990 than more traditional destination countries where diversity has been rather stable. These findings present evidence for and against the super-diversity hypothesis, offering a more empirically-based perspective on the topic.

Gill CROZIER, University of Roehampton, UK

The Trouble is They Don’t Mix: Self-Segregation or Enforced Exclusion? A Discussion of the Potential and Limitations of Multicultural Education In Challenging Racialised Othering

Since the 1950s Britain has steadily become a multicultural/multi-ethnic society in terms of its population. Through a combination of grass root struggles and as Hall suggests ‘multicultural drift’ Britain has become a multicultural society, in so far as there are varying levels of acceptance of and engagement with diverse ethnic communities, cultural practices and experiences. Racism, based on colour and culture, however, remains as the constant backdrop and so it is not surprising as the political zeitgeist shifts to the right that multiculturalism is under attack. Multiculturalism is blamed for example: for the radicalisation of British born Muslims and the 7/7 2005 London bombings; the Oldham and Bradford riots in the early 2000s and the burgeoning compartmentalisation and disunity of communities. It is said that people from minority ethnic backgrounds have failed to integrate and multiculturalism is largely to blame for this. Within the sphere of school education, research has shown that white teachers frequently criticise Black and Minority Ethnic students for ‘not mixing’ (Crozier and Davies 2008) and in some recent research on higher education white students echo these sentiments (Crozier 2011). In this paper, drawing on several empirical research projects in both schools and higher education, I will examine this phenomenon of social (non) mixing and exclusion as a process of (racialised) Othering and symptomatic of racist attitudes and practices. Within this situation it will be argued that multiculturalism as a way of seeing and being in, society, is more important now than ever. However, I will interrogate its role in the education system in terms of the narrow and exoticised practice of ‘Multicultural Education’ and in these terms, demonstrate its limitations as a strategy for engaging with and challenging White hegemonic values and racism. The paper aims to go beyond the old arguments of multicultural education vs anti-racist education and develop a more constructive and transformatory set of ideas.

Joseph DOWNING, London School of Economics, UK

Multiculturalism is Not Dead In Marseille – Managing Diversity in France Through the Recognition of Ethnic Difference

Marseille’s recent successes in the management of multiculturalism is an intriguing scholarly paradox for those that argue for the “death of multiculturalism”. On one hand, Marseille, regardless of its endemic economic problems and large immigrant population, did not succumb to the violence experienced in other French cities during the riots of 2005. On the other hand, one of the key explanations put forward for this by scholars and the city authorities is the outright rejection of French republican assimilationist policies on integration, and the creation of a forum which not only recognises ethnic difference but also allows for demands based on group rights. This paper argues that this forum provides an important example of policy innovation within the field of multiculturalism for several reasons. Firstly it takes the locus for integration to the immediate environment of the city. Secondly, it not only acknowledges group rights, but also acts as a forum for people to actually meet each other and discuss possible intercommunal grievances. Thirdly, it also, without embracing full scale confessionalism, allows minority and majority communities a measure of equal representation at the level of municipal government.

Louis DUPONT, University Paris-Sorbonne, France

Multiculturalism Versus Interculturalism: The Difference Matters

Multiculturalism has in the last two years received a blow in Europe, that is, in Great Britain, The Netherlands and Germany, countries that once pride themselves as being multicultural to finally call it a failure. This reversal of fortune gives us an opportunity to examine its contradictions as a cosmopolitan and globalized discourse, as well as a concept inspiring institutional actions and setting cultural interactions. As a discourse, multiculturalism is commonly used: 1- to characterize the presence of many cultures in various places (a country, a city, a neighborhood, etc.), 2- to valorize cultural diversity and encourage the expression of “la difference”. It should be noted that there is no simple relationship between the multicultural discourse, the discourse holders and the multicultural places. There is no simple relationship either between the discourse and the concept that inspires policy. As a concept, multiculturalism refers to: 3- a policy providing ways to deal with cultural diversity, 4- a complex thought on the relationship between identity (the person) and citizenship (the individual), most notably in the context of modern democratic liberal societies. The way one interprets and assembles points 3 and 4 has given ways to various multicultural models. For, while three multicultural models were dismissed in Europe, in Canada an instructive opposition has arisen between Quebec intercultural model and Canada’s official multiculturalism. This paper argues that this particular opposition has general implications for the understanding of multiculturalism, as a discourse and as a policy, and can enlighten today’s debate on the fate of multiculturalism. Indeed, two different conceptions of the cultural interactions between the “majority culture” - also called historical, national, etc - and minority, ethnic or immigrant cultures, can be observed. Moreover, the intercultural concept of “reasonable accommodation” provides an interesting device to state a balance between citizenship and identity, as well as between rights and values. The Quebec public commission created to discuss matters of cultural diversity, the political debate surrounding it, and the position and exchanges presented during the sessions, provide important material for this paper.

The demographic structure of the Turkish-speaking community in Britain is well represented within the civic organisations. Direct reflections of the political controversies from the country of origin, Turkey, can be observed at a micro level providing a unique environment for the analysis of identity formation and civic engagement of this migrant group. Three main subgroups - Turkish Cypriots, Mainland Turks, and Kurds - have their own migration histories and separate integration experiences. This paper will provide an overview of the emergence of community organisations alongside the overall migration history of the community. The operational structure, activities, and the communication of the organisations that are currently active will be explored. The analysis will include ethnic, religious, youth and women organisations as well as the recently emerging professional networks and lobbying groups which have an observable transformational effect on the confidence and the representation of the community.

Tobias EULE, University of Bern, Switzerland
Can I Stay? Decision-Making and Migrant Socialisation in German Immigration Offices
Based on participant observation, interviews and an analysis of public as well as confidential documents in four German Ausländerbehörden, municipal immigration offices, this paper unveils the complex practices of decision-making and work organisation in a politically contested environment. While both law and migrant groups in Germany have been extensively studied, the Ausländerbehörden is site of the granting of permanent residence as well as efforts to expel and deport migrants, has been severely neglected. Yet, it assumes the central position in the interaction between the state and migrant population, as residence law is superior to all non-constitutional laws, directly affects and regulates all aspects of life from social welfare to employment and is of particular relevance in countries with low naturalisation rates such as Germany. The paper will show how the implementation of immigration law to individual cases can be a chaotic, improvising and sometimes arbitrary practice, partially a result of the complex, politically laden and constantly changing nature of the German immigration law. As well as being heavily dependent on a bureaucrat's knowledge, skills and political position, the implementation process is greatly influenced by interventions from several sub-state levels of both executive and judicial power, and local representatives of civil society.

Tiago FERREIRA LOPES, Orient Institute (IcSCL-UTL), Portugal
Primary Effects of the Exodus of Ethnic Russian in Dagestan's Multicultural Society
According a report of Eurasia Daily Monitor the population of ethnic Russians is decreasing since 1959. Russians were back then the second largest ethnic group. Nowadays they rank in sixth place representing less than 5% of the population. The void left by the ethnic Russians is being filled by other ethnic groups in Dagestan republic, having in consideration that the Russian exodus phenomenon. The communication here proposed will be divided in three parts: 1.) exploring the reasons for the exodus of ethnic Russians; 2.) understanding Dagestan’s multicultural society functioning; 3.) comprehending the effects of the exodus phenomenon in Dagestan’s multicultural society.

Zeynep ENGİN, London Centre for Social Studies, UK
Civic Participation of the Turkish-speaking Community in Britain

Belgian Turks’ Perceptions of and Attitudes Towards People from Host Country and Other Migrant Groups
Today, some 185 million people live out of countries where they were born (Jandt, 2010: 295). In most countries, people from different cultures live together. It means as a fact there are multicultural societies but at the same time multiculturalism is a quite controversial concept. Multiculturalisms or living together with different cultures are shaped by new migration trends, social and political transformations and especially prejudices xenophobia etc. Individual perceptions and attitudes about others are crucial in a multicultural society. In a host society, migrants develop different life styles and togetherness policies on the basis their prejudices or stereotypes about people from different cultures. In this regard, to examine the multicultural situation and to develop new policies on togetherness, the key point is the perceptions and attitudes about the others. This study mainly aims to discuss the Belgian Turks’ perceptions about people from host country and the migrants from other countries. According to data obtained by Belgian Institute of Statistics in 2007, excluding those who have double citizenship, there are 39,413 Turkish immigrants in Belgium. Together with those who enjoy dual citizenship, this figure stands nearly at 160,000 (http://www.statbel.fgov.be/21.09.2008). However, including those who have become Belgian citizens, and those who have come to the country through illegal ways, it is estimated that this figure comes close to 200,000. Through surveys applied to 424 survey takers and semi-structured interviews made with 59 interviewees, this study tried to obtain insights into the dynamics which shaped their perceptions about Belgians and other migrant groups of Belgium-resident Turkish immigrants. The survey and interviews were conducted in Anvers, Heusden-Zolder, Brussels and Gent.

Andrew GREAVES, Connecticut College / SIT Study Abroad, USA
Physical Places and Mental Spaces: The Influence of Displacement on the Identities of Sarajevo’s Young Returnees
This research paper explores how young Sarajevans who were displaced during the war choose to nationally and ethnically identify. In doing so, it aims to understand whether the amount of time and age at which individuals were abroad shapes the degree of influence on identity, and whether national identity and ethnic identity are equally influenced. The interviewees had a range of experiences, from zero to ten years abroad, and ages, born from 1986 to 1993. I conducted my research with semi-structured interviews over a four week period in fall of 2011. I framed my research through a post-modern political theory lens supported with additional sociological accounts. The conclusions suggest those who spent more time abroad were far more likely to have a multinational form of identification, but ethnic identification was not correlated to time abroad. Ethnic identity, however, was highly fluid for my interviewees, with many hoping to primarily identify outside of their “blood group.” A number consider themselves to be ‘Bosnian’ and hope that this identity will be recognized in the future.

Sara GRECO MORASSO, University of Lugano / University of Neuchatel, Switzerland
The Power of Experience: A Case Study in Migrants’ Integration
Berry (1990) famously defined migrants’ cultural integration as combining elements from their original culture and elements from the host culture. Ideally, integration should result in added value for migrants as well as for the host society, yet this is not always the case. In this relation, many issues still are to be investigated: what cultures are involved; the role of intercultural dialogue (cf. Byram et al. 2009); and how integration is achieved at the level of policies and practices. Starting from a principle of “subsidiarity”, I will analyse a “best-practice” case study of an actual integration experience in the city of Milan (Italy). The qualitative analysis will be based on a discourse-analytical approach to different sources of texts (interviews
to the association staff and to migrants, participant observation of activities, website and other documents). In particular, I will focus on how dialogue and integration are viewed by the different actors involved in the integration process. As a theoretical background for the study, I will rely on the approach to culture developed by the Tartu school of semiotics (Lotman & Uspsenski 1987, Gatti 2003) and on the notion of intercultural dialogue (Byram et al. 2009).

Mike HARDY and Aurelie BROECKERHOFF, Coventry University, UK

Life Travels - New Dialogue Tools for a Multicultural Age

Life travels. When an event in one part of the world has direct consequences in another, old ideas of ring-fenced and distinctive cultures, able somehow to exclude difference can no longer apply. An interdependent world requires taking a view to diversity that transcends national boundaries. Diversity now describes a negotiated permanence of difference and is more often than not expressed in shifting connections between and within societies. What we label ‘intercultural dialogue’ can be seen as architecture of temporary communities where these negotiated connections can be discussed openly and reciprocally. Seen in this way, dialogue can thus build trust in otherwise asymmetric relationships of knowledge and power. However, it can also lead to the persistence of polarity of views. There are risks associated with getting dialogue wrong. The team at Coventry University, working with the British Council, has been working to develop dialogue tools that help innovate our perception of traditional dialogue models to reflect the needs of these temporary communities dealing with difference. These are new tools for a multicultural age. They hold out the prospect of bringing more consistency and success to complex relationships and the hope that effective dialogue may help realise the benefits of diversity.

Eve HAQUE, York University, Canada

Memorializing the Limits of Multiculturalism: Remembering ‘Honour Killings’ as a Project of White Settler Nationalism

In recent years, within a Canadian narrative of white settler multicultural nationalism, Muslim women’s bodies have become the limit case for tolerance of the Other and provide the underpinning of a binaristic narrative about the liberal tolerance of the West and the premodern barbarism of Islam. This was exemplified in the case of the murder of Aqsa Parvez - a 16 years old Grade 10 student - by her father and brother in December of 2007; a killing which elicited a national media frenzy and became a trigger point for debates about honour killings, multiculturalism and the integration of newcomers to Canada. In this paper, I want to examine the memorialization of Aqsa’s murder in a small Southern Ontario town of 17,000, a place far removed from Aqsa’s suburban life in the Canada’s largest city, Toronto. This memorial granite bench in the town square is inscribed with the name of Aqsa Parvez and states “Remembering new Canadians lost to the quest of integrating cultures” which, I argue, is a local public memorial project that reflects the ongoing contestation for the racial imaginary of the nation as a white settler space through the body of a young Canadian muslim woman.

Lesley HARBON, University of Sydney, Australia

Multiculturalism ‘Downunder’ and Beyond: A Discussion of Current Understandings of Multiculturalism in Australia, China and Canada

In Australia the term multiculturalism was increasingly used in public discourse in the 1970s. Via the National Policy on Languages, multiculturalism became “equity for all community groups and cultural diversity within national cohesion and unity” (Lo Bianco, 1987, p. 4). In practical terms multiculturalism was in evidence through education: multiculturalism referred to mother tongue teaching of ethnic community languages and adult migrant literacy (Lo Bianco, 1990). Over the past 20 years multiculturalism in Australia has been in evidence, and through documents such as Australia’s National Cultural Policy (2011), and The People of Australia: Australia’s Multiculturalism Policy (2011), the current government’s position clearly locates the field within the notion of social cohesion in cultural diversity, democracy, equality and “a fair go”. It was against this background context recently that the author of this paper co-convened a multiculturalism conference in Sydney, Australia. Invited partners from educational institutions in Canada and China examined current interpretations of the term ‘multiculturalism’ today. The author of this paper takes the refereed proceedings of that tri-nations conference as the corpus, and discusses the varied discourses surrounding the concept of multiculturalism embedded therein, representing multiculturalism in Australia, Canada and China today. This identification of different forms of multiculturalism outside Europe, one of the sub-themes of this conference, sheds light into how multiple disciplines view multiculturalism in Australia and beyond.

Abdi HERSIL, Griffith University, Australia

The meanings of Integration: Australian Muslim Perspective

Despite considerable debates about integrating religiously and culturally diverse migrant groups into the host societies, a clear definition of “integration” eludes researchers, governments and host communities. In Australia and some parts of Europe, Muslims are principally the subject of debates concerning issues of their integration into host societies. However, their perspectives of what integration means is absent from these debates. This study therefore attempts to examine the meanings of integration from the Muslim person’s perspective. Over the course of 2010 and 2011, four focus group discussions were conducted for Muslims in the South East Queensland region of Australia. Concerning the issues of their integration into Australian society, Muslim participants are asked to define what integration means and also state what activities and behaviours they would attach to the meaning of integration. Qualitative data analysis employing NVIVO software is used to categorise particular interpretations of “integration” into themes. The study found that the meanings Muslims give the term “integration” are by and large similar to those prevalent in the scholarly literature on integration. In general, Muslims assign the term integration with meanings relating to socio-economic terms rather than cultural. However, the study concludes that the meanings Muslims give the term integration are generally influenced by their faith. For example, Muslims expressly reject activities and behaviours they perceive to compromise their faith and evidently make a distinction between integration and assimilation. Overall, the paper argues that understanding how Muslims define integration may help policy makers, academics and settlement service providers appreciate how culture and faith influence the meanings that religiously and culturally diverse groups give to certain generally accepted terms like integration.

Louise HUMPAGE, University of Auckland, New Zealand

Never the Twain Shall Meet? Biculturalism in a Multicultural Society

This paper uses a New Zealand case study to explore the way in which multiculturalism sits in tension with bicultural/binational discourses in former white settler nations. In the late 1980s, New Zealand largely abandoned earlier moves towards multiculturalism to adopt an official policy of biculturalism that has transformed the way government and, indeed, the country frames policy and politics. Analysing policy, public opinion and interview/focus group data, this paper considers the impact this has had on the claims-making capacities and sense of belonging of both indigenous Māori and other significant ethnic minority groups. In arguing there are costs and benefits to the current bicultural regime, the paper ends by briefly considering whether ‘intercultural dialogue’ is likely to have utility in New Zealand and other former white settler colonies.
Globalisation and corollary the initiated and necessary global mobility entailed increased spread of Islamic people through countries and continents establishing a transnational identity. There has been an evolution of strategies to work with cultural and political identities created in this process of globalisation and its multicultural dimensions. However, the stereotyping of the Islamic clergy impacted the understanding of Islamic people who got viewed as a homogeneity resulting in undermining multiple Muslim identities. A correct understanding of this developing transnational identity is only possible through the exploration of the concept of ummah signifying the Muslim diasporas and in turn subverting the statist forms of political identity. The transnational identity of ummah relates the normative vision embedded in Islam, its ethical project, through its tenets, to its people. However, there are two competing perspectives on ummah – one the ‘essentialists’ and the other ‘contingencists’.

The essentialists assert that political Islam, as a category in the politico-philosophical discourse, is based on the fundamental principles embedded in Islam, the defining feature of political Islam and comprise “...set of relatively enduring and unchanging processes and meanings, to be understood through the texts of Islam itself and the language it generated”. Among the most notable of the proponents of the essentialist supposition is Samuel Huntington. The other conjecture, the contingencists, condemns the reductionism involved in any universal application and insists on the contingent nature of the factors as the backdrop of political Islam. They argue that political Islam is contextually determined and there are no fundamentals involved, which explains the differing perspective on international relations. The chief proponent of this supposition is Said and Esposito, the latter pertinently argues that “The challenge today is to appreciate the diversity of Islamic actors and movements to ascertain the reasons behind confrontations and conflicts, and thus to react to specific events and situations with informed, reasoned responses rather than predetermined presumptions and reactions”. To safeguard their interests the hegemons aim to crush political Islam even if it is making headway democratically and fighting authoritarian political dispensations, which can only be the reason for backing Saudi princes and not democratic secular government in Lebanon. The foreign policy architects and American interest forced a leaning in the academia towards the essentialists position in interpreting political Islam ignoring the other of the two methodological conjectures, the contingencists. The position taken vis a vis these identifications has bearing on political identity and inter-cultural exchange and relation with the Islamic community. Globalisation too implies a shift in the direction of the contingencists position and the notion of transnational identity taking root in the notion of political Islam, rupturing the stereotype image of the Islamic people and opening up with the new paradigm the possibility of their greater integration in the new horizons being established by globalisation and the disappearing of statist political identities. The paper will show how adopting contingencists perspective will help negotiate alternative policies, intercultural dialogue leading to greater social cohesion.

George IORDANOU, University of Warwick, UK
Multiculturalism Contra Ethnicity: The Case of Cyprus

This paper will use the post-conflict and post-colonial multicultural challenges that exist in Cyprus to assess the use of ethnicity as a marker for cultural identification. It will be illustrated that ethnocratic identification can become a source of social, political and linguistic oppression and as such should not be uncritically adopted in defence of group-differentiated citizenship. This hypothesis will be assessed through the example of Cyprus, where the British colonialists divided the various religious groups of the island into two ethno-national minorities, reducing the rest into religious collectives without substantial political rights. The case of Cyprus will illustrate: (i) how the concept of ethnicity as an ‘imagined community’ can be utilised as a pretext for assimilation or social isolation; (ii) how ethnicity prioritises the continuation of the collective imaginary values over than the needs of the individual cultural members; and (iii) how ethnicity can be utilised in making religious groups socially invisible. The marginalisation of the Maronite, Latin, Armenian and Roma cultures in Cyprus illustrates the problematic relation of ethnicity and multiculturalism since the former can be used to deny cultural and linguistic recognition to non-dominant or non-ethnic minorities and religious groups.

Dragos Lucian IVAN, National School of Political Studies and Public Administration /The Polytechnic University Bucharest, Romania
Irreversible vs. Inevitable: A Comparative Study on the Multiculturalism Trap That Caught the EU

The limited model of multiculturalism in the EU no longer underpins the reality of the union. The question of multiculturalism is very much broader and more complex than the attempt at a simple polarization. This can be further pursued through a comparative examination of the extent and nature of demographic make-up and evolution enjoyed by Eastern European countries and Western European countries. Our analysis of demographic evolution in the East suggests an historic regionalization of multiculturalism, while in the West an economic regionalization of multiculturalism. The contours of multiculturalism need to be underlined through demographic analysis which includes difficult to eradicate influences such as rapid aging of population, shortage of births, influx of migrants; influences that have different impact in the East, in a country like Romania, and in the West, the UK. In practice multiculturalism works in different ways according to the region, especially in the relationship between Eastern countries and Western countries. It is a very curious phenomenon as pervasive and elusive as that of inter-cultural influence in the process of social change. Our vision of multiculturalism is expected to reflect a multi-faced reality taking into account that in many ways it is a reflection of demographic evolution.
Saffron KARLESEN, University College London, UK

Influences on the Reporting of European Identities and Feeling at Home in Europe Among Muslims Living in England, Germany and Spain

There is a perception that there is an unavoidable cultural clash between ‘Western’ and ‘Islamic’ lifestyles and traditions, which ensures that Muslim groups are unable to integrate with European society without difficulty. However, empirical evidence available with which to explore the existence and drivers of any lack of engagement with ‘European-ness’ and life in Europe among Muslims has been limited. Findings from the ‘Muslims in Europe’ study, conducted in 2004, the Health Survey for England 1999 and the Home Office Citizenship Survey 2008/2009 suggests that, contrary to media reports, many Muslims living in Europe and individuals with different ethnic and religious minority affiliations living in England consider themselves entitled to access ‘European’ identities and feel ‘at home’ where they live. Exposure to external classification and social exclusion through victimisation appear critical to whether or not respondents feel authorised to access a sense of ‘European-ness’. Feeling at home where you live, in general and since the terrorist incidents on September 2001 and March 2004 is also associated with processes of formal and informal inclusion and exclusion. This work provides important indication of means by which European societies themselves may engender an improved sense of engagement among Muslim and other minoritised groups.

Kate KIPLING, University of Leeds, UK

Making British Citizens: The Implications of the Retreat of Multiculturalism for Citizenship Policies

Following the 2001 race riots, it was suggested that increased diversity resulting from migration has led to a lack of ‘shared values’ in Britain, undermining societal stability. The government responded to the crisis of multiculturalism with a new discourse favouring concepts such as ‘integration’, ‘community cohesion’ and more recently ‘tolerance’. This has had implications for immigration and citizenship policies, with the introduction of compulsory integration measures for new citizens in line with a wider European policy convergence. This paper examines these issues in the context of citizenship ceremonies, which despite being introduced in the UK in 2004 have largely escaped academic attention. Whilst these ceremonies aim to foster an inclusive sense of belonging at both a local and national level, it is suggested that this may be undermined by increasingly restrictive immigration policies and a shift from cultural pluralism to assimilation, with citizenship based on conforming to a hegemonic notion of ‘Britishness’. My paper aims to explore citizenship ceremonies from the perspective of migrants, examining their implications for promoting social cohesion, integration and feelings of belonging at a variety of scales.

Sirkka KOMULAINEN, Institute of Migration, Finland

About Practical Barriers to Intercultural Dialogue and Achieving Integration Goals in Finland: Local Examples from the Field

This paper discusses aspects of multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue in the context of two recent empirical studies that were carried out at the Institute of Migration in Turku, Finland. The first was about the implementation of labour migration policies locally, and the second about Finnish parents’ views on multiculturalism in schools. Although entirely different types of studies – the former relating to EU integration policies regarding third country nationals and the latter to socially constructed perceptions of immigrants – the findings point towards the same, pertinent issues. Negative attitudes of the natives are often blamed for integration ‘failing’. However, a closer look into the practicalities of day-to-day ‘lived realities’ at intrasystemic, intersystemic and individual levels reveals barriers to integration that are beyond the scope of formal and informal inclusion and exclusion. This work provides important indication of means by which European societies themselves may engender an improved sense of engagement among Muslim and other minoritised groups.

Katarzyna KOTERBA, University of Central Lancashire, UK

‘It’s Not Simply About the Language.’ Polish Migrants’ Views on Their Integration in Greater Manchester

UK public and political debates regarding multiculturalism, integration and community cohesion have been mainly focused on Black and Asian communities. Polish people, who are predominantly a white community, are rarely included. There is currently no written or comprehensive Government policy towards migrants other than for recognised refugees (Spencer et al. 2007). Knowledge of English language and ‘British life’ for the Government and many senior politicians appears to be the key to successful integration for migrants. There is increasing evidence that fluency in English on its own does not necessarily result in a desire to mix with British people and people from other communities. There are other important factors that influence migrants’ decisions about integration. In this paper I focus on preliminary analysis from my PhD research on Polish migrants’ views about integration and community cohesion in Greater Manchester. This research builds on existing work across disciplines that challenges simplistic assumptions about the role of language in people’s lives, in particular, that knowledge of the English language is enough to ensure integration.

Min Young LEE, University of Bristol, UK

Challenges in ‘Intercultural Dialogue’ Among NGOs for Integrating North Korean Migrants in South Korean Society

The concepts of multiculturalism and intercultural dialogue used for understanding the situation of North Korean migrants in South Korea are still controversial. Since the government approach is based on assimilation, most services of NGOs, which are main service providers, are not only focused on the education about the South Korean norms, capitalism and liberal democracy, but also job training in competitive labour market. In order to provide the services effectively, the NGOs have an awareness of collaborating with other organisations in the communities. In my research, I explored the issues involved in developing ‘Intercultural Dialogue’ through collaboration among the NGOs. With qualitative interviews with managers and CEOs, I found that although there was a demand for intercultural dialogue, the services were more segregated than other community services. Although they might share the presupposition of same ethnicity-nationality ideology towards North Koreans, they struggled to overcome the public concern, the political ideology of communism as well as the economic efficacy of capitalism. Particularly, South Korean NGOs were regarded to have advantageous positions to grant funding and a condescending attitude towards North Koreans.

These findings highlight the importance of addressing these issues if intercultural dialogue has to be successful among service providers.

Hannah LEWIS, University of Leeds, UK and Gary CRAIG, University of Durham, UK

‘Multiculturalism is Never Talked About’: From Multiculturalism to Community Cohesion at the Local Level

The language for managing cultural relations in the UK has changed. Multiculturalism as a concept and practice has been under attack. The new language emphasises broad concepts: equalities, community cohesion, diversity and community involvement. Support for the maintenance of distinctive cultural identities has been questioned. These changes are felt and managed at the local level by local authorities and the voluntary sector, and through partnerships between them. This paper will report on research based on interviews with local government and community representatives in a UK city. In this locality it has been identified that there is a lack of discussion of multiculturalism. However, there is a growing awareness of the need to understand the diversity of the local community in order to support integration.

Cronem 8th Annual Conference
was found that ‘equalities’ and ‘community cohesion’ had taken over as dominant concepts in practice aimed at promoting good relations in diverse communities. Furthermore, the desired outcomes of such policies conflicted with other, often national, policies and discourses that stigmatise British Muslims and that create barriers to integration for migrants. These processes led to a de-emphasising rather than retreat of multiculturalism, and a shift from policies and initiatives to manage cultural relations to a focus on perceptions of difference.

Ya LIU, University of Minnesota, USA

Singing the Diaspora: Identity Negotiation of the New Chinese Diaspora

History has witnessed a major shift of the Chinese diaspora from poorly educated and poorly paid laborers to well educated professionals in recent decades. Aside from church, Chinese language school, and Chinese media, which have been recognized as the “three pillars” in the Chinese diaspora, the singing group has developed into an emerging cultural institution in their discursive practices. In this ethnographic case study of a Chinese singing group in existence for 20 years in the United States, which is composed mainly of members in the new Chinese diaspora, data is collected through participant observation, interviews, and document analysis. A “thick description” of the singing group is made by means of one year’s participant observation of the singing group’s weekly practice and social involvement locally and transnationally, interviews of group members and non-group members in the community, and document analysis of their email correspondence, official and non-official documents, news reports, and historic documents such as performance programs and lyrics of the songs that they have chosen to sing. On the basis of a thorough examination of the group’s history and evolution over time, its group dynamics and interaction with the Chinese diaspora community and the wider society, as well as the group members’ perception of their engagement in the singing group, this study draws on Bourdieu’s theory on habitus and symbolic power, and makes efforts to explore how the singing group, as a leisure-oriented voluntary association, triggers and embodies the agency of the new Chinese diaspora to negotiate their identity in multi-levels of fields with changing power relations.

Lena LYBAEK, Buskerud University College, Norway and Audrey OSLER, University of Leeds, UK

Educating ‘The New Norwegian We’: National and Cosmopolitan Education Policy Discourses in 21st Century Norway

Across Europe there are growing concerns about Islamophobia and far-right and anti-democratic movements. Although such threats were not perceived to be as great in Norway as in other jurisdictions, public debate has refocused following the 22 July attacks in which 77 died. Self-confessed killer Anders Behring Breivik sought to justify his actions by reference to abhorrence of multiculturalism. In the wake of the attacks, Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg spoke widely of “the new Norwegian we”, cautioning against a ‘them’ and ‘us’ discourse and underlining that Muslims/migrants are an equal part of society, to be regarded as Norwegian. Globally, the predominant model of education for democratic citizenship (EDC) is national, but this model is increasingly questioned in the context of globalization processes and migration. In this paper we examine educational policy and political rhetoric to consider the degree to which EDC in Norway is national and/or cosmopolitan, reflecting on the notion of ‘newness’ regarding immigration, diversity and identity. We examine education policy in the context both of extreme right political activity and national and international debates, considering ways in which it supports an inclusive notion of nationhood, and ways in which it promotes an exclusive model of national identity. Drawing on the framing questions of the 1995 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) study relating to national identity and relations between nations and to social cohesion and social diversity, we examine how programmes promote human rights as shared values, make positive references to cultural diversity, and conceptualise minoritites, and consider the effectiveness of current cross-curricular approaches to contribute to justice and equality and challenge racism and xenophobia.

Jatinder MANN, King’s College London, UK

The Abandonment of Multiculturalism in Europe? Lessons to be Learnt from Multicultural Policies in Australia and Canada

Multiculturalism or more precisely its alleged failure has been the topic of political speeches by various European leaders recently. Prominent examples are Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and Prime Minister David Cameron of the United Kingdom (UK). In an address to young members of the Christian Democratic Union party towards the end of 2010 Chancellor Merkel declared that Germany’s attempt to create a multicultural society had utterly failed (“Angela Merkel”, 2010). Prime Minister Cameron in a speech incidentally in Munich in early 2011 argued that the doctrine of state multiculturalism was not working in the UK (“Multiculturalism”, 2011). This was quite fascinating, as neither country has ever adopted an official policy of multiculturalism. So, it was not quite clear what exactly both national leaders were advocating should be abandoned. By contrast multiculturalism is still going strong in two of the most well-known countries to have adopted official multicultural policies: Canada and Australia. These two large immigrant receiving nations introduced official policies of multiculturalism in the 1970s. A brief survey of the way in which the policies developed in Canada and Australia could offer some useful insight for the current European debate. The paper will focus on the Canadian and Australian experiences of multiculturalism as they are two of the most well-known countries to have introduced official multicultural policies. Both the Canadian and Australian experiences demonstrate that it is possible to have multicultural societies without losing national cohesion.

Julian MANNING, Nihon University College of Art, Japan

Multiculturalism in Japan

This paper will contrast two Japanese municipalities which are host to significant immigrant communities. One has adopted a policy of ‘benign neglect’ (Oizumi, Gunma Prefecture) and the other has been far more pro-active in promoting a discourse of liberal multiculturalism (Hamamatsu, Shizuoka Prefecture). Japan in not a country normally associated with immigration or the development of multicultural discourses and policies. However, since Japanese immigration law was revised in 1990 to permit the employment of descendants of former Japanese emigrants, several local communities facing chronic demands for cheap and flexible labour have taken advantage of the regime to import large numbers of foreign workers, mainly from among Brazilians of Japanesees descent. Whilst the national government and its agencies cling to the notion of Japan as an homogeneous, mono-cultural nation, local governments with concentrations of foreign residents have been left to deal with the issues raised by immigration. One response has been for a group of local governments to form the “Committee for Localities with Concentrated Foreign Populations” (CLCFP) to coordinate policy, promote multiculturalism and press the national government to adjust national policies concerning labour, education, political representation/participation and family registration. The CLCFP is clearly influenced by the development of liberal multicultural theory in Western countries (Kymlicka et al), however, the different member municipalities have adopted strikingly different approaches within this tradition. Local practice is clearly informed by how the social space (Lefebvre 1991) has been conceived and perceived by local government, with results that reflect these discourses. The lessons to be taken from these cases suggests that Iris Marion Young and Anne Philips are on the right track in suggesting that multicultural policy needs to focus on de-essentializing groups and concentrate on protecting the rights of individuals in order to respond to critics who claim that “Multicultural policy has failed” (cf Angela Merkel and David Cameron).
Tatiana MATEJSKOVA, Central European University, Hungary

**Beyond Culturalism in Understanding the Turn from Multiculturalism to Integrationism**

Especially after last year’s denouncements of multiculturalism by the likes of David Cameron and Angela Merkel the politically proclaimed end of multiculturalism has come to dominate much migration scholarship. While particularly unequivocal, these denouncements are simply the latest instalments of what has been described as a backlash against diversity already a decade ago (e.g. Grillo 2002). Some, especially earlier academic responses have interpreted this development as a return of (some kind of) assimilationism, whether in highly critical terms prevalent especially amongst those leading towards the left (e.g. Mitchell 2004), or as a more benign shift by those more sympathetic to the liberal state and its agenda of population management (Brubaker 2001, Joppke 2004). More academic recent responses to the veritable backlashing of multiculturalism, a bandwagon that even countries that never adopted multiculturalism as a state-led policy eagerly joined, have become more diversified. They have ranged from for example Will Kymlicka and his colleagues’ attempts to empirically prove virtues of multiculturalism to accounts pointing to the fact that many of actual, especially local policies related to immigrant residents have not changed significantly despite the anti-multiculturalist state discourses. This paper then first provides a critical reading of the main treatments of the problematic of multiculturalism backlash by migration scholars in order to show that despite a panoply of approaches, the academic treatment of the problematic has been heavily dominated by culturalist lines of argumentation and reading of the problematic itself. In the second part of the paper, I, first, analyze politically-relevant insufficiencies of such an approach. And second, drawing empirically on the analysis of Germany’s new immigrant integration regime, I showcase how political economic perspective provides a useful complementary lens through which to understand the complex nature of this contemporary conjuncture in state-migrant relations.

Niamh McMahan, University of Cambridge, UK

**Learning from the Mistakes of Others? Migrant Integration Policy Development in Ireland**

Ireland is one of a number of countries in Europe described as a ‘new country of immigration’. The challenges that migration was seen to entail led to a number of political voices from the mid-2000s promising to ‘learn from the mistakes of others’ and drawing attention to ‘failures of integration’ elsewhere. These commitments to learn have typically been compared against policy outputs of the Irish government, and a failure to learn is the most common conclusion drawn. This article approaches the question from a different angle, looking to procedural rather than substantive issues; that is, it utilises tools of policy analysis and puts the spotlight upon the concept of ‘learning’ and how it is interpreted by political and policy actors in the work that they do. This allows an account to emerge which captures the diversity of settings within which these actors speak and act, the formal and informal ways of making and shaping policy and the multi-levelled governance structures within which they move. Methodologically guided by an interpretivist understanding of policy development, the research draws upon documentary analysis of governmental, parliamentary and administrative resources and 40 interviews with politicians and civil servants from Ireland and other ‘new countries of immigration’.

Jon Mulholland and Louise Ryan, Middlesex University, UK

**Multicultural Cosmopolitanism in London and Paris – Stories of ‘Success’ and ‘Failure’?**

This paper reviews pertinent findings from a recent ESRC-funded project exploring the work and life experiences of the French highly-skilled in London’s financial and business sectors. The French highly-skilled population in London offers an invaluable opportunity to understand the manner in which a predominantly white and privileged group experience and evaluate the different respective natures of, and responses to, de facto multiculturalism in two of Europe’s principal capitals. London and Paris, as global cities, are like-situated at the vortex of multitudinous forces of diversification, but as national capitals, they are simultaneously the objects of quite distinct national projects of integration. The paper will consider French constructions and estimations of London’s relative ‘success’ in mediating the competing forces associated with its condition as simultaneously a global city and national capital, via its particular brand of multicultural cosmopolitanism. It will also evaluate the manner in which this rendition of ‘success’ is constructed by this group in direct contradistinction to Paris. Finally, the paper will explore the manner in which the freedoms associated with London’s multicultural cosmopolitanism are exploited to enable the mediation of extra-national articulations of ‘Frenchness’.

Zaki Nahaboo, Open University, UK

**John Locke’s Colonial Toleration and Contemporary Post-Multiculturalist Britain**

This paper attempts a partial genealogy of contemporary British tolerance discourse. It identifies the traces of colonial liberal tolerance in contemporary multiculturalist ‘re-balancing’ (Modood 2009), ‘post-multiculturalism’ (Vertovec 2010) and the supposedly oppositional ‘muscular liberalism’ (Cameron 2011). I take the setting of late 17th century North Carolina to exemplify a novel practice of constituting colonial others as tolerable, intolerable and beyond the discourse of toleration. I begin by synthesising Barbara Arneil’s (1992) approach to Locke’s colonial discourse and Wendy Brown’s (2006) emphasis on Lockeian tolerance as a form of governmentality. From this, I argue that colonial toleration enables racialised domination and exclusion to be coextensive with sites where the discourse of toleration itself remains absent (slavery and enclosure of land). I find that this technology of toleration becomes reconstituted in British “post-multiculturalist” discourse of recognition. No longer are slavery or land claims legitimated by the necessary absence of toleration discourse, but rather the constitutive outside to a reconstructed multiculturalist recognition is to be found in new forms of exclusion. This manifests in the differentiation of citizen from non-citizen and the very notion of an overarching post-nationalist identity.

Ephraim Nimni, Queen’s University Belfast, UK

**Advancing Multiculturalism: Non-Territorial Autonomy and the Politics of Stateless Nations**

Majority nationalisms and multiculturalisms are divided over the disposition of the sovereign nation state. When sovereign nation states confine ethnics and demos to form monocultural sovereign titular nations, the consequences for cultural minorities have often been calamitous. Notwithstanding the continuing strength of nation states, their sovereignty is eroded by increasing integration into international regimes, regionalisation, the rekindling of minority nationalisms and multicultural demands for minority recognition. The communications revolution solidifies the link between dispersed diasporic communities. Western liberal democracies have been de facto transformed into poly-ethnic and multi-nation democracies, while some governmental regimes cling to the obsolete model that Western liberal democracies are culturally homogenous. When ethnic conflicts are successfully managed, as in Northern Ireland, in the agreements between indigenous groups and the stateless nation of Quebec, or the Plurinational State of Bolivia among many others, a paradigm shift for the non-territorial accommodation of minority demands begins to emerge. Novel consociational, non-territorial models of community representation emerge and advance the cause of multiculturalism. This paper argues that the novel convergence between multicultural demands and forms of non-territorial self-determination has significant implications for the theory and practice of multiculturalism. Minority nationalists and multiculturalists are beginning to walk side by side.
and national identity as a strategy for integration and social cohesion, and the urgency that characterised
civic republican with the focus on the individual and shying away from group representation in the
culture. Complexity seems to make its way into this dichotomy when we try to classify countries like
Portugal. In the case of Portugal, public and political discourses have offered a new version for models of
migrant incorporation, one that is often called by public authorities, a “Third Way”. The linchpin of the
so-called “third way” has been interculturalism. I argue that interculturalism has been a state sponsored
ideology for the national and metropolitan cosmopolitan imaginary, one that avoids the recognition of
ethnic minorities by seeing it as a potential dispeller of social cohesion. In order to do that I offer an overview
of institutional building, public policies and the emergence of interculturalism as the paradigmatic way of
governing diversity.

Tore OLSEN, Aarhus University, Denmark
Tolerant Dialogue: Accommodation of Cultural and Religious Diversity
A comparison of 10 national cases demonstrates that accommodation of cultural and religious diversity in
everyday school life is an important issue across Europe. At stake are often religion and the ability to express
religious affiliation and identity on the one hand, and the freedom not to be exposed to religion when
attending educational institutions on the other. Clear national rules have the advantage of creating legal
certainty and relieving school staff from having to negotiate accommodation with parents and students.
Their drawback is inflexibility in meeting demands which may facilitate a better everyday school life for all
students and a better learning environment. Local school autonomy allows for this, but if it is unstructured
it becomes arbitrary if and how schools address diversity issues. The paper discusses the pros and cons of
introducing a mandatory procedural model for dealing with diversity issues at individual schools. Premised on
a respect based conception of tolerance, the model places emphasis on the goal of ensuring the everyday
participation of individual students in education by finding practical, pragmatic solutions to problems
dialogue through dialogue between school, parents and students, while leaving issues of identity or values to one
side.

Fabiola PARDO NOTEBOOM, Externado University of Colombia, Colombia
Immigration and Local Integration Policies in Europe: Latin American Migrants in Amsterdam, London and Madrid
This proposal is based on the results of a recent comparative study on integration policies developed in
Amsterdam, London and Madrid, cases that are representative of developments of multiculturalism in Europe;
seen through the integration processes of Latin American immigrants. Given the international socio-
political context, Europe is undergoing a moment of resistance to non-western immigration and its policies
tend to enforce control measures and strict selection criteria. In relation to integration policies, and after
the so-called ‘abandonment of multiculturalism’, governments resort to short-term legislation interventions
in an attempt to achieve results. Integration becomes a democratic urgency and quick solutions are given
for processes that need long-term perspectives. These policies include topics highly symbolic of national
identities, transforming citizenship into a prize that immigrants obtain after following civic integration and
language courses. As shown in this study, their efficiency is limited and migrants are more influenced by
informal and local civic networks and organisations. The resurgence of the concepts of citizenship and
national identity as a strategy for integration and social cohesion, and the urgency that characterised
integration policies for processes that requires long-term views is leading to the inefficiency if not, the failure of
these legislative efforts.

Mikolaj PAWLAK, University of Warsaw, Poland
Translating Integration: Uses of Social Sciences in Policy Response to Immigration in Poland
The issue of the emergence of a multicultural society in Poland is new and not politicized. Certain social
actors see the need to manage the integration policy in a technocratic way (Peter Scholten). Central and
local authorities as well as non-governmental organizations search for examples of policies and practices to
organize the more diverse communities. The policies and examples of practices are being searched mostly
in Western European states of longer immigration tradition. The process of organizing is under the coercive
pressures (Paul J. DiMaggio, Walter W. Powell) of European policy measures (i.e. EU Funds, EU Common
Agenda on Integration). In my paper, I attempt to show what is the role of social scientists in the process of
transforming, legitimizing and translating the policies applied in Poland. Although, in this country, the
direct uses of social sciences in policy-making in the field of integration are perceived to be symbolic not
instrumental (Christina Boswell), I claim that the policies are translated (Barbara Czarniawska) with the active
participation of social scientists – which I qualify as an indirect use of sciences in policy-making. I analyze the
process of translation on the example of the creation of the governmental document “Polish Migration
Policy”.

Davide PERÔ, University of Nottingham, UK
Migrants, Cohesion and the Cultural Politics of the State: Critical Perspectives on the Management of Diversity
In reviewing the state of the art of migration and settlement research in Europe, Penninx (2010) identifies in
the receiving society’s discursive treatment of migrants a critical area for further research. This paper sets out
to respond to this call and rather than examining specific immigration and integration policies looks at the
wider cultural politics of identity and difference that seem to underpin them. In particular, it focuses on the
recent public debate on diversity and social cohesion that has taken place in Britain, paying special attention
to the discursive practices of the state and its satellite organisations. Building on the assumption that the
state is an embodied and performative entity involving a broad range of actors who operate within its frame
of reference, the paper examines three concrete instances of its cultural politics focusing on ministers, public
service broadcasters and QUANGOs’ representatives as illustrations of how discursive dominance comes
to being. Informed by the work of Stuart Hall and others, the paper conducts an analysis of authoritative
speeches, interviews and documentaries which exemplify current developments in the framing of migration
issues. This examination is carried out through an intersectional approach which discusses representations of
migrants and ethnicity not in isolation but in relation to those of non-migrants, class, and national identity.

Jenny PHILLIMORE, University of Birmingham, UK
Integration and New Migration Post Multiculturalism: Where Next in the Era of Superdiversity?
Enormous changes over the past couple of decades have seen the emergence of new migration and
superdiverse societies. These changes have surfaced alongside several other trends that have implications
for the integration of new migrants. These include the backlash against multiculturalism, the global
recession, and associated austerity cuts, the politicisation of migration, the rise of right-wing and xenophobic
movements, growing use of restrictionism and welfare rationing, and increase in the levels of negative
media and public opinion. While some claim that too much diversity underpins the backlash against
migration and multiculturalism others show that the level of immigrant economic and political incorporation
as the...
is the most critical factor. This paper argues that in the combined era of superdiversity, the successful integration of migrants is more important and more challenging than ever. The paper focuses on the EU broadly, and the UK in particular and explores what is meant by integration, and the main challenges associated with the integration of new migrants. The paper ends by exploring the opportunities offered by superdiversity and a move away from multiculturalism, speculating about the future of superdiverse societies if we continue on the current trajectory.

Sherron PINDER, California State University, USA
Dealing with Difference: The Politics of Multiculturalism in the United States

In the United States, cultural diversification is revealed and defended by the shift from assimilation to multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, which is about culture, an essential part of who we are as human beings, restricts cultural homogeneity and promotes cultural heterogeneity. To speak of multiculturalism, then, is to speak of a plurality of cultures that are unique and distinct from each other. Against this background, multiculturalism, as a way of nurturing America’s cultural diversification by encouraging racialized ethnic groups to maintain their distinctive cultures, seems especially attractive. While multiculturalism allows for the recognition and celebration of non-dominant cultures, it sets apart the dominant culture from the non-dominant cultures and promotes a form of cultural hierarchy based on the ideology of white supremacy, which is maintained and nurtured by an essentialist view of culture. In this paper, my purpose is to show the limitations of multiculturalism to deal with race relations in the United States. Given that multiculturalism reinforces cultural “otherness,” which is viewed as “Un-American,” cultural otherness is alienated from cultural “oneness” or “Americanness.” Thus, to emancipate multiculturalism from the racialist ontology from which it has evolved, moving beyond multiculturalism is more urgent than ever.

Richard RACE, Roehampton University, UK
The Realities of Integrationist Policies and Practices and the Future of Multiculturalism: Educational Perspectives

This paper is part of an ongoing conversation relating to multiculturalism (Modood, 2007; 2010; Eade et al, 2008; Parekh, 2008; Race, 2011; Wright et al, forthcoming) and the political and practical realities of integration (Cashin, 2004; Frankenberg and Orfield, 2007; Anderson, 2010; Tyson, 2011). In an age of global austerity, the need to continue to debate and promote the concept of multiculturalism (Rattansi, 2011; Murphy, 2012) and the debates surrounding community cohesion within integration (McGhee, 2008) is significant when reflecting on English education practice and policy-making (Bell and Stevenson, 2007 Hamersley, 2008; Race, 2011). This paper focuses on research carried out on a research project relating to integration and education policy-making. This focus on integration and education policy to explain the process involved in “the multicultural backlash” (Crisp, 2010; May and Sleeper, 2010; Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010) has been caused by how nation states and the European Union have used the terminology of integration e.g. choice, duty and responsibility. This paper aims to increase understandings of why politicians are keen to talk about multiculturalism (both in positive and negative ways e.g. Merkel, Cameron, Clegg, Gillard) when perhaps they should be focusing and talking more about the reality of integrationist processes (Modood, 2007; 2011). The national curriculum and Academy School policy will be used as examples to provide educational perspectives on how the nation state uses integration as a means to culturally, socially and educationally attempt to structure and control both majority and minority communities (Race, forthcoming).

Francesco RAGAZZI, Leiden University, The Netherlands
Policed Multiculturalism: Counter-Radicalization and the Government Through Community

Multiculturalism in Europe is supposedly “dead”. Between the mobility of the labour force and the promotion of plural citizenship on the one hand and states’ need to assert their sovereignty against home-grown terrorism on the other, the latter has prevailed—or so we are told. One of the main tools used to enact this “backlash” against multiculturalism ought to be security policies, particularly counter-radicalization policies. Yet is it the case? This paper argues the opposite: namely that rather than promoting “assimilation” or other forms of ethnic homogenization, counter-radicalization policies produce and reinforce a division of society into discrete ethno-religious groups. However, such “policed multiculturalism” — understood as the recognition and the management of diversity through a security perspective — has an important consequence in that it removes fundamental questions about pluralism from political debate, casting them instead in a depoliticized language of security as a bureaucratic exercise in problem solving. The paper will therefore focus on the current developments in counter-radicalization policies and their broader societal impact. The paper will present original data collected in the framework of a comparative study of France, the UK and the Netherlands funded by the EU FP7 programme and the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

Elise RIETVELD, Cardiff University, UK
Multiculturalism and National Identity in British Parliamentary Discourse

Recent developments in multicultural practice have raised the question of how to balance the need for national unity (for identity, belonging, and social justice) with requests for the public recognition and accommodation of diversity. This paper will introduce this question by exploring theoretical approaches to the relation between multiculturalism and national identity. Where liberal nationalists argue that citizenship; national identity; and an emphasis on shared values and practices need to supersede multicultural concerns, multiculturalists continue to hold that national identity needs to be conceptualised as inclusive: different groups can belong to the nation in different ways. Following this theoretical outline of the relation between multiculturalism and national identity, the paper will discuss how this relation is constructed in parliamentary debates in the UK. It analyses debates from both Houses of Parliament for the period 2001-2011. This period is chosen to reflect the ‘crisis of multiculturalism’ that forms the context for the question addressed here. Analysis will reveal both how political actors conceive of the appropriate relation between unity and diversity, and to what extent their arguments reflect the concerns expressed in the theoretical literature.

Shanthi ROBERTSON, RMIT University, Australia
The Demise of the Settler Nation: Temporary Migration and the Challenge to Australian Multiculturalism

Australia’s post-World War II migration patterns and the development of Australian multicultural policies and ideologies have been largely based on the concept of the settler nation. Today, however, new flows of temporary migrants, including students and skilled and unskilled labour migrants, are destabilising and reframing a multiculturalism originally based on settlement, permanency and full citizenship. This paper presents a theoretical review of how temporary migration presents a challenge to Australian multiculturalism. It summarises recent changes to patterns of Australian immigration, including an increasing blurriness around temporary and permanent categories, and addresses the limitations of current frameworks of multiculturalism in this context. It argues that, as multiculturalism has been incorporated into the neoliberal restructuring of migration, migrants are increasing framed as acting within and subject to the market. This represents a fundamental and problematic change in the relationship between state and citizen and thus in the framing of multiculturalism. The paper establishes the key issues and questions in Australia around the social inclusion of temporary migrants and their relationship to the state, explored within the
context of the destabilisation of the ‘setlernation’ by neoliberalism, global labour markets, and the desires and agency of new flows of migrants.

Sibel SAFI, University of East London, UK

Conceptualizing Honour Killing in the Migration Context

Are honour killings an example of the failure of the integration policies? This study analyses how media, parliaments and other state institutions, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) conceptualize honour killing in the UK and honour-related violence in order to uncover how such conceptualizations inform policy responses. The analysis reveals three main trends. First: discussions that link honour killing to religion and/or the backwardness of immigrant communities in ways that lead to the stigmatization of entire immigrant communities. At this point the research will examine the role of religion on the practice of honour killing by comparing assault cases occurring within several religious traditions: Christianity, Islam and Sikhism—as well as differences in their teachings and response to honour crimes. Second: culture-blind portrayals of honour-related violence as domestic violence or violence against women that do not pay attention to cultural specificities; and third: debates that are contextually specific, framing honour-related violence as a contextually informed form of violence against women that occurs within particular immigrant communities but where this violence does not essentialize the culture and practices of those communities as a whole.

Clara SANDELIND, University of Sheffield, UK

A Defence of Liberal Neutrality in the Age of Feminism and Multiculturalism

In this paper, I argue that liberal feminists should favour state neutrality rather than multiculturalism and the politics of recognition. I argue this by discussing three main implications of multiculturalism that emerge from different conceptions of ‘culture’. Neither an essentialist nor an anti-essentialist understanding of culture allows women to autonomously be in charge of their own identity. The consequences of multiculturalism of these conceptions are either a) that internal homogeneity is stressed by the group and thus puts pressure on women to live up to an identity often upheld by patriarchal structures, or b) if the culture is perceived by outsiders as subjugating women, women will be pressured to abandon their culture in order to prove their autonomy or c) women will be patronised by society for failing to understand that changing their culture would emancipate them. I thus conclude that neither understanding of culture is satisfactory, and that liberal feminists therefore should reject multiculturalism and the politics of recognition. Instead, contrary to what many have argued in the past two decades or so, difference-blind liberal politics are more in line with liberal feminist aims.

Muntasir SATTAR, Columbia University, USA

An Urban American Youth Center as a Space of Hope

The management of out-of-school educational institutions (i.e. youth centers) in a way that offer young people a place to have fun fills an important (spatial) gap in a city borough lacking in public space as well as a (spatio-temporal) gap in young people’s lives who do not want to hang around the school or stay at home. Such an institution’s significance in a (racially, religiously, socioeconomically) heterogeneous society as a convivial setting has not been fully explored. In a diverse setting such as Queens, New York, such a convivial setting features a number of languages such Spanish, Hindustani (Urdu/Hindi), Punjabi, Bengali spoken by youth and staff. As staff manage different types of programs/services (academic, career, social, political), it is the meetings, fundraisers, career fairs, protests and everyday interaction help to understand how significant the role of the youth center is to thinking about the vast types of interaction that negotiates and overcomes difference. The approach of this study is that of an observing participant, former youth worker and current anthropology student in a doctoral program. It finds through observations of youth interactions, youth-staff interactions, and programs as well as through informal interviews with youth and staff that youth workers and government-civil society partnerships that are culturally and linguistically sensitive can contribute greatly to not only the lives of young people but also to our understanding of multiculturalism. It finds that youth want to come to the youth center to hang out, to meet people, to play sports and to party but also to learn skills and achieve some of their goals. It finds that the youth center serves a dual purpose; in addition to equipping young people with skills, knowledge and relationships that may last a lifetime, youth workers contribute to the Queens and New York’s building of a not a melting pot of ethnic groups but of fostering cross cultural relationship building by setting up space used for questioning, argument, debate, conflict, and sometimes agreement, consensus and education. An old largely unused Presbyterian Church is the unlikely site of a youth center in which iftar meals, hip hop concerts, political theatre, and Dhandhiya all take place. The church is the slowly built shared space that served as a refuge for Sikh youth after a hate crime, where Sat Sri Akals are exchanged with Salams, basketball and cricket teams are born, and that also serves as a safe space where young people may find mentors and solutions are developed for academic/career challenges. The final take-away is that such a setting can be instructional in thinking of it as a way to manage the effects of migration. Elmhurst, Queens has witnessed a large influx of immigrants and such settings as a youth center are ways to support families, communities, and public schools as they educate and prepare young people for careers and for citizenship. By thinking about what a place means to youth and staff in relation to everyday practices in an extraordinarily diverse place that is New York’s Borough of Queens, we get a useful perspective on how difference is managed or fostered in the American big city.

Ceren SENGÜL, University of Edinburgh, UK

Different States, Same Result: A Comparative Study of Turkey and Israel

Multiculturalism is a phenomenon found in many states. States differ in the way they deal with the challenges posed by multicultural groups within their borders. This paper will look at the process of linguistic accommodation in two multicultural states, that is, Turkey and Israel. An attempt will be made to put forth possible solutions for the problems. Turkey, where the biggest non-Turkish ethnic group is Kurds, and Israel, with its Arab citizens, have both chosen the option of a homogeneous nation-state. To achieve this goal, they both have ignored the multicultural aspect of their states and suppressed all the cultural elements other than the dominant one, including the language. To understand this, this paper will first look at the historical backgrounds of both states and the policies they have adopted to achieve homogenization, as theorized by Ernest Gellner. Then, it will question the idea of autonomy and/or federalism as possible solutions for these states. The paper will argue that the ethnic conflicts in these two states are the result of policies designed to accommodate the ethnic groups into a nation-state structure.

Asmaa SOLIMAN, University College London, UK

Critics of Multiculturalism and Their Rationalist Understanding of Culture

This paper examines the ways in which liberal critics of multiculturalism express their disagreement with multiculturalists’ theories. It takes a closer look at Brain Barry’s arguments and his book ‘Culture and Equality’. It argues that even though one might think at the first glance that the main criticism can be traced back to liberals’ different conception and understandings of equality, a deeper analysis shows a further difference. The problem within the multiculturalism debate is that critics like Brain Barry who follow a Rawlsian way of thinking understand culture solely in rationalist and measurable terms. Hereby scientific concepts including the theory of brute luck versus option luck, the cost and benefit analysis, the theory of further difference. The problem within the multiculturalism debate is that critics like Brain Barry who follow a Rawlsian way of thinking understand culture solely in rationalist and measurable terms. Hereby scientific concepts including the theory of brute luck versus option luck, the cost and benefit analysis, the theory of
precisely because there is a prioritization of reason over culture, religion and traditions among critics, it is almost unimaginable that they could analyze culture from a non-scientific view.

Marie Louise SEEBERG, NOVA Norwegian Social Research, Norway

Multiculturalisms, Nationalisms, and Anthropologists: A Critical Realist Approach

This paper takes the Norwegian case as an empirical point of departure and explores the potential of critical realism as an approach to debates about multiculturalism. There is a need to renew the closely interrelated academic and political discussions about multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is often talked about as one phenomenon. This is an illusion. Rather, it is an umbrella term that encompasses different ideologies and practices within and across nations. Constitutive of national versions of multiculturalism are images of a national self, as transmitted by each nation-state to its citizens. Different political multiculturalisms (in the plural) as shaped by nationalisms (also in the plural), are intertwined with anthropological concepts of multiculturalism, which depend on concepts of culture that are often contradictory or essentialising. It is suggested that a polythetic concept of culture may provide a more fruitful point of departure. Such a concept also reflects empirical complexities more adequately and at the same time enables us to think in new ways about the individual and the collective.

Meriem SERHANI, University 08 mai 1945 – Guelma, Algeria

Language Policies: Between Sociolinguistic Situation Uniforming and Exclusion

Heterogeneous communities provoke debate about ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences and language policy where the issue may develop into an intense passionate unsolved one. Our paper will be dealing with the issue of the (re)construction of the national identity in Algeria at the expense of linguistic and cultural diversity and rights. Algeria represents a quite complex entity which characterised by ethnic and linguistic diversity in which the population is divided into two ethnic groups, Arabs and Berbers. In post-independence period, leaders in Algeria conducted nationalism and anticolonialism policies which had both linguistic and cultural/ideological aims. Arabisation of language and culture was about the use of the standard Arabic in all walks of life. An affirmation of an identity exclusively Arab, based on the ideology of one language/one nation, negated difference and diversity. If language policy efforts have to be directed towards stabilisation and a better control of conflict potentials, should reforms follow a policy of monolingualism to a uniform presentation of the country’s linguistic situation, as a symbol for national unity. Or shift in ideology towards readiness to recognize ethnic, linguistic and cultural plurality as structures of nation-building.

Maria SOBOLEWSKA and Laurence LESSARD-PHILLIPS, University of Manchester, UK

Talking About Integration. A Bottom-Up Perspective on Designing an Integration Policy

We take a step back in the search for a new model of integration: instead of imposing a policy-given definition of integration, we ask participants how they understand integration, what it involves and whose responsibility it is. We studied how the discussion about integration develops between participants of white British, minority British and immigrant origins. The discussion of integration necessarily involves these groups; however inter-group tensions can make such a study difficult. To achieve this mix of participants in an ethical and safe environment, we conducted a study among University of Manchester students. As a result we traced the emergence of themes and processes of debate around integration whilst minimising these tensions. Overall, 37 students participated. They were randomly allocated to face to face (traditional) and online, anonymous focus groups, designed to mimic online discussion forums. This mixture of formats is of methodological and empirical interest. Traditional groups were more conciliatory and different themes were dominant in participants’ understanding of integration. In an anonymous setting the presence of out-groups participants did not have the same effect. For both types of focus group, social contact with out-groups emerged as the main aspect of integration. However, in the traditional discussion, it also emerged as a force in forming an understanding of integration. The results shed light on important processes, which have universal socio-psychological roots. This has a major policy impact, recommending the government to use this social contact effect in framing the public debate on alternatives to multiculturalism.

Tim SOUTPHOMMASANE, Monash University, Australia

Australian Multiculturalism: The Good, The Bad and The Ugly

This paper examines the fluctuating fortunes of Australian multiculturalism. Though regarded by most scholars of citizenship and migration as a success since its inception in the 1970s, Australian multiculturalism has come under increasing criticism during the past decade. The period of conservative government under Prime Minister John Howard involved, for many, the slow death of multiculturalism. Yet the current minority Labor government has recently offered a renewed embrace of multiculturalism. Whether such a revival will extend beyond official circles, however, is unclear. There remains much public reservation, if not hostility, towards multiculturalism as policy, even if the reality of cultural diversity is widely accepted as beneficial to society. Namely, multiculturalism is perceived as a socially divisive policy. That it has been articulated by successive Australian governments as a citizenship policy and an exercise in nation-building seems not to have made its mark on public consciousness. This paper evaluates whether this gap between perception and policy is a reflection of the structural limits of multiculturalism or of a failure of political rhetoric. Either way, the contemporary story of Australian multiculturalism is best summed up as good practice, hampered by bad salesmanship and ugly nationalism.

Christian STOKKE, Buskerud University College, Norway

Dialogue Policy and Multiculturalism from Below in Norway

Norwegian ‘integration debates’ parallel those in many EU countries where ‘multiculturalism’ is under attack. Norway never had multiculturalism as official policy; its ‘integration policy’ promotes a ‘tolerant, multicultural society’ through equal rights and duties for individuals regardless of ethnic/religious background, with gender equality as condition; and uses ‘dialogue’ with minority organizations as an instrument to manage diversity. Simultaneously, a ‘multiculturalism from below’ in Tariq Modood’s sense, has emerged as assertive Muslims, primarily Norwegian-born ‘second-generation’ Pakistanis, have joined public debate and mobilized politically. The social-democratic government has occasionally attempted pragmatic accommodation of their demands, but remains divided over how to respond. In this paper, I use empirical material from my soon-to-be-submitted PhD dissertation, where I analyze Norwegian integration debates, starting with the 2006 cartoon affair, which became an international crisis for Norway and Denmark. Unlike the Danish government’s confrontational line, Norway applied its foreign policy objective of conflict resolution, and initiated dialogue with domestic Muslim leaders, who asked Norwegian Muslims to cancel a planned demonstration. Young Muslims defied this advice, accusing community leaders of being co-opted. Starting with this event, I discuss the dynamics between a top-down dialogue policy and minority-driven multiculturalism.

Shaminder TAKHAR, London South Bank University, UK

Sexuality, Political Agency and Multiculturalism

This paper examines sexuality as site of political agency for South Asian women, who in the backlash against multiculturalism may not be able to find funding for organisations that can provide safe places. Prior to the publication of a provocative and questioning collection of photographs, Red Threads, which shows the existence of a vibrant British Asian ‘queer scene’ (Sekhon and Desai, 2003), there has been a gradual
growth in literature exploring the issue of ‘race’ and sexuality (Mason-John, 1995; Ratti, 1993; Khan, 1991). However, when South Asian women express themselves as lesbians, their sexuality is often in conflict with preconceptions or stereotypes (Kawale, 2003). It is therefore important to reveal South Asian women as actively involved in their choices related to sexuality especially alternative sexualities which can bring about familial and cultural fractures (Kapur, 2000; Derne, 2000; Vanita, 2009). Through South Asian women’s narratives, this paper examines sexuality as a site of agency whilst recognizing the dynamic nature of cultural practices which seek to subjugate sexual identity.

Marianne TAKLE, NOVA – Norwegian Social Research, Norway
Ethnic Organisations - Schools of Democracy?
Ethnic based organisations in the City of Oslo receive financial support from the government. In order to receive this support each organisation must be membership-based and have internal democracy with an elected leadership. In this paper, I raise the question of how we can understand this combination of support for ethnic organisations (rights) and requirements of membership and internal democracy (duties). To answer this question, I explore the usefulness of two partly overlapping ways of understanding this policy. Firstly, within the context of the ‘backlash against multiculturalism’, I elaborate on whether this combination could be interpreted as a way to facilitate the integration of immigrants by encouraging ethnic organisations to solve internal problems through democratic procedures. Secondly, I examine how this combination could be understood within the framework of the Nordic model of voluntary organisation. In common with multicultural policies, this model is based on the aim to incorporate individuals into society not only as individuals, but also as groups. By examining Oslo’s policy through these two lenses, I aim to go one step further towards a better understanding of the balancing of the justifications for social cohesion that are similar across Europe and arguments related to national historical traditions.

Gwenda TAVAN, La Trobe University, Australia
No Going Back?: Lessons from Australian Multiculturalism
In this paper I evaluate the significance of recent attempts to revive Australian multiculturalism at a time when many European countries are winding back their commitment. I argue that Australian multiculturalism is characterised by institutional ‘path dependency’, representing a complex and contested, set of policies, programs and norms that evolved in specific historical contexts and which have developed their own self-reinforcing logic. While concerns remain about political inertia in relation to issues of migrant rights and equity and the management of cultural pluralism, Australia’s citizenship-based model of multiculturalism remains appropriate to its needs in the early 21st century. It also offers important lessons to other liberal democracies struggling with the question of migrant settlement in the early 21st century.

Paul THOMAS, University of Huddersfield, UK
Peripheral Actors? White People, Multiculturalism and Integration
Although rejecting the charge that post-2001 policies of cohesion and integration have represented a retreat from multiculturalism in Britain, this paper draws on empirical data from Oldham and Rochdale, Greater Manchester to suggest that both the Integration and Preventing Violent Extremism policy strategies urgently need to engage more with ‘White’ experiences, perspectives and fears, and to recognise the dangers contained within the increasing White racialization of class-based experiences of economic and social marginalisation and exclusion, including the growth of an exclusionary, race-based ‘Englishness’ at the same time as multi-national Britishness is under threat. The paper discusses the relationship between White people and developments in policy approaches to multiculturalism in Britain over the past two decades. In doing so, it recognises both the little-questioned norm of ‘Whiteness’ and the highly problematic and under-discussed meanings of ‘White’ identification. It suggests that the racialised fears and concerns of White people have been important in influencing the moving away from the language, and some priorities and practices, of ‘multiculturalism’ in Britain, whilst simultaneously being side-lined by the policy discourses of cohesion and integration, and the need to ‘Prevent’ the threat of violent extremism, that have focussed partially and overwhelmingly on Britain’s perceived ‘Muslim problem’.

John TURNER, University of Surrey, UK
Remaking Identity after the Arab Spring
Revolutions in the Middle East have commonly come intertwined with ideological accompaniment. Much of the 20th century was consumed by the competing discourses of Arab nationalism and political Islam. However, the revolutions of the Arab Spring appear absent of such messianic assertions, patriotic rather than nationalist or religious in character. The ruling elite in the region have been instrumental in the exclusion of various groups in the interest of preserving their own power. Significant attention has been afforded the sectarian divisions between Shiias and Sunnis that has been a source of exclusion. Yet, so too has ethnicity represented a dividing line between those who are considered legitimate citizens and those who are excluded. It is argued here that these popular uprisings represent a break with historical trends that could aide in relieving tensions between ethnic minorities, the majorities and the ruling powers. It is argued here that through the emerging political processes it is possible for state identity to be recast in patriotic opposed to ethnic terms.

Andreea UDREA, European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany
Kin-state Responsibility, Non-Resident Citizenship, and Multiculturalism
In the last two decades, many states awarded non-resident citizenship to individuals who are former citizens and/or their descendants living outside their territories. Examples include Mexico, Italy, Turkey, and India. What differentiates some European states from those around the world is the fact that non-resident citizenship represents an instrument through which kin-states have attempted to improve the living situations of the members of their kin-minority groups. More importantly, non-resident citizenship became an integral component of the policy measures known as Status Laws which many European kin-states adopted in recent years, including Austria, Italy, Greece, Slovakia, Russia, and Slovenia. Even though there are substantive differences among them, many of these states have assumed an obligation to support the cultural reproduction of their kin-minority groups. However, there are a few states, like Romania, Bulgaria, and more recently Hungary, which have awarded non-resident citizenship to the members of their kin-minority groups. In the context of the current withdrawal from multiculturalism, a kin-state’s involvement appears to provide an alternative. This paper examines the notion of equality advanced by Bulgaria’s, Romania’s and Hungary’s policies of non-resident citizenship, and the value and limits of a kin-state’s commitment to equality beyond its borders within multiculturalism. I question whether or not the policies of non-resident citizenship contribute to a stronger recognition of kin-minority groups in their home-states. In my doctoral thesis, with reference to the Hungarian Status Law, I showed that a kin-state’s involvement fosters a better accommodation of kin-minority groups within their home-states and argued that a kin-state’s obligations complement multiculturalism. However, the policies of non-resident citizenship expand the scope of a kin-state’s obligations to the social, political, and civil spheres.
Nataša UROŠEVIĆ, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Croatia

Cultural Identity, Multiculturalism and Interculturalism - Istrian Experiences

The paper will analyze the concepts of cultural identity, multiculturalism and interculturalism in the context of European integration. We will explore the processes of affirmation of local and regional cultural identities as a response to the globalization of cultural trends, focusing on the historical experience of the westernmost Croatian region - Istria - as a specific border contact zone. We will also indicate possible models of valorization of cultural specificities and intercultural communication in multilingual environments. Our paper will be based on the field research conducted in the framework of the courses „Cultural Identity of Croatia“ and „European Identity“ at the Interdisciplinary Study Programme of Culture and Tourism. Using a qualitative methodology, we interviewed 175 citizens of Istria. We explored their attitudes toward multiculturalism and interculturalism, as well as their thoughts on the advantages and disadvantages of Croatian accession to the European Union. The main objective of our research was to explore self-perception of Croatian citizens about the values of their cultural identity, the possibilities of improvement of intercultural communication in the region, as well as the attitudes towards EU accession.

Arno VAN DER ZWET, University of Strathclyde, UK

Conceptions of National Identity and Attitudes Towards Immigration and Multiculturalism: A Comparative Study of Two ‘Civic’ Autonomist Parties

This paper analyses attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism in two autonomist parties, the Scottish National Party and the Frisian National Party. Both parties are members of the European Free Alliance, ‘an alliance of regionalist and civic, democratic nationalist parties in Europe’ (EFA website). However, the parties highlight the broad diversity of ‘civic’ autonomist parties; the SNP being a large governing party which utilizes an economic narrative to further its autonomist agenda whereas the FNP is a provincial party in the Netherlands with a strong cultural focus. Both parties have had to formulate policies and create a narrative in relation to immigration. This paper compares attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism in both parties by examining different conceptions of national identity. A mixed methods approach is adopted, including quantitative analysis of surveys of both parties’ memberships and semi-structured interviews with party elites as well as documentary analysis. It is demonstrated that contextual factors such as immigration pressures, demographic challenges and peripherality help to explain the parties’ official positions. These are, in general, positive towards immigration and multiculturalism. However, at an individual level there is considerable divergence between members in terms of attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism.

Ifaki VAZQUEZ LARREA, Universidad Católica San Antonio UCA, Spain

Interpreting Cultures: Towards Intercultural Dialogue in a Multicultural Society

The postmodern anthropology called in to question both the epistemological and ethnographic basis of the analogical anthropology, in its three branches, that is to say Evolutionism, Structuralism and Functionalism. It criticized the idea, as argued by Sir James Frazer In the Golden Bough or Levi Strauss in Le pessére sauvage, that the magic, primitive or sauvage thought is just an inferior cultural scale within the evolutionist stages of the Western Civilization. In brief, the idea developed by Taylor in the nineteen century, that all people should be guided by reason and evidence, or that the magic thought, is just an inadequate use of Reason. It also denounced the ethnocentric description of the otherness. The case of the search for Rousseau’s “bonne sauvage” in Levi Strauss “Tristes Tropiques”, or the jingoistic description of the natives in Evans Pritchard “The Nuer”, or an inverted ethnocentrism, based in the essential dichotomy between us and them, present in Margaret Mead’s social psychology, or in Ruth Benedict’s “The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture”. If Ernst Gellner defended the concept of a universal human nature, arguing the existence of a common cognitive dichotomy in all cultures, Clifford Geertz did the same when referring to the concept of human mind, out of a semiotic and symbolic notion of culture. This essay analyses postmodern anthropology contribution to cultural interdialogue, focus on Geertz’s cultural conciliation politics conception, and its differences with Richard Rorty’s deliberative liberal pragmatism, Habermas’s dialogue analytic republicanism, Sartori’s cultural pluralism and Charles Taylor’s multicultural ideology.

Robin WILSON, Queen’s University Belfast, UK

The Urgency of Intercultural Dialogue in a Europe of Insecurity

Multiculturalism has come under growing attack in western Europe in recent years, including being pronounced dead by the German chancellor, as states have moved to adopt ‘tougher’ stances on asylum and immigration with an eye to a rising challenge from a xenophobic and anti-Muslim far right. This reinvention of an older, assimilationist, model of the management of cultural diversity has led many progressives to conclude that multiculturalism should be defended against all comers. Yet it is partly because multiculturalism is at root anything but a progressive philosophy that it has proved so vulnerable to reactionary attack and nor is it the only alternative available to assimilation. The roots of multiculturalism, foremost in Europe in the UK and the Netherlands, lie in the colonial experience, with the ethnic stereotyping typical of the imperial gaze extended to migrants from the former colonies in subsequent decades. It has thus also been associated with the occlusion of diversity inside ‘communities’ and so the subordination of women within them. The alternative is the emergent paradigm of intercultural dialogue, which has emerged in Europe in responses to the experience of the wars of Yugoslav succession, frothy US talk of a ‘clash of civilisations’ and real tensions across the continent notably involving Muslims and non-Muslims. Grounded in universal norms, unlike multicultural relativism, it thus provides a firm foundation for dialogue across ethnic divides otherwise characterised by mutual incomprehension.

Maria XENITIDOU, University of Surrey, UK and Ifigeneia KOKKALI, European University Institute

Identity Construction and Negotiation in the context of Migration: Comparing Greek and Albanian Lay Discourses in Greece

In this paper, we seek to demonstrate how the discourses of indigenous Greeks and immigrant Albanians in Greece interact thematically and dialogically. Since 1989 Greece appears as a destination country for immigrant populations from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republics, and, post-2005, from North Africa, South Asia and the Middle East. Albanians seem to be the most ‘important’ foreign population of Greece. Their identity negotiations as well as the negotiations of Greek identity in the context of migration have been reported in the relevant literature. In combining the findings of two empirical studies, we seek to analyse how – in the context of migration – Greek and Albanian speakers construct and mobilise both their own group’s identity and the identity of the ‘other’. While the two studies had a different focus, we have identified some common ‘topoi’ of discourse that appear in both studies. Study 1 was focus-group based focusing on the ways in which Greeks talk about national identity and otherness in Central Northern Greece in 2005–7. Study 2 was interview-based and conducted in 2005-2006, with Albanian immigrants who resided in Greece at the time of the research. The extracts of our speakers’ talk from both studies have been discourse analysed based on the premises of discursive psychology, the analytic focus being on themes, lines of argument, construction of (self-)identity and otherness, rhetorical strategies and their functions, ideological dilemmas and interactional identities.
Islam, Multiculturalism and integration in the European periphery

Convenor: Venetia EVERGETI, University of Surrey

The purpose of the proposed Symposium is to bring together papers that will explore religious diversity and multiculturalism in relation to Muslim communities in the European periphery. Most studies on this topic tend to concentrate on examples and case studies from central western European countries, namely France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and the UK. This tendency relates to the long histories and experiences of immigration in these countries partly due to their post-colonial past and the immigration and integration policies that some have implemented. Nevertheless, as European countries with a long immigration history are introducing tougher entrance policies and criteria, new hosts are emerging in the margins of Europe. While Western European countries received the majority of their Muslim populations between 1950-1980, southern and other countries in the European periphery have only recently emerged as important destinations for Muslim migrants, with new ‘religious townscapes’ changing the Christian physiognomy of its cities. These recent experiences of multiculturalism challenge established assumptions of cultural homogeneity within these societies. They pose new challenges in terms of policies designed to respond to the increasing religious and cultural diversity of these countries (for instance, in the educational system) but also in terms of the politics of identity (for instance, traditional confessional underpinnings of national identity). The proposed panel aims to widen current academic discourse on Islam and Muslim communities in Europe, by engaging in a geographically extensive and comparative study of Islam in the European periphery. In particular our symposium will explore case studies from Greece, Ireland and Portugal; all three countries in the margins of Europe and in the grips of the current financial crisis. Our discussion will explore issues of cultural and religious diversity, social exclusion, citizenship and integration policies in relation to Muslim communities in the three countries.

José MAPRIL, Lisbon University, Portugal

A Liberal Governmentality? Interculturalism and Islamic Education in Portugal

In the past years, several European countries – the Netherlands, France, Germany, UK – have been engaged in programs to govern Islam and Islamic education and training. Such processes are not only tied to the making of “official” Islams, sponsored by institutions linked and more or less controlled by the state, but also with the effective training of religious leaders (so that the message transmitted by imams, for instance, is in tune the “European intellectual traditions”, the arguments go). In Portugal, though, such processes of governing Islam have assumed a different shape altogether. The Portuguese state has attributed to Muslims communities themselves – as well as to other minority groups – the role of organizing autonomously the religious education of children and the training of religious leaders (imams, hafiz, maualanas, etc.). Drawing inspiration on Michel Foucault’s writings, this paper argues that such a scenario should be interpreted in the context of a liberal governmentality closely tied to the intercultural model of citizenship (with its lusotropical resonances), that has been adopted by the Portuguese state in the past years, and not as the result of any kind of cultural exceptionalism.

Yafa SHANNEIK, University College Cork, Ireland

Finding a Home in a Multicultural Ireland: Material Religion among Sudanese Women Migrants

People express their religious, cultural and ethnic identities and affiliations through material objects. This interaction between the individual and the various objects and artifacts are significant for migrants who transfer particular statues, pictures, books, beads etc. to the diaspora in order to create a space of their own. This paper examines the importance of religious material culture for the construction of Sudanese women identities in a multicultural Irish society. It will investigate the use of private and domestic gendered spaces in the construction of religious and cultural identities through particular objects and artifacts. In addition, it will examine the role material culture plays in passing on religious, cultural and ethnic memory that is important for the understanding of the self and for the sense of belonging to a particular community in the diaspora. This paper relies on two years of ethnographic fieldwork among Sudanese women in Ireland and is part of a larger project on ‘History of Islam in Ireland’.

Panos HATZIPIROKIOU, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

‘New’ and ‘Old’ Multiculturalisms in Greece: Indigenous and Migrant Islam

Greece, once an important emigration country, is now one of the main entry points for Muslim immigrants to Europe. It is also one of the few European countries that do not have a formal Mosque or Muslim cemetery in the capital for its migrant communities whereas at the same time has an established Sharia law (only for family and inheritance matters) for its historical Muslim minority which is located in the area of Thrace in Northern Greece. On the one hand, Greece is home to an established indigenous Muslim community of an estimated 120,000 people, who are Greek citizens and thus have civil-political and religious rights and their own religious institutions and minority schools. On the other hand, as migratory flows to (or through) Greece swelled since the mid-2000s, the numbers of Muslim immigrants are now estimated at about 300,000 people, comprising mostly of Albanians and nationals of Middle Eastern and South Asian countries. By reviewing relevant policies and practices, and the every reality of being a migrant or Greek Muslim, this paper will explore ‘new’ and ‘old’ multiculturalisms in relation to the position of Islam in Greece.

Discussant: Maria XENITIDOU, University of Surrey, UK
PIDOP Session

PIDOP PANEL SESSION (27 June at 9.00, Room 72 MS 03)

Citizen Participation – Findings from the PIDOP Project
The PIDOP Project – Overview and Policy Implications
Martyn Barrett, University of Surrey, UK

PIDOP is a multinational research project which has run from 2009-2012 with funding from the European Commission under FP7. It has examined the processes that influence civic and political participation in eight European states. The project has investigated the macro-level contextual factors (including historical, political, electoral, economic and policy factors), the proximal social factors (including family, educational and media factors) and the psychological factors (including motivational, cognitive, attitudinal and identity factors) which facilitate and/or inhibit civic and political participation. A distinctive focus of the project has been the psychology of the individual citizen, and the psychological processes through which macro-level contextual factors and proximal social factors exert their effects upon citizens’ civic and political participation. Young people, women, minorities and migrants have been examined as four specific groups at risk of political disengagement.

This presentation will provide a broad overview of the PIDOP project and some of its achievements. These include an audit and analysis of existing policy on civic and political participation within Europe; the development of new theories of participation; the secondary analysis of data on participation from existing survey datasets; the collection and analysis of new data on participation by members of 27 ethnic majority, ethnic minority and migrant groups living in 9 different national locations across Europe; the development of a multi-level theoretical understanding of the processes responsible for civic and political participation; and the formulation of new evidence-based policy recommendations for stakeholders at regional, national and European levels, including politicians, political institutions, media organisations, educational professionals, educational institutions, youth workers, and youth and leisure centres.

Active Citizenship in Europe: Strategies for Participation, Dialogue and Civic Engagement
Cristiano Bee, Roberta Guerrina, University of Surrey, UK

This paper draws on the research work of the PIDOP project’s Work Package 2, which focused on current policies concerning the civic and political participation of youth, women, migrants and minorities in different countries. The presentation of the methodological background will offer an opportunity to reflect upon the most recent attempts of the EU to reinvigorate the basis of the participatory democracy at every level of European governance. This strategy, prevalent in the wider European institutional discourse and recently shaped by the establishment of Article 11 of the Lisbon Treaty, seeks to establish a wider basis for the participation and engagement of networks of stakeholders, non state organisations and the activists that form the background of European civil society. Issues such as active citizenship, the representativity of local policy actors at the supranational level, and strategies to ensure civic engagement and empowerment of civil society are the leading principles for evaluating the impact on the process of Europeanisation at the national and local levels. Some of the key questions addressed by our research are the following: What are the strategies that are employed, both by the institutional and non-institutional actors, to enhance participation and reciprocal communication? How can these strategies be enhanced? What do practices such as active engagement and civil dialogue represent? What are the limits of these practices?

Migrapass Project

Migrapass Project (26 June at 13.45, Room 80 MS 02)

Engaging, Training and Empowering
John EADE, Michal GARAPICH, and Jamil IQBAL, Roehampton University, UK

This presentation will report on an EU funded Leonardo da Vinci project Migrapass engaging educational institutions in five EU states. Its main goal was to devise, pilot and disseminate an educational tool which will assist migrants in their professional integration. Around 200 migrants in five countries took part in a series of workshops and seminars designed to use the special training tool – the Portfolio – which validates informal learning and migration experience turning it into potential asset on the labour market for individual migrants. This presentation will recapitulate aims and progression of the project and present an overview of the results of the experimentation phase with special reference to the British side of the project. In general, despite the huge diversity and heterogeneity of people taking part in the project, the different contexts in which the workshops were run and diverse institutional settings migrants are confronted with – the project has generated a set of fairly similar responses, outcomes and individual benefits in terms of planning a professional/educational career for participants. On a concrete, down-to-earth level, this project has helped numerous NGOs and dozens of individual migrants on their path of integration; on a more abstract level it has given some validity to theoretical as well as philosophical underpinnings of the project.
POSTERS

Sara GRECO MORASSO, University of Lugano / University of Neuchatel, Switzerland

*Migrants in Transition: The Relation Between Intercultural Dialogue and Inner Dialogue*

When international migrants live moments of rupture and transition (Zittoun 2006) following their geographical and cultural displacement, they often have to make sense of new and unknown situations. One such situation is certainly meeting people with different cultural backgrounds. This may produce new identities, in which elements of the new culture are integrated within the migrants’ previous experience (cf. Berry 1990, Sigad & Eisikovits 2009). In a discourse analytical perspective, it is possible to find traces of the migrants’ intercultural dialogue with other individuals in their inner dialogue. Inner dialogue often shows the work-in-progress of processes of integration and identity change. This contribution is based on a linguistic qualitative analysis of migrants’ biographical interviews, aiming to study the connection between inner dialogue, intercultural dialogue and identity change. This poster will present some of the results of the project “Migrants in transition” (2010-2012) funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

Nina IVASHINENKO, Research Centre for Social Systems (RCSS), University of Glasgow, Valentina SHATALINA, Roehampton University and Irina CHONGAROVA-ARON, Roehampton University, UK

“Trapped in In-Work Poverty and Social Exclusion: Multicultural Informal Work Practices”

The pilot of our project is about migrants from new EU member states and those from countries on the EU’s eastern borders. The problems of regulation in the labour market which have occurred due to the global financial crises have given rise a number of multicultural issues. The informal labour practices which are being created during communication between migrants and host communities have become a main field of conflicting intercultural interaction. Understanding the nature of this interaction would allow for the highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of multiculturalism as a strategic approach to managing cultural diversity. Multicultural aspects of relationship between ethnicity, employment and poverty have become highly controversial and a major political and economic issue. Employing the secondary statistical analysis resulted in the focus on the choice of the respondents from those economic sectors with pronounced features of in-work poverty and social exclusion. The pilot, based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with different groups of migrants, shows the differences in the relationship between perceptions of work culture, informal communication between employees and employers and ethnicity. It is hoped this will lead to new theoretical insight and academic understanding of the correlation between ethnicity, in-work poverty and social exclusion, as well as fostering practical and political initiatives in this regard.

Geetha REDDY and Gleibs ILKA, University of Surrey, UK

*Negotiating Ethnic Identities in Multicultural Singapore: Through the Lens of a Mixed Ethnicity Singaporean*

The process of identity integration, where two seemingly conflicting social identities, such as two different ethnic identities which have different practices and cultural meanings (Sanchez, Shih & Garcia, 2009) are seen to be compatible or in conflict (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), can cause feelings of tension, disparity, and conflict that are especially prevalent among multiethnic individuals (Shih & Sanchez, 2009). While much has been researched on the internal conflict faced by individuals of mixed ethnicities (Chen, Benet-Martinez and Bond, 2008), structural influences that impact the individual's perceptions of their ethnic identity have not been investigated in depth. Seen against the background of Singapore, where ethnic categories are made salient in explicit terms through the nation's social policies (the CMIO –Chinese, Malay, Indian Other –model), individuals of mixed ethnicity in Singapore face distinctive challenges in negotiating their ethnic identities. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with five Singaporeans of mixed-ethnicity and the data analysed thematically. We found that for participants with a mixed-ethnicity experience the pressure of ethnic self-categorization was greatest when exposed to structural factors (school-system; housing policies) but not strongly associated with internal or interpersonal conflict. The findings will be discussed behind the background of existing literature on identity conflict and well-being.

**CRONEM Project Posters**

Martyn BARRETT, Department of Psychology / CRONEM, University of Surrey

*Processes Influencing Democratic Ownership and Participation (PIDOP)*

The PIDOP project, which is funded by the European Commission under FP7, is running from 2009-2012. The project is examining the processes which influence civic and political participation in eight European states. It is drawing on the disciplines of Psychology, Politics, Sociology, Anthropology, Social Policy and Education to examine macro-level contextual factors (including historical, political, electoral, economic and policy factors), proximal social factors (including family, educational and media factors) and psychological factors (including motivational, cognitive, attitudinal and identity factors) which facilitate and/or inhibit civic and political engagement and participation. Young people, women, minorities and migrants are being examined as four specific groups at risk of political disengagement. The project has involved policy analysis, the development of new theories of engagement and participation, the secondary analysis of data from existing survey datasets, the collection of new data from 27 ethnic minority and majority groups living in 9 different national contexts across Europe, and the formulation of policy recommendations for the European Commission and national governments in Europe. This poster will present a broad overview of the project, describing the various work packages and some of their principal achievements.

David GARBIN, University of Kent and John EADE, Roehampton University, UK


During the last decade, the role of religion and the importance of religious identities in migration and diaspora studies have become increasingly obvious. But how do religious identities, practices and migration/ diaspora interact with one another? How do religious minorities in diaspora influence and are shaped by social and cultural diversity in different contexts? On what religious resources - ideological, material, spatial and organisational - do migrants draw in collective mobilisations to assert claims for recognition by receiving societies, which at the same time deploy religion in their efforts to manage diversity and membership? To what extent do migrants’ and minorities’ religious identities guide their participation in social groups and organisations and affect the nature and extent of their membership - both inclusion and exclusion - within the wider receiving (post-colonial) society? In order to explore these issues, this international research project has been studying the religious lives of migrant minorities in Britain, South Africa and Malaysia. The research methodology is based on extended biographical interviews with individuals and participant observation at religious events, congregational meetings and regular times of worship. Audio and visual recording were employed where appropriate, as was use of secondary sources for further detailed information.
Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences
Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and Multiculturalism (CRONEM)
University of Surrey
Guildford, Surrey GU2 7XH UK

T: +44 (0)1483 682365
www.surrey.ac.uk/cronem

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