



# Post-national challenges to Citizenship Research: Gender Equality, Diversity & National belongings

Birte Siim, Aalborg University

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# The challenge to move beyond the nation state

- *Cosmopolitan realism*: The local-global & multicultural dilemmas of cosmopolitan societies (Beck)
- *Global citizenship*: globalisation of rights & (state)responsibilities (Turner)
- *European Citizenship* – links individual rights & multilevel governance (Wiener)

# Cosmopolitan Citizenship

- **Held:** The cosmopolitan model – a focus on creating cosmopolitan democratic political institutions 'from above'
- **Dryzik:** The discursive model – a focus on the role of civil society and on discursive changes 'from below'.
- **Habermas:** A deliberative model aims to expand solidarity from the nation to EU institutions
- **Feminist criticism:** a global justice deficit and a global democratic deficit (Gould, 2004)

# Democratic citizenship: Diversity in the Public Sphere

*Dimensions of the public sphere, Ferree 2002:*

1. *Who* should participate, on what occasions?
2. *What* should be the form of content of their contribution to the public discourse?
3. *How* should the actors communicate with one another?
4. *What* are the desired outcome of the process?

# Gendering European Citizenship

*U. Liebert's critique of the EP models:*

1. The *liberal* market model is exclusionary
2. The *republican* citizenship model – is homogenizing
3. The *cosmopolitan* model – is built 'from above'
4. The *deliberative* model is able empower women as social & political actors

# Cultural diversity & gender equality

- *Diversity models*: aim to deepen citizenship within not extend citizenship beyond the nation state
- *The challenge*: To negotiate equality in the context of diversity & multiple equality strands
- *The issue*: When and how the various equality struggles conflict and how to resolve these tensions between social and political actors
- *Approaches to diversity and gender equality*: Unitary, multiple and intersectional models (Hancock 2007)

# The Challenge from Cultural Diversity

- *W. Kymlicka*: Minorities need protection of their civil rights – self-government rights, polyethnic rights & representation rights
- *T. Modood*: political multiculturalism based on the idea of ‘difference’, ‘multi’, equal dignity and equal respect. A focus on the ethno-religious mix

# Debates: Multiculturalism and Women's Rights

- **Okin (1999):** A conflict between minorities' culture, religion & tradition and women's rights.
- Women should not be forced to choose between "Your culture or your rights" (A. Shachar).
- **Okin (2005):** Consulting with women is essential and female members should be represented in any negotiations about minority groups' rights".
- **Phillips (2005):** Egalitarians should support both sex equality and a version of multi-culturalism. No fundamental conflicts exist between two equality claims: i.e. sex equality & religious rights

# Gender Equality & Diversity - different Models

- *Okin's model* – a **unitary approach** with gender as the primary category
- *Kymlicka*: a multiple approach focuses on ethno-national & ethno-cultural diversities
- *Phillip's multiculturalism without culture & without groups*– identifies value conflicts at the individual level – a **multiple approach?**
- *Modood*: a **multilogical approach**- dialogue among many parties, opens new practices

# Post-national Citizenship, Democracy & Social Justice

- ***The dual challenge:*** to overcome the global democratic deficit and global social justice deficit
- ***A post-national approach:*** negotiates equality with diversity in the context of multiple inequality agenda; develops multilevel, transn. governance
- ***An inclusive democratic approach:*** should negotiate equality claims within & beyond the nation state & include all concerned voices
- ***A social justice approach:*** should extend responsibilities of the rich countries to redistribute resources to the developing countries



# Feminist debates: Gender Equality and 'the turn to diversity'

- **J. Squires:** Gender & gender equality has become part of an integrated concern with diversity
- **EU's 'diversity agenda' - six inequality strands:** sex, race, disability, age, sexuality & religion
- **Implications:** Gender equality is placed within a wider equalities framework
- **A new agenda:** Multidimensional equality & intersections between different inequality strands
- **Criticism:** One size don't fit all: Pursuing one form of equality may displace another from the political agenda (Verloo 2008)

# Intersectionality Debates – competing approaches

- *Crenshaw's* structural approach focuses on intersections between axes of power
- *Constructivist* approaches include structure & agency, focus on discourses and identities
- *Ferree's notion:* interactive intersectionality - structures & discourses interact
- *Yuval-Davis* - a multilayered & transversal approach makes deliberation central

# Citizenship, belonging and politics of belonging

- *Yuval-Davis*: ‘Belonging’ refers to emotional attachment; about feeling at home and feeling safe
- ‘*Politics of belonging*’ refers to “specific political projects, constructing belonging in particular ways by collectives
- ‘*Politics of belonging*’ is about demarcations of who is ‘in’ and who is ‘out’ of communities
- ‘*belonging*’ is combined with an intersectionality perspective, analysing how gender intersects with other kinds of inequalities and diversities

# Multilayered Citizenship and Politics of Belonging

- *Social divisions are about **macro axis of social power** but also involve actual concrete people. Social divisions have **organizational, intersubjective, experiential & representational forms**...In other words they are expressed in specific institutions and organizations, such as state laws and state agencies, trade unions, voluntary organizations and the family. In addition, they involve specific power and affective relationships between actual people...*

(Yuval Davis 2006, 198)

# Eurosphere: Diversity and the EPS

<http://www.eurosphere.uib.no/>

- *What are social & pol. actors **views about diversity & EPS?** What models do organizations believe in - a centralized or fragmented (or another model of) European Polity? Organizations' views on EU polity/policies: views on the development of EU-polity; and views concerning EU's involvement and power in policy-making*
- *Do actors/organizations **communicate/participate** in EURO-networks spaces?*
- *What are their perceptions of **diversity, PS & EPS***

# Research Questions and Dimensions

- *Where are the women* – presence, voice & power/empowerment
- *Gendering as a process* – framings, arguments & discourse, silencing
- *Diversity & pluralism* – a focus on intersections of gender and diversity
- *The European Public Sphere (EPS)*
- *Desired outcomes* – visions for EPS?

# A multi-level Model: Macro-level Analysis

- ***Welfare- citizen- and gender regimes*** - effects of institutions & discourse on gender relations on the national & supranational level, possible linkages between the two?
- ***The framings of minority women in national discourses?*** Are minority/immigrant women, e.g. Muslim or Roma women, perceived as the problem or the solution, 'as culturally and religious problems' or 'as bearer of integration' by social and political actors?

# Meso-level analysis: On different arenas/sites

- ***Activities, discourses & identities/belongings of actors in political organisations, movements & networks:*** women's mobilisation, participation and identities within different organisations, e.g. compare their participation & representation on different sites.
- ***Intersections of gender and diversity across the different sites*** – where are women present/absent and what groups of women are visible. Relations between majority and minority women? Who has the power to represent whom?

# The Transnational EU-Polity

- *What types of cooperation, around which issues, for example between gender groups & groups concerned with ethno-national diversity.*
- *What is the role of gender-related concerns in the articulation of the European Public Sphere and how do they relate to issues of diversity, especially to ethno-national concerns?*
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- *To what extent and how do gender groups and ethnic minority women participate in and influence the European polity and European arenas?*

# The 'excluder'

“Since for instance many Muslims come with a Middle Age world view in terms of women, then [gender equality and diversity] is a problem but I actually always think that, well, the thing about gender equality, I think, we are really on the way to achieving it without... if we do not consider the ethnic groups, then we are well on our way to a reasonable gender equality. In relation to this, it puzzles me that these women’s movements do not touch the other thing even though it ought to be their first objective to get many of these Muslim women out of these slave-like relations they are in. I remember in the 60’s how they stood and shouted, the women’s movements, outside schools where meetings in the housewife association were held. And, back then, I thought that was a bit ridiculous. I still think it is. But it shows how strong feelings there were [...]. And then there are no feelings at all when it comes to what is going on right in front of us”. (IP, Danish People’s Party)

## THI KENDES FOR RET



### UNDERKASTELSE

Det islamiske hovedtørklæde er symbolet på kvindens underkastelse. Islamisterne bruger det som stærkt og tydeligt tegn på troens dominans over både mænd og kvinder, muslimere og ikke-muslimere.

Det drejer sig ikke om "30 gram stof"! Det drejer sig om tyranni og underkastelse.

Et flertal i Folketinget vil acceptere det i folketingsalen. Og Danstolstyrelsen har besluttet, at du som borger fremover skal acceptere, at du i retten møder en dommer indhyllet i tyranniets slør.

Stop det. Nu!

 **Dansk Folkeparti**  
www.danskfolkeparti.dk Tlf. 3337 5199 E-mail: dfg@df.dk

*Gi' os Danmark tilbage*

# The EUROPEAN Public Sphere

- Do organizations believe it is important to have a single or fragmented (or another type of) EPS?
- Do they engage in trans-European collaboration and communication? What networks are they involved in?
- What form of a EPS do the organizations prefer (i.e., a single ES or many interconnected spheres, multi-level spheres, etc)?
- What's the organizations' self-perceived ability to influence the public debates?
- What are their opinions regarding the existence of communicative public space(s) in Europe? Do such spaces exclude important possible participants?

# Constructions of national and European identities & models

## **IDENTIFY DIVERSITY MODELS:**

- Universalist adaptation
- Particularistic assimilation
- Mutual Integration

## **IDENTIFY MODELS & VISIONS for the EPS:**

- The Pragmatic Approach
- The Nationalist Model
- The Democratic Participatory Approach

**What are the relations between the models?**

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