

Final Report RECODE science meeting 4447

1. Scientific Report

Summary

The first workshop for Section 4 of the ESF Network: Responding to Complex Diversity in Europe and Canada (RECODE) was convened jointly by the two section chairs: **Keith Banting**, Queens University Canada, and **Birte Siim** Aalborg University, Denmark. The title was: ***“Solidarity beyond the Nation state: Diversity, (In)Equalities and Crisis”*** (see Annex 1). The workshop was held October 11-12, 2012 at Aalborg University venue NORDKRAFT. The workshop had 23 registered participants¹, who together with the 13 speakers represented the following 9 European countries and Canada: Austria, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Hungary², Norway, Portugal Sweden, Switzerland, and Spain (see Annex 2).

The overall objective of the workshop was to address new challenges and problems related to the changes of transnationalism and Europeanization on the one hand and the growth of welfare nationalism, neoliberal and right wing politic on the other hand. One of the main questions was how the socio-economic and political changes are influencing (re)definition of welfare, minority and migration politics. One of the key issues is the reframings of equality and diversity and the challenges involved in constructing welfare policies transcending the dilemma between redistribution and recognition policies from a comparative European and global perspective.

The workshop was organized around three sessions: 1) *“Changing Politics of Diversity and Belonging”*. 2) *“Diversity & Inequalities: Nation State policy responses”*; and 3) *“Diversity, Transnational Solidarity and the Crisis”*. In the concluding panel debate titled *“European Social Policies, Civil Society Actors and the Crisis”* the invited speakers addressed the socio-economic and political crisis from a comparative European and global perspective.

¹ Concerning the gender balance 10 women and 13 men were registered for the conference, of the ten speakers five were women, of the four discussants one was a women and in the final panel one of the three discussants was a women. Unfortunately two of the speakers, Keith Banting and Monika Mokre, could not participate due to operations. This did not, however, influence the programme, since Keith Banting’s paper was presented by Phil Triandafilopoulos, and Monika Mokre and Birte Siim’s joint paper was presented by Birte Siim..

² The Hungarian participant has participated in the 6.FW project: *“Eurosphere: Diversity and the European Public Sphere”*. He was funded by Aalborg University, since Hungary has not supported this ESF programme.

Description of the scientific content of and discussions at the event

The scientific content³

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Session 1 - Changing Politics of Diversity and Belonging

The first session addressed the changing politics of diversity and belonging at the level of theory and research within and across nation states. Focus was on three main themes: a) Patterns of Diversity & major political parties/projects, b) Voters/public attitudes and the media, c) Neo-nationalism and Right Wing populism. The papers in this session thus explored the patterns of diversity and how major political parties and political projects have responded to the new challenges from diversity. From this perspective the focus is on the relations between anti-diversity positions within the nation states and Euro-skepticism. Some papers were concerned with voters'/public attitudes towards diversity and explored the role of the media in influencing/framing citizens' attitudes. Finally papers were concerned with the challenge from Neo-nationalism and Right Wing populism, voters and members of populist parties; the growth of Right Wing populism and opposition/challenge to welfare and equality policies within and across nation states.

Session 2 - Diversity & Inequalities: Nation State policy response.

The second session addressed diversity and inequalities within and across nation states at the level of theory and research. From this perspective one of the questions is whether there a trade-off between recognition and redistribution and between ethnic diversity and gender equality? The focus was on three main themes: a) Old and new forms of inequalities, b) Policies and Discourses on redistribution, c) Political activities and identities - mobilization and claims-making. The papers in this session thus addressed relations between old and new forms of inequalities, i.e. intersections of equality/inequalities according to gender and class with inequalities according to ethnicity/race and religion. Some of them compared policies and

discourse of redistribution within the EU and across the nation states. Finally they concerned the role of (new) political actors, organizations and identities, i. e. comparing the mobilization and claims-making of various social and cultural groups.

Session 3 - Diversity, Transnational Solidarity and the Crisis

The third session addressed the tension between national identities and transnational solidarity, paying particular attention to the contemporary economic crisis. The focus was on three main issues: a) Politics of Diversity and Solidarity within the EU, b) Responses to the Crisis, Transnational actors, networks and organizations. The papers in this session addressed the boundaries of solidarity during the economic crisis. Some of them explored the interaction between transnational solidarity and solidarity at the domestic level during the economic crisis from a comparative perspective. In order to discuss whether resistance to solidarity at the transnational level strengthen or weaken solidarity and redistribution at the level of the nation state. Finally papers were concerned with interactions of transnational actors, networks and organizations with EU-institutions; and within civil society.

The concluding panel debate discussed *Social Policies, Civil Society Actors and the Crisis* from a comparative European and global perspective.

Discussion of the event

We find that the overall objectives of the workshop were basically reached and that the results of the comparative debates were promising. The 13 papers were innovative and the comments from the 5 discussants were constructive and inspiring. Together with the plenary debates they contributed to raise a number of issues to be explored further in the coming workshop and through future publications.

Some of the cross-cutting themes to be explored further were:

- Ethnic Diversity and Social Cohesion in Europe, the US and Canada? (Abu-Laban, Albrecht & Banting) Is inclusive Conservatism in Canada possible? (Triadafilopoulos)
- The Changes of Front National under Marine Le Penn from an anti-immigration to a to a genuine Populist Party. Is Islam compatible or not compatible with republican (French) values? (Betz)
- Politization of immigration in seven European countries (AMATO)
- Gender equality legitimizing the shift away from multiculturalism (Meret)
- Canadian citizenship and exceptionalism – to what extent is Canadian multicultural politics transferable to Europe? (Triadafilopoulos, Abu-Laban & Banting)
- Europeanisation of political parties in Europe? (Sata) Indications of an emergent European Public Sphere - networks and cooperation of civil society organizations (Mokre & Siim)
- Immigration as a social problem in Scandinavia – in spite of differences in rhetoric and policies failed integration on the labour market (Hagelund, Bak Jørgensen & Lund Thomsen). Has the golden age of Swedish exceptionalism ended? (Ålund & Schierup)

- Crisis, nationalism, social cohesion, and redistribution – the gap between North and South (Silva, Borchorst, Fossum & Kraus)

Assessment of the results and impact of the event on future directions of the field

Assessment of the conference results and impact of the event

One of the objectives was to encourage comparative analysis and facilitate comparative debates. This was done by inviting scholars from both Northern, Southern and continental Europe as speakers at the workshop. Another concern was to invite scholars to inspire interdisciplinary analysis and debates. The third concern was to include a gender balance and perspective in the debate. This strategy proved successful and this inspired debates about both socio-economic and political issues taking account of the diversity of national histories, political institutions and belongings as well as the trans- and supranational EU context.

One of the strengths of this workshop was the diverse representation of participants and speakers from Northern, Southern and Continental European countries as well as speakers from Canada. Another was the diversity of theoretical and methodological approaches, which included gender perspectives. This diversity of geographical and scientific approaches inspired and facilitated comparative analyses and debates about the key issues and themes of the workshop. On this basis the workshop undoubtedly has had an impact on the participants.

On the whole the results were positive. The papers⁴ presented original reflections and research, which contributed to innovative debates. The added European dimension was highly visible both in papers that dealt explicitly with European diversities, inequalities and the crisis and in papers about the Canadian history and present political situation, where the comparative European perspective became an important part of the debates. The concluding raised key issues about the challenges of social policies and the crisis from a European and global perspective to be explored in more detail during the next workshop.

Unfortunately, there was no time for any formal evaluation during the workshop. However, in informal workshop dialogues and subsequent communication after the workshop participants expressed their satisfaction with the workshop results and the wish to continue the debates. And many are interested in a joint publication of papers, either in a special issue of a journal or in a collected volume depending.

Plans for Future Activities and Publication

To what extent the workshop results will have a more general impact on the scientific community of European scholars will depend on our plans for future network activities, including the planning of the second workshop and future publication strategies.

⁴ The conference papers are available at this link which is only available to participants:
http://www.hum.aau.dk/~hoegsbro/Recode_participants/

At the moment we have scheduled the following activities:

- Birte Siim will represent section 4 at the summer school in Ireland June 10-14, 2013.
- The second RECODE workshop of section 4 titled: *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State - Rethinking the Recognition Redistribution Dilemma* to be held October 2013 organized jointly by sections leaders Birte Siim, Aalborg University and Keith Banting, hosted by Queens University, Canada.
- Publication of the results of the two workshops, either separately or in a joint volume.

Members of the RECODE network are presently discussing publication plans from and across the four sections. The working title of the planned volume from section 4 is, *Multicultural Politics and Welfare States*. This volume(s) will assess how the dynamics of transnationalism and Europeanization on the one side and the growth of welfare nationalism, neoliberal and right wing politics on the other side influence the (re)definition of welfare, minority and migration politics. The book's thematic focus will be on comparing the similarities and differences involved in constructing welfare policies which transcend the dilemma between redistribution and recognition policies comparing Europe and Canada.

SOLIDARITY BEYOND THE NATION STATE: DIVERSITY, (IN)EQUALITIES AND CRISIS

Responding to complex diversity in Europe and Canada: RECODE seminar

Time and venue: 11-12. October, 2012. Aalborg University, Denmark.

Convenors: *Keith Banting, Queens University, Canada & Birte Siim, Aalborg University, Denmark*

PROGRAMME:

Thursday October 11: Day one

ARRIVAL AND WELCOME

9.00-9.30

Session 1 - Changing Politics of Diversity and Belonging

9.30-17.30:

- *Patterns of Diversity & major political parties/projects*
- *Voters/public attitudes and the media*
- *Neo-nationalism and Right Wing populism*

This panel addresses the changing politics of diversity and belonging at the level of theory and research within and across nation states. One issue concerns patterns of diversity and how major political parties and political projects respond to the new challenges from diversity. What are the relations between anti-diversity positions within the nation states and Euro-scepticism? Another issue concerns voters'/public attitudes towards diversity and explores the role of the media in influencing/framing citizens' attitudes. The third issue concerns the challenge from Neo-nationalism and Right Wing populism, voters and members of populist parties; the growth of Right Wing populism and opposition/challenge to welfare and equality policies within and across nation states.

LUNCH

12.30-13.30

COFFEE/TEA BREAK

15.45-16.00

Friday October 12 – Day 2

Session 2 - Diversity & Inequalities: Nation State policy responses

9.30-14.00:

- *Old and new forms of inequalities*
- *Policies and Discourses on redistribution*
- *Political activities and identities - mobilisation and claims-making*

This panel addresses diversity and inequalities within and across nation states at the level of theory and research. Is there a trade-off between recognition and redistribution and between ethnic diversity and gender equality? One issue focuses on relations between old and new forms of inequalities, i.e. intersections of equality/inequalities according to gender and class with inequalities according to ethnicity/race and religion. The second issue compares policies and discourse of redistribution within the EU and across the nation states. The third issue concerns the role of (new) political actors, organisations and identities, i.e. comparing the mobilisation and claims-making of various social and cultural groups.

12.00-13.00

LUNCH

Session 3 - Diversity, Transnational Solidarity and the Crisis

13.00-14.30

- *Politics of Diversity and Solidarity within the EU*
- *Responses to the Crisis*
- *Transnational actors, networks and organisations*

This panel addresses the tension between national identities and transnational solidarity, paying particular attention to the contemporary economic crisis. One issue concerns the boundaries of solidarity during the economic crisis. A second issue concerns the interaction between transnational solidarity and solidarity at the domestic level during the economic crisis. Does resistance to solidarity at the transnational level strengthen or weaken solidarity and redistribution at the level of the nation state. A third issue concerns interactions of transnational actors, networks and organisations with EU-institutions; and within civil society.

14.30 – 15.00: COFFEE/TEA BREAK:

Concluding Panel Debate: European Social Policies, Civil Society Actors and the Crisis

15.00-16.00

Keith Banting, Queens University, Canada, Anette Borchorst, Aalborg University, Peter Kraus, RECODE
Peter Kraus, RECODE, Programme Chair, University of Augsburg, John-Erik Fossum, Arena, Oslo

RECODE Programme

Session 1: Changing Politics of Diversity and Belonging

THURSDAY, October 11

9.15: Welcome Birte Siim

9.30 - 10.00

Phil Triadafilopoulos, Visiting Professor, Berlin: "Immigrants Into Conservatives: Immigration Politics in Canada".

10.30 - 11.00

Hans-Georg Betz, Switzerland: "Still the 'Master Case?' The Neo-populist Synthesis of French Radical Right-Wing Discourse under Marine Le Pen".

11.00 - 11.30

Robert Sata, Central European University, Hungary: "Political Parties in multicultural dialogues: diversity and Europeanization in political discourse".

11.30 - 12.15

Discussant: Peter Hervik, Co-MID, Aalborg University

LUNCH 12.30 - 13.30

13.30 - 14.00

Gianni D'AMATO, University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland: "Migration and the Polarization of Public Debate in Switzerland and Austria".

14.00 – 14.30

Anniken Hagelund, Institute for Social research, Oslo, Norway: "Immigration and the Nordic welfare state. Good guys and bad guys".

14.30 - 15.00

Susi Meret, Co-MID, Aalborg University: "Gender and female charismatic leadership in the Nordic right-wing populist parties".

15.00 – 15.45

Discussant: Anette Borchorst, CCWS, Aalborg University

COFFEE/TEA BREAK: 15.45 – 16.00

Session 2: Diversity & Inequalities: Nation State policy responses

16.00 - 16.45

Yasmeen Abu-Laban, University of Alberta, Canada: "Remaking Canadian Citizenship: The Politics of Recognition, Redistribution and Social History under the Harper Conservatives".

16.45- 17.30

Aleksandra Ålund & Carl-Ulrik Schierup, REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden: "From Paradoxes of Multiculturalism to Paradoxes of Liberalism".

17.30-18.00

Discussant: Peter Hervik, Co-MID, Aalborg University & Anette Borchorst CCWS, Aalborg University
FRIDAY, October 11

9.30 – 10.00

Monika Mokre, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna & Birte Siim, Aalborg University: "Gender and Diversity in an emergent European Public Sphere".

10.00 – 10.30

Christian Albrekt, CCWS, Aalborg University: "Ethnic Diversity and Social Cohesion: How Mixed Schools Mediates the Negative Relationship".

10.30 -11.00

Martin Bak Jørgensen & Trine Lund Thomsen, Co-MID, Aalborg University:" 'Needed but undeserving' – The social construction of deserving and undeserving migrant groups in Denmark".

11.00-11.45:

Discussant: John Erik Fossum, ARENA, Oslo, Norway.

LUNCH: 12.00-13.00

Session 3: European Diversity, Transnational Solidarity and the Crisis

13.00 – 13.30

Manuel Carlos Silva, Research Centre of Social Sciences, University of Minho, Portugal: "Crisis, democracy and development: the place of Portugal in the EU".

13.30 – 14.00

Keith Banting, Queens University, Canada: "Multicultural Diversity and Redistribution in Canada: Immigrants, Aboriginal Peoples and Public Support for Social Programs".

14.00 - 14.30

Discussant: Francisco Colom González, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Madrid, Spain.

14.30 -15.00

Coffee and tea break

15.00 -16.00

Panel discussion: Social Policies, Civil Society Actors and the Crisis

Participants: Anette Borchorst, CCWS, Aalborg University, John-Erik Fossum, Arena, Oslo, Peter Kraus, RECODE, Programme Chair, University of Augsburg,

16.00-16.15:

Plenary Debate:

Plans for future cooperation, networking and publication

List of participants, 23 persons participated.

Aleksandra	Ålund
Anette	Borchorst
Anniken	Hagelund
Birte	Siim
Carl-Ulrik	Schierup
Christian Albrekt	Larsen
Fransisco	Colom-Gonzalez
Gianni	D'Amato
Hans-Georg	Betz
Helene	Pristed Nielsen
John Erik	Fossum
Karen	Breidahl
Keith	Banting – SICK NO SHOW
Manuel Carlos	Silva
Martin	Bak Jørgensen
Monika	Mokre – SICK NO SHOW
Peter	Hervik
Peter A.	Kraus
Robert	Sata
Ruth	Emerek
Susi	Meret
Tabitta	Flyger
Triadafilos	Triadafilopoulos
Trine Lund	Thomsen
Yasmeen	Abu-Laban