



Science Meeting – Scientific Report

***Final Conference
'Responding to Complex Diversity in Europe
and Canada: Balance and Perspectives'***

University of Augsburg, 23–25 October 2014

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Convenor:

Peter A. Kraus (University of Augsburg)

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1 Summary

The final conference of the RECODE network presented and discussed new contributions to studying socio-cultural diversity and the political challenges it entails. It offered a critical balance of the scientific activities realized under the umbrella of the RECODE network over the past four years. On the one hand, the conference gave an overview of the work done in the four RECODE thematic sections. On the other hand, it focused on the interconnections in this work in order to substantiate the analytic potential complex diversity has for understanding ongoing transformations on both sides of the North Atlantic area. The key question addressed in the workshop was the transition from the 'simple' diversity of high modernity to the 'complex' diversity of present times.

The conference had two main parts. The first, opening part of the event (23 Oct) integrated two keynote lectures and a panel debate focusing on the topic **'Complex diversity and its politics: towards a new research agenda'**. The main purpose of the lectures and the panel was to contrast the views of Gérard Bouchard and Tariq Modood, two scholars with a pioneering record in the debate on ethnic relations and multiculturalism, with the approaches to studying diversity adopted in the context of RECODE. In the first keynote lecture, Gérard Bouchard (Université du Québec à Chicoutimi) dealt with the 'majority moment' in diversity politics and argued that the focus of research on ethnic diversity should be substantially enlarged and include majority cultures as a topic of analysis in and of itself. Tariq Modood (University of Bristol), the second keynote speaker, revisited equality and group identity, making a plea for transcending the dichotomy between 'identities constructed from the inside' and 'identities constructed from the outside' within a normative framework that concentrates on groups fighting outsider perceptions by boosting insider identifications. The issues raised in the keynote lectures were taken up by a panel composed of scholars who have been associated in different ways with the RECODE project over the past five years (Rainer Bauböck, Riva Kastoryano, Guy Laforest, and Birte Siim). The exchange between the keynote speakers and the panelists was highly productive, as the keynote lectures had been circulated among the conference participants in advance. After the keynote speakers' responses to the panelists, the floor was opened to the wider public for general discussion.

The second part of the event (24 Oct) was devoted to the workshop **'From simple to complex diversity: balance and perspectives'**. The workshop offered a first comprehensive and critical balance of the scientific activities realized in the context of the RECODE program. The workshop's two main goals were 1) to give an overview of the outcomes of the RECODE thematic sections; and 2) to address the dynamics of changes and possible interconnections between the research areas under scrutiny in the different sections. The workshop was divided into four sessions. Each of these focused respectively on one of the program's core themes, i.e. religion, language, welfare, and de-territorialization. The format of the sessions was based on confronting presentations by scholars affiliated with RECODE with a contribution of a non-RECODE speaker. The papers presented had a complementary character and offered a critical approach to the work done by the RECODE sections.

Both the opening event and the workshop made important contributions to a first general assessment of how successful RECODE has been in coming to grips with the phenomenon of complex diversity, in analyzing this phenomenon in productive and innovative ways, and in combining European and Canadian approaches in the endeavor to grasp a new constellation, in which a variety of social, political and cultural cleavages overlap and compete for political legitimacy at national, supranational and transnational levels.

2 Description of the scientific content of and discussions at the event

The workshop was structured in four thematic sessions, which reflected the architecture of the RECODE project. The papers had previously been made available for internal circulation on the RECODE web site. The sessions' main purpose was to offer a balance of the work done in the context of RECODE, and to discuss the prospects for further research building on RECODE.

2.1 Session on linguistic diversity

With regard to language, complex diversity becomes manifest in the juxtaposition and the intertwining of autochthonous languages (which may be linked to a majority or a minority group), immigrant languages, and a lingua franca (which in some settings may coincide with one of the previous categories). Complex diversity is leading to new forms of multilingualism, which are linked to a dynamic of transnationalization that entails the uncoupling of territorially based allegiances, on the one hand, and political, social, and cultural practices, on the other hand. This requires a thorough reassessment of the intricate relationship between language and the construction of socio-political identities. We have to develop appropriate ways for conceptualizing identity, the politics of linguistic identity, and citizenship against the background of complex diversity. More specifically, one of the key questions to be examined in this context is to what extent transnationalization and Europeanization are contributing to the emergence of new patterns of connecting linguistic repertoires to civic identities. It seems tempting to see multilingualism as a substantial component of diversity-sensitive identities which allow the articulation of cultural differences in a heterogeneous environment and are at the same time conducive to the making of a shared civic space.

The first two presentations (Kraus and Grin) explored the political implications of complex diversity in the realm of language and discussed how the emergence of new transnational settings at different levels is contributing to an increasing disconnection between language-as-an-option and language-as-a-ligature that affects not only minority, but also majority members. On this basis, a new research agenda was defined in order to identify and assess the trade-offs between the potentially conflicting goals of mobility and inclusion in a multilingual Europe. It was argued that the magnitude and the impact of these trade-offs are ultimately a matter of politics.

The third presentation, by Stefan Oeter, focused on how complex linguistic diversity is regulated in domestic and international law. Concerning autochthonous languages, international law, as well as most domestic legal orders, have developed quite a body of rules for coping with complex linguistic diversity. As far as immigrant languages are concerned, the legal set-up is very limited, since states show a strong reluctance to set standards in that field. In a general perspective, one of the key issues to be addressed is to what extent the language and instruments of law have contributed to formulating creative responses to the challenges of complex linguistic diversity – although it is clear that there is still room for improvement.

2.2 Session on religious diversity

The aim of this section has been to explore the changing role of religion in a context of increasing social complexity, and the policies rehearsed in order to accommodate the new forms of religious diversity into pluralistic patterns of governance. If early modernity was associated with the secularization of political authority and the differentiation of the

ecclesiastical and political spheres of government, in a context of complex diversity the state keeps on having to respond with specific policies to the normative demands stemming from religious groups. Through this process, the religious hegemony that was latent in many Western societies has resurfaced, putting pressure on the neutrality of the state as a public actor and creating a series of normative and political dilemmas. Accordingly, the first presentation (D'Amato and Colom González) reviewed the main issues that have been discussed in the RECODE section on religious diversity, from the need to reframe the most common narratives on secularism, the identification of the main patterns of religious governance in Europe and Canada, to the practices for accommodating religious minorities in public institutions, the right to the legal autonomy by religious groups, or their use of public spaces.

The second presentation, by Ines Michalowski, started from the international comparative ICRI study on citizenship rights for immigrants, which reveals a constant increase in religious rights for immigrants in ten Western European countries in the years between 1980 and 2008. Yet, upon closer analysis, the ICRI dataset suggests that the extension of religious rights for Muslim immigrants is marked by differences in the actual level of religious accommodation across public institutions. Exploring in more detail possible explanations behind this finding, Michalowski's paper takes a closer look at the organizational meso-level by studying processes of religious accommodation in the armed forces of five European countries and the United States. It thereby seeks to explore organization-specific opportunity structures for religious accommodation that could explain cross-organizational differences in religious accommodation. The transatlantic comparison shows that some important challenges raised by the accommodation of Islam in the European Armed Forces derive from the specific organization of military chaplaincy in Europe, which is marked by the historic dominance of the public space by only a few religious groups. As a result, the Netherlands, which is the European country accommodating the highest number of different religious denominations in military chaplaincy (namely six), is largely outnumbered by the U.S. where a different system of organizing military chaplaincy is open to currently over 180 different denominations. Thus, next to elaborating on the notion of institution-specific opportunity structures for religious accommodation by using the example of the military, the paper also raises the question how the local social order on the organizational meso-level relates to broader, country-specific approaches to religion and religious diversity.

2.3 Session on diversity and redistribution

This session was devoted to one of the most compelling challenges facing western democracies: How can we maintain and strengthen the bonds of community in the context of complex diversity within and beyond the nation-state? The session addressed different dimensions of this question. The first RECODE presentation (Banting) dealt with the question of how we can reconcile growing levels of ethnic and multicultural diversity and the norms of solidarity that underpin a generous welfare state. The presentation focused on three core questions: What is solidarity and is it important? Is solidarity in decline and is diversity to blame? And what is the role of political institutions and public policy in sustaining solidarity in the context of complex diversity? The second RECODE presentation (Siim) explored contestation and negotiations about complex diversity from the particular European context, focusing on the role of political actors in sustaining solidarity in the European public sphere.

The third presentation (Birgit Sauer) discussed the relationship of intersectionality and solidarity, looking at the complex tensions between these two principles in West European countries. It focused on three main issues: How can the intersection between gender and ethno-cultural and religious diversity either sustain or disrupt solidarity in different European contexts? How do right-wing populist parties and movements mobilize against diversity within

and beyond the nation state? To what extent do civil society organizations contribute to this disruption of solidarity – as for instance different women’s movement groups do in the heated debates about Muslim women’s veiling? But also, how can democratic forces create solidarity ‘from below’ in different arenas?

2.4 Session on de-territorialized diversity

In European modernity, under the guise of the nation-state, we find a distinct configuration for the accommodation of difference and diversity that takes the form of a distinct political culture, and a socially and culturally demarcated public sphere. Today, a different story is in the ascendancy; it posits that this ‘national grip’ or hegemony is slipping. Processes and patterns of globalization, Europeanization and transnationalization usher in profound changes in underlying conceptions of culture and social and political organizing. These processes are intimately linked to the alleged transition from ‘simple’ to ‘complex’ diversity. The session critically engaged with these developments. Particular emphasis was placed on changes in identities and modes of belonging; the role and status of gender and social justice; patterns of mediatization and communication; and technological change.

The first presentation (Fossum, Kastoryano and Siim) focused on the transformation of identities in the context of complex diversity. Contemporary societies are transforming, but it remains a question as to whether the patterns of transformation take place within a nationalist framework or to what extent and how that framework is itself part of the transformation. The presentation first spelled out in more detail the nation-state-based configuration of diversity management, and thereafter pointed to important changes associated with globalization, Europeanization and transnationalization, processes intimately linked to the transition from ‘simple’ to ‘complex’ diversity that RECODE has been investigating.

The focus of the second presentation (Hans-Jörg Trenz) was on how online media in general transform social spaces – more specifically, the political space in relation to the formation of new publics and their political engagement and empowerment. The paper shows that this is a topic of fundamental importance for the understanding of diversity, as the media play a key role in framing issues and conveying commonality and difference, in playing up or down forms of diversity. It points to ‘the place-annihilating forces of new media technologies’. A key question to be addressed in this context is whether social networking media are the media of complex diversity. That question, it was agreed, forms a vital part of the further research agenda that RECODE researchers should seek to propound.

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

This part of the report first gives summaries of the results of the workshop on a session-by-session basis and then offers a few brief hints at future research venues.

3.1 Linguistic diversity

One of the main results of the debates in this section is that in the field of language there apparently is a major ‘*décalage*’ between social practices that are increasingly multilingual (in the sense of relying on different varieties of multilingualism), and institutional norms that remain attached to the legacies of the monolingual nation-state. At the same time, it seems particularly important – at any rate in the European context – to address the issue whether the transition from the monolingual to the multilingual citizen is a graspable reality, in correspondence with the new cultural imperatives of an emerging, yet still precarious, Euro-polity, or whether it rather has to be seen as a phenomenon which is located at the level of policy discourse, but which has not (yet) left major traces in the ‘standard’ linguistic repertoire of European citizens. This bears great relevance for assessing the role of English as a trans-European (and, by extension, trans-Atlantic) lingua franca, as the levels of English proficiency shown by the ‘standard citizen’ tend to be clearly below what political discourses on multilingual competence often suggest. Lack of proficiency has serious consequences for the potential we may assign English as a tool for transnational political communication.

The discussion also pointed at the differences between language and religion with regard to identity construction. Becoming multilingual is an objective that sounds way more plausible than becoming ‘multireligious’. In other words, at the individual level, linguistic diversity allows for positive-sum options – achieving a multilingual repertoire – that are generally not available when it comes to religious allegiances. On the other hand, public institutions will have considerably less problems in adopting a neutral stance vis-à-vis religious diversity than in remaining neutral vis-à-vis language, as all public affairs require linguistic mediation. Finally, a proper assessment of the trade-off between facilitating geographic and cognitive mobility, on the one hand, and maintaining linguistic diversity, on the other hand, requires historical perspective. Only diachronic comparisons will show us how linguistic hegemony is played out against linguistic diversity (and vice versa) in the process of structuring language policy options.

3.2 Religious diversity

The discussion highlighted the theoretical framework of this section as a particularly strong one and connected it with different case studies analyzed in the workshops, including the cases dealt with by Michalowski, but also with cases related to the use of public spaces, local policies at the city level, religious tourism, penitentiary practices, health care, etc. Against this background, the research carried out so far should be enlarged with more applied and cross-national work dealing with practices of accommodation, so that a systematic and comparative view can be fully developed.

In the section proceedings, participants also raised questions related with the conceptualization of secularization suggesting, e.g., that other and more complex typologies could be added, or that secularism should be examined on a normative basis, not as an end in itself but rather as a mean (for freedom and autonomy, for instance). Moreover, some of the participants raised again issues related to the substantial difference between discourse and practice, emphasizing the way how discourses of secularism, although disconnected from practice, may play a role of moral appeasement in contexts of complex diversity.

3.3 Diversity and redistribution

An important part of the debate in this section revolved around different approaches to solidarity and the civic, democratic, and redistributive dimensions of the phenomenon. One key question is how to link welfare policies (the macro-level) with individual attitudes (the micro-level) and the role of political actors in different arenas (the meso-level). It has to be asked if there is a discursive shift in our approach to solidarity once we focus on diversity as the independent variable and solidarity as the dependent variable. Alternative approaches would consist in asking what national solidarity does in order to accommodate indigenous minorities and immigrants; or in analyzing what diversity implies. Solidarity operates at different levels, which are related with the structures of differentiated citizenship in Europe: a) national (nation-state based) citizenship, b) multicultural citizenship, and c) transnational and horizontally overlapping forms of multiple citizenship.

One key issue raised in the general debate is the weakness of the European project and the limits of redistributive justice at the EU level. This led to questions about possible ways of linking national with transnational solidarity. A second important issue is the relationship between solidarity and social justice based on equality, as discussed in Nancy Fraser's approach to transnational social justice. A third issue is the role of rightwing populism in different parts of Europe, a role which has become more visible after the elections to the European Parliament in May 2014. Case studies from European projects illustrate that rightwing populism can manifest itself either by attacking the welfare state in general or by defending the welfare state in chauvinist ways (only for 'our own people'). Finally, there was a debate on methodological approaches to the study of solidarity, and in particular on whether these should focus on discourses or on actually implemented policies.

3.4 De-territorialized diversity

In this section's discussion, there was agreement on that contemporary societies are transforming; the debate rather centered on the question as to whether the patterns of transformation continue to take place within a nationalist framework, or whether that framework is itself part of the transformation. It was pointed out that there is no teleology here in the direction of more inclusive, post-national and – cosmopolitan – societies. An important observation that is readily apparent in both Europe and Canada is that there is a nationalist reaction to what many now consider an overly permissive liberal multiculturalism, especially in Europe. It is interesting to note that the reaction itself has a clear transnational component, in that many of those in the reaction avail themselves of supranational institutions (if we consider, for instance, the recent EP elections) and transnational networks. Further RECODE-inspired research thus needs to query whether the transformations currently taking place will engage with a nationalism that is less directly associated with the nation-state but continues to predominate over cosmopolitan or post-national orientations. This requires paying more attention to how complex diversity develops further.

3.5 General considerations

The workshop discussions brought to light and permitted critical examination of the findings of RECODE; they also very usefully brought to light the need to continue this research with several important lines of research staked out at the conference.

These lines point at the following areas of research:

- the potential trade-off between the goals of protecting diversity and fostering inclusion;
- the need of historical perspective for assessing the impact of complex diversity on present-day societies, compared with previous manifestations of cultural difference;
- the need of systematic synchronic comparisons for studying practices of (religious, linguistic) accommodation in Europe and North America;
- the issue of discourse vs. practice in the assessment of the politics of diversity;
- the issue of how complex diversity is articulated in the realm of new digital media;
- and, finally, the question of whether complex diversity is leading not to the supersession, but rather to a transformation of the nationalist political framework characteristic of the period of 'high' modernity.

4) Program of the meeting and full list of speakers and participants

Thursday, 23 October 2014 - Public event		
Keynote lectures and panel discussion		
Time	Activity	Participant
17.00	Welcome and opening remarks	Sabine Doering-Manteuffel (President of the University of Augsburg): Welcoming words
		Peter A. Kraus : Introduction
17.15	Keynote lectures	G�rard Bouchard : <i>“Research on Ethnic Diversity: Toward a Majority Moment?”</i>
		Tariq Modood : <i>“Equality and Group Identity Revisited”</i>
18.30	Panel debate	Chair Peter A. Kraus
		Discussants Rainer Baub�ck
		Riva Kastoryano
		Guy Laforest
		Birte Siim
20.00 – 21.00	Public reception	

Friday, 24 October 2014 – Workshop		
From “simple” to “complex” diversity: balance and perspectives		
Time	Activity	Participant
09.00 - 10.45	Section session on language	<p><u>RECODE Speakers:</u> Peter A. Kraus (University of Augsburg) François Grin (Université de Genève) <i>“Complex Diversity and the New Politics of Linguistic Identity”</i></p> <p><u>External Speaker:</u> Stefan Oeter (University of Hamburg) <i>“‘Complex’ Linguistic Diversity in a Legal Perspective”</i></p> <p><u>Discussant:</u> Johanne Poirier (Université Libre de Bruxelles)</p>
11.15 - 13.00	Section session on religion	<p><u>RECODE Speakers:</u> Gianni D’Amato (University of Neuchâtel) Francisco Colom González (Spanish National Research Council) <i>“Multireligious Society: Managing Religious Diversity in Theory and Practice”</i></p> <p><u>External Speaker:</u> Ines Michalowski (Berlin Social Science Center) <i>“Accommodating Islam in the Military – Opening up to Religious Diversity?”</i></p> <p><u>Discussant:</u> João Cardoso Rosas (University of Minho)</p>
14.00 - 15.45	Section session on diversity and redistribution	<p><u>RECODE Speakers:</u> Keith Banting (Queen’s University) <i>“The Strains of Commitment: The Political Sources of Solidarity”</i></p> <p>Birte Siim (Aalborg University) <i>“Is Solidarity Beyond the Nation State Possible and Desirable?”</i></p> <p><u>External Speaker:</u> Birgit Sauer (University of Vienna) <i>“Intersectionality vs. Solidarity - Complex Tensions in West European Countries”</i></p> <p><u>Discussant:</u> Rainer Bauböck (European University Institute)</p>
16.15 - 18.00	Section session on de-territorialization	<p><u>RECODE-Speaker:</u> John Erik Fossum (University of Oslo) <i>“Diversity and Contestations over Nationalism in Europe and Canada”</i></p> <p><u>External Speaker:</u> Hans-Jörg Trenz (University of Copenhagen) <i>“Media Spaces or Media Spheres? De-territorialisation and Re-territorialisation in the Age of Online Communication”</i></p> <p><u>Discussant:</u> Guy Laforest (Université Laval)</p>
18.00 - 18.30	Final comments	<p>Marcus Llanque (University of Augsburg) Reiner Keller (University of Augsburg)</p>

Saturday, 25 October 2014 – Concluding Discussion and SC Meeting

Time	Activity	Participant
09.00 – 10.00	Concluding discussion	All participants
10.00 – 13.00	Steering Committee Meeting	Steering Committee Members

List of Participants - RECODE Final Conference, Augsburg, 23–25 October 2014

NAME	INSTITUTION
1 Keith G. Banting	Department of Political Studies, School of Policy Studies Queen's University • Canada
2 Rainer Bauböck	Department of Political and Social Sciences European University Institute • Italy
3 Gérard Bouchard	Department of Human Sciences University of Québec at Chicoutimi • Québec, Canada
4 João Cardoso Rosas	Department of Philosophy and Culture University of Minho • Portugal
5 Francisco Colom González	Centre for Human and Social Sciences Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) • Spain
6 Gianni D'Amato	Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies University of Neuchâtel • Switzerland
7 John Erik Fossum	ARENA Centre for European Studies University of Oslo • Norway
8 François Grin	Faculty of Translation and Interpreting University of Geneva • Switzerland
9 Riva Kastoryano	Centre d'études et recherches internationales CNRS-CERI-Sciences Po • France
10 Reiner Keller	Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences University of Augsburg • Germany
11 Sebastian Kuschel	Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences University of Augsburg • Germany
12 Peter A. Kraus	Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences; Institute for Canadian Studies; University of Augsburg • Germany
13 Stefanie Levesque	Department of Political Science Université Laval • Québec, Canada
14 Guy Laforest	Department of Political Science Université Laval • Québec, Canada
15 Sebastian Gessler	Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences University of Augsburg • Germany
16 Ivan Gregurić	Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences University of Augsburg • Germany
17 Marcus Llanque	Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences University of Augsburg • Germany

18	Ines Michalowski	Research Unit Migration, Integration, Transnationalization Berlin Social Science Center • Germany
19	Tariq Modood	University of Bristol Research Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship; University of Bristol • United Kingdom
20	Stefan Oeter	Faculty of Law University of Hamburg • Germany
21	Johanne Poirier	Centre de droit public Université Libre de Bruxelles • Belgium
22	Birgit Sauer	Department of Political Science University of Vienna • Austria
23	Birte Siim	FREIA – Feminist and Gender Research Centre in Aalborg Aalborg University • Denmark
24	Sibylle Schneider	Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences University of Augsburg • Germany
25	Hans-Jörg Trenz	Centre for Modern European Studies University of Copenhagen • Denmark