Conceptual and methodological framework

for systematic comparison and analysis

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

D4.1. provides with a theoretical and methodological framework for the analysis of the individual case studies of work package 4 (Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Israel, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey). It corresponds to task 1 of work package 4, which is aimed at establishing the conceptual bases for development of deliverables 4.2 to 4.9, and later comparison of the case studies in deliverables 4.9 and 4.10. D4.1 sets out therefore the common core of concepts to be used in work package 4 in order to explain *when*, *why* and *how* barriers resulting from the multilevel nature of citizenship can be solved. In addition, D4.1 will be a central component of the introductory chapters of deliverables 4.9 and 4.10.

1. INTRODUCTION

Citizenship is a fundamental status and bundle of rights. In many contexts individuals do not only hold one citizen status and one bundle of rights, but several on different levels of government. Citizenship is thus a multi-layered phenomenon (Kymlicka 1995; Yuval-Davis 1999). It is "an embodied category, involving concrete people who are differentially situated in terms of gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, ability, state in the life cycle, etc." (Yuval-Davis 2007, 562). A single individual is indeed a woman, a mother, a worker, a member of a trade union, a member of the local community, and a citizen of her country at the same time. Now, this same individual might also be a citizen of the European Union.

Certainly, the European dimension adds complexity to the concept of citizenship, which until recently had been strictly confined to the nation-state. In words of Maas, "Citizenship in contemporary societies has come to be defined as a homogeneous legal and political status within the context of a nation-state: in the now-dominant meaning, the only form of membership that may be termed *citizenship* is membership in a sovereign state. Although undeniably important, this narrow and exclusionary definition of citizenship obscures important developments at both sub- and suprastate levels. For example, the rise of citizenship of the European Union [...] has raised expectations that other regional integration efforts may also result in meaningful supranational rights."(Maas 2013a, 1). As such, the European experiment represents a huge challenge to both politicians and citizens, since it enlarges the number of layers an individual can feel part of. While other work packages of this project specifically deal with the problems related to layers of citizenship such as gender, class, sexuality, etc. it is the main task of work package 4 (WP4) to deal with the problems related to the existence of different communities in the same territory. We focus specifically in this work package on how multiple communities have managed to accommodate under a *unique* citizenship.

Among the most important problems resulting from the multi-layered nature of the EU is the contradiction between increasing powers at the EU level and maintaining sovereignty at the national level. As in any decentralization/ transference process there is often a trade-off between increasing powers at the European level while decreasing competencies at the national level. This has encountered considerable resistance from the part of national states, which are reluctant to transfer competences to the EU level. Particularly problematic from this point of view is the transfer of powers in social and immigration policies. As for the first, there is reticence from the member states to expand welfare benefits to the increasingly moving European population (Hansen and Hager 2010; Schall 2012). Secondly, but certainly related to this reticence, is that EU member states want to preserve their rights to determine who is a citizen in their country and who is not, and who has the right to come in and who has not. This has caused a number of problems for the moving population, as it is the case of Roma (Parker and Toke 2013). This practical problem finds parallelism in the intellectual debate, which reproduces two different models of integration. For defenders of national citizenship only, the objection is against the intrusion of EU citizenship on national citizenship. "Some take this argument even further

and contend that the result of EU citizenship being based on residency rather than descent or birth is the erosion of nation-state citizenship (Delanty 2007)." (Andrijasevic 2013, 51). For defenders, the main problem of EU citizenship is that it depends on national citizenship, since only citizens of a country member can acquire EU citizenship. This dependence from national citizenship clearly imposes on EU citizenship, and restricts the extent to which EU citizenship applies (Painter 2002; Maas 2013a).

Also linked to the multi-layered nature of the EU is the problem of the supposed lack of legitimacy of the European Union and failure to establish a common identity to all European citizens. Although it has recently being argued that having a strong identity is not a requisite for developing a consistent citizenship (Kantner 2006; Antonsich 2012), identity is still perceived as necessary for the stability of the European Union (e.g. Delanty 1997; Fuchs 2011). However, most empirical studies are rather pessimistic regarding the development of a common European identity and show that national identities remain much stronger than the European one (Risse 2010; Fuchs and Klingemann 2011; Lucarelli, Cerutti, and Schmidt 2011; McMahon 2013). This is true also for European citizens who have moved to another EU country: even if their attachment to the EU seems to become stronger over time, they still identify primarily with the national level (Recchi and Favell 2009). Lack of a common identity is problematic since it makes it difficult for the EU to justify its decisions on the basis of a collective community. Even more problematic and particularly relevant for W4 is that a weak European identity might impede the formation of an EU-wide sense of belonging which is necessary to foster citizenship policies, and ensure that EU citizenship rights are fully protected against possible infringements[1].

The situation happens to be even more complex in the European context as the boundaries between *insider* and *outsider* citizens become blurred. Indeed both 3rd country nationals and EU member states nationals who move to an EU member state are converted into immigrants in their new country of residence. Immigrants, however, who have a different status at the European level, and who are entitled to a different set of rights. This makes it more difficult to deal with such diversity[2].

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[1] Other scholars, however, are more in favour of a weak type of identity at the European level. This is the case of Habermas' defense of constitutional patriotism (see, for example, Habermas 1993). On whether identity is necessary at all to promote citizenship at the European level, see above: Kantner 2006.

[2] Since WP10 is focused precisely on the study of 3rd country nationals, this should not necessarily be treated in WP4. However, we are aware that some specific case studies might face relevant problems related to the migration of 3rd country nationals, and for this reason we leave the topic open at the discretion of the country experts.

These problems, however, are not exclusive of the European Union, and we find many examples of different attempts to accommodate diversity around the world. There are indeed many countries where people identify with more than one territorial level. A typical example is Switzerland, where German, French, Italian and Roman populations live together; or India and Canada, all of them with a federal structure. But ethnicity problems are also present in more centralist countries as a consequence of changes in territorial borders or massive immigration. Against this background of different communities, different solutions have been tried either to prevent from possible destabilization or to accommodate citizens' demands. Some of these attempts have been clearly successful, whereas others have been less successful. Likewise, this type of problems has been solved peacefully in some countries, while there have been severe conflicts (either violent or not) among the different communities in other countries.

In one way or another, EU citizenship faces similar challenges to these examples. In WP4 we travel therefore around different places in the Earth to learn how problems derived from the multi-layered territorial context have been addressed. In particular we visit Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Israel, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey. Ultimately, the study and comparison of different practices of citizenship in different contexts shall help to identify possible solutions that could be applied at the EU level. Indeed, "the comparative history of citizenship provides rich examples of multilevel citizenship in theory and practice, although such examples are today often forgotten or obscured by the dominant narrative of single and homogeneous, territorial, state-based citizenship" (Maas 2013b: 1). These varieties of multilevel citizenship can certainly shed some light on possible developments for European citizenship, which in turn can help overcome some of the obstacles Europeans face nowadays when trying to exercise their rights as citizens. In this document, we introduce the comparative framework of WP4 by which the single case studies can deliver interesting information for the EU level.

2. ON THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE EU AND THE CASE STUDIES

In a famous article published in 1991 Giovanni Sartori warns against the inappropriate use of the comparative methodology (Sartori 1991). This warning cannot be left out, considering the variation we find in our case studies. Can we compare our case studies with the EU case? And how can we do it? Still nowadays, the European Union is defined as a *sui-generis* system (e.g. Phelan 2012), which makes it difficult to compare it to any other political system. Even if aware of this particularity, we propose for WP4 a comparative strategy primarily aimed at learning from other countries' experiences in dealing with multi-layered citizenship. Indeed, Sartori himself agrees that "comparing is 'learning' from the experience of others, and conversely, that he who knows only one country knows none." (Sartori 1991, 245).

Our perspective follows the distinction between *internal analysis* (or illustrative comparison, see e.g. Bergene 2007, 19–20) and *external analysis* (Steinmetz 2004; Pennings, Keman, and Keinnijenhuis 2006). *Internal analysis* refers to the process of understanding the individual cases in isolation, whereas *external analysis* is the study of the similarities or differences between cases (Janoski and Hicks 1994; the distinction is analogous to Sartori's case-study vs. comparison (1991, 251–252), and Mahoney's within-case vs. cross-case (Mahoney 2007)). "Thomas Janoski and Alexander Hicks propose a strategy supplementing an external comparative analysis among cases with an internal examination of each case, and this can be related to the distinction between analytical and illustrative forms. While the external analysis identifies similarities and differences among the cases, the internal analysis is conducted in order to gain explanatory depth. [...] During and after the selection of cases a preliminary external comparative analysis of their similarities and dissimilarities is conducted. However, when this is done the researcher supplements the comparisons of characteristics between the cases with data collection and internal analysis of each case in its own right, paying heed to context and laying the groundwork for the theoretical comparison." (Steinmetz 2004). This comes close to the comparative strategy we propose here.

Thus, the comparative method is applied with the scope of learning from the case-studies reviewed in WP4, and not so much to find regularities between the different case-studies. In particular, we envisage the study of WP4 in three stages, which will combine both external and internal analysis (see Figure 1). In the first stage, we examine similarities and differences between the EU-case and the other case-studies very preliminarily (external analysis). This initial analysis provides a net picture of the extent to which the case studies differ between them, and with regard to the European Union. As we define the main concepts to be used in WP4, we introduce in this document descriptive data for this stage. In the second stage, each case-study is internally analysed by the country experts, providing extensive knowledge of the problems these countries have encountered and the possible solutions which have been implemented. In the last stage, each case-study is compared to the EU case to find out which experiences could be applied in the European Union[3]. Such a strategy gives much room to the country experts for developing the internal analysis in step 2, and providing with data which will constitute the basis of analysis in step 3. The choice is deliberate and responds to the great variety of cases we need to deal with in WP4. Certainly, not only is the European Union a special entity, but the case studies are also very different among them. Considering this constraint, it is impossible to depart in WP4 from a fixed comparative method which would be applied to all case studies. Some case-studies indeed seem to be quite similar to the European Union – such as Canada and Switzerland – and might call for a 'most
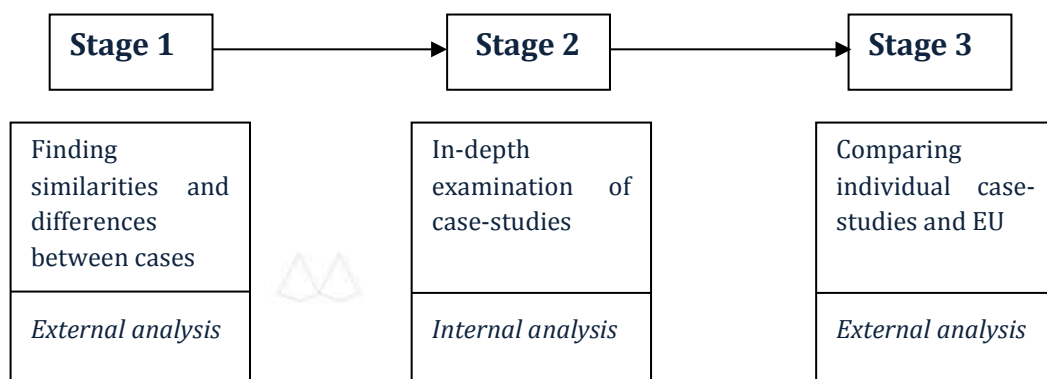
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[3] Depending on the country's experts reports, we expect to use Qualitative Comparative Analysis at this stage (for more information about this methodology, see http://www.compasss.org/index.htm and (Ragin 1987)

similar systems' design (MSSD); other countries however appear at first sight to differ immensely from the EU – Czech Republic or Estonia, for example – and require a 'most different systems' design (MDSD) (for a revision of these two methods see Przeworski and Teune 1970; Ragin 1987; Brady and Collier 2004[4]). Whereas our open strategy might increase the danger of comparing apples and pears, its potentiality clearly overcomes this danger. First, an in-depth study of each of countries might reveal similarities and differences which are not known a priori. Since most comparative work on the EU has been related to institutional building, there is a vast area which remains unexplored until today. Second, and in relation to the first, this strategy offers great opportunities for comparing and learning about particular solutions which could be tried in the EU.

For Deliverable 4.11, we hope therefore to be able to present a set of possible actions which could be applicable at the EU level. Put it simply, "contextualizing comparative analysis means not simply being more careful about our choice of categories or phenomena to compare or about the importance of issue or process equivalence; but may also push us at times to make different kinds of comparisons altogether. What, at first, might look like "apples and oranges" may turn out to be, under closer examination, a more effective way of capturing the particular way common challenges have been translated into specific conflicts in the various national settings. The more nuanced and context-sensitive approach to issues of equivalence, we believe, is among the greatest contributions that qualitative comparative analyses can make to our field."(Locke and Thelen 1998, 12).

Figure 1 The comparative method: a three stages strategy

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3
Finding similarities and differences between cases	In-depth examination of case-studies	Comparing individual case-studies and EU
External analysis	*Internal analysis*	*External analysis*

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[4] Already in the nineteenth century, these two methods were called 'method of agreement' (MSSD) and 'indirect method of difference' (MDSD) by John Stuart Mill (1843)

Many have insisted about the *sui-generis* nature of the European Union (see for example, Majone 1996; Marks, Hooghe, and Blank 1996), which has instigated important criticism against comparison of this special *animal* with other political systems. Whether the European Union truly represents an 'N=1' has been largely discussed since then[5]. Except for a few exceptions, most scholars now agree that it is possible to compare the European Union to other political systems (among others, see Hix 1994; Hix 1998a; Zweifel 2002; Zweifel 2003; Wolinetz 2011). Yet, comparison of the EU with other political systems is most of the times confined to other (con)federal states, such as the United States or Canada (McKay 2001; Ansell and Palma 2004; Fabbrini 2004; Menon and Schain 2006; Bolleyer 2009; Burgess and Gagnon 2010; Laursen 2011)[6]. Moreover, comparative studies have initially been more focused on institutional arrangements, and only recently is there an increasing interest in policy comparison. Among these, studies on immigration or citizenship policies are one of the newest developments in comparative perspective, expanding also the number of countries to which the EU is compared (van der Mei 2002; Cain 2004; Prügl and Thiel 2009; Brubaker 2010; Schall 2012; Requejo Coll and Caminal Badia 2012; Maas 2013b; Maas 2013d). In Maas' edited book, for example, EU citizenship is compared to citizenship in Mexico, the United States, Egypt, China, Canada, Switzerland, and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Maas 2013b). This gives us ground to justify the comparison of our case-studies to the EU, since "This and other comparative examples of nested or multilevel citizenship such as those covered in the subsequent chapters in this book raise the question of what EU citizenship can become." (Maas 2013a, 18).

2.2 The sui-generis nature of EU citizenship revisited

Some remarks on the specificities of the European Union as compared to our case-studies are, however, necessary. We will need to be aware of them all along in WP4. There are indeed important differences on how citizenship is configured at the EU and at the national level. In order to properly understand the difference, the following points are important. In the literature we find the following narrative so far: To start with, EU citizenship is limited to a small range of rights, related mainly – although not exclusively – to freedom of movement[7]. To the contrary, national citizenship involves a large number of rights and

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[5] An interesting discussion about the 'N=1' problem can be found in vv.aa. 1997.

[6] Initially, the study of the European communities was mostly an area of research of international relations, and therefore compared to other intergovernmental organizations such as MERCOSUR, NAFTA, etc. With the signature of the Treaty of Maastricht and the creation of the European Union, the focus of comparison has moved to other con(federations) (see Wolinetz 2011).

[7] EU citizenship rights are: 1) not to be discriminated against on the grounds of nationality; 2) to move and reside freely within the EU; 3) to vote and stand as candidates in municipal and European

obligations ranging from civil to social rights. The EU catalogue of citizenship rights is therefore remarkably limited, and therefore not fully comparable with national conceptions of citizenship (Shaw 1998). In addition, EU citizenship is conditional upon being in the possession of national citizenship. Member states have consequently absolute control of who becomes an EU citizen within their territory and who does not (Painter 2002). Also from this point of view EU citizenship differs strongly from our case-studies' citizenship. But this is not yet the full story. Due to principles of freedom of movement and non-discrimination that in the EU come along with European citizenship there are important interaction effects that considerably affect the bundle of rights of a national and EU citizen. These additional interaction effects make European citizenship quite unique and hard to pin down. For instance, while it is true that relatively few rights are in the bundle of rights of European citizenship *per se*, the principle of non-discrimination of a citizen moving across state borders within the EU might considerably add rights to the bundle of rights that person holds, and this without special control or approval of the member-state. In order to take stock of European citizenship, an analysis of rights is insufficient: it needs to be complemented by an analysis of the interaction effects of rights of states and citizens with fundamental principles of the EU. A second example is the following: while it is true that the member-state can control access to European citizenship on its turn, it cannot control the access to citizenship in other member states. Consequently, a single member state has little control over European citizenship and hence over the group of people it will potentially or actually have to recognize in this status on its turn. Ultimately, it is the interaction effects of this process that determine the outcome of who has which rights and where. Neither the EU nor a single member-state controls the process. When considering the *sui generis* nature of EU citizenship the interactive process in which individual rights, state rights and competencies as well as fundamental principles interact needs to be taken into consideration. The resulting heterarchic nature of the control of the practice of citizenship is an important specificity of the EU.

We need also to be aware of a further differentiation between the EU-case and the other case-studies, which has important implications for how concepts are defined in WP4. This is related to the fact that EU citizens are divided into *stayers* – Europeans who live in the country where they were born; the big majority – and *movers* – Europeans who have moved to another EU member state; about 10% of the Europeans (see, for example, Recchi and Favell 2009; Favell 2011). This distinction is crucial in order to

Parliament elections wherever they live in the EU, under the same conditions as nationals; 4) to be assisted by another EU country's embassy or consulate outside the EU under the same conditions as a citizen of that country, if their own country is not represented; 5) to petition the European Parliament, apply to the European Ombudsman and address the EU institutions (in any official EU language); and 6) to organize and support, together with other EU citizens, a citizens' initiative to call for new EU legislation.

identify who exercises EU citizenship rights and when. Indeed, even if all EU nationals are entitled to EU citizenship rights, it is mostly the *movers* who take profit of the set of rights related to freedom of movement. For the same reason, *movers* might be those who experience most problems when trying to exercise their EU citizenship rights. Considering this distinction, the range of problems or type of discrimination we find in the EU might differ much from those encountered in our case-studies. In the European Union, it is less than probable that a whole community – let us say, for example, Italians – is/has been systematically discriminated by the other communities – or member states (within the EU territory). This is however a plausible situation in our case-studies. From this point of view, comparability is compromised. Still, comparison is possible if we select situations that are similar both in the EU and in a particular case-study. Just to put a few fictional examples, comparison would be possible, between United Kingdom *stayers*' claims against the EU and Catalans' claims against Spanish interference in national matters. Comparison would also be possible between EU *movers* to another member state and immigrants to any of our case-studies. To exemplify: "Within the EU, several member states have or propose to reintroduce border controls and restrict access for EU citizens who claim social assistance. Some, most notably France and Italy, have emphasized their expulsions of Roma, which challenge human rights norms against discrimination." (Maas 2013c, 95).

2.3 WHAT IS THEN TO BE COMPARED?

In the light of these specificities, what is then to be compared? Our main variable of interest is *accommodation of diversity*, or how the different case-studies have attempted to solve complex situations and/or dynamics caused by the multi-layered structured of citizenship. In other words, we want to focus on the different *solutions* that have been tried in the eight case-studies of WP4 to respond to the multi-layeredness of citizenship. Ultimately, our objective is to assess whether any of these practices can be successfully relocated within the European Union.

Certainly, the type of solution that is applied in a certain context cannot be easily disentangled from the specific type of discrimination encountered by the citizens, their ability to make their claims visible in a particular context, or even more plainly, the characteristics of the people or the community against whom discrimination is exerted. However, for the purpose of comparison, it is extremely useful to distinguish these different elements conceptually. This is the objective of the following sections: section 3 treats the concept of community; section 4 deals with the concept of discrimination and its different types; section 5 provides a definition and classification of the claims; and section 6 takes up the description of our dependent variable: solutions to problems caused by the multi-layered nature of citizenship.

3. ON THE DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY

3.1 WHAT CONCEPT DO WE USE?

In our first meeting of the bEUcitizen consortium, the members of WP4 had discrepancies on one of the main comparative concepts of this work package: what concept should be used to indicate diversity? Minority, population, ethnic group, etc., all these concepts have been applied in the study of multilevel contexts, and have different implications with regard to how and how much we can compare. "'Minority' (always opposed to 'majority') is a numerical concept of social science that characterizes the relation between groups of different size. Thus, a minority is not defined by its specific features as such, but by its features in combination with its size within certain borders." (Cheneval and Dänzer 2013, 250). *Population* often refers strictly to numbers, or the numerical percentage of citizens belonging to the specific population. The concept of ethnic group presupposes a common ethnic background of all members of the group. In truth, none of these concepts is either right or wrong, and none of them is free of judgement. Moved by pragmatism, and considering the theoretical restrictions these concepts impose on the object of study, we have decided for the concept of **community**.

In WP4, we will therefore mainly talk about community, for a number of reasons. (1) Community provides a broader concept than population, since it explicitly involves a certain subjective sense of belonging, an *imagined community* to cite but one of the classics (Anderson 1991). "A reasonable interpretation of the word's use would seem to imply two related suggestions: that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups." (Cohen 2013, 12). (2) The concept of community is not necessarily related to the minority vs. majority distinction. A community might well be minority in a particular country, and majority in another one. (3) This previous characteristic of community is extremely critical for the EU case, where it is irrelevant to distinguish between minorities and majorities of EU citizens. EU citizens become minority or majority depending on whether they are *movers* or *stayers*, and therefore this conceptual distinction is not useful for most studies in the EU context. (4) The concept of community is not restricted to ethnic identification, but gives room to other types of identity such as cultural, religious, etc. (5) At last, since the concept of community applies equally well to all the case-studies of WP4 and allows for the study of the relationship between the different communities (be they minorities or majorities; ethnic or cultural; etc.), we will use this conceptual tool in WP4.

3.2 THE DIFFICULT TASK OF DEFINING A COMMUNITY

Among the several entries of the Oxford Dictionary under the word 'community', two of them relate more clearly to our intuitive notion of the concept. Community is defined as "The condition of sharing or having certain attitudes and interests in common"; or "A similarity or identity" (Oxford University Press 2014) (see also reason (1) in previous section). Identity is therefore the main distinctive element of a

community. This makes the job of defining this concept particularly difficult (see also Brown and Langer 2010; Simon 2012).

Indeed, identity is not an objective quality, but it is based on self-definition and definition of 'the other'[8]. It is the individual him- or herself who decides to belong to a specific community; or it is the whole community itself which frames its identity with well-defined borders as opposed to other communities and therefore determines who belongs to which community (see below, page 13). Hence, it becomes very difficult for an external observer to establish who is part of the community and who is not. Because of the self-defined character of community, we are not able to 'measure' identity using objective categories in the same way as we measure 'gender' or 'age'. "What we can grasp from the standpoint of a neutral observer is, however, only numerical identification (Tietz 2002: 215ff). Yet, even if a number of individuals share certain identifiable characteristics this does not imply that these characteristics are meaningful for their individual or collective life. In fact, it does not predetermine whether these individuals perceive themselves as members of a group." (Kantner 2006, 507). Thinking of an example provided by the Spanish country experts of this WP, one person might speak Spanish, but still identify primarily with the regional level or speak Catalan and identify first with Spain as nation-state.

The definition of a community is even more difficult, since identity is not a static concept, but can vary and varies across time. The definition of an identity depends on the relationship with the other identities ('the other'). If the relationship with the other identities changes – either because one identity is reinforced against the others or because borders change in a particular context – the community's identity is much likely to change. To add on this, identity is not necessarily exclusive, and the same person might consider herself as belonging to more than one community at the same time, holding overlapping identities. The boundary between the different communities becomes therefore fuzzy, and more complex to define for the researcher.

The public sphere contributes to increase confusion. There are several actors *constructing* the community at the same time: instruments of public action; political representation operations; academic inputs; external inputs; everyday practices. The interaction between these different actors determines when and why the different communities are constructed (or their claims are activated) (Roger 2013). It is not surprising, then, that communities are sometimes defined according to their

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[8] The subjective nature of the concept of community has been taken into account at a first stage of WP4 by asking the country experts of the WP to provide data on different "populations" in their country, without conditioning or imposing on any specific definition of community. The expectation was that country experts would give information about those groups they perceived as self-differentiated (self-defined) in their case studies.

capacity to make their claims visible. "Communal groups are defined generally as those whose core members share a distinctive and persistent collective identity based on cultural and ascriptive traits that are important to them and to others with whom they interact. These identities are politically salient, for our purposes, if the group meets one or both of these primary criteria: 1) the group collectively suffers, or benefits from, systematic discriminatory treatment vis-à-vis other groups in a state; 2) the group is the focus of political mobilization and action in defence or promotion of its self-defined interests" (Gurr 1993, 163). At least from a theoretical perspective, we try here to maintain the distinction between community and claims.

Although the identity is basic in defining a community, there are other essential aspects included in the concept of community. As an attempt to provide more clarity on the concept – and based on previous literature[9] – we have distinguished a set of characteristics which will help categorize each of the communities studied in WP4. This categorization draws much on Cheneval and Dänzer (2013), and tries to adapt to the comparative framework we established above. At this stage, we are only worried about identifying the characteristics that better define a community. At a later stage, however, this list of characteristics will become an important source of explanation of our main dependent variable (see section 7). These different characteristics will indeed have a different impact on the types of problems that governments have to deal with in a country, and the type of solutions which are tried to solve these problems. Table 1 presents the characteristics of a community, which are then described one by one in the following paragraphs. The characterization of the communities of interest within each of the case studies is a task of main importance in order to understand how diverse – both internally and externally – are the different realities under investigation.

Table 1 The characteristics of a community

Characteristic	'Operationalization'
Identity	Type of identity
	Strength of identity
	Inclusive (more than one) vs. exclusive (only one) identity
	Language spoken
	Language spoken is official
	Monolingual vs. plurilingual – same language
	Ethnic group
	Religious denomination

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[9] Although community is the concept used in WP4, for the reasons anticipated above, it is impossible on this part not to refer to the literature on minorities.

	Self-identification with community
	Self-definition as minority
Number and relative size of community	Number of communities in territory
	Size of community
	Stability of borders
Territory	Territorialized vs. non-territorialized
	Intra-national vs. transnational
	Concentrated vs. dispersed
Citizenship status and rights	Citizenship status
	Special rights for protection of community (also collective right of representation)

'Similarity' or identity

As stated above, maybe the most important characteristic of a community is that all members share a sense of belonging to this specific community. There are different things to which people might identify. As already mentioned above, in WP4 elements of identity relate substantially to heritage or tradition. "Identity is a special form of a collective, political identity, which consists mostly of a self-image based on certain assumptions about common features as descent, history, language, culture, subjective feelings of belonging, and/or citizenship."(Westle 2011, 1132).

We consider therefore a number of specifications in order to classify the different communities, object of study in WP4. These are extremely useful in operationalizing the concept of identity.

1. The traits of the identity:1.1 The type of identity: Communities "are defined by several features, and, consequently, there is a possibility of crosscutting cleavages or cumulative cleavages between linguistic, religious, ethnic, and further specifications."(Cheneval and Dänzer 2013, 250). The members of a community can therefore identify with ethnic, linguistic (cultural), religious, or civic elements, and with more than one at the same time.

1.2 Strength of identity: the members of the community might feel strongly identified to the members of the community, but identity might also be weak identity between the members of the community (for the EU case, see for example, (Fox 2005; Kantner 2006) [10]. The strength– or degree – to

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[10] The concepts of attachment and identity are sometimes used indistinctly to refer to the EU identification (see, for example, Fuchs and Schneider 2011,76). We prefer to stick here to the concept of identity which broadly used both at the national and European levels.

which the members of the community identify to each other, determines the capacity of the community to act together.

1.3 Inclusive vs. exclusive identity: some communities hold several identities which are complementary to one another – they have inclusive identities. To the contrary, some communities have an exclusive identity which is incompatible to any other identity. Even if there is some overlap with the precedent category (strength of identity) and exclusive identity tend to be strong, in some cases these are independent categories and therefore they are kept separately here, in order to keep a measure of the degree of internal heterogeneity/ homogeneity of a community.

2. The elements of the identity:

2.1 Language spoken by the community

2.2 Language spoken is official

2.3 Monolingual vs. Plurilingual: all members of the community speak only a single language vs. all members of the community speak more than one language. This also refers to the existence of a common language shared by the community and other communities in the same territory.

2.4 Ethnic group the community belongs to

2.5 Religious denomination of the community

3. Self-definition of identity: as already mentioned above, identity is not an objective quality, but is based on self-definition. The third aspect to be considered, thus, is the extent to which members of the community define themselves as members of the community. There are several variables that can be used to assess subjective feelings of identification. These are probably among the most widespread:

    1.1 Self-identification with the community (specified as the percentage of citizens who declare themselves to identify with the community)

    1.2 Self-definition as minority (specified as the percentage of citizens who declare themselves to be part of a minority)

The number and the relative size of the community

Another aspect which is essential in the definition of community is the relationship with the other communities. From this point of view, it is of major importance to know the number and relative size of the community. This does not only condition the relationships between the different communities, but might also be an important factor in determining the strength of a particular community vis-à-vis the others. We can think of three elements that need to be accounted for:

1. Number of communities living within the same territory

2. Size of the community

3. Stability of borders: changing borders can reshape the existing communities within a territory."[...] we can distinguish between historical and newly emigrated minorities, also referred to as 'new minorities'. Whereas the former have a longer history of living in the concerned geographical region, the latter have arrived relatively recently."(Cheneval and Dänzer 2013, 252).

Territory

The concept of community is normally related to a territory, even if it is not always the case. As such, we can provide with a number of distinctions between the different communities[11].

1. Territorialized communities vs. non-territorialized communities: territorialized communities are ascribed to a specific territory (e.g. Galician in Spain; kin-groups as described in Brubaker 1996), whereas non-territorialized communities have no link with any specific territory (e.g. Rom in different European countries) (Cheneval and Dänzer 2013; this is similar to the distinction between indigenous minorities and immigrant minorities in Ghanem 2012).

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[11] Gurr (1993) provides an interesting classification of minorities depending on the territorial dimension: Ethnoclasses (ethnic minorities, usually descended from immigrants or slaves, who occupy caste-like positions in which they specialize in certain economic roles. The main issues of conflict for these groups are usually their quest for political and economic equality and for cultural rights.); Ethnonationalists (regionally concentrated with peoples who historically were autonomous and who actively seek to improve their status in the modern state system. Not are all separatist in the literal sense that they seek independence; many of their leaders demand or are willing to settle for greater regional autonomy.); Indigenous peoples (distinct from ethnonationalists: culturally these groups are more sharply distinct from the distant centers of state or colonial authority. Most have lived a low-energy-technology existence. Until recently they lacked modern political organizations. And their political actions have been mainly reactive rather than proactive, aiming at protecting what is left.); Communal contenders heterogeneous collections of competing ethnocultural groups in which political power at the center is based on intergroup coalitions. Communal conflict in these systems usually arises from group efforts to improve their position in ruling coalitions.); Militant sects (politicized communities that are defined wholly or in part by their religious beliefs). We prefer to stick to our simple distinction, because we do not mix the characteristic of the community with its capacity to advance political claims.

2. Intra-national communities vs. trans-national communities: intra-national communities live exclusively within the same borders of the territory, whereas trans-national communities are present in several countries at the same time (for example, the Basques in Spain and France) (Cheneval and Dänzer 2013, 252).

3. Concentrated communities vs. dispersed communities: concentrated communities' members live very close geographical; whereas dispersed communities are spread within the territory (see also Ghanem 2012).

Citizenship status and rights

A final characteristic relates to the political recognition of a community. Some communities have indeed a special status in the territory whereas others don't. We distinguish in particular:

1. Citizenship status: in some communities, all the members hold the status of citizenship, while this is not the case in other communities

2. Special rights for protection of community: in some occasions, communities hold special rights of protection. Normally these are linked to cultural or linguistic protection or fixed quotas in representation.

Ideally, each case study will be examined in-depth, according to these characteristics (Stage 2, see section 2). So far at this stage, we provide a simplified external comparison of the case-studies and the EU case for some of the characteristics described above (Tables 2.1 and 2.2)[12], in order to show similarities and differences between the EU and the countries object of study. A few notes on the tables are needed, which apply to all tables aimed at external comparison hereafter.

First, and for the sake of comparison at this very first stage, we treat all case-studies as a single territory composed of different communities. The same is true for the European Union, where we assume each member state corresponds to a community (as well as other regional and local entities with a sense of community). Even if a rough assumption, it allows for an initial very useful comparison of our case-studies. Second, most entries in the table are the result of an interpretative assessment of the data provided by the country experts (see Appendix 2[13]), which aims at providing a general idea of the situation in the case-study. Data for each of the categories in the table give a summary measure for each of the case studies. The tables do not allow for a subtle differentiation between the different

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[12] Some of the categories have been avoided due to the difficulty to agree on a summary measure for the case-studies.

[13] Case-study templates are available upon request.

communities in a given country (this is aimed at in Stage 2), but provide a first picture of the degree of differentiation between the case-studies and the EU.

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 show that there are both similarities and differences between the EU and the case-studies. As compared to the other case studies, the EU appears as the political system with a higher degree of diversity: it has the larger number of communities (even if Croatia recognizes up to 22 different communities), of which the biggest one represents only 16% of the whole population. Language is also an important source of diversity in the EU as there are 24 official languages (without counting the official languages in the member states), if compared to the other case-studies. But there are also a number of similarities between the EU and the other case-studies, which suggest that the EU context of multi-layered citizenship does not differ dramatically from the other case-studies. For example, we can find different types of identity in all cases: ethnic, linguistic, and religious; which in all cases tend to be strong. Neither does the territorial structure of the EU differ with regard to the other examples. In most cases communities are mainly territorialized, and these are both concentrated and dispersed in the different case-studies. At first sight, then, the situation in the European Union presents both similarities and differences with our case-studies.

Table 2.1 The case-studies and the EU case: identity

	EU	Canada	Croatia	Cz Rep.	Estonia	Israel	Spain	Switzerland	Turkey
Type of identity	Ethnic-linguistic-religious	Ethnic-linguistic	Ethnic-linguistic-religious	Ethnic – linguistic – regional	Ethnic – linguistic – religious	Ethnic-linguistic-religious	Ethnic-linguistic	Ethnic-linguistic – religious	Ethnic-linguistic-religious
Strength of identity	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong
Number official languages	24	2	1	1	1	2 (no clear legislation)	4	4	1
One common language to all?	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Same ethnic group?	No	No	No	No	No	No	'Yes'	No	No
Same religion?	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Self-identification with community[a][14]	Regional: 54% Country: 58% EU: 9%	n.d.	Regional: 64% Country: 66% EU: 10%	Regional: 33% Country: 33% EU: 4%	Regional: 42% Country: 57% EU: 8%	n.d.	Regional: 63% Country: 50% EU: 10%	n.d.	Regional: 70% Country: 76% EU: 8%
Self-definition as minority[b]	10%	n.d.	n.d.	3%	20%	13%	3%	9%	n.d.

Source: Country experts' templates (templates available upon request); [a]Eurobarometer 77.3 (May 2012), % of people who affirm to be very attached to city or village / national level/ EU; [b] ESS round 6 2012

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[14] These data suggest that citizens in most case-studies perceive their identities as inclusive, and identify with several levels at the same time.

Table 2.2 The case-studies and the EU case: number and relative size, territory, and citizenship status and rights

	EU	Canada	Croatia	Cz Rep.	Estonia	Israel	Spain	Switzerland	Turkey
Number of communities	28 member states + other regional/local communities	12	22	8	10	3	4	4	6
% biggest community	16% (Germany)*	32% (Canadians)	90% (Croatians)	91% (Czechs)	85% (Estonians)	75% (Jewish)	54% (monolingual Spanish)	65% (Germans)	65% (Turkish)
Actual borders	1992 (as EU) – 2013	1903	1991	1993	1944	1948	1984	1815	1923
Territorialized vs. non-territorialized	Generally territorial.	Territorial.	Territorial.	Territorial.	Territorial.	Both	Territorial.	Territorial.	Both
Concentrated vs. dispersed	Concentrated & dispersed	Dispersed	Generally dispersed	Generally dispersed	Generally concentrated	Generally concentrated	Concentrated	Concentrated	Generally concentrated
Citizenship status (all citizens?)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes (??)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Special rights for protection of culture	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

* Data refer to the biggest community in terms of population within the European Union. Since Germany is the most populated country, we have indicated it as the biggest community.

Source: country experts' templates (templates available upon request)

4. PROBLEM FOCUS: TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION

The fact that there are several communities living together within the same borders does not necessarily imply that problems will arise in practice. Actually, in some contexts, peoples from different communities live in relative harmony with one another. In other countries, though, members of a community are discriminated against other citizens, simply because they are part of a 'different' community. As it will be shown in section 7, discrimination is most of the times dependent on the characteristics of the community, and on the relationship between the communities cohabiting in the same country. To start with, we provide a succinct definition of discrimination and the different types we might encounter across our case-studies.

As defined by the International Convention of all forms of racial discrimination: "In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life." (UN, General Assembly 1969). To put it simply, discrimination refers to the unequal treatment of an individual because he or she belongs to a specific community.

There are two main aspects to be distinguished when defining discrimination: 1) the actor who discriminates; and 2) the form of discrimination. As for the first, a main distinction is whether discrimination is used by the state or by the citizens, individually or collectively. State discrimination might reflect a particular ideology or conception of the state with regard to accommodation of diversity. Due to its coercive power the state is potentially the most damaging actor of discrimination. Discrimination from the part of non-state collectives (firms, associations, etc.) and individual citizens might be less harmful, but more difficult to eradicate if citizens' discriminatory attitudes are deeply entrenched in their imaginaries. Regarding the form of discrimination, it is important to distinguish whether the discrimination act is enacted directly or whether it is an indirect consequence of individual actions and institutional dispositions. These two dimensions allow for classification of the different types of discrimination a citizen might encounter in a particular country (see Table 3).

Table 3 Types of discrimination

	Direct	Indirect
State	Institutional discrimination	Structural discrimination
Citizens Social groups	Social discrimination	Arbitrary discrimination

"*Institutional discrimination* denotes explicit policies of social institutions that exclude, impede, or otherwise harm certain groups irrespective of adverse attitudes of implementing agents. *[...]* By contrast, *structural* (i.e., indirect) *discrimination* characterizes policies that are neutral in intent and in implementation but still result in adverse effects for minorities." (Heitmeyer and Salenting 2011, 682)[15]. *Social discrimination* is aimed at capturing direct discrimination from the part of the citizens or social groups. The less frequent, *arbitrary discrimination* by the citizens refers to citizens' indirect actions which might result in some type of discrimination against a member of another community (for example, choosing the best school for one's own child might favour concentration of immigrants in some schools who will have more difficulty to integrate). With much probability, different types of discrimination will belong to different contexts. It is also possible that these types of discrimination are combined in our case-studies, where we could find specific varieties of discrimination. It will be the task of the country experts to enrich this simple classification with empirical material.

These different types of discrimination need further qualification in order to better classify the problems encountered in our case-studies. In particular we need to account for the area in which citizens are discriminated; the valence of discrimination (positive or negative); the degree of discrimination; and the existence – or not – of violence against a specific community. These are summarized in Table 4, and described briefly in the following lines.

Table 4 Further qualifications of types of discrimination

Qualifications	Characteristics
Area of discrimination	Political, cultural, economic, religious, social, civil (other)
Valence of discrimination	Negative vs. positive
Degree of discrimination	Hard vs. soft (barriers)
Violence of discrimination	Violent vs. non-violent

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[15] Heitmeyer and Salenting use the concepts of intentional and non-intentional discrimination. We have substituted these by direct and indirect discrimination because these help to define more objectively the types of discrimination.

Area of discrimination

There can be different realms of discrimination (Young 1990). Among those, the most frequent are the political, cultural[16], economic[17], religious, and social (see, for example, Akbaba and Fox 2011; Ciupijus 2011; Piazza 2011; Booth, Leigh, and Varganova 2012; Gehring 2013; Johns 2013)[18]. A citizen might be discriminated politically if voting rights are systematically denied, for example; or economically, if she can only get access to unqualified jobs or has restricted rights of contract and property.

Valence of discrimination

Discrimination can either be *positive* – meaning that a community is favoured or given more rights as compared to the others – or *negative* – meaning that a community is disfavoured or given less rights as compared to the others. For example, "affirmative action" or quotas for members of certain communities are positive discrimination. Freedom of movement in the European Union is ensured to all citizens except the Roma (negative discrimination) (Gehring 2013; Parker and Toke 2013). One of the important questions to be answered through our case-studies is which of these (negative or positive) becomes more problematic in the long run.

Degree of discrimination

Discrimination can take on different degrees. The most radical form of discrimination consists on deliberately restricting the most fundamental rights to members of a community, such as (and the most dramatically) the right to live. But there are more subtle forms of discrimination that equally affect the lives of the members of a community. This comes close to what the DoW of this project has called 'barriers', and is well captured by Maas: "Because of differences between administrative divisions – for example in tax rates, social services, or simply political clout within the overarching system – the mere existence of separate or overlapping jurisdictions inevitably results in individuals subject to one jurisdiction receiving different treatment from those subject to another. Furthermore – this is the main contention of the present article – individuals attempting to move from one jurisdiction to another often encounter barriers or impediments and incentives or disincentives to movement within the

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[16] Also called 'cultural imperialism' by Ghanem (2012).

[17] Ghanem (2012) distinguishes further between exploitation, marginalization, and powerlessness as kinds of economic discrimination.

[18] There is much overlap with this categorization and the objectives of work packages 5, 6, 7, and 8. WP4 could benefit from those.

putatively equal political space. [...] The barriers or encouragements that individuals face when attempting to move between jurisdictions may be large or small, but even 'administrative hassles' may hinder freedom of movement." (Maas 2013c, 92).

Violence as means of discrimination

Finally, discrimination might be linked to the use of violence (both from the communities who discriminate and those who are discriminated against) or might not. Violence is the "systematic use of physical force, the threat of force, or harassment against members of a non-dominant group with the aim of sowing fear and humiliation." (Ghanem 2012, 360).

It is impossible at this stage to draw an exhaustive list of problems experienced by the communities that will constitute the object of study of WP4, and this will be the specific task for each case-study. It is also impossible at this stage to provide data for each of the characteristics mentioned above[19]. However, we can provide at this stage some information on citizens' attitudes towards immigration, on perceived discrimination in the country, and on existing discrimination in our case-studies. Columns 1 to 3 in the table show survey data on citizens' attitudes to discrimination, or the extent to which they are ready to accept people from other countries to come and live in their countries. Columns 4 and 5 provide survey data on self-perceived discrimination within the country they live in. Columns 6 to 9 contain experts' measures of discrimination[20]. Even if partial, this allows for a first idea about similarities and differences between the case-studies. Table 5 present data for all cases included in WP4 (see pages 25-26 for interpretation of the table).

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[19] Ideally, a dataset will be created after all case-studies have been analyzed separately.

[20] Correlation between survey data on perceived discrimination and experts' measures of discrimination is high for three of the indices of discrimination: political discrimination (0.83), economic discrimination (0.84), and religious discrimination (0.89). This indicates that experts' indicators come very close to citizens' perceptions and situations in the each of the countries we have data for.

Table 5 The case-studies and the EU-case: discrimination

	Citizens' attitudes to discrimination[1]*			Self-perceptions*		Indices of discrimination[4]**			
	Same race (a)	Different race(b)	Poor countries (c)	Group is discriminated[2]	Belongs to Minority[3]	Political	Economic	Religious	Cultural
EU[5]	27%	14%	14%	7%	10%	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.
Canada	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.0
Croatia	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	3.0	3.0	1.0	0.0
Cz. Republic	9%	5%	6%	7%	3%	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0
Estonia	27%	11%	7%	11%	20%	4.0	4.0	0.0	2.0
Israel	55%	7%	5%	17%	13%	4.0	3.5	1.0	0.0
Spain	25%	22%	22%	6%	3%	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0
Switzerland	20%	10%	9%	5%	9%	2.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
Turkey	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	4.0	2.0	0.0	2.0

[1] % of respondents who answer that 'we should allow many people to come and live here' from (a) the same race or ethnic group; (b) from a different race or ethnic group; (c) from poorer countries outside Europe.

[2] % of respondents who describe themselves as being members of a group that is discriminated against in country

[3] % of respondents who describe themselves as belonging to a minority

[4] Measure the extent to which there is discrimination in each of the areas (a) political (index from 0 'No discrimination' to 4 'Exclusion/ repressive policy'); (b) economic (index from 0 'No discrimination' to 4 'Exclusion/ repressive policy'); (c) religious (index from 0 'No restrictions' to 3 'Activity sharply restricted'); (d) cultural (index from 0 'No restrictions' to 3 'Activity sharply restricted').

[5] Mean average of all EU member states.

n.d. 'no data available'

Source: * ESS 2012; ** Minorities at Risk Dataset 2009 (**http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/data.asp**)

Table 5 shows that the case-studies differ much among themselves and vis-à-vis the EU, although data are incomplete for the EU[21]. As it can be seen, some countries seem to be much more tolerant towards immigration than others[22], although it depends on where immigrants come from. Among the most

[21] The index of discrimination is only available for some of the EU countries, and hence I could not calculate the mean for the EU. This is a shortage for comparison.

[22] It could also be the case that citizens are more tolerant to immigrants than to members of another community living within the same borders. This cannot be acknowledged by means of these data.

tolerant are the Spaniards, whereas the average European tends to support immigration only moderately. Even if attitudes towards immigration are not equivalent to the propensity of citizens to discriminate other citizens, they provide a valuable proxy of their readiness to accept *the other* (Arasaratnam 2013). Regarding individuals' self-perception of being subject to discrimination, 7% of the citizens living in Europe affirm to be subject to any kind of discrimination, which represents quite a large percentage of people.

Finally, with regard to the objective measures of discrimination, these are particularly negative for the political and economic areas, in particular in Croatia, Estonia, Israel, and Turkey. Whether these are also perceived by the citizens who are discriminated is a question to be answered by the study of each of the case studies.

5. ON THE CLAIMS

Claims are defined in the literature as "a unit of strategic action in the public sphere that consists of the purposive and public articulation of political demands, calls to action, proposals, criticisms, or physical attacks, which actually or potentially affect the interests or integrity of the claimants and/or other collective actors." (Koopmans et al. 2005, 24). But why are there claims in the first place? Discrimination against a particular community is one of the main factors explaining why and when communities complain and raise their claims against other communities (among others, Gurr 1993; Gurr 2000; Ghanem 2012; Piazza 2012). However, sometimes, claims are raised without any discrimination being made against the specific community. Some other times still, claims are not raised even if the community is highly discriminated. This depends on the *structure of opportunity* or the perception that something has changed in the political and social context which favours the success of claim-making in favour of the community[23] (Tilly and Tarrow 2006; Tarrow 2011). Types and characteristics of discrimination have already been defined in the previous section. As for the structure of opportunity, we do not provide here with an exhaustive list of possible political, social or economic changes that open the possibilities of claim-making of a community. This will surely be part of the reflections for each of the individual case-studies, since they are very context-specific. At this point we provide the tools that allow comparing between each of case-studies and the EU.

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[23] "any changes that shift the balance of political and economic resources between a state and challengers, that weaken a state's ability to reward its followers or opponents or to pursue a coherent policy, or that shift domestic or outside support away from the regime, increases opportunities." (Goldstone and Tilly 2001, 182-183).

5.1 PASSIVE VS. ACTIVE CITIZENS

We cannot talk about claims without considering the main actors involved in claiming. As a matter of fact, only active citizens are likely to claim for their rights to be protected or increased. It is not the objective here to discuss when the members of a community become active citizens (see section 7), but to consider this point in view of determining the EU's particularity. Indeed, "critics of EU citizenship observe that the kinds of social movements which demanded inclusion and recognition in the polity and then struggled for expanding rights in nation-states are largely absent at the level of the EU." (Maas 2013b, 99)[24]. This seems to be in fact the position adopted by the EU institutions: "Firstly, rather than treating citizenship as claims to articulating rights that citizens currently do not have, it is narrowly focused on the obstacles of the enjoyment of those rights that they already have. This is unfortunate. One of the most promising aspects of citizenship as the linchpin of democratic order is its dynamic quality, enabling subjects as claimants. To be direct, the report conveys, perhaps unwittingly but certainly effectively, a passive image of European citizenship. Given that there is already a tension between member states and the EU, there needs to be much more emphasis on an active and dynamic idea of European citizenship."(Isin 2013, 20).Does this become a problem for comparison?

The distinction between passive and active citizens needs to be incorporated in our theoretical framework, since most of the European citizens whom we aim to compare with citizens of the other case-studies are *passive* citizens. We define passive citizens as those who simply comply with the rules and take the rights they have; while active citizens are those who act in order to improve their situation and take an active interest in the polity (Isin 2013, 41–42; although he uses the nomenclature of active vs. activist citizens)[25]. Among the EU citizens, the big majority are passive citizens, who limit themselves to comply with the existing rules. This is indeed the case for both EU *stayers* and *movers*, even if active citizens are more numerous among movers. Actually, levels of political participation of movers are only slightly higher than those of stayers (Muxel 2009), and the transnational character of EU citizenship has not favoured the emergence of claims at the EU level (Favell and Geddes 2000; Recchi and Favell 2009; Isin 2013). EU citizenship, however, is being exploited by different communities – not necessarily EU citizens – to claim for their rights. For instance in Turkey, Kurds who are not in possession of EU

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[24] As referred to the EU citizenship report: "While it is laudable for the Commission to identify everyday obstacles to the exercise of EU citizenship rights, the image of active citizens as consumers, voters, students and professionals is very different from the image of those activist citizens who claim rights that they do not have. The report is addressed to those who already or should 'enjoy' the rights of being EU citizens and does not include those who have no part."(Isin 2013, 42–43).

[25] This conceptual distinction is similar to Sawards' notions of citizenship dynamics of extension vs. dynamics of assertion (Saward 2013, 55).

citizenship as a legal status engage in acts of European citizenship as they claim the respect and extension of their rights in Turkey (Rumelili, Keyman, and Isyar 2011, 1295-1296; other examples can be found in Isin and Saward 2013; or Koopmans et al. 2005). This new activation of EU citizenship might provide interesting examples of comparison with our case-studies.

5.2 CLAIMS: THE CHARACTERISTICS

The characteristics of the claims described in this section are derived from Koopmans et al.'s (2005) *structure of political claims*. Table 6 presents a summary of the different characteristics, where we have slightly readjusted their classification[26]. We describe briefly each of them in the following lines (for a more precise definition of each of these, see Tilly and Tarrow 2006; Tarrow 2011).

Location

When and where is the claim made? This characteristic helps to contextualize the claim, and has major relevance on the success or failure of the claim. It is strongly related to the structure of opportunity.

Scope

Claims can be raised with very different scopes. For instance, Ghanem (2012) proposes a typology of minority's demands, depending on the type of regime and the type of minority. For us, this is an empirical question, on which is the relationship between the type of community and the scope of the claim. Therefore, we limit ourselves to a set of substantive issues that might be raised from a community[27]:

a. Claim for autonomy: considering different degrees that can go from cultural autonomy to secession

b. Claim for integration in the country

c. Claim for increasing rights (social, economic, political, cultural, etc.; either as corrective or positive discrimination)

d. Claims for protection of existing rights (social, economic, political, cultural, etc.)

e. Claims against discrimination (any of the types of discrimination mentioned in section 4)

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[26] Koopmans et al. (2005) is intended to classify claims by means of media content-analysis. The classification is useful also for more interpretative classifications of the claims.

[27] Another interesting aspect which is surely to be studied in more detail in the case studies is whether the claims are legitimate or illegitimate.

Table 6 The characteristics of the claims

Characteristic	Definition
Location	When and where is the claim made? (time and place)
Scope	What is the claim about? Autonomy Integration Increasing rights Protection existing rights No discrimination
Actors: Claimants	Who makes the claim? Individual NGOs Civil society organizations Political parties Governments
Actors: Addressees	To whom is the claim directed? Government (local, regional, national, supranational) Other communities International organizations
Channel/ Repertoire	How is the claim inserted in the public sphere? Political pressure Mobilization Political representation Lobbying Courts
Violence	Is there violence involved in claim-making? Non-violent Violent (legal vs. Illegal)
Level	Which public sphere? Sub-national National Transnational

Actors: Claimants & Addressees

Actors raising the claim can be of very different nature. This conditions probably the channel that is used to make the claim public. Single individuals might claim against what they find is an unjust situation in their regard, but also (and with more likelihood) collectivises might join to improve their lives in a given context. Likewise, the actors whom the claims are addressed will change much from one claim to another and one context to the other, depending on the scope of the claim.

Channel/ Repertoire

The channels or repertoires of action are all the different actions and instruments used by the community to make their claims public. These very much depending on the resources of the community, their innovative character, the actors involved, or the scope of the claim. In addition, the repertoires of action have changed significantly over time, and especially nowadays with the use of ICTs in mobilization.

Violence

Related to the channel or repertoire of action, claims can be violent (as used to be the case with ETA in the Basque country in Spain and France) or non-violent (such as the 'Roma pride' mobilization across Europe in 2012, http://egam.eu/). As for violent claims, we can further distinguish whether these are legal (such as the military reactions in Israel against Palestine), or illegal (such as ETA violent actions).

Level

Considering that one of the main case-studies or WP4 is the EU, we need to incorporate this additional characteristic to the claims: whether these are directed to the sub-national, the national, or the transnational level. The European arena constitutes indeed a new sphere to which claims can be raised against (Soysal 2000; for an empirical perspective, see Koopmans and Statham 2001).

Table 7 presents a summary of the information given by the country experts on the characteristics of the claims. Entries of the table are the result of interpretation of the templates (see Appendix 2); again, refer to page X for interpretation of the table

Table 7 The case-studies and the EU-case: claims

	Claim oriented	Scope	Channel	Actors	Violence	Level
EU	Mostly passive*	Protection existing rights	Courts	Individuals	No	Transnational
Canada	Active: French; First Nations	Independence; more rights	Political representation; mobilization	Social and political	No	National
Croatia	Active: Croat; Serb; Roma	Autonomy; protection of rights	Political representation; mobilization	Political and social	No	National?
Cz. Republic	Active: Moravian; Polish; Roma	Autonomy; protection cultural rights	Political representation; mobilization	Social and Political	No	National?
Estonia	Active: Russian	Protection existing rights	Political representation	Political	No	Transnational?
Israel	Active: Jewish; Arab; non-Arab Christians	Autonomy; protection existing rights	Political representation; mobilization	Political and social	Yes	Transnational
Spain	Active: Basque; Catalan; Galician	Autonomy; protection cultural rights	Political representation; mobilization	Political and social	'Yes'	Transnational
Switzerland	Passive (only slightly French and Italian speaking)	Protection existing rights	Courts	Individuals	No	National
Turkey	Active: Turks; Kurds; Balkan origin	Autonomy	Political representation; mobilization	Political and social	'Yes'	Transnational

*See page 27

Source: country experts' templates (see Appendix 2).

Table 7 shows that there is a great deal of variation across the case-studies in terms of claims. We find especially great differences between the EU and the case-studies, with the exception of Switzerland. Indeed and as already mentioned above, EU citizens appear to be mainly passive, contrary to the citizens in all the other countries – except for Switzerland. Moreover, the scope of the claims is clearly

limited in the EU case. While in most cases claimants aim at some type of autonomy in addition to the protection of rights, claims in the European Union are mostly restricted to the protection of existing rights, and dealt with at the individual level. There is much parallelism, however, between the EU and the Swiss case: in both contexts citizens are mainly passive, and demand basic protection of rights, mainly by means of legal channels (the courts).

6. ON THE SOLUTIONS

Since this is one of the main contributions of WP4, this is the most open section of this document. Each of the case-studies shall focus on the in-depth analysis of the solutions implemented as an attempt to accommodate diversity; either as a reaction to existing problems or as political programme of the incumbent authorities. From a normative point of view, most of these policies are contained under the concept of *multiculturalism*[28].

Multiculturalism vs. Post-multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is defined as "an ideology which refers to the acceptance of different cultures in a society and also to the active support of these cultural differences by both the majority members and

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[28] In some contexts, the concept of *ethnic democracy* has been applied to describe how the state has dealt with multilayered citizenship. "Ethnic democracy is propelled by an ideology or a movement of ethnic nationalism that declares a certain population as an ethnic nation sharing a common descent (blood ties), a common language and a common culture. This ethnic nation claims ownership of a certain territory that it considers its exclusive homeland. It also appropriates a state in which it exercises its full right to self-determination. The ethnic nation, not the citizenry, shapes the symbols, laws and policies of the state for the benefit of the majority. This ideology makes a crucial distinction between members and non-members of the ethnic nation. Members of the ethnic nation may be divided into persons living in the homeland and persons living in the diaspora. Both are preferred to non-members who are 'others', outsiders, less desirable persons, who cannot be full members of the society and state. Citizenship is separate from nationality, neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for membership in the ethnic nation, unlike the situation in the West where the idea of a civic nation is prevalent."(Smooha 2002, 477). This model has been applied to Israel, Northern Ireland, and some ex-communist countries such as Estonia, and Latvia (see, for example, Smith 1996; Smooha 2002; Rosga 2010; Smooha and Järve 2005; Peled 2013). It will be a fundamental contribution of the case-studies to define the theoretical model each case comes closer to, either to the ethnic or the civic models (and within the civic model, which has been the specific variety or implementation of democracy which has taken place).

minority group members." (Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, and Hoogsteder 2004, cited in Arasaratnam 2013, 2). Canada is by far the most paradigmatic case of multiculturalism (Kymlicka 2011a), which exemplifies how diversity can be managed peacefully. Recently, however, debate is growing on the capacity of multiculturalism to solve problems related to the multicultural nature of a state. The main representatives of this debate are Kymlicka (2010) – in favour of multiculturalism –, and Vertovec (2010) – defending what he calls post-multiculturalism.

Kymlicka provides an extensive list of government actions under the label of multiculturalism, either as reactions to citizens' claims or as part of the regular policy program of a government. These different policies are applied in a specific context, depending on the type of communities predominant in that context: indigenous peoples, sub-national communities, and immigrants. Table 8 shows the proposed actions for each of the communities. According to Kymlicka, different combinations of these actions help to solve problems caused by the multi-layered character of a territory (Kymlicka 2011b).

Table 8 Multiculturalist policies (Kymlicka 2010, 110)*

Type of community	Multiculturalist action
Indigenous peoples (e.g. Maori in New Zealand; American Indians)	1. recognition of land rights and title 2. recognition of self-government rights upholding historic treaties and/or signing new treaties 3. recognition of cultural rights (language; hunting and fishing, sacred sites) 4. recognition of customary law 5. guarantees of representation and consultation in the central government 6. constitutional or legislative affirmation of the distinct status of indigenous peoples 7. support and ratification for international instruments on indigenous rights 8. affirmative action
Sub-national communities (e.g. Basques and Catalans in Spain; Flemish and Walloons in Belgium)	1. federal or quasi-federal territorial autonomy 2. official language status, either in the region or nationally 3. guarantees of representation in the central government or on constitutional courts 4. public funding of minority language universities, schools and the media 5. constitutional or parliamentary affirmation of multinationalism 6. accorded an international personality (for example, allowing the sub-state region to sit on international bodies, or sign treaties, or have their own Olympic team)
Immigrants	1. constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism at central, regional and municipal levels; 2. the adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum; 3. the inclusion of ethnic representation and sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing; 4. exemptions from dress codes, Sunday- closing legislation and so on (either by statute or by court cases) 5. allowed dual citizenship 6. the funding of ethnic group organisations to support cultural activities 7. the funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction 8. affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups

* See also the Multiculturalist Policy Index (http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/index.html)

Against this optimistic view, Vertovec (2010) argues that multiculturalism has not been able to provide satisfactory answer to problems originated by the multilayered nature of the nation-states (see also Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). "The changing nature of global migration, new social formations spanning nation-states and the persistently poor socioeconomic standing of immigrant and ethnic minority groups are among the foremost developments that seem to render obsolete the older models of multiculturalism." (Vertovec 2010, 83). In his view, multiculturalism is not able any more to deal with the 'super-diversity' countries are facing, in particular in the European Union. "As we have seen, for a variety of reasons multiculturalism is regarded by many as a concept or set of policies that legitimised a retreat into culturally and physically separate minority communities. Rightly or wrongly, the term has become associated with socially disintegrative effects. The practice has been perceived as supporting the assumed unwillingness of migrants to integrate. In response to these issues and as a kind of corrective set of measures, policies to foster community cohesion, a stronger national identity and mandatory immigrant integration are being rolled out in countries around the world. In this way, post-multiculturalist policies and discourse seek to have it both ways: a strong common identity and values coupled with the recognition of cultural differences (alongside differences based on gender, sexuality, age and disability)." (Vertovec 2010, 91–92). Vertovec proposes therefore a set of policies more aimed at integrating different communities with one another, without reducing the emphasis on differences between them. It will be part of the case-studies to analyse which of these two trends (or others) has/is being implemented to solve problems derived from the multicultural structure of the states.

Preventing problems vs. solving problems: the temporal dimension

Either of these two perspectives is adopted to accommodate diversity in a given context, there is an important difference regarding the timing of implementation. In other words, as in any other policy field, it is important to distinguish actions aimed at *preventing problems* from actions aimed at *solving problems*. In the first case, governments try to anticipate possible problems resulting from the multicultural composition of their territory (such as ensuring cultural rights to a community). To the contrary, problem-solving policies seek to answer to the communities' claims or discrimination acts against the community (such as giving more autonomy to a community). These two different strategies might evolve in different decisions about the policies to be implemented, due to the urgency with which some actions need to be put into practice. In addition, they might influence the extent to which a policy is successful or not. Special focus shall be put in this distinction, therefore, in the analysis of the case-studies.

The state as a solution?

Prior to specifying a possible list of solutions, a major question is at stake: what is the role of the state in dealing with multi-layered citizenship? And, crucially, is there any form of state governance more adequate than others to deal with a multi-layered citizenship? Since the form of a state is supposed to

be stable across time, this question is not without controversy. We cannot expect that politicians would completely and immediately re-structure the political system in order to face discrimination problems. Yet, from the point of view of WP4, a reflection of the type of state and its influence on diversity policies is crucial. From a historical perspective, states have not always been the same, but developed gradually into the form they have today. After the end of dictatorship in Spain, for example, constituents replaced unitarism and centralism by a sort of *soft* federalism to the accommodate communities' demands; a system which is still under discussion nowadays[29]. There are therefore many lessons from history to be taken on this regard, considering that the European Union is still in the process of defining its political structure.

From a static perspective, the form of the state is a strong determinant of all variables described into detail in the previous pages, and certainly, of the type of solutions which are taken in order to prevent discrimination. As such, it is an additional variable to be included in the analysis of the case-studies.

A possible list of actions

Without pretending to be exhaustive, Table 9 provides an initial list of actions that could be implemented in a multi-layered context. The table classifies the several policy-options by areas of actions, and specific objectives to be fulfilled, and distinguishes between multiculturalism and post-multiculturalism policies where it applies. The type of solutions which are implemented is highly context driven, as a solution which might be applied (and successful) in a specific context, might be counterproductive in another. For this reason, it shall be the task of the country experts to complete this table, according to their individual contexts. Also relevant from this point of view, is the evaluation of the outcomes of a particular solution; in other words, whether a particular solution is successful or not. It is impossible here to elaborate on a set of criteria to assess the validity of a particular solution, given that its validity depends mainly on the context the solution is applied, and on the objectives which are to be fulfilled in that context. Hence, the normative assessment of the country experts is fundamental to reach the objective of WP4.

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[29] See, for example, the ongoing discussion about Catalunya's autonomy: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/30/scotland-referendum-catalonia-independence-from-spain

Table 9 A possible list of actions

Area of action	Objectives of the policies
Rights protection	Protecting rights of individuals of all communities
	Protecting individual rights against community
Education 'of citizens'	Avoiding discrimination by other citizens
	Raising awareness about diversity
	Fostering knowledge about 'the other'
Cultural/territorial recognition	Fostering communities' culture and identity (multiculturalism)
	Fostering country's culture and identity (post-multiculturalism)
Economic redistribution/ social protection	Fostering economic equality
	Fostering job and education equality
Political participation	Fostering political autonomy (multiculturalism)
	Fostering social and political participation (multiculturalism; 'post-multiculturalism')
	Procedural exit options of community
Reduction of administrative burdens	Reducing administrative barriers

7. ON THE MODEL

Combining all elements defined above, we present in this section a tentative model for comparison between the EU-case and each case-study. Figure 2 shows it graphically. As it can be seen in the figure, a dashed-line encloses the 'solutions', indicating that this is the main variable we are interested in WP4. Expected relationships are represented by an arrow in the figure, which have already been anticipated in previous sections. All variables are highly endogenous, as there is a tight link between the characteristics of the community, and the type of discrimination, or the type of claims which are put forward. This is certainly the case also with regard to the type of solutions that are implemented in a specific context. This notwithstanding, the depicted arrows in Figure 2 represent only the most direct relationships mentioned in previous studies; while there are surely other relationships which are not explicitly shown in the figure. In some cases, indeed, specific communities might not raise any claim and yet the government might be able to identity and put in practices specific policies that protect this community against discrimination. In some other cases still, the nature of discrimination itself and its severity might directly lead the government to adopt measures against discrimination. The in-depth examination of the case-studies is particularly useful for this reason, to provide nuanced explanations which adapt specifically for each context. Indeed, none of the analysis to be achieved at stage 2 can be put out of the specific context and history that has evolved in its current situation. The present model, however, can help as guidance for the analysis of our case-studies, although variations will probably be found from one case to the other.

Figure 2 A model to compare the EU-case and the case-studies
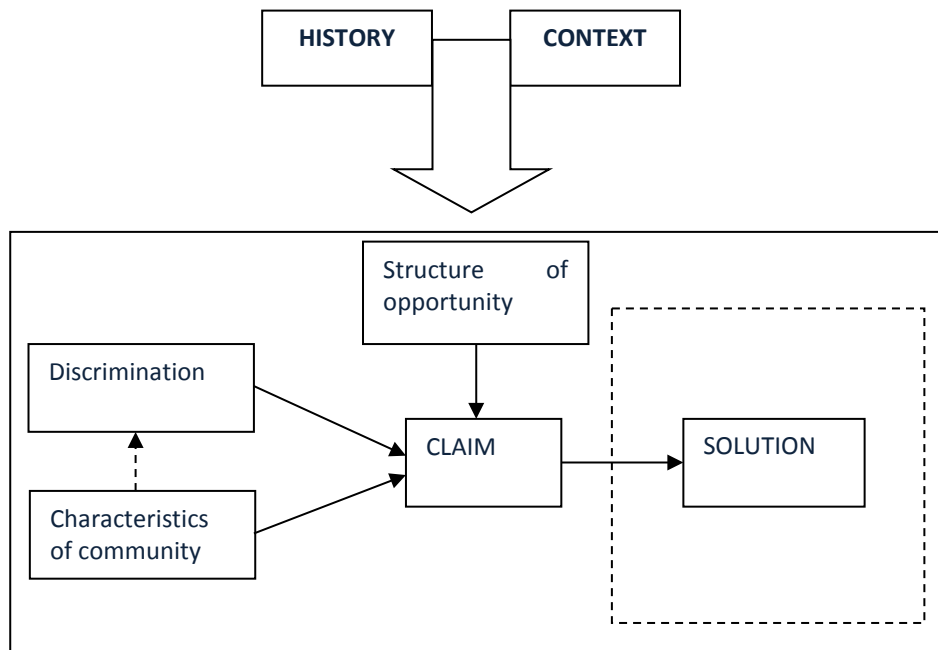
8. Conclusions

This document represents an attempt to provide a common conceptual and methodological ground for the study of the eight case-studies of WP4. It is the individual task of each country expert to adapt it to his/her case, ensuring some degree of comparability with the EU-case. The main objective of WP4 is to find out a catalogue of solutions that could eventually be applied to the European Union. Each case-study shall surely provide much learning on which type of solutions might be worth trying and which not.

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PART I: Historical formation of the case-study: how and why has it become multicultural?

PART II: Description of communities in case-study (following section 3)

PART III: Description of problems in case-study (following section 4)

PART IV: Description and explanation of claims in case-study (following section 5)

PART V: Description and explanation of solutions in case-study (following sections 6 and 7)

PART VI: Possible lessons for the EU

Expected length: 10,000 words

Country		Please select name of country from the droplist
EU member		Please select if country is member of EU from the droplist
Year accession EU		Please indicate the year of accession of country to the EU
System of government		Please select the system of government of country from the droplist
Type of government		Please select the type of government of country from the droplist
Actual borders (year)		Please indicate when the actual borders of country were defined (year)
Population (Majority)		Please write the name of majority population in country
Population 1		Please write the name of another group or population in country (1)
Population 2		Please write the name of another group or population in country (2)
Population 3		Please write the name of another group or population in country (3)
Population 4		Please write the name of another group or population in country (4)
Population5		Please write the name of another group or population in country (5)
Population 6		Please write the name of another group or population in country (6)
Population7		Please write the name of another group or population in country (7)
Population8		Please write the name of another group or population in country (8)
Population9		Please write the name of another group or population in country (9)
Population10		Please write the name of another group or population in country (10)
Official languages		Please indicate official language in country

Immigration all (%)		Please indicate total percentage of immigrants in country (last available data, and sources)
Immigration EU-citizens (%)		Please indicate percentage of immigrants in country born in another **EU member state** (last available data, and sources)
Immigration non-EU-citizens (%)		Please indicate percentage of immigrants in country born in a **non-EU country** last available data, and sources)
Emigration (%)		Please indicate the percentage of emigrants of country (last available data, and sources)
Emigration destination		Please indicate main countries of destination of emigrants of country (last available data, and sources)

POPULATION:

Notes:

Population data: number	
Population data: % in country	
Location	
Settled in country (year/period)	
Status: national level	
Status: European level	
Source of identity of population	
Claims and conflict	

Number of inhabitants of population in country

% of population in country

Location of population: dispersed vs. concentrated; stable vs. itinerant (other, if it applies)

Year/ period population settled in country for the first time

Status at the national level (citizen/ non-citizen/ immigrant, other if it applies…).

Status at the European level (citizen/ non-citizen/ immigrant, other if it applies…).

Source of specific identity of population: religious, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, ideological… (please specify all that apply)

Brief description of the specific problems/claims of population in country. Type of conflict (if any). Please leave blank if it does not apply.

Civil rights		List of civil rights population is entitled to.
Social rights		List of social rights population is entitled to.
Economic rights		List of economic rights population is entitled to.
Political rights		List of political rights population is entitled to.
Cultural rights		List of cultural rights population is entitled to.
Political representation in Parliament		Please indicate whether population is represented in Parliament
Political party representing population's claims		Name of political party/parties representative of population. Please leave blank if it does not apply.
Social/ political mobilization		Brief description of social/political mobilization in favour/against population? (actors involved, duration and extension of mobilization, etc.). Please leave blank if it does not apply.