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Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship. Glocalization and Participation Dilemmas in EU and Small States

Glocalmig

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Final report

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Preface

Within the Fifth Community RTD Framework Programme of the European Union (1998–2002), the Key Action 'Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base' had broad and ambitious objectives, namely: to improve our understanding of the structural changes taking place in European society, to identify ways of managing these changes and to promote the active involvement of European citizens in shaping their own futures. A further important aim was to mobilise the research communities in the social sciences and humanities at the European level and to provide scientific support to policies at various levels, with particular attention to EU policy fields.

This Key Action had a total budget of EUR 155 million and was implemented through three Calls for proposals. As a result, 185 projects involving more than 1 600 research teams from 38 countries have been selected for funding and have started their research between 1999 and 2002.

Most of these projects are now finalised and results are systematically published in the form of a Final Report.

The calls have addressed different but interrelated research themes which have contributed to the objectives outlined above. These themes can be grouped under a certain number of areas of policy relevance, each of which are addressed by a significant number of projects from a variety of perspectives.

These areas are the following:

• *Societal trends and structural change*

16 projects, total investment of EUR 14.6 million, 164 teams

• *Quality of life of European citizens*

5 projects, total investment of EUR 6.4 million, 36 teams

• *European socio-economic models and challenges*

9 projects, total investment of EUR 9.3 million, 91 teams

• *Social cohesion, migration and welfare*

30 projects, total investment of EUR 28 million, 249 teams

• *Employment and changes in work*

18 projects, total investment of EUR 17.5 million, 149 teams

• *Gender, participation and quality of life*

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.3 million, 97 teams

• *Dynamics of knowledge, generation and use*

8 projects, total investment of EUR 6.1 million, 77 teams

• *Education, training and new forms of learning*

14 projects, total investment of EUR 12.9 million, 105 teams

• *Economic development and dynamics*

22 projects, total investment of EUR 15.3 million, 134 teams

• *Governance, democracy and citizenship*

28 projects; total investment of EUR 25.5 million, 233 teams

• *Challenges from European enlargement*

13 projects, total investment of EUR 12.8 million, 116 teams

• *Infrastructures to build the European research area*

9 projects, total investment of EUR 15.4 million, 74 teams

This publication contains the final report of the project 'Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship. Glocalization and Participation Dilemmas in EU and Small States', whose work has primarily contributed to the area 'Citizenship, governance and the dynamics of European integration and enlargement'.

The report contains information about the main scientific findings of Glocalmig and their policy implications. The research was carried out by six teams over a period of one year, starting in February 2003.

The abstract and executive summary presented in this edition offer the reader an overview of the main scientific and policy conclusions, before the main body of the research provided in the other chapters of this report.

As the results of the projects financed under the Key Action become available to the scientific and policy communities, Priority 7 'Citizens and Governance in a knowledge based society' of the Sixth Framework Programme is building on the progress already made and aims at making a further contribution to the development of a European Research Area in the social sciences and the humanities.

I hope readers find the information in this publication both interesting and useful as well as clear evidence of the importance attached by the European Union to fostering research in the field of social sciences and the humanities.

J.-M. BAER,

Director

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Abstract

How is coexistence in diversity possible? In what sorts of social and public spaces can diversity be accommodated? Are there some empirical prototypes of such inclusive public spaces in Europe, which can be investigated as a model for a future European diverse society? Glocalmig sought answers to these questions in six European "glocal public spaces". It developed novel research tools for investigating the quality of citizenships in six European countries. Quality of citizenships is defined in terms of alignments and misalignments between the existing citizenship institutions/structures and citizens' and residents' preferences/interests emanating from their diverse belongings. The project also designed research tools to detect the existing institutions and structures that are inclusive and democratic enough to eliminate misalignments as well as to propose alternative ways of reducing the misalignments. These research tools have been successfully tested, and the knowledge that is created is through their use is novel and has certain potential policy implications.

One finding in Glocalmig concerns the situations of people with high degrees of mind mobility between diverse references of identification. These persons are able to move in and out of their own modes of being and to relate themselves to others on an egalitarian basis. Another important common feature is that they are dissatisfied with the existing institutions and structures of citizenship that are not capacitated to do the same. In their localities, they create their small diverse societies without borders –i.e., in glocal spaces. Most of the respondents whom we interviewed participate more in glocal spaces than in national and essentialized spaces. Although we do not have a comprehensive empirical basis to suggest this, we suppose that the number of such people is not small in Europe. Based on the features of our small qualitative sample, we also suppose that part of the "home-sitters" in local, national, and European elections belong to this group of people who do not relate themselves to the existing homogeneous citizenship structures and institutions but to the alternative structures and institutions of diversity – such as "glocal sites", which they perceive as more capable of responding to their preferences and needs. Glocal spaces accommodate all sorts of belongings, groups, social movements, etc; and they also establish solid links between the numeric, corporate, and essentialized public spaces in a diverse environment. Glocal spaces seem to be a natural meeting place for all and can also be investigated/thought of as a model of a diverse society and as accommodating the types of individuals and groups who can cohabit a social and political space of diversity. In other words, these sites of meeting may be considered as a model for a future "European public sphere".

The above statement should be regarded as a scientifically justified and legitimate hypothesis to be investigated further. Provided that this hypothesis proves valid in the future through comprehensive qualitative and quantitative research in Europe proper, it will be fruitful both for the European Union and for these individuals that the Union encourage further development of "glocal spaces" and the diversity mode of being that is being created in these sites. This may, on the one hand, help these individuals to feel more included, and on the other hand, provide legitimacy to the European Union amongst these groups.

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Glocalmig is an accompanying measure project, which was financed by the European Commission in the European Union's Framework 5, within the Key Action *Improving the Socio-economic Knowledge Base*. The University of Bergen was the international project coordinator, represented by Professor Yngve Lithman as the academic project director and Hakan G. Sicakkan as the executive scientific coordinator. Six European universities/research institutes and eighteen researchers participated actively in Glocalmig's research and innovation activities. These institutions are: *Austrian Academy of Sciences* (Rainer Bauböck), *Aalborg University* (Ulf Hedetoft), *Estonian Institute of Humanities* (Mikko Lagerspetz), *University of Helsinki* (Tom Sandlund), *Central European University* (András Bozóki), and *University of Bergen* (Yngve Lithman). These six principal partners constitute the Glocalmig Consortium.

The formal lifetime of the project was twelve months, between 1 February 2003 and 31 January 2004. Glocalmig was formulated and designed by the University of Bergen in collaboration with the partners in the beginning of 2002. Upon the European Commission's decision to fund the project, the Glocalmig Consortium had its first meeting at the Oslo Metropolis Conference in September 2002, well before the commencement of the project. In two successive workshops at this conference, the general guidelines for the conduct of the project were determined by the Consortium. Based on these guidelines, the University of Bergen prepared the detailed technical research-guidelines, the questionnaires, and the interview guides, which were discussed and approved by the consortium at a workshop in Vienna in April 2003. Data collection and analysis efforts by the six partner institutions took place in the period between May-August 2003. Each partner conducted a country study and prepared a country report. Finally, based on these country studies, the University of Bergen produced a comparative account of belonging and citizenship in six European countries.

1. The research themes of Glocalmig

The abbreviation 'glocalmig' stands for the terms 'the global', 'the local', 'the glocal' (i.e. the global in the local), and international 'migration'. To these, we should also add the term mobility, understood both as physical and psychic mobility (mobility of bodies and mobility of minds), which proved to be central concepts in this research. The Glocalmig project is about citizenship in relation to and in the context of these six phenomena. Expressed in other words, Glocalmig is about the changing meaning and practice of citizenship in a changing Europe, which poses new intellectual, political and social challenges. Glocalmig aims to provide new and research-based perspectives for

meticulously addressing the citizenship aspect of these challenges. Our focus is on the gradually altering meanings and practices of citizenship and belonging within the context of the European Union, and the significance of these two phenomena pertaining to the democratic deficit problem. In various attempts to define what citizenship is in a context of incongruity – such as the European Union Constitution – potential contestations are already discernible between the changing notions of European Union citizenship, Member States' historical citizenship models and rights-regimes, and persons' and groups' belongings at lower aggregation levels. This incongruity relates specifically to statuses, rights, and obligations of:

- majority citizens;

- second country nationals;

- third country nationals;

- historical native minorities;

- extra-European citizens of the Member and Associated States;

- persons who define themselves as not belonging to any group.

By focusing on these six groups of people, Glocalmig aims to *uncover the alignments and misalignments*, or mismatches, between the existing forms of belonging and the prevailing norms, institutions, structures, practices of citizenship with a specific focus on what we call '*glocal spaces*'. The countries in our focus are Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, and Norway. The research activities were conducted in four phases:

- preparation of the theoretical and analytical frames;

- preparation of the standardized research tools and research guidelines for the country studies;

- data collection and analysis (country studies) in six countries and country reports;

- comparative analysis of six countries and writing up the final comparative study.

To detect the alignments and misalignments between citizenships and belongings, we conducted data collection activities about the legal and institutional citizenship frameworks on the one hand, and on the other, about the existing modes of belonging.

Regarding the legal and institutional frameworks of citizenship, our focus was on the legal rights of the citizens and residents (i.e. the above-mentioned six categories of

people), the possibilities for persons' voice, participation and representation within the existing formal citizenship frames, and the institutions which guarantee the continuity and implementation of these rights. Regarding belongings, our data collection activities took place in what we call 'the glocal spaces'. Glocal spaces may be seen as prototypes of the diversity societies of the future, encouraging differences on the societal level and diversity and multi-dimensional identities on the individual and collective levels (see also the chapter on fieldwork guidelines in this volume), where difference is seen as being 'other' (adjective), and not 'the Other' (noun). It should also be underlined that Glocalmig is a qualitatively oriented project.

2. Findings of Glocalmig

The Glocalmig results should be read as the first step of an exploratory collaborative effort towards designing new perspectives to citizenship in the context of a new and continuously changing Europe. The basic premise of Glocalmig is the conviction that the need for understanding the new, unprecedented social and political realities calls for new perspectives and conceptualizations. If one dimension of the new reality is diversity and mobility, understood as both mobility of minds and bodies, the other is the fading and re-shaping of the borders and boundaries in and of Europe (integration and enlargement). The citizenship challenges brought by the new European context of diversity, mobility, and boundary re-formations cannot be effectively addressed *merely* with the perspectives, norms, institutions and policies of the past, i.e. of the national states. New norms, policies, and institutions are required – in addition to the existing ones – in order to ensure the continuity of our inclusive, egalitarian, and just democratic practices. Most importantly, new ontological, theoretical, and conceptual perspectives are needed to describe what is happening and 'the new' in what is happening. Hence, a focus on the laboratory-like glocal spaces, which successfully accommodate diversity, mobility and new kinds of boundaries between persons and groups.

With respect to these problem areas, we claim to have justified in this project, both theoretically and empirically, the need for developing new perspectives to citizenship and belonging. Furthermore, we have also delineated the general framework of such a perspective. However, as a qualitative exploratory project seeking conceptual and factual novelties about citizenship in specific sub-national contexts, Glocalmig does not claim to have a universal validity in its empirical results. Our empirical findings are context-sensitive and context-dependent. Their validity is limited, on the one hand, to the data collection sites, and on the other, to the scope of the theoretical-analytical frame of this project. This context dependency feature of the European social reality must teach us the lesson that there is no single answer to any policy challenge that can be functional in all

contexts. Policy responses to social and political problems have to be context-sensitive and context-specific. However, it remains to see whether the new context-sensitive ontological, theoretical, and conceptual perspectives that we propose as an outcome of this project are valid and useful research tools beyond the empirical context and analytical scope of this particular project.

2.1. The three research tools of Glocalmig

The project developed the prototypes of three novel research tools, which are specifically designed for measuring the quality of citizenships in different contexts and for different categories of people. These tools were tested through application to the real-life data in the course of Glocalmig.

The first tool – QC-CITKIT – comprises the normative, theoretical, conceptual, and methodological foundations of Glocalmig. It is a prototype of a heuristic tool for forming/planning activities of data collection, analysis, and interpretation in cross-context, context-sensitive qualitative-comparative research. The second tool – QC-CITSCALE – comprises the operationalized forms of the variables in: (1) a qualitative questionnaire, which can also be quantified and (2) two interview guides (one for organizational elites and one for attendants of glocal spaces). The third tool – QC-CITBASE – is a prototype design of an extendable, updateable, quantifiable, and comparative *citizenships database* for mapping different forms of rights-exercise across countries.

The most important features of these tools are: (1) they are multi-paradigmatic and multi-disciplinary, (2) they can be used for both intensive-qualitative and extensive-quantitative research, (3) they are capable of uncovering rapid changes if used frequently enough for mapping the quality of citizenships, (4) they are capable of taking account of the dynamism and interrelations in the patterns of belongings, identities, and quality of citizenships, (5) they allow three different methods of measurement, (6) they allow analysis both with multiple ideal-typical models – including both theoretical and empirical ideal types – and with inductive models.

2.2. Quality of citizenships in glocal spaces

The fieldwork activities of Glocalmig were conducted in what we call "glocal sites" – public spaces that are open to and inclusive of all types of individuals and groups. The respondents were contacted in glocal public spaces. As expected at the point of departure, we found that most respondents who are active in glocal spaces are also active in other types of public spaces. They attend glocal spaces to compensate for what they lack in the national and essentialized spaces; namely the experience of diversity and the need to avoid the negative consequences of categorical, attributed belongings and identities that are embedded in the dominant citizenship institutions and structures. Multiple participation patterns of the respondents gave us the opportunity to address the interplays between different types of public spaces and the impacts of such interplays.

We uncovered two dimensions of (mis)alignment. The first dimension indicates the presence of (1) a connection between the national (numeric and corporate channels) and glocal spaces, (2) a detachment between essentialized and other spaces. In other words, this dimension separates between (mis)alignments in essentialized spaces (ethnicaly and religiously-oriented public spaces) and in other public spaces. The second dimension indicates (1) a connection between essentialized and national spaces and (2) a detachment between glocal spaces and all the other public spaces. That is, this dimension separates between (mis)alignments in glocal spaces and in other types of public spaces. On the other hand, these two dimensions also measure the degree/intensity of alignments and misalignments.

The first type of (mis)alignment is about those who are content with the responsiveness of both national and glocal spaces at the same time as they are discontent with the essentialized spaces. As this dimension is bipolar, the small scores on this dimension represent those who are discontent with national and glocal spaces and simultaneously content with the essentialized spaces. The second dimension is about those who are content with both the national and essentialized spaces at the same time as they are discontent with glocal spaces. Similarly, this dimension is also bipolar and its small values represent those who are content with glocal spaces' responsiveness and discontent with national and essentialized spaces.

Concerning the predictors of (mis)alignments, three models were tested – belonging, participation, and mobility models. In separate analyses, we found that respondents' multidimensional belonging patterns, multiple participation patterns, and the degree of their spatial and mental mobility impinge upon the (mis)alignments they experience in the public spaces that they attend. An almost dangerously concise summary of the

findings could only include certain illustrative examples of the obtained results, as follows:

- High degrees of political belonging – i.e. defining oneself primarily as a political being and/or finding the meaning of public life in being part of a political party, movement, or ideology is closely associated with high degrees of alignment in national and essentialized public spaces.

- High mobility of mind between different references of identification is tightly associated with high degrees of misalignment in national and essentialized public spaces. On the other hand, high mobility of mind is closely associated with high degrees of alignment in glocal spaces – i.e. contexts of deep diversity.

- High mobility of mind is tightly associated with high spatial mobility on the one hand, and on the other hand, with high level of attendance to glocal spaces – i.e. contexts of deep diversity.

- Mobility of mind is also an important factor shaping different belonging patterns.

The predictors of (mis)alignments can at the first sight be perceived as significant factors that can be used to reduce/eliminate the misalignments between citizens' preferences and the different public spaces' ability to respond. However, as delineated in the following sections of this report, we also found that manipulating any one of these factors will result in elimination/reduction in one type of misalignment; and at the same time, it will result in intensification/reification of (an)other type(s) of misalignment.

Glocalmig is an exploratory project, and its results are derived from very small samples from glocal sites in six European countries. The results should be regarded as a scientifically well-justified theory – a legitimate and alternative set of hypotheses – which should be investigated and tested further on a broader European basis.

3. Policy implications of the Glocalmig results

Provided that the Glocalmig findings prove valid in the future through comprehensive qualitative and quantitative research in Europe proper, it will be fruitful both for the European Union and for these individuals that the Union encourage the further development of glocal spaces and the diversity mode of being that is being created in these sites. This may, on the one hand, help these individuals to feel more included, and on the other hand, provide legitimacy to the European Union amongst these groups.

One thing that should be kept in mind at this juncture is that the glocal spaces accommodate all sorts of belongings, groups, movements, etc; and they also establish solid links between the numeric, corporate, and essentialized spaces in their diverse environment. In other words, glocal spaces seem to be a natural meeting place for all and can also be investigated/thought of as a model of diverse society and as accommodating the types of individuals who can cohabit a social and political space of deep diversity.

Four basic strategies of diversity management are observed in the European political history: *functional equivalence*, *subsidiarity*, *nesting*, and *differentiation*. The principle of *functional equivalence* presupposes that the common norms and policy targets regarding quality of citizenships are determined at the supranational level; and member states and regional and local authorities are free to use the means and methods available and acceptable in their contexts to achieve these targets. The *subsidiarity principle*, on the other hand, prescribes that the norms and policy targets as well as the means and methods to be used are determined at the governance levels closest to those to be affected, provided that these comply with the Union's solidarity principle. The third strategy, *nesting*, is a variant of the subsidiarity principle. The difference is that the nesting strategy reaches beyond the Westphalian system and establishes direct horizontal and vertical links between the supranational level and sub-national levels of citizenship and governance. In the nesting strategy, the sub-national actors are treated as international actors – like states – in certain matters. In the fourth strategy, *differentiation*, or differentiated scale of rights, the norms, policy targets, and means and methods are all determined at the supranational level and implementation responsibility is given to the existing national, regional, and local institutions. This strategy opts for formulating a set of citizens' rights and duties as a common norm with respect to their degree of "insideness" and "affiliation" with the political system. In all these strategies, citizens' and residents' participation and involvement takes place through these intermediary levels.

All the above strategies have been studied and discussed in depth by European scholars. Based on the findings of Glocalmig, a fifth strategy to be studied further can be *euroglocalization* through participation in *euroglocal spaces*. The term has been constructed with the words globalization, localization, and Europeanization. It represents also a normative stance. The processes of globalization have been successful in contexts where the global values, ethics, and worldviews have found their local expressions in local places. The glocal spaces and mobile minds accommodated in these spaces are the best examples of this development. The findings of Glocalmig indicate that there is a considerably strong association between spatial mobility and mental mobility patterns on

the one hand and between participation in glocal spaces and mental mobility patterns on the other hand. However, the Glocalmig findings also indicate that individuals with very high degrees of mind mobility choose not to think in terms of territorial and cultural boundaries. The basic strategy of European integration and involvement has been the encouragement of individuals' spatial mobility across national and regional borders. However, it is a fact that people move much less than predicted in the first place. Therefore, the euroglocalization strategy and the increase in mobility of mind it will breed, if also thorough Europewide studies of the glocal spaces validate the findings here, may provide an alternative to spatial mobility by bringing Europe to the local contexts instead of making people move in order to learn to care for Europe. This will, in practice, require:

- encouragement of the development of glocal sites in European cities;

- encouragement of also the second country nationals to attend these places along with the majority citizens, citizens who are national minorities, citizens and residents with immigrant background.

The above recommendation should primarily be understood as a call for further research on a possible, alternative, or additional way to go in order to create a more inclusive and egalitarian diverse society in Europe.

4. Dissemination of the project results

The research and innovation activities in Glocalmig have hitherto resulted in a dissemination series with eight volumes. The following books/reports have been published as the main dissemination activity in the project:

Volume 1

Hakan G. Sicakkan, The University of Bergen

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Standardized Research Tools for Data Collection, Data Analysis and for Measuring the Quality of Citizenships in European Countries

Volume 2

Rainer Bauböck (vol. ed.), by W. Fischer, B. Herzog-Punzenberger and H. Waldrauch, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Austria

Volume 3

Ulf Hedetoft (vol. ed.), by L. Vikkelsø Slot, Aalborg University

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Denmark

Volume 4

Mikko Lagerspetz and Sofia Joons, Estonian Institute of Humanities

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Estonia

Volume 5

Tom Sandlund (vol. ed.), by Perttu Salmenhaara and Sanna Saksela, The University of Helsinki

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Finland

Volume 6

András Bozóki and Barbara Bősze, Central European University

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Hungary

Volume 7

Hakan G. Sicakkan (vol. ed.), by Jørgen Melve, The University of Bergen

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Norway

Volume 8

Hakan G. Sicakkan, The University of Bergen

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Belonging, Mobility and the Quality of Citizenships. A Comparative Study of the Glocal Spaces in Six European Countries

This first volume devises and delineates the theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and analytical perspectives and operative standards of the Glocalmig research activities in six European countries. It presents the methods of data collection, measurement, analysis as well as the variables, questionnaires, and interview guides that were used in the country studies. The successive six publications prepared by each of the six Glocalmig partners present findings from the country studies. They present and analyze the data

collected during the country studies in Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary and Norway. In addition to the aforementioned seven volumes, a final comparative study is also published as the eighth volume in this series. The final volume is based on the reflections in the above-mentioned seven volumes and the raw data collected in six countries. These eight volumes have been submitted to the European Commission as part of the dissemination and reporting activities in Glocalmig. In addition, these results and the research tools developed in Glocalmig have been widely disseminated by the Glocalmig partners in numerous books, international journal articles, conferences, workshops, university lectures, masters' and Ph.D. courses, as well as supervision of students writing theses. For other dissemination activities, please see chapter 5.

II. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

1. Objectives of the project

Glocalmig aims to provide new and research-based perspectives and research tools for comprehensively addressing the *quality of citizenships* in the European Union as well as how the quality of citizenships relates to the 'democratic deficit problem'. The specific focus is on the gradually altering meanings and practices of *citizenship* and *belonging* within the context of the European Union, and the significance of these two phenomena pertaining to the democratic deficit problem. In this connection, different types of the potential contestations are also detected in process of attempting to re-define the European and national citizenships in a context of incongruity between the developing notion of European Union Citizenship, Member States' historical citizenship models and rights-regimes, and belongings at lower aggregation levels. This incongruity relates specifically to statuses, rights, and obligations of:

- non-citizen immigrant minorities (second and third country nationals);

- historical-native minorities of Member States;

- extra-territorial citizens of Member and Associated States;

- majority citizens.

This exploratory project, involving conditions in three Member States (Austria, Denmark, Finland) and three non-member states – at the time of data collection and data analysis – (Estonia, Hungary, Norway), therefore, develops perspectives and research tools to be used for enquiring into:

● how migration of second/third country nationals and extra-territorial citizens creates special interrelationships in the context of the misalignments between belongings and citizenship (in the wide sense) that face states and the Union as a result of prominently various migration experiences and new political spaces – i.e. the glocal spaces – being claimed by primarily migration-related minorities;

● how historical-native and migrant minorities organize to give voice to their concerns when the misalignment between belongings and citizenship (in the wide sense) create participation dilemmas;

- which existing national and international institutions can continue to be *democratic*, *inclusive* and *empowering* within the new glocalized contexts of the European Union;

- what new institutions and norms are needed for sustaining an inclusive and empowering politics and a democratic society;

- which supranational strategies are needed for introducing the required democratic norms and institutions in which transnational, national, regional, and glocal contexts. Concerning improvement strategies, three models will be taken as the point of departure: *Functional Equivalence*, *Subsidiarity*, and *Differentiated Scale of Rights*.

Taken together, this should also point to some crucial areas of political contestation in the European Union, as well as provide an increased understanding of what a closer association to the Union will mean for some of the states yet not being members.

The point of departure in Glocalmig is the conviction that the new European realities cannot be understood and described with the concepts and tools of the past. New concepts and perspectives that are based on the present reality should also be employed. Glocalmig has, therefore, set out to produce research based facts and concepts which can constitute the basis of a new European citizenship structure and a European public space. For achieving these research objectives, the Glocalmig Consortium has developed certain research tools, which are specially designed in order to address questions relating to the quality of citizenships in the contexts of diversity, mobility and changing/ambigious geographical, cultural and political boundaries. Since the European Union, with its ongoing processes of integration and enlargement is one such context, these research tools are highly relevant for any research on citizenship and citizen involvement in the European Union.

However, although the major aim is to develop and test the required research tools, Glocalmig has also created certain knowledge about the present state of affairs regarding the quality of citizenships in those six European countries which it focused on. This knowledge relates to the importance of the relationship between citizens' and residents' belongings and the formal citizenship structures. What Glocalmig achieved in this respect is the discovery of the glocal spaces, which can be the prototypes of a future diverse society, and, in this respect, which can be used as an alternative model in attempts to form the new inclusive European public spaces.

2. Background of the project

In Glocalmig, one empirical dimension relates to laws, institutions, and policies of citizenship concerning historical native minorities, second and third country nationals, and the extra-territorial citizens residing in the Member and Associated States. The second empirical dimension relates to the new arenas of interaction – i.e. "glocal spaces" – where extended citizenship rights are exercised. More importantly, as we regard the glocal spaces as the potential prototypes of future diverse societies, the third empirical dimension relates to the discovery of the new types of individuals and social/political behavior, which can constitute the basis of an alternative model of a common, inclusive civic public space in diverse societies – i.e. Euroglocal spaces. Such an exploratory research has to be rooted in previous research findings about the historical contexts of state formation and of the emergences of public spaces.

Our knowledge of political systems confirms that the creation of a common, legitimate public sphere is one of the most important tools of direct communication between citizens and states. In European history, the prerequisite for the emergence of such public spaces has been a successful political consolidation. However, the political history of Europe also testifies to the fact that integration and consolidation is the most difficult in territories that are rich, small, and peripheral (Rokkan 1975). Furthermore, peripheral collective identities have as, a general rule, had a tendency to demarcate their boundaries against integration attempts with reference to the *jus sanguinis* model of citizenship (Sicakkan 1999), as observed in some limited periods the Baltic countries, Nordic countries, Central and East European countries, and Greece. This poses several policy challenges pertaining to collaboration, cooperation, and integration (or consolidation if one will), as well as a challenge to improvements in life conditions of citizens, i.e. the quality of participation, voice, access, and influence, which is closely tied to alignments/misalignments between belongings and citizenship. Further, concerning the historical consolidations of political systems and the relationships between the consolidating groups and the groups constituting the geographic and/or cultural peripheries, one of the most important challenges has been the formation of common, inclusive, and cooperative public spaces.

Table 1. The Countries and Groups under Glocalmig's Investigation

	New Groups[1]	Historical Native Minorities[2]	Extra-territorial Citizens[3]
Austria	Second/third country nationals	Croats, Slovenes, Hungarians, Czechs	N/A
Denmark	Second/third country nationals	N/A	Greenland, Faroe Islands
Estonia	Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Finns (non-citizens)	Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Finns (citizens)	N/A
Finland	Second/third country nationals	Swedish, Sami	Åland Islands
Hungary	Second/third country nationals	Roma, Germans, Serbs, Slovaks, Romanians	Hungarians in neighboring states
Norway	Third World/EEA nationals	Sami, Kvens	Svalbard

[1] New groups are defined in this project as migrant groups who are not citizens of the selected states.

[2] Native minorities are defined in this project as citizen groups who arrived before the onset of the last regime formation.

[3] Extra-territorial citizens are defined in this project as historical extra-territorial groups recognized in national legislations as citizens but who are historically minority citizens of states outside the EU territories.

Choosing this historical pattern as the point of departure, the consortium focuses on European territories at the (former) skirts of the Union, with differing degrees of EU-integration and economic conditions on the one hand and with similar historical citizenship models representing different types of misalignments between citizenships and belongings. Such a choice will help better identify the challenges of integration and enlargement. The selected countries are: Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, and Norway.

The consortium's selection of cases is target-oriented and based on a variety of structural variables, representing different and variable historical, social, political, and economic dimensions. The comparative frame reflects the economic conditions for further integration because the selected set of cases entails both rich and economically less advanced European peripheries. Furthermore, in order to assess the impact of European integration on the quality of the alignments between belongings and citizenship and vice

versa, the selection of cases comprises countries with different degrees of association with the Union. In this respect, the selected cases represent Member States (Austria, Denmark, Finland), associated countries with a high degree of integration (e.g. Norway), candidate countries with a fairly good degree of integration (e.g. Hungary), and candidate countries with a lower degree of integration (e.g. Estonia). Moreover, the selection of countries also reflects the temporal dimension of integration in terms of early and late start of integration, specifically with respect to the distinction between West European and previously communistic countries. This also relates to issues around the European Union's extension process.

In comparing small member states with small non-member states, one aim is to discuss how the change in the meaning and practice of citizenship has evolved through increased mobility rights within the EU, and whether Union membership may lead to changes in any direction. In this respect, the comparative frame will also assess whether the developments on the policy level support the EU's principles of *functional equivalence* and *subsidiarity* or the principle of *differentiated scale of rights*. Issues related to the Sami concerns, the status of extra-territorial citizens (Svalbard, Aland Islands, Faroe Islands, and Greenland), and second country nationals as well receive a significantly greater attention in this connection, and the policy developments here will reflect how a country has to achieve a congruency in its citizenship standards.

With respect to the goal of testing the utility of our qualitative-comparative analysis toolkit (QC-CITKIT) and our qualitative-comparative measurement tools (QC-CITSCALE), and forming a small states citizenship conditions database (QC-CITBASE), this selection of countries will help identify certain important types of misalignments between belongings and citizenship in the context of European peripheries as well as the best functioning participation and voice models.

III. SCIENTIFIC DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT RESULTS AND METHODOLOGY

The term "quality of citizenships" refers to alignments and misalignments between legal/institutional citizenship frames and citizens'/residents' actual belongings, identities, and interests. This conceptualization also comprises citizens' and residents' degree of involvement, coexistence of diverse belongings, and individuals' physical and psychic mobility.

Figure 1. The General Research Frame
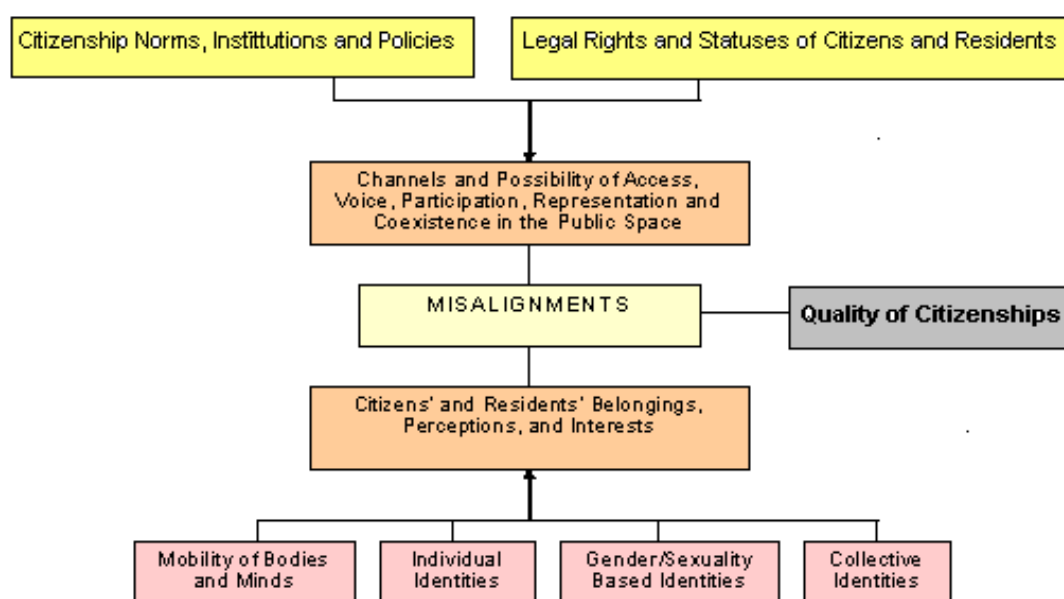
Glocalmig maps the dynamic, changing and complex interrelationships as well as alignments and misalignments between different types of citizenship, the European citizenship, different types of rights-regimes, and citizens' diverse identity and belonging patterns and their interests emanating from these belongings. Glocalmig ties the phenomena in the above figure to each other through the concept of *quality of citizenships, and, thus,* conceptualizes *quality of citizenship* in terms of:

- citizenship structures' aptness to accommodate and manage mobility, diversity, and to enable coexistence of diverse identities and belongings;

- citizens' and residents' involvement in different channels of voice and participation;

- individuals' perceptions of the political institutions' responsiveness to social groups' and individual citizens' belongings, preferences, and interests.

Thus, the quality of citizenships crystallizes down to the degree and content of *alignments and misalignments* between the existing legal, structural, and institutional

frames of citizenship and citizens' and residents' beliefs and desires emanating from their identities, belongings, and interests; as well as the impacts of these alignments and misalignments on citizens' and residents' involvement.

The logic of the research is as follows: We first map the features of the existing citizenship systems, understood in terms of the norms, laws, institutions and policies defining and making the exercise of rights possible. In this step, the citizens' and residents' legal rights and statuses in each of the six countries are mapped. In addition, the institutions which guarantee the exercise of these rights and their ways of doing so are mapped. Secondly, we choose fieldwork sites in certain "glocal spaces" and ask the attendants of glocal spaces about, among other things, their experiences with and opinions about the legal and institutional arrangements relating to voice, participation and representation as well as in-depth questions about their belongings, identities, and interests. In the third step, by comparing the results from these two previous steps, we detect the alignments and misalignments between the existing citizenship structures and individuals' belongings and analyze how such alignments and misalignments affect their involvement in politics.

1. Methodology

Different methods were used in different parts of the project. The project consists of three main parts:

- Development of the research tools.

- Mapping of citizens' and residents' legal rights and statuses.

- Mapping of citizens' and residents belongings.

- Mapping of the quality of citizenships.

1.1. Methodology in Developing the Research Tools

Three research tools were developed in Glocalmig: QC-CITKIT, QC-CITSCALES, and QC-CITBASE. QC-CITKIT comprises the normative, theoretical, conceptual and methodological foundations of Glocalmig. QC-CITSCALE comprises the operationalized forms of the variables in: (1) a qualitative questionnaire, which can also be quantified and (2) two interview guides (one for organizational elites and one for attendants of glocal spaces). QC-CITBASE is a design of an extendable, updateable, quantifiable, and comparative *citizenship database* for mapping different forms of rights-exercise across countries.

The designs of the three research tools were target-oriented, where the main objective was to detect different types of alignments/misalignments between belonging patterns and formal/perceived citizenship structures. The QC-CITKIT aimed at by-passing the weaknesses of the existing approaches to measurement and scaling and was used as the theoretical/methodological foundation of the latter two tools. QC-CITKIT allows both deductive and inductive inferences based on a diversity of normative stances and/or a plurality of assumptions about what a logical configuration the subjects' response patterns should comprise. In other words, QC-CITKIT does away with the traditional approaches' assumptions of (singular) logical consistency in subjects' answers in their responses to interview and questionnaire questions. This feature of QC-CITKIT led to findings that partly support and partly weaken the previous findings about the relationship between national identity and European identity (e.g. the findings of the EURONAT-project concluding that national and European identities are compatible). Perhaps, it would be more adequate to state that the Glocalmig findings further elaborate the picture given in the previous research and give a broken picture of what an alignment between national identity and European identity is.

The end-designs of the research tools were obtained by formulating variables and questions which could be analyzed based on multiple paradigms and theories. This strategy can also be considered as an improved version of Weber's analysis method with ideal types. However, in contrast to Weber's ideal-types analysis, we use multiple ideal types instead of only one – as in Weber's analysis of bureaucracy, state, citizenship, etc – and measured subjects' proximity to each of these multiple ideal types as well as observed how different ideal types come in empirical reality to constitute 'logical' wholes that seem non-logical when observed from the viewpoint of one singular ideal-typical model. With this method, we were able to capture the different 'logics' behind different types of multiple belongings as well as the logics behind the three types of multiple identities where the European identity was regarded positively and the two other types of multiple identity where European identity was discarded (cf. 2.2.5., p.75).

In practice, this measurement and scaling strategy involved both structured/semi-structured in-depth qualitative interviews and a questionnaire that comprises finely nuanced questions. The most important feature of the design is, on the other hand, that it allows consideration of both changeable and unchangeable types of identities and belongings. This was done by adding to the research design certain variables measuring mobility of minds, i.e. the capacity of the individuals to shift between different references of identification and belonging in different situations – i.e. identification references such as territory, ethnicity, religion, state, political orientation, gender, sexual orientation, generation, physical mobility, etc.).

1.2. Methodology in Mapping Citizens' and Residents' Legal Rights and Statuses

As there is an immense literature on citizens' and residents' legal rights and statuses in European countries, in this part, we chose to base our research activities on secondary literature. The aim with this part of the research was to provide an objective factual basis for delineating the different systems and regimes of rights and of citizenship for the six categories of people we studied in Glocalmig. Another aim was to compare this objective factual basis with the citizens' and residents' perceptions of the citizenship systems and structures. In this part, basically, the consortium prepared a heuristic frame for data collection, with dimensions, sub-dimensions, and operationalized variables. The partners collected and reported the data required by this frame. Also here, the dimensions, sub-dimensions, and variables were designed so that it could be possible to generate classifications of the citizenship and rights regimes based on multiple ideal types in order to uncover the hybrid systems.

1.3. Methodology in Mapping Citizens' and Residents Belongings

For mapping the citizens' and residents' patterns of belonging, Glocalmig used both a standard questionnaire and in-depth structured, semi-structured, and open-ended interviews. The questionnaire is, indeed, a qualitative questionnaire which is suitable also for quantitative measuring, scaling, and analysis techniques. It is qualitative in the sense that it comprises unusually many items and there are very fine nuances between the questions. This feature of the questionnaire makes it necessary to assist the respondents when they answer the questions. Some respondents, not seeing the nuances at first, thought that some questions were repeated in the questionnaire. In most of the cases, the fieldwork researchers made sure that the respondents saw the important nuances before they answered the questions. Using a standard questionnaire was necessary in this project in order to obtain comparable data. On the other hand, the qualitative interviews were designed to uncover the "unexpected" and/or "context-specific" belonging patterns that we might not be able to cover with a standard questionnaire.

The whole data collection activity in this part was conducted in the "field". The fieldwork took place in what we call "glocal spaces". Glocal spaces are primarily focused on because it was expected that almost all types of alignments and misalignments between citizenships and belongings would be represented here. On the other hand, in our multi-paradigmatic theory frame, the glocal space is conceived of as the possible prototype of a future diverse society, which comprises types of persons who are able to relate to a

diverse society. In other words, the glocal space was a laboratory where one could observe the alignments and misalignments in somewhat controlled social environment.

The fieldwork sites were selected by each partner with respect to an operational definition of a glocal space. The respondents were selected with respect to their "objective belonging" to the six categories that Glocalmig studies. Between 3 to 5 persons would be selected from each category and, if persons belonging to a category were not found in the respective fieldwork site, the reason for this would be accounted for in each country report. In addition, both genders would be properly represented in the samples. Basically, persons who were present in the fieldwork site at the time of the fieldwork were interviewed. As a result, we managed to find respondents with varying degrees of participation in the glocal spaces as well as people who also attend to other spaces such as ethnic organizations, corporate-plural organizations, nation-wide spaces of participation, transnational spaces, etc. Such a random selection of the respondents, thus, allowed us to observe the mobility between different channels of participation and of rights-exercise.

Due to certain context-specific reasons, some of these site-selection criteria were not satisfied by the potential fieldwork site in Estonia, and the fieldwork in Tallinn was therefore conducted in multicultural sites instead of glocal sites. On the other hand, because glocal sites proved to be much more informal and de-territorialized in Budapest than in the other five cities, the snowball method of respondent selection had to be used in the fieldwork in Budapest.

The respondents were first asked to fill in the questionnaire and then invited to an in-depth interview. The questionnaire was a comprehensive one; and it required the respondents to ponder over certain questions that they had not thought of before. In this sense, the questionnaire was also time-wise demanding; but most of the respondents managed to complete the questionnaire. On the other hand, some of the questions were deliberately provocative (different provocative questions for different categories of people were used). Most of such questions were designed in order to prepare – not to influence – the respondents for the qualitative in-depth interviews. Most respondents took up the provocative questions themselves during the interviews, which proved to result in better and more accurate findings.

The following in-depth interviews comprised structured, semi-structured, and open-ended questions about respondents' belonging and identity patterns, participation patterns, psychic mobility, etc. The complementary application of a questionnaire and in-depth interviews resulted in a more nuanced data material. The method used for

summarizing and analyzing the collected data is presented in the subsections where we give the results of data analyses.

1.4. Methodology in mapping the quality of citizenships

The concept of "quality of citizenship" is defined as alignments/misalignments between the respondents' preferences/interests and the capability of the available public spaces to accommodate, articulate, and voice these. By comparing what types of citizenship and rights regimes respondents envision based on their belongings, how respondents perceive the existing regimes, and the features of the actual regimes, the project arrived at different types of alignments/misalignments between belongings and citizenships. In operative terms, alignments and misalignments were measured in terms of respondents' contentness with the public spaces – spaces where they can be a public person – which are available in their countries of residence. The method used for analyzing the collected data is presented in the respective subsection where we give the data analysis results concerning alignments and misalignments.

2. Project results

The Glocalmig project results comprise theoretical/methodological results on the one hand, and on the other, empirical results. The former concerns the research tools developed in the course of the project; and the latter are results from the test-application of these research tools on the real-life data in six European countries.

2.1. Results from development of the research tools

The findings of this part are the research tools developed in Glocalmig. For the purposes of this part of the final report, it will suffice to shortly present Glocalmig's novel research tools – QC-CITKIT, QC-CITSCALE, and QC-CITBASE.

2.1.1. A short presentation of QC-CITKIT

QC-CITKIT comprises the normative, theoretical, conceptual and methodological foundations of Glocalmig. In operative terms, it has been incorporated into this research as a set of standard research guidelines to be observed by the field researchers engaged in data collection and analysis activities. In practice, these research guidelines have been integrated into the other two research tools – QC-CITSCALE and QC-CITBASE – which are presented in appendices. In addition to this standardized design of data collection, scaling, measurement, and analysis, QC-CITKIT also allows for an open-ended strategy in data collection activities to enable the research design to detect the unprecedented and theoretically unforeseen facts concerning the relationships between belongings and

citizenships (e.g. new problems, new practices, and less known good/best practices, etc.). QC-CITKIT is designed in such a way that both existing and our new theoretical approach can be employed in analyses of the data to be collected. In this section, I will briefly outline the ontological, theoretical/conceptual and methodological premises on which QC-CITKIT is based.

Ontological approach in QC-CITKIT

Mainstream notions of citizenship have largely been inspired by discussions between individualists, communalists and pluralists. Giving ethical priority to individual identities and persons' dignity, individualists founded their models of co-existence on the atomist ontology of autonomous individuals. With groups' collective identities in their moral focus, communalists cemented their models of citizenship and public space on the holistic ontology of embedded persons. Whereas the former suggested designs of public space to accommodate individual differences, the latter delineated public space forms to accommodate group differences. Rejecting both for their singular recipes for the good life, pluralists advocated the midway perspective of accommodating both individual and group differences. Although these models departed from completely different ethical and ontological premises, the *ad hoc* solutions they produced while responding to each other's criticisms of exclusion and blindness carried them away from their normative goals to similar models of citizenship and public space. The commonality of these three citizenship paradigms – individualism, communalism, and pluralism- is their embedded perspective of difference and their focus on accommodation of differences. Difference thinking conceives individuals or groups as indivisible wholes and blinds them to what is common or shared between people and between communities. This is what encumbers these paradigms' pace towards more adequate models of citizenship and public space responsive to new social and political realities.

The alternative approach is the perspective of diversity. Like pluralism, the diverse society perspective attributes equal moral priority and equal ontological status to groups and individuals. However, it substantially differs from pluralism, as well as from communalism and individualism, in that it does not take difference as an ethical premise or as an objective to achieve, but it simply accepts it as a fact. Similarly, it also accepts 'commonality' – i.e. the shared features of people – as a fact without making it into an ethical value or a purpose. The term diversity refers to both diversity of differences and diversity of commonalities. The diversity perspective is different from the former three perspectives also because it attributes equal ontological status and equal ethical value to mobility and immobility whereas the others accommodate mobility and immobility on *ad hoc* basis. It supplements the former three perspectives by adding to them the notion of

'mobility of minds and bodies'. The diversity perspective includes, thus, also what the above three approaches leave out or only seek new *ad hoc* solutions for:

- (im)mobility of minds between different references of identification – i.e. mobile identities and shifting belongings;

- (im)mobility of bodies – i.e. migration and frequent movement across places and different spaces of interaction;

- (im)mobility of boundaries – i.e. shifting territorial, political, cultural, economic, social, and individual boundaries.

The diversity perspective merges 'difference' and 'commonality' on the one hand and 'mobility' and 'immobility' on the other in the notion of 'co-other' (Sicakkan 2003). The 'co-other' is not a physical reality. It is a state of mind that enables individuals to see themselves as 'just another other', i.e. as a third person who is different both from the self and from the concrete others surrounding the self. The co-other can empathically shift between different references of identification and between the self and the other. In this sense, the co-other also refers to multiple identities. The perspective of diversity is built upon the ontology of embedded self-otherness of autonomous selves and on an understanding of ethics embedded therein. In contrast to the holistic ontology of embedded persons, the co-other is free from its own embedded self through othering itself. In contrast to the individualist ontology of autonomous persons, the co-other is embedded through its own otherness because its otherness capacitates it to associate itself with others. The diverse society is, thus, the community of 'selves', 'others' and 'co-others' (Sicakkan 2003), which can accommodate differences, commonalities, mobility, and immobility at the same time.

The new ontology implied here is one of individuals as physically mobile between places on the one hand, and of minds as emphatically mobile between different references of identification. In Glocalmig, this ontology applies as a supplement to the classical liberal ontology of autonomous individuals and also the classical communitarian ontology of socially embedded persons, which fixes and limits 'identities' and belongings to territories, states, ethnies, communities, nations, etc. With the comprehensive ontology behind Glocalmig, one can conceive of the phenomenon citizenship as a structure that provides access for people with legitimate claims to arenas, spaces, and corporate

benefits in the state.[1] A claim of access to arenas and corporate benefits in the state is legitimate insofar as the claimants are directly affected by the citizenship structure and as long as it does not opt for deconstructing an already inclusive structure. This new ontological frame both contains and supplements the assumptions of the former three ontologies.

It is this comprehensive ontological frame that enables the diversity perspective to be a more adequate approach in today's diverse societies. As the problems are related to citizens' involvement, any design of a citizenship form and a public space model should address the issues of fixed and mobile individual and collective belongings and fixed and mobile political and cultural boundaries. These mobilities and immobilities set individuals, groups, and the existing structures of citizenship apart; and they increasingly detach individuals from the existing public spaces. This process of increasing misalignments manifests itself as a decrease in citizen involvement. Mobilities set citizens and citizenship structures apart because public spaces have fixed locations that require belonging to a place. Immobility of citizens sets them apart from citizenship structures because the political and cultural boundaries have now become mobile. The postulate that citizens can be educated to participate in politics and will someday 'learn' to come back to the existing public spaces is therefore not a realistic one. This project suggests instead designing new public spaces which can bring the public spaces to where citizens are rather than waiting for citizens to come where public spaces are. This presupposes mobile, multiple, composite civic public spaces which can accommodate diversity and (im)mobility; and the "glocal spaces" may be the prototypes of such public spaces.

Theoretical approach and conceptualization strategy in QC-CITKIT

In the history of social sciences, citizenship theories facing new realities have revised their conceptual frameworks several times. Weber (1923) and Marshall (1950) described the first conceptual change as the demise of the class dimension in citizenship. Arendt (1976) described the second change as the rise of the Nation. The third change has been described by Habermas (1992, 1994a-b) as the decoupling of 'citizenship' from 'nation'. The last development was actually the result of the ethical challenges posed by the suppressed situation of *native* ethnic and religious 'minorities' in the Western democracies. The emerging broader meaning of 'citizenship' extended the boundaries of *demos* in the citizenship theories to include also *native* 'minorities'. However, through the principle of *ius soli,* both 'nation' and 'citizenship' became this time coupled with

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[1] Sicakkan, H.G and Lithman, Y. (2004, forthcoming), "Theorizing Citizenship, Politics of Identity, and Modes of Belonging" in *Envisioning Togethernes,* Edwin Mellen Press, New York and London.

'territory' stronger than ever (Rokkan 1982). The territoriality principle – instead of ethnicity – now determined the boundaries of the *demos* (Bauböck 1994). Blood affiliation (*jus sanguinis*) as a criterion almost disappeared, whereas territorial origin (*jus soli*) became the primary determinant of membership and participation in citizenship theories (Rokkan 1971, 1975).

In the period after 1990, immigrants' ambiguous presence in Western democracies prompted a new ethical challenge to this *demos* concept. This resulted in a stronger focus on another type of territoriality principle, namely the residence principle (*jus domicile*), as a membership and belonging criterion. The residence principle is now acceptable to most citizenship theories. The recent recognition of the residence principle in citizenship theories eliminates to a larger extent than before the limitations that the *demos* concept previously posed to the ideal of inclusion. This is because it potentially legitimizes new claims to participation by people of different belongings. Therefore, the third extension of the *demos* concept has resulted in conceptualizations of citizenship such as 'Transnational Citizenship' (Bauböck 1994), 'Postnational Citizenship' (Soysal 1994), 'Global Citizenship' (Falk 1994), and 'Post-Westphalian citizenship' (Linklater 1982).

However, since 'demos' is now primarily defined as persons *permanently* resident in the democratic nation state's territory, the legitimacy of membership and claim to participate is also fundamentally determined by territorial belonging, i.e. in terms of individuals' 'establishedness' in the territory. Still implying the citizen/alien paradigm, this perspective leaves us with four fundamental anomalies pertaining to the relationships between inclusion, participation, co-existence, and mobility:

- based on the classical distinction between 'historical native minorities' and 'new immigrant minorities', immigrants are regarded as second-class citizens (Linklater 1982, 1998; Young 1990);

- the factor of individual's and groups' increasing physical mobility between spaces and their 'psychic mobility' (Lerner 1958) between references of identification, which basically refers to new forms of belonging, is not addressed satisfactorily (Bauman 1995);

- citizenship theories' assumption of "stable borders" and "fixed boundaries" no longer apply to the European context;

- citizenship theories' assumption of discrete belongings, loyalties and identities is no longer a universally valid fact.

These anomalies require supplement of the existing notions of citizenship with new ones for achieving a rigorous framework to understand the relationships between belongings, identities, mobility, coexistence, boundaries, and citizenships in the diverse and dynamic European Union context. In Glocalmig, this manifests itself also in terms of a new terminology and thinking on citizenship.

Therefore, leaning neither on the empiricist-naturalist nor on normative-idealist positions, Glocalmig focuses on the fruitfulness and inter-complementary features of the contesting notions citizenship and suggests an approach that can be labeled comprehensive multi-theoretical and multi-paradigmatic conceptualization. Such a conceptualization involves that the complex relationships between different aspects and features of citizenship are tied with each other in different ways as envisaged in each theory.

The normative political theory provides at least five main ideal types of citizenship. These are the libertarian, liberal, republican, communitarian, and tribal models. Figure 2 illustrates a ranking of the five models along two dimensions: *vision of political system* and *image of person*. The former dimension represents "political visions" in terms of preferences concerning direct democracy, which will enable all social groups to be effectively influential in the political decision-making process and allow radical changes in the political system through mass participation. The latter dimension conceptualizes "image of man" in terms of beliefs about the alterability of human identity. The combination of these two dimensions determines also the policy contents of the five citizenship models in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Five Normative Models of Citizenship

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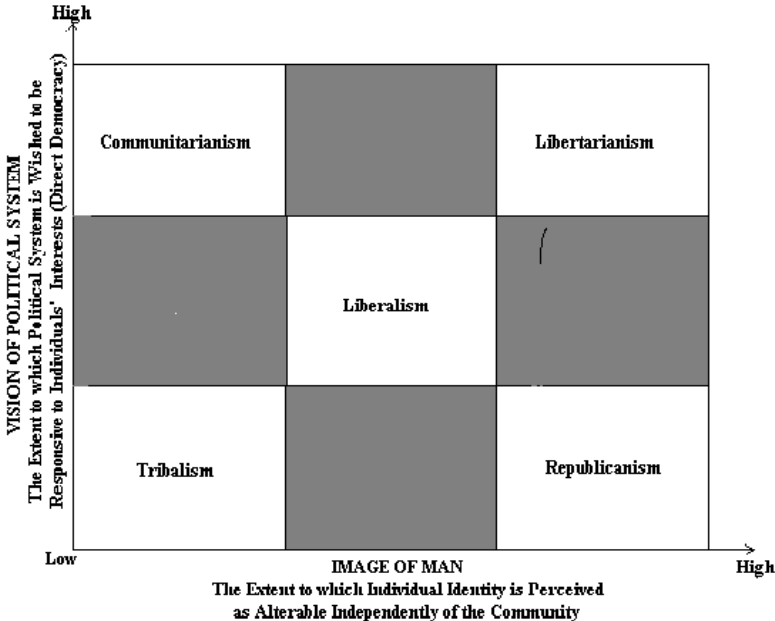
The models which advocate radical openness for internal systemic changes through direct democracy, and which at the same time assume that individuals' basic features such as culture, life-style, identity and political preferences are unalterable, prescribe the most restrictive models (e.g. communitarianism). On the other end of this continuum, those models which advocate radical openness for systemic changes and which simultaneously hold that human identity is utterly changeable, prescribe the most radical models of citizenship (e.g. libertarianism).

The five conceptual frameworks in Figure 2 comprise various relationships between norms, institutions, policies of citizenship (the perpendicular axis) and individuals' belongings and identities (the horizontal axis). Using such a variety of models of the relationship between citizenship and belonging will certainly enable any researcher to conceptualize his or her empirical observations better. In this sense, deploying such a framework with multiple theoretical perspectives enables one to conceptualize the relationships between different aspects of citizenship in a pluralistic manner and, thus, in a more fruitful way than a singular approach would provide. It is also important to underline that these citizenship models can be operationalized for all levels of analysis (features of political systems, features of social groups, and individual attitudes). This is what QC-CITKIT does. These normative analysis and interpretation tools allow interdisciplinary and inter-paradigmatic collaboration at all levels of analysis. Most important of all, these theory frames each conceptualize and connect all the phenomena mentioned in Figure 2 to each other in different ways; that is, citizenship, multiple identities, diversity, coexistence, mobility, belonging, collective and individual identities, identity formation, citizens' involvement, participation, and European citizenship have all been already interrelated conceptually in these models. The meta-theoretical framework presented in Figure 2 is Glocalmig's method of systemizing the existing perspectives and conceptualizations in relation to its own *diversity perspective*; i.e. it is basically a heuristic conceptualization tool.

In this short presentation, it will suffice to exemplify Glocalmig's multi-theoretical and multi-paradigmatic conceptual approach only with respect to some specific dimensions, which are listed in the first column of Table 2. This is in order to demonstrate the rigor in such a conceptualization strategy without going into too many dimensions of the models (e.g. institutional frames, minority rights, welfare schemes, mobility and residence rights, etc.), which would otherwise complicate this illustrative presentation. Table 2 comprises, thus, four citizenship models' policy implications concerning only the identity and belonging dimension (the first three lines) on the one hand, and on the other, their principles for foreigners' acquisition of citizenship. The other dimensions and their sub-dimensions are listed in the following sub-sections.

Table 2. Notions of the Citizen in Contemporary Political Theory

	Diasporic Citizenship	Republican Citizenship	Communal Citizenship	Multicultural Citizenship	Plural Citizenship	Diverse Citizenship
What is most worth to protect?	Diasporic Belonging Diasporas' rights in terms of ethnic/diasporic identification, language, and territory	Civic Belonging Citizens' rights and duties in terms of civic culture; states' interests; and international order	Territorial-communal belonging Persons' rights in terms of dignity, identity, culture, and belonging to a historical-cultural, territorial community	Communal belonging Persons' rights in terms of dignity, identity, culture, and belonging to a cultural group	Individual rights and group belonging Individuals' and groups' rights and interests in a civil society	Individual and group diversity Persons' and groups' right to be a public person in a diverse society
Whom to protect?	Diasporas, diaspora members	States and citizens	Community territory, community culture, and community members	Community institutions, community culture, and community members	Individuals and Groups	Persons and groups
How to protect?	International cooperation and unilateral state actions by the closest state	Assimilation of deviant groups into the civic political culture	Territorial segregation of and sovereignty/autonomy to all communities	Institutional segregation of communities and integration in the larger political system	Empowering and integration of the corporate-plural civil society groups, organizations	Creating and empowering the composite glocal public spaces
Who is a natural citizen?	'Our' Blood-Brothers Includes also diaspora members.	'The first occupiers' Includes those who are born in the territory	'Our' community members Those who are born of and into and socialized in the community	Members of all communities and groups Those who belong to any constituent community in the society	'Those who have permanent interests' in the territory and in the state	Those who are present In the territory and in the society

	Ius sanguinis Kinship principle that aims at survival of the diaspora	_Ius soli_ Birth-in-the-territory principle that aims at securing a standard civic culture	_Ius sanguinis+ius soli_ Combination of kinship and territory principle that secure the survival of the community in its territory.	_Jus sangunis+jus domicile_ Belonging to anyone of the constituent communities	_Ius soli+ ius domicile_ Permanent residence	_Jus domicile_ Residence and permanent interest
Automatic Criteria for Citizenship						
Main Principle for Immigrant Ascension	Blood-belonging	Birth in the territory and knowledge of and consent in conventions	Communal belonging or similar cultural belonging	Belonging to any constituent community or similar cultural belonging	Permanent residence in the territory	Direct Permanent interest in the state and society

The dimensions that Glocalmig focuses on are:

Dimension 1: Belongings and identities

Throughout the historical processes of state formation and nation building in Europe, citizenship evolved from being the legitimizing aspect of states' sovereignty and political organization to serving as a tool of collective identity promotion. When successful, this led to a conception of citizenship as a belonging mode. To the existing ethnic and religious forms of belonging and their *essentialized spaces*, these processes added the national mode of belonging and the *national spaces* of interaction. However, the collective identities based on such a conception of citizenship have not necessarily expressed the existing diversities within societies, something which prompted alternative modes of belonging within these structures of imagined or constructed uniformity. The national mode of belonging entered a symbiotic coexistence with the minority modes of belonging – e.g. religious, ethnic, territorial, ideological, etc. Each of these essentialized modes of belonging created their own spheres, spaces, and modes of meaning, interaction, and participation – and their combinations and permutations- both within and beyond the frames of the nation states. Essentialized modes of belonging are singular forms of ethnic, religious or diasporic belongings.

The forms of belonging reaching beyond the boundaries of nation states and beyond territories led to the emergence of new spaces of meaning and interaction - *transnational spaces*. These values serve as a basis for mobilization against the belonging frames of national states. The transnational spaces accommodate cross-border political movements based on common values that are against national belongings and boundaries. They represent cross-border social/political organizations, exclusive of territorialized modes of belonging. The transnational space is, thus, different from the versions of "transnational politics" where the traditional national references of meaning persist and constitute the basis for political action. Transnational spaces are also different from the diasporic spaces that relate to *physically* de-territorialized singular belongings. They are about people – and their actions and interactions – that are also *psychically* de-territorialized. The transnational space is a macro-space comprising transnational organizations and associations with non-spatial expressions and de-territorialized symbolisms. This symbolism relates to the misalignments between citizenship and belongings, participation, and voice deficits in national and supranational contexts.

Conceptualized as a gradually growing process of merging of markets and politics within and beyond the boundaries of nation states (as predicted by Jean Monnet), globalization has further affected, not to say diminished, national states' normative, instrumental, and

symbolic influence on collective identity formation. In Europe, we now see more clearly the creation of local, regional, and global alliances across national boundaries. The processes of globalization have altered the meaning of politics and citizenship such that the nation state now to a lesser extent provides a reference frame for individuals' and groups' identities, belongings, actions, and interactions. That is, in the regions of the globe where these processes have advanced, the meaning of citizenship as a mode of belonging has altered.

The proliferation of alternative references of identification through globalization has added new, alternative belonging modes and citizenship practices to persons' lives. These stretch beyond nationality, ethnicity, religion, nation, minorities, majorities, and territorial belongings. The distinguishing characteristic of the new forms of belonging and new practices of citizenship is the *mobility of subjects' minds and bodies* between different references of identification. Coupled with the conventional politics' insufficient capacity to respond to citizens' and residents' interests emanating out from these new modes of belonging, the consequence of this proliferation to politics and citizenship is the emergence of new politics, new citizenship forms, and new spaces of interaction that are informed and exercised in *glocal spaces*. Glocal spaces accommodate essentialized belongings, national and transnational modes of belonging, and new types of belonging which are inspired and informed by the idea of diverse society. Glocal spaces entail a variety of *local incipient forms of all-inclusive organizations*.

The concept of *glocalization* has in our terminology come to mean the processes of mirroring, protrusion, and appearance of the new ethics, symbols, loyalties, and references of meaning created in globalization, beyond the nation state's frames, and in concrete 'places' located within nation state territories. The glocal space is thus the facade of both globalization and localization in our concrete localities. Glocal spaces are spatially and temporally definable arenas of interaction, deliberation, and influence. They provide arenas for individuals where the influence, norms, and interests of the nation state are largely bypassed, where people are not defined as minority or majority, where individuals do not need to refer to nation states' references in order to 'fit in' or to have a say, and where diversities are taken for granted. In other words, the glocal space is a micro-space comprising spatial expressions and contextual symbolisms of globalization.

The above considerations point to four spheres of "being public" and citizens' involvement. In order of chronological appearance in political history, the first sphere is that of essentialized belongings and the forms of citizenship they represent. The *essentialized modes of belonging* are at present observed in some of European states' religious and ethnic minorities. In most states of Europe, they have formed their own

spheres of interaction, meaning, and channels of participation in politics and in society at large. The second sphere comprises the *national mode of belonging*, which was created by the nation states. The national sphere of citizenship comprises the state building peoples and the minorities that were assimilated or incorporated otherwise into the national mode of belonging. The third sphere accommodates the *transnational modes of belonging*, which exclude territorialized forms of belonging. The interactions in transnational spaces are cross-border, organized in transnational organizations, and aimed at bypassing the existing political and territorial boundaries between humans. The fourth sphere is constituted of *glocal spaces*, where all these modes of belonging and participation forms coexist. Glocal spaces constitute an alternative to the traditional notions of citizenship, and they may be seen as the prototypes of the diverse societies of the future, accommodating diversity on the societal level and multiple identities and hybridity on the individual level. They are spaces which accommodate essentialized, national, transnational, and glocal modes of belonging.

One aim of Glocalmig is to uncover the features of persons moving within or across these spaces who are capable of coexistence with persons of other types of belonging and who participate in shared channels of action and collective decision making. This type of person can be found in all the four aforementioned spaces, but significantly more in glocal spaces. Another aim is to delineate the features of the glocal spaces which make coexistence and participation possible in contexts of *diversity, mobility,* and *immobility*. The policy relevant aim is to show how glocal spaces can be utilized or transformed into *euroglocal spaces* to achieve increased citizen involvement, make coexistence possible, and increase identification with Europe –i.e. contribute to the creation of a European public space.

Dimension 2: Legal statuses and rights of citizens and residents

This part of the research organizes, analyzes, and presents the data collected on citizens' and residents' legal rights and statuses in six countries. This component focuses on the impacts of existing sub-national, national, regional, and supra-national legal factors on citizens' and residents' patterns and degree of involvement, and co-existence and mobility possibilities. This component maps comparatively citizens' and residents' rights with respect to the four categories of focus. This delineation is done along the following sub-dimensions:

Political Rights

Right to Political Opinion/Freedom of Speech/Association/ Political Activity, Right to (Party/Organization) Membership, Right to Suffrage, Right to Standing as Candidate in Elections

Cultural rights

Right to name and to using mother tongue, right to mother tongue tuition, right to public education in mother tongue, right to interpreter in public affairs (in hospitals, courts, public offices, etc.),right to religious education, right to religious and ethnic schools, right to using/wearing religious and ethnic symbols (turban, headscarf, beard, etc.),right to religious/ethnic associations/organizations/temples, mosques, synagogues, etc., right to majority language tuition/right to exemption such tuition

Welfare Rights

(Free) Public/Private Health Services,(Free) Public/Private Education, Unemployment Benefits, Social Security Benefits, Child/Spouse Benefits, Social Assistance, Public Housing, Public Health Laws

Economic Rights

Work permit, public/private job seeking services, public/private vocational training, access to jobs in the public sector, changing employer and place of work, tax exemptions and privileges, individual/collective access right to using natural resources (mines, water, oil, forests, etc.)

Basic Legal Rights

Trying One's Case in Public Courts, Law Suits, Protection from Discrimination (anti-discrimination laws etc.), Appeal Rights, Protection from Expulsion/Deportation, (Free) Legal Help

Mobility Rights

Right to Travel, Right to Choose Accommodation, Right to Choose Place of (Permanent) Residence, Right to Change Accommodation, Right to Change Place of (Permanent) Residence

Residence Rights

Entry/Re-entry to the Territory, Exit from the Territory, Temporary Residence, Renewable Temporary Residence, Temporary Residence that can constitute basis for Permanent

Residence, Permanent Residence, Matrimony and Family Union/Reunion, Citizenship Acquisition

The rights that Glocalmig focuses on differ significantly in the member and associated countries; and the comparative picture that this component provides is crucial. The results from this component are a part of QC-CITBASE.

Dimension 3: Institutions and policies of citizenship

This component organizes, analyzes, and presents the data about institutions and policies of citizenship in six countries. The focus is on the impacts of the institutional and policy frames of member states as well as of the European Union on citizens' and residents' rights exercise, involvement in politics, coexistence and mobility.

The institutional frames are analyzed in two main categories: the *numeric channel* and the *corporate-plural* channel. These two channels constitute the national space of belonging and political action. The institutions framing the rights of citizens and residents concerning their participation in the numeric channel are election systems, welfare systems, party systems, and representation systems. This project component assesses to what extent the four categories under our investigation have been involved and active in the corporate-plural bodies and to what extent this involvement affect their participation in the numeric (elections and party politics) and alternative (essentialized, glocal and transnational spaces) channels. The questions to be answered in this project component are:

1) What local, sub-national, national, and supranational institutional arrangements and policies exist for guaranteeing the rights of majority citizens, second and third country nationals, historical minorities, and extra-territorial and extra-European citizens? (party systems, election systems, representation systems, interest organizations, immigrant and historical minority organizations, corporate representation and voice structures and institutions involved here, NGOs, transnational organizations, and state institutions involved in securing and serving these rights in practice; the names, calls and functions of these institutions; information about their interaction with other sub-national, national, transnational and supranational institutions and policies –e.g. the EU's INTERREG programmes).

2) How these institutions and policies provide effective/ineffective participation, influence, and voice to our four categories?

3) How these institutional arrangements have changed through interactions/negotiations with the EU and through EU-legislation, standardization, and integration?

4) The absence/presence of the strategies of subsidiarity, functional equivalence, differentiation.

Concerning the corporate-plural channels, there are two aspects that are specifically focused on: (1) immigrant minorities' corporate-plural channels of voice and influence and (2) native ethnic minorities' corporate-plural channels of voice and influence. Such participation channels have also found their institutional expressions at the European level.

Measurement and scaling approach in QC-CITKIT

Glocalmig has adopted the qualitative-comparative methodological strategy. The mainstream measurement and scaling theories – e.g. item response theory, factor and reliability analyses – are the most frequently employed tools in quantitative research. While devising its measurement and scaling tools, Glocalmig's concern is to go beyond the logic that lies behind scaling techniques which involve the assumptions of logical consistency and inter-item harmony that are based on these techniques' and/or researchers' presumptions about what is logical and harmonic. For these assumptions may affect also the process of uncovering certain meaningful response dimensions. According to these mainstream theories of measurement, the combination of a subject's responses to multiple interrelated items must make *sense*. The principles of "logical consistency" and "inter-item harmony" are tools for ascertaining that this is the researchers' sense of logic and harmony. In Glocalmig, the question of "Which criteria should determine the quality and content of this sense?" becomes therefore relevant.

Also regarding the macro-level methods of measurement and scaling, the existing comparative methods have been inspired by the same logic. The mainstream comparative analysis strategies are based on empirical ideal types, with which other empirical cases can be compared. In this method of comparison, a social or political phenomenon is conceptualized in terms of its different appearances in certain empirical cases that are assumed or accepted as being the proto-types of that phenomenon. Subsequently, other empirical cases are modeled in terms of their proximity to or distance from these ideal types. Researchers working in the frame of this paradigm are expected to account for the empirical cases' proximity to or distance from these empirical ideal types. In the field of citizenship studies, there are good examples of this comparison strategy.

The major objection to a comparison strategy with empirical ideal types is that no choice of an empirical ideal type, on which comparisons are to be based, can be justifiable based on satisfactorily objective scientific criteria. Secondly, as the situation of Europe is different from the existing empirical ideal types, such a comparison strategy would not produce valid knowledge. Thirdly, deployment of empirical ideal types in comparative analyses may result in establishing an empirical model as a norm. Furthermore, the cases' proximity to or distance from empirical ideal types may result in ignoring important particularities of the cases. Therefore, Glocalmig opts for a strategy where all empirical cases are treated equally and where no empirical case is assumed to be a model for the others.

Another problem with the above measurement and scaling strategies is that they deploy only one ideal type of the phenomena. As an alternative to these two strategies of comparison, the University of Bergen has developed the prototypes of three complementary comparative analysis strategies, which are designed to by-pass the aforementioned defects in the existing methods.[2] These are:

● Descriptive Comparison of Absolute Values of Cases.

● Comparison with multiple empirical ideal types (relative measurement), which employs a separate ideal type for each case. In Glocalmig, the quality of citizenship of the most privileged part of majority population in each country has been employed as the empirical ideal type for each country; thus measuring the quality of citizenship in each country with respect to its own privileged citizens.

● Comparison with multiple contesting theoretical ideal types (normative measurement), which employs the existing as well as Glocalmig's own ideal type in an analysis technique that simultaneously compares both the ideal types themselves and the cases with the ideal types. Scales and rankings here will be based on multiple contesting theories.

Used together, these three methods of comparison, measurement and scaling/ranking constitute an unprecedented set of research tools for comparatively mapping and assessing the quality of citizenships in Europe as well as a device for continuously monitoring the changes in policy-related facts for developing inclusive citizenship practices and European public spaces. Concerning Glocalmig's strategic and scientific

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[2] These have been developed in Sicakkan, H.G. *Senses That Make Noise & Noises That Make Sense* (1999), *The Political Historical Roots of West European Models of Citizenship* (1999), *Rasisme mellom republikansime og kommunitarisme* (1998), all published by Bergen: IMER N/B Publications.

objectives, these three strategies of measurement and scaling have together served as effective tools in our search for inclusive citizenship practices. In future research, they will also be able to help provide strong indications for when and where portability of best practices of citizenship may be feasible.

2.1.2. A Short presentation of QC-CITSCALE

This tool comprises the operationalized forms of the variables in: (1) a qualitative questionnaire, which can also be quantified and (2) two interview guides (one for organizational elites and one for attendants of glocal spaces). In both QC-CITKIT and QC-CITSCALE, the decided strategy for measurement, scaling and comparison are included in an integrated form. QC-CITSCALE is designed in such a way that measurements of variables can be done with respect to three scales, which have three separate and different "null" points. We call these three measurement methods "absolute measurement", "relative measurement" and "normative measurement".

The concept of "quality of citizenships" entails a variety of normative connotations and, thus, can be defined and measured in multiple ways. The existing approaches to quality of citizenship are largely singular and reflect certain normative orientations. The outcomes of such singular approaches are generally singular measurement strategies and uni-dimensional scales. Glocalmig goes beyond such existing normatively singular research frames and devises tools for measuring the quality of citizenship in multiple ways. Each of the aforementioned sets, therefore, comprises measurement methods and scales based on three separate but inter-relatable and novel strategies of measurement and scale construction: (1) Absolute-values measurement and scaling, (2) relative-values measurement and scaling, (3) normative-values measurement and scaling.

Table 3. Measurement and Scaling Models in Glocalmig

	Absolute-Values Measurement and Scaling	Relative-Values Measurement and Scaling	Normative-Values Measurement and Scaling
Null Point of Scale or Rank	None	Majority citizens' quality of citizenship in each context	Normative models of quality of citizenship
Within-Context Comparison	Comparative description of similarities and differences in quality of citizenship across groups of citizens and residents	Scaling and ranking of other segments' quality of citizenship with respect to that of majority citizens	Scaling and ranking of all residents' and citizens' quality of citizenship with respect to certain normative ideals/models of quality of citizenship
Cross-Context Comparison	Comparative description of similarities and differences between different social groups' quality of citizenship across distinct sub-national and national contexts	Scaling and ranking of other segments' quality of citizenship as a function of majority citizens' quality of citizenship across distinct sub-national and national contexts	Scaling and ranking of deviations of citizens' and residents' quality of citizenship from certain normative ideals across sub-national and national contexts

The first strategy comprises no null-value or ideal model and its outcome is descriptive of the present state of affairs regarding quality of citizenship. More concretely, the absolute-value scaling allows comparison of the quality of citizenship of different population segments in different European contexts and countries with each other both within and outside their own contexts.

The second strategy employs as its null-point value the majority citizens' legal rights, institutional affairs, access, voice, representation channels and patterns in each context and compares these with those of minority and migrant groups. This means that a different null-point value will be used for each national and sub-national context. In the macro-comparison of countries on a relative scale, by comparing our four categories to the legal statuses and rights of the majority citizens in each country, we will be able to assess to what extent each country has been able to bring their "minorities" closer to their majority citizens. The null-point in our micro-level relative scale is the voice and participation patterns of the majority citizens. In the micro-comparison of individuals' voice and participation forms and patterns on a relative scale, we will be able to assess to what extent our four categories' behavior conform to or deviate from the majority citizens' voice and participation behavior. A comparison of results from these two measurements will eventually give us the factual alignments and misalignments of the

citizenship structures and citizens and residents' actual situation in these structures, including also the European Union's citizenship structure. The aim with relative measurement and scaling is to map the differences and similarities between majority citizens' and other population segments' quality of citizenship. The resultant scales will compare countries and other sub-national political units with respect to the differences in quality of citizenship between their majority citizens and other residents.

The third strategy involves at least five separate normatively determined null-point values/ideal models for measuring and scaling the quality of citizenship. This strategy treats all socio-political contexts equally and compares the quality of citizenship in each of them with certain ideal models of quality of citizenship. In the macro-level normative scale, the null-points are the prescriptions of five different normative theories. In fact, this means 5 different null-points, which will help us to classify our cases with respect to the conceptual frameworks of a diversity of theoretical models of legal rights and statuses. In the macro-comparison of our six case-countries, we will compare the legal rights and statuses of all our categories, including also the majority citizens, with the legal rights and statuses that are prescribed in these normative theories and assess what normative elements are found in countries' state-level citizenship models. In the micro-level normative scale, the null-point is again the prescriptions of the same normative theories, but this time we use the prescriptions concerning persons' voice, participation, influence, inclusion and exclusion at the individual level, that is "ideal-types of citizens". A comparison of results from these two levels of analysis will give us the normative features of the alignments and misalignments between belongings and citizenships in our six countries, including also the European Union citizenship. Our aim with normative-values scaling strategy is to examine and compare and scale the quality of citizenship in distinct European contexts with respect to certain normative ideals that are defined in political philosophy as well as in national and supra-national practices.

The measurement methods and scales that Glocalmig produced enables researchers and other end-users to analyze, compare, and evaluate the quality of citizenship in European contexts from various perspectives, i.e. null-points/ideal models of their own choice, both in empirical and normative terms. In this respect, the material collected by Glocalmig as well as its inherent and carefully constructed analytical potential allows deployment of multiple normative and empirical models of citizenship. A well-concerted deployment of absolute, relative and normative scales will eventually tell us a lot about which supranational and national citizenship structures may be more or less feasible than others. Towards this objective, a novel conceptual apparatus is also under development that is capable of parsimoniously providing an understanding of the new relations and bonds between global, supranational, and glocal alliances, states, majorities, minorities,

and individuals within the new context of increasing mobility, globalization, glocalization, and fading boundaries.

2.1.3. A short presentation of the design of QC-CITBASE

An effective use of the aforementioned tools led to a design of an extendable, updateable, and comparative *small states citizenship database* (QC-CITBASE) for mapping different forms of rights-exercise across countries. The project collected qualitative data about

1) the changes in policies of citizenship and minority politics in the EU-*member states* that are caused by their relations with the EU, and the anticipated policy changes in the *associated and waiting-list* countries once they join the EU;

2) the changes in forms and patterns of participation and voice through national states' existing channels and arenas, and the participation dilemmas connected to these (i.e. disqualifications resulting from e.g. pre-determined nation-state ideologies requesting congruence between belongings and citizenship);

3) the new globalizing forms and patterns of voice, participation, and access through glocal spaces and transnational organizations;

4) the presence of certain existing national and supranational democratic institutions (i.e. primarily understood as public spaces effectively open to those who wish to have voice) inpolicy formation promoting inclusion and equality in participation, giving voice, and access to arenas.

The data are based on information collected during case studies and targeted at generating knowledge about:

● Types of misalignments between national citizenships and European citizenship.

● Types of misalignments between belongings and national citizenships.

● Types of misalignments between the European citizenship and belongings.

● Types of contestations on citizenships and belongings.

● Quality of participation, voice, and access deficits in traditional numeric and corporate-pluralist channels at the micro-level.

● Characteristics of glocal spaces in terms of participation, voice, access, and relationships to traditional channels of participation and voice.

- Characteristics of transnational spaces in terms of the degree and intensity of cross-border co-operation, loyalty constructions, participation, voice, and access.

- Types of interplays between glocal, transnational, and traditional channels of voice, participation, and access in terms of exchanges of people, double roles, formation and transfer of values and ideas, mutual influence and interference.

- Types of national and supranational policy tools and social conditions that affect the formation and persistency of misalignments, and glocal, transnational, and traditional channels of voice, participation, and access to public arenas.

- Similarities and differences between participation, voice and access forms of citizens, historical-native minorities, second and third country nationals, and extra-European citizens residing in second countries at the micro-level.

In this exploratory phase, the project has designed the QC-CITBASE and has stored the collected qualitative comparative data in a standard format coded in form of discrete and ordinal variables. The technical features of this database are:

- comparative across cases (i.e. enablingstorage of information in a standard format);

- comparative across variables (i.e. allowing aggregation and quantification);

- context-sensitive (i.e. allowing storage of conditions non-existent in other cases);

- updateable over time (i.e. allowing storage of new data cumulatively);

- extendable to other small/big countries (i.e. allowing addition of data from new cases);

- extendable to new variables (i.e. allowing quantification and recoding);

- comprising descriptive as well as analytical data;

- user-friendly.

It is important to note that the data are not collected from samples that are statistically representative. The reason for this is that the project was exploratory and qualitatively oriented already from the beginning. With the qualitative data available in Glocalmig, this database is primarily a qualitative database which allows micro-levels of analysis. However, the database is designed in such a way that, if data from statistically representative samples are stored in it, it can also be used as a quantitative database in

the future. In this sense, the database is a flexible one with respect to different research and analysis orientations.

2.2. Empirical project results

The 7 publications in the Glocalmig Series mapped:

- Legal rights and statuses of citizens and residents in six countries;

- Features of selected glocal spaces in six countries;

- Belongings and participation patterns of people attending to glocal spaces;

- Alignments and/or misalignments between people's belongings and the existing norms, laws, institutions, and policies of citizenship – quality of citizenships.

The final volume of the Glocalmig Series addresses the last three of these topics comparatively. The first three of the above-mentioned research activities were important and necessary steps towards the scientific objectives of this project. However, in this final report, we will not present and analyze in detail the data collected about the legal rights/statuses and institutions relating to citizenship in our six case countries. Nor will we present or analyze the fieldwork data about glocal spaces and belongings. The aim of these parts was to establish the factual foundation which was necessary to reach preliminary conclusions about the relationships between belongings and citizenship frames – i.e. about the quality of citizenships – on the one hand, and on the other, to test the research tools developed in Glocalmig. For the purposes of this report, we will therefore focus on the end-products of our project:

- Quality of citizenships as experienced by the attendants of glocal spaces.

- The effectivity and fruitfulness of Glocalmig's Research Tools.

As mentioned in the beginning, the quality of citizenship is defined in this research as the degree of alignments and/or misalignments between individuals' belongings and the formal citizenship laws, institutions, and policies. The first and second parts of Glocalmig mapped, respectively, the formal citizenship frames in terms of (1) legal rights/statuses and (2) institutions relating to citizenship and rights-exercise. The third part focused on the belongings and participation patterns of the people attending to selected glocal spaces. In each of these project parts, our point of departure was the similarities and differences between the majority citizens in each country and those who are not considered as belonging to the majority population – e.g. historical native minorities,

second and third country nationals, and extra-territorial citizens. Therefore, the below presentation of the quality of citizenships is based on these categories.

The tables in this section are meant to function as summary tools across categories rather than an analysis. Analyses, the results of which will be given in this report, were based on more complex processes and methods of categorization, classification, scaling and ranking based on the qualitative-configurative thinking in QC-CITKIT.

2.2.1. The fieldwork sites in comparative perspective

Our mapping of "quality of citizenships" is based on fieldwork data in six countries. In April 2004, the Glocalmig Consortium determined the expected characteristics of the fieldwork sites. Bauböck (2003b) concludes in one of his articles that "An urban citizenship that is emancipated from imperatives of national sovereignty and homogeneity may become a homebase for cosmopolitan democracy". This idea of cosmopolitan democracy entails the premise that a specific form of urban lifestyle can be the basis of a diverse society. This idea is the background of the coordinators' choice of conducting the fieldworks in selected urban contexts that entail diversity.

In conformity with our theoretical frame, the fieldwork sites to be selected had to satisfy the requirements in the aforementioned description of a glocal space. For these constitute an alternative to the traditional notions of citizenship, and *they may be seen as prototypes of the diversity societies of the future, encouraging diversity on the societal level and difference, diversity and multi-dimensional belongings on the individual and collective levels*. Therefore, the incipient organizations we focus on should be considered as laboratories where we can discover the features of a future diverse society, as opposed to the idea of multicultural society, which is largely based on the premise of a co-existence of essentialized or embedded identities.

The fieldwork sites should comprise the below-described characteristics of an incipient structure entailing a web of diverse sociopolitical interactions. Incipient organizations comprise emerging/decaying/loose structures that represent semi-patterned and changing interactions between persons, groups, or other social entities. The most distinguishing features of such incipient structures are:

1) Fluid external organizational boundaries

2) Frequently changing patterns of interactions (a) between persons, (b) between groups, (c) between persons and groups, (d) between persons and the incipient organization proper, and (e) between groups and the incipient organization proper

3) Acceptance, cooperation, and symbiosis of a diverse set of groups and persons with conflicting, contradicting, supplementary, and complementary political projects (immigrants, historical minorities, third country nationals, majority citizens, hybrid collective and/or individual identities)

4) Accepting, encouraging, promoting diversity (at the collective level) and multiple belongings and identities (at the collective and personal levels).

5) Vague operative boundaries between organizational leaders, opinion leaders and other participants

6) Openness to all (everybody can define himself/herself as belonging or not belonging there at anytime and can use this space to deliberate his or her preferences)

We treated the above-description as an ideal type and located the fieldwork sites that came closest to these requirements. The fieldwork sites where we conducted our interviews are mapped in Table 4.

Table 4. Selected Fieldwork Sites

Place	Site Name	Site Type	Sponsors
Austria – *Vienna*	WUK – *Werkstätten- und Kulturhaus*	Glocal	Vienna City, Austrian Government
Denmark – *Copenhagen*	NAM – *Nørre Allé Medborgerhus*	Glocal	Copenhagen City
Estonia – *Tallinn*	EUNM – Estonian Union of National Minorities	Intercultural	Estonian Government, Phare (EU), Private
Finland – *Helsinki*	CAISA – International Cultural Center	Glocal	Helsinki City
Hungary – *Budapest*	CEU – Central European University and various glocal sites connected to it	Glocal	No public sponsors – Private
Norway – *Bergen*	BIKS – *Bergen internasionalt kultursenter*	Glocal	Bergen City, Norwegian Government

However, due to the specific conditions in the six case-countries, there are certain differences between the selected fieldwork sites. In a comparative perspective, these differences can be considered as a finding in themselves. The characteristics of the sites we found in Austria, Denmark, Finland and Norway satisfy our definitional requirements better than the sites found in Estonia and Hungary. Concerning the Estonian case, Lagerspetz and Joons (2004) write in their Glocalmig country report:

> When we first tried to find out, who and which organizations could be of interest for the GLOCALMIG-project, our thoughts circulated around the idea of multiethnic cultural centres in Scandinavia and elsewhere in Western Europe. In this context, the interesting sites could include cultural centres or circles, where persons of different ethnicities interact. The problem with such centres is, however, that they continue the practices of Soviet cultural centres at least in one respect: even though there are persons of many different ethnicities together, there tends to be a division into Estonian-speaking and Russian-speaking circles or institutions. Instead, we started from the notion that the non-Estonian population consists of historical and new minorities and of people with or without Estonian citizenship. With this categorisation as our point of departure, we searched for representative sites and persons. Accordingly, we found a glocal situation in which different ethnic groups' organizations and centres are rather homo-ethnic than plural. (Lagerspetz and Joons 2004:35)

This is an umbrella organization, *Estonian Union of National Minorities*, which comprises about 20 minority organizations. The Estonian findings are based on interviews with the members of and people active in other ways within the minority communities in Estonia. In this sense, the fieldwork site selected in Estonia can be regarded as "inter-cultural" in the sense that they are homo-ethnic and cooperate with each other.

Concerning the Hungarian case, as also many interviewees emphasized during the fieldwork, Budapest is a "glocal site" in itself. In this respect, there does not seem to exist a social or political need for special "glocal" organizations or institutions. As Bozóki and Bösze (2004) write in the Hungarian country report:

> We tried to collect 'glocal sites', but it turned out that these types of sites in Hungary were rather based on informal networks than formal institutions. The Hungarian government cannot and do not particularly support the creation of formal organizations in order to enhance social

integration and intercultural learning. So we, researchers, found
ourselves in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, as some of our
respondents pointed out, Budapest proved to be a cosmopolitan,
global/local environment in itself. At the first glance, it does not look like
a provincial place which particularly needs institutionalized forms of
integration. On the other hand, Budapest is a jungle, which hides 'glocal
sites' or makes them 'invisible'. The city is cosmopolitan, but its 'sites'
are not necessarily so. One had to do an intensive search to discover the
'sites' themselves, in order to be able to start the meaningful phase of
the empirical research. (Bozóki and Bösze 2004:131-32)

In a European comparative perspective, these two countries, Estonia and Hungary,
represent two important models. In Estonia, the focus seems to be on organizations and
associations which emphasize "particularistic belongings and identities". This is in order
to reverse a "glocal" development which was shaped by the previous relations with the
Soviet regime and which was based on a Russia-centered globalization. In other words,
this is a re-nationalization and de-globalization process as a reaction against the Soviet
cultural standardization attempts in the past, which is also reflected in the characteristics
of the glocal sites (Lagerspetz and Joons 2004) which were not used in this research. The
Estonian fieldwork site may, however, be seen as a glocal site in the making, on new
European premises.

On the other hand, as the city of Budapest proper functions as a glocal site itself, the
Hungarian case is a good example of a society which does not need institutionalization of
the glocal sites. At this point, one should be cautious and bear in mind that the
Hungarian data-set mainly comprises people with high education and with high spatial
mobility (Bozóki and Bösze 2004:131) because the fieldwork sites selected in Budapest
were closely related to the milieu in the Central European University. In this sense, the
features of the glocal sites in Budapest are somewhat different from those in the other
five cities we did field work in.

Although Budapest has a rich cultural life, it was hard to find truly glocal
sites in the leisure category. These places are little known, or known
only by insiders. Their primary function is sometimes something else
(recreation, exercising a foreign language), but they bring the
characteristics of a glocal space as an (un)intended consequence. […]
while there are several *social and cultural* activities in Budapest, which
are 'glocal' in their character, still, most of the cultural sites are
dedicated the expression or elaboration of one particular culture (like

African music club, etc.). Intercultural sites are still relatively underdeveloped, or hidden, or based on quickly changing constellations of informal networks. (Bozóki and Bösze 2004:135-136)

In the Hungarian report, Bozóki and Bösze report four different types of a glocal site: (1) professional, (2) leisure, (3) cultural/social, and (4) friendship. Concerning the fourth category, they report that

Many glocal sites are not really permanent sites but rather glocal activities which are based on friendships and informal relationships. Those were started as occasional events but became less regular activities/sites. Their survival solely depends on the willingness of people to keep them alive. […] Here, primarily, activity shapes the chance for participation in decision-making processes. Those who come regularly can naturally be able to participate in decision-making without any formal 'legitimacy'. (Bozóki and Bösze 2004:136-37)

The third model comprises countries where politics and public spaces are premised upon one or another sort of homogeneity, from which some persons feel a need to escape – as expressed by many respondents in Austria, Denmark, Finland, and Norway. The glocal sites in Vienna, Copenhagen, Helsinki and Bergen proved to be more institutionalized than those in Budapest and Tallinn. According to Fischer,

[WUK] is the largest of such sites in Vienna, it has a reputation of cultural diversity and it is renowned for its alternative grassroots system of decision making (Fischer *et al.* 2004:40).

This description of the glocal site in Vienna also illustrates the policy-relevancy of glocal sites. The situation in the other three countries is not much different. Masoud Mohammadi, a musician and user of the *Nørre Allé Medborgerhus* in Copenhagen, wrote in a local newspaper chronicle,

Today, after ten years' efforts by the users, workers, and administrators in this place, the 'House' has developed to become one of the most active and fascinating sites in the capital. A 'house' which Copenhagen inhabitants can all be proud of, no matter which ethnic background they may have.[3]

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[3] Chronicle by Masoud Muhammadi in *PåGaden*, 10. årg. (2003), No.5 (my translation from Danish). The name of the newspaper in English would be "on the street".

Medborgerhuset can be translated into English as the House of Cohabitants. In the executive board's action plan for 2002, the main goal was defined as

> The House of Cohabitants shall play an active role in the integration process and seeks therefore cooperation possibilities with all relevant organizations aiming to improve the conditions of the ethnic minorities in Denmark.[4]

Also CAISA in Helsinki has features similar to *Nørre Allé Medborgerhus*. Sanna Saksela reports in the Finnish report that

> [CAISA] fulfills the requirements of an incipient organization with its multicultural feature and interorganisational contacts with the City of Helsinki and other cooperation partners. It is also well known as an intermediary body between members of minority groups and the majority population, as well as between non-governmental organisations and local authorities. (Salmenhaara and Saksela 2004:37)

Furthermore, the main function of CAISA has been described as

> CAISA has a key intermediating function as a bridge-builder between ethnic groups and the majority population. By offering meeting places and activities, it promotes the development of a richer and more multicultural Helsinki. (Salmenhaara and Saksela 2004:41)

Also the Norwegian report points to similar features:

> From the outset, BIKS was meant to be a place where "inhabitants of Bergen may come together in cross-cultural activities". BIKS cooperates with individuals as well as organizations and institutions. […] BIKS is the main venue for internationally oriented or cross-cultural activities in Bergen. One important aspect of BIKS is that one does not need to be a member of any organization in order to participate in the activities there. (Melve 2004:43)

In comparison, the main concern in all of these incipient organizations or social structures proves to be preservation of diversity. Basically, this refers to both the diversity of individual identities and collective belongings. However, the Estonian

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[4] *Nørre Allé Medborgerhus*, Executive Board's Action Plan 2002 (my translation from Danish).

intercultural sites proved to be much different from those in the other five European cities because of their stronger focus on collective identities in terms of ethnic and religious belonging.

2.2.2. Motives/reasons for attending the glocal sites

This brings us to the question "who needs glocal spaces". The general impression from the Glocalmig findings is that glocal sites of interaction, where effective participation and social interactions are not primarily based on persons' belongings, are the most needed in societies functioning on standardized, homogeneous, or ethnic premises. At least, statements by the respondents in Austria, Denmark, Hungary and Norway point in this direction. On the other hand, as one respondent from Austria pointed out, glocal sites are also important for both majority citizens and citizens/residents with minority backgrounds who want to interact in non-prejudiced, non-racist environments. Fischer writes in the Austrian country report that:

> The WUK was unanimously described by the migrant respondents as an important and essential space in society. While non-migrants see it as important as well, but relativize the importance of WUK according to their degree of critique, migrants speak of it as an essential achievement for them. Most respondents use the WUK for communicational purposes of several kinds, and all except one underlined the diversity of people who come here. The 'minority report' said that the WUK is a space of a relatively homogenous alternative culture where "they all look the same". (Fischer *et al.* 2004:69-70)

On the other hand, Salmenhaara and Saksela (2004) emphasize in the Finnish country report that:

> Caisa plays an important role as a meeting place. One of the organisation's core objectives is to promote positive interaction between its visitors by offering meeting places for people with different kinds of cultural background, as well as for NGOs and immigrant/native ethnic organisations. Furthermore, Caisa functions as a local place in which global visions can be shared among the members of a particular ethnic group. This plays a part in the re-creation and transformation of their ethnic identity. (Salmenhaara and Saksela 2004:73)

Summarizing the reasons why people attend glocal spaces in Norway, Melve (2004) writes in the Norwegian country report:

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It seems that a lot of the explanation why people engage in activities at BIKS is the diverse environment there. Some of the Norwegians originally just dropped in by chance or simply because they heard of an interesting activity taking place there. Some started being in multicultural environments in connection with their meeting a (potential) partner. Those who have children see the activities at BIKS as providing an opportunity for their children to get to know and experience aspects of different cultures while still young. Those with an immigrant background, on the other hand, have a motivation of either meeting "their own" (that is, people who speak their language or have a similar ethnicity) or connected with more political activities. They also use the place as a place for commemorations, cultural festivals and other national or group-related activities in addition. Once people have started to attend BIKS, they have become more active in the kind of activities and organisations which take place there. (Melve 2004:59)

Considering primarily the Finnish and Norwegian fieldwork sites, what we call a glocal space also embraces people with essentialized belongings as well as people who derive their belongings primarily from the national or non-governmental spaces of interaction – such as NGOs, transnational/multicultural/intercultural organizations, etc.

The Hungarian report classifies respondents' motives for participation in the glocal sites into three categories: professional, friendship/curiosity, and social/political motives.

[Concerning the first category], these respondents usually must go to the glocal space because it is their regular workplace in some ways. But it is not an obligation only: it is a conscious choice for them to work in an international, glocal environment and they like it. […] [Regarding the second category], these respondents are playing more than one role in glocal spaces, or they attach themselves to more than one glocal site. They have emotional, family ties, as well, beyond 'curiosity' and profession. […] Respondents in this category [the third category] are tempted to do something for the community (local or virtual) to help the people. They are involved in neighborhood, solidarity, and other civil society activism which are driven by social values. (Bozóki and Bösze 2004:138-140)

What is significant in almost all cases is that most of those who attend to glocal spaces – both the majority citizens and others with minority backgrounds – emphasize their need

to be in an alternative environment of diversity. The motive of most third country nationals is to avoid the daily-life discrimination and interact with people who do not approach them with prejudice. The most important motive of most majority citizens attending glocal sites is the homogeneous and discriminatory (towards others) lifestyle dominant in their society at large. As to the historical native minorities, their primary motive seems to be to use the glocal sites' infrastructural facilities (e.g. locales, etc.) in order to be able to conduct their own organizational activities as well as participation in some other activities such as courses (cf. Salmenhaara and Saksela 2004:64-65). Concerning this group, an interesting observation is that, with the exception of Finland, they barely participate in glocal sites as in most countries historical minorities have other channels of influence.

Table 5 shows that also in Estonia historical native minorities have been included in the project. The Estonian findings can be interpreted as contradicting the above-listed findings. Lagerspetz and Joons report that:

> The ethnic groups [in Estonia] have mainly been able to mobilise persons with a will to develop a stronger ethnic identity. Many respondents see the mere fact of being together as something important as such. (Lagerspetz and Joons 2004:45)

In the Estonian case, thus, participation in alternative channels of voice and participation proved to comprise a strong concern for ethnic identity formation, preservation and development. However, it should be borne in mind that the fieldwork sites selected in Estonia represent a certain type which is in transition from multicultural character to an intercultural and/or glocal one. Though, their characteristics are still different from what a glocal site represents and offers.

2.2.3. The respondents

The point of departure for this study was five categories of persons. As illustrated in Table 5, in the course of the project we had to add two new categories: *imperial new minorities* and *imperial historical minorities*. Imperial minorities are defined as those persons/groups who were established in a state's territory before the independence of that state and who were the citizens of the former empire. Amongst these, *imperial new minorities* are those who belong to the state-holding ethnic group in the former empire (e.g. Russians in Estonia). Imperial-historical minorities are defined as those imperial minorities who belong to ethnic/territorial groups other than the state-holding group in the former empire (e.g. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, etc in Estonia).

The absence of some categories in some countries is due to the fact that they are not represented in the fieldwork sites. Furthermore, the table excludes four respondents (one from Estonia, one from Hungary and two from Norway) because their responses to the questionnaire and/or the interview questions have led to substantial missing data. In some parts of the analysis, certain aspects of the data from Denmark have also been excluded due to missing or unreliable data caused by the lack of in-depth interviews.

Table 5. Respondent Categories by Country of Residence

		Residence Country						Total
		Austria	**Denmark**	**Estonia**	**Finland**	**Hungary**	**Norway**	
Category	*Majority* [1]	3	-	-	3	-	4	10
	Historical native minority [1]	-	-	5	3	-	-	8
	Imperial new minority [2]	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
	Imperial historical minority [3]	-	-	7	-	-	-	7
	Second Country [1]	-	-	1	-	4	-	5
	Third Country [1]	4	3	-	4	9	3	23
	Extra-territorial [4]	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
Total		7	3	17	10	18	7	62

1. The categories "majority", "historical native minority", "second country national", and "third country national" were defined in the beginning of this report.

2. Category "imperial new minority" designates primarily Russians who became new minorities in the Baltic countries, in our case in Estonia.

3. Category "imperial historical minority" designates primarily earlier Soviet citizens who are not Russian, e.g. Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis, etc.

4. Category "extra-territorial" designates foreign persons who are treated favorably by states by virtue of their ethnic, cultural, territorial affiliations with the respective states' majority citizens, e.g. Hungarians living outside Hungary who are advantaged through the Hungarian Status Law.

In order to provide a conceptual standard across the six countries, categorizations of some respondents in some country reports have been changed in this final report. Therefore, this report comprises a somewhat different classification of the respondents. One example is the classification as *historical native minorities* of the Finn-Swedes who immigrated into Estonia in their own lifetime. These have now been categorized as "second country nationals" for Estonia since they have emigrated from another European Union member state. On the other hand, the changes done for the Estonian respondents also comprise the aforementioned distinction between the two types of imperial minorities. Concerning the category *extra-territorial*, we have also done a minor change to the classification that has been used in the Hungarian country report. The individual classifications done in each country report are certainly possible and justifiable on different grounds. However, as one concern in this report is to provide conceptual and categorical comparability across contexts, the standard definitions of Glocalmig had to be used.

Gender representation in the sample

The research frame required a good representation of both genders in the sample. The qualitative sample comprises 29 male and 33 female respondents. Also in the samples of the individual countries, the male–female balance is good with the exception of the small Danish sample that comprises only 3 male respondents.

Figure 3. Gender Percentage by Category
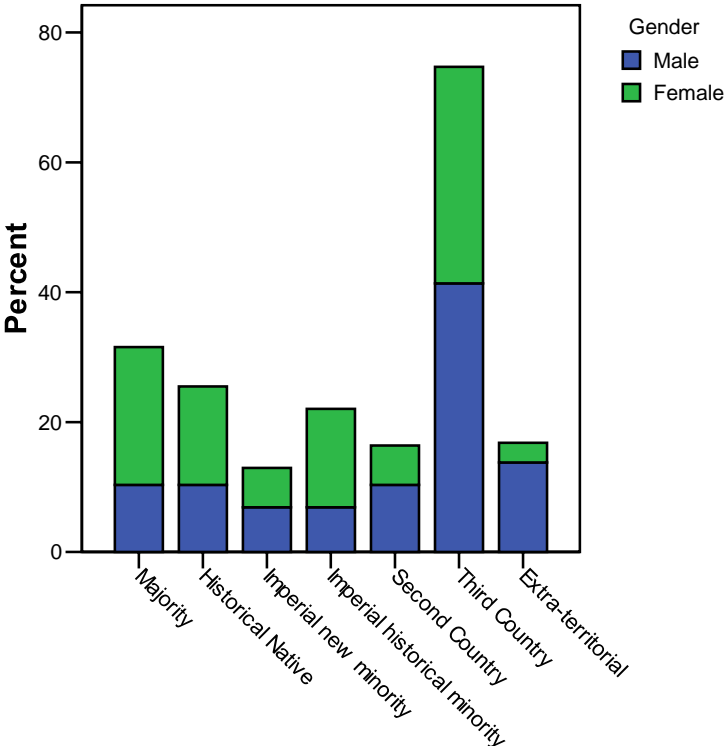
Respondents' membership statuses

Membership status is defined in terms of three categories (see also Figure 2):

1) *Not naturalized*: Respondents who are not citizens of their countries of residence at the time of data collection.

2) *Naturalized*: Respondents who have acquired the citizenship of their country of residence.

3) *Citizen by birth*: Respondents who have acquired the citizenship of their country of residence by birth.

In the sample, there are 25 respondents in category "not naturalized", 19 in category "naturalized", and 18 in category "citizen by birth", making a total of 62 respondents.

Figure 4. Membership Status by Category
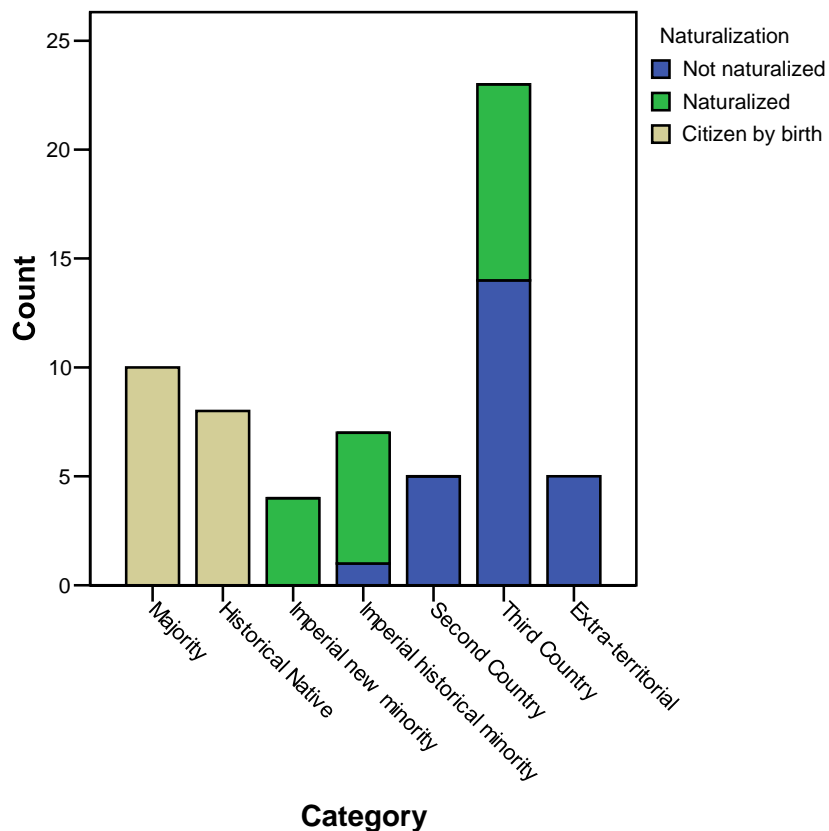
2.2.4. Multidimensional belongings in glocal spaces

Respondents' belonging patterns have been mapped along the eleven dimensions, which are shown in the first column of Table 6. Classification of the respondents (or value assignment to the cases) has been done in two stages. In the first stage, the respondents were classified with respect to their responses to the questionnaire-questions asking them about their belongings. In the second stage, the in-depth interview transcriptions, the evaluations prepared by the field-researchers and the information given in the respective country reports were used to refine the first-stage classification. In connection with this refinement in the second stage, some valuable information came up which enabled us to do a more correct classification. Moreover, some questionnaire items which were left unanswered by the respondents were indeed answered during the in-depth interviews. Thus, the data from the in-depth interviews enabled us to create a data set with minimum missing data.

It is important to note that the results presented in the following sections are based on raw-data which the research partners delivered to the coordinator. It is also important to stress that the data presented in this section as well as those in the following sections are not from a statistically representative sample. The tables and figures are quantified presentation of the qualitative data collected.[5] Therefore, they should not be interpreted as a portrayal of different groups' or countries' representative profiles. They basically represent the state of affairs in what we call "glocal spaces" in six European cities. The aim at this very stage is merely to illustrate systematically the structure and features of the data collected and to construct the variables to be used in further causality analyses in the subsequent sections.

One aspect that should be emphasized is that most respondents have multidimensional belongings. Table 6 illustrates the results from a categorical principal components analysis (CATPCA) with ordinal variables. The results show five main types of multidimensional belonging patterns in the project's data set.

Before interpreting the results, for those readers who are not familiar with principal components analysis with categorical variables (CATPCA), some introductory notes may be useful. Like the conventional principal components analysis with continuous variables (PCA), the CATPCA-procedure also uncovers the "hidden" dimensions in the relationship between a single set of categorical variables in a given data set. In other words, it is a

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[5] As we shall see in the subsequent subsections, this was done by using quantification methods such as optimal scaling (e.g. categorical principal components and categorical regression analyses).

procedure that seeks parsimony by reducing the number of variables to a fewer number of dimensions. The resultant dimensions are orthogonal – i.e. uncorrelated with each other -- and they are based on (1) the correlations between the variables (variable-principal) or (2) the proximity of the cases to each other (object-principal), or (3) both (symmetric). Differently from the PCA, the CATPCA procedure quantifies the nominal or ordinal variables by using several optional quantification methods. The solution is non-linear. Unlike the PCA, the CATPCA-procedure does not require that the data set comprise fewer variables than cases.

In this study, all the belonging-variables are coded as ordinal variables along a 5-point Likert scale with values from 1 to 5 (1=extremely low identification and 5=extremely high identification with the item) and the subsequent analyses are based on measurement along the 5-point Likert scale. In this specific CATPCA analysis, ranking discretization has been used since all the variables have ordinal level of measurement. This means that the original cases' values have been quantified on each variable; and these quantifications of their rank orders were used as the case values in the principal components analysis.

Table 6. Components of Multidimensional Belongings

Belonging	Dimension				
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
Religious	,492	,475	-,042	-,347	,119
Ethnic	-,309	,763	,146	,410	-,168
Territorial	,189	,483	-,373	,059	,674
Political	-,392	-,205	,014	,755	,156
Gender	,710	-,293	-,305	,366	,031
Sexual	,702	-,067	-,486	,348	,004
National	,693	,489	,164	-,098	,075
Transnational	,042	,734	,490	,279	-,096
Global	,597	-,409	,570	,084	,042
Individual	,630	-,209	,627	,108	-,016
European	-,381	-,238	,447	-,040	,695
Explained variance (%)	26,40	20,17	15,24	11,13	9,30

1. Variable Principal Normalization used.

2. All dimensions with an eigenvalue over 1 included.

3. Ranking dicretization used.

4. Total variance accounted for 82,23% (rounded).

Each of the 5 dimensions illustrated in the columns of Table 6 shows a particular multidimensional belonging model that the data set comprises. The variable loadings that characterize a dimension the most have been marked with different colors. It is possible to interpret the CATPCA-results from different angles. For the purposes of this report, I will first briefly give my suggestion of what each dimension means and then shortly comment on how respondents' degree of European belonging relates to other singular types of belonging in each dimension. It is important to remember again that these results relate to the attendants of glocal spaces and are not representative of the belonging profiles of countries' populations.

Dimension 1: Individualist-national versus subnational/supranational belonging

The respondents who score high on the first dimension are interpreted as identifying themselves most with their own individual belongings and their territorial nation-states. They relate themselves to the world as not only individual men and women, but also as members of their nations and of the humanity (cf. global belonging loads with 0,597 on dimension-1). Examining these respondents' statements during qualitative interviews, one may state that this type of multidimensional belonging represents a pragmatic and non-ethnicist approach to the nation-state as the protector of the modern individual freedom. Thus, they do not conceive of national belonging as something that divides humanity but as a non-collectivist instrument for the achievement of individual goals. On the other hand, respondents scoring low on this dimension are interpreted as identifying themselves as members of their subnational ethnic groups, political groups, and of Europe – i.e. a *multicultural* Europe based on collective ethnic cultures rather than on national, religious, or global belongings. Global, individual, national, religious, transnational belongings play little role in their belonging profile. This dimension accounts for 26% of the total variance.

Dimension 2: Collectivist-transnational versus glocal belonging

The respondents who score high on this dimension identify themselves most with collective references of belonging – such as religion, ethnicity, and nation. They relate themselves to the world through both their national-territorial and subnational belongings, herein primarily as members of their ethnic groups. Although subnational ethnic and religious belongings seem to be the main ingredients of their profile, they

have a dominant sense of transnational belonging. Examining these respondents' responses to the in-depth interview questions, one may state that they have primarily an ethnic-transnational belonging; that is, a *diasporic* belonging which also comprises a high level of loyalty to their country of residence/citizenship. Both high and low scores on this dimension represent an openness beyond the boundaries of the nation state. However, in contrast to the high-scorers, the respondents who score low on this dimension have weak communal (ethnic and/or religious), national and transnational belongings and high political, individual, gender, global, and European belongings. They have a sense of belonging to a civic and religiously/ethnically open humanity, world and Europe. This dimension accounts for 20,17% of the total variance.

Dimension 3: Universalist-cosmopolitan versus gendered-territorial belonging

The high-scorers on this dimension are universalist-cosmopolitans. They identify with the globe, humanity and Europe. They regard both their own and others' belongings related to gender and sexuality as irrelevant, and identify themselves primarily as humans rather than men, women, citizens of a country or member of a group ("national belonging" characterizes this dimension less). In other words, their sense of belonging is based on boundary transcending references of identification. Their sense of belonging barely comprises any group belonging. On the other hand, those who score low on this dimension have a moderately strong group belonging in terms of their gender, sexuality, and territoriality. A closer examination of interviews notes of the group of respondents with low scores indicated that the majority these were women who scored low on global belonging variable. Dimension 3 accounts for 15% of the total variance.

Dimension 4: Political belonging

There is a single dominant variable in this dimension – political belonging. "Political belonging" clusters in this dimension – to a limited extent – with ethnic, gender, sexual, individual, and transnational belongings. In other words, this dimension is about certain "problematic" issues in western politics such as minority, gender, gays/lesbians, etc. A closer examination of the respondents' profiles indicated that this dimension is primarily and almost exclusively about the degree of respondents' self-identification as a political persons. Since the values of the three negative loadings on this dimension are much smaller than that of "political belonging", this dimension can be interpreted as unipolar – indicating the degree of the respondents' political belonging with a focus on ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and ethnic transnationalism. Dimension 4 accounts for 11,13% of the total variance.

Dimension 5: European-territorial belonging

Of similar reasons, also this dimension can be interpreted as a unipolar dimension. Variables "European belonging" and "territorial belonging" dominate this dimension. High scores on this dimension represent a high level of self-identification as European, and low scores represent a low degree of identification as a European. As we shall come back to in the next section, this dimension is exclusively about "European belonging". Dimension 5 accounts for 9,30% of the total variance.

The European component in multidimensional belonging patterns

European belonging is related to each of these five multidimensional belonging patterns in different ways. Furthermore, the meaning of "European belonging" in each of these five multidimensional belonging modes is different. One thing to be aware of while reading the below-interpretations is that the five dimensions representing the different modes of multidimensional belonging modes is that the first three of them are bipolar and the last two are unipolar dimensions.

In type-1 multidimensional belonging model (dimension 1), European belonging relates positively to political and ethnic belongings whereas it relates negatively to the respondents' other belongings such as national, religious, territorial, individual, and gender. This model is about practical considerations concerning the protection of individual freedoms and rights. What seems to count for the respondents who score high on this dimension is nation states' practical use value, especially regarding the protection of their individual liberties and rights. Those who score high on this dimension do not regard "European belonging" as of practical/political relevance, whereas for the low-scorers it is of high relevance. It should also be emphasized that the variable "European belonging" clusters with the variables "ethnic belonging" and "political belonging". This means that the low-scorers see "European belonging" as practically relevant in terms of their liberties/rights pertaining to their ethnic and political belongings. In this sense, this dimension is about individuals' preferences on how to define their place in the world – through their nations or through, simultaneously, their sub-national memberships and Europe.

Concerning type-2 multidimensional belonging model (dimension 2), European belonging relates positively to political, gender, global, and individual belongings. On the other hand, it relates negatively to religious, ethnic, territorial, national, and transnational belongings. This belonging pattern is about transnational-collective (ethnic) belongings versus glocal belongings. The respondents who score high on this dimension look beyond

all boundaries, including also the European boundaries, through the window of their ethnically – and to a lesser extent also religiously – oriented diasporic belongings. Those who score low here are the glocalists, who look beyond all conventional boundaries and turn to non-essentialized, new, boundary-breaking and extended modes of belonging – such as the global, transnational, and European belongings. The high-scorers regard their diasporic belongings as more relevant in this context. The low-scorers, on the other hand, consider their borderless belongings as more relevant; and, in this context, "European belonging", "global belonging", "individual belongings", and "political belonging" are all more acceptable for them than "transnational belongings". For the former four belongings break with essentialized national or diasporic belongings whereas "transnational belonging" builds on diasporas, ethnic groups, religions or national territories. In this sense, this dimension is not exclusively about "European belonging" but about how the boundaries should relate to individuals' belongings – transnationalism or globalism. Those respondents who have moderate scores on this dimension can be interpreted as relating finely to the existing belonging boundaries.

In type-3 multidimensional belonging model (dimension 3), European belonging relates positively to almost all belongings except territorial, gender, and sexual belongings. Similar to the second dimension, also this dimension is not exclusively about "European belonging". "European belonging" clusters with the other "non-collective" belonging modes – i.e. global, transnational, etc – because it is seen by the respondents who score high as more cosmopolitan than "collective" and territory-based belongings.

In type-4 multidimensional belonging model, the European belonging loads barely on dimension 4, however it relates positively to religious and national belongings. Therefore, this multidimensional mode of belonging is primarily about the degree of respondents' political belonging. Here, "political belonging" clusters with ethnic, gender, and sexual belongings, which are themes of political relevance in the Western world. In this sense, this dimension has nothing to do with "European belonging".

"European belonging" loads strongest on dimension 5. In type-5 multidimensional belonging pattern, European belonging relates positively to national, territorial and religious belongings. Amongst the five dimensions that we uncovered in this CATPCA-analysis, this is the only dimension where there is a clear alignment between respondents' territorial belongings and their senses of "being European". Therefore, we looked into our fieldwork reports and notes in order to see how the high scorers on this dimension relate their territorial belonging to Europe. The connection they make is that they regard the territory of their own country as Europe. Therefore, this territorial-European identity refers to the "territory of Europe" rather than member states'

territories. This is an alignment between national territorial belongings and the "European territorial" belonging.

As Figure 5 illustrates, the respondents with high degrees of European-territorial belonging are those who belong to majority populations, historical-native minorities, imperial new minorities, and second country nationals. Regarding imperial new minorities, their European-territorial identification can be understood on the background of the inclusion policies that came as a consequence of their residence countries' European integration (e.g. Russians in Estonia). Third country nationals and co-ethnics (extra-territorials) residing in the six countries have a low degree of European-territorial identification. Concerning extra-territorials, the issue is that the European citizenship structure excludes them from European citizenship and does not explicitly support their residence countries' favorable treatment of them. Concerning third country nationals, the majority of them have a high degree of mobility of mind concerning their territorial belongings. On the other hand, those who state to have a territorial identity refer simultaneously to the cities they resided in before migration and the cities of their present residence – rather than countries of residence or birth.

Figure 5. European-Territorial Belonging by Respondents' Category
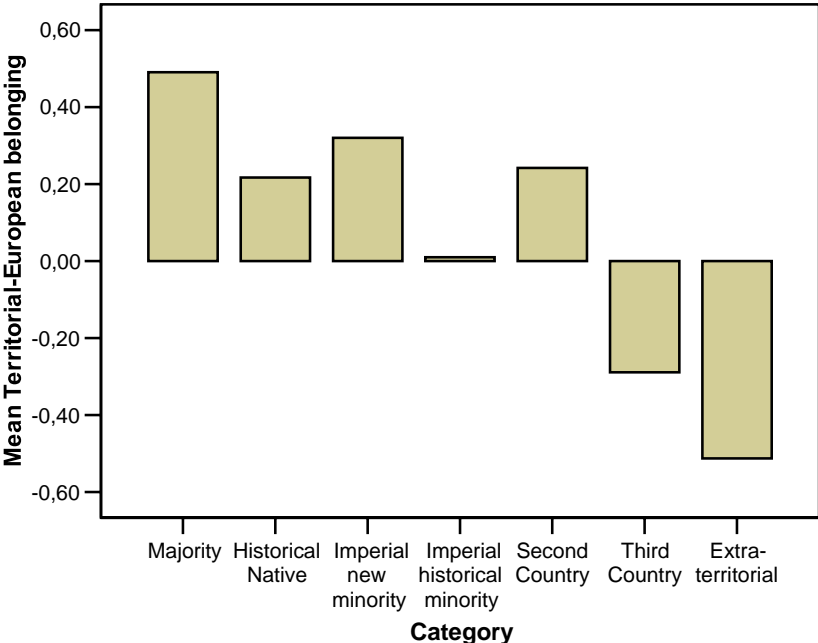
Without going into further details at this stage, the result from this data set is that European belonging relates differently to other belongings in different modes of multiple belongings. The three dimensions (3, 4 and 5 in Table 6), where European and national belongings relate positively to each other, explain together 35,67% of the total variance. The two dimensions (1 and 2) where the European and national identities relate

negatively to each other explain 46,57% of the total variance. However, this does not mean that European and national identities are compatible or incompatible with each other. The results rather mean that, in our specific data set, *some multidimensional belonging modes do not comprise European belonging as a component and some others do*. And, there are different reasons for this.

2.2.5. Participation/involvement in multiple channels of voice and influence

Most respondents attending to the glocal and multicultural/intercultural sites are politically active. Reading these results, one should bear in mind that the respondents in this study are the attendants of the glocal spaces; and the findings relate to the characteristics of the glocal sites rather than the populations of individual countries. This is also true for the other results in this study.

Most attendants of the glocal sites are also active in other channels of participation. This was also confirmed with high certainty in the in-depth interviews. Indeed, the reason why some people attend the glocal sites is their involvement in certain organizations which the glocal sites accommodate. The general tendency is that for all our 7 categories, participation level in the numeric channel is quite low. This is also true when the level of participation is controlled for citizenship (e.g. whether the persons have acquired citizenship or not).

Apart from the historical new minorities and second country nationals, respondents' participation level in corporate-plural channels is considerably high. Those who use the essentialized sites the most – such as ethnicity and religion-based organizations – are historical native minorities and imperial minorities. These groups are also the ones whose participation level in glocal sites is the lowest. One last thing to mention here: It is important to note that the high participation level of the second country nationals (nationals of the EU-member states) in glocal sites (60%) is due to the Hungarian cosmopolitan situation. In the other 5 countries in this study, second country nationals' participation in glocal spaces is quite low.

Multidimensional participation patterns in glocal spaces

Table 7 illustrates results from a CATPCA-procedure applied to four variables measuring respondents' degree of participation in different channels. The procedure resulted in two dimensions. Since all the variables' loadings on the first dimension have the same sign this is a common underlying dimension for all the respondents. The first dimension, therefore, measures the degree of respondents' general participation in all spaces of

voice and influence – national space (numeric and corporate channels), essentialized spaces (exclusively ethnic/religious spaces), and glocal spaces. However, it is important to note that "participation in glocal spaces" loads less on this dimension than the other three variables. The second dimension, on the other hand is bipolar; that is, it distinguishes between participation in essentialized spaces and participation in glocal spaces. The respondents who score high in this dimension attend the essentialized spaces more often than those who score low on this dimension – and vice versa.

Table 7. Components of Participation Patterns

	Dimension	
	1	*2*
Participation in Numeric Channel	,860	-,039
Participation in Corporate Channel	,902	-,168
Participation in Glocal Spaces	,207	-,896
Participation in Essentialized Spaces	,592	,626
Explained variance (%)	*48,67*	*30,62*

1. Variable Principal Normalization used.
2. 2-dimension solution imposed.
3. Ranking dicretization used.
4. Total explained variance is 79,3% (rounded).

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of the respondents along the two dimensions. For the horizontal dimension (participation in all spaces), scores between 2 and 3 show very high degrees of participation, scores between 1 and 2 show high degrees of participation, scores between -1 and 1 represent a moderate degree of participation, and scores between -2 and -1 show low degrees of participation. For the perpendicular dimension (essentialized vs. glocal spaces), scores between 1 and 2 show high degree of participation in *essentialized spaces* and scores between -2 and -1 represent high degree of participation in *glocal spaces*. Scores between -1 and 0 and between 0 and 1, respectively show moderate degrees of participation in glocal and essentialized spaces. Scores closer to 0 (zero) in the last mentioned two intervals on this dimension represent low degrees of participation in both spaces.

As illustrated in Figure 6, there are certain respondents whose participation level in essentialized versus glocal spaces correlates clearly with their participation in all spaces. These are respondents roughly placed on the diagonal of the graph in Fig.3.9. On the other hand, the number of those who primarily prefer essentialized spaces is high (those respondents placed close to the upper-left corner).

Figure 6. Distribution of Respondents' Participation Patterns
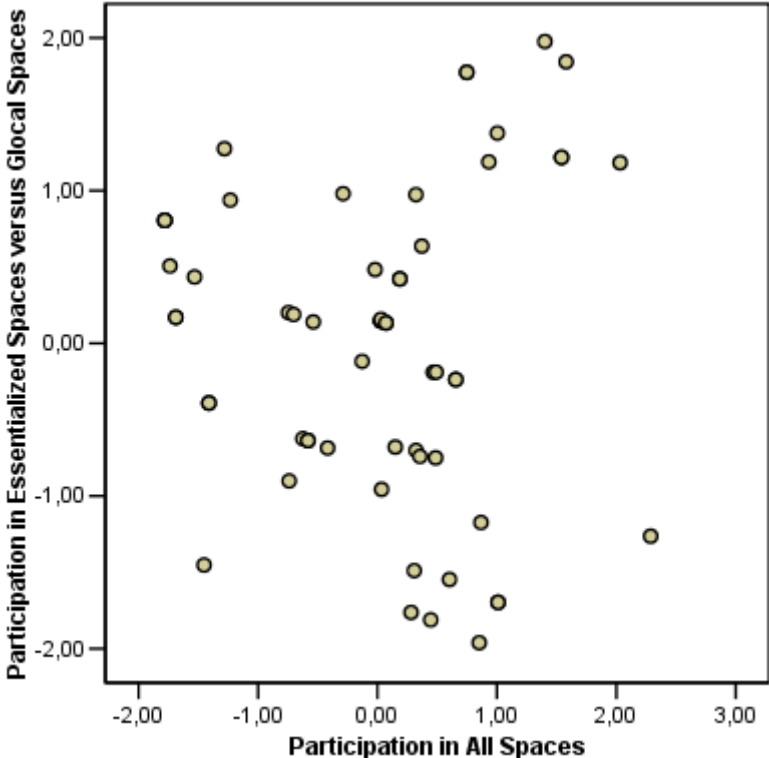
Furthermore, those who primarily participate in glocal spaces have a higher participation level in other channels of participation than those who primarily use the essentialized spaces (respondents placed close to the bottom-right corner). These findings about participation patterns should be interpreted based the fact that all the respondents are attendants of the glocal spaces. The findings in Figure 6 show that most of them are also frequent attendants of the other channels of participation. This and the patterns in figures 7 and 8 strengthen one of the projects' main assumptions that glocal spaces entail persons whose political participation patterns are diverse and multiple.

Figure 7. Participation in Essentialized vs. Glocal Spaces by Category
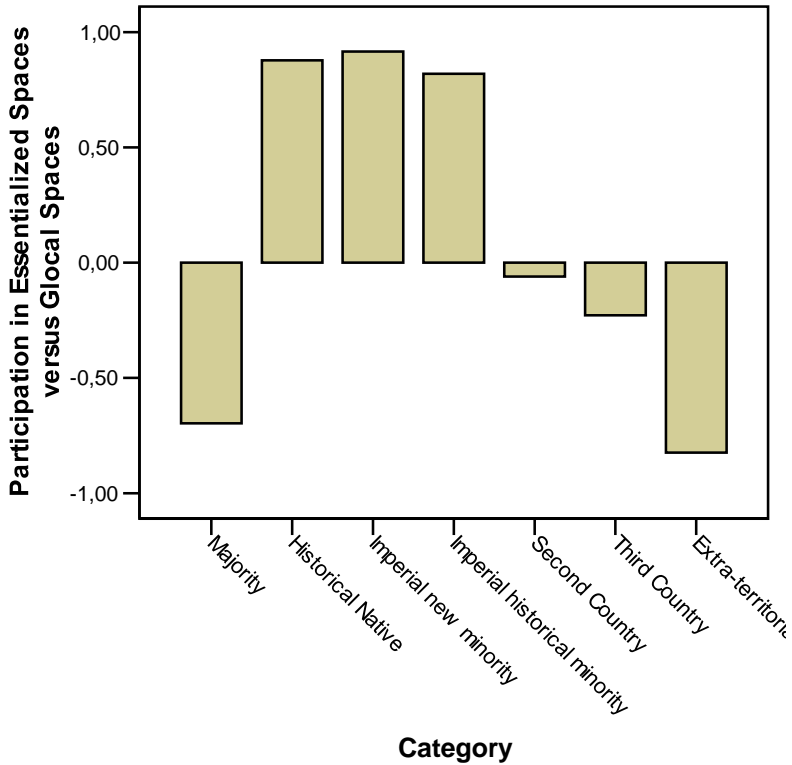
Figure 8. Participation in All Spaces by Category
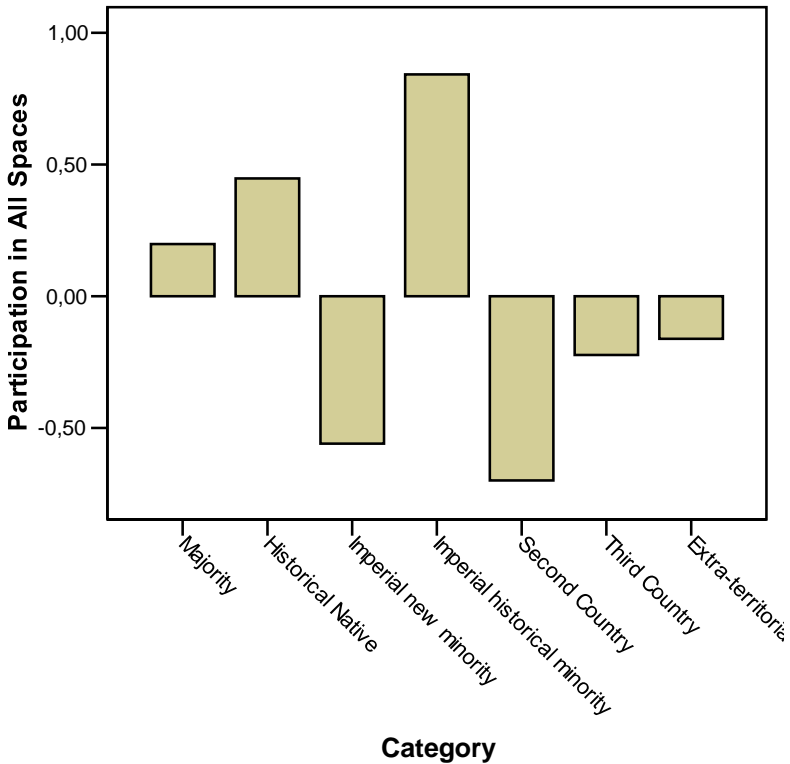
2.2.6. Mobility of Bodies – Geographical Mobility

The respondents were asked to respond to three items measuring their degree of mobility between (1) neighborhoods in their residence town, (2) different towns in their residence country, and (3) other countries. All the three variables were measured along an ordinal Likert-scale with categorical values from 1 to 7 (1=no mobility, 7=several times a month). In order to inspect the associations between these three types of geographical mobility, a CATPCA-procedure was used with ranking discretization.

**Table 8**. Components of Geographical Mobility Patterns

	Dimension	
	1	*2*
Mobility between neighborhoods	,889	-,303
Mobility between towns	,920	-,154
Mobility between countries	,465	,884
Explained variance (%)	*61,78*	*29,88*

1 Variable Principal Normalization used.

2. 2-dimension solution imposed.

3. Ranking dicretization used.

4. Total explained variance is 91,66% (rounded).

As illustrated in Table 8, the CATPCA-procedure generated two dimensions, which distinguish between two types of mobility. Dimension 1 represents respondents' general mobility level, where inter-neighborhood (local) mobility within the town of residence and inter-city (domestic) mobility within the country of residence is dominant. Dimension 2, on the other hand, distinguishes between international (cross-country) and local/domestic types of mobility.

In Figure 9, the horizontal axis is the first dimension from the CATPCA-analysis (local and domestic mobility). The perpendicular axis is the second dimension (cross-country mobility). The number of the cases in Figure 9 may seem less than the number of the cases included in the analysis. This is due to the many cases overlapping on certain coordinates. In fact, only 3 cases were excluded because of missing data. As Figure 9 illustrates, there is a clear line that separates between those who are primarily mobile across countries and those who are not.

Figure 9. Respondents' Geographical Mobility
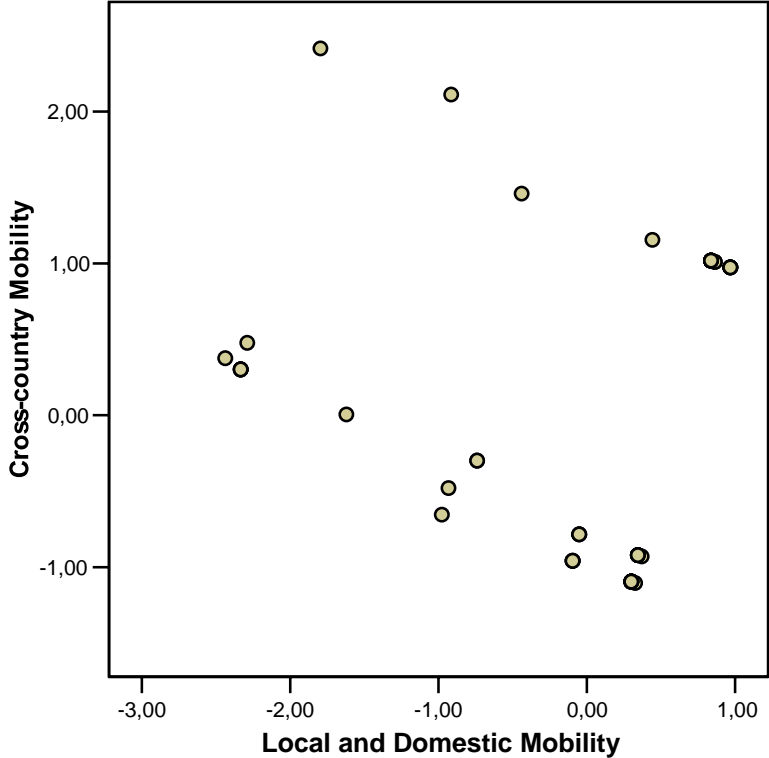
Figures 10 and 11 illustrate the mean values of the above two dimensions by respondents' category. Figure 13 shows that imperial historical minorities and third country nationals who attend to glocal spaces have a low level of local/domestic mobility within the towns and countries they reside. The other categories have higher degrees of local/domestic mobility. Figure 14 shows, on the other hand, that majority citizens, historical native minorities, and second country nationals, who are the "original" Europeans, have lower degrees of cross-country mobility.

Figure 10. Local and Domestic Mobility by Category
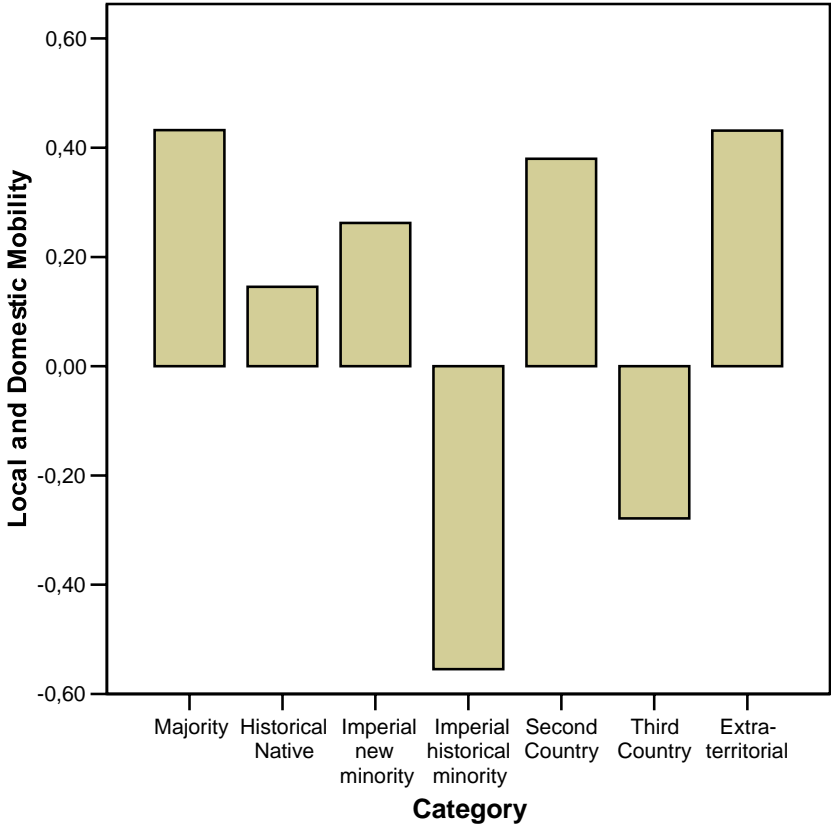
Figure 11. Cross-country Mobility by Category
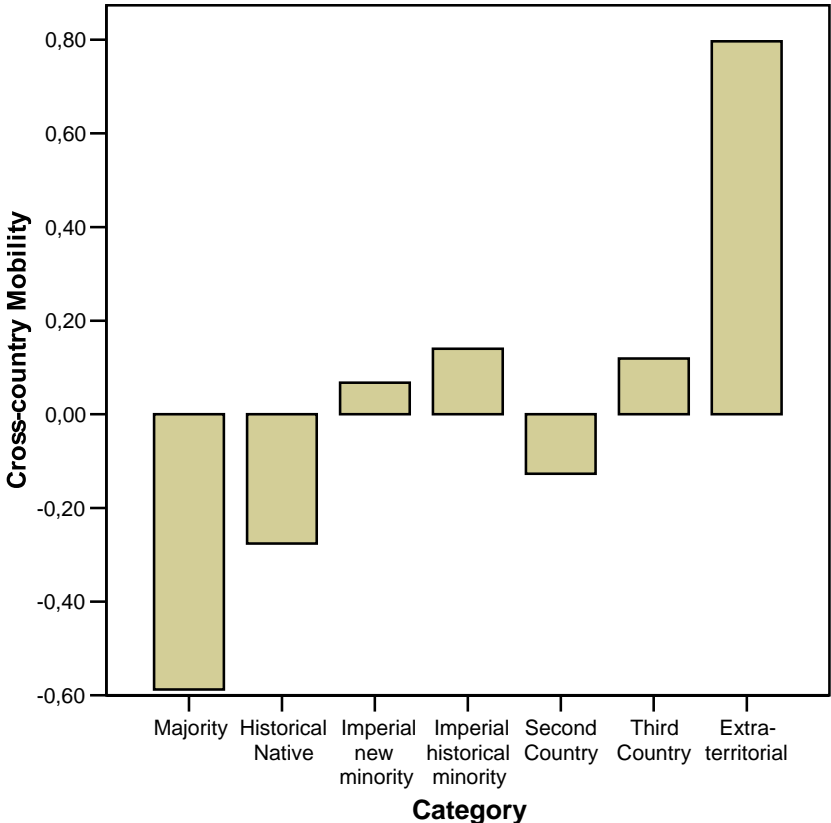
2.2.7. Mobility of Minds – Psychic/Mental Mobility

Mobility of minds is closely related with the ontological and theoretical approaches in this study. Mobility of minds – or psychic/mental mobility – is defined as individuals' ability to imagine themselves in other times and places and/or as belonging to other groups. The most important aspect of the concept is its focus on individuals' ability to move between different references of identification. The respondents were asked to respond to multiple-item batteries measuring their ability to imagine themselves as belonging to other social groups, places and times. The method of measurement comprised, among other things, a comparison of "what respondents want for themselves" and "how they respond to others' demands which are basically the same as the respondents' own demands". There were also items that comprised direct questions on imagined times, places, and roles. Most of the items measuring respondents' mental mobility were designed along a 5-point Likert scale.

Some of the items were designed as "qualitative questions" and these were later interpreted and quantified with respect to standard criteria, taking also into consideration the respondents' general attitudes and body languages during the interviews. The field researchers' evaluations and the raw data material were sent to the coordinator, who coded the after a total evaluation of respondents with respect to their answers to the respective questionnaire items and their responses during the qualitative interviews. Since we do not have the qualitative report for the three respondents from Denmark, only the data obtained with the questionnaire were used for the respondents residing in this country.

Table 9. Components of Mind-Mobility Patterns

	Dimension	
	1	*2*
Mobility of Mind: Time	,786	-,579
Mobility of Mind: Place	,941	-,014
Mobility of Mind: Belonging	,767	,612
Explained variance %	*69,75*	*23,68*

Application of the CATPCA-procedure to the respondents' mobility scores resulted in two dimensions, which are shown in Table 9. The first dimension is unipolar. It can be interpreted as measuring the degree of general mind-mobility of the respondents between different belonging references such as time (past, present and future), place (birth place, residence place, national territory, visited places, or places respondents

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have never been to but imagine to belong to), and belonging (different social groups such as nations, races, ethnies, diasporas, political groups, etc or imagined groups). Its positive high values represent high level of mobility of mind in general and its low values represent low mobility of mind.

The second dimension is bipolar. Its large values represent high degrees of mobility of mind between different references of identification related to social groups whereas its small values represent high mobility of mind between different time references (past, present and future). It is important to note here that this second dimension comprises a negative association between mental mobility across group references and mental mobility across time references. This means that this dimension uncovers a specific relationship between the two variables. The dimension indicates that there are some respondents who have, simultaneously, high degrees of mind-mobility across social groups and low mind-mobility across different time references and vice versa. A low level of mind-mobility between different groups implies a strong sense of belonging to one group. A low level of mind-mobility between group-related references implies a weak sense of belonging to only one group. A high level of mobility between time references combined with a low-level mind-mobility between group references implies primarily that the respondents relate themselves to the history of their ethnies, nations, religions, diasporas, and other groups, etc. and oscillate between the present and the remote past of the social groups they relate themselves to.

2.2.8. Determinants of Mobility of Mind

In sociology and political science, increased mobility of mind between different references of identification is often regarded as the outset of a change process, both at individual and societal levels. This factor has been widely used in attempts to explain social/political transitions from traditional to modern societies and transformation from the traditional mode of individual mind to the modern mind. Among others, Lerner (1958) asserted in his modernization theory that "psychic mobility" is closely associated with people's geographical mobility. He hypothesized that increased geographical mobility leads to an increased psychic mobility between references of identification. He also gave strong empirical evidence supporting this hypothesis (Lerner 1958).

However, in the European context, one should interpret "mobility of mind" in a different way from its modernity-connotation in Lerner's theory. In the European context, and in contrast to the classical modernization paradigm, psychic mobility should be seen as a determinant of *change* from one state to another, where the conception of "change" does not necessarily imply "development" or "progress". Therefore, one question in this

section is whether the degree of geographical mobility leads to a change in psychic mobility.

To inspect the effect of geographical mobility on psychic mobility, a categorical regression analysis was applied to each of the two "mobility of mind" dimensions that we found in the previous section – they were used as the dependent variables. As noted in the previous section, the two "mobility of mind" dimensions are uncorrelated and different from each other. The first dimension measures "mobility of mind" with respect to all references of identification – including time, place and group (collective) identity factors. The second dimension is bipolar and measures "mobility of mind" along group-identification references versus time references (past, present, and future). Therefore, in the following, the readers will find two separate categorical regression analyses for these two kinds of mind-mobility.

One of the basic assumptions in this project is that psychic mobility (mobility of mind) is also associated with the degree of attendance to glocal spaces. This hypothesis is a supplement to Lerner's above hypothesis. Therefore, we also included in the regression model the two variables of participation/involvement, which we constructed in the preceding sections. This is in order to make it possible to compare the effects of geographical mobility and participation/involvement factors in one single model.

The participation variables are (1) participation in all spaces, which measures the respondents' combined participation level in all spaces/channels of voice and influence and (2) participation in essentialized versus glocal spaces, which is bipolar variable with different meanings at its opposite maximum values. Thus, we used totally four independent variables in the regression model: The first two independent variables in Tables 10 and 11 measure respondents' geographical mobility and the last two variables measure respondents' participation/involvement in different public spaces.

Table 10. Categorical Regression Analysis of Mobility of Minds Pattern 2 (Group vs. Time references)

	Standardized Coefficients	Sig.	Importance
	Beta		
Local and Domestic Mobility	,002	,000	,000
Cross-country Mobility	1,000	,000	1,000
Participation in All Spaces	,002	,000	,000
Participation in Essentialized Spaces versus Glocal Spaces	,002	,000	,000

*** Dependent Variable: Mobility of Mind - Group vs. Time References (Multiple-R:1, R-square:1)

Table 15 shows that cross-country mobility is associated with increased mind-mobility between *group references* whereas it implicates decreased mind-mobility between different *time references* (this dimension is bipolar and its small and large values have different meanings). Amongst the four variables included in the analysis in Table 15, variable "cross-country mobility" is the dominant explanatory factor. This implies that cross-country mobility can be a relevant factor if the aim is to increase individuals' allegiance to groups other than their own groups. However, as the dependent variable should be interpreted in a bipolar way, it is also important to note that cross-country mobility leads to a decrease in individuals' ability to identify with multiple time-references. This may mean, for example, that *it may be difficult for an individual to identify with a future "Europe" project although that individual has a high level of mind-mobility with respect to group-identification references*.

Therefore, within the limited frame of our small qualitative sample, the result here is that increased "cross-country mobility" means increased "mobility of mind between collective identification references". However, based on the in-depth analyses of the data, this does *not* mean that people with high mental mobility between group references *necessarily* stop identifying with their own groups, but most adopt a more impartial and egalitarian attitude towards other groups' members. Therefore, *the higher the degree of cross-country mobility, the higher the degree of mobility of mind between references of group (collective) identification*.

On the other hand, increased "cross-country mobility" means also decreased "mobility of mind between time references". Based also on the in-depth qualitative data, this means that (1) respondents with a high mobility of mind between group references generally derive their belongings from the *present* state of social affairs and therefore their mind-mobility is framed within the present-time; and it oscillates *less* between the past, the present, and the future and (2) increased "cross-country" mobility is therefore associated with decreased "mobility of mind between time-references". Therefore, *the higher the degree of cross-country mobility, the lower the degree of mobility of mind between different references of time-identification (i.e. between the past, the present and the future)*.

Table 11. Categorical Regression Analysis of Mobility of Minds Pattern 1 (General-Combined)

	Standardized Coefficients	Sig.	Importance
	Beta		
Local and Domestic Mobility	-,210	,004	,028
Cross-country Mobility	-,269	,000	,046
Participation in All Spaces	-,404	,000	,314
Participation in Essentialized Spaces versus Glocal Spaces	-,600	,000	,612

*** Dependent Variable: Mobility of Mind – General (R-square: 0,706, R:0,84)

Table 11 illustrates findings which indicate that attendance to glocal spaces may be an alternative and/or supplement to geographical mobility. This is a categorical regression analysis of our other mind-mobility dimension, which measures mobility of mind between all references of identification. Firstly, geographical mobility variables have small effects on general psychic mobility. On the other hand, the participation/involvement variables have the largest significant effects. Mobility of mind between all sorts of identification references is affected negatively by "participation in all spaces". Inspecting the cases in our qualitative dataset one by one, we find that "participation in all public spaces" is primarily related with those respondents who relate their belongings to the present state of social affairs. Therefore, *the higher the degree of participation/involvement in multiple public spaces, the lower the degree of mobility of mind between the past, the present, and the future*.

On the other hand, "participation in essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces" is also associated negatively with the dependent variable. This means that increased "participation in essentialized spaces" is associated with decreased "mobility of mind", whereas increased "participation in glocal spaces" is associated with an increased mobility of mind. Therefore, *the higher the degree of participation in glocal spaces, the higher the degree of mobility of mind.*

2.2.9. Alignments and misalignments in the public spaces

Alignment/misalignment was measured along two major dimensions. The first dimension relates to how each channel or public space represents, articulates and voices respondents' preferences about *general policy issues* – such as taxes, salaries, unemployment, human rights, welfare policies, security, relations with other countries, etc (a battery comprising 26 items). The second dimension is about how *belonging issues* are dealt with in different public spaces – issues such as freedom of belonging to a group, freedom of expressing different belongings, visibility of different belongings, etc (a battery comprising 22 items). The respondents were asked to rank the different public arenas with respect to how they experience these issues are dealt with in each public space. The two batteries were repeated for each of the four types of public spaces (numeric, corporate-plural, essentialized, and glocal).

In the following analysis, the intermediate levels of analysis where we summarized these data are not reported. If it should be mentioned briefly, the summarizing analyses involved qualitative interpretation, quantification, and factorization. Analyzing and interpreting each respondents' responses to the respective questionnaire items, together with their statements during the in-depth interviews, we ranked alignments/misalignments between each respondent's preferences and their perceptions of the structural/institutional capability of each public channel/space along a 5-point Likert scale. This resulted in eight summary variables – four measuring (mis)alignment concerning general policy issues and four measuring (mis)alignment concerning belonging policy issues. Table 12 illustrates the results from a CATPCA-procedure applied to these eight variables.

Table 12. Alignments/Misalignments in the Public Spaces

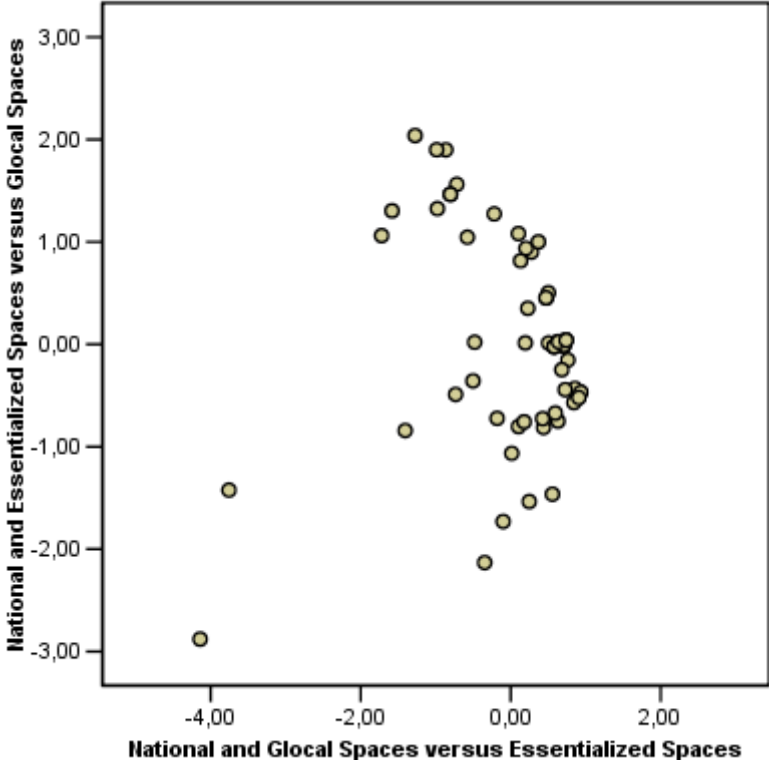|		Dimension	
		1	**2**
General Policy Issues	*Numeric Channel*	,716	,399
	Corporate Channel	,535	,424
	Essentialized Spaces	-,487	,781
	Glocal Spaces	,782	-,296
Belonging Policy Issues	*Numeric Channel*	,457	,624
	Corporate Channel	,777	,455
	Essentialized Spaces	-,380	,769
	Glocal Spaces	,848	-,289
Variance accounted for (%)		*41,56*	*28,85*

1. Variable Principal Normalization used.
2. 2 dimension solution imposed.
3. Ranking dicretization used.
4. Total accounted variance is 70,4% (rounded).

The dimensions uncovered with the CATPCA-procedure are both bipolar. They indicate diverse types of alignments and misalignments. The first dimension in Table 12 indicates the presence of (1) a connection between the national (numeric and corporate channels) and glocal spaces, (2) a detachment between essentialized and other spaces. The second dimension indicates (1) a connection between essentialized and national spaces and (2) a detachment between glocal spaces and all the other public spaces. On the other hand, these two dimensions can also be used to measure the degree of alignments and misalignments. Thus, in the following analysis, these two dimensions are used to determine both the types and the degrees of alignments and misalignments.

The first dimension (horizontal axis) separates between essentialized spaces and other spaces. Respondents who score low on this dimension are content with how their preferences are represented, articulated and voiced in essentialized public spaces. The low-scorers are at the same time discontent with the other channels/spaces. Those who

score high on this dimension are discontent with essentialized spaces whereas they are content with the other spaces/channels. Thus, the CATPCA-procedure has uncovered one alignment and two misalignments: In this first dimension, the numeric and corporate channels (the national public space) are coupled with the glocal spaces.

**Figure 9**. (Mis)alignments in Different Channels of Participation

The second dimension (perpendicular axis) separates between glocal spaces and the other channels/spaces. On this dimension, the low-scorers are content with how their preferences are voiced and articulated in glocal spaces whereas they are discontent with the other spaces. Those who score high on this dimension are discontent with glocal spaces whereas they are content with the other three channels/spaces. However, the first impression that the above graph gives is that the variable on the perpendicular axis shows a greater variation than the horizontal axis does. In other words, the distinction between (mis)alignments glocal spaces and (mis)alignments in other spaces is more clear.

Figures 10 and 11 illustrate the mean values of the above-mentioned two dimensions for respondents' categories. The differences between category means are significant below the level of 0,05. Figure 10 tells us that historical native minorities and imperial minorities are the most content with how essentialized spaces articulate and promote their preferences. On the other hand, they are discontent with the national and glocal types of public space. Those belonging to the majority, third country nationals, and

extra-territorials are the most content with the combined effect of the national and glocal spaces whereas second country nationals' mean is close to zero – that is they are neither content or discontent with any of these channels.

Figure 10. (Mis)alignments in National/Glocal vs. Essentialized Spaces by Category
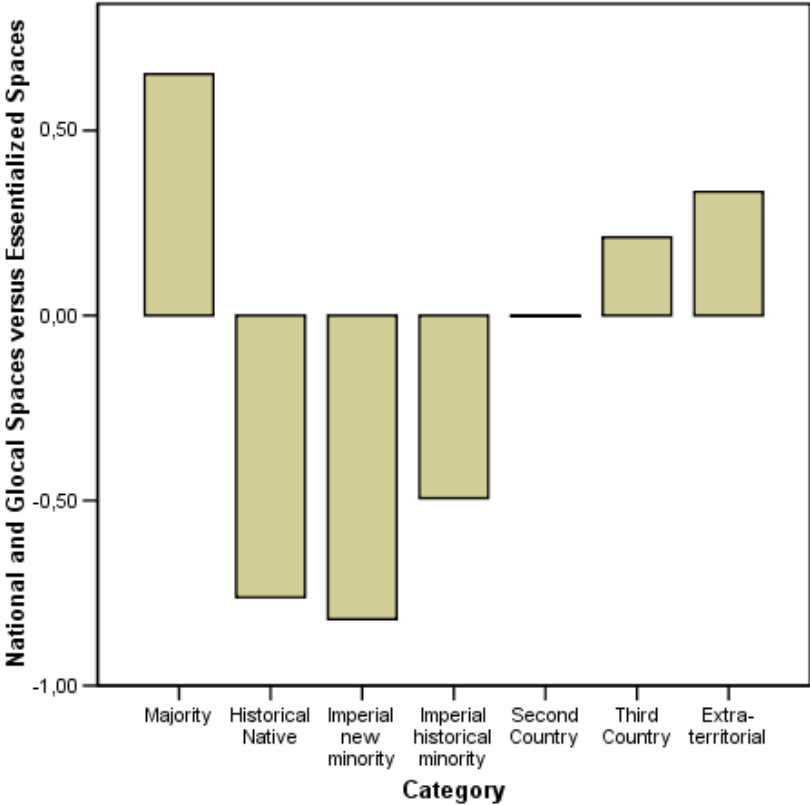
Figure 11. (Mis)alignments in National/Essentialized vs. Glocal Spaces by Category
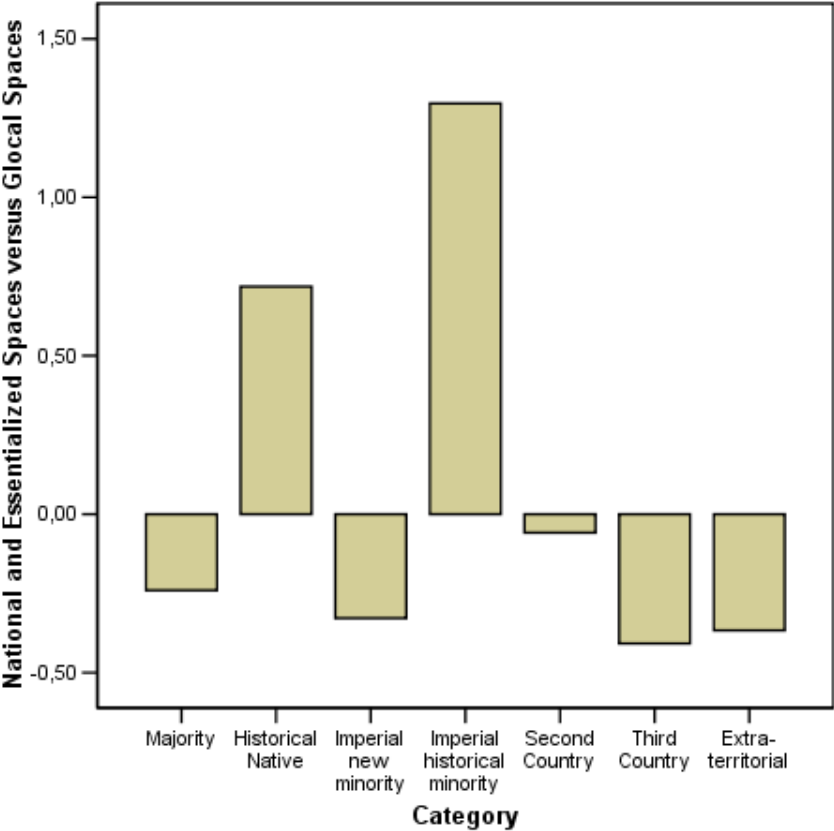

Figure 11 shows that majority citizens, imperial new minorities, second and third country nationals, and extra-territorials are the most content with how glocal spaces articulate and promote their preferences. At the same time, they are discontent with the national and essentialized public spaces. On the other hand, those who are most content with the combined impact of national and essentialized spaces are historical native minority members and historical imperial historical minority members.

2.3. Explaining (mis)alignments in public spaces: three models

Based on this projects' theoretical point of departure, the misalignments between respondents' preferences and the available public spaces' capability to be responsive can be related to respondents' mobility patterns (both spatial and mental), participation patterns, and belonging patterns as well as the features of the public spaces.

The respondents reported that they attend to one or several of four types of public spaces: *national* (*numeric* and *corporate*), *essentialized* (ethnic and/or religious organizations), and *glocal spaces*. All the respondents – except those residing in Estonia – were contacted while and/or because they were visiting a glocal space. In this analysis, assuming that the types and degrees of (mis)alignments are due to the respondents'

characteristics (belonging, participation, and mobility patterns) rather than those of the public spaces, we first inquire into how the respondents' mobility, participation, and belonging patterns have impact on (mis)alignments. Later, we will come back to the reverse of this assumption. Therefore, three causality models are explored in the first instance. These models are:

- the belonging model;

- the participation model;

- the mobility model.

2.3.1. Multidimensional belongings and (mis)alignments in public spaces

The major hypothesis in this model is that individuals' belonging is a good in itself which is closely related with interest articulation in politics and public spaces. Therefore, individuals will also relate themselves to the available public spaces in terms of their belongings. This will, in turn, contribute to their perceptions of public spaces as well as affect how content they are with the voice and influence possibilities in the available public spaces. One hypothesis in this study is, therefore, that (mis)alignments in the available public spaces is closely associated with the types and degrees of respondents' belongings.

Table 13 shows the results from two separate categorical regression analyses, one for each of the two (mis)alignment dimensions that we constructed in the previous section (see Table 12). The independent variables included in the analysis are the five belonging dimensions we constructed earlier (see Table 6). The analysis results shown in Table 13 strengthen and detail the above-given hypothesis. In very general terms, the first conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis with the belonging model is that different types and degrees of multidimensional belongings lead to different degrees of (mis)alignments in public spaces. Secondly, different belonging patterns are associated with (mis)alignments in different public spaces/channels.

Table 13. Categorical Regression Analysis of (Mis)alignments – Belonging Model

	Standardized Coefficients (Beta)		Significance		Importance	
	Content-1	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*
Individualist-national versus subnational/supranational belonging	1,001	,010	,000	,000	,013	,001
Collectivist-transnational versus glocal belonging	-1,356	,101	,000	,000	,341	,000
Universalist-cosmopolitan versus gendered-territorial belonging	1,289	-,100	,000	,000	,332	,001
Political versus non-political belonging	,858	,999	,000	,000	,151	,999
Territorial-European belonging	-,462	-,007	,000	,000	,155	,000

Dependent variables:

Content 1: (mis)alignments in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces

Content 2: (mis)alignments in national and essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces

Concerning "alignments/misalignments in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces (*content 1*)", the two most decisive belonging patterns are: (1) collectivist-transnational versus glocal belonging and (2) universalist-cosmopolitan versus gendered-territorial belonging. The relationships of these variables to the first (mis)alignment dimension can be formulated as follows:

a) The higher the degree of *collectivist-transnational (diasporic) belonging* and the lower the degree of *glocal belonging*, simultaneously, the higher the degree of alignment in essentialized spaces and the lower the degree of alignment in national and glocal spaces.

b) The higher the degree of *universalist-cosmopolitan belonging* and the lower the degree of *gendered-territorial belonging*, the higher the degree of alignment in national and glocal spaces and the lower the degree of alignment in essentialized spaces.

Concerning "alignments and misalignments in national and essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces (*content 2*)", the single most decisive factor is "political versus non-political belonging". The relationship of this belonging dimension to misalignments can be summarized as follows:

a) The higher the degree of *political belonging*, the higher the degree of alignment in national and essentialized (ethnic/religious) public spaces and the lower the degree of alignment with glocal spaces.

Further in-depth qualitative analyses showed that the last finding is due to the glocal space attendants who are involved in ethnic minority politics and who think that national/essentialized public spaces are also necessary for the improvement of minority rights – whether they themselves are ethnic minority members or not.

2.3.2. **Multiple participation patterns and (mis)alignments in public spaces**

This model is designed to inspect whether there is a relationship between (mis)alignments and participation in different public spaces. The two participation patterns presented in Table 7 are used as independent variables. Also here, a separate categorical regression analysis has been performed for each of the two (mis)alignment patterns. Table 14 illustrates the results from these two separate analyses.

Table 14. Categorical Regression Analysis of (Mis)alignments – Participation Model

	Standardized Coefficients (Beta)		Significance		Importance	
	Content-1	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*
Participation in All Spaces	-,321	,499	,000	,000	,207	,444
Participation in Essentialized Spaces versus Glocal Spaces	-,706	,576	,000	,000	,793	,556

Dependent variables:

Content 1: (mis)alignment in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces
Content 2: (mis)alignment in national and essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces

Concerning "(mis)alignment in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces (*content-1*), both participation patterns gave significant results. However, "participation in essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces" has a stronger impact than "participation in all spaces". The finding concerning the first (mis)alignment dimension can be summarized as follows:

a) The higher the degree of *participation in all public spaces*, the lower the degree of alignment in national and glocal spaces and the higher the degree of alignment with essentialized spaces.

b) The higher the degree of *participation in essentialized spaces* and the lower the degree of *participation in glocal spaces*, the higher the degree of alignment in essentialized public spaces and the lower the degree of alignment with national and glocal spaces.

Concerning "(mis)alignments in national and essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces", the results are as follows:

a) The higher the degree of *participation in all public spaces*, the higher the degree of alignment in national and essentialized spaces and the lower the degree of alignment in glocal spaces.

b) The higher the degree of *participation in essentialized spaces* and the lower the degree of *participation in glocal spaces*, the higher the degree of alignment in essentialized spaces and the lower the degree of alignment in glocal spaces.

All these tell us that the degree of participation is an important factor as to the degree and type of (mis)alignments in public spaces. The general — and also the most obvious — conclusion from the above analysis is that people are more satisfied with the public spaces that they attend more, and they are less satisfied with the public spaces that they attend less. However, these findings also raise a question of both *spuriousness* and *redundancy*. One aspect related with the redundancy problem is that, most probably, people attend the public spaces which they are already content with and where their preferences and those spaces' capabilities are aligned. Furthermore, this may also mean that the degree of alignment is rather determined by people's other characteristics, such as belongings, interests, etc, which relates to the question of spuriousness. We shall turn back to these questions later.

2.3.3. Spatial and mental mobility and (mis)alignments in public spaces

The mobility model entails the assumption that geographical and/or mental mobility has an impact on people's perceptions of themselves, their belongings as well as on their perceptions of political systems and their rights in the society at large. And, this will in turn affect their degree of contentness with the ways that different types of public spaces represent, articulate and voice their interests. To inspect this proposition, we conducted a categorical regression analysis of each of the two alignment/misalignment patterns by using the four mobility dimensions (tables 8 and 9) as the independent variables.

Table 15. Categorical Regression Analysis of (Mis)alignments – Mobility Model

	Standardized Coefficients (Beta)		Significance		Importance	
	Content-1	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*
Local and Domestic Mobility	-,230	-,001	,004	,000	,062	,000
Cross-country Mobility	-,309	-,084	,000	,000	,192	-,002
Mobility of Mind - General	,657	-1,000	,000	,000	,724	1,000
Mobility of Mind - Group vs. Time References	-,093	,084	,538	,000	,151	,002

Dependent variables:

Content 1: (mis)alignments in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces
Content 2: (mis)alignments in national and essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces

Table 15 gives the results from these two analyses. Concerning "alignments/misalignments in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces (*content-1*)", the "general mobility of mind" and "cross-country mobility" are the most important factors. Focusing only on the two most important determinants of *content-1*, we can summarize the findings in this analysis as follows:

a) The higher the degree of *general mobility of mind*, the higher the degree of alignment in national and glocal spaces and the lower the degree of alignment in essentialized spaces.

b) The higher the degree of *geographic cross-country mobility*, the lower the degree of alignment in national and glocal spaces and the higher the degree of alignment in essentialized spaces.

Concerning "alignments/misalignments in national and essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces (*content-2*)", the variable "general mobility of mind" is the dominant determinant. The finding here can be summarized as follows:

a) The higher the degree of the *general mobility of mind*, the lower the degree of contentness with national and essentialized spaces and the higher the degree of contentness with glocal spaces.

All these are interesting findings. First of all, the fact that cross-country mobility is found associated with decreased alignment in national/glocal sites and increased alignment with essentialized sites might mean that cross-country mobility may contribute to the strengthening of particularized ethnic and religious identities – that is a re-ethnicization process. On the other hand, general mobility of mind – that is, mind mobility between different belonging references based on different places, times and diverse groups – is found to be associated with increased alignment in national/glocal spaces. These are people who are content with the social diversity and the diversity politics within the frames of the nation states that they are residing in. Furthermore, we also found that the general mobility of mind is also associated with a high level of alignment in glocal sites and misalignment regarding national/essentialized sites. The important thing here is that, in all the above findings, we found "mobility of mind" to be positively associated with "glocal spaces". The immediate lesson from these findings should be that *any policy of geographical mobility should be accompanied with measures to increase people's mobility of minds between different references of identification*.

2.3.4. The explanatory powers of belonging, participation, and mobility models

The above-presented three models – the belonging model, the participation model and the mobility model – have each a significant explanatory power concerning (mis)alignments in different types of public spaces.

Table 16. Explanatory Powers of the Three Models

Explanatory Model	Dominant variables		Multiple-R		R-Square	
	Content-1	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*	*Content-1*	*Content-2*
The belonging model	All (+/−)	Political belonging (+)	,914	1,000	,835	1,000
The mobility model	Mobility of mind (general) (+)	Mobility of mind (general) (−)	,763	1,000	,581	1,000
The participation model	All (−)	All (+)	,833	,862	,695	,743

Dependent variables:

Content 1: (mis)alignments in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces

Content 2: (mis)alignments in national and essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces

Table 16 illustrates measures for each model's explanatory power. We have already presented the predictions of these models in the preceding sections. The belonging and mobility models have given the highest ratios of accounted variance (R-square). The participation model accounts for a very large portion of the variance in both of the misalignment variables. However, the belonging and mobility models each account for much larger portions of the variance in each of the two (mis)alignment dimensions. The belonging model seems to provide the best predictors for the first (mis)alignment dimension, followed by the mobility model, which contains the second best set of predictors. The belonging and mobility models have equal predictive power concerning the second (mis)alignment dimension.

In further analyses, the categorical associations between the mobility variables and the belonging variables were found to be from weak to moderate. However, the two models – the belonging and mobility models – each account for very high portions of the variation in the two misalignment dimensions. Since these are two different models whose variables are relatively independent from each other, this means that the variances that the mobility and belonging models account for are different from each other. While digesting this result, it should be kept in mind that this analysis is with discontinuous, discrete categorical variables. In other words, it is about associations between the variables' ordinal categories rather than the variables themselves.

Therefore, in contrast to analyses with continuous or interval variables, it is possible here to infer that the two explanatory models account for two different types of categorical variances in the dependent variables.

On the other hand, further analyses – which are not presented here due to limited space – showed that the two participation patterns are strongly associated with the five belonging patterns. The belonging patterns account for 68% of the variation in "participation in all spaces" and 82% of the variation in participation in "essentialized versus glocal spaces". This means that the five belonging patterns, which are orthogonal, explain much of the variation in the two participation patterns. At the same time, as we found in Tables 10 and 11, the two participation patterns are also associated with the two mental mobility patterns in different ways. Table 10 shows that one spatial mobility pattern (i.e. cross-country mobility) accounts perfectly for the variation in one of the mental mobility patterns (i.e. psychic mobility between group versus time references). Table 11 illustrates that the two participation variables are very important predictors of the general mental mobility.

These considerations lead us to the following general conclusion: The Glocalmig measured the multidimensional belongings of the respondents. Separately, it also measured their mobility of mind between different references of identification. As the measurement of belongings represents the temporal and situation-dependent multidimensional belongings at the time of data collection, it is indicative of the non-dynamic and temporally limited aspects of belongings. On the other hand, adding the mobility of mind dimension enriched the analysis and uncovered the dynamics of respondents' multidimensional belongings. The belonging model shows the impact of the respondents' belongings on the (mis)alignments they experience in different public spaces, whereas the mobility model shows the impact of the respondents' ability to shift between different modes of belonging. This qualitative difference between the meanings of these two models is the source of the difference in the categorical variances they account for. Conclusively, we can arrive at the following clarifying model in Fig. 3.15, the specificities of which were delineated in the preceding chapters as well as in the nest section.

Figure 12. Three Predictive Models for Explaining (Mis)alignments
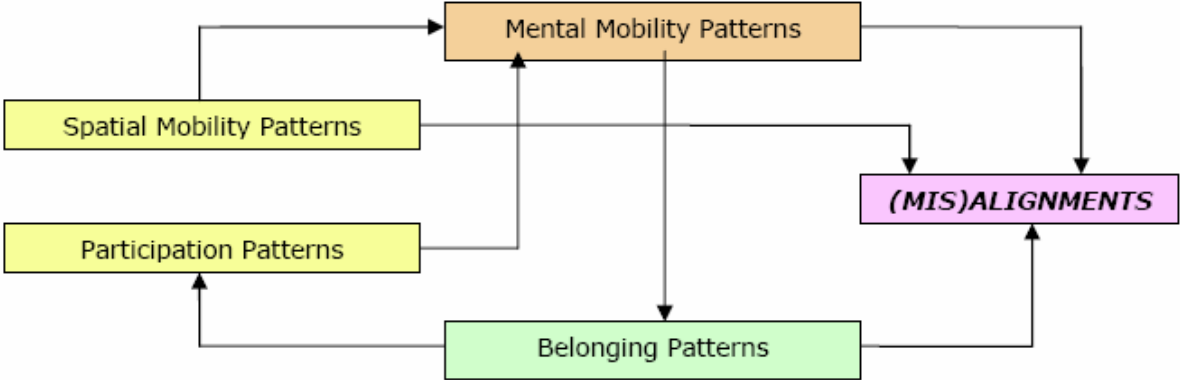
It should be underlined that "(mis)alignment" is an indicator of the quality of citizenships. It comprises two separate, uncorrelated dimensions. The three models presented in Fig. 12 are also comprised of several sub-dimensions, each with different impacts on different dimensions of "(mis)alignments". The above model does not illustrate these nuances, however, the specifics of the models' impacts have been given in the preceding sections. Furthermore, a more systematic summary of the three models' separate impacts is presented in the following section.

Finally, it should be emphasized that all the results that are presented hitherto have been controlled for the country variable. This was done by repeating all the summary and association analyses six times by excluding from the analysis one country at a time. The results obtained in these analyses with the sub-sets of the data set are very similar to the results obtained by using the whole data set. That is, the more or less the same participation, mobility, belonging, and misalignment dimensions were obtained in all the analyses. The largest deviations were observed in Estonia and Hungary. In the multicultural spaces in Estonia, the essentialized space was found to be more dominant whereas in the cosmopolitan sites of Budapest, the glocal space was more dominant than others. However, their impacts on the types and intensity of misalignments were similar. At this exploratory stage, this can be interpreted as that the attendants of the different public spaces in different national contexts have similar characteristics in the six countries that the Glocalmig-project investigates. However, this is a preliminary conclusion, which requires validation with statistically representative population samples.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

It should be noted that Glocalmig aims to (1) develop novel research tools and (2) test them on real-life data. In other words, Glocalmig is an exploratory project. The results from the Glocalmig-project document the need for new types of public spaces that can be responsive and inclusive as well as the further need for new research tools that are capable of mapping the "new" in the European state of affairs pertaining to the quality of citizenships in Europe.

The first objective has been achieved through collaborative work on theory and method development and tools for intensive qualitative data collection in selected glocal sites in six European countries. For the Glocalmig results to be valid beyond the scope of this project, an extended set of research activities should be conducted in other European countries as well. However, already at the exploratory stage, the Glocalmig-results are indicative of certain factors with impact on quality of citizenships in Europe. The second objective – testing of new research tools – has also been achieved. Glocalmig's novel methods of conceptualization, data collection, measurement, scaling and analysis have been applied to data collected in six glocal sites from six European countries. These have been disseminated through the Glocalmig Series comprising eight volumes of publication as well as numerous conference presentations by partners and involved researchers.

1. Summary of findings

The fieldwork activities of Glocalmig were conducted in what we call "glocal sites" – public spaces that are open to and inclusive of all types of individuals and groups. The respondents were contacted in glocal public spaces, which comprise less misalignment than other types of public spaces – e.g. national and essentialized spaces. As expected at the point of departure, we found that most respondents who are active in glocal spaces are also active in other types of public spaces. They attend glocal spaces to compensate for what they lack in the national and essentialized spaces; namely the experience of diversity and the need to avoid the negative consequences of categorical, attributed belongings and identities. The multiple participation patterns of the respondents gave us the opportunity to address the interplays between different types of public spaces and the impacts of such interplays.

We uncovered two dimensions of (mis)alignment. In Table 12, we illustrated the two dimensions of (mis)alignment. The first dimension indicates the presence of (1) a connection between the national (numeric and corporate channels) and glocal spaces, (2) a detachment between essentialized and other spaces. In other words, this dimension

separates between essentialized spaces and other public spaces. The second dimension indicates (1) a connection between essentialized and national spaces and (2) a detachment between glocal spaces and all the other public spaces. In other words, this dimension separates between glocal spaces and other types of public spaces. On the other hand, these two dimensions also measure the degree/intensity of alignments and misalignments.

The first type of (mis)alignment is about those who are content with the responsiveness of both national and glocal spaces at the same time as they are discontent with the essentialized spaces. As this dimension is bipolar, the small scores of this dimension represent those who are discontent with national and glocal spaces and simultaneously content with the essentialized spaces. The second dimension is about those who are content with both the national and essentialized spaces at the same time as they are discontent with glocal spaces. Similarly, this dimension is also bipolar and its small values represent those who are content with glocal spaces' responsiveness and discontent with national and essentialized spaces.

Concerning the predictors of (mis)alignments, we tested three models – belonging, participation, and mobility models. While reading the following summary, the patterns of association between the three models – presented in Fig. 12 and its related text – should be kept in mind although we focus here basically on the straight lines between (mis)alignments and the single models. The predictive powers of the three models are illustrated in Table 16.

In Fig. 13, the most important predictors of the first (mis)alignment dimension – (mis)alignment in national/glocal versus essentialized spaces – are illustrated, which can be significant factors in reducing/eliminating the misalignments between citizens' and residents' preferences and the different public spaces' ability to respond. Figure 13 tells us that manipulating any one of the predictors above will result in elimination/reduction in one type of misalignments; and at the same time, it will result in intensification/reification of another type of misalignment.

Figure 13. Predictors of (Mis)alignments in National/Glocal versus Essentialized Spaces
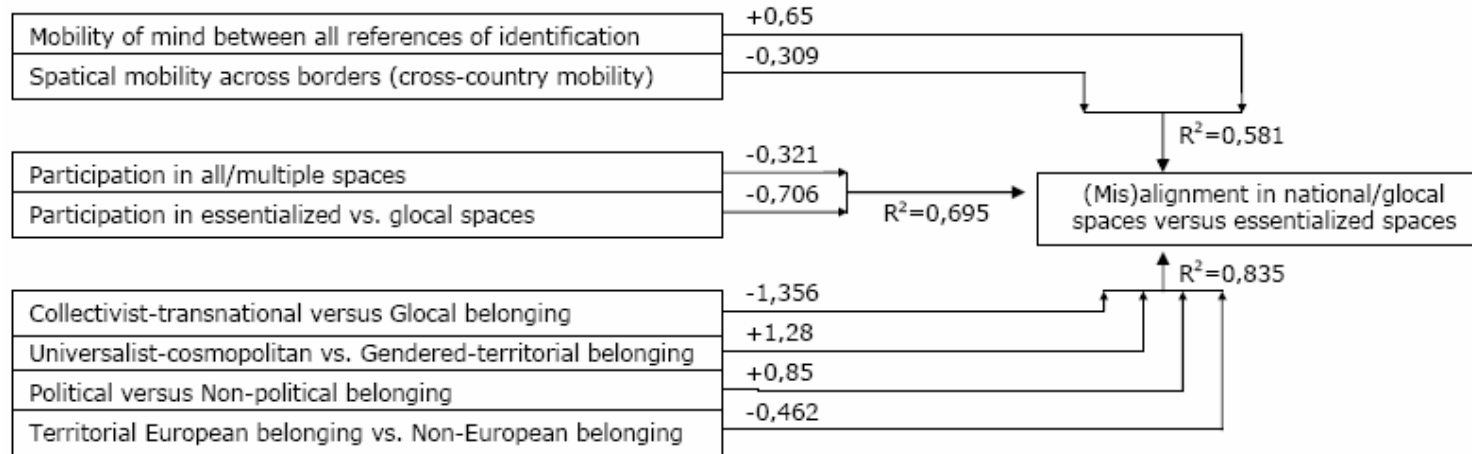
For example, increasing "mobility of mind between all references of identification" or "political belonging" will result in an increase in the alignment in national and glocal spaces. However, this will also result in increased misalignment in essentialized spaces. Thus, any measure will eliminate some and reify other misalignments.

Figure 14. Predictors of (Mis)alignments in National/Essentialized versus Glocal Spaces
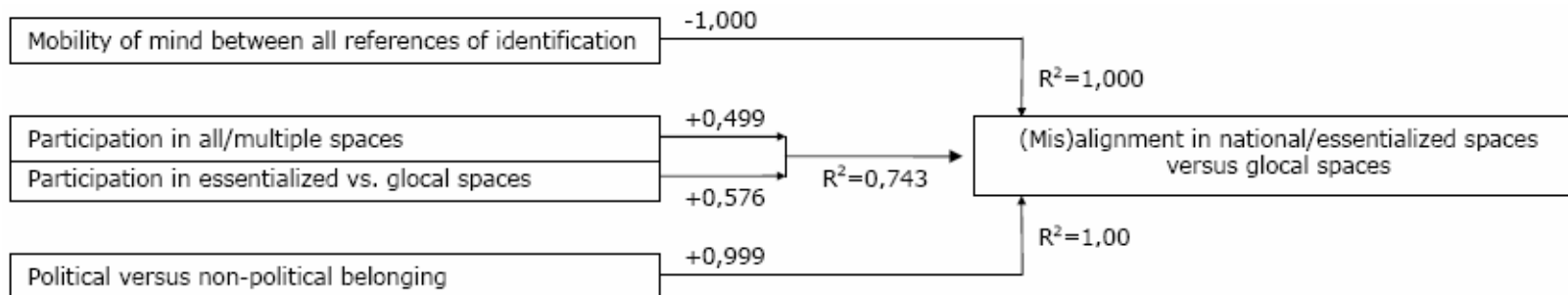
Fig. 14 illustrates the most important predictors of the second (mis)alignment dimension that we uncovered – (mis)alignment in national/essentialized versus glocal spaces. The situation also here is the same: changes in one predictor will lead to elimination of one misalignment and reification of another simultaneously. For example, increasing "mobility of mind between all references of identification" and decreasing "political belonging" simultaneously will increase alignment in glocal spaces, but this will also increase misalignments in national and essentialized spaces.

To reduce/eliminate certain misalignments, one of the three models that were tested can be utilized. The belonging model requires changing the multidimensional belongings of citizens and residents. The mobility model requires changing the psychic and spatial mobility patterns of citizens and residents. However, pertaining to both belonging and mobility models, such measures may raise ethical questions, as any choice will imply giving priority to certain "modes of being". The participation model, on the other hand, requires strengthening and/or designing and establishment of the types of public spaces that residents and citizens need for voicing, articulating, and representing their preferences emanating from their belongings and other interests without having to change themselves.

2. Advancing the state of the art

The Glocalmig's contribution to the existing state of the art in the field of citizenship studies is primarily its diversity perspective and its research tools, which extend the ontological and conceptual array of the thinking in the field. Secondarily, its contribution to the state of the art is the new knowledge produced by the use of these research tools. The presentation in this section addresses both aspects simultaneously.

We would first like to mention the impact of the diversity perspective on our research. To what we stated in the beginning about the diversity perspective, we can add its normative orientation. The diversity perspective is *not* about designing policies, politics or political systems that can effectively manage diversity; but to discover the modes of being, the types of individuals, and the prototypes of the public spaces of diversity that can manage politics. In other words, it is about empowering diverse societies to manage politics. Therefore, all the research activities of the Glocalmig-project sought the types of individuals and public spaces who make diversity into a mode of being (cf. also the notion of co-other in the beginning). This is the reason why we focused on the "glocal spaces", which we regard as the potential prototypes of future diverse societies that effectively manage politics. The "glocal public spaces" that we did fieldwork in accommodate various individuals and groups with highly diverse belongings. Our finding

is that what makes *togetherness/unity in diversity* possible in "glocal spaces" is the *individuals' mobility of minds between different references of identification*, that is, their **ability to act as co-others**. The concept of "co-other" comprises individuals' ability to treat themselves as "just another other", i.e. as a third person that is neither the self nor the concrete other. This leads to formulation of a new ontology, defining a new mode of being as a triangular oscillation between the Self, the Other, and the co-other. Thus, in this perspective, a diverse society is defined as the community of "selves", "others", and "co-others", an ontology which is more inclusive than the individualist, communalist, pluralist, and multiculturalist ontologies.

Glocalmig's second contribution is its novel conceptual and methodological frame, which is based on the diversity perspective. The QC-CITKIT allowed multi-paradigmatic and multi-theoretical conceptualizations of each phenomenon used in the study. Such a research strategy is necessarily required to conduct any analysis of diversity, which comprises different modes of being and belonging. Singular, conventional approaches would lead to a considerable degree of information loss. By comparing each observation with multiple conceptual models, we also enriched the conceptual scope of the project. One outcome of this strategy is that, in contrast to previous research in the field, we were able to address the situations of the individuals – i.e. their quality of citizenship – who cannot be categorized into the conventional categories at the same time as those who can be categorized. These individuals are those who have a high mobility of mind between different references of identification, regardless of what belonging pattern they may have. The findings of Glocalmig testify to the fact that their needs are not addressed by the conventional political systems and by the available public spaces, which are designed to voice, articulate and represent the interests of individuals with singular belongings and interests emanating from such singular belongings. Furthermore, the multi-paradigmatic approach of Glocalmig also showed that belongings are multi-dimensional. This is partly caused by high degrees of mental mobility, partly by being in minority situation, partly by earlier experience of migration or present spatial mobility, and partly by attending to glocal spaces and interacting with people of diverse backgrounds. The mobility of mind-dimensions – which are an inseparable component of the diversity perspective of Glocalmig – is one contribution to the state of the art in the field.

Concerning measurement and scaling, we used three different methods. The first method – absolute measurement – helped us to map the existing state of affairs in each of our six case-countries as they are. This measurement method has been used in the single country reports, which are attached to this final report. The second method – relative measurement and scaling – has been extensively used in this as well as in the attached

country methods, especially in the parts of the reports dealing with the statuses and rights of the six categories of persons. The third measurement and scaling method – with multiple theoretical ideal types – has been applied to the data set in the intermediary levels of analysis for categorizing the cases. The overall benefit of applying these three methods together has contributed to improving the state of the art in measurement and scaling of participation patterns, belonging modes, and (mis)alignments. This is so in the sense that the simultaneous application of these three methods helped us to uncover and measure the dynamism and complexity in the phenomena we studied. In concrete terms, the aforementioned phenomena were defined in terms of several conceptual frameworks. Several different types of multi-dimensionality in these phenomena were uncovered and mapped as a result. The most concrete outcomes of this aspect have been the discovery of seldom types of multi-dimensional belongings, multiple participation patterns, and diverse spatial and mental mobility patterns (see the previous sections). This recovered the analysis from the conventional approaches' singular normative/conceptual perspectives. As stated before, the production of these research tools is due to the inclusive, comprehensive ontological approach of Glocalmig, which puts a sign of equality between its own diversity perspective and other ontologies.

Furthermore, the inclusion of mental mobility patterns between different references of identification has recovered the analysis from the conventional perspectives' fixed and static categories and documented the importance of accounting for the dynamism in the phenomena under scientific investigation. In this respect, the findings of Glocalmig tell us that, in analyzing contexts of diversity, it is not enough to associate a certain type of belonging mode or a participation pattern – either singular or multi-dimensional – with a certain problem related with the quality of citizenships. Individuals in our era are just too complex for that; and one needs also to account for persons' ability to shift between different references of belonging or between different public spaces as well as individuals' ability to create new references of identification in order to achieve rigor in research. Glocalmig has also addressed the issue of how it is possible to increase individuals' mobility of mind and the consequences of doing so.

At the face of the complicated version of the reality that Glocalmig presents based on the diversity perspective, it is too simplistic, for example, to state that "European identity is or is not compatible with national identities". The questions should be re-formulated: "what belonging patterns can the European identity be a component of", "how different spatial and mental mobility patterns impinge upon individuals' belonging patterns", "how all these shape and/or re-shape the alignments and misalignments between individuals' preferences/interests and the existing institutions and structures of citizenship", and

"what new norms, institutions, structures and policies of citizenship do we need to reduce/eliminate the misalignments?"

3. Further research recommendations

Confronting these new research questions, the way further should include the diversity analyses of the European society and the European public sphere, as Europe is now unequivocally a diverse society. In this project, one important parameter in realization of togetherness in diverse societies has been found to be the phenomenon "co-other", signifying individuals with a high degree of mobility of mind between different references of identification. Therefore, any further research on the development of the European diverse society should incorporate the mobility-of-mind dimension into the analysis. Furthermore, the class and demographic dimensions of citizenship should also be systematically incorporated into a future research in these lines.

Glocalmig is an exploratory project, and its findings relate primarily to "the new" in Europe and the possible impact of "the new" in Europe. The new in Europe is the fading and reshaping of borders and boundaries, the possibility of unlimited spatial mobility, and the increasing mobility of minds. These are also about the features of "glocal spaces", which can be seen as the prototypes of a future European diverse society. Therefore, we recommend the European Commission to focus more on the European glocal spaces in order to increase the knowledge about how a diverse society and a European public sphere is possible, how unity/togetherness in diversity can be achieved, and how a diverse society can create and manage its own politics without deconstructing itself.

This requires collaborative research actions at the European level with inclusion of all the EU-member and candidate states. In addition to the type of qualitative work done in Glocalmig, a comprehensive survey is also required to obtain results with high level of reliability and validity in the whole Europe.

4. European added value

Glocalmig is primarily a qualitatively oriented research project. Its design comprises participant observation, structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, data collection from documents using vernaculars, etc. It requires a high level of context-sensitivity. Therefore, conducting the Glocalmig research activities at the European level was the only way of achieving the scientific objectives of this project.

From the design of research tools and theory building to the data-collection and analysis activities, all stages of the project required an in-depth knowledge of the fieldwork sites,

language skills, and organizational resources close to the fieldwork sites. A close look at the six country reports, which are attached to this report, will verify this statement.

Through collaboration between European partners who have in-depth knowledge about their case-countries, we were also able to design context-sensitive qualitative research tools and to interpret the results accordingly. The questionnaire and interview items were refined/reformulated in an interactive process which was based on the project-partners' in-depth knowledge of their specific case-countries. Some items were reformulated differently according to the cultural contexts of our cases (the method of functional equivalence). These research tools were originally prepared in English by the coordinator and translated by the partners into Danish, Estonian, Finnish, German, Hungarian (partly), Norwegian, Russian, Swedish, and Turkish (partly). All these collaborative activities provided a higher level of precision and context-sensitivity in data collection, interpretation, and analysis.

5. Policy implications

The overall objective for this specific key action has been stated by the European Commission as "to improve understanding of the structural changes taking place in Europe, to identify options for the management of change and to involve European citizens more actively in shaping their own futures. This will require the analysis of the main trends giving rise to these changes; of the relationships between technology, employment and society, the re-appraisal of participation mechanisms for collective action at all levels of governance and the elaboration of new development strategies fostering growth employment and economic and social cohesion".

The proposal of the Glocalmig Consortium was to develop novel research tools for investigating the quality of citizenships in the light of the structural changes in six European countries. Quality of citizenships is defined in terms of alignments and misalignments between the existing citizenship institutions/structures and citizens' and residents' preferences/interests emanating from their diverse belongings. The Glocalmig-project also promised to design research tools to be used to detect the existing institutions and structures that are inclusive and democratic enough and that can be used to eliminate misalignments as well as to propose alternative ways of reducing the misalignments. These research tools have been successfully tested, and the knowledge that is created is through their use is novel and has certain potential policy implications. However, although Glocalmig's theoretical and conceptual results have a validity beyond the scope of this project, it should be kept in mind that the empirical results of Glocalmig

has validity within the span of the glocal spaces it investigated; and further research is needed to validate its policy-relevant results.

One finding in Glocalmig concerns the situations of people with high degrees of mind mobility between diverse references of identification. Their common denominator is that they participate in glocal spaces more than in national and ethnic spaces. They relate themselves more to the globe and humanity than their national states and Europe. In principle, they put an equality sign between their national states and the European Union because they perceive the European Union as just another potential territorial-political entity that will divide humanity. However, we also found that people with high mobility of mind identify themselves more with Europe than with their countries of residence. In other words, Europe is too small to accommodate their visions of an all-inclusive society. They create their small diverse societies without borders in their localities, i.e. in glocal spaces.

However, most of these persons do not state that they are without "rooting" or without "belonging". Some of them even state that they have strong ethnic, religious or national belongings. Some others claim not to have a strong sense of belonging to any conventional collective identity category. Still some others talk of their new belonging modes, which cannot be expressed in terms of conventional references of identification. Their common denominator is, however, that they are able to move in and out of their own modes of being and relate themselves to others on an egalitarian basis. Another important common feature is that they are dissatisfied with the existing institutions and structures of citizenship that are not capacitated to do the same.

Most of the respondents we interviewed participate more in glocal spaces than national and essentialized spaces. Although we do not have a comprehensive empirical basis to suggest this, we suppose that the number of such people is not small in Europe. We also suppose that part of the "home-sitters" in local, national, and European elections belong to this group of people who do not relate themselves to the existing homogeneous citizenship structures and institutions but to the alternative structures and institutions of diversity, such as the glocal sites, which they perceive as more capable of responding to their preferences and needs.

The above statement should be regarded as a scientifically justified and legitimate hypothesis to be investigated further. Provided that this hypothesis proves valid in the future through comprehensive qualitative and quantitative research in Europe proper, it will be fruitful both for the European Union and for these individuals that the Union encourage the further development of glocal spaces and the diversity mode of being that

is being created in these sites. This may, on the one hand, help these individuals to feel more included, and on the other hand, provide legitimacy to the European Union amongst these groups.

One thing that should be kept in mind at this juncture is that the glocal spaces accommodate all sorts of belongings, groups, movements, etc; and they also establish solid links between the numeric, corporate, and essentialized spaces in their diverse environment. In other words, glocal spaces seem to be a natural meeting place for all and can also be investigated/thought of as a model of diverse society and as accommodating the types of individuals who can cohabit a social and political space of diversity.

Four basic strategies of diversity management are observed in the European political history: functional equivalence, subsidiarity, nesting, and differentiation. The principle of *functional equivalence* presupposes that the common norms and policy targets regarding quality of citizenships are determined at the supranational level; and member states and regional and local authorities are free to use the means and methods available and acceptable in their contexts to achieve these targets. The *subsidiarity principle*, on the other hand, prescribes that the norms and policy targets as well as the means and methods to be used are determined at the governance levels closest to those to be affected, provided that these comply with the Union's solidarity principle. The third strategy, *nesting*, is a variant of the subsidiarity principle. The difference is that the nesting strategy reaches beyond the Westphalian system and establishes direct horizontal and vertical contacts between the supranational level and sub-national levels of citizenship and governance. In the nesting strategy, the sub-national actors are treated as international actors – like states – in certain matters. In the fourth strategy, *differentiation*, or differentiated scale of rights, the norms, policy targets, and means and methods are all determined at the supranational level and implementation responsibility is given to the existing national, regional, and local institutions. This strategy opts for formulating a set of citizens' rights and duties as a common norm with respect to their degree of "insideness" and "affiliation" with the political system. In all these strategies, citizens' and residents' participation and involvement takes place through these intermediary levels.

All the above strategies have been studied and discussed in depth by European scholars. Based on the findings of Glocalmig, a fifth strategy to be studied further can be *euroglocalization* through participation in *euroglocal spaces*. The term has been constructed with the words globalization, localization, and Europeanization. It represents also a normative stance. The processes of globalization have been successful in contexts

where the global values, ethics, and worldviews have found their local expressions in local places. The glocal spaces and mobile minds accommodated in these spaces are the best examples of this development. The findings of Glocalmig indicate that there is a considerably strong association between spatial mobility and mental mobility patterns on the one hand and between participation in glocal spaces and mental mobility patterns on the other hand. However, the Glocalmig findings also indicate that individuals with very high degrees of mind mobility choose not to think in terms of territorial and cultural boundaries. The basic strategy of European integration and involvement has been the encouragement of individuals' spatial mobility across national and regional borders. However, it is a fact that people move much less than predicted in the first place. Therefore, the euroglocalization strategy and the increase in mobility of mind it will breed, if also thorough Europewide studies of the glocal spaces validate the findings here, may provide an alternative to spatial mobility by bringing Europe to the local contexts instead of making people move in order to learn to care for Europe. This will, in practice, require:

- encouragement of the development of glocal sites in European cities;

- encouragement of also the second country nationals to attend these places along with the majority citizens, citizens who are national minorities, citizens and residents with immigrant background.

The above recommendation should primarily be understood as a call for further research on a possible, alternative, or additional way to go in order to create a more inclusive and egalitarian diverse society in Europe.

V. DISSEMINATION AND EXPLOITATION OF RESULTS

The research and innovation activities in Glocalmig have hitherto resulted in a dissemination series with eight volumes. The following books/reports have been published as the main dissemination activity in the project (the eight volume is in print):

Volume 1

Hakan G. Sicakkan, The University of Bergen

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Standardized Research Tools for Data Collection, Data Analysis and for Measuring the Quality of Citizenships in European Countries

Volume 2

Rainer Bauböck (vol. ed.), by W. Fischer, B. Herzog-Punzenberger and H. Waldrauch, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Austria

Volume 3

Ulf Hedetoft (vol. ed.), by L. Vikkelsø Slot, Aalborg University

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Denmark

Volume 4

Mikko Lagerspetz and Sofia Joons, Estonian Institute of Humanities

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Estonia

Volume 5

Tom Sandlund (vol. ed.), by Perttu Salmenhaara and Sanna Saksela, The University of Helsinki

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Finland

Volume 6

András Bozóki and Barbara Bősze, Central European University

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Hungary

Volume 7

Hakan G. Sicakkan (vol. ed.), by Jørgen Melve, The University of Bergen

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Norway

Volume 8

Hakan G. Sicakkan, The University of Bergen

Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Belonging, Mobility and the Quality of Citizenships. A Comparative Study of the Glocal Spaces in Six European Countries

The above publications can be ordered on-line at the following web-site:

http://www.svf.uib.no/sfu/imer/publications/hs-glocalmig.htm

This first volume devises and delineates the theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and analytical perspectives and operative standards of the Glocalmig research activities in six European countries. It presents the methods of data collection, measurement, analysis as well as the variables, questionnaires, and interview guides that were used in the country studies. The successive six publications prepared by each of the six Glocalmig partners present findings from the country studies. They present and analyze the data collected during the country studies in Austria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Hungary and Norway. In addition to the aforementioned seven volumes, a final comparative study is also published as the eighth volume in this series. The final volume is based on the reflections in the above-mentioned seven volumes and the raw data collected in six countries. These eight volumes have been submitted to the European Commission as part of the dissemination and reporting activities in Glocalmig.

In addition, Hakan G. Sicakkan and Yngve Lithman, at the University of Bergen, have co-edited a book titled *Envisioning Togetherness*, which is to be published in 2005 by a New

York-based publisher, Edwin Mellen Press. *Envisioning Togetherness* is both a forerunner and a follow up of the theoretical and conceptual issues that Glocalmig addresses. Hakan G. Sicakkan, at the University of Bergen, will publish a comprehensive book towards the end of 2005 based on the findings from Glocalmig, exploring the relationships between macrostructures and the quality of citizenships in addition to the issues addressed here. Hakan G. Sicakkan has written an article on refugee issues, which will appear in the *Journal of Human Rights* in December 2004. This article also makes use of the theoretical and conceptual perspectives, based on the diversity approach, which were developed in the course of Glocalmig.

There are two upcoming conferences which comprise workshops and roundtable discussions organized and chaired by the Glocalmig partners. One of them is organized by Ulf Hedetoft, our Danish partner at the Academy of Migration Studies, University of Aalborg. This is the Nordic Migration Conference, which will take place between 18-20 November 2004. Professor Hedetoft has scheduled a roundtable discussion, which will address and open to discussion the findings of Glocalmig. The title of the roundtable is: *Northern Europe and the Changing Meaning of Citizenship*. The website for this information is: http://www.amid.dk/ocs/program.php?cf=1.

The second upcoming event will be in Paris between 17-18 June 2005. Our Hungarian partner, Andras Bozoki, has the responsibility for organizing five workshops in this year's epsNET plenary conference. Professor Bozoki has asked us to chair a specific workshop related to Glocalmig-themes.

The Glocalmig partners have been very active on the conference side. The theoretical and methodological perspectives as well as the empirical findings from Glocalmig have been presented at numerous international conferences by both the coordinator and the partners. The following is a list of the conferences and workshops, where the Glocalmig findings were disseminated:

1. Dissemination by the University of Bergen

Yngve Georg Lithman

Publications

n.d. European integration – towards a common European identity? Presented at the Norsk handelshögskola conference (Global Economic Perspectives Conference 2004). Ready for submission.

n.d. *Youth, Otherness and the Plural City: Modes of Belonging and Social Life*. (Co-edited with Mette Andersson.) Daedalus 2005. (forthcoming).

2004 *Envisioning Togetherness: Politics of Identity and Forms of Belonging*. Co-edited with HakanG. Sicakkan. New York: Edwin Mellen Press. (In press - release in April 2005).

2003 Diversity and Citizenship: The European Union, Citizens, Minorities, and Migrants. Co-edited with Hakan G. Sicakkan. Bergen: BRIC.

2004 Citizenship and Modes of Belonging: European Challenges. Forthcoming as IMER/Willy Brandt Working Paper. Malmö University.

2004 Disconnecting Place. Contribution to the European Association of Social Anthropologists. Vienna, Sept. 8-12. To be published in proceedings.

2004 McJihad: Radical Transnationalism and Terrorism. Social Analysis (revised manuscript to be submitted in June 2004).

2004 Europe, Wars, and Visions of the Future. Social Analysis 2004:2 (forthcoming).

2004 When Researchers Disagree: Epistemology, Multiculturalism, Universities and the State. Ethnicities4(2):155-184.

2003 Epistemology and Multiculturalism. In: Austrian Sociological Association, Proceedings from the 2003 Congress "Integrating Europe". Vienna: ÖSV, http:www.Oegs.ac.at/files/paper/Lithamn Notes.doc.

2003 Globalization and Terrorism in and of the Diaspora. Sydney & Canberra: Australian National University Europe Study Centre Technical Paper No 71,2003; 22pp. (In the series: The Challenges of Immigration and Integration in the European Union and Australia.).

2003 Radical Transnationalism and Terrorism of the Diaspora. I: Cesari, J., ed., European Muslims and the Secular State in a Comparative Perspective. Paris: G.S.R.L. (CNRS & Ecole des Haut. Etudes); s. 180-205.

Conferences

2004 November – Nordic Migration research Conference. Aalborg (forthcoming).

2004 – XIIIth International Metropolis International Conference. Geneva.

2004 – Sept. 8-12 European Association of Social Anthropologists. Vienna.

2004 – June 7, Immigrant Ascension to Citizenship: Recent Policies and Economic and Social Consequences: International conference organized under the auspices of the Willy Brandt Guest Professorship's Chair International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER), Malmö University, Malmö, (key note speaker).

2004 – May 12-14 Norwegian Research Council Conference on Youth and Diversity, Oslo.

2003 – Canadian National Metropolis Conference, Edmonton.

2003 – NOCRIME/CNRS conference on Muslim migrants, Paris, plenary presentation.

2003 – The Eight Metropolis International Conference – two workshop presentations.

2003 – The Austrian Sociological Association Conference on Europe, sub-plenary invited lecture.

Hakan Gürcan Sicakkan

Book/monograph series edited by Sicakkan

2004 - **Glocalmig Series**: **Migrants**, **Minorities**, **Belongings and Citizenship**, Series Editor H.G. Sicakkan, Bergen: BRIC. The **Glocalmig Series** comprises 8 volumes, which are presented in the beginning of Part 5 of this report.

Books (Monographs, Textbooks, Anthologies)

2004 – *Envisioning Togetherness: Politics of Identity and Modes of Belonging*. Edited by H.G. Sicakkanand Y. Lithman (accepted and in print at Edwin Mellen Press, London and New York).

2004 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Standardized Research Tools for Data Collection, Data Analysis and for Measuring the Quality of Citizenships in European Countries.* Glocalmig Series Vol. 1. Bergen: BRIC.

2004 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Belonging and the Quality of Citizenships: A Comparative Study of Six European Countries.* Glocalmig Series Vol. 8, Bergen: BRIC.

2003 – *Diversity and Citizenship: The European Union, Citizens, Minorities and Migrants.* Bergen: BRIC. Co-authored with Yngve Lithman.

Articles in Scientific Journals with Referee

2004- "The Modern State, the Citizen and the Perilous Refugee" *The Journal of Human Rights*, Vol. 3(4). Pp.445-463. (December).

2003- "Politics, Wisdom and Diversity. Or Why I don't want to be tolerated" *Norwegian Journal of Migration Research*, 2003/1 (April).

Articles in Anthologies

2004- "Politics of Identity and Modes of Belonging. An Overview of the Conceptual and Theoretical Challenges". Co-authored with Lithman, Y. (forthcoming in *Envisioning Togetherness*) (see under books).

2004- "Theorizing Identity Politics, Belonging Modes and Citizenship". Co-authored with Lithman, Yngve (forthcoming in *Envisioning Togetherness*) (see under books).

2004- "State Formation, Nation Building and Citizenship in Modern West European History" (forthcoming in *Envisioning Togetherness*) (see under books).

Scientific Reports

2004 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Glocalmig Final Report. Glocalmig Deliverable no.10*. Scientific report submitted to the European Commission DG-Research. IMER N/B, Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen.

2003 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Six Country Reports. Glocalmig Deliverables no.4-9*. Scientific report submitted to the European Commission DG-Research. IMER N/B, Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen.

2003 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: An Introduction to QC-CITBASE. An Overview of the Dimensions in Glocalmig's Database*. *Glocalmig Deliverable No.3*.

Scientific report submitted to the European Commission DG-Research. IMER N/B, Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen.

2003 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: Glocalmig Research Tools. Glocalmig Deliverables No.1-2*. Scientific report submitted to the European Commission DG-Research. IMER N/B, Center for Development Studies, University of Bergen.

Papers Presented in Conferences and Workshops

18-20 November 2004 – Organizer of the roundtable panel "Northern Europe and the Changing Meaning of Citizenship" and paper presentation at the 13. Nordic Migration Conference organized by the Danish Academy of Migration (AMID), Aalborg University. Paper: *Glocalization, Belongings and Discourses of Citizenship in Norway*.

5 November 2004 – Participation in *The European Forum*, Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen. Paper: *How is a Diverse European Society Possible? An Exploration into the New Public Spaces in Six European Countries*.

1-2 September 2004 – Participation in IMER/NOVA Joint Migration Seminar, Nice. Paper: *The Self, the Other and the Co-other. Glocal Sites as the Prototypes of a Future Diverse Society.*

7 June 2004 – Participation in the Conference "Immigrant Ascension to Citizenship: Recent Policies and Economic and Social Consequences". Organized under the auspices of the Willy Brandt Professorship's Chair, IMER-Malmö University. Paper: *Political Constructs of Immigrant Ascension to Citizenship. The Lessons from the Glocalmig Project*.

19-20 December 2003- Participation and lecture at the Conference "International Migration and Turkey: New trends, Major Issues and policy Needs", organized in Istanbul by Bilgi University. Paper: *Ontological Foundations of Coexistence: Diversity Thinking as an Alternative to Difference Perspectives*.

25-27 April 2003- Organizer of and presentation in Glocalmig Partners' Workshop in Vienna. Paper: *The Perspective of Diverse Society and Its Fundamental Ontology.*

13-14 March 2003- Project Presentation at the European Commission's Kick-off Meeting of the proposals funded under the Third Call in Programme for Improving the Socio-Economic Knowledge Base in FP5, Paper: *Migrants, Minorities, Belonging and Citizenship: Glocalization and Participation Dilemmas in EU and Small States (GLOCALMIG).*

14-15 September 2002- Lecture at the Skjervheim Seminar. Lecture paper: *Politics, Diversity and Wisdom. Or Why I don't Want to be Tolerated*, Stålheim Hotel, Voss.

13 September 2002- Organizer of Metropolis Workshop titled *Mobility, Belongings, and Citizenships in the European Union* in Oslo International Metropolis Conference.

12 September 2002- Organizer of and presenter at Metropolis Workshop titled "Belongings, Citizenships, and Politics in European Glocal Spaces" in Oslo International Metropolis Conference. Paper: *EU, Globalization, and the Policy-Relevance of GLOCALMIG*.

1 September 2002- Guest lecturer in Alta College with Karl Henrik Svensson. Paper: "Den Europeiske Unionen som oppdragsgiver for vitenskapelige prosjekter: Erfaringer fra en EU-finansiert forksning (Glocalmig)".

Supervision of MA Students

Co-supervision of a student writing an MA-Thesis at the Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen. Thesis title: *Inkludering av innvandrere I norske kommuner. En studie av statlig og kommunal diskurs om mål og middel* (Inclusion of Immigrants in Norwegian Municipalities. A study of State and Municipal Discourses on Policy Goals and Instruments). The thesis extensively used the Glocalmig research tools in order to map the similarities and differences between central and local authorities' attitudes to citizenship, immigration, immigrants, and refugees.

Jørgen Melve

2004 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Norway.* Bergen: BRIC.

September 2004 Nice, France – Participation in IMER/NOVA Joint Conference on Citizenship and Migration. Paper: *Citizens, Minorities, Immigrants and the Norwegian Political Elites*

2. Dissemination by the Austrian Academy of Sciences

Rainer Bauböck

Presentations

14.3.2003 Diversity and Integration, opening lecture at the Working Conference Migration and Integration, Austrian League for Human Rights, Vienna.

26.3. 2003 Towards a political theory of migrant transnationalism, sociology research seminar Institut für Höhere Studien, Vienna.

4.6.2003Filling the Representation Gap: Ethnic Minorities in the EU, panel discussion, Institute for the Human Sciences, Vienna.

28.6. 2003 Postsouveräne Polis? Normative internationale Ordnung und Mehrebenenmodelle politischer Gemeinschaft, Symposium 'Die globale Frage. Empirische Befunde und ethische Herausforderungen', Österreichische Forschungsgesellschaft, Wien.

30.10.2003Minorities in Post-national Societies, opening lecture, Working Conference Migration and Minorities, Österreichische Liga für Menschenrechte, Wien.

30.10.2003 Wozu noch Minderheiten? Panel discussion, Hauptbücherei der Stadt Wien, Österreichische Liga für Menschenrechte, Wien.

9.1.2004 Gehen, kommen, bleiben – philosophische und politische Fragen über Migration, public lecture, Café Philosophique im Café Prückel, Vienna.

18.2.2004 Multilevel Citizenship.Political boundaries in a post-Westphalian order, public lecture at Central European University, Budapest, Nationalism Studies Program.

1.4.2004 Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, WIIW Seminar in International Economics.

7.5.2004 Federal Arrangements and Minority Self-Government, European Forum Conference: Nations, Minorities, and European Integration, European University Institute, Florence 06 – 07 May 2004.

18.5. 2004 Comparing and benchmarking citizenship policies in the EU, The European Inclusion Index: Citizenship Seminar, British Council and Foreign Policy Institute, Brussels.

11.6.2004 Citizenship and Political Integration, 2nd Stockholm Workshop on Global Migration Regimes, Institute for Futures Studies in Stockholm together with the Centre for History and Economics, Kings College (Cambridge University) and the Global Equity Initiative of Harvard University, 10 – 12 June 2004.

5.9.2004 How to differentiate and defend an inclusive conception of citizenship, Dialogue on Citizenship, Human Movements and Integration Congress, Barcelona 3 – 5 September.

Teaching

autumn term 2003: Multinational Democracy, research seminar at the Institute for Political Science, University of Vienna.

spring term 2004: Migrations- und Integrationspolitik in Österreich, lecture course at the Institute for Political Science, University of Vienna.

Publications

"Deconstructing and accommodating national identities/La décounstruction et la prise en compte des identités nationales", introduction to: National Identity and Diversity/Identité nationale es diversité, Canadian diversity/diversité canadienne, vol. 3, no.2, spring 2004: 3-6.

"Territorial or Cultural Autonomy for National Minorities?" in: Alain Dieckhoff (ed).

The Politics of Belonging. Nationalism, Liberalism and Pluralism, Lexington Books, Lanham, Md, 2004: 221-258.

Civic Citizenship – A New Concept for the New Europe, in: Rita Süssmuth und Werner Weidenfeld (eds.): Managing Integration. The European Union's Responsibilities towards Immigrants, Bertelsmann Stiftung, CD-ROM, ISBN: 3-89204-770-7, 2004.

Cómo transforma la inmigración a la ciudadanía: perspectives internacionales, multinacionales y transnacionales, in: Aubarell, Gemma y Zapata, Ricard (eds.) Inmigración y procesos de cambio. Europy a Mediterráneo en el contexto global. Icaria: Barcelona, 2004: 177-214.

"Autonomie territoriale ou culturelle pour les minorités nationals?" in: Alain Dieckhoff (ed). La constellation des appartenances. Nationalisme,

libéralisme et pluralisme, Presse de Sciences-Po, Paris, 2004: 317-370.

Towards a political theory of migrant transnationalism, International Migration Review, vol. 37, No. 3, 2003:700-723.

<u>Wladimir Fischer</u>

Presentations

"Migrant Voices in Vienna's Contemporary History" - Session "Constructing Urban Memories: The Role of Urban Testimony" organized by Prof. Richard Rodger and Cynthia Brown (East Midlands Oral Archive, Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester, Leicester UK) at the Seventh International Conference on Urban History "European City in Comparative Perspective" at Athens-Piraeus, October 27th-30th 2004.

"A Polyphony of Belongings. (Labor) Migrants, Belongings and Music in Vienna" - International Musicological Symposium "Music and Networking" at the Department for Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Univerzitet umetnosti, Belgrade, April 14th-17th.

"Love Songs in the Diaspora. Balkan Migrants' Uses of Popular Music, Concepts of Love and Constructions of Europe" - Presentation in the Framework of the Research Group "Europa: Emotionen, Identitäten, Politik. Vergleichende Forschungen zu Kultur und Gesellschaft", conducted by Prof. Luisa Passerini, at the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut (KWI) in Essen, November 18th.

"Prominently Absent. Problems of 'Ex-Yugoslav' Migrants' Representation in Vienna" Workshop 5.3 "Civic Engagement and Identity Strategies of Particularly Underrepresented Migrants" at the 8th International Metropolis Conference in Vienna, September 15th-19th.

Workshop

Workshop 5.3 "Civic Engagement and Identity Strategies of Particularly Underrepresented Migrants" at the 8th International Metropolis Conference in Vienna, September 15th-19th. With Hilje van der Horst, Alev Korun, Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, Claus Pirschner and Wladimir Fischer. With funding from the Vienna Cultural Dept. and the Federal Ministry for Science and Education.

Internet Presentation

Papers from the Metropolis workshop on-line at http://www.civmig.balkanissimo.net With funding from the Vienna Cultural Dept.

Publications

Fischer, Wladimir. "Historiographical Strategies for "Former Yugoslav" Migrations to (and from) Vienna." Commemorating Migrants and Migrations: Towards New Interpretations of European History. Fourth Conference on Contemporary European Migration History, Paris November 15-16 2004. forthcoming.

"A Polyphony of Belongings. (Turbo) Folk, Power and Migrants." Music and Network/ing. 7th International Symposium Folklore, Music, Work of Art, Belgrade 14-17 April 2004. Eds. Tatjana Markovi+c and Vesna Miki+c. Beograd: Faculty of Music, forthcoming.

"Prominently Absent. Problems of 'Ex-Yugoslav' Migrants' Representation in Vienna." Paper given at the 8th International Metropolis conference in Vienna, 16. September 2003. <http://www.wu-wien.ac.at/usr/wigesch/wfischer/personal/Metropolis/Texts/Prominently_Absent_Fischer.pdf> 2003.

Fischer, Wladimir, Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger, and Harald Waldrauch. Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Austria. GLOCALMIG. Glocalization and Participation Dilemmas in EU and Small States 2. Ed. Hakan Sicakkan. Bergen: BRIC, 2004.

Barbara Herzog-Punzenberger

Reports to state administration

September 2004: Ministry of Education: PISA Austria Migration - A Feasibility Study.

Lecturing

March 2003: Presentation at the Canadian Metropolis Conference: The 2nd Generation in Austria, Germany and Switzerland.

September 2004: Presentation at the International Metropolis Conference in Geneva: The production of difference through the educational system. Different countries, different mechanisms, different outcomes.

October 2004: Presentation at the meeting of Austrian judges concerned with youth: The situation of migrant youth in Austria (Zur Situation jugendlicher MigrantInnen).

Teaching

2004 summer term: Course at the University of Vienna, Department for Social and Cultural Anthropology: "Ist Integration messbar? Indikatoren in der EU-Integrationspolitik und im internationalen Vergleich". (Can integration be measured? Indicators in EU integration policies and in international comparison.)

Media

November 27th, 2003: Radio interview, Austria, FM4, The situation of the 2nd generation in Austria.

November 15th/16th 2003: Newspaper article, Der Standard, page A5: In der Fremde Wien vermisst.

Articles

n.d. Schule und Arbeitsmarkt ethnisch segmentiert? Einige Bemerkungen zur „2. Generation" im österreichischen Bildungssystem und im internationalen Vergleich. In: S. Binder, M. Six-Hohenbalken, G. Rasuly-Paleczek (eds.) „HERAUS FORDERUNG MIGRATION. Reihe „Abhandlungen zur Geographie und Regionalforschung" Wien. Forthcoming.

2004 Bauböck, R.; Fischer, W.; Herzog-Punzenberger, B.; Waldrauch: Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Austria. H. Bric, Bergen.

2004 Nachkommen von EinwanderInnen in Österreich und Kanada – Bildungserfolge, gesellschaftspolitische Rahmenbedingungen und ein Analysevorschlag. www.schulheft.at

3. Dissemination by the Academy of Migration Studies, Aalborg University

Ulf Hedetoft

Publications

More than kin, and less than kind: The Danish Politics of Ethnic Consensus and the Pluricultural Challenge. In J. Campbell, J. Hall and O.K. Pedersen (eds) *The State of Denmark*. (Forthcoming manuscript, 2005).

2004 – (country study editor) *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Denmark.* Bergen: BRIC.

2003 – *The Global Turn. National Encounters with the World*, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press.

Conferences

2004 November 18-20 – Professor Hedetoft is the organizer of the 13th Nordic Migration Conference, Academy of Migration Studies, Aalborg University.

Roundtable Discussion

2004 November 19 – Professor Hedetoft is the co-organizer and moderator of the roundtable discussion entitled "Northern Europe and the Changing Meaning of Citizenship" (This is a roundtable specially organized in order to disseminate the results from Glocalmig. Four of Glocalmig's principal partners participate in the roundtable). University of Allborg, Denmark.

Line Vikkelsø-Slott

1.   2004 – *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Denmark.* Bergen: BRIC

4. Dissemination by the Estonian Institute of Humanities

Mikko Lagerspetz

Publications

2004 – Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Estonia. Bergen: BRIC.

Presentations

2003 – Conference of the Austrian Sociological Association "Integrating Europe", Vienna, 23.-26. November, 2003. Paper: *Minority Building as an Aspect of Nation Building in Estonia* (Paper co-authored with Sofia Joons).

Teaching

Postgraduate Course: "Inter-ethnic Relations and Nationalism", Spring Term 2004. Based on findings from Glocalmig with several lecturers.

Sofia Joons

Publications

2004 – Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Estonia. Bergen: BRIC.

Presentations

2003 Annual Conference of Estonian Social Researchers, Tallinn, 21.-22. November, 2003. Paper: *Minority Building as an Aspect of Nation Building in Estonia* (Paper co-authored with Mikko Lagerspetz)

Teaching

Postgraduate Course: "Seminar on Multiculturalism", Fall Term 2004. Based on findings from Glocalmig.

5. Dissemination by CEREN, the University of Helsinki

Tom Sandlund

2004 – (country study editor) *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Finland.* Bergen: BRIC.

2002 – Etnicitetsbilden i finlandssvenska medier (Artiklar av: Tom Sandlund, Ullamaija Kivikuru, Anna Kujala, Camilla Haavisto, Karin Creutz, Heidi af Heurlin, Riikka Lehtonen, Christina Korkman, Mats Nylund & Catharian Lojander-Visapää) SSKH Meddelanden, nr 62.

Matti Similä

2003 – Co-edited with Annika Forsander. *Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Nordic Welfare States.*Helsingfors: SSKH Meddelanden nr 65.

Perttu Salmenhaara

2004 – Co-authored with Sanna Saksela*. Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Finland.* Bergen: BRIC.

2003 –Immigrants and the Finnish Welfare State. In Annika Forsander and Matti Similä. *Cultural Diversity and Integration in the Nordic Welfare States.*SSKH Meddelanden nr 65.

Sanna Saksela

2004 – Co-authored with Sanna Saksela*. Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Finland.* Bergen: BRIC.

2003 – Mångkulturella organisationer och invandrarorganisationer i Finland. I: *Invandrerorganisationer i Norden*. Flemming Mikkelsen (red.). Danmark, 2003.

6. Dissemination by the Central European University

András Bozóki

Publications

2004 – Co-authored with Barbara Bösze *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Hungary*. Bergen: BRIC.

Lecturing

Autumn term – Guest Professor Lectures at the Colombia University, USA. Presentation of Glocalmig Findings.

Conference/Workshop Organization

Co-organizer of epsNet 2005 PLENARY CONFERENCE, 17-18 June 2005, Sciences Po, Paris and organizer of 5 worshops in the same conference.

In the above mentioned conference, organizer of the workshop "New political identities: social movements, migrants and minorities in Europe". Chair: Hakan G. Sicakkan, University of Bergen. The Glocalmig results will be broadly exploited in this workshop.

Barbara Bösze

2004 – Co-authored with András Bozóki *Migrants, Minorities, Belongings and Citizenship: The Case of Hungary*. Bergen: BRIC.

7. Additional remarks on dissemination

The project was presented in several **web sites**.

www.svf.uib.no/sfu/imer/research/glocalmig.htm

www.svf.uib.no/sfu/imer/publications/hs-glocalmig.htm

www.amid.dk/pub/news/AMID-Newsletter3_March2003.pdf

http://sockom.helsinki.fi/ceren/forskning4.htm

www.fis.utoronto.ca/pub/bscw.cgi/0/470659

http://unit.ee/dokid/teadus.htm

www.oegs.ac.at/files/Abstract_Lagerspetz_Joons.doc

Activities such as meetings, conference attendance, and advance notice of publications have been mentioned above.

VI. REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. References

Allern, Elin Haugsgjerd, Helgesen, Marit og Predelli, Line Nyhagen 2001 Mellom konflikt og integrasjon Evaluering av kontaktutvalget mellom innvandrere og myndighetene Oslo: NIBR Prosjektrapport 2001:11.

Ålund, Alexandra & Carl-Ulrik Schierup 1991, *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism. Essays on Swedish Society*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Anderson, Benedict 1991, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso.

Ansari, Atta. og Quereshi, Nashaud Ali 1998*. Kolleger eller alibier. En studie av politikere med minoritetsbakgrunn*.Oslo: Høgskulen i Oslo-rapport 1998 nr. 7.

Arendt, Hannah 1976, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harcourt Brace.

Bader, Veit 1995, 'Citizenship and Exclusion: Radical Democracy, Community and Justice. Or, What is Wrong with Communitarianism?', *Political Theory*, Vol.23, No.2, pp.211-246.

Bader, Veit 1997, 'The Cultural Conditions of Transnational Citizenship', *Political Theory* 25/6: 771 - 813; and Joseph Carens' Response same volume 814-20.

Bader, Veit 1998a, 'Dilemmas of Ethnic Affirmative Action: Benign State-Neutrality or Relational Ethnic Neutrality', *Citizenship Studies* 2/3: 435-73.

Bader, Veit 1998b, 'Egalitarian Multiculturalism: Institutional Separation and Cultural Pluralism' in Bauböck, R.I. Rundell, J eds. *Blurred Boundaries*: Aldershot.

Bader, Veit 1999a, 'Religious Pluralism. Secularism or Priority for Democracy?' *Political Theory* 27/5: pp.597-633.

Bader, Veit 1999b, 'Citizenship of the European Union. Human Rights, Rights of Citizens of the Union and of Member States.', *Ratio Juris*, Volume 12, Number 2, June, 153 – 181.

Bader, Veit 2000, 'Institutions, Culture and Identity of Trans-National Citizenship: How much integration and 'communal spirit' is needed?' In Crouch, Colin and Eder, Klaus eds.*Citizenship, Markets, and the State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barber, Benjamin R. 1994: *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Bauböck, Rainer 1994: Transnational Citizenship: Membership and Rights in International Migration, Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Bauböck, Rainer 1998: *Sharing History and Future? Time Horizons of Democratic Membership in an Age of Migration*, Aldershot: Edward Elgar.

Bauböck, Rainer 1999: "Liberal Justifications for Ethnic Group Rights" in Christian Joppke and Steven Lukes (eds.) *Multicultural Questions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bauböck, Rainer 2003a (forthcoming): "Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism", *International Migration Review* (Special Issue: "Transnational Migration: International Perspectives").

Bauböck, Rainer 2003b: "Re-inventing Urban Citizenship", *Citizenship Studies*, 7/2.

Bauböck, Rainer 2003c (forthcoming): "Public Culture in Societies of Immigration" in R. Sackmann, T. Faist, and B. Peters (eds.), *Identity and Integration. Migrants in Western Europe*, Avebury: Ashgate.

Bauman, Zygmunt 1995: *Life in Fragments*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Bell, Daniel 1993: *Communitarianism and Its Critics*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Beiner, Ronald 1998, "Why Citizenship Constitutes a Theoretical Problem in the Last Decade of the Twentieth Century" in Ronald Beiner (ed*) Theorizing Citizenship*, Albany: State University of New York Press.

Bendix, Reinhard 1977, *Nation-Building and Citizenship: Studies of Our Changing Social Order*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Benhabib, Seyla ed. 1996, *Democracy and Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brubaker, R. 1992 *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Brubaker, William Rogers 1989, Immigration and the Politics of Citizenship in Europe and North America, Lanham: University Press of America.

Calhoun, Craig ed. 1994: *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Calhoun, Craig 1995, *Critical Social Theory: Culture, History and the Challenge of Difference*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Calhoun, Craig 1997, *Nationalism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Carens, Joseph H. 1987 'The Case for Open Borders' in *Review of Politics* 49/2: pp.251-73.

Castles, Stephen 2000, *Ethnicity and Globalization: From Migrant Workers to Global Citizens*, London: Sage.

Castles, Stephen and A. Davidson eds. 2000, *Citizenship and Migration; Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Costa-Lascoux, Jacqueline 1989, 'L'Europe des politiques migratores' in *Revue europénne des migrations internationales* 5:2.

Council of Europe 1999 *Political and social participation through consultative bodies* Strasbourg: Community Relations, Council of Europe Publishing.

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