
ABSTRACTS

sorted alphabetically

Inclusion and Exclusion in and on the Borders of Europe

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Transformation and Peace Building as Part of the State Building

The 2008 declaration of independence of Kosovo was a product of failed negotiations concerning the adoption of the Ahtisaari plan, which broke down in the fall of 2007. Faced with no progress on negotiations in sight, the Kosovars decided to unilaterally proclaim the declaration of independence, the Republic of Kosovo. By declaring independence, Kosovars obliged themselves in the process to follow the Ahtisaari plan's provisions in full. However, declaration of independence is not the final result. It takes more than declaration to achieve that objective, and Kosovo has a long and a bitter path to go in order to fully exercise its 'sovereignty'.

This paper will examine the concept of sovereignty and how it applies to Kosovo by assessing the effectiveness of [Kosovo's] transformation from a 'limbo' status towards building a real democracy. This paper carries on an idea of abandoning the nineteenth-century concept of the nation-building and national borders, thus moving towards transitional integrations. Indeed, based on the 20th and 21st century concept of sovereignty, democratic states are experiencing a kind of reduction in sovereignty, which, although entirely voluntary, 'jeopardize' the political sovereignty due to the economic sovereignty of each member state and for the good of all.

It is further stressed that democratization of society, inclusion of all communities and economic growth are preconditions towards improvement of people's quality of life in Kosovo. Education, inclusion in social activities and equal economic benefits are parts of an entire social system, thus they have a significant role in shaping the relationship of an individual in the whole society.

In addition to the above mentioned obstacles which post-independent Kosovo stand facing, Kosovo's peace remains fragile in its northern part. Consequently, in order to overcome the ideological and political' differences primarily between the Kosovo Serbs and Albanians, the 'latent' conflict in the north (city of Mitrovica) should be approached carefully, and as it is suggested in this paper through involvement of Track II Diplomacy efforts. Accordingly, the text consists of few conclusive remarks, which focuses on the efforts for peace building towards sustainable development.

Migrant Women and Labour Market: Experiences of Perpetual Exclusion

Contemporary studies of global migration patterns note the feminization of migratory flows and it is estimated that women represent at least half of the world's migrant population. The realities of migrants' transnationalism that addresses shifting identities and practices of belonging points to demographic changes in western societies that have for several decades reflected a trend towards population aging. Countries with unfavourable demographic situation, which relates to potential structural deficits in the labour market, are already experiencing important changes, and migration can help in filling current and future needs of the EU labour markets. It is becoming common practice in Western European states to hire migrant female workers for household services and personal care. A growing demand for female migrant labour is already becoming a prominent response to the existing gap in supply of these particular services. Migrants have traditionally found work in all the sectors that are considered dirty or underpaid by the "native" labour force that avoids them. This persists and is most obviously connected to the perceived "migrant professions" of construction and cleaning. Nevertheless, the actual demand for migrant workers remains poorly reflected in the European states' migration and integration policies.

Current trends of migration show that about 30 percent of the foreign population in Slovenia – out of 2.3 percent of migrant population – are women. This paper focuses on biographical interviews with migrant women in Slovenia as a valuable method to understand their experiences of searching for employment and their position on the labour market.¹ Based on our particular sample, most female migrants came to Slovenia in order to find work, though their motivation for migration also stems from other reasons. The paper discusses life trajectories of migrant women; focusing the debate on their own experiences with accessing the labour market. This new empirical material is used to theorise gaps in studies of migration, as well as to offer policy recommendations. By focusing the study on migrant women and their position on the labour market, this paper brings new evidence of their perpetual de-skilling and social exclusion, especially prominent for the so-called "third-country nationals", who experience the most restrictions, as well as prejudice and discrimination.

¹ Biographical narrative interviews, conducted in Slovenia in the period between winter 2006 and spring 2007, are part of the 6FP project "FeMiPol" - Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society: Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations. For more, see <http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/>.

Strategies against Trafficking from Balkans into EU: Enforcing Border Regimes or Increasing Women's Human and Economic Security?

Trafficking in women, a post-war consequence in the western Balkans, is being combatted by a wide range of international and local, governmental and non-governmental actors. While these actors might all be conceived broadly as participating in transnational advocacy networks, the differences in approach and consequences for policy on the ground in the Balkans and in European countries of destination for trafficking will be considered.

Migration and law enforcement approaches to combatting trafficking work in tandem, as an extension of EU border policy, with the consequences of strengthening border regimes, and criminalization/repatriation of trafficked women, which leads to recidivism. Human and economic security approaches to combatting trafficking recognize that women migrate illegally and put themselves at risk for trafficking because they lack other economic opportunities at home and lack options for legal migration. These labor market factors combined with impact of gender violence suggest alternative strategies to end trafficking. Specific EU country policies toward trafficking will be considered, as will specific strategies and impact of Balkan, EU, US and transnational actors.

How Transnational is ‘Transnationalism’? Transnational Social Space and the Vigour of National Boundaries

During the last fifteen years a new field of research emerged in the social sciences, the one that deals primarily with intensifying of ties of persons, networks and institutions across, between and below the boundaries of nation states. Transnationalism, arguably a huge terminological miscast, became a general catchword for such phenomena, implying that the multiple ties across nation-states transcend the boundaries of these entities. Indeed, transnational social spaces engage intense types of mobility, densification of social ties and communication in such a way as if the boundaries of the nation-state didn't exist. However, existence of transnational social spaces, even if dependent on multiple tying across national boundaries, doesn't automatically influence the strength, porosity or even the very existence of these boundaries in order to deserve the prefix 'trans'. This paper will consequently deal with the ways in which transnational social spaces influence national boundaries in terms of control of the territory, functionality of national institutions, coherence of national identity etc. and try to spot the areas in which multiple-ties across national boundaries actually change national boundaries, leaving them porous, transformed or even obsolete.

The paper concludes that the national boundaries are alive and well, ready to be re-activated and cut off any ties that are possibly subversive for nationally contained society or for any attribute of the nation-state. Transnational social spaces can emerge in parallel to nationally contained societies, however complications with multiple and hybrid identities overlapping spaces and differences in time conception still don't influence national societies in a dramatic way.

Migration next to the European Fortress - Social and Institutional Consequences

The number of immigrants have now reached over a million, which directly attests to the serious jeopardy of human rights which is occurring in the whole world and in particular in European continent. Morocco and Croatia have proven to be a good places to immigrate primarily due to their strategic geographical position. Morocco and Croatia both have provided immigrants a transit country and greater access to Europe. Schengen Europe has shown over the last several years that it is not ready to accept such a large number of immigrants, which has therefore led to a large number to remain within border countries.

Croatia has developed institutional and legislation infrastructure but has failed in social support to migrants. Morocco lacks in institutional and legislation forms dealing with migration. However, cultural diversity and acceptance of differences are common notions.

Restrictive Migration Policies and their Effect on Female Migrants (Women from the Former Soviet Union in Slovenia)

It can be argued that the enlargement of the EU and the opening of its internal borders accentuate the differences between the rights of EU and third-country nationals for whom increasingly restrictive conditions of entry and residence in the EU apply. Therefore, the main aim of the paper is to trace the effects of the current migration policy in Slovenia on female migrants from the former Soviet Union who reside in Slovenia, to demonstrate how these effects might be gendered and to examine how the current restrictive tendencies for third-country nationals have affected their individual life-courses and perspectives. The main research method is a qualitative, semi-structured, life-story interview with female migrants from the former Soviet Union who reside in Slovenia. The paper will try to show that a conservative, restrictive approach to migration management has contributed to an increasing insecurity and vulnerability of third-country nationals residing in the EU. It will also argue that the current migration policy privileges marriage as an institution (the classical marriage model) in order for migrants to gain the right to reside in Slovenia in the first place and that rights of marriage migrants in Slovenia are conceptualised mainly in relation to their partner which can create opportunities for subordination of particular women. The 'sexualised' images of women from the former Soviet Union as exotic dancers and prostitutes that prevail in the 'general public' also negatively affect their experiences both with border controls and in their integration into the new society. In opposition to such an 'essentialist' picture of female migrants from the former Soviet Union the paper will reveal the heterogeneity and diversity of their experiences and reclaim their agency in challenging such stereotypical notions.

Ana Frank

Multiculturalism, Feminism and Minority Rights in Europe

In my paper I want to problematize the assumption that women in minority cultures are more subordinated than women of European/western cultures by asserting that European colonial history has shaped European discourses of feminism, gender equality and universal human rights of today. European migration, minority, immigration and family policies are a clear example of this legacy.

The assumption that gender subordination is integral only to certain cultures first of all imposes the assumption that acts of subordination or violence against (non-Western, immigrant, minority) women are integral to some cultures and that acts of violence in the West are motivated by »rational choice«. This assumption, as Leti Volpp (2001) has shown, hides the forces beyond culture that cause violence or subordination of women in general, Western women too.

I want to problematize the assumption that the position of women in minority groups is detrimental when compared to women of the majority groups of European countries. In fact what Volpp has also pointed out, bias against culture masks other important social, political and economic issues affecting immigrant women's lives, indeed the discrimination of immigrant women in Europe is not to ascribe only to gender issues within the culture they belong to, but to issues of intersectionality, that is to issues of race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, religion or belief, disability, citizenship status, marital status, regional and material position and age, that influence the position of women in immigration communities. It also masks the fact that culture is negotiable and women can be active participants and actors in cultural activity.

The persistence of Colonialist and Orientalist discourses in the enlargement process of EU and within Europe (immigration, religious symbols – veiling and secularism)

I want to discuss the term neoracism or differential racism, which can be well seen in the contemporary discourses of dominant nationalistic majorities and secular systems within which the differentiation, assimilation and segregation of »the Other« is seen on the European soil itself. The notion and meaning of the border, the colonial border between the West and the East has, as to Balibar, moved from the periphery to the center of the political and social life in Europe itself (Balibar refers to these borders as represented by immigration centers, detention centers ecc.) Within these borders we can witness the rising xenophobia, mostly in terms of islamofobia – especially after »September 11«. Differential racism is at work under the cloak of defending European culture, lifestyles and values against the growing influence and presence of »foreigners«, which Europe is eager to call minority or diaspora vs. majority, auslander vs. hauslander or in the Netherlands autochtonen vs. allochtonen and at the last stance citizens vs. non-citizens. We can see the discourses of assimilation within the public institutions (schools, government, parliament) where religious symbols which pertain to different religions are prohibited (Balibar, 1988/1991).

This new European secularism, that is forced on some communities more than others, especially in schools with the ban on religious symbols (read Muslim religious symbols) contributes to a new form of assimilation or segregation of minority (Islamic) communities. Or as Balibar calls it within a bit different context but within similar discussions »European apartheid«.

As Rosi Braidotti (2002) stated, the notion of »difference« is central to European culture, history and philosophy. But »Difference« has become a built-in standard of reference that in European history produced »lethal exclusions and fatal disqualifications«, which in postmodern Europe have become even more antagonistic (Braidotti 2002: 159). As Braidotti puts it, we witness a renewal of new master narratives, which are based on differential determinism that establishes new differences based on identity, culture, ethnicity and civilisation (Braidotti 2005). And we can see how the differentiation is now based no more on race distinctions but on cultural distinctions within which religion plays an important role (besides ethnicity). The discourse of »racism« has therefore moved away (or beyond) race, as an unacceptable category, but we can see how it has acquired new forms.

Western Feminism

I will expose one main idea that Western feminisms should be aware of but they are not, as Chandra T. Mohanty has stated, Western feminisms lack a self-consciousness of the effects that their texts and assumptions are producing. We should be attentive to the assumption that feminism is working for the sake of every woman's emancipation. Meyda Yeğenoğlu warn us that we cannot neglect the terms within which some Western feminisms dealt with the »Other woman«.¹ When engaging with the Third World woman Western Feminisms took upon such a discursive presumptions of the Third world woman as oppressed in patriarchal and backward Third world societies, with no means of individual action and sovereignty as Western women, supposedly, enjoyed. That means that Western feminisms in its knowledge and methodology applied such discourses that included the opposition between developed and undeveloped parts of the world, namely between the West and the East. Therefore the sovereign and free woman of the West has the privileges and the power to intervene and help the helpless subject of the Third world. In this terms we can recognise the logic of the Colonialist and Orientalist discourse (Erdoğan, 2000).

In fact many authors have noted (R. Braidotti 2005; A. Lourde 1984; G. Wekker and H. Lutz 2001; C. T. Mohanty 1991; Yeğenoğlu 1998) that a Western Self or subject, that positions itself as a norm, as a neutral nomos that is unmarked, non-gendered, non-ethnicised, non-religious, is in fact characterised as Western, white, **Christian or secular** (and of course **man**, but here we would like to discuss the colonialist standpoint of western woman (western feminist), therefore we limit ourselves to the norm of Western, white, **Christian or secular woman**, that has presumably taken control over her own body).

Mostly religion (and within it Islam as a cultural world) is seen as unacceptable and represented as oppressive to Muslim women; therefore, in the Western discourse of liberation and emancipation, they have to be unveiled for their real emancipation and liberation. Jasemin Zine has stated that religion (especially Islam, because Christianity is a part of the undisputable norm) is not accepted as a legitimate epistemology neither within anti-racist (woman's) movements or feminisms, and Muslim

¹ In the analysis we do not claim that all feminisms undertook such an interpretation. Yeğenoğlu in her texts uses the term liberal feminism, within which she has in mind all those feminist interpretations which reproduced in one way or another Colonialist or Orientalist discourses.

women are therefore again dismissed and silenced in their attempts to present »another mode of being female« and to take into their hands the possibilities to make representations of their own bodies and subjectivities (Zine 2004). Although it is understandable a scepticism and criticism towards religious fundamentalism and radical religious explanations, that do really oppress women in some societies, it is again wrong, as Mohanty stated, to take a specific version of Islam and making it THE Islam, as THE source of oppression of women (Mohanty 1991). Furthermore it is interesting Zine's suggestion of a spiritual (religious) feminist epistemology, which is still rejected in post-modern feminism, as a legitimate knowledge within which Muslim women could be able to expose their own Quranic hermeneutics and therefore pursue for a new representation of themselves.

Zine has furthermore reminded us, that Muslim women do stand in between two different discourses with which they have to fight to acquire power for a new Muslim feminist epistemology and representation of a faithful Muslim woman. Secular and radical (also orthodox, but always mostly male and patriarchal) religious discourses have in fact taken from the »Other (Muslim) woman« the possibilities of becoming and being a subject. Therefore we should take into account the possibility and need that religious Muslim women make representations of their own bodies and Self. Furthermore we should question ourselves: Was the »objective« and »rational« Enlightenment knowledge, in any way more »objective« and »rational« than spiritual (religious) epistemology can be? Wasn't it racism based on »objective and rational« biological knowledge? Was it not orientalist knowledge (Orientalism) and its »classifications« that produced discrimination and injustices among people, based on an »objective« and »rational«, »secular« and even sometimes »Christian« knowledge? Being able to produce discourses, as sources of power, is the way within which silenced subjects can challenge and change the established relations of power, because there is power, as according to Foucault, emanating from the microlevels of society and according to George Dei, it is the spirituality that can enforce the Self. Western feminist discourses and the West, especially Europe, which many times have lacked self-consciousness, will therefore have to acknowledge the effects of imperial and colonial discourses within which they have cooperated (Mohanty 1991) and which amazing hypocrisy have gone even so far so as to demand from the »Other woman« to not expect any political rights and equality until the Western sister achieves them first. Indeed, Burton (1990) notes a British feminist, Christabel Pankhurst, who claimed that the British invented the idea of equality and therefore should be the British woman the first to achieve it and not the »Eastern woman«.

Orli Fridman, Ziad Abu-Rish

(Re)Centering Europe: Israeli and Palestinian Narratives in the Shadow of Europe

This paper builds on our joint experiences of working with Jewish, Israeli and Palestinian students within the framework of bi-national encounters and comparative conflict analysis study tours in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia. During these educational summer programs, students engaged in a comparative study of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Balkan wars of the 1990s, as well as reflected on their individual roles within the dynamics of both the conflict at large and their interactions throughout the program. A central component of these dynamics were competing narratives of victimization and the power relations inherent within them. This paper seeks to explicate the place of European history in the dynamics of Israeli and Palestinian competing narratives and memories of victimization. More specifically, it seeks to explore, through reflective practice, the power relations at play within these narratives and how Europe's experiences with the Jewish Holocaust and its recognition thereafter plays a hidden, yet central, role given the physical and discursive distance, from the borders of Europe, of the Palestinian experience with colonization and displacement.

Lahcen Haddad

Beyond the Idea of “Fortress Europe” or the Challenges of Good Neighborhood and Integration Policies

While on the one hand the notion of a fortress Europe (especially in relation to its southern neighbors) led to the failure of the Barcelona process, a constant return of the repressed in Europe’s relation with Islam and Muslims has, on the other hand, made most of the integration policies inside Europe more or less unsuccessful. The results were mostly a focus on security in relations with southern Mediterranean countries, a systematic draining of its brains and the establishment of an Eldorado-dream beyond-the-fortress in the minds of millions of disenchanted young people in North Africa and elsewhere on the one hand; the rise of “communitarism” among Muslim minorities in Europe-- a fertile ground for all kinds of ideas including extremism and terrorism--, the parallel consolidation of extreme right theses and ideas and the consequent repetition of the civilisational clash on a micro-level in Europe on the other hand. In this paper, I will argue that without a well-worked out idea of a “shared Europe” inside Europe and on its borders, a “bon voisinage” policy built on real and sustainable development in bordering Muslim countries, and an immigration policy that goes beyond the fortress/Eldorado paradigm, most of the problems related to assimilation/integration, extremism (both right wing and Islamist) and illegal immigration will continue to set the agenda for Europe’s relation to its Muslim minorities and neighbors.

Rebecca Hovey

Global Knowledge and the Global Campus: Whose Knowledge for what Purposes?

The strategic direction of SIT and WL is to promote transformative educational experiences that result in a more just, prosperous and secure world. As an institution of higher education, this commitment to a transformative and experiential pedagogy is a model of the engaged university without doors – an institution committed to development of knowledge for action and practice in the world with direct and positive outcomes for those communities, students, faculty and constituents involved in the learning, teaching, inquiry and informed action of an open, global university.

Our strength as an institution derives from the fluidity of our networks and unique capacity to design programs that connect individual learners with communities of practice and knowledge. At the same time, these connections serve as means by which SIT is able to facilitate processes of knowledge dissemination and collaboration with the many host institutions and communities with which we work.

Given the theme of this conference on Inclusion and Exclusion on the Borders of Europe, my presentation aims to address the question of how phenomena of inclusion and exclusion are critical challenges for those engaged in international education. We need to ensure that our intellectual and educational work in our international learning communities are not exploitative of local hosts; we also need to ensure that our theoretical frameworks, analytical models, and learning processes are at once respectful of local cultures while also contributing to the institutional and societal aspirations of our local community learning partners.

This challenge prompts us to adapt our pedagogies to more expansive communities of learning. By expanding beyond the traditional walls of academia to include a wider range of cultural knowledge producers, we also question the structures that have served to exclude many groups from formal belonging in society. These processes, which I term “democratization of knowledge production” can serve as a starting point for the cultivation of a new generation of professionals and activists who see beyond the borders of their academic disciplines and homes.

Kristen L. Johnson

An Ambiguous Division: Immigration and Civil Society in France

Struck by the overwhelming debate and cultural emphasis on the issue of immigration in French society, I decided to explore the complex relationship between the non-profit organizations that give social services to various immigrant communities and the government. Through eight interviews with non-profit aid groups, government agencies, and political organizations, I concluded that the aid groups compensate for the faults of the French government by more accurately addressing the social issue of immigration. Beyond the non-profits, though, it is civil society in general that has the legitimacy of discourse over the State through its championship of universal rights and international integration. The paradox that we are ultimately left with is how to incorporate universal rights into national laws and maintain a system of social welfare if all people have a human right to choose where they live.

Adriana Kabashi

Why is Kosovo Still Waiting at the Door of Europe?

With the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, Europeans become closer neighbors. In 1993 the Single Market was completed with the freedom of goods, services, people and money. People started became more concerned about the protection of the environment and about acting together as Europeans, in security and defense matters.

The Euro is now the new currency for many European states and 10 new countries joined the EU in 2004. Europe is more visible and present in our everyday lives and cultures.

But, two hundred million future Europeans are waiting to define their 'fate' in the new European Union. For many countries there are conditions named 'standards' that they have to fulfill before they become equal members of the EU. Numerous philosophers argue that those standards are not fulfilled in the states that are known as founders of the European Union. According to this argument, it is logical to think that those states want to be sure of who they will admit into this Union.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia created a new situation and new conditions for all the different nations that were part of that federation. Since, the 90's Kosovo Albanians hoped and believed that the process of European integration would bring Kosovo integration into the union of European nations.

Although it seems a paradoxical, in Kosovo, Europe is a 'value' and 'Europeanism' is a belief. If someone is called 'European' that person has 'civilized values'. Everything that comes from Europe and for Europe is uncontested; it is the value of the future.

In my paper I will try to answer why is Kosovo still, after many years of aspirations and commitments excluded from this 'promised' Union? Why all the Balkans are still out of this union?

Kosovo is a very small country and like other small countries in the Balkans it has to wait for decisions by super-power states.

But, many philosophers are concern about fact that Europe and its identity have exclusionary characteristics and do not proclaim post-national citizenship on a territorial basis. This seems very doubtful for the future of a 'new Europe' and for the creation of a multicultural society of Europe.

Erased People of Slovenia: Continuous Exclusion and Politics of Discrimination

On 26 February 2008 18.305 people were unlawfully erased from the register of permanent residents of the Republic of Slovenia. The official reason for the erasure was non-acquiring Slovenian citizenship, while the true reason for this measure was in fact racism in a form of balkanism. The Slovenian authorities had numerous opportunities to repair and redress the harm caused to victims of erasure. In the nineties human rights organizations as well as academics and other individuals were alerting the state institutions about massive (for Slovenian context) numbers of people residing in Slovenia with no legal status as well as about numerous deportation for citizens of other republics of former Yugoslavia that their families had reported about. First measures which supposedly recognized the difficulties that the erased were encountering in resolving their status and were supposed to help them in this process came too late and were in fact useless since they just posed additional conditions that the erased should have had fulfilled in order to get the status back. The first visible opportunity for the erased came only in 1999 after the first Constitutional Court decisions which found the erasure unconstitutional. This decision provoked adoption of the law which was again restrictive – it only covered people who managed to prove that they have been illegally residing in Slovenia uninterruptedly from the erasure on. Later on, additional conditions were added which excluded people with even mild criminal records. Another opportunity to resolve their statuses came up after 2003 after the issuing of the second Constitutional Court decision. The opportunity was, however, hindered by xenophobic actions that blocked any solution. Today we are again facing a proposal of the act which is supposed to resolve the status of erased, but which, however, confirms continuous discriminatory attitudes of the authorities towards the erased.

Lev Kreft

Territorialization of Art

Territorialization of art was used as scientific explanation of its cultural variations and differences and as a background for emergence of its "highest", autonomous and aestheticized appearance in Western modernity. The effort to turn philosophy of art into a scientific discipline(s) with the help of natural sciences or social sciences models and methods, did not reach its objective, at least not as in some other social and human sciences which successfully appropriated their objects from philosophy. On the other side, philosophical reduction of art in "pure aesthetics" and proclamation of Western high art model as universal model and criteria for all art in all cultures created global relations of Center and Periphery in art, but this territorialization of artistic power became a target of strong criticism in the last few decades. Now, to speak of art as an object of "positive" scientific knowledge, or, to speak of art as a pure aesthetic subject of philosophy, are two equally problematized discourses. The first one was put out of use by modernism, the second one has been denied its rights by post-modernism. How to deal with territoriality of art now, in global context and, for instance, in Mediterranean framework? Together with post-modern and post-colonial criticism of universalist approach of modernism, we have to take contemporary re-newel of positivism, of aesthetic Darwinism, and especially of geo-anthropology and art-geography seriously.

From Boys to Men: Seeking Asylum in Norway

Two years ago, Albert Heta, a contemporary artist from Kosovo asked the question “Can an Albanian be a tourist?” He placed stickers stating “No Visa Required” on billboard advertisements of British Airways, creating much confusion as many people thought it to be a genuine ad. In a striking way Heta’s intervention made visible and audible complex formations of distancing and containment that visas signify, but also unearthed attempts to make borders more porous and expose the unequal relations of access to movement of ‘people, ideas, and things’. This paper takes Heta’s intervention as a point of departure, and analyses the particular kind of traveler that Albanians have been in within a recent political and cultural geography of Europe.

The paper focuses on the experiences of young men from Kosova who fled recruitment from the Yugoslav army in the early 1990s and sought asylum in Western Europe, specifically Norway. The analysis is informed through the memories of five childhood friends who escaped together, their experiences in asylum camps, efforts at making a living in Norway, and their latter return to Kosova. The oral histories told are analyzed vis-à-vis media accounts in Kosovo and Norway regarding the ensuing wars in Yugoslavia, illegal border crossings, and asylum requests. The paper analyzes the diverging narratives and narrative forms - the textuality of memory and documentation – that emerged in the various accounts of exile and asylum.

The recorded memories and stories are placed here within the context of immense change occurring in all of former-Yugoslavia at the time, as well as emergent relations within a larger global flow of representations and knowledge of the “Balkans.” Media accounts, which made visible the emerging political discourse in Kosovo, such as appeals of the parallel Kosovo government to prevent the “exodus” of youth from Kosovo, were also more explicitly placed within an emerging discourse of national belonging and manhood. While political capital could be gained by political rallies to prevent such exodus, the remittances sent at home aided the parallel government and latter the Kosovo Liberation Army, but mostly fed impoverished families. In Norway, as well as in many other host countries at the time, testimonies of asylum seekers were often articulated through conflicting readings, more generally as foreign cultural practices, and specifically dangerous manhood (read as primitive, violent, Other). In some instances the encounter with the ‘margins of Europe’ at home initiated a liberalization of discourses, and in others, in congruence, new ways of constructing borders of all kinds. The multi-sited ethnographic inquiry proposed here, of both places and sources, shows more varied embodiments and intimately felt experiences of social and political change.

Goran Lukič, Mirsad Begić

Migrant Workers. Human Beings - or just Means for Profit?

The United States stunning economic growth between 1870 and 1920 coincided with the migration of tens of millions of Europeans to America. A study of fifteen European countries finds that a 1 per cent increase in the population through migration is associated with a boost to the economy of between 1.25 per cent and 1.5 per cent. The World Bank reckons that if rich countries allowed their workforce to swell by a mere 3 per cent by letting in an extra 14 million workers from developing countries between 2001 and 2025, the world would be \$ 356 billion a year better off, with the new migrants themselves gaining \$ 162 billion a year. (Legrain, 2007) Logic is clear - free flow of work force is good for the national economies. But what happens, if the same national economies embrace economic growth as “supreme social value”? Would that mean the excuse for the breach of basic human rights every time, when they step in the way of achieving that supreme goal? (Pribac, 2008). Sadly, but the more we are talking about the current social position of migrant workers, the more that seems to be the case. What about the right for decent working and living conditions for migrant workers? What about the right for proper health and safety at work for migrant workers? Answers on those questions are all going in the direction of the core of our article – migrant workers are one of the biggest involuntary hostages of the race for more profit. This article tries to go behind the positive economic gains on migrant workers so to look into the direct individual costs, which the same migrant workers must face, from their over-representation in so called 3D jobs (“dirty, dangerous, demanding”) and low-skilled occupations to appealing living conditions.

Marie Claude Lutrand

Young French Muslim Females in "Laic" Context: A process of "co-cultural creativity"

The context of secularization of European democracies is in the process of engendering a new, unheard of way of living Islam, different than that encountered in Muslim countries. The Islam of the new generations is no longer exactly that which immigration brought; it is also the fruit of the new context. If France represents a historically new context for practicing Islam, the presence of Muslim populations offers France the possibility to expand its conception of religious pluralism.

Starting from the example of young French women of the Muslim faith, I will explore the existence of a process of «cultural co-creativity», reciprocal adjustments between French Muslims and laicity.

Therefore, due to the presence of Muslim French citizens, laicity is invited to expand its conception of pluralism. Furthermore, the ways of living and practicing Islam among young French people are in turn influenced by a modern context, of laicism and secularity.

Tomáš Mastnak

Keynote Address

Aldo Milohnić

From Trojan to Schengen Horses: »The Inside Story«

Author presents the latest advances in the technology and techniques of detection of refugees who try to enter developed EU countries in »unlawful ways«. New techniques of detection of »undocumented immigrants« are juxtaposed with examples of flight over the former Berlin Wall and similar cases. Precisely the fall of the Berlin Wall is a symbolic landmark between past practices of undocumented crossings of state borders and those specific for today's situation. Refugees and dissidents become »illegal(s)«, those who offer help to them (formerly called »Fluchthelfer«) are now called smugglers and traffickers in human beings. Exploring possibilities for escaping the states of so-called »Eastern Block« or »Real Socialism« was at that time supported and accepted with sympathy in Western countries. In Germany, for example, it was organized even an exhibition entitled »Escape stimulates inventiveness«. Nowadays one speaks only about new detection techniques and their abilities to stop »illegal migrations« which are represented (in public, in the media etc.) as a »threat« for reach and developed Western states. An important duty imposed to »security developers« of the Schengen Europe consists in re-production of this ideologically constructed »threat«. The author will also speak about some witty artistic projects questioning a growing isolationistic ideology of the Schengen Europe.

Selma Muhić Dizdarević

Course of Development of the EU Immigration and Integration Policy

For the subject of immigration and integration policies, which can be set as to how EU and individual Member States relate to the so called third country nationals (TCN) which also involves the question of whether and to what degree such policies are multicultural (in terms of taking into account and implementing recognition, equal treatment and fair redistribution), it is relevant to understand that European countries developed as nation-states throughout their recent history. The question of congruence of territory and nation(s) triggered more than one war in Europe, including the recent wars in the Balkans. In this context it is possible to regard European Union as a project of overcoming national states formation for the purpose of the creation of a broader **institutionalized** field for cooperation among the Member States.

Indeed, EU was created to ensure free flow of goods, services, capital and people. For this purpose it was necessary to create an institutionalized frame in which this free flow was possible and that also meant increase and transmission of competencies from national to supranational level of the EU. This process is regarded by Europeans as sometimes too slow or too fast but it is a process, which is proceeding steadily, with setbacks (as in the case of Constitution) and a lot of disputes, but still going remarkably well, considering its time span and depth of the nation-state concept in European history and politics.

Classical or Westphalian concept of state sovereignty coupled with the idea of the nation-state has been challenged not only from the perspective of the EU but also from other international factors and processes. National legislations are increasingly being changed under the influence of international obligation coming from memberships in various international organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund, World Trade Agreement, etc. The processes, which cannot be left exclusively to the national states are in particular: fiscal responsibility (involving economic field and obligations for the trade became global); security (necessary cooperation among states to tackle the international character of current security threats); and last and most controversial human rights agenda. The latest process is not as obvious as the previous two, nevertheless for better or for worse, international or other power interventions into domestic affairs (if decided they clash with human rights) have become much more likely than before. The United Nations or NATO increasingly interfere with solving the human rights crisis and sometimes end up complicating them even more.

On the other hand, as I mentioned when writing about toleration regimes, it is possible to regard the European Union as “a second degree nation state”, with all structural features of nation states but with members from individual countries. In such case obviously the “nation” would be the Europeans (i.e. citizens of respective Member States) and the non-nationals would be third country nationals.¹ For the nation states, it was typical that they categorized people into majority and minority members, where majority basically defined regimes of toleration for minorities. Therefore, on the

¹ It might be of some interest to note the linguistic difference between EU **citizens** and third-country **nationals**. I am using Member States written in capital letters in order to follow EU official spelling.

one hand we still see even within the EU individual states behaving and acting as nation states (e.g. in case of attitude towards the war in Iraq) and at the same time we notice the national strategy of the EU towards third country nationals.

Omar Nahas

Reading the Koran in Temporary Western Context

In this paper I discuss the role of Koran hermeneutics in social change and policy making in Europe. I start with a short framing of the discussed issue. Then I apply it to the related political reality in the Netherlands. Afterwards I question hermeneutics again as an instrument to achieve social change.

I conclude with a proposal for further implementation in academic and intellectual sphere.

The Issue of Koran hermeneutics in Europe:

Reading religious texts has always been a part of social debates and influenced policy making in Europe.

These words would be intellectually unacceptable before the new era of Western post secularism that unfortunately begun with religious related violence of 9 – 11 - 2002.

In a research of media debates on Islam and different social issues in the Netherlands, for example, we can systematically come across the question : “what does the Koran says about the addressed theme ?”

Koran in Dutch politics

Keeping in mind that the Netherlands has a clear cut secular tradition of policy making, we can understand the immensity of the shift in political and intellectual attitude towards addressing religion. This would be unthinkable before 3 new waves of social reaction to issues: Gender roles, Jihad and Sexuality.

All three issues were raised by Dutch politicians in relation to the presence of Islam in Europe mainly through migration. And all used reading of the Koran as instrument to attempt social change.

In her film, Submission, Ms. Hirshi Ali included some Koran verses to show how these verses are used against women.

In his political action Mr. Geert Wilders included some Koran verses about "Fighting the Kafir" to illustrate his ideas about how the Koran is aggressive towards non-Muslims.

In his action "ex-muslim" organization, Mr. Ehsan Jami included some Koran verses to illustrate how the Koran is anti-homosexual.

Questioning hermeneutics as instrument to achieve social change:

Is it possible to have another reading than the reading of the above mentioned politicians to read the same texts on a positive human-centred way? And is this human-centered interpretation defensible from inside the already exiting mainstream interpretations? Those are important questions which we need to answer. But not before we are convinced of the questions and the necessity of an answer.

After reducing the influence of the church in Europe because of modern liberation of gender roles, human equality and sexual liberation, who wants to end up again in ongoing religious discussions?

The strategy used by the above mentioned 3 initiatives, namely using Koran readings to prove negative influence of the Koran, is already accomplished. All 3 initiatives succeeded to raise waves of national political debates.

Changing the strategy in these political debates by concentrating on social, political and administrative approaches, pushes the reading of the Koran to a lower level, namely to media discussion and talk shows. A negative word is said on a high level, a response is not heard on the same level.

The lower level of this response makes this word seems defensive. Leading the response on the academic and intellectual level brings equality in debates back. This specific step can not be done by political organizations.

Conclusions:

Hermeneutics is crucial in post-secular societies. The translation of the language of interpretation towards one compatible with post-secular thought is essential for constructive communication between Islamic and post-secular-societies.

We need to use this instrument in answering challenging questions facing Muslim communities in democratic European social systems, developing an inclusive democratic model where Muslims participate on an equal basis in post-secular social process, and finally in helping western policymakers to understand Muslims as a part of their political, economical and social units.

'Nesting Colonialisms': New and Old Patterns of Exclusion in the European Periphery

The paper provides an analysis of political discourse referring to the process of EU accession of the countries of the “Western Balkans”, formed both within the EU institutions and by political elites in the European states. It positions these discourses into broader framework of discursive constructions of Other and Otherness in the symbolic geography of Europe, where the Balkans is traditionally perceived as the European Other, and shows mechanisms through which the existing patterns of exclusion are deployed in the new context in which some countries are already members of the European Union while others strive for the membership.

Starting from the assumption that discursive production of Otherness tells more about authors of that discourse than about its subject, the paper pays particular attention to those discursive patterns through which national states in Europe negotiate and justify their role within the European Union. It highlights mechanisms of exclusion applied to the ‘Western Balkans’ countries which became possible due to division of Europe based on membership in the European Union.

Eduard Ponarin

Policies with Respect to Russian-speakers in the Newly Independent States: Estonia and Ukraine

This paper will argue that assimilation of the Russian-speakers is more likely in Ukraine than in Estonia. Previous research in Estonia focused on the Russians' openness to assimilation and underestimated the forbidding attitude of the Estonians, which hardly favours such assimilation. Furthermore, it referred to a number of incentives to assimilate in the distant future, while failing to recognise the prospects for growing political power of the Estonian Russian-speakers in the near future that might upset the whole structure of incentives. In Ukraine, previous research did not appreciate the role of Western Ukraine. Western Ukraine on the one hand provides the drive for a nation-building effort, but on the other hand intermediary groups mediate this drive. Because Western Ukrainians are in minority, they can only win in a broad coalition. Coalition-building requires moderation of their attitude to attract Russian-speaking Ukrainians. Furthermore, even though the boundaries between Western Ukrainians and Russians may seem as strong as those between Russians and Estonians, the boundaries between the various Ukrainian groups in actual contact are fluid. Such mediation spares the Russian-speakers from abrasive attitudes such as they encounter in Estonia. Therefore, what might be termed ratchet-wheel assimilation is taking place in Ukraine. My comparison of the two countries suggests that milder policies in Estonia might have been more efficient. However, the policy itself may be a function of history of the relationship of the peoples involved.

Andreja Prebil

Progressive Interpretation of Quran as an Opportunity to Live Peacefully together in a Global and Plural World

In my essay I am going to focus on the latest interpretation of Islam's sacred book Quran which is called progressive interpretation.

Progressive interpretation of Quran is supported by specific hermeneutics which encompass the historical analysis of events, then linguistic analysis of some Quranic words, semantic and thematic analysis and a short survey of some Prophet's sayings. All these methods offer a reader a very specific understanding of Quranic verses: some of them are meant to be "old" and are strictly connected to particular events; others carry a universal ethical message.

Progressive interpretation of Quran was made-up by progressive Muslims who have firstly come together with the establishment of Progressive Muslim Network in 1998. The most influential and leading contributions among progressive writers were developed by Farid Esack and Omid Safi. Esack's own approach to Quranic interpretation was developed in response to the situation in apartheid South Africa, where he and other Muslims looked to the Quran for inspiration and for resources to support their struggle for justice, equality and freedom.

Farid Esack has in his research of Quran focused on "re-reading the Quran in a changing social-historical space, in an actually existing space". His opinion is that Quran is the product of an historical context, for that reason it must first be understood in relation to the times it originally addressed before Muslims could then start to apply it to changing times. Muslims have been reluctant to explore the question of the Quran's temporal causality because this is seen as compromising its "Otherness" thus the reasoning seems to be that if these worldly-events caused revelation then somehow revelation is not entirely "other-worldly". The Quran, he says, was revealed gradually (or progressively) as God's word to concrete historical situations. Knowledge of these situations is necessary in order to understand the original intent of Quranic revelation. Traditionally, although Esack says that this has suffered neglect as a branch of tafsir (exegesis), Muslims did study the "occasions of revelation" (asbab al – nuzul). This kind of interpretation helps to understand "the immediate meaning and the implication" of a verse, "the imminent reason underlying a legal ruling" and whether its meaning "is specific or of general application". This admits that human reasoning is involved in determining whether a specific verse was intended to legislate for eternity or a particular, concrete historical situation. Whether a verse is understood to have a universal or particular application can result in radically different interpretations of what is correct Islamic position vis-à-vis gender, punishment or the status of minorities, "unbelievers", as shall be seen in subsequent discussion. He therefore found in Quran "hermeneutic keys" (taqwa, alnas, jihad ect.) that enabled him to read the text in such way as to advance the liberation of people, who find themselves in an unjust conditions (for example women and minorities in Arabic world). But they don't stop here and go further: for Farid Esack and his fellow progressive Muslims this kind of understanding the Quran leads to the struggle on behalf of all the oppressed, not just on behalf of Muslims. Esack contends

that the Quran especially addresses those who are oppressed and marginalized, the mustadafun. For Esack, there is an essential link between exegesis and action. He advocates a cycle of reflection, action, reflection in what is always an ongoing process. This can be defined as Liberation theology, the process of praxis for comprehensive justice, the theological reflection that emerges from it and the reshaping of praxis based upon that reflection.

Farid Esack is also well aware of the fact that his hermeneutic is not ideology free. Esack remarks that absolute certainty belongs to God alone.

His and other progressive ideas are very important in achieving the intercultural dialogue in our global and plural society. The contextualization of Quran's message locates its universality in the willingness of the faithful to hear the Quran speaking to them in terms of their deepest and most painful reality at all times. It is undoubtedly obvious that such interpretation of Quran supports a profound commitment to the creation of a peaceful society based upon justice and compassion.

Obrad Savić

Promise of Europe

Abstract missing, please see the complete paper.

Re-definiton of Inclusion and Citizenship Policies in Central European Countries in 21st Century.

The proposed paper aims to analyze policies and discourses that lead to systemic nationalization of the concept of citizenship in Central European countries. Author uses for this purpose concept of Jeffrey Alexander and his distinction of the “core” and “out” group within a society. Author analyzes how central European nations were established by groups, whose members share certain characteristics and features, on which their solidarity was structured. Alexander suggests that each core-group needs out-group. In Central Europe out groups are being defined ethnically and remnants of the „core“ solidarity is lasting until these nowadays. Proposed paper shows how continuum between civility (less emotional, on purpose constructed ties) and primordiality (preference of race, territorial, family, and religious ties) is switching systematically toward primordial sentiments in setting up principles for modern citizenships.

In Central European countries the process of national self-identification is still more on the ethnic and cultural side than on the civic and territorial one, a reality can be characterized by the notion “Kulturnation” (broad cultural community), rather than “Staatsnation” (self-determining political nation). However, countries of Central Europe in some aspects neglect modern understanding of citizenship by putting too much focus on rights of ex-patriots and communities living outside of the “mother country”. Confusion is visible mostly in inconsistent approaches to citizenship by mixing - ius soli and ius sanguini principles.

Author argues that autochthonous minorities in Central European countries are not objects of the so-called denizenship in the way it has been expanded in many countries of the EU-15. So called new minorities might be, however, victims of the expansive and at the same time ethnically exclusivist citizenship policies of Central European countries in larger scale than in the past in EU15. Proposed paper therefore aims at defining preconditions for building of the Habermas’ “constitutional patriotism” as the basis of loyalty to nation and state.