### Annual Conference of the INTEGRIM Network on December 11, 2014

**FISSURES AND RUPTURES IN EUROPEAN SOCIETIES: MASSES, MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES**

Venue: Central European University, Faculty Tower (Auditorium)  
Nádor Street 9, 1051 Budapest, Hungary

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<td>9:00 – 9:15</td>
<td><strong>Introductory remarks:</strong> Viola Zentai, Center for Policy Studies, Central European University (Budapest, Hungary)</td>
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| 9:15 – 10:30  | **Keynote lecture:** Adrian Favell, Sciences Po (Paris, France) & Columbia University (New York, USA)  
**Imigration, integration and mobility: New agendas in migration studies**  
**Introduction and facilitation:** Viola Zentai |
| 10:30 – 11:00 | Break                                                                   |
| 11:00 – 13:00 | **Morning session:**  
**Chair:** Sonia Gsir, University of Liège (Belgium)  
**Discussant:** Floris Vermeulen, University of Amsterdam (Netherlands)  
**Prem Kumar Rajaram,** Central European University (Budapest, Hungary)  
**Common marginalizations:** How austere neoliberalism impacts undocumented migrants and Roma in Europe  
**Peter Vermersch,** University of Leuven (KU Leuven, Belgium)  
**The Roma as a subject of policy:** Frames and counterframes  
**Luicy Pedroza,** German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA Hamburg, Germany) & Central European University (Budapest, Hungary)  
**The political integration of migrants before and beyond citizenship** |
| 13:00 – 14:15 | Lunch                                                                   |
| 14:15 – 15:30 | **Keynote lecture:** Catherine Neveu, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), L’Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris, France)  
**Of some of the benefits to be gained from de/recentering citizenship**  
**Introduction and facilitation:** Michael Collyer, University of Sussex (Brighton, UK) |
| 15:30 – 15:45 | Break                                                                   |
| 15:45 – 17:15 | **Afternoon session:**  
**Chair:** Lucinda Fonseca, University of Lisbon (Portugal)  
**Discussant:** Dolores Morondo Taramundi, University of Deusto (Bilbao, Spain)  
**Huub van Baar,** Justus Liebig University Giessen (Germany) & University of Amsterdam (Netherlands)  
**At the nexus of migration, citizenship and Romani studies:** The effects of the EU’s border regime on Europe’s Roma  
**Ricard Zapata-Barrero,** Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain)  
**Framing the intercultural/multicultural divide** |
| 17:15 – 18:00 | **Reflections on the day followed by discussion:** Paul Statham, University of Sussex (Brighton, UK) |
FISSURES AND RUPTURES IN EUROPEAN SOCIETIES: MASSES, MIGRANTS AND MINORITIES
December 11, 2014

CONFERENCE THEME

Contemporary European societies and polities face old and new challenges when handling the problems of discord, separation, or marginalization across social groups and spaces. The way in which these problems are handled plays into political and moral claims by which Europe positions itself in global affairs. As Europe observes these days, at times of enduring economic hardship, fissures and ruptures in society easily turn to cleavages. The recent march and popular appeal of far right political forces in different corners of Europe is intimately connected to xenophobic and chauvinist reflections upon these cleavages.

Social categories, entitlements, and boundaries created by distributive and recognition struggles and decisions are at the heart of various social disentanglements. Migration studies critically reveal bundles of forces, sites, and mobilities that make the category of the migrant a salient one in articulating social fissures and ruptures. Recent currents in these studies contest simple binaries such as the migrants and the natives or the regular and irregular migrants by relating to other important differences in society that are marked by tensions, fight, or alliances among social actors. As the category of migrant becomes combined, questioned, transformed, or overridden by other important social categories, the relevance of ethnic and national boundaries and identities becomes contested. The notion of social inclusion, a master frame to the INTEGRIM initiative, has accumulated various positive meanings in political and policy debates yet remains contested in academic debates.

The Annual Conference of the INTEGRIM initiative in December 2014 addresses empirical and conceptual opportunities and recent explorations in understanding how migration flows, policies, and debates relate, move, reveal or clash with other important discords in society. Competitive, cooperative, transformative, or mutually constitutive relations of marked ruptures in society will be explored and explained. Further, the field of migration studies has obvious cross-currents with interdisciplinary scholarship on social inequalities, regimes of citizenship, practices of social exclusion and inclusion, and other key concepts capturing pronounced or disguised social ruptures. Similar types of encounters characterize the field of Romani Studies, whereas the two fields have generated only thin crosscurrents until now. The host institution of the conference, the Central European University is deeply interested in promoting academic conversations across these two fields of studies and facilitating encounters of these two disjointed scholarly communities.
ABSTRACTS IN THE ORDER OF TALKS

Adrian Favell: Immigration, integration and mobility: New agendas in migration studies

Migration studies have exploded in recent decades, without always accumulating much wisdom. Via an overview of the changed landscape of migration and mobilities in Europe since 1990, my presentation will discuss how these changes have challenged established paradigms of immigration and citizenship internationally, focusing particularly on the hugely problematic conception in policy and research of “integration”.

Prem Kumar Rajaram: Common marginalizations: How austere neoliberalism impacts undocumented migrants and Roma in Europe

The study of the marginalization of undocumented migrants tends to focus on how states govern migrants in order to reinforce its sovereignty. These are important accounts, but the tendency is then to think the marginalization of undocumented migrants as being of a significantly different order to the marginalization of other groups or populations. In this essay I argue that the contemporary neoliberal relation to politics, economy and the law in Europe cultivates surplus populations, amongst which are undocumented migrants and Roma. Their marginalizations, while each possessing singular features, is related to the marginalization of other groups surplus to neoliberal political economy. It is important to understand this common marginalization as part of an ongoing history of the relation between capital and labor.

Peter Vermeersch: The Roma as a subject of policy: Frames and counterframes

In this paper I focus on the various ways in which Roma appear as a subject in policy-related documents. In particular, I examine how frames emerging from Roma activism - and promoted by various stakeholders in the formation of policies on Roma on the European level - are reflected in EU policy-related documents. European policymakers seek out Roma to direct social assistance their way – but the Roma are also identified as a special group when states impose immigration control or extend security measures on them. While Roma activists have pushed for the Roma’s special position and legal recognition to alleviate the stigma of ‘Gypsy’ and make them a topic of concern in EU policy debates, new counterframes, in particular but not exclusively in the fields of migration and security, have stimulated and objectified the worrisome trend to see the Roma as a social group that is completely separated from national populations and do not share interests with other groups within these national populations.

Luicy Pedroza: The political integration of migrants before and beyond citizenship

The focus of reflections on the formal political integration of migrants in democracies has often fallen onto the citizen/non-citizen divide. Certainly, in the contemporary world it would seem like the best path open for migrants to safeguard the civil, social, political, economic, cultural rights they enjoy in their countries of residence is to naturalize: that is, to acquire the citizenship (understood as nationality) of the country they live in. Yet, this focus on citizenship-qua-membership in a national community as the only path to formal political participation obscures and deactivates the potentialities of citizenship, which has historically referred to less and more than nationality. I will discuss these potentialities empirically, opening up the concept of citizenship for different meanings that can be activated by migrant residents to demand formal political inclusion beyond nationality.
Catherine Neveu: Of some of the benefits to be gained from de/recentering citizenship

«Euro-American» assumptions for conceiving citizenship have long remained out of scope, and this does have effects as to the ways citizenship is conceived of and analyzed. There is therefore a need to disclose such implicit framings. If efforts to better grasp contemporary reconfigurations of citizenship require to pay attention to other ways to define and practice it (i.e. among postcolonial minorities or in non-Western sites), they especially require us to adopt new tools and standing points from which to explore citizenship processes, tools and standing points that should avoid to subsume the complexity of citizenship struggles to one or another theoretical “model”. In other words, the much needed destabilizing work in citizenship studies is not just about enriching the picture with views and practices that challenge established meanings; it is also about adopting a political and academic standpoint that reframe citizenship in general, and clearly contextualize it. Here the simultaneous move of recentering and decentering citizenship from its agreed connections and positions proves particularly fruitful.

Huub van Baar: At the nexus of migration, citizenship and Romani studies: The effects of the EU’s border regime on Europe’s Roma

Migration and border scholars have convincingly argued that the Europeanization and securitization of migration and border policies in Europe have led to practices and techniques of population management that constitute a questionable divide between EU and non-EU groups, as well as between different non-EU populations. I will build on this debate, and argue that these securitizing processes and transnational governmentalities have also impacted on the under-researched, ‘intra-EU’ divide regarding irregularized EU citizens, such as Europe’s Muslim and Roma minorities. Consequently, these minoritized, religionized and ethnicized groups have been faced with, for instance, having the adequate exercising of their citizenship – including their right to free movement in the EU – impeded. In my INTEGRIM lecture, I will focus on the position of the Roma, and on how the post-1989 Europeanization of their minority status – including the institutionalized promises for European citizenship and ‘integration’ – ambiguously relate to the securitization of migration and borders in Europe. I will discuss several intra-EU mechanisms and practices of bordering and policing and show that these securitizing processes affect not only migrating Roma – including those who have fled and asked for asylum – but also many other Roma, particularly the poor and segregated, who are confronted with both forced mobility and forced immobility. I will argue that new border practices have increasingly been articulated at sites, such as banlieues, ghettos, settlements, and poor, ‘colored’ neighborhoods, that are considered as ‘dangers’ to both the state project and the newly devised European project. Finally, I will reflect on how the continued representation of the Roma as irregular migrants and citizens – particularly through their problematization as ‘rootless nomads’, ‘itinerant criminals’ and ‘undeserving citizens’ – has led to confronting many Roma with forced mobility and to a situation that calls into question the political articulation of freedom of movement in contemporary Europe.

Ricard Zapata-Barrero: Framing the intercultural/multicultural divide

The Multicultural/Intercultural (Mc/Ic) emerging controversy resides in the logic of the necessary requirements to manage a society that recognizes itself as being diverse. The great multicultural debates of the late 20th century, and even in the early 21st century, followed a script driven by a cultural right-based approach of diversity, centered on such questions as the cultural recognition of rights in the public sphere and how to re-assess equality and cultural rights of non-national citizens coming with different attributions of language, religion, and cultural practices. This focus to diversity has founded the multicultural citizenship studies until the emergence of a new paradigm that is taking shape in this second decade of the 21st century: intercultural citizenship. Interculturalism invades this negative diagnosis of multiculturalism as a lifeguard costume. But it is also true that even if we are in an “intercultural turn”, there is still no political theory founding this turn. It is within this framework that I want to explore the building blocks of a preliminary theory, having Europe as main contextual framework. To look for the foundation of interculturalism we need to identify some substantial criticisms of multiculturalism that has been deployed this last decade. I will enter into this foundational frame of discussion taking citizenship as main focus.
Huub van Baar (MSc Mathematics, MA Philosophy, PhD Humanities) is an Assistant Professor of Political Theory at the University of Giessen, Germany, and a research fellow of the Amsterdam Centre for Globalization Studies (ASGS) at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Amsterdam. His work focuses on citizenship practices of minorities in Europe – and of Roma in particular – from the perspective of governmentality, activism, and the Europeanization and securitization of migration and borders. He is involved in the research project Dynamics of Security: Forms of Securitization in Historical Perspective (2014-2017), run at the Universities of Marburg and Giessen and funded by the German Research Council (DFG).


Adrian Favell is Professor of Sociology at Sciences Po, Paris. He is a specialist on international migration and mobilities, global cities and multiculturalism, with a particular interest in conceptual and comparative problems in migration research. Among his books, Philosophies of Integration (1998/2001) looks at immigration and ideas of citizenship in France and Britain since World War II; The Human Face of Global Mobility (with Michael Peter Smith, 2006) lays out an agenda for studying international high skilled migration in the global era; and Eurostars and Eurocities (2008) explores the new migration/mobility system that has emerged within Europe as a consequence of regional economic integration. A volume of his collected essays, Immigration, Integration and Mobility is forthcoming from ECPR Press.
Dolores Morondo is a research fellow at the Human Rights Institute of the University of Deusto in Bilbao. She studied Law and Economics at the University of Deusto and obtained her PhD in Law from the European University Institute in Fiesole. She has taught Human Rights, Legal Philosophy and Legal Methodology at the University of Urbino until 2011 when she joined the Institute for Human Rights. She has taught courses and seminars on human rights, discrimination law and immigration issues at the Universities of Brescia, Pavia, Padua, Verona and Bologna. She has also worked as an international independent expert for several EC programs on human rights and institutional building. Her main topics of research and publication include human rights, antidiscrimination law, intersectionality, and multiculturalism. She is currently working on issues of human rights research methods and on vulnerability and vulnerable groups.

Catherine Neveu’s research is mainly dedicated to contributing to anthropological approaches to citizenship processes, both in theoretical and empirical terms. She explored issues of nationality and citizenship in London and in Roubaix (France), and analyzed public participation practices as well as environmental mobilizations and issues of European citizenship. She now dedicates her research to an empirical approach of “ordinary citizenship” in community centers in France. She managed several research programs on urban citizenship or scales of citizenship practices. Her most recent publication is a co-written book with John Clarke, Kathleen Coll and Evelina Dagnino: Disputing Citizenship, published in 2014 at Policy Press.
LUICY PEDROZA

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Luicy Pedroza is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the German Institute for Global and Area Studies (GIGA Hamburg), where she works on a research project on Latin American state policies towards emigrants (“Politics beyond Borders: The New Dynamics of Emigrant Policies in Latin America”). Dr. Pedroza is also a visiting professor at the Central European University (CEU, Budapest), where she teaches courses on Comparative Politics and Migration Policy and Politics. Her academic interests range from studies of democratization and extension of the suffrage, citizenship and political culture, to issues of migration and transnationalism. In her individual work she focuses on citizenship policies and migrant integration policy across liberal democracies, with an interdisciplinary approach that combines the Political Sociology Political Theory and Comparative Politics.

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Prem Kumar Rajaram is Academic Director of CEU’s Roma Graduate Preparation Program (RGPP) and Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology. RGPP prepares young Roma BA students for entry to an MA program; for Prem it represents much of what is best about CEU: the highest standards of scholarship coupled with a commitment to social and political change.

In his research, Prem Kumar Rajaram is particularly interested in questions of marginality and depoliticization. His research has focused on the government of asylum-seekers, particularly those in detention in Europe and Australia, and on colonial histories of state making. He is particularly interested in the limits of politics, looking at individuals and groups excluded from political participation and seeing what their exclusion says about the nature of the political.
PAUL STATHAM
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Paul Statham is Professor of Migration and Director of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research at the University of Sussex, UK. He is Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (JEMS). His research focuses on cross-national comparative approaches to migration and ethnic relations within the European region, with a special focus on the relationship between migrant mobilization and political participation and public policies. He is currently writing about the relationships between Muslims and Non-Muslim majority populations in Western Europe (EurIslam) and developing a research project on the Politicization of EU Immigration. Paul has published more than 25 articles in scholarly journals and 40 in edited volumes. His collaborative monographs include: Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe (Minnesota 2005); The Making of a European Public Sphere (Cambridge 2010); and The Politicization of Europe (Routledge 2013).

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Peter Vermeersch is professor of political studies at the KU Leuven (University of Leuven). He is affiliated with the Leuven Institute for International and European Studies (LINES), the Centre for Research on Peace and Development and the Leuven Center for Irish Studies. In 2007 and 2008, he was a visiting scholar at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Harvard University. He is a graduate of the University of Leuven, but he also studied, lived and conducted research in Central Europe and the Balkans. He is the author of the book “The Romani Movement: Minority Politics and Ethnic Mobilization in Contemporary Central Europe” (Berghahn Books: New York, Oxford, 2006). Articles by Peter Vermeersch have appeared in a wide range of academic journals such as The European Journal of Sociology, Europe-Asia Studies, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, and East European Politics and Societies.
Floris Vermeulen is associate professor and chair of the department of political science at the University of Amsterdam from January 2015 onwards. He has been co-director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) and co-program group leader of Challenges to Democratic Representation of the Amsterdam Institute of Social Science Research (AISSR). He studied Economic and Social History at the University of Amsterdam. His research focuses on the civic and political participation of immigrants on the local level, looking at, among other things, the development of populations of immigrant organizations. Furthermore he has studied local integration policies and their effects on different domains, for instance by looking at local policies targeting violent extremism. His work is published in several international volumes and journals such as Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Comparative Education, Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, Urban Studies, West European Politics, British Journal of Sociology and Terrorism and Political Violence.

Ricard Zapata-Barrero is an accredited Senior Professor of Political Science and works at the Department of Political and Social Sciences, Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain) teaching on applied political theory and qualitative methods. His main lines of research deal with contemporary issues of liberal democracy in contexts of diversity, especially the relationship between democracy, citizenship and immigration. He is Director of GRITIM-UPF (Interdisciplinary Research Group on Immigration) and the Master Program on immigration management at UPF. He is a participant and director in several European and National projects and research agreements. He founded in 2011 the Intercultural Cities Network in Spain (RECI), in his capacity as an expert at the Council of Europe's intercultural cities program. He is also a member of several research and government advisory boards, and a regular contributor to media and policy debates. Some last published works are: (2014) "The limits to shaping diversity as public culture: permanent festivities in Barcelona" (Cities: The international Journal of Urban Policy and Planning, 37, 66-72) - (2014) The Politics of Immigration in Multi-level States (co-edited with E.Hepburn, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave/MacMillan - to be published in June) - (2013) Diversity Management in Spain: New dimensions, new challenges (Manchester: Manchester University Press) - (2012) New perspectives on the Ethics of International Migration (special issue for American Behavioral Scientist, co-edited with A. Pécoud).