

ESF Forward Look Report 2

ESF Standing Committee for the Humanities
Forward Look Report

Migration and Transcultural Identities



October 2004

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Publication of the report: October 2004

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Maria Buras: Dancing with three identities

Migration and Transcultural Identities

An ESF Standing Committee for the Humanities Forward Look Report

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Introduction

The ESF Forward Look reports

The aim of the ESF Forward Looks is to assess the likely direction research will take in the future and to enable Europe's scientific community to develop medium- to long-term views and analyses of research developments in multidisciplinary topics. The Forward Look Reports seek to bring together scientific foresight and national and European planning for research funding with the purpose of:

- guiding funding agencies and member organisations in planning their resources to meet possible future demand; for example, for new facilities, infrastructure
- developing cooperation and coordination between national agencies
- informing the European Commission and the ESF itself

To achieve this aim it is necessary to bring together Europe's key scientific actors in any given topic, and to give them the opportunity to produce assessments and make recommendations of high quality that would be accepted by their scientific peers. Such an activity needs to balance assessments of state-of-the-art analyses with prospective reflexions. The nature of research is that it is unpredictable but, within reason, a Forward Look for the next 5 to 10 years should provide a useful guide for everyone concerned in monitoring the development of European science.

Why a Forward Look on migration and transcultural identities in the humanities?

Since the beginning of time men and women have migrated, and migration has always entailed multiple affiliations and identities. Having diverse affiliations has had different consequences and meanings throughout history. For example, being of "mixed" origin was a positive thing for Montaigne (1533-92), for whom a decent person was a multicultural one: "un honnête homme est

un homme mêlé". At other times, being of mixed descent has had terrifying consequences, when the combination was not considered socially desirable. In our own time, the aftermath of the immigration to Europe from non-European or from semi-peripheral countries has established new types of transnational affiliations that differ from the traditional immigrant/minority positions known previously. In contrast to the classical models of integration and assimilation, we are now seeing simultaneous local and pluralistic identities, simultaneous ethnic and transnational affiliations, and simultaneous collectivistic and individualistic attitudes. Such combinations are challenging the use of well-established concepts and theories, not only in sociology, political and economical sciences but also in history, psychology, religion, linguistics and education.

The interest of the **social sciences** in investigating such questions in the European scene is evident. As a matter of fact, the ESF's Standing Committee for the Social Sciences has conducted a Forward Look workshop on the topic of Cultural Diversity, Collective Identity and Political Participation. Their interest in the topic was motivated by a series of concerns about the far-reaching changes that have taken place in Europe in the contemporary era, and which have an impact on: collective identities; ideological changes in the Western world; new processes of globalisation; democratisation and growing demands on the part of immigrants for access to the centres of their respective societies, as well as access to international arenas. (ESF Forward Look Workshop on Cultural Diversity, Collective Identity and Collective Action, Menaggio, 3-7 April 2002).

In the present report, we wished to focus on the phenomena related to migration and collective identities from the point of view of the **humanities**, and with methods that are relevant for research in the human sciences. The changes which characterise our so-called "post-modern" civilisation, have implications at all levels from the global and societal to the individual and private. Immigration now has a different meaning and different consequences in contemporary Europe

than at earlier times. Similarly, the construction of collective identities in today's multicultural and multireligious Europe probably follows different paths and entails different processes from the ones known from other societies and in other historical periods. It was therefore decided to investigate the present state of understanding and the need for future research through a series of workshops organised and chaired by experts in different disciplines under the overall direction of Gretty Mirdal.

An historical perspective on transcultural/transnational identities in Europe

The term "cultural identity" is overused but poorly defined. It encompasses notions ranging from fundamental concepts of enduring and determined traits to the post-modern assumption that identity is nothing but a construction, a series of self-narratives. An analysis of the way in which collective and transnational identities in Europe have been conceived and studied earlier, in other words an historical approach to the subject, will be a natural one for the human sciences, and it will contribute to an understanding of the present situation. We proposed to discuss this topic under two headings: 1) The use of historical paradigms in constructing identities today. Tales, myths and images of earlier non-European identities, and how they influence the perception and self-perception of immigrant populations in Europe today; and 2) An historical perspective on the intergenerational aspects of collective identities: changes and transformations (for example, upward mobility and identity assertion) in immigrant populations through generations.

Recognition and representation: national legislation, religious law and identity

It was decided to address the following topics under this heading: claims of legitimate recognition by non-European immigrants in Europe; interactive relations between legal categories; religious discourse and the construction of identities; the

effect of the different forms of legislation on the practise of Islam; the acceptance or refusal of national legislation to follow Muslim tenets.

The subjective experience of cultural belonging and the development and prevention of psychosocial conflicts

The impact of the political and economic climate of the new country on objective measures of acculturation of immigrants (schooling, employment, skills etc.) has been studied in several European countries. However, we know very little about how the history and religion of the new countries, or how their policies toward minorities influence the experience of cultural belonging and of the self-definition of the immigrants themselves.

Furthermore, the prevalence of aggressive behaviour and criminality in marginalised second generation immigrants, and the ensuing xenophobic reactions of the majority population is a cause for concern in many European societies. A workshop on this topic should assess the need for anthropological and ethnographic studies of these phenomena, as well as for psychological investigations of how cultural beliefs, values, and cognitive styles (namely causal attribution, risk perception and learned problem-solving behaviour), influence the development of intergroup conflicts.

Language and identity

Immigrant cultures are not static; they change, they create languages and find artistic ways of expression in the course of adjusting to new environments such as in autobiographies, novels, poetry, films. In short, immigrant literature and art are excellent sources of information on the subjective experience of cultural identity. How and through which methods can these sources be studied and used constructively? We wished furthermore to investigate the current research and need for future research in the following linguistic topics: the appropriation of language; changes in the language of origin; the production of

“immigrant languages”; the mechanisms of external borrowing (from a language source to a language contact) in linguistic change; the impact of the linguistic productions of immigrants on the language of the host countries.

The abovementioned four areas were discussed in four different workshops with invited experts, and on the basis of the participants’ previously circulated papers. The present report is based on the participants’ papers, the chairmen’s reports, and the discussions from these four workshops. Many of the original questions had to be reformulated either because they turned out to be poorly formulated, outdated, or too simplistic once the complexity of the field became apparent.

We hope that the present report will provide a reference for future research goals because they have been formulated by the researchers themselves, and that the report will be a source of inspiration for the scientific community at large as well as for funding research agencies.

The Workshops

Workshop 1.

The history of migration and identities in Europe

Date: 6-7 December 2002

Location: NIAS, Wassenaar

Convenor: Prof. Wim Blockmans (Director of NIAS)

Chairs: Profs. Leo Lucassen (NIAS and University of Nijmegen) and Anita Böcker (NIAS and University of Amsterdam)

Report: <http://www.esf.org/articles/296/finalreportWks1lastversion.pdf>

Workshop 2.

Recognition and representation: national legislation, religious law and identity

Date: 7-8 March 2003

Location: Ministère de la Recherche and Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS), Paris

Convenors and Chairs: Prof. Jørgen Nielsen (University of Birmingham) and senior Researcher Riva Kastoryano (Ceri, Paris) (with the assistance of Prof. Alain Peyraube, Ministère de la Recherche, and EHESS)

Report: <http://www.esf.org/articles/296/finalreportwks2.pdf>

Workshop 3.

Psychosocial conflicts and immigration

Date: 22-23 May 2003

Location: Royal Danish Academy for Letters and Sciences, Copenhagen

Convenors and Chairs: Profs. Gretty M. Mirdal (University of Copenhagen) and Cigdem Kagıtcıbası (Koc University, Istanbul)

Report: <http://www.esf.org/articles/296/Finalreportwks3.pdf>

Workshop 4.

Language and identity

Date: 20-21 June 2003

Location: Prague

Convenors: Profs. Josef Jarab (University of Palackeho, Olomouc) and Ekkehard König (Free University, Berlin)

Chair: Prof. Ekkehard König

Report: <http://www.esf.org/articles/296/FinalReportwks4.pdf>

Workshop 1

Transnational Ties and Identities: past and present

The concept of transnationalism

The explicit aim of this workshop was to integrate an historical perspective with current social scientific research on migration and integration. Despite the important changes that have occurred in the last 150 years, such as new means of transportation and communication, closer ties to the home country or new definitions of state, nation and citizenship, a great number of similarities can still be found in the migration and integration processes between past and present. The phenomenon of transnationalism in its different forms throughout history is one of them. Therefore, the organisers of this workshop decided to focus on it, and to highlight it through four different approaches to the topic: transnationalism and religion, transnationalism and diaspora, dual citizenship, and transnationalism and assimilation.

The organisers, Leo Lucassen and Anita Böcker, first introduced a description of how the term “transnationalism” is used in the current debate, in order to avoid a babel-type confusion of tongues¹. Borrowing from an overview by Ewa Morawska² they differentiated between two related but different interpretations. The first one is mainly used by US-based anthropologists, sociologists and historians: transnationalism is a combination of civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social networks and cultural identities that link people and institutions in two or more nation states. Key actors are international migrants who are assumed to create new transnational spaces and thereby de-territorialise and extend the nation state, rather than undermine it. The second interpretation is widespread among political scientists in Europe and sees transnationalism as suprastatal memberships, identities and loyalties, in other words as a condition beyond the usual state-bound national

identities. One can think for example of the European Union membership, but also of pan-ethnic (Roma/Gypsies), religious (Muslims) solidarities or the activities of the Arab European League in Belgium at the moment. These forms of transnationalism are thought to undermine the power of the state to control and regulate activities within its borders.

Nancy Green (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris), identified three sources of the current terminological difficulties in her commentary: perceptions of time, disciplinary differences, and the result of post-structural theories. There is no doubt that the dimensions of transnational interaction have changed through the years, but does a change in scale automatically imply a change in scope? Is transnationalism today a new concept? The differences between perceptions of time and newness seem to depend on the discipline: where historians tend to look for and emphasise signs of continuities, social scientists are more interested in changes and discontinuities and postulate a difference of the present from the past. Continuity or discontinuity will be found if one is looking for either of them.

According to Green, the concept of transnationalism is central to contemporary migration studies because of the major paradigmatic and historiographical shift from structuralism towards an emphasis on individual agency. As Green said, research into oppression and constraints and collective protest movements has given way to an emphasis on individuals and the possibilities of taking their own action. The shift can be mirrored in the rejection of the earlier dominant assimilation and essentialist paradigm, and in the growing interest in ethnicity and diaspora. The historiographic shift can be interpreted also in relation to the debate over post-structuralism. New vocabulary has an important part to play in this shift. The concepts of “diaspora” and “transnationalism” now seem to be more emphatic expressions of human and cultural agency. They have been a part of redefining migration and its sequel through the redefinition and re-use of themselves, stressing more the

¹ For a more detailed presentation of this workshop see Lucassen and Böcker's report: <http://www.esf.org/articles/296/finalreportWks1lastversion.pdf>

² Morawska, Ewa: “Immigrants, transnationalism and ethnicisation: a comparison of this great wave and the last”, In: Gerstle, G. and Mollenkopf, J (eds): *E pluribus Unum? Contemporary and Historical Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 2001, 175-212

Workshop 1 Transnational Ties and Identities: past and present

individual and positive approach of the movements than the earlier interpretations of forced migration or colonialism.

Diaspora – place and non-place

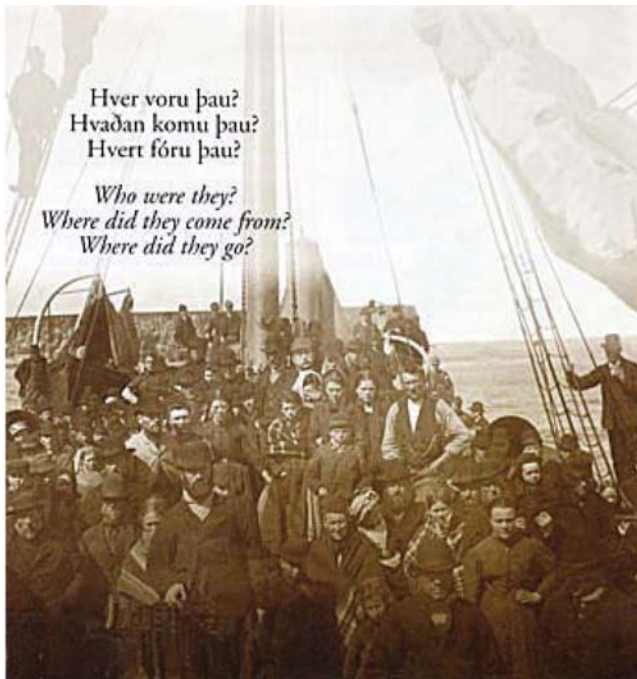
In the literature from the early 1990s onwards, transnationalism has been linked to the concepts of diaspora and migration although they represent discrete processes and sets of phenomena. The impressive amount of literature on both transnationalism and diaspora – there were approximately 750 000 entries for “diaspora” on Google in early 2004 – implies an overwhelming interest in the topic, which is nowadays often considered as a new phenomenon related to globalisation. By bringing social scientists and historians together the workshop was meant to stimulate the interdisciplinary debate and go beyond the usual exchanges as to the novelty or obsolescence of the term. The question for the organisers was not so much whether transnationalism is new or not, but rather to stimulate a more subtle and differentiated discussion about the different aspects of

transnationalism and the way these play out in different contexts through time.

Steven Vertovec (Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin/University of Oxford), illustrated these variations by defining *migration* as physical movement, re-settlement and re-establishment of key social institutions; *diaspora* as the consciousness of being connected to the people and traditions of a homeland and to migrants of the same origin in their countries; and *transnationalism* as the practices of exchange of resources, including people, across the borders of nation states. This implies that migration can occur without diaspora and transnationalism, but the two last-mentioned activities are always a result of migration.

According to Pnina Werbner (University of Keele, UK), the problems of space and territory have been a key focus of the renewed debates on diaspora. Against the more traditional understanding of the diaspora as a yearning for a lost national homeland and return to it, the stress in the new discourse has been on the positive dimensions of transnational existence and cosmopolitan consciousness. Werbner emphasised “place” of diaspora as a key concept and asked how a diaspora can be produced and reproduced in time through its scattered and discrete communities. She argued that diasporas are both ethnic-parochial and cosmopolitan multiplicities of places and non-places at the same time; places marked with difference. In one sense diaspora is not a multiplicity at all but a single place, the whole world. The place emerges *chaordically*, as a chaotic order, which is inscribed both materially and imaginatively in space, time and objectifying practices.

Werbner presented the transnational spread of Islamic mystic Sufi cults as a typical example of chaordic organisations which seem to have a capacity to expand across different boundaries and still remain local and even parochial. Its manifestation can be recognised locally through typical and predictable patterns of foundation of branches, materially in the form of a mosque or other easily recognisable activities connected to the Muslim religion. Although different cults seem



Immigrants from Iceland to the New World
© Icelandic Communities Association

to network both nationally and internationally, they remain very regional.

Although each diasporic community seems to be unique and does not have any centralised structure or organised force to control the communities and their multiple goals, they still seem to emerge in a very predictable fashion. They also share certain common features, especially in the case of powerful diasporas: a sense of co-responsibility across and beyond national boundaries, political communities or nations (nation states). Moral co-responsibility is often embodied in material performance; such as through philanthropy, raising money for welfare, education and health in the homeland or somewhere else in the diaspora. This kind of action has often been an attempt especially by women, to find a way to claim an autonomous space in the strongly male-dominated diasporic activities and to redefine their social position both in the new settlement and globally and transnationally. Diaspora can also be implicated through political activities such as African-Americans supporting sanctions against apartheid in South Africa.

According to Werbner, people bear multiple collective loyalties and often multiple formal citizenships. The diasporic communities located in democratic nation states have to confront their local visibility through public acts and demonstrations of hospitality and generosity to prove their identification with their homeland and other diasporic causes. At the same time they share a commitment to struggle for enhanced citizenship rights for themselves and for co-diasporics elsewhere. For example, in the British Pakistani diasporic community it is not a question only of orientation towards the homeland but also of being part of the Muslim diaspora. The latter asserts their responsibility for fellow diasporan Muslims and their membership in a transnational moral community. It is, however, challenged by the South Asian aesthetic, which offers a more depoliticised embodiment of diaspora with enjoyment of South Asian food, fashion, music and arts. It can be therefore asked how powerful the mass cultural production and trade can be in bringing together otherwise morally and politically divided national diasporas.

Religion in migration, diasporas and transnationalism

Why study religion and diaspora? Vertovec reflected on the importance of studying the connection between religion and diaspora. Referring to Ninian Smart and Robin Cohen, he illustrated how studying modes of adaptations of diasporas may help us to understand patterns of religious transformations. Diasporas may also have effects on religious developments in the homeland.

Like Werbner, Vertovec presented the question of understanding diaspora and how it has developed during the last decade, referring for example to Martin Baumann, Kachig Tölölyan and Robin Cohen. Vertovec pointed out that while the term “diaspora” has become one of the key terms of the post-modern age, religion has been paid relatively little attention within this field. Vertovec pointed out that religious and other socio-cultural dynamics develop distinctively within the realms of all three different categories: migration and minority status; diaspora, and transnationalism, and each of these areas involve distinct, although related, dynamics of religious transformation.

When looking at migration and minority status, the social organisation and practice of religion seem to be modified as a part of the migration and resettlement, often through formation of worship and associations. Often this includes an attempt to replicate an old ethnic-religious community in a new setting, activities to gain legal tolerance or cultural rights and access to public resources offered to other groups. Women’s position and roles seem to undergo considerable transformation, especially if women enter the labour market in contrast to their pre-migration lives. Differences in shaping identities between generations are clear, including religious attitudes between generations. Finally, as Emmer pointed out in his commentary, awareness of ethnic and religious pluralism, being “other” and amongst many other “others” may often support religious changes and strengthen self-awareness.

Being in diaspora often strengthens religious and ethnic identity. Diaspora can support forming



Sultan Beyazid II welcoming Jews to the Ottoman Empire in 1492. Painting by Mevlut Akyildiz

religious communities, ritual practices and spaces of religion, both mental and physical. On the other hand, there seems to be a tendency to make a clear distinction between religion and culture, especially amongst younger diasporic generations. When looking at the transnational character of religion, we must understand that religious communities are among the oldest to be transnational. In modern society it is clear that there are new forms of communication, travel and technology support which accelerate transnational religions. Therefore, it can be asked today, how aware are we of global religious identities, what is essential in a religious tradition and what the setting between universalisation and localisation of religions could mean – if they are still inherent and stable or if there are new processes in the emergence of both forms?

In his commentary on Vertovec's working paper, Piet Emmer (University of Leiden) concentrated on the outcome of three transatlantic migration movements. Emmer pointed out both similar and different features between the migrant groups and their relation to diaspora and transnationalism. From the point of view of religion, a key question is are the African and European religions a copy of the religion from the home country or something new or converted? Migrants are aware that their religion is one of many religions in the new settlement.

When looking at long-term changes, second and third generations usually have a different religious position from the first generation.

Dual citizenship and daily life

One question related to multiple citizenships is how immigrants deal with this in their daily life and what it means for their identity/identities. The basis of the discussion is the change of attitudes of Western states towards dual or multiple citizenship and how these changes are interpreted. Three developments have led to an increase in the number of people holding dual or multiple citizenship: First, citizenship laws have been developed towards gender equality. Second, specific categories of people have been accorded dual or multiple citizenship. Third, the former colonial powers have wanted to maintain their influence in their former colonies. Dietrich Tränhardt (University of Münster) asked why some immigrants want to acquire the citizenship of the immigration country while others do not; why some want to retain their old citizenship, and how the dual citizenship is used.

Applying and adopting new or dual citizenship can confront several obstacles. In Germany in the past, the main obstacles for the transformation of immigrants into German citizens identified by Roger Brubaker (1992³) were the ethnic immigration from eastern Europe or the "*Aussiedler*", the immigration from southern Europe since 1955 which did not lead to naturalisation, and the perception of nation and citizenship which was from the beginning basically cultural and not statistical. The immigrants who had settled in Germany since the 1960s spoke German, knew the social norms and their children went to schools in Germany. Yet they had no German citizenship and were not considered as being German. The changes in the citizenship laws in Germany throughout the 1990s and the reunification of Germany have transformed the German state, society and population and thus possibly strengthened the acceptance of dual nationality.

³ Brubaker, R. (1992) *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

Some of the main reasons for adopting dual citizenship seem to be the guarantee of access to a territory, to social security and to immigrants' participation as citizens in their place of residence. An interesting point of view regarding double citizenship is the fact that immigrants from Third World countries have been the main group to apply for German citizenship. One interpretation could be that these immigrants want to become citizens of *any* European country, which would limit the importance of the specific, in this case German, nationality. According to Barbara Waldis (University of Neuchâtel), being able to participate in European society seems to mean more than a national citizenship. Waldis stressed that to someone choosing a certain nationality the state and its borders are crucial but not the nation. Therefore the term "transnational movements" is not always the right one, so we should speak rather of "trans-state movements".

Let Me Think

*You ask me about that country whose details
now escape me,*

*I don't remember its geography, nothing of its
history.*

And should I visit it in memory,

It would be as I would a past lover,

*After years, for a night, no longer restless with
passion, with no fear of regret.*

*I have reached that age when one visits the
heart merely as a courtesy.*

Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-84)
an excerpt from *The Rebel's Silhouette*

The daily life of dual citizenship can be seen in the social realities of bi-national marriages. Some of the questions dealt with in bi-national relationships and marriages can be resolved once and for all, some recur a couple of times throughout different stages of life, and some questions must be negotiated daily. It means dealing with cultural and national prescriptions and finding very pragmatic

and creative solutions. According to Waldis, this applies also to an understanding of the term "transnational", which does not mean only border crossing but much more; it touches limits and overrunning of borders, concepts and laws. In the case of bi-national families, dual citizenship or nationality concerns not only the migrants but also non-migrants who are in a relationship with migrants, the society as a whole as well as the practices in social reality.

Waldis also presented a question of citizenship in the current global setting, especially arising from European unification, formulation of human rights and rights of the individual, and international mobility. At the level of social actors, the dynamics as well as the limits of dual or multiple citizenship depend very much on family ties and the individual life course. National citizenship can be renegotiated, especially in the case of the second and third generation, when social differences and integration and participation in the place of residence seem to matter more. Waldis pointed out that instead of discussing national citizenship, different levels of citizenship or participation – and thus also possible ways of diversification –, models and possibilities of dual or multiple citizenships could be investigated and discussed.

Nancy Foner (State University of New York), pointed out in her commentary to Tränhardt's thesis that in discussing dual citizenship, a comparison across space is useful. The evidence from the United States suggests that dual nationality will not necessarily dilute the meaning of American, or for that matter German, citizenship. The acceptance of dual citizenship may not only encourage immigrants to naturalise; naturalisation in turn is likely to promote identification with the immigration country's civic and political life.

With regard to Tränhardt's analysis of the concept of ethnicity, Foner underlined that a nation's historical experience affects the very terms used to analyse and discuss immigration and immigrant populations. She pointed out that in the US, the term "race" has not been replaced by "ethnicity" and that race is still used to officially categorise people. Likewise, Foner related the taboo about

assimilation in Germany to the Nazi's forced assimilation policies. In contrast, assimilation is seen as a desirable goal in the US, and a key mission of schools is to teach newcomers English and "core American values and symbols, from George Washington to Abraham Lincoln".

Transnationalism and assimilation

In his presentation, Michael Bommers (University of Osnabrück), reintroduced the proscribed concept of assimilation. He focused on the differences between research on transnationalism or multiculturalism, and assimilation research. According to him, the debate between these two research approaches is based on false opposition and the use of unclarified theoretical frames of analyses. He pointed out that transnationalism and assimilationism do not necessarily refer to different theoretical approaches but more to the strict or loose coupling of the forms of assimilation.

Building on the work of Milton Gordon and Hartmut Esser, Bommers stressed that any form of migration implied assimilation to some extent. To function in a new society, even at a minimal level, some knowledge of this society is necessary and therefore migrants have to adjust. According to Bommers, although individuals migrate for different reasons, they all assimilate when they take positions in the different sections and activities of modern society and when they try to fulfil the expectations that define the social and structural conditions of behaviour and action in the adjustment process. They can be different dimensions of the assimilation which Esser has distinguished as cognitive, structural, social and identificational assimilation. If assimilation is understood as a process related to the expectations in the differentiated social systems and not to groups or societies, the systematic of the distinctions can be easily identified.

To emphasise that multiculturalism and assimilation do not contradict each other and to bridge the gap between the two research approaches, Bommers proposed that the transnationalists should pay more attention to the mediation of migrants' social

participation by the national welfare states and on the nation state as a conceptual starting point. On the other hand, assimilationists need to be more aware of their implicit understanding of a nation state frame of analysis and to be open to alternative paths of social development.

It also seems that modern organisations cope quite well with pluralised cultural orientations and develop their structures and organisations to be better prepared to meet multiculturalism. This does not, however, imply that individuals have the capacity cope to the same extent.

From the point of view of long-term integration processes and particular historical situations, Leo Lucassen suggested that the concept of differentiated societies should be elaborated even further. Societies could also be divided along other lines, since nation states have never been socially or culturally homogeneous. These lines or principles that could encompass the historical perspective could be religion, class, gender and localism (regionalism). According to Lucassen, religion, class and gender have been amongst the most relevant ways to discriminate people and create restrictions and categorisations. The fourth aspect, local and regional definitions, have often been in conflict with the national ideal.

Different dimensions could also be combined. Ewa Morawska, who uses the term "ethnicisation" instead of assimilation, argues in her book *Insecure Prosperity* (1996)⁴ that although the process of assimilation is far from homogeneous, it can take place in at least four different dimensions; namely economic, political, social and religious. Lucassen presented a case of Irish migrants in England in 1840-1900 by combining Bommers' model with differentiation used by Morawska to show how especially the impact of class and gender could be highlighted, and how the comparisons between past and present could become more transparent.

According to Lucassen, Irish migrants were looked upon as being very different by the English population in the 19th century, because they were Irish (ethnicity), poor (class), and Roman Catholic (religion). Many Irish immigrants became very

⁴ Morawska, E.: *Insecure Prosperity: Small-Town Jews in Industrial America, 1890-1940*. Princeton University Press, 1996



Eugene Laermans (1864-1940), The emigrants. © Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels

nationalistic and isolated themselves in their own Irish quarters within big cities. There was seemingly no assimilation. However, if one, takes class into account, the impression of the degree of assimilation changes, especially in the cognitive, structural and the economic domain. If one includes the element of religion in the analysis, and focuses on the group of Protestant Irish males (instead of the Roman Catholics), the picture changes again. Apparently the religious denomination implied that these migrants identified very rapidly with the English nation rather than their Roman Catholic compatriots. Such an analysis illustrates how the use of more precise categories and refined analyses yields results that are very different from the ones on which generalised and still widespread assumptions are based.

Suggestions for further research

During the workshop a number of suggestions were made relating to a future research agenda with regard to transnationalism and the contribution of

historians working in the field of migration and integration. The classic opposition between historians and social scientists should be overcome by creating a common theoretical ground, by raising awareness of the importance of making their assumptions and interests explicit and by emphasising interdisciplinary exchange between historians and social scientists. Long-term approaches in research were also especially supported. There was, however, some scepticism over the usefulness of the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora, when there are already concepts such as “networks”, “ethnicity” and “migration” which seem to describe and explain the phenomena.

The following issues were proposed to be further investigated.

Transnationalism and transnational ties

- The character of transnationalism in different periods and how it related to assimilation.
- Generational changes and gender differences in the intensity of transnationalism.

Workshop 1 Transnational Ties and Identities: past and present

- Differences between functional behaviour of migrants through their own networks and policies by sending states and organisations of migrants.
- The support and help of transnational ties to migrants in the past and present.
- How do transnational ties operate to reinforce migrants' ethnic identities?
- How do these ties affect their political and other involvements in both their country of immigration and their country of origin?

Dual nationality

- What does dual nationality mean for the migrants and other people involved?
- How does dual nationality shape migrants' identities and how does it affect their actions and engagements?
- Long-term effects of dual nationality on the socio-economic integration of immigrants.
- Comparison of reasons to seek or not to seek a second nationality or citizenship.
- Comparative studies of post-colonial immigrants who upon arrival already have the nationality of the immigration country.

Vertovec, Steven "Religion in migration, diasporas and transnationalism". Vancouver Centre of Excellence, Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, Working Paper Series No. 02-07, March 2002.

Werbner, Pnina: "The place which is diaspora: citizenship, religion and gender in the making of chaotic transnationalism". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol 28, January 2002, No.1, 119-133.

Papers presented at the workshop

Bommes, Michael "Cultural plurality, closure and contextuality – a case against transnationalist and assimilationists". Working paper for the workshop, December 2002.

Foner, Nancy "Transnational ties". In: Foner, N.(ed.) *From Ellis Island to JFK. New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration*. New Haven 2000.

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Workshop 2

The Recognition and Representation of Immigrants in Europe⁵

Traditionally, research on immigration has concentrated on two distinct trajectories: assimilation and ethnic pluralism. There is however a third trajectory, which immigrants tend to pursue more and more, namely transnational networks. The basis of these networks has been, according to Thomas Faist (Institute for Intercultural and International Studies at the University of Bremen), the commercial and institutional relations and continuous exchanges immigrants have had between the countries of origin and the country of settlement. In many cases colonial ties and similar geographic and national backgrounds have supported the creation of transnational networks, which have therefore shared common references and common interests.

Transnational networks can be seen as the basis for, or as a form of, transnational social spaces in which collective identities overlap the boundaries of nation states. As Faist said, *transnational spaces* not only represent the movement of people but also the circulation of ideas, symbols and material culture. Such spaces are “combinations of social and symbolic ties – a continuing series of interpersonal transactions, positions in networks and organisations, and networks of organisations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places. These spaces denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions”. The formation of transnational social spaces can vary from short-lived exchange relationships to long-lasting transnational communities.

Different forms of *transnational exchange*, reciprocity and solidarity based on immigrant kinships and communities are typical especially among first-generation labour migrants and refugees; for example in the form of business contacts, homeland-oriented voluntary associations and political organisations. Thus

transnational spaces can challenge the traditional understanding of a nation state and its legitimacy, not only in the country of settlement but also in the country of origin.

Other forms of transnational social spaces, *transnational circuits*, seem to be most developed in cases of circular international migration, such as next immigrant generations involved in business activities in the country of origin. *Transnational communities* seem to go beyond narrow kinship and family relations. Instead of concrete activities or contacts they often have symbolic ties of common ethnicity or nationhood. What they require is the aim to achieve a high degree of social cohesion and solidarity. According to Faist, when transnational communities are built around political or religious projects, the immigrant’s strong social and symbolic ties to the country of origin, and to the country of settlement by non-migrants, extend over a long period of time; these ties are embedded not only in migration flows but also in trade and mass communications. Judicial and political regulations can also influence the formation of transnational communities, depending on whether the political or religious activities are tolerated or repressed in either the sending or receiving country.

Cultural identities in transnational spaces

How do transnational connections affect the formation of ethnic, national, cultural and religious identities? In a rapid historical overview of the approaches to the study of ethnic minority identities in the UK, Tariq Modood (University of Bristol) sketched various approaches to the question. The more traditional approach derived from anthropology emphasised differences between supposedly “distinct” cultures and identity clashes for those immigrants who were thought to be “between two cultures”. The neo-marxian approach reacted to this static and essentialistic definition of culture of the 1970s, by focusing on “blackness”, as a category encompassing all non-whites and on the societal racism and cultural oppression to which they were subjected. From the mid to late 1980s onward, there

⁵ This workshop was held in Paris on 7-8 March, 2003. It was organised by Professor Jørgen Nielsen, University of Birmingham and Dr Riva Kastoryano, Ceri, Paris

Workshop 2

The Recognition and Representation of Immigrants in Europe

has been a significant shift from this globalising approach toward a recognition of a “plurality of blackness”, and toward an understanding of identities as dynamic and hybridic. More recently again, this view of fluid identities has been disavowed in some circles in favour of a Muslim consciousness and the emergence of a British “Muslimness” and rejection of ethnicity.

The question of cultural, ethnic and/or religious identity has become part of the immigrant population’s self-definition and definition of equality. There has been a shift from an understanding of equality in terms of individualism and cultural assimilation to an equality defined as politics of recognition.

Until recently, “equality” was understood as the right to assimilate with the majority or the dominant culture in the public sphere, and to keep “differences” in the private sphere. The newer conception of equality states the right to have one’s difference recognised and supported both in the public and the private spheres. The former, representing a liberal response to difference, and the latter, representing more radical identity politics, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The first definition emphasises the necessity of participation in the public or national culture for effective exercise of citizenship. The second definition underlines the importance of adding the right to widen and adapt the national culture and public and media symbols of national membership to include the relevant minority ethnicities. Thus equality nowadays has come to entail the requirement for respect for one’s origins and the encouragement for the preservation of a family or a community heritage. This has in turn led to the participation of minorities and marginal groups in the discursive public space and equality began to manifest itself as the possibility of inclusion into a political community. Matters that were earlier called “private” have become sources of equality struggles.

Islam in Europe

As remarked by Jørgen Nielsen (University of Birmingham), with the exception of the Netherlands, and to a certain extent the UK, “when people talk about multiculturalism in Europe, they generally think of Islam”. From an emphasis on the ethnicity of the immigrants in the 1980s, the focus changed in the 1990s to their religion, in this case, Islam. This is both the case for the immigrant communities internally and for the host societies. One could say that an “Islamisation” of both western European and of immigrant discourses has taken place in the past 15 years. The Muslim populations are themselves undergoing a process of reconstruction of their self-understanding in relation to old theological powers. They are furthermore confronted with a plurality of Islamic practices and interpretations in diaspora.



Wearing the headscarf: who, when, where, how and why?

On both sides the picture is further complicated by the fact that the interactions among Muslims, and between Muslims and non-Muslims differs in the various countries of immigration. Reaction to the immigrant’s “otherness” manifests itself differently in different countries. For example, there is a variety of views in the UK, depending on the context in which they are presented. According to Nielsen, Germany and France have a larger foreign-born Muslim population than the UK, but problems of race relations have prominence over religious questions in the UK, whereas religion is overemphasised in other host countries.

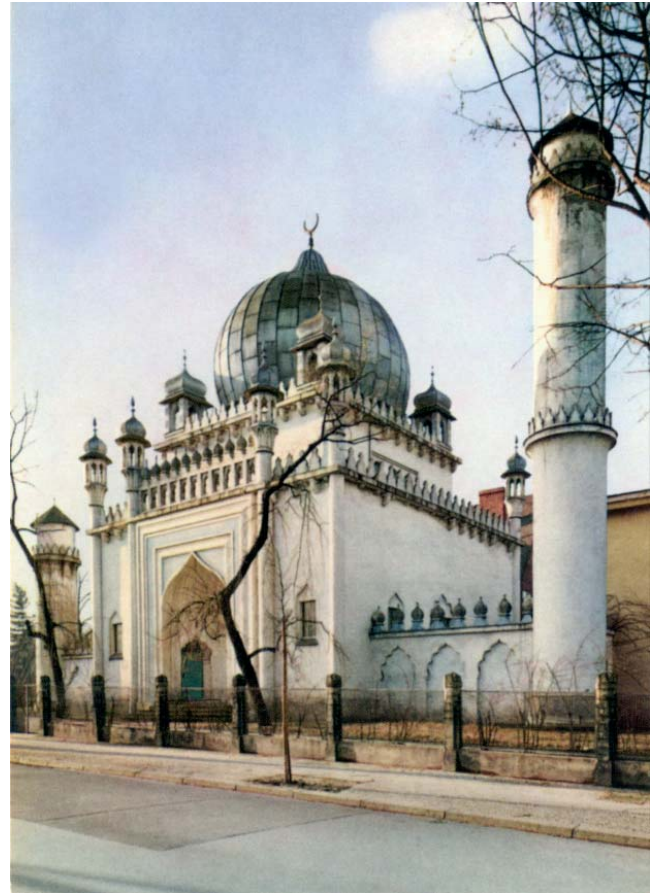
Schools in mainland Europe have no school uniforms, but there is a reaction against the headscarf in France, whereas most UK schools

have uniforms but no reaction against the headscarf! Before investigating the concept of transcultural and Muslim identities, and before planning comparative research, there is a series of unanswered questions in connection with contemporary expressions of religion in different settings. How, for example, is the production of Islamic discourses influenced by the attitudes and the legislation of the host country? Does the reconstruction of Islam take different courses in different host-cultures? What is the impact of law on mentality? What is the relationship between ethnicity and religion? Do earlier experiences with Islam influence the new cohabitation? Is the recent history of Islam in Europe different from the history of other religious minorities (for example Roman Catholicism in Protestant countries and vice versa)?

Looking at the scene from a historical point of view, Stefano Allievi (University of Padua) described how Islam, which had always been perceived as external to Europe, has now become internal. There has been a long historical and theological tradition of regarding Islam and Europe as mutually exclusive. From this perception of Islam *or* Europe, the relationship changed to Islam *and* Europe, and finally to the present situation of Islam *in* Europe. But Allievi claims that Europeans still believe in the “impermeability model”, that and they act as if this model were real.

Religion as a basis of identity, representation and recognition

Religion has played an important role in forming transnational networks and social spaces, even though religious practices have traditionally been considered to be confined to the private sphere. According to Faist and Thijl Sunier (University of Amsterdam), in the earliest phases of transnationalisation, when male labour migrants intended to stay a only few years to earn enough money and return home, cultural practices including religion remained in the private sphere; for example, private dwellings were used as prayer halls. No special integration or migration policies were undertaken by the host governments or



Postcard carrying a photo of a Berlin mosque served in the recruitment of Turkish workers during the 1960s.
© Siemens-Archiv München

authorities. Control from the country of origin and any intention to organise religious life were also minimal. One reason was that immigration and the presence of religions other than local ones was considered to be temporary phenomenon. When women and children joined in the immigration flows during 1970s and 1980s and (as Nielsen presents in his article, in the case of Muslims) brought Islam with them, and immigrants began considering to stay permanently in the host countries, a big change took place; communities with mosques and cultural organisations were established, qualified religious personnel was needed and religious activities became more visible.

One of the main points of discussion of this workshop was the inhibiting or facilitating role of religion in the integration of the immigrants to the country of settlement. Ekaterina Nikova (Institute

for Balkan Studies at the National Academy of Sciences of Bulgaria) showed that Albanian immigrants in Greece have changed their names and religion and baptised their children in order to be more rapidly integrated and to strengthen future opportunities for next generations. In the case of Bulgarians, cultural distances are much narrower and easier to overcome because of their common Orthodox faith with the Greeks. Whereas marriages between Albanians and Greeks are almost out of the question, the similar religious background makes marriages between Greeks and Bulgarians, as well as other immigrants with Orthodox faith, possible.

According to Sunier the opportunities for Muslims to set up a religious infrastructure and to establish a place for their religion in the receiving society are generally conditioned by constitutional principles of freedom of religious worship and the separation of church and state. Sunier argues that in addition to these general principles there are specific conditions and circumstances that produce considerable differences. They apply not only to the structures of institutionalisation but also to the discourses of identity, nationhood and citizenship and the ongoing debates about the place of Islam in the specific society. The current situation in Europe is very much affected by the Salman Rushdie “blasphemy” affair and later events linked to Islam, fundamentalism and violence in the Middle East.

Muslims for whom having a Muslim background and religion have not been particularly important have discovered new community solidarity. From the point of view of religion, specific policy-demands of the religious groups, and Muslim-identity politics, Modood presented three practical definitions of terms applying to religion, equality, inclusion and recognition. First, religious discrimination should not be accepted and no one should be excluded from a job or other opportunities because of his/her religion. Second, minority religions should have parity with indigenous religions. Third, religious groups should be positively included in society, with the same sensitivity as, for example, women’s rights have been presented.

From labour immigration to economic transnationalisation

Whereas the first part of the workshop centred on the impact of culture and religion on the life of immigrants in the host societies, the second part of the workshop considered the economic and social aspects of integration. There seems to be a tendency in the European labour market to favour the highly qualified immigrant. However, the challenge is and will be that more and more low-skilled immigrants are seeking to enter Europe for a better life. In her article, Nikova presents a case in the recent phenomenon of intense immigration in Europe: the Albanian immigrants and their life prospects in Greece. Because of the economic crisis and high unemployment in 1960-70s, high numbers of Greeks between 20 to 35 years of age emigrated from their native country. However, the later positive trends in the economy the processes of modernisation and Greece’s accession to the European Community, led to the re-migration of Greeks. Instead of being a country of emigration, Greece became a host society for economic immigrants of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, the clear majority being from Albania. According to Nikova, although there are negative and xenophobic attitudes, particularly towards the Albanian immigrants, there is a certain resignation and tolerance because the influx of Albanians into the workforce is needed because of Greece’s decreasing birth rate, zero-level population growth and simply to allow Greek society to function.

There is an unknown number of illegal “guestworkers” who seem to form an active part of the Greek economy, taking care of unattractive, often part-time, seasonal or other temporary jobs. The Greek authorities have taken action to legalise illegal workers by campaigns, two of which took place in 1998 and 2001. On the other hand, “a grey field or a shadow market” of immigrants, especially Albanians, seems to still exist and to create inequality. Another aspect of immigration to Greece is the situation of university graduates and other specially qualified groups that enjoyed a certain protection during the socialist period in eastern Europe, but who now cannot find jobs corresponding to their qualification or experience.

These groups are forced to take low-paid jobs, and experience a great decrease of social status in the new country.

According to Nikova, new invisible boundaries, for example in the form of weaker protection of social rights or mental and spatial isolation, have been drawn, and these produce further social, political and spatial marginalisation of immigrants. On the other hand, their oppressed situation and exclusion from society seem to encourage self-organisation by immigrants and to create different forms of support activities, assistance and collaboration among and between the immigrants; for example in setting up a café or a newspaper for social contacts and to get information on jobs and legal procedures.

New communication technology and travel connections have accelerated the formation of transnational activities and spaces. The question is, will immigrants have the capability to exploit new opportunities through transnational social spaces which may lead to economic success? Faist postulated that to be developed, economic transnational spaces need exchange- and reciprocity-based resources, transnational circuits and beneficial conditions (such as lower production costs) in the original sending country. Family and kinship systems as well as a sense of collective communal identity can support the circulation needed.

As Faist said, kinship- and community-based transnational exchange, reciprocity and solidarity are typical for many first-generation labour migrants and refugees. This type of transnational exchange can be seen in the simplest way in the transfer of money to their families and relatives in the country of origin. This applies to the Albanians in Greece, as well as to the Turks who came to Germany first as labour migrants in the beginning of 1960s. Immigrants can also influence direct investments in their country of origin by participating in family businesses or, in a case of re-migration, by investing in re-settlement and establishing enterprises there.

Integration and economic participation

The second stage of the immigrant's economic activities could be considered as a contribution to the integration in the country of settlement or ethnic economy. According to Antoine Pécoud, (University of Poitiers/University of Oxford), the impact of the entrepreneurship on integration or incorporation in the country of settlement is a central question but can still be contradictory. In any case, self-employment and business ownership has a central role in the immigrant's representation in the receiving countries. Today there are enterprises owned by Turks in nearly every German city, affecting the urban landscape and introducing new products to the markets. Small grocery shops and restaurants are typical business activities of Turkish migrants. They usually continue the kinship traditions by employing family members.

The third stage of immigrant economic incorporation could be described as a change from an ethnic niche to transnational coordination and participation in business activities. Faist pointed out that it is important to emphasise that the majority of immigrants may remain in the lowest social classes, in low-paid jobs or as self-employed shopkeepers, or are increasingly excluded from the labour markets. Nikova presented an opposite and interesting phenomenon, the Polish immigrants in Greece. At the beginning of the 1980s, 200 000 Polish refugees came to Greece during the time when a military regime was established in Poland and the Solidarity movement was strongly repressed. Ten years later, Poles were well integrated into Greek society and had good jobs, had become self-employed or employers in their own businesses. Similar examples can be found in Germany where the heterogeneity of Turkish enterprises has been growing. Some Turkish entrepreneurs have progressed from small local enterprises to business fields in which they would compete with Germans, such as the IT sector and textiles.

Another aspect of heterogeneity which could also be seen as a cultural change should be mentioned. Whereas the possibilities for immigrant women in Greece have been very limited, mainly to

homeworking or in the worst case the sex industry and prostitution, in Germany more and more German-Turkish entrepreneurs are women. According to Pécoud, one of the characteristics of the successful female Turkish entrepreneurs is that they do not emphasise their ethnic background, and do not rely on co-ethnic networks in the traditional way. The same applies to the successful male Turkish businessmen.

If the impact of the immigrant's entrepreneurship is assessed optimistically, Pécoud referred to the arguments of Faruk Sen that in addition to socio-economic incorporation, setting up one's own business in a country of settlement can be culturally interpreted as a positive effort in becoming a full member of that society. However, Pécoud also referred to researchers that stress the negative aspect of immigrant entrepreneurship; for example, that self-employment can increase socio-cultural isolation and lead to socio-professional and cultural ghettos. He referred to Abadan-Unat, one of the experts who takes a very critical point of view, saying that the German-Turks' business activities constitute a pattern that permits the full practice of customs of the homeland and use of the language of the original culture. Thus ethnic businesses can eventually be understood as cultural associations which pursue home-oriented goals. They can also be related to religious and political movements in the countries of origin and prevent participation in the broader society of the country of settlement.

Pécoud made a difference between structural and cultural integration, and pointed out differences in institutional and national contexts, in perceptions of immigrant economies, and finally the intermediary nature of business. It is clear that kinship- and community-based transnational exchange has been very important to German-Turkish entrepreneurs in enabling them to set up and run an enterprise. On the other hand, contacts are made outside the Turkish population, and thus linguistic and cultural skills are needed if the enterprise is to prosper. In fact, multiple cultural competencies are required to be able to move between different cultural milieus. Trade can thus be considered as an activity that may support the

cohesion of plural societies at all levels. Conversely, it can also be taken as an activity that requires a very small degree of mutual acquaintance, only the business interest in question, between two parties.

Transnational communities as fora for policy actions

Along with the constitution of the European Community and the strengthening of Europe as a transnational community, many immigrant networks have been institutionalised as voluntary associations that participate in the formation and discourse of transnational communities and in the construction of European space. The main task is no longer to negotiate at the national level but to go beyond nation states to redefine a position and look for a collective identity in Europe.

The concept of a nation state based on territorial, cultural, linguistic and, in many cases, religious unity, is then challenged by the transnational networks and communities. According to Riva Kastoryano (Ceri, Paris), immigrants create a space for political participation that goes beyond national territories; they re-map Europe as a transnational and re-territorialised political community. Following this development one can ask, as Kastoryano has: "What becomes of the relationship between citizenship, nationality and identity; between territory and the nation state, between rights and identities, culture and politics, states and nations, all these concepts which are interconnected in nation states?"

In her article, Kastoryano investigated the multiple interactions between transnational networks, nation states and supranational institutions and their role in the emergence of a European space. As an example, she presented a transnational structure which was established by the European Parliament targeting resources for the coordination of activities of immigrant voluntary organisations. The main concerns of European public opinion concerning immigrants, unemployment and racism, were motivations for the creation of the Forum for Migrants in 1986. The forum was dissolved in 2001,

but it has remained as a transnational structure, a sort of European federation of immigrant associations. Its goal was and is to fight against racism through the common jurisdiction in European countries. The aims were also to loosen ties to the politics of countries of origin as well as countries of settlements and to develop discourse on more universal issues, such as equality and on human rights beyond the nation state concept.

The participation and political engagement in supra- or transnational organisations often requires political acculturation at the national level in order to negotiate their position in the state. In relation to Dutch integration policies, Sunier pointed out that some organisations of migrants have been considered as acting as bridges between individual migrants and Dutch society in order to ensure a smooth integration. In the Netherlands, many such organisations have been politically and ideologically incorporated into official government policies. On the other hand, in some countries, such as Germany, there are hardly any opportunities and institutional settings that link, for example, Muslim organisations to the state. According to Sunier the problem is that these organisations do not fulfil the criteria required for public law status – they are not considered to be permanent representatives of the entire Muslim community and are therefore not able to speak for it.

In the case of the Forum for Migrants, the criteria for associations to participate were defined by the European Parliament as follows.

The association had to:

- be legitimised by the member state in question
- prove its capability to organise
- mobilise resources
- define its activities as universal
- represent immigrants coming from non-European countries.

The associations in the forum were thus already in a representative position in the countries of settlement.

However, a common base to coordinate discussion on immigrants' rights at the transnational level can be difficult to find because the relation between immigrants and their countries of settlement is often reflected in the way claims relating to the country of residence are expressed. As Kastoryano says, national particularities and collective identities that have been shaped in relation to the countries of residence emerge in official rhetoric and political claims. Irrespective of how states define themselves and the kind of claims made, or on what basis the immigrants present these claims (for example, whether religion, ethnicity or nationality), and what terminology is used in defining a minority, the main criteria used to fight any attempt at exclusion seems to be identity.

According to the Human Rights Convention (Art.29 para1) “the word ‘minority’ refers to a group inferior in number to the rest of the population and whose members share in their will to hold on to their culture, traditions, religion or language.” Whether populations born of immigration have such minority rights or not is subject to debate and is dealt with differently in different countries. For Germany, only German minorities who have settled outside German territory have such rights. Therefore, Turkish citizens in Germany aspire to have their Turkish or Kurdish associations acknowledged as minority communities in order to safeguard their solidarity rights and their freedom of collective action in the framework of the German community.

Finally, Nora Ahlberg (Oslo University and National Centre for Minority Health Research) focused on the ethical aspects of the questions discussed throughout the workshop. Even if individual freedom is a fundamental and necessary part of any democratic society, said Ahlberg, the problems related to maintaining a minority or different collective identity are not dealt with by the defenders of individually anchored rights. Such problems are exacerbated in relation to the acculturation of young people in the host societies. History is full of examples in which youngsters have become the victims in conflicts of interest within a majority-minority constellation. How far

can representatives of the majority demand from perplexed migrant youths and their elders, that they should resolve problems that the international community has not yet succeeded in resolving? Ahlberg's conclusion was that even when migrants "confront us with cross-culturally difficult ethical challenges which demand public intervention, they are never to be reduced to mere objects or instruments for our own – albeit democratic – goals and values, but must be met with respect for the minority's need for both proximity and distance, as well as added concern for hidden elements of discriminatory power politics".

Suggestions for further research

- The relationship of ethnicity and religion.
- Perceptions of private and public space and the borders between them: religion as a binding factor in political participation.
- The "grey zones"; namely research on private-public borders and "non-borders".
- Power and management of change: how do individuals become players in the processes of change and how do they use their positions; different modes of participation.
- The relationship between integration and political, economic and cultural participation.
- The construction of Islam in Europe: mobilisation of Islamic resources and discourses in the European environment; cultural pluralism of Muslim communities and its impact on the development of Islamic thought and expression.
- Economic participation: economic integration; the relationship between ethnic and religious communities and economic activities; entrepreneurship.
- Individual, local, national and transnational: migration, settlement and social exclusion; the individual's links to a social collective in an ethnic minority context.
- Legal framework and legislation: legislative traditions and responses to the pluralism of culture, religion and minority concerns; minority participation in the legal system.

Papers presented at the workshop

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- Nielsen, J.S. "Muslims, the state and the public domain in Britain". In Bonney, R., Bosbach, F. and Brockmann T.(eds): *Religion and Politics in Britain and Germany*, 2001, Munich: K.G. Saur., 145-154.
- Nikova, E. "Economic migration to Greece and the personal and national prospects of Albanians". Unpublished paper, October, 2002.
- Pécoud, A. "Self-employment and immigrants' incorporation". Unpublished paper.
- Sunier, T. "Islam and political culture. The institutionalisation of Islam in western Europe: the case of the Netherlands compared". Unpublished paper.

Workshop 3

The Background and Prevention of Psychosocial Conflicts

Integration policies: France and Canada

The receiving country's implicit and/or explicit integration policies constitute not only the context in which transcultural interaction and acculturation take place, it is also an essential element in the definition and categorisation of who an immigrant is.

This question was most explicitly addressed in relation to two countries with opposing policies, namely France (Schnapper, Krief, and Peignard), and Canada (Berry). The French contemporary integration policy (formerly called "assimilation" policy) allows for the expression of cultural belonging in private, but not in public, life. Whether this model is "assimilationist" and geared toward erasing cultural differences or, on the contrary, whether it permits to fidelity to one's culture of origin while at the same time as providing the possibility of internalising the values of the new society, is an open question.

This so-called "universalistic" model that has shaped French integration policy (universalistic because it is thought to give each individual the opportunity to transcend their origins and of being the bearer of "universal" values) aims, according to Schnapper and her colleagues (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris) at transforming immigrants, or at least their children, into French citizens, thereby providing the newcomers and their descendants with the right to become full citizens with equal obligations and equal rights. In other words it is through individual citizenship that the French assimilation policy attempts to transform a population of foreign origin into French people. This type of policy clearly does not encourage the immigrant communities to express their distinctive character, even though departures from the universal guidelines (for example the law on headscarves and other religious symbols) is said to be possible on a case-by-case, day-to-day basis.

The contrasting view is reflected in "multiculturalism" that upholds pluralistic rather than unitary state policies, and diversity rather than uniformity in society. In this workshop viewpoints in favour of multiculturalism were presented by John Berry (Queen's University, Ontario), who has studied acculturation extensively, internationally, but mainly in the Canadian context. His model of intercultural strategies in immigrant groups and in the receiving society is based on the assumption that immigrant groups and their individual members have the freedom to choose how they want to engage in intercultural relations – as is the case in Canada. However, Berry recognised that this freedom of choice is not always present⁶. Most intercultural situations are influenced by negotiation between two, sometimes competing, sets of views.

"Integration" requires mutual change in both the immigrant groups and the larger society: immigrants must adopt the basic values of the host society, while in turn the public institutions must adapt in order to meet the needs of all groups now living together in the society. In this way, assimilation and separation can be avoided, both of which bring more serious social and psychological costs than integration. For Berry, the prerequisite for socio-cultural adaptation is that people feel secure in their identity: "Support ethnic group development. Ethnic groups will be tolerant only if they are supported. Only then can they be tolerant of differences". Perceived discrimination is, according to Berry, the most important single variable that impacts on acculturation. In contrast to the widespread view that psychological adaptation is a prerequisite for socio-cultural adaptation, Berry maintains that it is the other way around: good social and cultural conditions lead to better psychological adjustment to the host society.

The response of Schnapper et al. to the criticism of the French policy by cultural pluralists, is that minority-oriented policies, and the encouragement of communities to express themselves publicly as such, may be normal and perhaps desirable in other European countries, "but because of the French model and tradition of national integration, the minority-based approach might have the effect of

⁶ For a more detailed presentation of this workshop see Mirdal and Kagiticbasi's report on www.esf.org/humanities/forwardlooks

Workshop 3 The Background and Prevention of Psychosocial Conflicts

weakening the social fabric and cohesion”. According to Schnapper et al., all policies have their own logic because of their particular national history. The same policies can therefore have a different impact in different countries.

The application of multiculturalism in Europe (the Canadian model) is further complicated by the fact that most European countries do not adhere to a multicultural ideology, and that there are not only discrepancies, but directly conflicting values between some immigrants and the host society. The implications of government integration policies can therefore be understood only when seen against the background of the countries and cultures in which they are applied, and do not have the same consequences (at the individual as well as the collective level) in different contexts. In terms of future research, there is a need for comparative studies of migration policies which take the historical, cultural and religious context of the host societies into account.

Dealing with conflicting values

The *social sciences* have mainly focused on differences in integration policies at the societal level, and especially in relation to the receiving countries. In the present Forward Look workshop from a *humanities* perspective, the question was primarily discussed in relation to minority groups and individuals. The desirability of encouraging religious, national or ethnic communities to maintain their values was critically addressed by Wikan,



Riots in Bradford

Esmer and Kagıtcıbası. Unni Wikan (University of Oslo), who has studied oppression among women coming from Islamic societies, illustrated the problems encountered in Norwegian courts when Islamic sexual norms clash with the northern model of gender equality.

Yılmaz Esmer (Bogazici University, Istanbul) and Cigdem Kagıtcıbası (Koc University, Istanbul), also expressed reservations about policies encouraging the maintenance of values that might be counterproductive to the next generation’s development and emancipation. Kagıtcıbası, referring to her paper, “Whither multiculturalism?”, pointed to the danger of rendering the migrant groups even more different than the host society by accentuating the former’s different cultural and religious characteristics. She voiced concern regarding the benefit of unquestioning acceptance by the majority culture to religion-bound reactionary practices, which actually undermines the successful socio-cultural adaptation of minority communities.

Similarly, Esmer, the author of “Is there an Islamic civilization?”, presented data on the impact of secular versus religious education, arguing against the latter, especially in the case of children resulting from Turkish migration to Europe. Drawing on material from the World and European Value Surveys, Esmer presented data on a wide range of cultural values using systemic data from eight countries, including predominantly Islamic societies. According to Esmer, the list of characteristics that would define Islamic culture is very consistent.

- Faith seems to be more important for Muslims compared to people of other religions.
- Islamic values are less supportive of gender equality and less tolerant of sexual liberalisation.
- Determination and perseverance consistently appeared as values to which Muslims did not seem to attach much importance.
- Political, more specifically democratic, culture variables did not distinguish Islam from Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox or Hindu worlds.

These characteristics of Islam need to be understood and kept in mind in policy decisions regarding the provision of support to Islamic institutions such as Koranic schools in the receiving countries.

The individual in extended global networks

Relations across national borders need not involve “nations”. Immigrants use networks strategically across home countries and receiving countries. Work/employment practices engage people in local, regional and transnational mobile networks, both for economic opportunities and in order to pursue particular types of culturally and socially desirable livelihoods. This implies a re-questioning of the concepts of cultural belonging. Anthropologists Antoine Gailly (Centre for Mental Health, Brussels), and Karen Fog Olwig (University of Copenhagen) started by questioning the concept of transnationalism, and the assumption of ties to definite and limited geographic/national territories. Can someone belong to a group that has no territorial point of reference? What is the subjective culture of a transnational community? Do people in the diaspora, in migration, consider themselves as bound to a given territory? What is the common socio-cultural consciousness in a situation of permanent up-rootedness?

In this connection, Fog Olwig noted that the term “trans-national” by its very composition stresses the role of the nation state. Yet these arenas represent only a limited sphere, and immigrants have connections across several borders throughout their life trajectories, and they maintain a web of interpersonal ties and construct socio-cultural places of belonging regardless of national boundaries.

Belonging and affiliation are closely tied to the concept of identity, the validity of which was questioned by Gretty Mirdal (University of Copenhagen). Some researchers define “identity” as an individual’s innermost core, others regard it as a mosaic of various aspects of the self, the self itself being adaptable and changeable throughout a lifetime. In its popular sense identity connotes a



Maria Buras: Dancing with three identities

persistent sameness within oneself and an ability to maintain a feeling of continuity in time. Mirdal defines identity as a web of bodily, emotional, cognitive, social and cultural information about the self which is transformed throughout life, as we adjust to different conditions. It seems that the most threatened aspects of one’s identity acquire primacy in consciousness in periods of crisis or in situations of emotional overinvolvement. Thus, whether religious, ethnic or national identity takes on the most important role for those in minority groups depends on which aspect is most salient at a given moment and situation. Although theoretical at first sight, the implications of these discussions have concrete relevance for the prevention of the development of rigid and fanatic identities, which can lead to violence and terrorism.

The investigation of transcultural networks and of cultural belonging necessitates interdisciplinary research mainly qualitative methodologies such as ethnographical approaches, follow-up studies, life stories, in-depth case studies, preferably in collaboration between groups of researchers. Here the contribution of art and literature is of great and as of yet unexplored value. Artists, writers and poets have the ability to express feelings and thoughts that are not only hardly accessible to

scientific investigation but which are furthermore fragmented because of the necessity of systematising and operationalising concepts.

Culture versus socio-economic factors: acculturation as social mobility

Social scientists and politicians usually agree that racism and discrimination mainly stem from economic and social problems. In this perspective social distinctions seem to play a more important role than ethnic ones. As expressed by Pascale Krief (EHESS, Paris), the most important difficulties that immigrants or their children encounter in public life can be attributed more to social problems than to ethnicity – although there is always a mixture of ethnic and social dimensions in racism.

A similar conclusion was reached by Karen Phalet (University of Utrecht), who found that education was more important than ethnicity with respect to values. Education seemed to play a greater role in women's than men's attitudes. This finding, apart from being thoughtprovoking in itself, stressed further the importance of studying the gendered nature of change.

Drawing on the Ercomer Survey 2000, Phalet and Hagendoorn had compared images and identities of Turkish and Moroccan migrants and the Dutch population in Rotterdam (N=1 500). Their interactive approach to ethnic relations meant studying the prejudices of both the dominant and the minority groups. They found that a clear majority of both native and migrant youth experience conflict rather than compatibility between Muslim and European norms and values. Often differences among groups in values or behaviours are attributed to ethnic/cultural differences; yet they may be arising out of socio-economic differences. For example, several studies conducted across multicultural receiving societies showed that when social class was held constant, interethnic differences disappeared in parental childrearing values and beliefs.

Anti-Islam attitudes were partly based on “classic prejudice”, and partly on perceived political threat and culture conflict. Representations of conflicting

family values were more widely shared than concerns with global political tensions. Perceptions of cultural conflicts centre on a deep moral discrepancy between liberal and conservative family values. Not only did dominant group members to some extent reject Muslim minorities, but some portions of minority groups also held negative views of the dominant society. On both sides, youngsters with lower levels of education experienced greater difficulty in reconciling Muslim and European values and cultures than those with higher education. Based on these findings, Phalet centred the discussion on the questions of what strategies people use; that is, individual or collective, and what is the instrumental value of moral values?

The individualistic-collectivistic dimension and the autonomy of the self

No categories are clear-cut: individuals in different cultures include in their cognitive systems both individualistic and collectivistic elements, the expression of one or the other tendency as well as the degree to which they are expressed depends on the context. The individualistic-collectivistic dimension has been studied under different names; for example independent- interdependent self, referential-indexical self, and idiocentrism-allocentrism. In her presentation, Kagitcibasi who has introduced the concept of separated and related selves to the psychological literature, questioned the general assumption that there has to be an individuation or separation process in order to grow up. Can people be autonomous if they do not separate? According to Kagitcibasi there has been a culture-blind application of the psychological theories of individuation. In many cultures parents are becoming increasingly accepting of autonomy, without necessarily separating. There is also a growing understanding that an obedience-orientation in education is no longer adaptive. Autonomy is required for success in school as well as in specialised urban employment in industrial society, but the goal of relatedness remains. Turkish adolescents do not want to be separated from their parents, they want

to be more autonomous. The possible compatibility and coexistence of autonomy (agency which involves volitions, doing something of your own will without being coerced) and relatedness, stimulated discussion.

The reciprocities between the attitudes of the immigrant and the host society

Based on comparative studies of Turks in Australia, Sweden and the UK, as well as comparative studies of minorities within Turkey (Armenians, Jews and Greeks), Ahmet Icduygu (Bilkent University, Ankara) presented results that supported the reciprocity between immigrant attitudes toward the host society and vice versa. Icduygu was interested in the subjective experience of the concepts of membership, belonging, attachment and legitimacy in migration, and drew attention, to discrepancies between the different levels at which these concepts are expressed, stressing once again the difficulties in obtaining meaningful results on the basis of objective questioning alone. For example, identification with the country of origin – contrary to expectations – did not influence the immigrant’s political behaviour and choices. Similarly, the immigrant both wished and did not wish to become “integrated”, depending on the meaning of integration⁷. In any case, to become integrated is not necessarily the immigrant’s goal, according to Icduygu. On the contrary, there is an increase of conservatism and of religiousness after emigration. Icduygu’s research highlighted the need for comparative research investigating questions such as: How are the concepts of membership, belonging, attachment and legitimacy defined by the host countries, and how do individual immigrants experience them? What is the relationship between loyalty to the host country and trust in the new society? What is the meaning of retaining the old citizenship? Of changing citizenship? Under which circumstances is this a political, economic, and/or emotional choice? Does identification with the home country predict political choice?

By attempting to explain potential conflicts caused by migration, the sociological migration research has considered a number of social structural conditions that modify the integration process and the conflict potential. According to Bernhard Nauck (Chemnitz University of Technology) – if these are not to end in limitless inventories of determinants, a “theoryless variable sociology” – the determinants as observable indicators have to be related to the nomological cores of the sociological theories. This was attempted in relation to the following two areas where empirical results and theoretical considerations were interrelated in the presentations: law and justice, and intergenerational conflicts.

Gunter Bierbrauer (University of Osnabrück) maintained that a harmonious identification with the values of the host society necessitates that minorities are not excluded from the scope of justice and moral concerns. His hypothesis, based on Schlesinger’s classical work, is that if ethnoplural societies fail to provide adequate reasons and resources for its minority members to identify voluntarily with a set of superordinate values, they will identify more strongly with their own ethnic sub-groups.

Specific studies on intercultural conflicts in court were presented by Bierbrauer and further discussed by Wikan. Bierbrauer studied attitudes toward procedural (how things should be decided) versus distributional justice (how goods and benefits should be distributed) in cases where immigrants are the recipients, and members of the host society are the allocators.

The following questions were raised: What does it mean to have a different culture when in court? What does a superordinate European identity versus national identity mean for the perception of justice? Considering that for example Kurds and Lebanese prefer informal, whereas Germans prefer more formal forms for dispute resolution, can different methods be advocated for different ethnic groups? (There is additional evidence that in traditional collectivistic culture, informal dispute settlement is resorted to; for example, June Starr’s work in a Turkish village and recent cross-cultural

⁷ Cf. the recently published study by Jasinskaja-Lahti, I., Liebkind, K., Horenczyk, G., & Schmitz, P. (2003). “The interactive nature of acculturation: perceived discrimination, acculturation attitudes and stress among young ethnic repatriates in Finland, Israel and Germany”. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(1), 79-97

Workshop 3

The Background and Prevention of Psychosocial Conflicts

work comparing Chinese with Americans, mainly in order not to disrupt group harmony.) To what degree are the receiving countries prepared to question their own legal system?

Unni Wikan presented her experiences with cases of conflict between the Norwegian view of equality and freedom and Sharia law. What is just? Is a fair distribution of justice the acceptance of the immigrant's understanding of cultural justice, even when it collides with that of the host society? Referring to the cases of so-called "honour murders", Wikan was interested in the processes of decision-making and the assignment of responsibility. Decisions about how conflicts should be solved in certain ethnic groups seem to be taken abroad. If it is true that "the decision to kill is taken in the family in Turkey or in Iraq", it is important to study how power structures operate at the transnational level.

Psychosocial conflicts: parent-child relations and communication across generations

In their paper on intergenerational conflicts and health hazards in immigrant families, Nauck and Niephaus took their point of departure in the often raised assumption that there are serious conflicts between first generation immigrants and their offspring. Well-being is one of the most valid indicators of the subjective dimension of life quality; in this study it was used as a measure of the intensity of intergenerational conflicts. The main result of the empirical findings is that such conflicts, compared to other stressors did not impact on health risks in the migration situation. These families were apparently not particularly stressed by conflicts between parents and their offspring. "Intergenerative transmission" took place to a greater extent in migrant than in non-migrant families; that is, there were higher correlations between the attitudes of parents and adolescents in Turkish migrant families than in non-migrated Turkish families. The attitudes of migrant families were more traditional and conformist than that of non-migrated families.

In immigrant families the family members know more about each other, are more sensitive to familial interactions and attempt to synchronise with them. The cultural distance between the society of origin and the receiving society has an influence on the well-being of both the first and second generation and on the intensity of intergenerative conflicts; that is, the wider the cultural distance the worse the well-being; the greater the social/cultural distance between the migrant and the host society the more the discrimination, rejection and the less the integration. These observations are relevant to the dilemmas relating to accentuating the differences with multicultural policies mentioned earlier.

Suggestions for further research

Themes and topics

- The impact on intercultural conflicts of the type of categorisation/ethnic classification of immigrants and their descendents.
- Focus on the receiving society: Much of the research discussed during the workshop focused on the immigrants and their identities. The reception side of the equation, and the reactions of the dominant culture toward the immigrants, as well as the ensuing interaction patterns need to be studied.
- The dynamics of ideological shifts in the host society.
- The definition of "cultural autonomy"; its moral and ethical aspects.
- Differentiation between the impact of law socio-economic status and factors related to immigration and status as foreigner.
- The transformations of identities; changing metaphors of identity, attachment, reciprocity, and legitimacy.
- The individual in differing contexts of acculturation versus constraints.
- The relation of researchers to the media; the diffusion of results and the researcher's responsibilities in influencing the images of cultural conflicts.
- The application of empirical findings in solving societal conflicts.
- With respect to methodology: longitudinal and comparative studies.

Conceptual and methodological problems

The questions that were discussed throughout the workshop dealt with people who come from one country and one/many culture(s) to another, who are at one and the same time insiders and outsiders, and who have at least a double belonging, with ensuing feelings of bi-valence or ambivalence. Are our conceptual tools and the categories that we use adequate to grasp this complexity? Which theoretical advances are needed to encompass the contradictory findings as well as the concurring hypotheses that emerge from different disciplines and traditions?

Examples of more concrete methodological questions: the identification and location of groups, the definition of subjects according to objective or subjective dimensions, culture-fairness in measurements; emic/etic approaches; questions of validity and reliability, especially in relation to surveys and the interpretation of these data.

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Workshop 4

Language and Identity

Different approaches to the study of language and ethnicity

According to Roxy Harris and Ben Rampton (Kings College London) there are two main paradigms in the approaches that have been taken in studies of the relation between language and ethnicity. The first one is based on the assumption that Western civilisation is modern and that the rest of the world is primitive, traditional and pre-modern. Whereas the West is perceived as urban, industrial, democratic, and defined by citizenship and nation states, non-Western civilisations are seen as agrarian, tribal and characterised by oral, in contrast to written, traditions. With migration from pre- to post-modern societies, the characteristics that have traditionally been ascribed to tribes are now being attributed to “ethnic minorities”.

The second approach (also called a paradigmatic framework by Harris and Rampton) questioned the so-far dominant categories of language, ethnicity and the binary contrast between tradition and modernity. It regards people, goods and services as moving across territorial boundaries and as a manifestation of globalisation, thereby displacing the importance of citizenship and national belonging. According to this perspective, mobility, transnationalism and global cities emerge, and multilingualism and cultural hybridism are not the exceptions but are considered to be natural and normal.

Although the dichotomy between primitive and modern can still exist as an underlying assumption in research and public discourse, Harris and Rampton claimed that there has been a growing consciousness of their complexity in recent years. It has become more common to understand languages, cultures and communities as ideas and categories which we use to interpret and organise human activities, rather than considering them as well-described entities. Instead of defining the



After a soccer game in Berlin

essence of a particular language or culture, researchers seem to be more interested in choices and practices, of the ways in which people construct and maintain the boundaries between different ways of speaking, and of how these practices are selected, promoted and/or imposed. What are the discourses that hold the categories in place and emphasise or disturb them?

Similarly there has been a shift in the definition of ethnicity, from an essential quasi-biological characteristic toward something that people can emphasise strategically and according to the needs and purposes in particular situations. Ethnicity is increasingly defined as a relatively flexible resource that people can use in the negotiation of social groupings and borders, associating themselves with certain groups or contexts and dissociating from others. Compared to the traditional interpretation, this approach gives more space and credit to free choice and active agency. Ethnicity can still be taken as inheritance underlining the ethno-cultural and linguistic legacy. Yet it is possible that people are not content with the group categories that society tries to fix and define, and therefore argue for creating new ethnicities or for taking on someone else’s ethnicity. According to Harris and Rampton, this has been a major concern in the most recent research work focusing on hybridism and new approaches to ethnicity.

The role of language in the construction of identities

The convenors of the workshop, Ekkehard König and Volker Gast (Free University of Berlin) provided a basic characterisation of the notion of “collective identity”, and the role of language in the construction of identity. For König and Gast, hierarchical and conditional relations exist and define the importance of social properties or attributes. In some settings and situations, dimensions of nationality and ethnicity are ranked high in the hierarchy of the attributes, in some religion or gender may be the most important factors of solidarity patterns and group formation. Attributes can be re-ranked also in the historical processes. Although they pointed out the changing and heterogeneous nature of the properties of a collective identity (different degrees of visibility, access, objectivity, category and values, and the constant change through discourse and other forms of semiotic interaction), they refused to regard identity as being a result of a discursive construction of reality. This position initiated a debate similar to the ones which took place in the other three workshops regarding the “essentialistic” versus “constructivistic” approaches to the definition of identity.

According to Peter Auer (University of Freiburg), the mainstream thinking in the field of sociolinguistics continues to be essentialistic. The way in which “ethnolects” (new ways of speaking, “new languages”) are studied can be used as an illustration. Ethnolects have emerged in the context of considerably large and vital immigrant communities in the urban societies of Europe, and they integrate elements from both the immigrant language(s) and the language of the host country. An example is “KanakSprak” which is used in Germany and which is structurally influenced by immigrant languages – most notably Turkish – and is normally used by adolescent immigrants, but sometimes also by non-immigrants. It indexes a number of social categories such as age, social class and culture.

The essentialist view on Kanaksprak, says Auer, focuses on language as a reflection of the hybrid identities of the speakers. This does not do justice to the complexity of the topic or the dynamics of the language resources. Several case-studies and illustrations were presented during the workshop; for example that of a 15 year-old Sikh boy (born in the United Kingdom) who mixes Punjabi, English and Jamaican rasta language and different writing codes. Harris, Leung and Rampton pointed out that the vernacular speech of the Sikh boy reflects his participation in the complex urban dynamics of different social categories. They also show how the language can be suffused by issues of politics and identity. Also Auer demonstrated how Kanaksprak reflects different types of affiliation and political messages, including attempts to disaffiliate from an undesirable group, and not only to identify with a given speech community.



KanakSprak by the Turkish-German writer Zaimoglu.

Another example of different processes of change in the languages spoken was presented by Alain Peyraube (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales) who focused on “borrowing” in his presentation relating to the Chinese community in Paris. He showed two different aspects of the changes: on the one hand the French influence, or more generally, the Westernisation of Chinese; and on the other hand the influence of earlier forms of Chinese which could be recognised in the new language, and therefore could be seen as a revival of earlier structures of the language.

Acts of identity: German migrants in Brazil

In their research on the Germano-Brazilians in the state of Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil, Peter Auer, Jacinta Arnhold and Cintia Bueno-Aniola used Robert Le Page's approach to social identity. Auer, Arnhold and Bueno-Aniola showed how language, its varieties and linguistic heterogeneity are used as a resource for acts of identity. They referred to Le Page's idea of acts of identity which dissolve the unity of the social person, and fragment it into an array of social categories under which s/he subsumes her/himself and the other. Le Page transforms social identity from uniqueness into plurality, from identity to identities and sociolinguistic variables, from symptoms into symbols. Le Page's understanding of acts of identity differs from the traditional explanation of the word "identity" in the sense that Le Page stresses "acts", and not an invisible "ideal" identity. Acts bring about the seemingly reliable features which social actors ascribe to themselves and to their fellows in interaction as features of the social world which is stable and can be taken for granted. Therefore Le Page questions the validity of constructs such as social class or ethnicity which we use to understand the social world around us.

Auer et al. described linguistic acts of identity dealing with choices of, for example, syntactic constructions or phonetic features which occur in a certain social context. Linguistic heterogeneity can reflect a multitude of choices which are structured by social actors. In an act of identity a speaker projects her/himself with an aim of identification to a social reference group, to receive reinforcement from the group in question and become more regular with her/his speech behaviour. If a speaker is not positively reinforced, s/he will stay or become more variable with her/his speech.

The problem Auer, Arnhold and Bueno-Aniola handled in their article is the lack of clear exemplification of the actual analysis of "acts of identity". They presented a case of German immigrants in southern Brazil, in an area which has been culturally, socially and economically shaped by the European work immigrants since the first half of the 19th century. They do not form a uniform

speech community but different grades or social categories of the community that can be recognised in the language varieties and how speech is used in self-presentation and interaction. Historically, the speech community originates from the relatively uniform population of German migrants with similar political and economic interests and who formed an autarkic community (a system or policy of economic self-sufficiency in a country). They have organised their own economic and social infrastructure including a German language school run by the community. Although the system was disrupted in 1930s by the state administration and the banning of all other languages except Portuguese, there are still some relatively homogeneous mono-ethnic groups with limited contacts with Portuguese-speaking society.

According to Auer, Arnhold and Bueno-Aniola, there is a clear shift from the autarkic to the assimilative attitude amongst the German-origin Brazilians at the Rio Grande do Sul. Economic difficulties, migration inside Brazil from the rural areas to the cities and social pressures caused by the stereotypical distinctions between social groups, urban and rural people and migrants have also forced people of German origin to take a more integrated stance and speak both languages on different occasions. These people can be considered to be linguistic and cultural bridges or intermediaries between the colonists and the original population. They are familiar with the languages, their variations as well as with the colonial life, because most of them have grown up in the colonial districts.

This study shows how people use their symbolic and verbal resources to project an image of themselves, how they use language differently to index social and ethnic categories. Auer, Arnhold and Bueno-Aniola point out that one question still remains: To what extent can the actors choose their behaviour patterns freely in the acts of identity or are they determined to produce linguistic indexes of social and ethnic groups which create stereotypes and images they may not want to be associated with? The authors discuss the constraints acknowledged by Le Page and

Tabouret-Keller which can direct the behaviour patterns of groups one finds it desirable to identify with: the ability to identify the groups, access to the groups and the ability to analyse their behaviour patterns, strong motivation to join the groups and the reinforcement or deterioration by the groups, and the ability to modify one's own behaviour. They also refer to Bailey's idea of language having a dual role in interactive-identity work: language can be taken as a medium which the individual social actor can use to highlight different aspects of identity, but it can also be taken as a medium through which constraints and hierarchies are invoked and reconstituted.

New varieties and orders of language repertoires in the globalised world

It was emphasised during the workshop that language should be considered as an integral part of the various socio-cultural dynamics of human interaction. Therefore it can be asked what effects mobility and globalisation have on languages and linguistic studies. The effects of globalisation and mobility, especially on the post-modern approach raised by Harris and Rampton, were discussed also by Jan Blommaert (University of Ghent). According to Blommaert, when the field of sociolinguistics attempts to address globalisation it will need a new theory. The term "globalisation" itself seems to lift issues to a different level, and therefore it is important to explain various forms of interconnectedness between different scales and levels of sociolinguistic phenomena. The key questions are how we understand "global" in globalisation, and how we can conceive of the processes of insertion of "globalised" material into repertoires.

Blommaert said that globalisation should not be understood as a creation of worldwide uniformity, although a lot of current discourse seems to refer to such an approach. We should rather think that the world is not a uniform space but built on inequality, as Immanuel Wallerstein⁸ argues, which means the existence of separate spaces and deep interconnectedness between different spaces at the same time. It means also unequal possibilities



The Tower of Babel, from a 13th-century *Bible Historiée*.
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of mobility. Language may set people in particular places while access to other languages may offer potential for moving across physical and social spaces. One aspect of this is the argument of the existence of core and peripheric regions which creates a hierarchy in varieties of languages – for example, British English is considered “better” than a Pakistani variety of English.

Another issue of importance according to Blommaert, is the language-ideological level of the globalisation processes. Blommaert argued that “in understanding the processes of globalised insertion of varieties of newly stratified orders of indexicality, the key to an understanding is what such reordering of repertoires actually means and represents to people”. Blommaert referred to House⁹ and presents a division between “languages for communication” and “languages for identification” which allocate specific indexicalities to particular speech varieties, although he says that the issue is more complex than the division presented by House. He also puts together the sociolinguistic phenomena related to the insertion of particular varieties of language in

⁸ Wallerstein, I. *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York, The New Press, 2000. Wallerstein, I *Unthinking Social Science* (2nd edn). Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2001.

⁹ House, Juliane. «English as a lingua franca: a threat to multilingualism». *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2003, 7, 556.

existing repertoires and the language-ideological level guiding the process and being one of the results and presents the semiotic opportunity in the globalisation process. One example of this presented by Blommaert is a hiphop artist who uses phonetically “nativised” American English hiphop slang in a fusion with Japanese,, thus constructing a semiotic product – rap lyrics. We can see a cluster of divergent indexical meanings packed in one speech event, and the packaging in question is tightly anchored in and enabled by globalisation. Blommaert said that “the particular ‘globalised’ linguistic and cultural-stylistic blend allows the semiotisation of unique indexicalities that point towards the local-global dynamics characterising and contextualising the cultural practice of hiphop”. The key point is that in this kind of language use, no difference between local and global indexicalities can be seen, because they occur simultaneously.

*What makes u judge quick
and talk shit when I haven't even spit and u
already on my dick
what makes u prejudice
and chase us like predators
convincing the medias and population to get
rid of us
what makes u playa-hate
and pack hate just cause I got my name
writing on the plates of my Benz
what makes u flip over my sisters scarf
and generalise when the fact is u hide your
true colors behind your disguise
What makes u analyze every move I make
step in the ring of debate and discover who's
fake
what makes u think u better than me
when we got the same college degrees
and I got all the right keys*

Outlandish: song lyrics from *Mano A Mano*



Isam Bachiri, Lenny Martinez og Waqas Qadri started the group Outlandish in 1997. Their background is from Morocco, Honduras, and Pakistan, respectively. All three grew up in a suburb of Copenhagen. Their lyrics are in English, Spanish, Arabic, Urdu and Danish.

Diminished predictability of the identity effect of language

Mobility can be considered as a key feature of sign complexes in globalisation. It can be understood as the potential to make specific resources function more or less adequately across different spaces, including physical and social spaces. As Blommaert said, people move across physical and social spaces which are often intertwined, and their language practices undergo reassessment at every phase of the trajectory and the functions of their language repertoire are redefined. It is also a question of reallocation processes of the speech resources which are central in characterising globalisation: they define how mobile resources are or can become. It seems to be that resources that are functional in one particular place become dysfunctional in another place. Therefore handling a sociolinguistic concept of speech community empirically becomes increasingly difficult. Another aspect of mobility is its unpredictability in the light of identity effects and the diminishing presupposability of functions for linguistic resources when they are taken out of their original spaces. One can ask how the normative form, value, meaning or function of the discourses is transferred and reallocated – if at all.

On the other hand, globalisation and mobility can offer huge discursive opportunities in recreating and shifting identities. Blommaert presented a case of a disc jockey called Ras Pakaay who has a reggae programme on the radio station of the University Of Cape Town, South Africa. Blommaert showed,

through examples of Ras Pakaay's discussions with different listeners, how the disc jockey uses several linguistic varieties of English as well as the local Bantu language. He points out how identities are not produced in simple categorisations but in delicate shifts occurring in a variety of combinations that include cultural, class, gender and ethnic aspects. As in the case of Kanaksprak, linguistic resources display different effects, depending on their connection with particular ordered indexicalities. An important notion is that identity becomes a matter of details. Blommaert said that it is not a question of only large social categories but rather delicately organised packages of identity features indexed in speech and intensive shifts between such packages. Therefore the performance of identity is not a matter of articulating one identity but of a mobilisation of a whole repertoire of identity features converted into speaking positions.

Language in education

What is the position and meaning of schools and language education in migration and in the globalising world? Does current education policy support other languages such as the original languages of ethnic minorities, development of bi- or plurilingualism and socialisation? For example, in the United Kingdom there is a considerable diversity of English-learning needs in schools. Harris, Leung and Rampton refer to several researchers by saying that although pupil population with an ethnic minority background can strictly be categorised into three groups (new arrivals with no or very little knowledge of English, low-key British bilinguals and high-achieving multilinguals), there are enormous variations in the previous educational experience, major differences in wealth and income and other aspects of social background. Another aspect to the question of bi- or plurilingualism was presented by George Lüdi (University of Basel) who questioned whether English is really the only foreign language to be learnt in a global community. He referred to the long plurilingualistic tradition of Switzerland and argued that people have the capacity to learn several languages but the repertoires of each

language may differ with the functional requirements in different communication networks.

Anne Holmen (Danish University of Education) focused on bilingualism in educational settings and presented different approaches to bilingualism at school:

- *a deficit view* based on which bilingual children are considered to be underachieving speakers of the majority language
- *an additive view* which is based on the assumption that bilingual children are proficient in two different languages
- *an integrated view*, according to which bilingual children have knowledge of two distinct codes and a mixed code.

According to Holmen, the deficit and additive views are still prevalent both in mainstream schools and in public policy. Therefore there is an emphasis on improving the proficiency rates in the majority language and the language of origin is left more or less to the families or minority communities. However, recent studies show that the additive view or double monolingualist attitude may lead to academic underachievement and social problems such as discrimination and marginalisation. Therefore Holmen underlines the meaning and importance of integrated bilingualism which entails the acceptance of a third, mixed code alongside the recognised standard languages and which, according to the other speakers in the workshop, is an essential issue in understanding the globalising discourse and language resources.

According to Holmen, schools are the most important places of socialisation for children. It is not only the issue of learning the dynamics of human interaction but of building and redefining identities. Holmen questioned whether the inherent normativity of schools which tries to regulate language and identity issues may hinder the cognitive and social development of children. An important aspect of this question is how the standard or academic language and ethnolects meet at the school space and how they are used as mediums of instruction, socialisation and identity development.

Suggestions for further research

Transnationalism of language and identity

- Language and ideology
- Transnational research on ethnolects
- Reconstruction a European identity
- A lingua franca as a culturally neutral medium of communication
- How Europe is perceived by others

Educational aspects of language and identity

- How do schools deal with acts of identity?
- The public discourse on multilingualism and its role for education
- Normativity in schools
- Language ideology versus language use at schools

Language and immigration

- Interaction between larger and smaller immigrant languages
- The role of standard languages for immigrant languages
- Effects of migration on language usage and language structure
- Immigrants and transnational communication on the Internet
- Relevance of different immigration languages for the labour market

Others

- Comparative studies on language contact and code-switching
- The dynamics of categorisation
- The Roma community in Europe

Language and minorities

- The Roma community in Europe

Papers presented at the workshop

Auer, Peter, Arnhold, Jacinta and Bueno-Aniola, Cintia. "Being a 'colono' and being 'daitisch' in Rio Grande do Sul: Linguistic heterogeneity as a resource for acts of identity". Preliminary version 2002, Freiburg Conference on Acts of Identity.

Blommaert, Jan. "A sociolinguistics of globalisation". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7, 2003, Special issue on Sociolinguistics and Globalisation (N. Coupland, ed.)

Blommaert, Jan "In and out of class, codes and control: Globalisation, discourse and mobility". In Baynham, Mike, De Fina, Anna (eds): *Dislocations/Relocations: Narratives of Displacements*. Manchester, St. Jerome, 2004

Harris, R. and Rampton, B. "Creole metaphors in cultural analysis: on the limits and possibilities of (s)ocio-) linguistics. *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 22 (1), 2001, 31-52.

Harris, Roxy and Rampton, Ben (eds): *The Language, Ethnicity & Race Reader. General Introduction*. London, Routledge, 2003.

Ickstadt, H. "Appropriating difference: Turkish-German rap". Prepublished version.

Rampton et al.. "Immigration and the construction of identities in contemporary Europe". Unpublished notes prepared for this workshop, 2003.

Concluding Remarks

Around 70 researchers were involved in the four workshops reported above. The discussions summarised in the present report are based on more than 50 review papers circulated in advance, most of which were original and produced for the workshop in question. This material constitutes valuable information on the state-of-the-art in migration and transcultural identity, and on what researchers themselves consider to be important issues for future studies. The focus of the meetings was on what we needed to investigate and what we did not know, rather than on what we already knew. The participants were therefore asked to concentrate on formulating relevant questions more than on providing results and solutions to actual problems. A great many suggestions for further research have been formulated in the lengthy workshop reports, which are available on the web through the ESF-homepage. Some of these concrete suggestions have also been included in the present report (in connection with the presentation of the four workshops). The following section will therefore concentrate on more overall reflections.

The areas of migration and transnationality deal with the circulation and transformation of ideas, symbols, values and cultures, and are thus at the very centre of humanistic and social concerns. Most European countries have, through their research councils, devoted attention and funds to the investigation of different aspects of these topics: political, economic, social, cultural, religious as well as aspects related to health. The massive amount of research that is being carried out in the fields of migration and transnationality is impressive. Not only are specialised journals in the different disciplines being established, but research institutes devoted to migration studies are also proliferating in Europe, USA, Canada and Australia.

The same questions arise naturally in different countries and in different scientific fields, and it is inevitable that a considerable amount of replication occurs in international migration research.

A few interdisciplinary and international groups do carry joint research projects, but the general impression from the present Forward Looks exercise is a lack of communication and coordination across countries, and especially across disciplines. There are several reasons for this seemingly uncoordinated development. Some have to do with traditions in humanistic research, which has generally been based on individual rather than group performance. Other questions derive from the variability and restricted generalisability of the phenomena under study.

The generalisability of solutions in the social and human sciences is more limited than in the natural sciences. For example, immigration policies, social legislation regarding minorities, and processes of integration have their own logic because of a particular national history and current political and social climate. The same policies have different impacts in different countries. Theories, models of integration and research results cannot therefore be imported across cultures without due respect to historical and social contexts. In many cases replications of studies in different environments are therefore justified and necessary.

In other cases however, the reproduction of previously investigated questions and overexposed hypotheses stems from a disturbing lack of communication between researchers across scientific fields. It has been surprising to see that the participants in the different areas of the Forward Look (history, religion, psychology and anthropology, sociology, and linguistics) made very limited use of the research on the same topics in each others' disciplines. The number of cross-references and mutual inspiration of disciplines from workshop to workshop was low. Historians, psychologists, anthropologists, theologians and linguists did not refer to each other's recent research questions, methods and/or findings.

Transdisciplinarity is not an aim in itself; it is a necessity in the investigation of complex phenomena such as migration, cultural identity and transnationality which cannot be encompassed by single disciplines. The simple juxtaposition of researchers, who carry out parallel studies on the

same topic, each in his own discipline will not be enough to yield innovative results. There is a pressing necessity for common elaboration of research questions and complementarity in the use of data-collection methods and analyses of findings.

The dynamics of religious transformation are an example of the need for such an interactive, systemic and interdisciplinary approach. Several studies imply that ethnic and religious pluralism, being “other” and amongst many other “others” often strengthens religious and ethnic self-awareness, both among immigrants and the local population. For example, Muslims for whom a Muslim background and religion have not been particularly important have discovered new community solidarity in their new country. Likewise Christians, for whom religion had not been an issue, are rediscovering their Christian roots, maybe as a reaction to a perceived threat, maybe for other reasons. When, and under which circumstance do these movements lead to spiritual and cultural growth, and when do they digress toward fanaticism and fundamentalism? These questions have implications at all levels from the spiritual and existential level (are hybridity and diaspora becoming the new “human condition” of our times?); the political level (the development of fanaticism and violence, ethnic conflicts, the problem of security, immigration policies); the social level (urbanisation, poverty, education); and the individual level (new conception of the self, changed expression of distress, new modes of interpersonal relations and communications).

The challenge of future research in the area of transnationality is thus to surpass the traditional search for causes and effects, and to transcend scientific ideals which necessitate fragmentation and reduction of the object under study. The human sciences have dynamics that constantly push towards new constructions and re-interpretations of theories. Within the field of migration, identity and transnationality there is a compelling necessity not only for cooperation between different disciplines, but also for new epistemological structures, new theoretical constructions which

can comprehend the multiple dimensions of the subject under study and go beyond the given paradigms. Further research should have the double function of providing socially relevant applicable results as well as promoting the investigation of basic scientific concepts by constituting new models for the study of complexity.

Given these premises, it seems highly recommendable to create a collaborative programme, and/or an expert board or an agency for the advancement of transdisciplinary research on migration and transcultural identities in a pan-European research structure. At the same time given both the global and local implications of the topic, it would be desirable for this European body to work in cooperation with internationally leading research groups in the field.

List of Participants

Workshop 1

Panellists and discussants

- **Klaus Bade** (NIAS/University of Osnabrück)
- **Anita Böcker** (NIAS/University Nijmegen)
- **Michael Bommers** (NIAS/University of Osnabrück)
- **Piet Emmer** (NIAS/University of Leiden)
- **Han Entzinger** (NIAS/University of Rotterdam)
- **David Feldman** (Birkbeck College, London)
- **Nancy Foner** (State University of New York)
- **Nancy Green** (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris)
- **Leo Lucassen** (NIAS/University of Amsterdam)
- **Herman Obdeijn** (NIAS/University of Leiden)
- **Dietrich Tränhardt** (NIAS/University of Münster)
- **Steven Vertovec** (Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin/University of Oxford)
- **Barbara Waldis** (NIAS/University of Neuchâtel)
- **Pnina Werbner** (University of Keele)

Additional participants

- **Hans van Amersfoort** (University of Amsterdam)
- **Wim Blockmans** (Rector of the NIAS)
- **Godfried Engbersen** (University of Rotterdam)
- **Kees Groenendijk** (University of Nijmegen)
- **Betty de Hart** (University of Nijmegen)
- **Michael Miller** (NIAS)
- **Gretty M. Mirdal** (University of Copenhagen/ESF)
- **Mies van Niekerk** (IMES, University of Amsterdam)
- **Rinus Penninx** (IMES, University of Amsterdam)
- **Karen Phalet** (University of Utrecht)
- **Marlou Schrover** (IISH, Amsterdam)
- **Henk Stronkhorst** (ESF, Strasbourg)
- **Hans Vermeulen** (University of Amsterdam)
- **Wim Willems** (University of Amsterdam)

Workshop 2

- **Nora Ahlberg** (Universities of Oslo and Trondheim)
- **Stefano Allievi** (University of Padua)
- **Thomas Faist** (InIIS, University of Bremen)
- **Riva Kastoryano** (CNRS – Ceri, Paris)
- **Marco Martiniello** (University of Liège)
- **Gretty M. Mirdal** (University of Copenhagen)
- **Tariq Modood** (University of Bristol)
- **Jørgen S. Nielsen** (University of Birmingham)
- **Ekaterina Nikova** (National Academy of Sciences, Sofia)
- **Antoine Pécoud** (Universities of Poitiers and Oxford)
- **Olivier Roy** (CNRS, Dreux)
- **Thijl Sunier** (University of Amsterdam)

Workshop 3

- **Nilüfer Berkasal** (Centre for Mental Health, Brussels)
- **John Berry** (Queen's University, Ontario)
- **Gunter Bierbrauer** (University of Osnabrück)
- **Lars Dencik** (University of Roskilde)
- **Yilmaz Esmer** (University of Bogazici, Istanbul)
- **Antoine Gailly** (Centre for Mental Health, Brussels)
- **Ahmet Icduygu** (University of Bilkent, Ankara)
- **Karmela Liebkind** (University of Helsinki)
- **Cigdem Kagitcibasi** (University of Koc, Istanbul)
- **Lotte Kragh** (University of Copenhagen)
- **Pascale Krief** (EHESS, Paris)
- **Rolf Kuschel** (University of Copenhagen)
- **Anthony Marsella** (University of Hawaii)
- **Gretty M. Mirdal** (University of Copenhagen/ESF)
- **Amelie Mummendey** (University of Jena)
- **Bernhard Nauck** (Chemnitz University of Technology)
- **Karen Fog Olwig** (University of Copenhagen)
- **Karen Phalet** (University of Utrecht)
- **Unni Wikan** (University of Oslo)
- **Faezeh Zand** (University of Copenhagen)

Workshop 4

- **Peter Auer** (University of Freiburg)
 - **Jan Blommaert** (University of Ghent,)
 - **Volker Gast** (Free University of Berlin)
 - **Sabry Hafez** (Soas, London)
 - **Anne Holmen** (Danish University of Education)
 - **Josef Jarab** (University of Palackeho, Olomouc, Prague)
 - **Ekkehard König** (Free University of Berlin)
 - **Georges Lüdi** (University of Basel)
 - **Gretty M. Mirdal** (University of Copenhagen)
 - **Alain Peyraube** (CNRS, Paris)
 - **Ben Rampton** (Kings College, London)
 - **Stephane Robert** (CNRS, Paris)
- **Prof. Ekkehard König**
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Berlin, Germany
 - **Prof. Jorgen S. Nielsen**
Chair of study group: Muslim-Christian interactions
University of Birmingham
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Coordination committee

- **Prof. Gretty Mirdal (overall chair)**
Also chair of study group: The development of psychological conflicts and their prevention
University of Copenhagen
Copenhagen, Denmark
- **Prof. Wim Blockmans**
Chair of study group: A historical perspective on trans-cultural/trans-national identities in Europe
Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences
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- **Prof. Riva Kastoryano**
Chair of study group: Recognition and representation: National legislation, religious law and identity
Ceri-Sciences Po
Paris, France
- **Prof. Josef Jarab**
Chair of study group: The subjective experience of cultural belonging – cultural and artistic expressions of identity
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