



RECODE June 7-8 2012 Workshop

Oslo, Norway

De-territorialized Diversity: Global and Transnational Dimensions

Final Report

1- Summary

The workshop was organised by John Erik Fossum (ARENA, Univ. of Oslo), Thomas Hylland Eriksen (Anthropology, Univ. of Oslo), and Riva Kastoryano (Science Po, Paris) as part of the activities of Section 2 (entitled *De-territorialized Diversity: Global and Transnational Dimensions*) of the RECODE Network. In addition to the contribution from the ESF, the main funder, the workshop also received support from the Nordic Association for Canadian Studies (NACS). (This contribution came from NACS' self-generated funds and not from Canada's DFAIT which discontinued the funding of Canadian studies before the workshop was held). The workshop also received funding from ARENA, at the University of Oslo. The additional funding was required to support the strong Canadian participation in the workshop.

The objective of the workshop was to explore a central issue of RECODE, namely the role of diversity, with particular emphasis on the notion of transnational communities. Politics has traditionally been conceptualized and organized along territorial lines but the confluence of globalization, cosmopolitanisation and Europeanisation have given new impetus to the development of transnational communities. These are spaces for political participation that go beyond national territories, in processes of remapping transnational *political communities* in de-territorialized and/or re-territorialized manners. The workshop sought to understand the nature of this phenomenon; how prevalent it is in the EU and Canada; what the implications are on minorities and systems of governing; and the nature and strength of nationalist reactions.

The workshop was thematically organized to address these themes. The first session entitled Conceptualising Transnational Communities sought to establish the nature of the phenomenon, what kind of issues and challenges it raises, and how these manifest themselves in the two cases, EU and Canada. The second session was devoted to the examination as to whether these developments alter power relationships within states, for various types of minorities. The third session was particularly concerned with the thrust and salience of countervailing forces, with emphasis on the 'new nationalism' in Europe and Canada.

2- Description of the scientific content of and discussion at the event

The workshop was divided into three parts each of which contained a range of relevant presentations and contributions by specifically selected discussants

Section 1: Conceptualising transnational communities

It is widely held that the dual processes of European integration and globalisation usher in profound changes in communal organisation and existence. One important development is the emergence of *transnational communities*. With *transnational communities*, we understand communities that are structured by individuals or groups, who are settled in different national societies, but who share some common references (less territorially bounded). What is the scope and extent of this phenomenon and how does it shape the political and cultural realms across Europe and Canada?

How does cosmopolitanism capture the transnational community phenomenon? The development of transnational communities raises questions for democracy (conventionally understood as anchored in a territorially delimited community). How, then, to conceive of transnational communities from the perspective of democratic theory?

There was both focus on the conceptual/normative issues involved: How, and in what sense, does the transnational communities phenomenon challenge our modern social imaginaries (cf. Charles Taylor), and specific illustrations through analyses of various aspects of the two cases of the EU and Canada.

Thomas Hylland Eriksen

22 July and transnational connections: An analysis of the context for the terrorist attack

The presentation took, as its point of departure, the right-wing terrorist attack on Norwegian government buildings and a youth camp outside of Oslo on 22 July 2011, discussing the national and transnational dimensions of the ideology fuelling the attacks. The first part of the lecture showed how this ideology (anti-Muslim in militant ways) is a transnational, European phenomenon. In the second part, however, it was shown how the Norwegian public sphere and politicians have difficulties in dealing with the ideological content of the terrorist attack, since (a moderate) nationalism is a strong ideological foundation for many, if not most Norwegians. The underlying tension between nationalism (whether territorial or ethnic) and transnationalism (porous boundaries, multiple belongings) has not been addressed. It is the logic of the nation, not that of the transnation, which has been contrasted with the violence of the terrorist attacks. It is integration, not transnationalism. Defenders of the new, ethnically complex situation typically speak of success in the realm of integration into Norwegian society, but rarely of transnational commitments, remittances or the opportunities of social mobility offered through family reunification. The terrorist attack revealed a rift in Norwegian society, but it does not concern nationalism as such, which is unquestioned. It concerns, rather, rivalling views of the nation.

Chris Rumford

Cosmopolitanism and the question of borders

The theme of the presentation was the role and nature of borders within cosmopolitan thinking. Transnationalism's border-transcending character has a clear cosmopolitan tinge

built into it. The question is what this entails, not the least in terms of establishing the normative potentials in borders and the act of bordering. Cosmopolitanism is concerned with the ‘very conceptualization of the social world as an open horizon in which new cultural models take shape . . . and wherever new relations between self, other and world develop in moments of openness’ (Delanty 2007). The presentation reviewed how borders were depicted under the various cosmopolitan perspectives. The general perspective on borders within cosmopolitan thought is to understand the cosmopolitan as ‘living across borders’. The perspective presented in the presentation was that borders are sites of ‘cultural encounters of a cosmopolitan kind’: connecting individuals to the world, bringing them into contact with Others, and causing them to reassess their relations with the (multiple) communities to which they may or may not belong.

Riva Kastoryano

A transnational nationalism

The question of territory has always been at the heart of nationalist movements. Territory is even what makes a nation; its right to self-determination, a combination of cultural and territorial autonomy, is what is at stake in conflicts, even wars, between states as well as between states and nations that have risen up against those who have the monopoly of legitimate violence on their territory. The question of non-territoriality arose in the early 20th century in the Austro-Hungarian Empire when Karl Renner and Otto Bauer advocated social democracy and sought an alternative to minority and diaspora nationalism. Today non-territoriality is an extension of the debates surrounding multiculturalism. Cultural, ethnic and religious communities recognized as such by states that increasingly rely on transnational solidarities have sparked new upsurges of nationalism. This translates as the nationalization of community sentiment (whatever its content may be) or the communitarization of networks of transnational solidarity accompanied by new forms of subjectivity. The territorial boundaries of these communities are not disputed, on the contrary their non-territorial boundaries follow formal and/or informal network connections that transcend the territorial limits of states and nations, thus creating a new form of territorialization – invisible and unbounded – and consequently a form of political community within which individual actions become the basis for a form of non-territorial nationalism that seeks to strengthen itself through speech, symbols, images and objects. These communities are guided by a deterritorialized “imagined geography” that gives rise to a form of transnational nationalism, or a type of nationalism without territory that should be conceived as a new historical stage in nationalism. “Transnational community” establishes itself as a non-territorialized, non-nationalized political community that is linguistically and ethnically diverse, and nourishes new nationalistic expressions of a very different form from the highly territorialized nationalism of the 19th and 20th centuries, a form of transnational nationalism that links territorially-defined nationalisms to an indeterminate space. Similarly, this new type of nationalism breathes new life into the national question and becomes an issue of legitimacy in the international system.

Ricard Zapata

Diversity, transnational practices and intercultural policies

The presentation focused on the notion of ‘intercultural policies’. The key features of this new policy focus are first, a turn towards the city and away from the traditional state-centric way of thinking about diversity. This expresses the growing conviction that the accommodation of immigration-related diversity is first of all an urban phenomenon, which implies practical answers in local policy rather than state policy orientations. Second, it tries to shift from an agent-based way of applying policies to an interaction-based focus. This means that the policy lens does not target an agent, either individual-based or group-based, but instead a process of interaction between at least two or more agents, and seeks to produce a specific innovative outcome: cohesion, development, trust, public culture and socialisation. Because of this potential outcome, intercultural policies can be viewed as a convincing reaction against xenophobic discourse. Third, interculturalism attempts to make a commitment to a specific determinate concept of category-based rather than national origin-based diversity. It promotes the capacities of immigrants and citizens. It promotes diversity as a driver of innovation and creativity and as a public resource for the development and cohesion of the city. The paper argued that interculturalism forms a third way between assimilation and multiculturalism, centred on local policy and confronting the root cause of anti-immigrant populism. It entails a complete change of local policy and offers a lens that can be applied comprehensively (to all policy areas) and in an integrative way (following all stages of a process).

Nina Glick Schiller

Challenging Nationalisms --Long Distance, Methodological, and State: The Agency of Migrants and Cities

The presentation focused on the need to understand current fears about migrants and social cohesion. There are increased restrictions on movement and settlement; and migrants are increasingly targeted by governments as threats to social cohesion/social fabric, national security, quality of jobs and quality of life. In order to understand these developments it is necessary to contextualize current debates, theories, and fears. That includes the need to historicize the debate and reexamine: (a) the relationship between territory and nationalism; (b) the relationship between the category of foreigner and nationalism; and (c) the choice of national scale. Proper contextualisation shows that the immigration debate is filtered through methodological nationalism, an intellectual orientation that assumes that national borders define the unit of study and analysis; that equates society with the nation state; and that conflates national interests with the purpose and central topics of social science. What is also important to keep in mind is that methodological nationalism comes with a distinct stance on nation-state building. The narrative and the consideration of the actor remains steeped within the national borders. Borders and national culture are naturalized. This is an important aspect of the ‘history of forgetting’. There is erasure and silence about: past and present regional, cultural differences and contestation; moving borders and populations; past and present transnational processes; and ongoing processes of nation-state building. There is currently insufficient theorization of transnational processes and migrants as nation-state building actors and the transnationality of cities. What is therefore necessary is: to repudiate

methodological nationalism; recover and popularize migration and settlement as normal to locality building; critique state projects of nation-state building through othering; and highlight the need for globe spanning movements for social justice.

Christian Joppke

Transnationalism and immigrant integration

The presentation focused on multiculturalism, with particular focus on Islam and the role of Muslims in Europe. Liberalism is at heart a politics of indifference. There is a factual unease in liberal states' attempts to relate to multicultural claims. Recognition is by definition an asymmetrical stance and focuses on the demands by one group to have its claims met. That in turn easily spurs other groups' demands. Recognition is therefore a real problem and challenge for the symmetry of the law. Further, recognition becomes particularly problematic when considered in relation to immigrants. Rather than polyethnic rights that apply specifically to immigrants, the best protective devices are the general rights of freedom of expression and association, of privacy and family life, and of freedom of religious belief and practice that the state grants to all individuals. These have been used to accommodate Muslims' claims, and they have done much of the work that is now claimed by multiculturalists.

Nationalist movements

Section 2: **A new power relationship between minorities and states?**

This second section considers the transnational community phenomenon with more focus on relations within the minorities, and how this plays out in their relations to their respective states. This includes attention to how transnationalism manifests itself in various groups, and what the similarities and differences are across region, country, and group. Internal as well as global factors that shape such changes are important to render explicit.

Phil Triadafilopoulos

The Roots of Diversity in Contemporary Liberal-Democratic States: A Global Normative Account

The presentation focused on an important source of diversity in the world, namely the fact that the world is divided into discrete, sovereign nation-states. That division in turn makes migration a fundamentally political problem. Border crossing is a change in domain on the part of migrants; a change that prompts receiving states to distinguish their status, rights and membership prospects in relation to those of members of the established 'national' society. It produces a migration-membership dilemma. The presentation further showed how this dilemma manifested itself first in very different ways in Canada and Germany, but that over time an important change occurred, namely that the two came to follow remarkably similar long-term trajectories, so that both by the end of the last century had developed into de facto multicultural societies. An important factor behind this convergence is found in world-

historical events and epoch-defining processes that helped spur a global human rights culture, a distinctive normative context that discredits discriminatory policies.

Marianne Takle

Membership and internal democracy. Immigrant organisations in the City of Oslo

The presentation focused on the requirements that receiving states place on immigrant minorities in order to understand the power implications for the minorities as well as the broader social-democratic concerns that might motivate such actions. The presentation focused on a case study of the Norwegian state's, and the City of Oslo's, strategy to facilitate the daily operations of membership-based ethnic immigrant organisations, a kind of minority right with certain traits of multicultural policy. The requirement that these immigrant organisations must be membership-based and have internal democratic procedures can, however, mainly be understood within the framework of the Nordic model of voluntary organisation. This combination of the traditional historic Nordic model and minority rights seems to follow a path-dependency based on the historical strength of this model in Norway. The policy is, however, ambiguous. According to policy statements the support to local immigrant organisations built around a sense of belonging to an ethnic or national group is not meant to strengthen their identity as immigrant groups. The aim of this policy is rather integration in the majority society, and this is consistent with the general European retreat from multiculturalism. Nevertheless, the strengthening of group identity will still be the most likely outcome as long as the support is given on the basis of ethnic or national background. This tendency is also confirmed by several studies of immigrant organisations in Norway.

Jon Rogstad

Minority political participation

The purpose of the presentation was to obtain a better grasp on how ethnic minority youth's political engagement is shaped within a broader transnational framework. By political engagement, was meant not simply conventional forms of participation, such as elections or street demonstrations, but political engagement in the making. A main question was whether, and eventually how, a division between 'identity-based engagement', and 'interest-based engagement', reveals different paths to political involvement, and to continued engagement. The presentation examined existing theories and some empirical examples, and argued that identity and interest as general political engagement- and collective action categories need to be modified in regard to four dimensions; 1) degree of instrumentality, 2) future- versus past-orientation, 3) individual versus community focus, and 4) ideological focus on particularism versus universalism in the transnational space.

Section 3: The New Nationalism

This third and final second section focused on reactions to or possible countervailing forces to transnationalism and transnational communities. There was focus on what we may label as

‘the new nationalism’, which takes several forms and shapes. On the one hand, we have the rise of populism. It has taken shape at least partly as a reaction - hostile as it is to non-Western immigration, globalization and Europeanisation. Is this part of the broader phenomenon of what Douglas Holmes has labeled as ‘integralism’, which is basically steeped in romanticism and is hostile to modernity and modernization? On the other hand, we also see a more general process of reaction to Europeanisation and globalization that draws on a more liberal form of nationalism (one more social-democratic version that is particularly skeptical of neo-liberalism)

An extreme example of what appears to be a version of populist reaction is the July 22, 2011 terrorism/massacre in Oslo. This heinous act was motivated by the alleged need to ‘rescue Europe’ from the Muslim threat. The perpetrator claimed to be part of a transnational movement. Is this suggestive of a broader trend of trans-nationalization of nationalist-populist reaction?

Is the populist reaction mainly to be understood as a statist-communitarian reaction (defense of an ethnic-communitarian conception of the nation-state), or does it also, assume transnational features?

In the EU nationalist reactions span the entire specter, from anti-immigration to liberal-national defenses, whereas in Canada the nationalist reaction to globalization does not have much of an anti-immigration component. What accounts for these differences?

Hans-Jörg Trezz

Reflections on the new nationalism in the EU

The presentation focused on the new nationalism through explicitly focusing on the ‘new populism’ within the context of the current crisis in Europe. Populism is an important component in the new nationalism, and it is important to understand how it manifests itself, and the effects it has in contemporary Europe and beyond. What is important to understand in contemporary Europe is the fact of mainstreaming of populism. Populist parties were already well-established before the crisis hit and had also in several instances moved from opposition to government. It is also important to keep in mind that populism was more salient in wealthy regions of the North of Europe than in the regions most affected by the crisis. There is a deep ambivalence embedded in populism. It is not substantial but relational. It is also ‘inherently incomplete, it has an empty core, which explains its weakness but also its flexibility’. New populism is associated with a constant rise in the number of populist actors and manifestations; a new style of democratic politics; and profound regime change of democracies affecting the legitimacy of representative institutions and government. Populists are typically euro-sceptics. There is no linear relationship between populism and crisis. ‘New populism’ does not necessarily manifest itself in a ‘new identity politics’. It is therefore important to take new class struggles and socio-political cleavages seriously instead of simply outing them as ‘populist’.

Sindre Bangstad

The new nationalism and its relationship to Islam

The presentation focused on the New Nationalism and its relationship to Islam. It noted that support for right-wing populism in contemporary Europe is a composite phenomenon, featuring elements such as (a) *anti-elitism*; (b) *anti-intellectualism*; (c) *culturalism* (i. e. social and/or political problems framed and/or understood as being cultural or religious in nature); (d) *welfarism* (from concerns with ‘excessive’ taxation and expanding state bureaucracies to concerns over the sustainability of the welfare state in the future; and (e) *anti-immigration and/or anti-Muslim sentiment*. Though there are material determinants involved in the emergence of a new nationalism premised on opposition and hostility to Islam and Muslims, material factors are insufficient explanatory variables on their own («It’s *not* the economy, stupid!» see Mudde (2007)). This is particularly the case in Scandinavia, which arguably has some of the strongest populist parties hostile to Islam, Muslims and immigration, yet has weathered recent European financial crises extremely well. It is an analytical mistake to think that the new nationalism’s hostility to Islam and Muslims is limited to the right (extreme or populist); part of its appeal lies precisely in its transcending of left/right-divides, and the shift from extreme left to extreme right that it has engendered among some sections of Western European populations. But certainly more ubiquitous among extreme and/or populist right-wing sections of the electorate. We should instead focus on the extreme and populist right-wing ‘realities’ constructed in and through language and discourse (Ruth Wordak), and how this language and discourse mobilize ‘hard-wired connotations’ (George Lakoff) in which fears about the Muslim ‘other’ feature prominently. Though primarily *nationalist*, this language and discourse is also in profound respects *macro-national*, in that it often posits ‘Europe’ as a geo-political entity which is supposedly under ‘threat’ from Islam and Muslims.

Patti Lenard

Wither the Canadian model? Evaluating the new Canadian nationalism

The presentation took as its starting premise that Canada has been quite successful in integrating immigrants. The success to a large extent can be related to inclusive nationalism, multicultural accommodation, and selective admission procedures. Canadian *nationalism* is thin and therefore inclusive, i.e., it welcomes migrants from around the world and accommodates their practices under the banner of *multiculturalism*. Together with a government controlled *immigration* system, the Canadian “model” is offered as a blueprint for other societies aiming to foster the conditions under which diverse societies can thrive. Yet, in the past several years we have witnessed some policy shifts which threaten the effectiveness of the Canadian approach to immigration and integration. The presentation focused in particular on the strategies recently adopted by the Canadian government to thicken the content of Canadian nationalism, by focusing on traditional dimensions of nationalist pride, thereby encouraging Canadians to adopt an “ethnic communitarian” outlook for the first time in its history. These moves are accompanied by at least two significant shifts in Canadian

immigration policy: a willingness to highlight as questionable certain cultural practices as possibly incompatible with Canadian identity, and an increase in the number of temporary labour migrants alongside overt attempts to distinguish between migrants that are good for the Canadian economy and those that threaten Canadian security. The Canadian government thus appears to be retracting its commitment to a wide range of multicultural accommodations, and of selecting immigrants only for their capacity to contribute to the Canadian labour market, all the while citing the security threats posed by other forms of migration.

3- Assessment of the results and the impact of the event

We cast our net of invitation very broadly and extremely ambitiously and were with some notable exceptions very pleased not only with the turn-out but especially with the quality of presentations and not least the debate, a fact that was widely and very favourably commented upon by the participants during and after the event. Since we were able to draw on external funds we could also support a larger Canadian participation in this event, which is of critical importance to RECODE's comparative outlook and orientation. At the same time, precisely because we had such well-known figures we had to reconfigure the program to fit with their extremely busy schedules (which is a further reason why presentations overlap across sessions).

The workshop was important to aid us in the further specification of the nature of the notion of complex diversity, in terms of core concepts, analytical distinctions, and empirical manifestations. It also helped to further elucidate different forms and types of complex diversity and how they manifest themselves in the EU and Canada.

The theme of the workshop allowed us to shed further light on the implications of a deeply entrenched methodological nationalism in the social sciences. This theme has been really well tackled by Nina Glick-Schiller who we were so pleased to have with us at the event, and RECODE is intended to help us to find better more suitable approaches to the analysis and understanding of a complex contemporary reality.

The workshop was useful in on the one hand shedding light on the role and salience of important world-historical events and epoch-defining processes, which have helped to spur a global human rights culture, a distinctive normative context that can help to discredit discriminatory policies. On the other hand, the workshop contained a number of presentations that focused on national and regional specificity, diversity and both conduciveness to as well as resilience against change. The workshop provided a range of case studies from across Europe and Canada that were very useful in shedding lights on the specifics of complex diversity, from the level of the European Union to the level of city governance.

The workshop was also capable of striking a good balance between concerns that are germane to political and normative theory and to concrete empirical cases and developments. Any effort at understanding complex diversity must avail itself of both sets of inputs. One of the

strengths of this workshop was precisely the efforts that the commentators and the general discussion made to such a vitally important cross-fertilisation.

4- Programme of the Workshop

Thursday 7 June

Session 1: Conceptualising transnational communities

09.00-09.15: Opening remarks

Riva Kastoryano, John Erik Fossum and Peter Kraus

09.15-10.15: Norway and reflections on July 22

Thomas Hylland Eriksen

10.15-11.15 Cosmopolitanism and the question of borders

Chris Rumford

12.00-13.00 A transnational nationalism

Riva Kastoryano

14.00-14.45 Diversity, transnational practices and intercultural policies

Ricard Zapata

14.45-15.30 Challenging Nationalisms --Long Distance, Methodological, and State: The Agency of Migrants and Cities

Nina Glick Schiller

16.00-16.45 Transnationalism and immigrant integration

Christian Joppke

16.45-18.00 Discussants and general discussion:

Keith Banting, João Manuel Cardoso Rosas and Alexandra Ålund

Friday 8 June

Session 2: A new power relationship between minorities and states?

09.00-10.00 The Roots of Diversity in Contemporary Liberal-Democratic States: A Global Normative Account

Phil Triadafilopoulos

10.00-11.00 Membership and internal democracy. Immigrant organisations in the City of Oslo

Marianne Takle

11.15-12.15 Minority political participation

Jon Rogstad

12.15-13.00 Discussants and discussion

Veit Bader

Birte Siim

Session 3: The New Nationalism

14.00-15.00 Reflections on the new nationalism in the EU

Hans-Jörg Trenz

15.00-16.00 The new nationalism and its relationship to Islam

Sindre Bangstad

16.15-17.15 Wither the Canadian model? Evaluating the new Canadian nationalism

Patti Lenard

17.15-18.00 Discussants and discussion

Francisco Colom

Peter Kraus