



Science Meeting – Scientific Report

***Responding to Complex Diversity in Europe and Canada:
Future Research Directions***

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Responding to Complex Diversity in Europe and Canada: Future Research Directions

A Workshop sponsored by the ESF Research Networking Programme RECODE and the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue, Université de Montréal, 12–13 September 2013.

Report on the Workshop

1 Purpose and Organization

The purpose of the workshop was to take stock of recent research on the issues of complex diversity in Europe and Canada, to identify future research directions, and to explore possibilities for new research collaborations in the years after RECODE completes its mandate.

The organization of the workshop built on RECODE's work on complex diversity. The sessions addressed the core domains of the RECODE programme: linguistic diversity and political communication, religious pluralism, transnationalism and, finally, multiculturalism and welfare state policies.

In addition, a final session was held to explore the prospects for future collaborations. To facilitate this dimension of the workshop, the workshop was kept reasonably small, bringing together research leaders in the RECODE network and in Canada.

The workshop was organized through a partnership between RECODE, the Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue (CETD) at the Université de Montréal, and the Queen's Chair in Public Policy at Queen's University. CETD was formed in 2007 with support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. It is designed not only to strengthen Canada's research capacity on Europe and to nurture knowledge networks between Europe and Canada, but, more importantly, to look at Europe through Canadian eyes, zeroing in on those issues which have relevance for our own society. The Queen's Research Chair in Public Policy, held by Professor Keith Banting, was also a funding partner for the workshop, providing support for the travel and accommodation of many of the Canadian participants.

2 Thematic Sessions: Topics and Speakers

The workshop was structured in four thematic sessions and one final panel on future research directions and collaboration options between Europe and Canada. The abstracts of the presentations delivered at the thematic sessions are listed below. PPT versions of the presentations are available from the RECODE web site.

The Political Communities of Migrants: De-Territorialised Diversity and Political Integration in Host Countries

Gianni D'Amato

The Political Communities of Migrants: De-Territorialised Diversity and Political Integration in Host Countries

RECODE has been interested in collective belonging beyond the nation state in order to study not territorially bounded shared references. The new transnational community was under scrutiny, imagined either out of a religion or an ethnicity that encapsulates linguistic and national differences, seeks self-affirmation across national borders and without geographic limits, as a de-territorialized nation. Different disciplines in the social sciences have addressed this issue: sociology with its interest in organization, anthropology and its analysis of cross-cultural phenomena, economics with its interest in the effects of global restructuring, and political science trying to evaluate the effects of practicing democracy beyond national borders. Questions arose if immigrants could be capable to challenge the territoriality of nation-states. In order to understand possible outcomes, an ESF study on transnationalism is presented (Migrants practices of transnationalism in Western Europe) that depicts the conditions for maintaining transnational relations beyond territories.

Stephen White and Antoine Bilodeau

Immigrants, Citizenship, and Democracy: Evidence from Canada

Answers to questions about immigrants' participation in the host society's political affairs, support for regime principles, and support for the political community, tend to emphasize sociodemographic and contextual factors. Investigations of the attitudinal determinants of immigrants' participation and support are less common. We demonstrate that immigrant-specific attitudes can have powerful effects on political participation and support for the host country, using empirical evidence from Canada as examples. It turns out that immigrants' sense of acceptance in the new host country, and their assessments of their economic well-being in the host country compared to their countries of origin, structure political engagement and support in Canada. The results suggest that ensuring immigrants' economic hopes are not dashed, and making new immigrants feel welcome, are important parts of promoting full citizenship.

Linguistic Diversity and Political Communication

Donna Patrick

Language Politics and Ethnic Identities in Canada

This presentation adopts an interdisciplinary approach to the study of language diversity in Canada. Using the backdrop of colonial and immigration history, it traces the trajectory of language diversity as reflected in the dominance of French and English; immigrant languages and their relation to official multiculturalism; and ongoing struggles (including recent initiatives in the Canadian Arctic) for the recognition of Aboriginal languages. It then considers contemporary issues in language politics, as related to the politicization of linguistic diversity in Canada, and their implications for policy-making. Among these issues are Indigenous language endangerment and standardization; immigration and language testing; bilingual and multilingual education; and English- and French-language teaching, especially with respect to the role of intercultural communication.

Peter A. Kraus

The New Politics of Multilingualism in Europe

The paper offers an outline of the main issues involved with the politics of multilingualism in contemporary Europe. It argues that language standardization played a key role in the making of European nation-states, as achieving linguistic homogeneity was seen as an asset for securing both administrative efficiency and political legitimacy. Nonetheless, the success story of 'the' European nation-state has to be qualified, as the survival of numerous autochthonous linguistic minorities, mostly concentrated in the peripheries of established states, shows. Moreover, Europe's linguistic profile has gained additional layers of heterogeneity due to the new heterogeneity represented by immigrant groups. The dynamics of Europeanization has critically contributed to creating an institutional context in which the interplay of majorities and old and new minority identities turns linguistic diversity into an ever more multidimensional and fluid phenomenon. Using the examples of the multilingual cities of Barcelona and Helsinki as empirical examples, the presentation concludes that the new politics of multilingualism transnationalizes the national to the same extent as it nationalizes the transnational. Against this background, multilingualism should be considered as an emerging pattern of diverse citizenship.

Religions and the Public Sphere: Accommodating Religious Diversity in the Post-secular Era

Francisco Colom González

Religions and the Public Sphere: Accommodating Religious Diversity in the Post-secular Era: An assessment of recent research and possible guidelines for the future

From a European perspective, the four variables explored by RECODE (religion, language, redistribution and territory) can be consistently approached as describing the historical and structural dimensions of European state formation. *Complex diversity* might be better understood as a problematisation of the classical functionalist assumptions on modernization and social change. European Christianization can be broadly conceived as a

process of religious co-option of political authority, starting with the Roman Empire and continuing with the Byzantine Empire in Eastern Europe and the transformation of the Roman Catholic Church into a hierocratic structure in the West.

The history of state formation may also explain the different meaning of secularisation when comparing Europe with the United States and Canada. The First Amendment instituted the separation of state and church in the United States in 1791. Since then, the relations between religion and the state have been imagined there as divided by a *wall of separation*. In Canada, the need to accommodate the two largest communities (English-speaking Protestants and French-speaking Catholics) within a colonial status has historically conditioned the political structure of the country. On the religious side, Protestant dissenters did not enjoy the same influence as in the United States. The Church of England was an established denomination for a short period of time, and only in a part of the territory. Lastly, the Catholic Church was granted a large degree of autonomy by the British Crown and has controlled the social life of Quebec until well into the twentieth century. All these reasons help explain why English- and French- Canadian societies have experienced a dissimilar pace of secularization, and the differences with Europe and the United States.

The current research in the social study of religion has been marked by the crisis of the large sociological paradigms and the introduction of new ones. The reassessment of the secularisation theory continues to be a central issue, whereas religious radicalism –with special reference to Islam- has become a growing topic of research. Rather than focusing on the relation of religious minorities with the state, a field that would merely prolong the study of religious governance, a more fruitful guideline for RECODE could be searched for in the intercultural accommodation and the cultural transfers between minority and majority groups.

Avigail Eisenberg
Religious Freedom in the Age of Identity Politics

In 1982, Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms was entrenched in the Constitution at the height of what has come to be known as an era of identity politics. Identity politics influenced Canadian jurisprudence both in terms of the kinds of rights that were entrenched in the Charter and in the manner these rights have been interpreted. Two approaches to the interpretation of religious freedom emerged following entrenched. First, using a choice approach which is primarily sensitive to protecting people's choices, the court aimed to ensure that individuals are free to follow their religious beliefs and practices even if sometimes they must absorb some costs for the choices they make. According to the choice approach, the state cannot be expected to bear the costs of the choices citizens make in this respect. Second, using identity approach some judges began to recognize the claims individuals and groups make about their religious identities as immutable, non-negotiable facts, rather than as contingent attributes grounded in their choices. The identity approach carries three implications. First, it is better than the choice approach at tracing discrimination and historical injustice. Second, it shifts the focus of religious claims from individuals to groups. And third it places pressure on courts to assess the claims groups make about their identities to determine their authenticity and importance to the group. Each of these implications carries significant risks that public institutions need to address.

Solidarity beyond the Nation State: Diversity, Solidarity and Redistribution

Keith Banting

Solidarity beyond the Nation State: Diversity, Solidarity and Redistribution

The last two decades has witnessed an explosion in research on the implications of immigration and diversity for an inclusive and redistributive welfare state. A number of analysts have argued that migration and ethnic diversity erode trust and a sense of community among citizens, and that contemporary democracies face a trade-off between the accommodation of ethnic diversity on one hand and support for redistribution on the other.

The presentation provides an overview of findings that have emerged from two decades of research, addressing two distinct questions. First, is there a tension between ethnic/racial diversity and redistributive social policies? Second, does the approach to diversity policy adopted by governments matter? In particular, do multiculturalism policies which recognize or accommodate ethnic groups tend to exacerbate or mitigate any underlying tension between ethnic diversity and social solidarity? On the first question, existing research suggests that the effects are reasonably small, that context matters a lot, that cultural anxieties have been more important than economic anxieties, and that the effects of framing are critical to political debates in this field. On the second question, there is no evidence to support claims that multiculturalism policies exacerbate tension between ethnic diversity and social solidarity. If anything, such policies tend to ease any tensions that exist.

Grete Brochmann

Diversity, Solidarity and Redistribution: Immigration and the Challenges to the European Welfare State

International migration has become one of the most striking challenges to the traditional welfare-nation-states of Europe. The traditional link between rights and territories has become weaker with the European Integration process. Yet the challenges are different according to type of welfare model. We are currently witnessing a defensive restructuring caused by the EU legislation. If we are to grasp the dynamics of what this restructuring is about, we need to analyze the complexity of the relationship between migrant flows, labour markets and welfare systems in each national context. The value that immigrants bring to an economy, and the impact they may have on employment and public services, depends not only on the numbers and characteristics of the immigrants themselves, but also on the labour market and welfare structures which they enter.

3 Recurring Themes

All thematic sessions were characterized by lively and intense discussions, which showed many common points of concern in the current debates on diversity on both sides of the Atlantic. Several recurrent issues emerged both within and across sections. They should be taken into account in further developments of the RECODE agenda:

- the *relevance of placing a stronger historical focus on the analysis of the different RECODE areas* by taking into account the multiple modernities perspective and fleshing out the contrasts between territorial nation-states and settler democracies in the field of diversity politics;
- the *importance of different legal traditions* when it comes to accommodating diversity in Europe and Canada;
- the *role of neoliberalism* in the framing of language politics (global English);
- the *importance of adopting a comprehensive view in the analysis of integration policy regimes* by combining the perspective of political economy and the perspective of political culture (ultimately, cultural anxieties may trump economic concerns vis-à-vis immigration).

4 Future Research Directions

The workshop's last session was devoted to defining further research directions for developing the RECODE agenda after 2014. Jane Jenson (Université de Montréal) identified four points which she considered particularly important in this context. Two of these points relate to conceptual work that still has to be done. The third and fourth points connect this work to specific empirical issues.

- i The first point is to address multilevel citizenship in the citizenship regimes of multilevel polities. The differentiated diversity of the EU should be compared to Canada's "provincial citizenship regimes".
- ii Social cohesion should be considered a second key concept. On the one hand, it should be broken down to a set of dimensions that map the term's semantic property space (such as belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition and legitimacy). On the other hand, we need to know more about the societal dynamics and institutional strategies that foster cohesion.
- iii Point three raises the question of where to look at complex diversity, as, while complexity has been rescaled, the phenomenon is not distributed equally across territories. Accordingly, all the questions posed by RECODE can be asked with respect to urban/rural as well as national spaces.
- iv Finally, the RECODE agenda should take a closer look at the realm of the political economy, drawing on the conceptual distinction of two processes:
 - globalization and the population flows, economic developments, and the ecological politics connected to it;
 - the neoliberal politics of the 1980s and 1990s compared to the politics of "after neoliberalism".

This distinction is important both for analysing transnational flows and intra-national/European flows.

A conclusion of the final discussion at Montreal was that such conceptual suggestions could be used to place a greater effort on better integrating the four thematic sub-sections of RECODE in a next round of research. As to the practical matters involved with elaborating on the RECODE agenda in the future, Canadian funding options should not be searched only at the federal level (SSHRC), but also at the level of provincial agencies (especially in Ontario and Quebec). On the European side, relevant bodies and programmes for submitting funding applications are Science Europe, COST and Horizon 2020.

Annexes

- Programme of the Workshop
- List of Participants

Programme of the Workshop

Thursday, September 12, 2013

10:00 – 10:30

Welcome and opening remarks

- Jane Jenson, Department of Political Science, Université de Montréal.
- Peter A. Kraus, Political Science and Institute for Canadian Studies, University of Augsburg.
- Keith Banting, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University.

10:30 – 12:00

The Political Communities of Immigrants: Transnational Diasporas and Political Integration in Host Countries

- Chair: Oliver Schmidtke, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria and co-lead, TRG Immigration and Social Policy, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue.
- Gianni D'Amato, Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies, Université de Neuchâtel.
- Stephen White and Antoine Bilodeau, Department of Political Science, Concordia University.
- Discussant: Victor Satzewich, Department of Sociology, McMaster University.

13:00 – 14:30

Linguistic Diversity and Political Communication

- Chair: Lawrence McFalls, Department of Political Science, Université de Montréal.
- Donna Patrick, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University.
- Peter A. Kraus, Political Science and Institute for Canadian Studies, University of Augsburg.
- Discussant: Martin Papillon, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa.

15:00 – 16:30

Religions and the Public Sphere: Accommodating Religious Diversity in the Post-secular Era

- Chair: Magdalena Dembinska, Department of Political Science, Université de Montréal.
- Francisco Colom González, Centre of Human and Social Sciences, Spanish National Research Council.
- Avigail Eisenberg, Department of Political Science, University of Victoria.

Friday, September 13, 2013

9:00 – 10:30

Solidarity Beyond the Nation State: Diversity, Solidarity and Redistribution

- Chair: John Erik Fossum, ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo.
- Keith Banting, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University.
- Grete Brochmann, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo.
- Discussant: Edward Koning, Department of Political Science, University of Guelph.

11:00 – 12:30

Future Directions and Collaborations

- Francisco Colom González, Centre of Human and Social Sciences, Spanish National Research Council.
- Jane Jenson, Department of Political Science, Université de Montréal and co-lead, TRG Immigration and Social Policy, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue.
- Peter A. Kraus, Political Science and Institute for Canadian Studies, University of Augsburg.
- Alain Noël, Department of Political Science, Université de Montréal and President, Centre d'études sur la pauvreté et l'exclusion (CEPE).

List of Participants

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Avigail Eisenberg	Department of Political Science, University of Victoria, Canada
John Erik Fossum	ARENA Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, Norway
Francisco Colom González	Centre of Human and Social Sciences, Spanish National Research Council, Spain
Gianni D'Amato	Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies, Université de Neuchâtel, Switzerland
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