



**The Fondation Nationale
des Sciences Politiques &
The University of Pittsburgh**

A Comparison of the U.S. and E.U.

**RETHINKING INTEGRATION:
THE TRANSATLANTIC CHALLENGES
OF MIGRATION AND ETHNIC GROUPNESS
IN CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACIES**

**A TRANSATLANTIC COLLABORATIVE
PROJECT UNDERWRITTEN
BY THE
CARNEGIE CORPORATION
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**THE FOUNDATION NATIONALE
DES SCIENCES POLITIQUES
PARIS, FRANCE
MAY 23—24, 2008**



This two-day workshop is the fourth 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). This workshop was organized in collaboration with LOCALMULTIDEM (Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organizational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local Level), a research network funded by the EUROPEAN COMMISSION under Framework Programme 6. Both groups of scholars share common interests in the issues of immigration, integration, security and multiculturalism. These areas of study may be opened to allow for cross-fertilization across their respective research agendas.

In the two workshops held in Pittsburgh in the fall of 2005 and Paris in the spring of 2006, scholars and policymakers from Europe and the United States examined the linkages between immigration, integration and security in attempting to develop a systematic understanding of how the policies of border control, internal surveillance and civil liberties have been played out within Europe — at the supranational level of the EU, as well as among European national governments — and in the US. The central findings of the first phase of the project were published in a book co-edited by Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia and Simon Reich entitled *Immigration, Integration and Security: America and Europe in Comparative Perspective* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008). The findings indicated that many policies crafted to enhance security were, in fact, counterproductive. Attempts to generate 'more security', paradoxically, often generate 'more insecurity', largely due to the culminating effect of measures taken that unintentionally result in alienating first-, second- and even third-generation immigrants. The denial of civil liberties, the politics of estrangement (and, often, humiliation) and the refusal to legitimize a swathe of social and political concerns expressed by immigrant communities has served to isolate these communities from the general population rather than integrate them. This leaves unresolved the issue of how best to address the social, economic and political needs of migrant communities on the one hand, and the security needs of the general population on the other in both Europe and

the US. With this conclusion as a starting point, the Ford Institute for Human Security organized a third workshop, held in Pittsburgh in September 2007, which constituted the beginning of the second stage of the Ford Institute's collaboration with Sciences Po. There, we addressed a series of questions dealing with the new complexities concerning the issue of integration and immigration in order to investigate whether integration policies can be employed as an effective means to break the cycle of alienation and insecurity.

This research endeavor fits well with the research efforts of LOCALMULTIDEM scholars, who focus comparatively on the study of political integration of migrants and minorities in several European cities. The main dimensions of political integration involve various forms of political actions, political orientations (as measured by political trust, interest in politics, political knowledge and information, feelings of identity and belonging, and of political efficacy, democratic values, social tolerance, and citizenship), and socio-political behavior through the involvement in different kinds of associations (such as ethnic, political parties, trade unions, cultural groups, and NGOs). To address the current issues raised by integration, LOCALMULTIDEM researchers have, therefore, considered the potential influence of four types of factors: Immigrants' individual characteristics; the structuring of immigrants' organizations; institutional and discursive opportunities; and the characteristics of immigrant groups within the host society. LOCALMULTIDEM researchers have also made substantial advancement in terms of research outputs. They have produced a series of reports for the European Commission, analyzing political arrangements, socio-economic contexts and public discourse in a number of European cities. They have conducted a substantial number of surveys with migrants and minorities so as to foster cross-cultural comparisons between different groups. Their research currently focuses on different types of associations and organizations so as to evaluate their role in the mobilization of migrants' claims in the public sphere, with the production of a new series of official reports scheduled for the end of June 2008. Therefore, LOCALMULTIDEM work targets three levels of analysis; the contextual (macro) level, the organizational (meso) level, and the individual (micro) level.

The Goals of the Workshop

This workshop seeks to examine the European experience at the national and sub-national levels with the intention of deriving lessons for policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic.

We propose to analyze a series of subsidiary questions clustered in the following four areas:

- (i) *The contribution of theory.* How can we think about the central concepts of integration theory in view of the new realities of security and immigration in Europe and the US? How can we revise or generate theories that account for the new exigencies of security and enhanced cross-cultural cleavages in the context of large immigrant populations whose historic origins lie outside the foundations of western society?
- (ii) *The nature and level of political integration.* Are there significant differences in the degree to which different ethnic, cultural or national groups are politically integrated into the local life? If such differences exist, what factors help explain the variations in the degree of political integration from one immigrant group to another?
- (iii) *The form, source and extent of convergence in integration policies.* Have the policies associated with integration in America and Europe converged? If so, what are the sources and origins of areas of convergence? Are they driven by the differing character of immigrants, the changing nature of the challenges posed by immigrants or by changes embedded within host societies?

- (iv) *The constituents of 'security' in the context of integration.* Why has integration alternatively failed or been ignored as a security issue in Europe and the US? Why is it that the 'securitization of immigration' has become such a potent force on the governments and politics of both continents, yet the vast bulk of internal measures have focused on internal surveillance rather than on providing the socio-economic platform that might integrate new immigrants (both economically and politically) and might both isolate and identify any radical fringe? Can security and integration be reconciled and, if so, how?

This workshop includes six panels focusing on different aspects of the political participation and integration of migrants and their descendants. Panel I addresses the impact of the securitization of immigration issues on both sides of the Atlantic. Panel II focuses on the specific issue of unwanted immigration, explicitly of illegal immigrants and asylum seekers, notably Muslims. Panel III is devoted to the analysis of political and institutional opportunities (such as state policies), while Panel IV tackles the specific impact of other 'opportunities' that are not grounded in the Nation-State and that may be equally relevant to favor or prevent migrants from being politically active. Panel V looks at the role of civil society organizations in the integration of migrants, including the social capital arising from organizational networks. Finally, Panel VI examines the individual characteristics of migrants, and how they can lead to increased participation and integration. A wrap-up session will be devoted to the question of how policymakers at all levels of governance can address this newly emerging trans-Atlantic immigration dilemma.

Friday, May 23, 2008

8:30 - 9:00: Breakfast

9:00 - 9:15: Welcoming Addresses

Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia (CEVIPOF/ISI)

Manlio Cinalli (CEVIPOF/LocalMultidem)

Laura Morales (University of Manchester/LocalMultidem)

FIRST PART: THE ISSUE CHALLENGES OF MIGRATION FOR DEMOCRACIES

9:30 - 9:45: Introductory Remarks

Renaud Dehousse (Director of the Center for European Studies/Sciences Po): *The Importance of Migration and Integration: Issues Across Disciplines*

Simon Reich (Director of the Ford Institute for Human Security/ISI, University of Pittsburgh): *From Immigration to Integration: The Challenges Ahead for Transatlantic Policymakers*

9:45 - 11:15: PANEL I: The Securitization of Immigration Issues

Chair: **Paul Statham** (University of Bristol, Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship)

Presenters:

John Tirman (Executive Director and Principal Researcher of the Center for International Studies at MIT): *The Politics and The Securitization of Immigration*

Christopher Rudolph (Assistant Professor of International Politics at the School of International Service at American University, Washington DC): *The Security Environment and Immigration: The Effect of 9/11 on Migrants in the US*

Lynellyn Long (Independent Consultant and former Chief of Mission for the International Organization for Migration, Bosnia-Herzegovina): *The Integration of Health Care Workers in the UK, Netherlands, and the US*

11:15 - 12:45: PANEL II: Islam and Unwanted Immigration/Minorities

Chair: **Laura Morales** (University of Manchester, Institute of Social Change)

Friday, May 23, 2008

Presenters:

Frank Bean (Chancellor's Professor of Sociology and Economics, University of California, Irvine) and **Susan K. Brown** (Associate Professor of Sociology, University of California, Irvine): *Dimensions of Comparative Integration Contexts: Interpreting Mexican Incorporation in the United States*

Carol Bohmer (Visiting Associate Professor, Dartmouth College): *Asylees and Refugees: Problems of Integration in the United States and Europe*

Zsolt Nyiri (Research Director for Europe, Gallup World Poll): *From Immigration to Integration: Analyzing the Determinants of National Identity among Muslims in Paris, London, and Berlin*

1:00 – 2:00: Lunch

SECOND PART: TOP-DOWN POLITICAL CONTEXTS AND OPTIONS FOR POLICY REFORMS

2:00 - 2:15: Introductory Remarks by Patrick Ireland (Professor of Political Science, Illinois Institute of Technology)

2:15 – 3:45: PANEL III: Political Opportunities and the Nation-State

Chair: Nonna Mayer (CEVIPOF)

Presenters:

Menno Hurenkamp (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research) and **Evelien Tonkens** (University of Amsterdam): *Dutch Integration Policies and Political Polarization*

Romain Garbaye (Paris IV-Sorbonne): *Whither Multiculturalism? Convergence in British and French Integration Policy*

Marco Giugni (Director of RESOP, University of Geneva): *The Impact of Swiss Policies on Political Participation: Italian Migrants in Zurich and Geneva*

Friday, May 23, 2008

3:45 – 4:00: Coffee Break

4:00 - 5:30: **PANEL IV: Political Opportunities: Supra-State and Sub-State Issues**

Chair: Ian O’Flynn (Newcastle University)

Presenters:

François Bonnet (Postdoctoral Fellow at OFCE/Sciences Po): *Modes of Policing of Minorities in NY (USA), Lyon (France), and Milan (Italy)*

Andrew Geddes (University of Sheffield): *The European Union and the Rights of Foreign Nationals*

Manlio Cinalli (CEVIPOF) and **Marco Giugni** (Director of RESOP, University of Geneva): *Discursive Opportunities and the Political Participation of Migrants*

Saturday, May 24, 2008

THIRD PART: BOTTOM-UP CIVIL SOCIETY, MOVEMENTS AND THE MIGRANTS THEMSELVES

9:00 – 9:30: Breakfast

9:30 - 9:45: **Introductory Remarks by Jean Tillie** (Deputy Director of IMES, University of Amsterdam)

9:45 – 11:15: **PANEL V: Movements and Civil Society**

Chair: **Didier Chabanet** (Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Lyon)

Saturday, May 24, 2008

Presenters:

Mario Diani (University of Trento) and **Katia Pilati** (University of Trento): *Migrant Organizations as Means for Political Action and Source of Collective Identities*

Laura Morales (University of Manchester, Institute of Social Change)

Eva Anduiza (Autonomous University of Barcelona) and **Laia Jorba** (Autonomous University of Barcelona): *Organizations, Transnational Links and the Political Incorporation of Migrants in Spain*

András Kovács (MTAKI - Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and **Ildikó Zakariás** (MTAKI - Research Institute of Ethnic and National Minorities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences): *Organizational Networking Strategies among Immigrants in Budapest*

11:30 – 1:00: PANEL VI: Integration of Migrants and Minorities

Chair: **Jolyon Howorth** (Yale University)

Presenters:

Laura Morales (University of Manchester, Institute of Social Change), **Eva Anduiza** (Autonomous University of Barcelona), **Elisa Rodríguez** (University of Manchester) and **Josep San Martín** (Autonomous University of Barcelona): *The Political Action of Migrants in Barcelona and Madrid: Does It Really Differ to Autochthonous Patterns?*

Antal Örkény (Eötvös Lorand University): *Role of Trust in Social and Political Integration of Chinese, Muslim, and Ethnic Hungarian Migrant Groups in Urban Surroundings: The Budapest Study*

Geraldine Bozec (Sciences Po), **Manlio Cinalli** (CEVIPOF), and **Vincent Tiberj** (CEVIPOF): *Muslims, Maghrebians or More Simply French? The Integration of Migrants in France and its 'Banlieues'*

1:00—2:00: Lunch

2:00 – 3:00: Final Session Chaired by Simon Reich (University of Pittsburgh, Director of the Ford Institute for Human Security)

Participant Biographies

EVA ANDUIZA (Autonomous University of Barcelona)

Eva Anduiza is Associate Professor of Political Science at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. She has published extensively on electoral behaviour and political participation in Spain and in Europe. She is a member of the Spanish project "Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe (LOCALMULTIDEM)" funded by the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission.

FRANK D. BEAN (University of California, Irvine)

Frank D. Bean is Chancellor's Professor of Sociology and Economics and Director of the Center for Research on Immigration, Population and Public Policy at the University of California, Irvine. Prior to joining UCI, he was Ashbel Smith Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs, Director of the Population Research Center, and Chair of the Department of Sociology at the University of Texas at Austin. Before that he was the founding Director of both the Program for Research on Immigration Policy and the Population Studies Center at The Urban Institute in Washington, D.C. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, and the Council on Foreign Relations. He has been a Guggenheim Fellow, a Visiting Scholar at the Research School for Advanced Social Sciences at the Australian National University, a Visiting Fellow of the American Academy in Berlin, a Visiting Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation, and a Distinguished Senior Visiting Fellow at CCIS and the Center for U.S. Mexico Relations at the University of California, San Diego. He is the author or editor of 16 books, including *Mexican American Fertility Patterns* (with Gray Swicegood) (a Choice Outstanding Academic Book of 1985), *The Hispanic Population of the United States* (with Marta Tienda), *At the Crossroads: Mexico and U.S. Immigration Policy* (with Rodolfo de la Garza, Bryan Roberts, and Sidney Weintraub), *Help or Hindrance? The Economic Implications of Immigration for African Americans* (with Dan Hamermesh) (a Choice Outstanding Academic Book of 1998), *Immigration and Opportunity: Race, Ethnicity, and Employment in the United States* (with Stephanie Bell-Rose), and *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity* (with Gillian Stevens) (which received the Otis Dudley Duncan Award for Distinguished Scholarship in Social Demography from the Population Section of the American Sociological Association in 2003). His current research and writing focus on the determinants and consequences of U.S. immigration patterns and policies, immigrant group incorporation, estimates of U.S. immigration and emigration, the implications of immigration for changing race/ethnicity in the United States, and world population trends and policies.

CAROL BOHMER (Dartmouth College)

Carol Bohmer, a lawyer and sociologist, is a Visiting Associate Professor in the Government Department at Dartmouth College. She has worked extensively in the area of law and society, examining the way legal and social institutions interact, both in the United States and abroad. She also does *pro bono* legal work for asylum seekers. She has published in the areas of domestic violence, rape, divorce and asylum. Her most recent publications are: "Representing Trauma: Political Asylum Narrative" with Amy Shuman, *Journal of American Folklore*, 117 (466): 394-414, and "Trauma and Forgetting: Producing Epistemologies of Ignorance in the Political Asylum Process", with Amy Shuman, *Identities* 14 1-27 (2007). Her most recent book is *Rejecting Refugees: Political Asylum in the Twenty-First Century* with Amy Shuman (Routledge, 2007), a comparative study of the asylum process in the US and the UK.

FRANÇOIS BONNET (Sciences Po Paris)

François Bonnet, PhD, teaches sociology at Sciences Po Paris. His research interests focus on crime control and social order in urban settings. His dissertation has won the Gabriel Tarde award for best new criminology work. He focuses now on an African American ghetto in Brooklyn, NY. His articles have been published in *Déviance et Société*, *Sociologie du travail*, *Revue française de sociologie* and *Genèses*. He is currently preparing a book on the subject of social control.

GERALDINE BOZEC (Sciences Po Paris)

Geraldine Bozec is currently completing her PhD in Sciences-Po Paris (Cevipof) on the role of primary schools in the building of citizenship and civic identity in France (*The 'Defenders of the Republic': Primary School Teachers and Citizenship in France*). She is a researcher for the European research Project 'Localmultidem' (*Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organisational Networks and Public Policies at the Local Level*). Since 2000, she has actively participated in various European research projects, such as one on cultural diversity in school systems (*Teacher Education Addressing Multiculturalism in Europe*, 'TEAM', 2004-2006) and another on the reform of pension systems in Europe (*Public Participation and the Pension Policy Process: The Citizen and Pension Reform*, 'PEN-REF', 2000-2001). Bozec teaches the epistemology and methodologies of qualitative research in the Master 'Politics and Society in Europe' at Sciences-Po with Florence Haegel.

SUSAN K. BROWN (University of California, Irvine)

Susan K. Brown is Associate Professor of sociology and Associate Director of the Center for Research in Immigration, Population and Public Policy at the University of California, Irvine. She is the author of *Beyond the Immigrant Enclave: Network Change and Assimilation* (2004). Her research focuses on the incorporation of immigrants in to the United States, residential segregation, and the inequality of access to higher education. With Frank D. Bean, she is writing a book on the integration of Mexican immigrants and their descendants.

DIDIER CHABANET

Didier Chabanet received his PhD in political science from the University of Lyon (France) in 1997. His research interests include: Social movements, collective action in Europe, immigration, public policies, unemployment and social exclusion. He was a fellow at the Maison française d'Oxford, at Saint Antony's College (Oxford, UK) and at the European University Institute of Florence (Italy). He has been awarded fellowships by the British Council in 1998, Saint Antony's College in 1999, the European Commission in 2000 and the Baptist University of Hong Kong in 2004. He is currently a researcher at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Lyon (France).

ARIANE CHEBEL D'APOLLONIA (CEVIPOF/Sciences Po Paris)

Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, educated at Sciences Po (Ph.D., DEA), is co-director of the ISI Immigration Research Network. At Sciences Po, she holds an appointment as an Associate Senior Researcher at the CEVIPOF (Center for Political Research). Dr. Chebel d'Appollonia specializes in the politics of immigration and anti-discrimination in the United States and Europe, racism and xenophobia, extreme-right wing movements, immigrant integration, and urban racism. She has taught at undergraduate and postgraduate levels, both at universities in France (Paris III-Sorbonne, and the Columbia University and the University of Chicago Programs in Paris) and in the US (New York University, University of Pittsburgh). Dr. Chebel d'Appollonia was selected as the Buffet Chair Professor at Northwestern University and a visiting fellow at the Ford Institute for Human Security and at the European Center of Excellence at the University of Pittsburgh. Furthermore, she was awarded the EU-US Fulbright scholar in 2006. In addition to three books (including one on the Far Right in France, and another on Everyday Racism) and five edited volumes, Dr. Chebel d'Appollonia recently co-edited a book with Simon Reich entitled *Immigration, Integration and Security: America and Europe in Comparative Perspective* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008).

MANLIO CINALLI (Sciences Po)

Manlio Cinalli is Senior Research Fellow at Sciences Po, Paris. He earned his PhD at the Queen's University of Belfast, School of Politics and International

Relations, with a thesis focusing on ethnic relations and political movements in Northern Ireland. He was then a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow at the University of Leeds and Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute. He has also been visiting fellow at the University of Oxford and invited professor at LUISS of Rome and Columbia University in New York. His comparative research focuses cross-nationally on ethnic relations and exclusion, with a particular attention on the questions of immigration and unemployment. He has taken on responsibility for research in several European comparative cross-national projects, authoring and co-authoring a number of official reports for the Commission. He is currently director of the French project for LOCALMULTIDEM (European Union's Framework Six Programme), focusing cross-nationally on the integration of ethnic groups, as well as director of the French project for YOUNEX (European Union's Framework Seven Programme), focusing cross-nationally on the integration of the unemployed.

RENAUD DEHOUSSE (Sciences Po)

Renaud Dehousse is Professor of Public Law and Political Science. He currently holds a Jean Monnet Chair at the Institut d'études politiques de Paris (Sciences Po), and is Research Fellow at Notre Europe, a Paris-based think-tank founded and directed by Jacques Delors. Prior to joining Sciences Po, he held regular appointments in the Law Department of the European University Institute and at the Faculty of Political Science of the University of Pisa, Italy. He has acted as adviser for various units of the European Commission; he was *inter alia* a member of the Groupe des Sages set up by the Commission before the 1996 intergovernmental conference. His main work has been on law and politics in the European Union. Recently, his work has focused on transformation of European governance, with specific reference to the growing importance of transnational bureaucratic structures (comitology, European agencies), as well as on the influence of the European Court of Justice on European policies and the policy process.

MARIO DIANI (University of Trento)

Mario Diani is the main researcher of the Italian team of the LOCALMULTIDEM project. He is a Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento. He obtained a BA in Political Science from the University of Milan (1982) and a PhD in Sociology from the University of Turin (1987). Before joining the University of Trento in 2001, he taught at the Bocconi University of Milan (1988-1993), the University of Pavia (1993-1996) and the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow (1996-2001), where he held the Chair of Sociology and also served as Head of the Department of Government. He also holds a Visiting Research Professorship at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow.

ROMAIN GARBAYE (Universite Paris 4-Sorbonne)

Romain Garbaye is Maître de Conférences at the Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, and is currently a visiting researcher at CEVIPOF (CRNS-Sciences-Po). He was previously a Jean Monnet post-doctoral fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies of the European University Institute in Florence, and he obtained a D.Phil in politics at Oxford University. His work deals with ethnic minority participation, urban politics, Islam, and multiculturalism in Europe. His book *Getting into Local Power: the Politics of Ethnic Minorities in British and French Cities* (Blackwell, 2005), was awarded the best book prize of the Urban Politics section of the American Political Science Association (APSA) in 2006. He has co-edited with Sophie Body-Gendrot and Jacques Carré *A City of One's Own: Blurring the Boundaries Between Private and Public. Historical and Comparative Perspective* (Ashgate, forthcoming).

ANDREW GEDDES (University of Sheffield, UK)

Andrew Geddes is Professor in and Chair of the Department of Politics at the University of Sheffield, UK. He specializes in European and EU migration policy and politics. Publications include *Immigration and European Integration: Towards Fortress Europe?* (2000) and *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe* (2003).

MARCO GIUGNI

Marco Giugni is the main researcher of the Swiss team of the LOCALMULTIDEM project. He is Director of the Laboratoire de recherches sociales et politiques appliquées (resop) and teaches at the Department of Political Science at the University of Geneva. He has been a visiting scholar at the New School of Social Research (New York, USA), at the University of Arizona (Tucson, USA), and at the University of Florence (Italy), and Visiting Professor at the University of Trento (Italy). He has authored and coauthored several books and articles on social movements and contentious politics. He has also directed and collaborated in a number of comparative projects on topics relating to social movements and contentious politics, social exclusion, and social and political integration. In particular, he was the scientific coordinator of the UNEMPOL project (see <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/eurpolcom/unempol> for details) within the 5th EU FP and currently participates in the DEMOS project (see <http://demos.iue.it> for details) within the 6th EU FP. His research interests include: Social movements and collective action, immigration and ethnic relations, unemployment and social exclusion.

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. From 1993 to 2003, he was 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 Francais d'Histoire Sociale. He has published extensively in the areas of foreign policy, the European Union, NATO, and security and alliances. His most recent books are: *Security and Defense Policy in the European Union*, (Palgrave, 2007); Jolyon Howorth & John Keeler (eds.), *Defending Europe: The EU, NATO and the Quest for European Autonomy* (Palgrave, 2003); *European Integration and Defence: the Ultimate Challenge?* (EU-Institute for Security Studies, 2000).

MENNO HURENKAMP (Amsterdam School for Social Science Research)

Menno Hurenkamp (1971) is trained as a political scientist, who has worked as a journalist for several years. He currently works at the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research (ASSR), earning his PhD on citizenship in modern communities. He (co-)edited volumes on individualization (2004), choice as a policy strategy (2005), and American progressive politics (2007) among others and has a political column in the weekly *Groene Amsterdammer*.

PATRICK IRELAND (Illinois Institute of Technology)

Patrick Ireland is Professor of Political Science at Illinois Institute of Technology. His training has been in political science and public health. He has taught at several institutions in the U.S. and has been a visiting professor at the University of Ghana, the University of Tübingen (Germany), and the University of Mohammed V (Morocco). He is the author of *The Policy Challenge of Ethnic Diversity* (Harvard University Press) and *Becoming Europe: Immigration, Integration, and the Welfare State* (University of Pittsburgh Press), as well as of numerous articles and book chapters on immigrant integration, EU migration policies, migration and multiculturalism in Europe and North America, racism, and Islam. His current research focuses on migration and HIV-AIDS, community building in immigrant neighborhoods in Europe and the U.S., and the relationships between emigrants and development in Mexico, Morocco, and Lebanon.

LAIA JORBA (Autonomous University of Barcelona)

Laia Jorba is an associate lecturer at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and a researcher in the project 'Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Spain' funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education. Her past research has focused on deliberation and the quality of democracy.

ANDRÁS KOVÁTS (ELTE University, Budapest)

András Kováts is trained as a social scientist at ELTE University, Budapest. He currently is conducting research on integration, immigration and asylum policy for the Minority Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Since 1998, he has been in charge of coordinating the activities of Menedék – Hungarian Association for Migrants, first as a programme co-ordinator, later as director. For the past few years he has also been involved in consultancy for various governmental bodies dealing with immigration and asylum related issues.

LYNELLYN D. LONG

Lynellyn D. Long is independent consultant and former chief of mission for the International Organization for Migration, Bosnia-Herzegovina. She has also served as the Population Council's representative in Vietnam and as an adjunct faculty member at The Johns Hopkins University School of Public Health. She has written extensively on issues of human trafficking.

NONNA MAYER (Sciences Po)

Nonna Mayer is Research Director at the Centre for Political Research at Sciences Po (CEVIPOF), where she works on electoral sociology, right wing extremism, racism and anti-semitism. She heads the Political Sociology programme in the Sciences Po Master's degree on "Comparative Societies and Politics". Dr. Mayer is President of the French Association of Political Science (AFSP).

LAURA MORALES (University of Manchester, Institute of Social Change)

Laura Morales is coordinator of the LOCALMULTIDEM project and main researcher in charge of the Spanish partner team based at UMU. She is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Department of Political Science of the University of Murcia. She obtained her degree in Political Science at Universidad Complutense de Madrid (1996), an MA in Social Sciences at the Juan March Institute (1998), an MSc in Social Research Methods with Statistics at the LSE (2000, Distinction), and her PhD at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (2004, European Doctor degree). She has received the European Consortium for Political Research and the Spanish Political Science Association Ph.D. prizes for her doctoral dissertation. She has previously been a lecturer at the Department of Political Science of Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (2001-2003), and at the Department of Sociology IV Methods of Research and Communication Theory of Universidad Complutense de Madrid (2003).

ZSOLT NYIRI (Gallup World Poll)

Zsolt Nyiri, PhD is the Regional Research Director for Europe for the Gallup World Poll, the World's largest multi-national survey covering more than 95% of the world's population in approximately 130 countries. His most recent projects include Gallup's *Balkan Monitor* and several *Flash Eurobarometer* surveys conducted for the European Commission. Dr. Nyiri holds a PhD in Political Science and Public Opinion, a Master's Degree in Public Administration, and a Master of Philosophy in Political Science. Prior to coming to Gallup, he was teaching classes in Comparative Politics, Public Policy, and Methodology at the University of Connecticut, Storrs. He designed and conducted several short courses, including "Transnational Islam: Differences and Similarities between Muslims in the West" for the *German Federal Chancellery* and "Fact Based Policy Making in the European Union" for the *European University Institute*. Dr. Nyiri developed innovative methodology to poll hard-to-reach populations in Europe, such as Muslims. In addition to working at Gallup, he is part of a five-member High-Level Expert Panel for the European Science Foundation's European Co-operation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research Office (COST). Dr. Nyiri has been regularly publishing his research in books and refereed journals, including *Political Research Quarterly*, *Harvard International Review*, and *Foreign Policy*. He was an invited speaker at New York University's conference on "Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West" in May, 2007.

IAN O'FLYNN (Newcastle University)

Ian O'Flynn, PhD, is Lecturer in Political Theory in the School of Geography, Politics and Sociology, Newcastle University, United Kingdom. His current research explores the implications of deliberative democratic theory for questions of political integration in multinational and multicultural societies. He is the author of *Deliberative Democracy in Divided Societies* (2006) and has published scholarly articles in journals such as the *British Journal of Political Science* and *Ethnicities*.

ANTAL ORKENY (Eotvos Loránd University of Budapest)

Antal Orkeny is professor of sociology at the Social Sciences Faculty of the Eotvos Loránd University of Budapest. Since 1996, he has been chair of the ELTE-UNESCO Minority Studies Department and director of the Social Relations Institute including three departments (Minority Studies, Social Psychology, Cultural Anthropology) at the Social Sciences Faculty of the ELTE. His major research focuses are cross-national surveys on popular perceptions of social justice, national identity and national stereotypes, and inter-ethnic relations. Two of his books were published in English: One in 1992 with Gyorgy Csepeli, entitled *Ideology and Political Beliefs in Hungary. The Twilight of State Social-*

ism, London and New York: Pinter Publishers, and the second in 2000 with György Csepeli and Maria Szekelyi, entitled *Grappling with National Identity. How Nations See Each Other in Central Europe*, Budapest, Akademiai Kiado.

KATIA PILATI (University of Trento, Italy)

Katia Pilati obtained a PhD in sociology at the Department of Sociology and Social Research of the University of Trento, Italy. Her studies focus on political participation and immigration and she is currently part of the LOCALMULTIDEM EU funded project on migrants' political participation in six European cities.

SIMON REICH (University of Pittsburgh)

Simon Reich is co-director of the ISI Immigration Research Network and director of the Ford Institute for Human Security (University of Pittsburgh). Reich (PhD, MA, Cornell University) has held a faculty appointment as a Professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the 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 the former president of the International Political Economy Section of the International Studies Association. Reich is the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters. Among his publications is a recently published co-edited book with Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, entitled *Immigration, Integration and Security: America and Europe in Comparative Perspective* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008) and a forthcoming book co-edited with Scott Gates entitled *Child Soldiers: Children and Armed Conflict in the Age of Fractured States*.

ELISA RODRIGUEZ (University of Manchester)

Elisa Rodriguez is a research associate at the Institute for Social Change of the University of Manchester within the project "Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe (LOCALMULTIDEM)" funded by the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission. In the past she has worked in various studies on immigrants in Europe.

CHRISTOPHER RUDOLPH (American University)

Christopher Rudolph is Assistant Professor of International Politics at the School of International Service at American University in Washington, D.C. His work has appeared in the leading peer reviewed journals in political science, including

the *American Political Science Review* (2003), *International Organization* (2001), *Security Studies* (2004), and *International Studies Review* (2005). His book, *National Security and Immigration* (Stanford University Press, 2006), examines state responses to international migration in the context of the security environment. Before coming to American University, Professor Rudolph taught at Georgetown University, UCLA, and the University of Southern California the University of Southern California, the Center for Comparative Immigration Studies at the University of California at San Diego, and the Institute for the Study of World Politics in Washington, DC. He has served on the editorial board of the *UCLA Journal of International Law & Foreign Affairs*, and also edited a special issue of the journal entitled, "Reconsidering Immigration in an Integrating World" (3:2, 1998).

JOSEP SAN MARTIN (Autonomous University of Barcelona)

Josep San Martín is an associate lecturer of Political Science at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. His research interests are related to political participation and social capital. He was a researcher of the Spanish project related to the Citizenship, Involvement and Democracy network of the European Science Foundation. He is a member of the Spanish project Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants Social Capital in Europe (LOCALMULTIDEM), funded by the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission.

ENDRE SIK

Endre Sik is the main researcher of the Hungarian team of the LOCALMULTIDEM project. He is a senior researcher at the Centre for International Migration and Refugee Studies (http://www.migration.mtaki.hu/migracio_alap.pdf), as well as a professor at the Department of Minority Studies at ELTE University in Budapest. He is a project manager at TARKI Social Research Centre (<http://www.tarki.hu/indexe.html>). He is currently the Hungarian representative of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (<http://eumc.eu.int/eumc/index.php>). He previously taught at Notre Dame University (Indiana, USA), at the University of Toronto (Canada) and the Central European University (Prague). He has also been a consultant for international organizations such as the UNDP and the ILO.

PAUL STATHAM (University of Bristol)

Paul Statham is the principal researcher of the British team of the LOCALMULTIDEM project. He is Professor of Political Sociology at the University of Bristol and a member of the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship (<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sociology/ethnicitycitizenship/>) hosted by the

Department of Sociology. Until 2006, he was the Director of the Centre for European Political Communications (EurPolCom) (<http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/eurpolcom/>), which he founded in 1999, and which continues and will be transferred to Bristol. He was previously Professor at the Institute for Communication Studies, University of Leeds (1999-2006), Senior Researcher at the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB), (1995-1999), and a Researcher at the European University Institute (EUI), (1989-1994). He has received several major academic research grants from the Economic and Social Research Council, the European Commission Framework Programme and the European Science Foundation. He is the author of many scientific publications in leading journals and volumes, including the *American Journal of Sociology*, *European Journal of Communication*, *Mobilization*, *Political Quarterly*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Western European Politics*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Innovation*, *Harvard Journal of Press/Politics*, and the *Harvard International Review*. He was a consulting editor for the *American Journal of Sociology* from 2001-2003. His main research interests focus on questions of political inclusion and exclusion with regard to European Integration and immigration and ethnic relations within a cross-national comparative framework.

VINCENT TIBERJ (Sciences Po)

Vincent Tiberj is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Political Research at Sciences Po (CEVIPOF) where he specializes in comparative electoral behaviour (France, United States and Europe), the political psychology of ordinary citizens, the sociology of inequalities, and survey research and methodology. His main research topics are: The politics of French citizens of immigrant-origin, social inequalities and politics, sociology of elites, and changes in voting behaviour in France and the United States. Together with Sylvain Brouard he recently carried out the first academic survey on African-, Turkish- and Maghrebian-French, investigating their value systems, their religious affiliations, their political preferences and their integration into French society.

JEAN TILLIE (University of Amsterdam)

Jean Tillie is an Associate Professor of Political Science and the Deputy Director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) at the University of Amsterdam. He is the Coordinator of IMES Cluster 3 on "Networks of Migrant Organisations, Political mobilisation and the Institutional Design of Multicultural Democracies". He has published extensively on the social capital of migrants, on anti-immigrant parties and voting behaviour, and on immigration policies in journals such as *Comparative Political Studies*, the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and the *European Journal of Political Research*. He is the co-author (with A. Rogers) of *Multicultural policies and modes of citizenship in European cities* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Jean Tillie, together with Meindert Fennema, has been coordinating the European network of researchers "Multicultural Democracy in European Cities" since 2001. He is a member of the FP6 network of excellence IMISCOE.

JOHN TIRMAN (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

John Tirman has been, since October 2004, the Executive Director of the Center for International Studies at MIT, where he is also Principal Research Scientist. He previously held senior posts at the Social Science Research Council, the Winston Foundation, and the Union of Concerned Scientists, and was Fulbright Senior Scholar in Cyprus in 1999-2000. He was educated at Indiana University in political science and history, where he was an I.U. Foundation Scholar. His PhD, in political science (political theory), was earned in 1981 from Boston University, where he studied with Howard Zinn, Alasdair MacIntyre, and Frances Fox Piven. There he was a Metropolitan Scholar and Teaching Fellow. Tirman has served as a trustee of International Alert, the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, and the Foundation for National Progress, which publishes *Mother Jones*, where he was co-chair. He is author or coauthor and editor of ten books on international affairs and US foreign policy, including *The Maze of Fear: Security & Migration After 9/11* (New Press, 2004), and *Terror, Insurgency, and the State* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). He has contributed to periodicals such as the *Washington Post*, *The Nation*, *Boston Review*, *Wall Street Journal*, *International Herald Tribune*, AlterNet, and many others.

EVELIEN H. TONKENS (University of Amsterdam)

Evelien H. Tonkens is Endowed Chair in Active Citizenship Studies at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Amsterdam since 2005. Before, she worked at the universities of Groningen and Nijmegen and at various research institutes. She also was a Member of Parliament. Currently she is a columnist for the daily Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant*. She has published many articles and various books on changes in ideals and practices of citizenship, equality and difference in relation to welfare state reform.

ILDIKÓ ZAKARIÁS

Ildikó Zakariás graduated in sociology and specialized in ethnic and minority studies at Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest in 2007. He is currently engaged in projects conducted by the Research Institute of Ethnic and Minority Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, focusing on phenomena of ethnic Hungarian return migration, as well as civic activism of migrants in Hungary.

Notes

Notes

*For further information about this conference,
please contact:*



University of Pittsburgh
Ford Institute
for Human Security

3930 Wesley W. Posvar Hall
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
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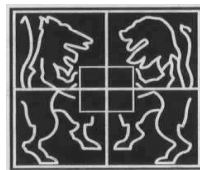
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