Inclusion / Exclusion: The Social and Political Boundaries of Citizenship in Europe

Conference at Carleton University, April 25-26, 2012

<mark>DRAFT – MAY BE SUBJECT TO CHANGE</mark>

Citizenship in Europe has become a multilevel concept: As a result of European integration, broader globalization trends, and decentralization in many states, patterns of political, economic and social participation, membership in relevant communities, and collective identities are no longer determined by (national) states alone, but depend on centres of authority at local, regional, national, continental, and possibly global levels. This shift towards multilevel citizenship has increased the number of sites at which decisions about people's political and social inclusion and/or exclusion are being made. The parameters of citizenship are now determined in a web of interrelated institutions and practices, whose effects on the drawing of social boundaries might reinforce or counterbalance each other. How have these developments changed the dynamics of political, economic, social, and cultural inclusion and/or exclusion in Europe? Has the shift towards multilevel citizenship generated new inclusion opportunities for previously marginalized parts of the population? If so, how and for whom? Or has multilevel citizenship primarily had the effect of reinforcing previously existing social boundaries? To answer these questions, this interdisciplinary conference examines patterns of inclusion and exclusion in the political, economic, social, and cultural sphere. The conference will be organized in four panels:

Wednesday, 25 April 2012
River Building, Room 2224

Opening Event
5:00 – 6:30 p.m.

- Patrick Bahners (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung): The Scaremongers: Europe's Fear of Islam

  This talk analyzes the positions taken by prominent European critics of Islam. It argues that these critics display a militant pseudo-liberalism which ends up undermining what they seek to protect: a liberal society. Critics of Islam form a transnational network that reaches across European borders, even across the Atlantic. Rallying together publicists, bloggers and political activists, this network stirs up prejudice and encourages paranoia.

  Co-sponsored by Goethe Institute and the German Embassy to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Goethe Institute Ottawa. Followed by a reception.

Thursday, 26 April 2012
Robertson Hall, Senate Room

Welcome, Opening Remarks
8:45 – 9:00 a.m.

- Achim Hurrelmann (Carleton University, Associate Director of CES)

PANEL I: Political Inclusion and Exclusion: Elections and Democratic Participation
9:00 – 10:45 a.m.

Chair: Achim Hurrelmann (Carleton University)

Despite the fact that voting and electoral participation are fundamental democratic rights, turnout rates in national elections in European states have fallen by roughly 8 to 10 percentage points over the past thirty years, to averages of less than 70% in Western Europe and less than 60% in Eastern Europe. In addition, turnout in European Parliament elections has been steadily trending downwards in many countries. This decrease in participation is alarming. Low voter participation undermines the legitimacy of those in power; decreases the authority of the democratic system as a whole, and may give momentum to extremist forces. Despite the negative consequences of declining turnout, the literature in Comparative Politics has given this subject comparatively little attention. Why are there fewer and fewer people turning out on Election Day? Why are turnout rates more than 10 percentage points lower in Eastern than in Western Europe? What are the effects of European integration on turnout decline? What is the relationship of turnout at different levels of government? This panel will evaluate these and related questions through a multitude of theoretical and methodological lenses. Papers identify micro- and macro- level explanations for turnout decline, and evaluate its repercussions: Is low turnout heavily and systematically concentrated among certain subsets of the population (e.g., ethnic group, class, youth)? If so, what are the effects of this change on representation and ultimately policy? And finally, how does voting relate to other forms of political participation?

- Jon Pammett (Carleton University) and Lawrence LeDuc (University of Toronto): The Nature of the European Union Electorate: Who Votes and Who Doesn't?

  The European Union acts as a unified global actor in many arenas, but is not often considered as a unified whole. Elections to the European Parliament take place in the individual EU countries, but the result is an elected body which reflects the size of the member states. The active EP electorate is a subset of eligible voters, with a current voting rate of 44%. The combination of these two circumstances means that a quite particular group of people is electing European parliamentarians. Using the 2009 European Election Study (PIREDEU), this paper examines the nature of the EP electorate, with a view to determining what kinds of people are included most frequently, and which exclude themselves from voting. The dataset is specially weighted to simulate the actual electorate, with weights by size of country and turnout rate. Variables examined are: sociodemographic characteristics, particularly age, education and social class; and attitudinal characteristics, particularly partisan ties and

attitudes toward European identity. The paper concludes by considering the future consequences of the findings.

- Daniel Stockemer (University of Ottawa): Representation in European National Parliaments: The Role of the Electoral System Type

  This paper compares the representation of men and women, minorities and foreign-born individuals, different age cohorts, as well as citizens of various educational levels across five national parliaments in Europe (Great Britain, France, Ireland, Germany and Denmark). Hypothesizing that the two proportional systems (Denmark with a list proportional system and Germany with an MMP system) trigger a fairer representation of various societal strata than the three less proportional systems (Britain with first past the post, France with a two round majority system and Ireland with the single transferable vote) my results offer a nuanced picture. First, in support of my hypothesis, I find that the representation of the two sexes and various age cohorts is more balanced in Denmark and Germany than in the three other countries. However, my results also indicate that minorities and particularly foreign born individuals, as well as citizens of various educational backgrounds are more strongly represented in the three national parliaments with a low district magnitude (i.e. Great Britain, France and Ireland).

- Horia Nedelcu (Carleton University) and Joan DeBardeleben (Carleton University): Political Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities in New EU Member States

  Political representation of ethnic minorities is a crucial feature of inter-ethnic relations as well as a vital element of political inclusion. In Central and Eastern Europe, since the fall of the communist regimes, minority representation has achieved mixed results. This paper asks what institutional factors influence the success of ethnic minority parties versus that of accommodative parties of the majority group. We compare the institutional development vis-à-vis minorities in four Central and Eastern European states and current EU members: Estonia, Latvia, Romania and Slovakia. The cases are similar in that they all contain sizable minorities with an ethnic homeland in the immediate vicinity of their state – Russians in the case of the first two countries and Hungarians in the later two. Most importantly, the minorities in all four states – unlike other cases in Eastern Europe – are actually large enough to bypass electoral thresholds. The paper argues that besides obvious impediments such as electoral thresholds, institutional constraints can take a number of other forms relating to party formation, definition of minority status, and state policies vis-a-vis minority representation.

- Pieter Bevelander (Malmö University): Voting Participation of Natives and Immigrants in Sweden: A Cohort Analysis of the 2002, 2006 and 2010 Elections

  Three decades ago, Sweden extended municipal and provincial voting privileges to non-citizen residents arguing that it would increase political influence, interest and self-esteem among foreign citizens. Three decades later, electoral participation on the part of immigrants is perceived as being substantially lower than for native born citizens and questions have arisen regarding the degree to which this may be symptomatic of a larger integration issue. The aim of this paper is to explore the determinants of voting in municipal elections comparing immigrants, both foreign citizens and naturalised, and natives in Sweden

controlling for a number of socio-economic and demographic and immigrant specific characteristics. More specifically, with use of synthetic cohort analysis the study examines the impact of time in the country on voting by immigrants, foreign citizens and naturalised, over time. The results show that, after controlling for demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, acquisition of citizenship makes a real difference to the odds of voting. Immigrants who obtain citizenship are far more likely to vote than those who do not. Some of this may be related to the number of years in the country, but even non-citizens born in Sweden have substantially lower odds of voting. Country of birth also makes a difference. Immigrants from the Americas and the Nordic countries are more likely to vote than immigrants from other countries. Finally, following the cohort of 1991-1998, substantial and significant higher odds of voting in the 2010 election compared to the 2002 election was measured, indicating an integration effect over time.

Coffee break
10:45 – 11:00 a.m.

PANEL II: Social Inclusion and Exclusion: Citizenship Education and Civic Integration
11:00 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.

Chair: Leslie Seidle (Institute for Research on Public Policy)

As part of broader social integration projects, citizenship education has traditionally been left to nation states. Centered on cultivating the skills, the knowledge, and the desire to engage in political participation, it has historically been a formative project that explicitly linked citizenship to national identity. In recent years, however, the objective of national assimilation has increasingly fallen out of favour as educational goals have shifted in an attempt to inculcate students with various faculties associated with critical thought, individual self-enactment, and, more broadly, the competencies associated with effective democratic participation. This shift makes it all the more necessary for research to flesh out how these new "ideals" of citizenship are constructed in educational projects, and how new ideas of civic integration are promoted at the local, provincial, state and supranational levels. Added to this complexity are two challenges that are constitutive of contemporary citizenship: the move towards post-national identity and the increasing ethno-cultural diversity of liberal democratic societies. Faced with these twin challenges, citizenship education is increasingly adopting a more cosmopolitan orientation, which seeks to become more encompassing but risks diluting the objectives of fostering a more participatory and integrated society. Some general questions that will be addressed in this panel are: In the context of European integration, what has come to replace national integration as the aim of citizenship education? Should and must citizenship education incorporate a global/ European-wide awareness and foster a cosmopolitan sensibility? Has this resulted in a thinning out of robust identity markers as a component of civic integration for immigrants? Do justificatory schemes in school curriculum make explicit references to Europeanization in addressing post-nationalism and ethno-cultural diversity?

- Anne Marie Fortier (Lancaster University): "A Journey to Citizenship": Teaching Citizenship in the British Naturalisation Process

This paper examines the citizenship naturalisation process as a site where citizenship is "made" but also "unmade". Particularly, the paper focuses on the citizenship curriculum which is designed to prepare applicants to naturalisation for the citizenship test. Against the tendency to naturalise the distinction between foreigners and citizens, "A Journey to Citizenship" asks how, when and where this naturalisation occurs, but also how, when and where it unravels. More specifically, the paper considers naturalisation as a technological assemblage where principles of inheritance (birthright), acquisition (cognition) and connection (attachment) co-exist, and are at times in tension with each other. The British example is used to explore naturalisation as a technology of repair, the aim of which is to "level out", without totally erasing, distances between place of birth and place of residence, "new" citizens and "natives", applicants and the state, local and national. Furthermore, the paper argues that citizenship is not so much multileveled as it is spatially fragmented.

- Deborah Michaels (Grinnell College): Images of the Haphazard Gypsy and the Ferocious Hungarian: Contrasting Ethnic Exclusions in Slovak Textbooks, 1918-1938 and Post-1989

  Textbook narration in Slovakia includes a consistent pattern of relationally imagining the Slovak national self against at least two categories of ethnic others: on the one hand, stateless minorities - specifically Roma [often called Gypsies] and Jews - and, on the other hand, ethnic Hungarians and Germans residing within Slovak territory considered to have powerful "ethnic home" states. Germans and Hungarians loom large in Slovak history textbooks, portrayed as cunning aggressors. Meanwhile, Roma and Jews are common to the narratives in interwar-era civic education texts, functioning primarily as "moral" others demonstrating behavior that is counter to the imagined and desired character of the Czecho-Slovak nation. This paper focuses on two periods in Slovak history - the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938) and the decade following the end of state socialism in Central Europe (1989-1999) - to uncover how ethnically exclusive narratives and democratically inclusive ones coexisted under these democratic regimes. In this way, this study challenges the frequent assumption that democratic regime type is correlated with a prevalence of school narratives that promote ethnic tolerance. This paper argues that the depiction of minorities in interwar-era textbooks reflects a dangerous duality that persists in current history and civics teaching in Central Europe: namely, that school texts portray ethnic minorities as essentially distinct from the dominant national constituency, while simultaneously preaching the importance of human rights and ethnic tolerance in decontextualized, abstract terms.

- Raffaele Iacovino (Carleton University) and Elke Winter (University of Ottawa): Where is "Europe" in Citizenship Education and Civic Integration?

  In the contemporary age, states have come to privilege citizenship as an ideal site for crafting the sorts of formative projects consistent with the aims of social and political integration. Yet much is demanded of citizenship, including the recognition and representation of various manifestations of collective identity; the extent, forms and capacity for participation; the need to foster critical faculties and autonomy; and, the perceived need to address various sorts of citizen disengagement from formal political institutions, as well as a general sense of apathy among youths. In addition to this list of burdens confronting citizenship is the added complexity associated with multiple sites of belonging, ranging from internal nations,

consolidated nation-states, supranational settings and finally, global citizenship as an emerging field. In this study, the authors will assess two areas in which the ends of citizenship, or deliberations around the ideal of citizenship, are debated and applied – citizenship education and citizenship tests/guides. The authors will look specifically at the United Kingdom, whose political sociology includes many of the challenges described above, with the push and pull of its internal nations and the wider European context figuring prominently.

- Daniel Preece (Carleton University): Civic Education in a "Post-National" Europe

  Following the formal establishment of European Union citizenship in 1992, both the EU and the Council of Europe began promoting a shift in pedagogy and curriculum towards post-national citizenship education. Building from the broad tradition of civic education, which seeks to impart skills, knowledge, and participatory dispositions, this shift attempts to develop both a more European oriented curriculum and a pedagogy that emphasizes political participation and action in order to equip citizens with the skills necessary to respond to global scale problems. In my paper, I will examine the tension between national and post-national conceptions of citizenship and the impact that this is having on the practice of civic education in Europe. In particular, I will analyze how the calls for an increased "European dimension to education" (such as the Education for Democratic Citizenship initiative of the Council of Europe and the 'European Dimension to Education' initiatives of the EU) have been implemented within the member-states and assess both the impact it has had on social cohesiveness and the manner in which citizens pursue political action.

Lunch (Alumni Room)
12:45 – 1:30 p.m.

PANEL III: Economic Inclusion and Exclusion: Socio-Economic Governance and Welfare Reform
1:30 – 3:00 p.m.

Chair: Robert Gould (Carleton University)

The deepening of European integration in the last 15 years has had a transformative impact on the welfare regimes in the member-states. Through the use of the Open Method of Coordination in the policy areas of both employment and social inclusion, as well as decisions by the Court of Justice on issues such as access to social services or minimum wage legislation, the European Union has begun to harmonize social policies between the member-states. In this way, socio-economic governance within Europe has become increasingly multi-leveled and has reconfigured how member-states address broader concerns of social and economic inclusion/exclusion, which has become particularly critical during the current economic and financial crisis. Increasingly, the social policies promoted by Europeanization revolve around employment-based solutions as they become more closely integrated with the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines in the EU. But, if employment is increasingly seen as the sole path to social inclusion within European documents like the Agenda 2020 for Growth and Employment, then what impact is this having on the social protection systems in the member-states? Does Social Europe and the process of

European integration promote a particular understanding of "the ideal European citizen" and does it similarly promote policies that are not responsive to the needs of diverse social groups? Has the economic focus of European integration enabled or hindered the ability of the EU to effectively address social and economic inclusion/exclusion during the current economic and financial crisis?

- Willem Maas (York University) Citizenship of the Union, Federalism, and Equality

  Citizenship in federal systems operates at more than one level. By contrast with other federal systems, a longstanding problem in the European Economic Community turned European Union is reverse discrimination – whereby member states may treat their own nationals worse than nationals of other member states by invoking a "purely internal situation" in which European law does not apply. In other federal systems, central citizenship has been used to overcome local differences and promote equality. This paper argues that introducing citizenship alters the status of individuals vis-à-vis their governments, implies equality of treatment among citizens, and should ultimately eliminate reverse discrimination. In federal states – the form of political system the EU appears to be becoming – the introduction of federal rights that took primacy over local ones empowered individuals and redrew the relationship between the governments of the center and the units. Similarly, Union citizenship limits the power of member states to treat their own nationals worse than nationals of other member states. This does not eliminate the tension between centre and unit (or federal and regional; EU and member state) law but should give extra weight to former over the latter. Jurisdictional issues remain, but the growth of Union citizenship means that EU law should grow to encompass any right protected or promoted by Union citizenship.

- Daniel Preece (Carleton University): Welfare Reform and Economic Citizenship: The Cultural Political Economy of Socio-Economic Governance in Europe

  Building off of the theoretical framework of cultural political economy developed by Bob Jessop, this paper will combine critical semiotic analysis with an evolutionary and institutional approach to political economy to examine how the governance of the labour market in Europe has shifted following the global recession of 2008-2009. Despite calls for increased government intervention in the economy to promote social welfare, such as the continuing attempt by the European Trade Union Congress to characterize the global recession as an "economic and social crisis" and to push for "stronger social protection systems to ensure greater security and prevent social exclusion" or the broad challenges posed by the Occupy Movement in Europe, these proposals to refocus public policy are not resonating in debates over socio-economic governance. In contrast, the focus within the EU is largely defined by the sovereign debt crisis and a discourse of fear that positions austerity measures as a necessary evil for future economic success. This paper will investigate the implications of this focus on austerity for the future of the "Social Europe" project and ascertain the extent to which a new mentality of labour relations is emerging within the EU. Through examining the shifting governance of European labour market, my paper will both further develop the emerging theoretical framework of cultural political economy and determine how the dominant focus on austerity measures and sovereign debt at the EU level affects the orientation of social policy within the EU.

- Geranda Notten (University of Ottawa): National Poverty Reduction Strategies and Multilevel Citizenship in the EU: Are Models of Multilevel Citizenship Consistent with National Policies to Reduce Child Poverty?

  Enjolras (2009) claims that "EU-level policy-making and governance are likely to foster a post-national European civil society with multi-level citizenship participation". While the EU does not have a federal social policy, under the so-called Open Method of Coordination the role of the EU in social policy has increased with the introduction of common indicators (the "Laeken" indicators on poverty and social exclusion), common objectives ("Europe 2020" strategic plan), and their translation into national plans (the "National Action Plans for Social Inclusion"). The reduction of poverty, and particularly the eradication of child poverty, is one of the targets formulated in the EU's Europe 2020 strategy. Taking child poverty as a case study, this paper examines to what extent models of multilevel citizenship are consistent with current features of national aims and initiatives to reduce child poverty. With the appearance of multi-level citizenship, one would expect a larger influence of EU level policy-making on national poverty reduction strategies. The paper focuses on Germany, France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

Coffee break
3:00 – 3:15 p.m.

PANEL IV: Cultural Inclusion and Exclusion: Religion, Language, and Identity
3:15 – 4:45 p.m.

Chair: James Casteel (Carleton University)

Europeanization has reconfigured the cultural boundaries of Europe leading to increased attention to issues surrounding religion, language, and identity. This panel will focus on the dynamics of cultural inclusion and exclusion in an enlarged EU examining how categories such as secular/sacred, east/west, and ethnicity/nation are being redefined. What effects are changing patterns of internal and external migration having on the articulation of cultural boundaries in Europe? What opportunities has an expanded Europe provided for religious, ethnic, and linguistic minorities to mobilize and build transnational networks? To what degree has Europeanization also produced new forms of exclusion at the local, national or European level? The panel will pay particular attention to the ways in which religious, ethnic, or linguistic minorities are negotiating the changing dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in the EU.

- Péter Krekó (Political Capital Institute and Eötvös Loránd University of Sciences, Budapest): Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Central and Eastern Europe – in Light of Data from the Demand for Right Wing Extremism Index

  Immigration is becoming an increasingly prevalent phenomenon in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) as rising pensioner populations place higher demands on diminishing workforces. While these countries are unlikely to see a mass influx of migrants anytime soon, people who live in poorer parts of the world increasingly view the CEE region as an attractive destination, much as Western and Southern European countries became immigrant

targets in the period following World War II. Anti-immigrant prejudice and welfare chauvinism is high in the CEE states even though the percentage of foreign-born residents is but a fraction of foreign-born resident rates in Western Europe. The Political Capital Institute's Demand for Right-Wing Extremism (DEREX) Index shows that more than 30% of people in CEE countries completely oppose immigration, and there is a general overestimation of the number of immigrants in these countries. One of the most anti-immigrant countries is Hungary, where 48% of the people reject newcomers. Anti-immigrant sentiment in CEE is not based on negative experiences with foreigners or cultural worries but on fear of the unknown. Political leaders are currently doing little to address anti-immigrant fears; instead, they try to make political capital from the (currently nonexistent) problem.

- Triadafilos Triadafilopoulos, Anna Korteweg, and Paulina Garcia Del Moral (University of Toronto) – The Benefits and Limits of Pragmatism: Immigrant Integration Policy and Social Cohesion in Germany

  Under the Christian Democratic Union (CDU)/Social Democratic Party (SPD) Grand Coalition of 2005 to 2009, Germany officially (if belatedly) accepted its de facto status as an "immigration country," introduced integration courses, organized Integration Summits and implemented a National Integration Plan. The Minister of the Interior also hosted a series of Islam Conferences aimed at "integrating" Islam into German society. These moves came after several decades of federal government inaction and repeated declarations that, contrary to the facts on the ground, Germany was "not an immigration country." We argue that CDU/CSU-SPD coalition's embrace of pragmatism in the area of integration policy reflected growing concern among politicians of the centre Left and Right for "social cohesion." We also argue that this shared concern was both a powerful catalyst for policy development and, at the same time, a drag on progress. On the one hand, integration policy initiatives have introduced tools for improving immigrants' and ethnic minorities' prospects in terms of educational and labour market outcomes, principally through integration courses that stress German language learning. On the other hand, policymakers' preoccupation with "problem" groups, above all undereducated, unemployed and potentially threatening young men and putatively embattled immigrant women have tended to limit the warmth of welcome extended to immigrants and ethnic minorities. The end result has been a policy orientation geared towards prophylaxis rather than nation-building.

- Jennifer Fredette (State University of New York, Albany): The Burqa, the Hijab, and the Politics of Citizenship as Enacted on the Female Body in France.

  This presentation is based on an article that explores the legislative efforts in France to limit the public presence of garments worn by some Muslim women. What do new data on the French National Assembly debates surrounding the *burqa* tell us about France's concerns regarding Muslims? In this presentation, I will argue that France's ban on the *burqa* is a product of genuine questions about the nature of the republic in today's multicultural world, but also some degree of political posturing. As a result, the ban is not likely to become a model policy other nations will attempt to emulate, especially given the peculiar application it has seen.

Concluding Remarks
4:45 – 5:00 p.m.

Bus shuttle available to Opening Event of ECSA-C Conference in Ottawa Public Library
(for presenters)

Conference Dinner (Lord Elgin Hotel)
7:30 – 9:00 p.m., for presenters