Muslim Experiences

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Professor Lépinard's research interests include gender and politics, feminist movements and feminist theory, equality and antidiscrimination policies, as well as multiculturalism in a comparative perspective. Her book chapter "From Immigrants to Muslims: The Shifting Categories of the French Model of Integration" was published in Avigail Eisenberg and Will Kymlicka's *How institutions assess identities* (UBC Press 2011). The article she wrote, "In the name of equality? The missing intersection in Canadian feminists' legal mobilization against multiculturalism," was printed in the *American Behavioral Scientist* in 2010. Her first book *L'égalité introuvable, la parité, les féministes et la République*, which explains the constitutional reform introducing gender parity in electoral politics in France, was published by Presses de Sciences-po (Paris) in 2007.

Presentation Abstract
"The multicultural experiment: robust enough to resist the backlash against Muslims?"
Multicultural policies have been designed to address the issue of immigrant integration and ethnic and race relations. They did not address the question of immigrants' religious identities. On the contrary, the political backlash against migrants and their children in European liberal states has taken a clear religious turn since it is first and foremost directed against the religious accommodation of ethnic groups and immigrants. This phenomenon first points to a lack of theorization of the relationship between culture and religion in theories of multiculturalism. I thus suggest that we need to reflect on the political and legal articulation between multiculturalism and religious accommodation. Second, I propose that the concept of religious discrimination can operate as an interface between the two. I argue that the possibility to mobilize the concept and the jurisprudence on religious discrimination varies greatly depending on the national jurisprudence and the legal system. Taking France and Canada as two examples I show that the existing legal conceptualization of equality determines the possibility to use the legal vocabulary of religious discrimination as a potent tool to foster a more inclusive polity. Finally, I identify a third challenge to thinking through a more inclusive multicultural polity: the feminist mobilization against religious accommodation in the name of gender equality. Here again I argue that redefining the feminist vocabulary of equality and autonomy are important steps to take.

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In addition to being Adjunct Research Professor in the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies, he holds a similar position in Carleton's School of Linguistics and Language Studies. He is also Associate Director of the Centre for European Studies at Carleton University, an EU Centre of Excellence. His current research interests focus on contemporary discourses on immigration and identity in a range of European countries. His recent publications include, "Identity Discourses in the German Headscarf Debate", in the Working Papers Series 15, *Canadian Centre for German and European Studies*, in 2008. In 2010, he contributed "The Rhetoric of the Right on Migrants and Minorities: Banality and Fear" to *Inclusion Unaffordable: The Uncertain Fate of Integration Policies in Europe* (edited by Maria Golubeva). Together with Maria Golubeva he edited the volume *Shrinking Citizenship: Discursive Practices that Limit Democratic Citizenship in Latvian Politics* (Amsterdam and NYC 2010). He has also contributed "Managing Ambivalence and Identity: Immigration Discourses and (Trans)national Identities in the European Union" to the forthcoming book *Transnational Europe* (edited by Joan DeBardeleben and Achim Hurrelmann).

Presentation Abstract
"Headscarves and National Identity in Germany."
"How much alien religiosity can our society take?" was the question asked in 2003 by Winfried Hassemer, Chief Justice of the Second Chamber of the Federal Constitutional Court, on the opening day of the hearings on whether a German school teacher and civil servant could wear a headscarf in the classroom. The Court decided she could, but despite that a number of the individual states within Germany legislated against it. Thilo Sarrazin's book *Germany on the Road to Ruin: How We are Putting our Country at Risk*, published in the fall of 2010, is a polemic in which an alien culture and religion, largely symbolised by the Moslem headscarf, are presented as factors endangering the very existence of Germany and the German nation. Against the background of certain key terms, this paper will examine the discourse of German identity in the first decade of the 21st century.

Rikke Andreassen, Associate Professor, Roskilde University, Denmark
MA, Aarhus University, Denmark; PhD, University of Toronto

Professor Andreassen is a researcher, teacher and consultant in communications, addressing racial/ethnic and gender equality issues. From 2006 – 2009, she was part of the EU project VEIL, which focuses on European debates concerning head- and body coverings of Muslim women, and participates often in public debates about headscarves/veils. In 2009, she presented the VEIL project results and recommendations in this area for the European Parliament. Andreassen is also one of the national coordinators for the network MigraNord, a network of scholars working with media representations and racial/ethnic minorities in the Nordic countries.

In 2010, she published "Sing a song but stay out of politics" in *Media in Motion: Cultural Complexity and Migration in the Nordic Region* (Kaarina Nikunen & Elisabeth Eide, editors). She also contributed, "Constructions of Veiled Muslim Women in the News Media's Intersection of Ethnicity/Race, Gender, Sexuality and Nationality" to the forthcoming *Women in Diaspora in the Nordic Countries* (edited by Haci Akman). In 2011, she is also contributing "Veiled Debates: Gender and gender equality in European National narrative" to the forthcoming *Politics, Religion and gender: Regulating the Muslim Headscarf* (Rosenberger & Sauer, editors).

Presentation Abstract
"Veiled debates: Gender and headscarves/veils as tools in European National Narratives."

During the previous decade, headscarves and veils have been the subject of heated debates across Europe and increasingly subjected to legal regulations. The debates about headscarves/veils contribute to constructions of gender, sexuality and race; veiling is a platform on which these are challenged and negotiated. The debates are also interwoven with constructions of nationality and embedded in struggles to define nationality, whiteness and Europe. Based on my participation in the European research project VEIL, I would like to show how European debates about veiling have become central in political attempts to prevent immigration and to construct the nation as white. Women's bodies are at the center of migration and integration politics, and veiling becomes a tool of inclusion and exclusion.

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Professor Arat-Koç's research interests include immigration policy and citizenship, especially as they affect immigrant women, transnational feminism, politics of imperialism, racialization and the politics of racism, and reconfiguration of social and political identities under neoliberal globalization. Currently, she is working on "whiteness" in Turkey as a cultural, political and class identity in the context of neoliberalism and post-cold war geopolitics. Her article, "Whose Transnationalism? Canada, 'Clash of Civilizations' Discourse, and Arab and Muslim Canadians" was published in *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada* (ed. Lloyd Wong and Vic Satzewich) in 2006 and *Colonialism and Racism in Canada: Historical Traces and Contemporary Issues* (ed. Maria A. Wallis, Lina Sunseri, and Grace-Edward Galabuzi) in 2010. She also published "Contesting or Affirming 'Europe'? European Enlargement, Aspirations for 'Europeanness' and New Identities in the Margins of Europe" in the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* (June 2010).

Presentation Abstract

"Culturalist Impasse, Democratic Delusions: Multiculturalism Debates, Diversity (Mis)Management and De-Democratization."

Both sides of the "multiculturalism debate", those favoring official multiculturalism as well as those offering "post-multicultural" (or anti-multicultural) alternatives more recently, are based in a culturalist logic and as such are similarly incapable of addressing issues of equality and democratization. Curiously omitted in public discussions on multiculturalism recently are the anti-racist critiques of official multiculturalism which have pointed out how official multiculturalism fails to address issues of racism, inequality and injustice and tends to reproduce racial/ethnic hierarchies by delineating who the real nationals are as it *ethnicizes* minorities. Whereas white supremacist assumptions and attitudes are more implicit to notions of "tolerance" in (old) official multiculturalism, they have become explicit to the "muscular liberalism" proposed in post-cultural alternatives more recently. A "clash of civilizations" logic is integral to the culturalist references to "Western values" (versus values attributed to other "cultures") as well as to the often unchallenged assertions about democracy, women's equality and gay liberation as *fait accompli* in Western societies. This paper argues that the "post-multicultural" model not only re-racializes and deepens social and political marginalization of minorities living in Western states, but that it also contributes to a de-democratization of politics for all. Already undermined by neoliberalism and the "war on terror", democratic discourses and spaces in Western states have become further delimited through the ideology of self-aggrandizement, false mirrors and delusions that the ideological claims on "Western values" provide.