



The University of Pittsburgh &
The Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques

present:

The Immigration, Integration and Security Initiative

**IMMIGRATION,
INTEGRATION, AND HUMAN
SECURITY ISSUES POST-
9/11 IN COMPARATIVE
PERSPECTIVE**

**A TRANSATLANTIC
COLLABORATIVE PROJECT
UNDERWRITTEN BY
THE FORD FOUNDATION**

**PARIS, FRANCE
JUNE 8-9, 2006**

A Comparison of the U.S. and Europe



This two-day workshop is the second event in a series organized by the University of Pittsburgh's Ford Institute for Human Security in conjunction with The Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (Sciences Po). It will assemble a group of renowned scholars in the area of immigration policy, drawn from across the globe. Their goal is to examine a series of hitherto unanswered questions regarding the consequences of post-9/11 immigration policies in the European Union and the United States – both for immigrants and for institutions such as universities and corporations, whose performance has often been heavily influenced by immigrant flows.

GOALS OF THE WORKSHOP

Immigration policy provides a template for many of the most pressing problems confronting the United States and Europe today. This workshop explores the way in which immigration policies have been affected by national security interests, as well as the ways in which immigration has affected national security concerns based on a comparative analysis of European and American responses to the recent challenges posed by the expanded notion of “internal security.” An in-depth study of the “securitization” of immigration issues thus examines four areas customarily not linked together:

A. BORDER SECURITY CONCERNS. The securitization of immigration issues is based on a twofold assumption. First, it supposes a strong relationship between border controls and the inflow of immigrants; this presumed relation explains the escalation of immigration controls along the external borders. Second, it supposes a strong relation between external security and internal security, as if immigration is the only factor of internal insecurity (with no consideration for other factors that may influence domestic instability). This twofold assumption has led to the same process: the policing of external borders has been elevated from the status of “low politics” to “high politics”, involving a shift in the definition of security threats and in the practice of security policy.

B. INTERNAL SECURITY CONCERNS. This focuses on the linkage between insecurity and the presence of minority groups, and on the expansion of the definition of the notion of “internal” security. On both side of the Atlantic, the distinction between internal and external security has blurred while the exigencies of security undermines the respect for human rights and civil liberties.

C. ISSUES OF DISCRIMINATION AND XENOPHOBIA. The politicization of border controls and the securitization of immigration issues has induced an increasing hostility towards foreigners (legal and illegal immigrants but also nationals of foreign origin), resistance to multiculturalism, and the growing feeling in US and European public opinion that immigrants constitute a threat to national identity. As a result, the scope of xenophobia is much wider (in terms of populations who are targeted) and broader (being embraced by more people) than before. What is really new is the fact that second or third generation immigrants are suffering from discrimination, a trend that questions the integrative capacities of US and European societies.

D. INTEGRATION OF MULTI-GENERATIONAL IMMIGRANT POPULATIONS THROUGH A LINKAGE OF SOCIAL, URBAN, HOUSING AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES. The failure of integration is the result of ineffective immigration policies: the US and the EU have been so obsessed with border controls (in order to curb immigration flows) that they neglected to consider what happened after immigration (in terms of the integration of immigrant stocks). The EU and US government still prefer to focus on border controls while the failure of integration facilitates the emergence of an “inside enemy” (indigenous suicide bombers).

Faced with this daunting set of issues, the experts assembled for this workshop will address the following questions:

- (i) How much have policies changed? Was 9/11 in these two geographic areas a turning point (a common theme among American commentators) or, alternatively, did it mark an acceleration of trends towards efforts to reduce immigrant flows evident before 9/11(a more common view in the EU)?
- (ii) To what degree is there a tendency towards policy convergence or divergence across these areas in the period since 9/11?
- (iii) To the degree that any convergence has taken place, is it patterned on a model evident in the European Union or the United States?

To tackle these broad questions in a manageable way, each of the participants will focus on one pre-selected policy area from among the following four areas:

- Security and the impact of new immigration regulations on both sides of the Atlantic
- Security, civil liberties and anti-discrimination policies
- Security and integration issues
- Security and identity politics

Each of these areas will be addressed in an individual panel.

THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 2006

IMMIGRATION, LIBERTY AND SECURITY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

PRESENTED BY THE CHALLENGE NETWORK, IN COLLABORATION WITH THE ISI INITIATIVE

*Amphitheatre Levoy-Beaulieu
Sciences Po
27 rue Saint Guillaume
75007 Paris
France*

9:30—9:45 a.m. Participants' Welcoming and Inaugural Address

Presenter: **Marc Lazar**, Director of the Graduate School, Sciences-Po, France

9:45—10:00 a.m. Opening Session: At the Limits of the Liberal State. The Answers to Terrorist Threat: Adequacy, Efficiency, Proportionality and Legitimacy

Presenters: **Didier Bigo**, Challenge Scientific Coordinator, CERI/Sciences-Po, France
"The Changing Landscape of European Security — Challenge"

Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, ISI co-Director, CEVIPOF/Sciences-Po, France
and

Simon Reich, ISI co-Director; Director of the Ford Institute for Human Security; Professor, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, USA

"Transatlantic Research Network on 'Immigration, Security and Integration Issues after September 11—ISI"

10:00—11:15 a.m. Roundtable 1: Immigrant Threats and Assets. EU and US Approaches Regarding Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Tourists

Chair: **Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia**

Presenters: **Hélène Flautre**, President, Subcommittee on Human Rights; European Parliament
"Fundamental Rights and the Treatment of Migrants and Asylum Seekers"

Antonio Caiola, European Parliament; Legal Department
"Title to be Provided"

Samuel Boutruche, Legal Assistant, UNHCR Representation to the European Institutions in Strasbourg
"The EU and US Asylum Regimes: a UNHCR Perspective"

Elena Baylis, ISI Partner, Professor of Law, University of Pittsburgh, USA
"Asylum and Security"

Judith Toth, Challenge Partner; Senior Lecturer; University of Szeged, The Institute for Minority and Migration Research, Hungary
"Partial Freedom of Movement and Justice versus Total Security in the EU?"

11:15—11:30 p.m. **Break**

11:30—12:30 p.m. **Roundtable 2: Controlling Frontiers and Projecting Abroad: EU and US Strategies in Comparative Perspective**

Chair: **Riva Kastoryano**, ISI Partner, CERI/Sciences—Po, France

Presenters: **Laura Corrado**, Policy Desk Officer, Directorate B—Immigration, Asylum and Borders, Border and Visas; European Commission; Justice, Freedom and Security DG
“Asylum and Borders Policy of the EU”

Peter Burgess, Challenge Partner; Research Professor of Cultural Studies and Philosophy; PRIO, Norway
“The Logic of the Threat”

H. Richard Friman, ISI Partner; Director, Institute for Transnational Justice, Marquette University, USA
“Migration and Security: Crime, Terror and the Politics of Order”

Elsbeth Guild, Challenge Partner, Professor of European Migration Law, University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands
“The Borders of Identity: EU Visa Policy and the Citizen of the Union”

12:30—2:00 p.m. **Lunch**

2:00—3:15 p.m. **Roundtable 3: Framing the Enemy and How to Protect. EU and US**

Chair: **Renaud Dehousse**, Jean Monnet Chair; Director, Center for European Studies, Sciences—Po, France)

Presenters: **Europol Official**, Serious Crime Unit, Europol
“Human Resources and/or Technologies of Profiling: What Are the Best Practice Strategies?”

Lukas Holub, European Commission; DG Justice, Freedom and Security
“The Efficiency of Antiterrorist Policies in the EU. The Legitimacy of Security Purposes and Their Limits Regarding Liberties”

Dick Oosting, Director, Amnesty International, EU Office
“Impact of Security and Immigration Policies on the Rule of Law in Europe: Perception and Realities”

Jennifer Chacon, ISI Partner; Professor of Law, University of California, USA
“Constructing the ‘Criminal Alien’ — The Synergistic Role of Immigration and the Criminal Law Defining the Threat Within”

R.B.J. Walker, Challenge Partner; Professor of Political Science and International Relations, University of Keele, UK
“Enemies, Barbarians, Liberals”

3:15—4:15 p.m. *Roundtable 4: Intelligence Sharing and Civil Liberties at Stake. EU and US*

Chair: **Ewa Kulesza**, Deputy Director, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales, France

Presenters: **Gérard Laprat**, Director; European Parliament; Secretariat; Directorate-General 2 — Internal Policies of the Union; Directorate C — Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs
"The European Decisionmaking: Complexity, Efficiency and Legitimacy?"

Ioannis Dimitrakopoulos, Head of Unit Research & Data Collection, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)
"Collecting Data and Information on Muslim Communities in the EU and Manifestations of Islamophobia: the Work of the EUMC"

Jolyon Howorth, ISI Partner; Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University, USA
"European Security and Counter-Terrorism Post 9/11"

William Keller, ISI Partner; Director, Ridgway Center for International Security Studies; Professor, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, USA
"Contours of Internal Security and Civil Liberties in Comparative Perspective"

Steve Peers, Statewatch contributor, UK and Professor of Law, University of Essex, UK
"Transparency, Accountability, Data Protection and Exchange of Data Between the EU and US"

4:15—4:45 p.m. *Break*

4:45—6:45 p.m. *Summary Panel*

Opening Questions: **Didier Bigo**, Challenge Scientific Coordinator, CERISciences-Po, France
Simon Reich, Director, Ford Institute for Human Security; co-Director, ISI Initiative

Speakers: **Me William Bourdon**, Lawyer, Barreau de Paris; Former Director of the International Federation for Human Rights
"The Courts Facing Exceptional Powers: The Rule of the Defense in Trials Concerning Detention in Guantanamo"

Giovanni Claudio Fava, MEP; Member of the Temporary Committee on the Alleged Use of European Countries by the CIA for the Transport and Illegal Detention of Prisoners
"Comments on the Report: The Alleged Use of European Countries by the CIA for the Transport and Detention of Prisoners"

Ian Mac Donald, Barrister; Special Immigration Appeal Court, UK
"Expulsion, Rendition, Detention"

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 2006

**IMMIGRATION, DISCRIMINATION AND
INTEGRATION ISSUES POST-9/11 IN COMPARATIVE
PERSPECTIVE**

PRESENTED BY THE ISI INITIATIVE

*Amphitheatre Levoy-Beaulieu
Sciences Po
27 rue Saint Guillaume
75007 Paris
France*

9:00—9:15 a.m. Participants' Welcoming

9:15—9:30 a.m. Inaugural Address

Presenter: **Simon Reich**, ISI co-Director; Director of the Ford Institute for Human Security; Professor, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, USA

**9:30—10:30 p.m. Panel 1: Immigration Issues in the US and the EU
(New Trends and the Impact of the New Regulations)**

Chair: **Janne Nolan**, Deputy Director of the Ridgway Center for International Security Studies; Professor, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, USA

Discussant: **Gallya Lahav**, [TBC]

Presenters: **Martin Schain**, ISI Partner; Professor of Politics, New York University, European Union Center of New York, USA
"New Rules of Immigration and Europe: The Illusion of Convergence"

Kamal Sadiq, ISI Partner; Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California at Irvine, USA
"Undermining Homeland Security: The Ignored Role of Documents in Illegal Immigration"

Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes, ISI Partner, Spanish National Research Council, Madrid, Spain
"Dissonances Between Discourses and Practices in the EU Control Borders Enforcement: The Spanish Case"

Anil Kalhan, ISI Partner, Associate in Law, Columbia University, USA
"Immigration Enforcement and Federalism: The United States After September 11"

10:30—10:45 a.m. Break

10:45—11:45 a.m. Panel 2: Framing Discrimination

Chair: Nancy Green, EHESS

Discussant: Alberta Sbragia, Director of the Center for West European Studies/European Union Center of Excellence; Jean Monnet Professor, University of Pittsburgh, USA

Presenters: Ariane Chebel d’Appollonia, ISI co-Director, CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po, Paris
“Discrimination and Anti-Discrimination in Europe”

Patrick Simon, INED, CEVIPOF
“Integration and Anti-Discrimination: Two Paradigms But One Policy?”

Manlio Cinalli, CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po, Paris
“Policy Deliberation and Public Campaigning in the Field of Immigration: A Comparison of Italy and the United Kingdom”

Martin Heisler, Professor Emeritus, University of Maryland, USA
“The Ethics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Comparative Historical Perspectives”

11:45—1:45 p.m. Lunch

1:45—2:45 p.m. Panel 3: Factors of (dis)Integration

Chair: Ariane Chebel d’Appollonia, ISI co-Director, CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po, Paris

Discussant: Sophie Duchesne, CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po, Paris

Presenters: Sylvain Brouard and Vincent Tiberj, CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po, Paris
“France Facing Ethnic Diversity: Discrimination and Consequences of Identity Renewal”

Jonathan Laurence, ISI Partner, Assistant Professor, Boston College, USA
“Integrating Islam: Muslims and the State in Western Europe”

Michael Minkenberg, ISI Partner; Vice President for International Affairs and Professor of Political Science, University of Viadrina, Germany
“Religion, Immigration and the Politics of Multiculturalism”

Edmond Préteceille, OSC, Sciences—Po, Paris
“Ethnic and Social Segregation in the Paris Metropolis”

2:45—3:00 p.m. Break

3:00—4:00 p.m. ***Panel 4: Identity Politics***

Chair: **Simon Reich**

Discussant: **Sylvie Strudel**, Professor, University of Tours, France

Presenters: **Ilya Prizel**, ISI Partner; Professor, Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, USA
“Identity Discourse in the United States, Western Europe and Russia after September 11”

Terri Givens, Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Austin, USA
“The Politics of Race in Europe”

Baroness Kishwer Falkner, House of Lords, UK
“Multiculturalism and Integration in the UK”

4:00—5:30 p.m. ***Plenary Conclusion: Immigration, Security, Integration.
The Challenges Ahead***

ELENA BAYLIS (University of Pittsburgh, School of Law)

Educated at Yale Law School, Elena Baylis is an Assistant Professor at the Law School of the University of Pittsburgh, where she teaches courses on comparative minority group protections, crimes against humanity, religious and legal frameworks, and the comparative law of new democracies. In addition to her work on political asylum and national security, she is also writing on religious views of the U.S. legal system and conducting research on transitional justice and legal pluralism in Kosovo and in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Her recent publications include: “Parallel Courts” in the *Yale Journal of International Law* (forthcoming), “Minority Rights, Minority Wrongs” in the *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs* (2006); “The Inevitable Impunity of Suicide Terrorists,” in *Evil, Law and the State: Issues in State Power and Violence* (Rhodopi Press, 2005); and “Beyond Rights: Legal Process and Ethnic Conflicts” in the *Michigan Journal of International Law* (2004).

DIDIER BIGO (CERI/Sciences—Po)

Didier Bigo has been Professor of International Relations at Sciences-Po (maitre de conférences des universités), the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris since 1988 and is a researcher at CERI/FNSP. He is also the director of the Center for Study of Conflict and the editor of the quarterly journal *Cultures & Conflicts* published by l'Harmattan and edited once a year in *Alternatives* (Lynne Rienner ed.). He is the scientific coordinator of the FR5 program of the EC Commission ELISE (European Liberty and Security) and the 6PCRD (CHALLENGE). Bigo graduated from The Sorbonne Paris 1 in 1985 for his doctoral thesis “Le pouvoir personnel en Centrafrique.” He was awarded a “Habilitation” at the IEP in 2002 on the subject “terrorisme, guerre, sécurité intérieure, sécurité extérieure.” He has published different articles on the field of sociology of mobilisation and conflict, sociology of police and armies at the European level, and IR theory. His main focus is the relationship between conflict and security (external as well as internal) issues. His recent publications include: *Controlling frontiers: free movement into and within Europe*, (with Elspeth Guild, Ashgate, 2005); “Criminalisation of ‘Migrants’: The Side Effect of the Will to Control the Frontiers and the Sovereign Illusion” in *Irregular Migration and Human Rights; Theoretical, European and International Perspectives*, edited by Barbara Bogusz, Ryszard Cholewinski, Adam Cygan and Erika Szyszczak, Leiden, Martinus, (Nijhof, 2004); “What are EU frontiers for and what do they mean?” with Malcolm Anderson in Keith Groenendijk, Elspeth Guild, and Paul Minderhout in *In Search of Europe's Borders* (Kluwer Law International: The Hague 2003).

SYLVAIN BROUARD [BIOGRAPHY TO BE ADDED]**JENNIFER MARIE CHACÓN** (University of California, Davis)

Jennifer Marie Chacón is Acting Professor of Law and the University of California, Davis, School of Law. She received her A.B. with Distinction in International Relations from Stanford University and her J.D. from Yale Law School. Professor Chacón's research and teaching interests include criminal law, criminal procedure, immigration law and international human rights. Recently, she lectured on the shortcomings of U.S. laws designed to protect domestic victims of human trafficking and on the ways in which the rhetoric of security has been manipulated to limit the humanitarian aims of U.S. immigration policy. She has written on human trafficking and smuggling, U.S. deportation policy, and truth commissions in Latin America.

ARIANE CHEBEL D'APPOLLONIA (CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po)

Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, educated at Sciences—Po (Ph.D. in Political Science, DEA in History), is co-director of the ISI Immigration Research Network. She has taught at both undergraduate and post-graduate levels at universities in France (Sciences—Po, Paris III-Sorbonne, Columbia University and the University of Chicago/Programs in Paris), and the U.S. (New York University, University of Pittsburgh). She was the Buffet Chair Professor at Northwestern University (fall 2005). At Sciences—Po, she is Associate Senior Researcher at the CEVIPOF/Center for Political Research, and teaches undergraduate and graduate courses. She was the director of the American Center at Sciences—Po (2000-2003) and director at Sciences—Po of the TIRES Program, a transatlantic research network on “Transnationalism, Immigration, Racism, Ethnocentrism and the State.” She specializes in the politics of immigration and anti-discrimination in Europe, racism and xenophobia, extreme-right wing movements, immigrant integration, and urban racism. She is currently the EU-US Fulbright scholar for January-June 2006, and visiting fellow at the Ford Institute for Human Security and at the European Center of Excellence at the University of Pittsburgh. In addition to three books (including one on the Far Right in France, and another on Everyday Racism) and three edited volumes, she has published many articles. Among them, “The National Front and Anti-Semitism in France,” *US-France Analysis*, July 26, 2002, The Brookings Institution (www.brook.edu/fp/eusf/analysis/dappollonia.htm), and “European Nationalism and Euro-

pean Union,” in *The Idea of Europe from Antiquity to the European Union*, Anthony Pagen (dir.), Woodrow Wilson Center Series, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

MANLIO CINALLI (CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po)

Manlio Cinalli is Senior Research Fellow at the CEVIPOF, Centre de Recherches Politiques de Sciences-Po (IEP, Paris). He has been trained as a political scientist at the University of Florence (Italy) and at Queen's University of Belfast (Northern Ireland). He was also Research Fellow at the University of Leeds (Great Britain) and Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute (Italy). His comparative research focuses cross-nationally on political participation and networks, with a particular attention on issues of ethnicity, immigration and exclusion. He has undertaken responsibility for research in several European comparative cross-national projects. He is currently director of the French project for LOCALMULTIDEM (European Union's Framework Six Programme).

SOPHIE DUCHESNE (CNRS/CEVIPOF/Sciences—Po)

Sophie Duchesne earned a Ph.D. in Political Science from Institut d'études politiques de Paris. Since 1994, she has been a researcher at CNRS/CEVIPOF, Center of Political Research at Sciences-Po. Her current research projects are a comparative study of the politicization of discussion in France, the UK and (French-speaking) Belgium; a qualitative inquiry into the British identity of people living in England; and an analysis of citizens' attitudes towards the European Union. She teaches at Sciences—Po and the University of Oxford (research methods), is coordinator of the European Research Group “European Democracies” and is an associate member at Nuffield college (Oxford).

BARONESS KISHWER FALKNER OF MARGRAVINE (House of Lords, United Kingdom)

Baroness Falkner was appointed to the House of Lords in 2004. Born in Pakistan, she studied international relations at the London School of Economics and gained an M.A. in European Studies at the University of Kent. In 1986, she joined the Liberal Democrats for which she held several posts, including Director of International Affairs, until 1999. Baroness Falkner has also worked at the Commonwealth Secretariat on broader issues of globalization, democracy and development. Her most recent post was as Chief Executive of a charity working with young people in some of the poorest parts of Africa and Asia. She was appointed to Prime Minister Blair's Taskforce on Muslim Extremism in 2005.

H. RICHARD FRIMAN (Marquette University)

H. Richard Friman (Ph.D. Cornell University) is the Eliot Fitch Professor for International Studies, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Institute for Transnational Justice at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA. His current research focuses on the intersection of the licit and illicit global economies, politics of (im)migration and crime, trafficking in persons, and drug control policy in advanced industrial countries. His recent books include *Paths and Challenges to Global Justice* (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming), *The Illicit Global Economy and State Power* (coedited, Rowman & Littlefield 1999) and *NarcoDiplomacy: Exporting the U.S. War on Drugs* (Cornell 1996). He is the author of two additional books, numerous book chapters, and articles in journals including *International Organization*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Journal of Public Policy*, *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, *The Pacific Review*, and *Asian Survey*.

FRANCISCO JAVIER MORENO FUENTES (CSIC)

Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes is a researcher at the Research Unit in Public Policy and Politics of the CSIC in Madrid (Spain). He obtained a Masters in Social Sciences from the Juan March Institute in Madrid, and an M.Sc. in Social Policy and Planning from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid. He has published a book, several chapters in edited volumes, and journal articles on his main areas of interest, including immigration policies in Western Europe, Welfare Regimes and their reform, and urban policies.

TERRI E. GIVENS (University of Texas)

Terri E. Givens is an Associate Professor in the Government Department at the University of Texas at Austin. She is also director of the Center for European Studies and Director of the France-UT Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies. She received her Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles, and her B.A. from Stanford University. Her academic interests include radical right parties, immigration politics, and the politics of race in Europe. She has conducted extensive research in Europe, particularly in France, Germany, Austria and Denmark.

She has received fellowships from the Ford Foundation, the University of California, Berkeley, Chancellor's Postdoctoral Fellowship (declined) and various other grants and fellowships to support her research in Europe. Her book, *Voting Radical Right in Western Europe*, was published in Fall 2005 with Cambridge University Press. Her articles have appeared in *Comparative Political Studies*, the *Policy Studies Journal*, and *Comparative European Politics*. She is an active member of the American Political Science Association, the European Union Studies Association, and the Council for European Studies.

NANCY L. GREEN (EHES)

Nancy L. Green is Directrice d'Etudes (Professor) at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris) and the author of *Repenser les Migrations* (PUF, 2002) and *Ready-to-Wear and Ready-to-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York* (Duke University Press, 1997). A specialist of comparative history and modern migration, she is currently working on the concepts of elite migration and the varieties of expatriation.

MARTIN HEISLER (University of Maryland)

Martin Heisler is Professor Emeritus of the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland. He was born in Budapest, and schooled there, in Paris and Los Angeles. His degrees in Political Science are from the University of California at Los Angeles (Ph.D. 1969); he also had early post-graduate training in behavioral neurophysiology. Heisler has held a Fulbright Professorship at Aarhus University in Denmark, where he later returned as a tenured faculty member while on leave from Maryland, and was *professeur invité* at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris. He has been a fellow of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in France; the University of Warwick in Britain; and the Teleki Foundation in Hungary. His research has been supported by grants from, *inter alia*, the National Science Foundation, CNRS, IREX, USAID, the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Institute of Peace, the Haines Foundation, the Danish Social Science Research Council and the Danish Institute of International Relations.

Heisler is co-author, editor or co-editor of six volumes and has published more than 50 journal articles or book chapters. He was academic editor of the 16-book series *Comparative Studies of Political Life*. His research emphasizes cross-field and interdisciplinary work and is broadly comparative across societies and time. Most of his publications can be arrayed under the headings of international migration and its interplay with international relations; ethnicity and ethnic relations; security studies; and policy studies. Recent publications include guest editorship and authorship of the lead article in a symposium, "Changing Citizenship Theory and Practice," in *PS: Political Science and Politics* (October, 2005); and "Changing Theory and Practice in International Relations," in K.K. Khudoley and D. Lanko, eds., *Borders, Identities and Nationalism: Understanding the Relationship* (St. Petersburg University Press, 2004). A book on migration as agent and product of changing international relations is near completion; and he recently began an empirically grounded, broadly comparative, study of the politics of the past, especially as it relates to collective self-concepts in the aftermath of national trauma.

JOLYON HOWORTH (Yale University)

Dr. Howorth has taught at universities in England, France, and the U.S. He is the Jean Monnet Professor (*ad personam*) of European Politics at the University of Bath and has been Visiting Professor of Political Science at Yale University since 2002. He was from 1993 to 2003 the director of *Euromasters & Transatlantic Masters*, international masters programs recruiting 100 students annually with integrated course delivery at eight sites in Europe and three sites in the U.S. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society for the Arts and of the Institut Français d'Histoire Sociale. He has published extensively in the areas of foreign policy, European Union, NATO, security and alliances. His most recent books are: Jolyon Howorth & John Keeler (eds.), *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy* (Palgrave, 2003); Jolyon Howorth, *European Integration and Defence: the Ultimate Challenge?* (EU-Institute for Security Studies, 2000). His new book, *Defence Policy and the European Union* will be published by Palgrave in 2007.

ANIL KALHAN (Columbia University)

Educated at Yale Law School (J.D.), Yale School of Management (M.P.P.M.), and Brown University (A.B.), Anil Kalhan is a Visiting Assistant Professor at Fordham Law School and a cooperating attorney with the NYU School of Law Immigrant Rights Clinic. From 2004 until 2006, he was an Associate in Law at Columbia University School of Law, and he previously served as an associate at Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton and co-coordinator of the firm's immigration and international human rights pro bono practice group. He also has previously worked for the ACLU Immigrants' Rights Project in New York and the South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre in New Delhi, India, and served as law clerk to the Hon. Chester J. Straub (U.S. Ct. of App., 2d Cir.) and the Hon. Gerard E. Lynch (U.S. Dist. Ct., S.D.N.Y.). He is a member of the International Law Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and a former

member of its International Human Rights Committee, for which he chaired a fact-finding delegation to India in January 2005 to consider the human rights issues arising from Indian antiterrorism laws. His areas of interest include immigration and citizenship, international human rights, comparative antiterrorism law, and Asian Americans and the law.

RIVA KASTORYANO (CNRS/CERI/Sciences—Po)

Riva Kastoryano is a research fellow at CNRS/CERI. She was educated at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Ph.D.) and the University of Paris-Sorbonne (degree in economics). Dr. Kastoryano was a lecturer at Harvard University in the Committee on Degrees in Social Studies from 1984 to 1987 and since 1988, she has been teaching at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris. She was named a Radcliffe Institute Fellow (2003-2004) where she is a member of the immigration cluster. Her current research compares the evolution of immigrants participation in European countries (France, Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands) and the European Union with immigrant participation in the United States, focusing on social, cultural, and political exchanges, and the weights and use of home-country politics along with issues related to territory, nationhood, and dual citizenship. Her selected work includes: "Transnational Networks and Political Participation: The Place of Immigrants in the European Union", in M. Berezin, M. Schain (eds.), *Europe Without Borders: Remapping Territory, Citizenship, and Identity in a Transnational Age*, (John Hopkins University Press, 2004); *Negotiating Identities. States and Immigrants in France and Germany*, (Princeton University Press, 2002); "Der Islam auf der Suche nach 'seinem Platz' in Frankreich und Deutschland: Identitäten, Anerkennung und Demokratie", in M. Minkenberg, U. Willems (eds.), "Politik und Religion", *Politische Vierteljahresschrift, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft*, 33/2002.

WILLIAM W. KELLER (University of Pittsburgh)

William Keller's (Ph.D., Cornell University) primary fields of research include terrorism; weapons of mass destruction; Asian innovation; multinational corporations; internal security and the FBI; the arms trade; and international security theory and practice. He is the author of *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover* (Princeton University Press, 1989), *Arm-in-Arm* (Basic Books, 1995), co-author of *The Myth of the Global Corporation* (Princeton University Press, 1998), and co-author of *Crisis and Innovation in Asian Technology* (Cambridge University Press, 2002). Professor Keller formerly worked as executive director of the Center for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and research director of MIT's Japan Program. From 1987 to 1995, he was project director and senior analyst for the United States Congress' Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) in Washington, D.C. He is currently the Wesley W. Posvar Chair in International Security Studies at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs and director of the Ridgway Center for International Security Studies University of Pittsburgh.

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Jonathan Laurence is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Boston College and an affiliated scholar of the Center on the US and Europe at the Brookings Institution. His area of research and publication includes Islam in France, Germany and Italy, anti-Semitism and post-war Jewish communities, and the politics of post-war immigrant populations in Europe. Laurence is author, with Justin Vaïsse, of *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France* (Brookings Press, July 2006/Odile Jacob, Fall 2006) and he edited and contributed to a volume on the French Council for the Muslim Religion (*French Politics, Culture and Society*, Spring 2005). His research on Jewish and Turkish communities in Berlin have appeared in *German Politics and Society* and the *Forschungsjournal Neue Soziale Bewegungen*, and he has published numerous briefs in the Brookings Institution's *US-Europe Analysis Series*. Laurence taught at Sciences-Po, Paris in 2001-2 and was a Visiting Fellow at Brookings in 2004-2005. He has also been a visiting

scholar at NYU's Center for European studies, the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations at the Kennedy School of Government, and the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin. His article on "Managing Transnational Religion: Muslims and the State in Western Europe" will appear in a volume edited by C. Parsons and T. Smeeding with Cambridge University Press this summer. Laurence received his Ph.D. and M.A. in political science from Harvard University, where he remains an active member of the Center for European Studies, and he also holds degrees from Cornell (B.A., *summa cum laude*) and Sciences-Po, Paris (CEP). Laurence is a frequent commentator to BBC World Service and RAI Italian news radio.

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Michael Minkenberg has been the chair of the Political Sciences/Comparative Analysis of Political Systems, Movement and Cultures at the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) since 1998. He has studied and taught at renowned German and US-American universities such as Heidelberg, Berlin, Freiburg, Cologne/Bonn, Goettingen, Georgetown University, University of Michigan and Cornell University. Minkenberg's work has focused particularly on the topic of right-wing radicalism in international comparison and on the relationship between religion and politics in liberal democracies. Recently he organized and chaired an international conference on the radical right and xenophobia in Germany, Poland and Europe in November 2005 at Viadrina University. Recent panels he has chaired include: "Moving People in the Wider Europe," (2004) and "Anti-Migrant 'Backlashes' in the New Europe," (2004).

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Janne Nolan (Ph.D., Tufts) holds an appointment as Professor in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. She is the author of numerous books, including *Guardians of the Arsenal* (Basic Books, 1989), *Trappings of Power* (Brookings, 1991), *Global Engagement* (Brookings, 1995), and *An Elusive Consensus* (Brookings, 1999), in addition to numerous articles in journals such as *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, and *The New Republic*. She has held several senior positions in the private sector, including as the director of International Programs at the Century Foundation; Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution; and Senior Security Consultant at Science Applications International. Her public service includes positions at the State Department and the Senate Armed Services Committee, as well as membership on several blue-ribbon commissions, including the Accountability Review Board (investigating terrorist attacks in East Africa); the Commission to Assess the Organization of Government to Combat Proliferation; the Gates Commission on Intelligence Assessments of Ballistic Missile Threats; the National Defense Panel; and the Defense Advisory Board in the Pentagon.

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Edmond Préteceille is director of research at CNRS, a member of Observatoire Sociologique du Changement, and former director of CSU and of the Institute for Research on Contemporary Societies (IRESCO). He teaches at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris. He is director of the journal *Sociétés Contemporaines* and corresponding editor of *IJURR*. He has published on urban policies, collective consumption and urban segregation and inequalities. His current research looks at the relations between economic changes and social structures and segregation in the Paris metropolis, with an international comparative perspective, and a focus on the subsequent relations between social groups in mixed areas, looking both at socioeconomic and ethno-racial dimensions. His publications include *La production des grands ensembles* (Mouton, 1973), *Capitalism, consumption and needs* (Blackwell, 1985), *Ségrégation urbaine* (Anthropos, 1986), and *State restructuring and local policies* (Pinter, 1992). He has edited issues of *Sociétés Contemporaines* on urban segregation (1995) and on the comparison of socioeconomic categories in Europe (2002).

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SIMON REICH (University of Pittsburgh)

Co-principal investigator for this project and director of the Ford Institute for Human Security, Simon Reich (Ph.D., M.A., Cornell University) has held a faculty appointment as a Professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh since 1987. He was the director of research and analysis for the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House in England in 2000-01, and he has been awarded the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship, as well as fellowships from the Kellogg Foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, and numerous other organizations. He is a former president of the International Political Economy Section of the International Studies Association. Reich wrote *The Fruits of Fascism: Postwar Prosperity in Historical Perspective* (Cornell University Press, 1990); he has coauthored three books, one of them—*The Myth of the Global Corporation* (Princeton University Press, 1998)—with William Keller; and he has coauthored two major government reports—*Multinationals and the U.S. Technology Base* (Office of Technology Assessment, 1994) and *Multinational Corporations and the National Interest* (Office of Technology Assessment, 1993). He is the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters.

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Alberta Sbragia (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin) is the director of both the European Union Center of Excellence and the (Title VI) Center for West European Studies and the UCIS Research Professor of Political Science at the University of Pittsburgh. She is a member of numerous American, Canadian, and European journals' editorial boards. She taught "Business, Government, and the International Economy" as a Visiting Associate Professor at the Harvard Business School in 1983-84 and served as the Chair of the European Community Studies Association (now known as the European Union Studies Association) from 1993-95. Sbragia also served as co-program chair of the American Political Science Association's national conference in 1999. Her work on comparative federalism includes *Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community* (Brookings, 1992), "The European Community: A Balancing Act," *Publius*, Volume 23, Summer 1993; *Debt Wish: Entrepreneurial Cities, U.S. Federalism, and Economic Development* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996, sections reprinted in Laurence J. O'Toole, Jr. (ed.) *American Intergovernmental Relations: Foundations, Perspectives, and Issues*, third edition, CQ Press, 2000); "The Treaty of Nice, Institutional Balance, and Uncertainty," *Governance*, Vol. 15, No. 3, July 2002, "Shaping a Polity in an Economic and Monetary Union: The EU in Comparative Perspective," in *The Euro and the Europeans*, edited by George Ross and Andrew Martin, (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), and "Territory, Electorates, and Markets: The Construction of Democratic Federalism in the United States and its Implications for the European Union," in Sergio Fabbrini (ed), *Which Postnational Democracy for Europe? Comparing the EU and the American Federal Experience*, (Routledge, forthcoming).

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Martin Schain received his doctorate from Cornell University in Government and is currently Professor of Politics at New York University and visiting scholar at CEVIPOF in Paris. He is the founder and former director of the Center for European Studies at New York University, and former Chair of the European Union Studies Association. He has written numerous articles on the politics of Immigration politics in Europe, particularly France. Recent work includes: *Shadows Over Europe* (Palgrave, 2002) (with Patrick Hossay and Aristide Zolberg), *Europe Without Borders* (Johns Hopkins, 2003) (with Mabel Berezin), and *The US and EU in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford University Press, in press) (with Anand Menon). He is now completing a book on the Comparative Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States.

PATRICK SIMON (INED)

Patrick Simon is a socio-demographer at INED (the Institut National d'Études Démographiques) in Paris, France, where he heads the International Migration and Minorities research unit. His research deals with inter-ethnic relations in multicultural societies and with immigration considered from a range of perspectives: the social paths of immigrants and their descendents, along with the processes (political treatment, statistical categorisation, the transmission and invention of identity) by which ethnic and racial minorities are constituted and reproduced. He was the coordinator of the MEDIS project, funded by the European Commission, on the measurement of discrimination in the USA, Canada, Australia, the UK and the Netherlands, from which several articles in this issue derive.

SYLVIE STRUDEL (Université François Rabelais)

After working as an associate professor at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Lille, Sylvie Strudel was named professor at the Université François Rabelais in Tours in 2005. From 2001-2003, she was part of a CNRS delegation at the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin. She has been an invited visiting professor at the University of Tokyo (1999) and TU Berlin (spring semester 2004). Strudel's fields of research include migrations and socialization, sociology and theory of European citizenship and political behavior in the European Union.

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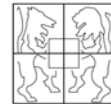
Vincent Tiberj (Ph.D. in Political Science) is Senior Research Fellow at the CEVIPOF and Lecturer at Sciences-Po. His main research interests are: political sophistication, electoral behavior (France, US and Europe), political psychology and political sociology of ethnic and social inequalities. He has written several articles on the French party system, ordinary citizens' political reasoning and values of immigrant-origin French.



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