

Reframing Democratic Citizenship - intersectional & transnational challenges

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Overview

- **Introduction:** approaches, questions, arguments, inspirations
- **Revisiting feminist criticisms :** The classical national models of democracy and citizenship based on exclusion
- **Feminist debates:** Gender Equality, Diversity, Intersectionality
Research Findings : Intersections of in/exclusion of Gender and Diversity in the European Public Sphere (EPS)
- **The cosmopolitan debates:** Situated/rooted cosmopolitanism
- **Conclusion:** The contextual and contested meanings of gender democracy, equality and gender justice.

What is democracy – what is possible and desirable?

- **Key questions:** Who governs; who should govern; what is desirable and feasible at the national, European and transnational level?
- **A citizen approach:** Who should be in/excluded in politics – ‘the right to have rights’?
- **Intersections of political institutions, citizens & civic organizations:** The role of nation states, transnational institutions, the EU/EC/EP, international organizations /IGO (UN, IMF/World Bank/G8/G20), non-international governmental organizations - NGOs/INGOs?
- **Gender Democracy:** intersections of institutions and civic participation – inclusion and empowerment?

Reframing democracy within and beyond the nation states: The arguments

- The **‘intersectional turn’** in feminist theories can be a fruitful conceptual move to reframe democracy within the nation state and transcend unitary thinking with gender as the primary concept and a means to understand in/exclusions of women and other marginalized social groups, including diversities of race/ethnicity, class and age/generation
- The **‘transnational turn’** in the social sciences can be a fruitful conceptual move to reframe democracy and transcend ‘methodological nationalism’ and ‘euro-centrism’ of the dominant models of democracy and a means to understand the new global and post-national forms of governance, gender identities and gender activism

Transversal Politics

“To sum up, then, transversal politics represents in many ways an important advance on the earlier modus operandi of the Left, which fell into traps of 'over' universalism or 'over' relativism. However, for transversal politics to become a major tool of 'real politics' as well as of 'alternative' social movements, requires from us more thinking and doing”

(Yuval-Davis, 1999)

Critique of Methodological Nationalism

”**Methodological nationalism** is an intellectual orientation that assumes national borders to be the natural unit of study, equates society with the nation-state, and conflates national interests with the purpose of social science”

(Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002)

Revisiting feminist critiques of the classical models based on exclusion

- **The Classical Models:** focus on equal rights to **participation and representation** in politics & civil society; based on exclusion of women & minorities
- **The political traditions:** *Liberalism, Republicanism, Deliberative Democracy, Social Democracy?*
- **Liberal democracy:** *formal civil & pol. Rights; can include diversity; negates structural power inequalities*
- **Civic republicanism:** *a just society based on solidarity and equal political rights, excludes diversity*
- **Deliberative democracy** *premised on the public/private divide; men as citizen/workers, women as mothers/carers*

Gendering Democracy – strategies to include women

- **Pateman/Fraser:** The *public-private* divide excludes the family; married women/motherhood/carework
- **Two strategies:** *inclusion* of women in the public arena ‘*as equal citizens*’ denies their particularity
- **Inclusion ‘as women’** – reproduces inequality
- **Phillips:** Inclusion of women in politics ‘*from above*’
- **Young:** Empowering women ‘*from below*’ – through activism on civil society – transformative politics?

Citizenship, gender equality and social justice

- **T.H. Marshall: (1950):** Citizenship and Social Class
- **Lister (2003):** *Ethic of care vs. ethic of justice*
- **Critical synthesis:** *Equal civil & political rights vs. unequal social & economic rights (formal/subst.?)*
- **Lived citizenship:** *'The meaning citizenship has in peoples' lives; the way social and cultural backgrounds affect their lives/practice as citizens'*
- **Fraser (2004):** *Three dimensions of social justice - redistribution, recognition, participatory parity*

Debates about Gender Democracy, (Gender) Equality and Social Justice

- **Inclusion of women's agency, interests, demands**
– what women, whose interests/demands?
- **Demands for inclusion of diversity & minorities:**
gender, age, class, ethnicity/race, sexuality etc.
- **Intersectionality approach:** a focus on inter-and intra-categorical differences among social groups and within groups of women
- **In/exclusion in democratic citizenship (Isin):**
minorities, residents; migrants & refugees

Fraser's three-dimensional theory of justice asks in/exclusion of whom

- **Political justice** is about **parity participation** - equal moral worth that permits all to participate as peers in social life
- **Obstacles to social justice**: the economic **class structure**/social inequalities create distributive injustice & maldistribution; **hierarchies of cultural values**/the social order creates inequality & misrecognition
- **Issues of (mis)representation are political** - a third dimension of justice conceptually distinct from the economic & cultural dimension (infrastructure i.e. gender quota), the boundary setting aspect of the political (i.e. the public/private divide)

Gender Democracy: Analytical Dimensions

- **Inclusion** - in political institutions /decision making of marginalized groups (i.e. by quota)?
- **Transparency** and accountability?
- **Recognition** – of diverse interests and claims
- **Intersectionality** - of presence, interests, claims?
- **Power/empowerment** –democratic learning
- **Transformation** – of institutions, culture, structures

Empirical illustrations: The deliberative model of the (European) Public Sphere

Key dimensions of the PS (Ferree 2002):

- *Who* should participate, on what occasions?
- *What* should be the form and content of their contribution to the public discourse?
- *How* should the actors communicate?
- *What* are the desired outcome of the process?

Intersectionality as an analytical approach - Research Questions

- The who: ex/inclusion of women & migrant minorities in the EPS
- What conceptions of intersectionality /diversity and equality for diverse groups, do actors articulate in the PS/EPS?
- How do the actors communicate?
- How might the analysis contribute to a better understanding & theorizing the role of intersectionality in national & trans- national politics?

Research Results 1: Framings of Intersectionality in the EPS

- The interactions of gender with ethnic diversity/ race is on the political agenda - *is contested, contextual*
- **Exclusive Intersectionality** - tensions between equality & diversity perceived as unsolvable, negative view of diversity, fx Muslim minorities
- **Inclusive intersectionality** - both equality & diversity perceived as positive values, not as fundamentally irreconcilable
- **Ambiguous, situated intersectionality** - diversity may both further and hinder equality

Research Results 2: Tensions & conflicts around Europeanization

- **Norm diffusion within the EU about democracy & fundamental rights:** i.e. pol. actors accept gender equality as a European value
- **Anti-discrimination of ethnic, national and religious minorities** is more contested; though part of the same fundamental rights
- **Trans-European networks & shared meanings** - in EWL/ENAR about gender/diversity interpreted as signs of an emergent EU public sphere?

Intersections of Gender & Diversity at the transnational EU level

Conflicting trends, interpretations and results:

- *Europeanization of civil society ‘from above’* – sponsored European Publics (EWL & ENAR) - legitimizing EC?
- *Democratic learning from below*: Civil society activities around gender equality & diversity may stimulate transnat. networks & public spheres
- *Anti-diversity positions*, fx anti-Muslim/anti migration movements, also move across the national borders and have entered the EP

Debates about Barriers to Democracy and Citizenship in the EU

- **Democratic agency:** Political actors describe problems and solutions with citizen/migration and welfare policies, and relations between the two.
- **Economic dilemma:** The right to mobility across borders create democratic problems
- **Citizenship:** differentiation on citizenship status – national rights, EU rights, human rights
- **Democratic dilemma:** EU citizens, third country nat., irregular migrants targeted by nationalist parties, lack access to social & political rights & presence in politics.
- **Migration overrides concerns for gender equality**

Debates about Contradictory Trends in Democratic Citizenship

- **EU citizenship:** multilevel, supra-national governance links local/regional, national transnational
- **EU citizens:** *rights* as EU-workers, citizens to reside in MS, vote in local elections; *exclude* third-country nationals, & irregular migrants
- **EU-public sphere:** Democratic deficit in EP and EPS - yet cooperation between EWL & ENAR
- **Transborder migration/mobility:** may create transnational networks, translocal loyalties, solidarities?

Cosmopolitan Democracy links national , transnational and human rights

- **Cosmopolitan approaches** - argue that globalization of rights & responsibilities may lead to global citizenship that link national rights with transnational and human rights
- **A postnational citizenship/democracy:** is based on trans-national governance, transnational identities /practices, transnational civil society
- **The debate asks:** *Is this analytical possible & normative desirable – growing nationalism, populism, euroskepticism on the Right and Left?*

Feminist Approaches to Transnationalism - local-global-local dynamics

- **Benhabib:** *Situated cosmopolitanism* - 'women's rights as human rights' based on international human rights law/regime
- **Tarrow:** 'Rooted cosmopolitanism' – people/groups are rooted in specific national contexts, but engage in contentious politics that involve them in transnational networks, contacts and conflicts
- **Glick-Schiller:** local-global dynamics exists, i.e. Filipina migrant domestic care workers in the US already practice trans-national citizenship
- **Yuval Davis:** proposes an inclusive universal based on a multi-layered citizenship model based on transnational belongings & transversal dialogue bounded by common political values & recognition of different locations and identifications

Fraser's approach to reframe justice at the global level

- **Analytical argument:** decisions concerning '*the fate of all*' are increasingly taken, or not taken *at the global level (terrorism; climate)*
- **The public spheres** are increasingly trans- or postnational with respect to the *what, who & where, how & the addressee of communication*
- **The dual challenge:** 'to create new, trans- national *public powers* , make them accountable to new transnational *public spheres*'

Conclusion: Transformative Changes and Forms of Resistance?

- **Complex diversity** may lead to a growing sensitivity to *intersectional approaches to gender equality in theory, research and practice*
- **The trend towards post-national citizenship** - the homogeneity of the nation state is challenged by globalisation, migration/mobility, crisis, conflicts
- **UN-level: Emphasis on women/marginalised groups role in international development; post-conflict societies and peace building/peace-keeping**
- **Forms of resistance and activism from marginalised groups, women, the young, unemployed** – demands for equality, social justice, participation/representation?

Thanks for your attention!

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