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How is a Diverse European Society Possible?
An Exploration into New Public Spaces in Six European Countries[1]

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Introduction

Mainstream notions of citizenship have largely been inspired by the discussions between individualists, communalists, and pluralists. Giving ethical priority to individual identities and persons' dignity, individualists founded their models of co-existence on the atomist ontology of autonomous individuals. With groups' collective identities in their moral focus, communalists cemented their models of citizenship and public space on the holistic ontology of embedded persons. Whereas the former suggested designs of public space to accommodate individual differences, the latter delineated public space forms to accommodate group differences. Rejecting both for their singular recipes for the good life, pluralists advocated the midway perspective of accommodating both individual and group differences.

Although these models were premised on completely different ethical and ontological premises, the *ad hoc* solutions they produced while responding to each other's criticisms of exclusion and difference-blindness carried them away from their normative goals to adapt similar models of citizenship and public space. The *ad hoc* solutions were produced in both the individualistic and communalistic paradigms - e.g. multiculturalism ideas that came from 'liberal nationalists' (e.g. Miller 2000), 'liberal multiculturalists' (e.g. Kymlicka 1995) and 'communitarian multiculturalists' (e.g. Taylor 1994). However, in spite of

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[1] Searching for the factors which can make co-existence possible in the contexts of diversity, this paper focuses on alternative, new public spaces where diversity is perceived as an acceptable norm to a larger extent than in the mainstream public spaces. Such spaces of diversity are proliferating and growing in Europe. Moreover, people attending to such alternative spaces are operating across different sorts of alternative spaces. The assumption behind the approach in this paper is that such alternative public spaces may be the prototypes of a future form of diverse society. Against this background of assumptions, an exploration into the new public spaces means also an exploration into the (possible) features of our future diverse societies.

earnest attempts to eliminate the exclusionary or difference-blindness potential of their approaches, the solutions they produced were *ad hoc,* and the fundamental features of these paradigms - i.e. their ontological frames - remained the same. The commonality of these three citizenship paradigms - individualism, communalism, and pluralism - is their embedded perspective of difference and their focus on accommodation of differences. Difference thinking conceives individuals or groups as indivisible wholes and blinds them to what is common or shared between persons and between communities. This is what encumbers these paradigms' pace towards more adequate models of citizenship and public space that are responsive to new social and political realities.

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

- (im)mobility of minds between different references of identification - i.e. mobile identities and shifting belongings
- (im)mobility of bodies - i.e. migration and frequent movement across places and different spaces of interaction
- (im)mobility of boundaries - i.e. shifting territorial, political, cultural, economic, social, and individual boundaries

The diversity perspective merges 'difference' and 'commonality' on the one hand and 'mobility' and 'immobility' on the other in the notion of 'co-other' (Sicakkan 2003). The 'co-other' is not a physical reality. It is a state of mind that enables individuals to see themselves as 'just another other', i.e. as a third person who is different both from the self and from the concrete others surrounding the self. The co-other can empathically shift between different references of identification and between the self and the other. In this sense, the co-other refers to mobile multidimensional identities. The perspective of diversity is built upon the ontology of embedded self-otherness of autonomous selves and on an understanding of ethics embedded therein. In contrast to the holistic ontology of embedded persons, the co-other is free from its own

embedded self through othering itself. In contrast to the individualist ontology of autonomous persons, the co-other is embedded through its own otherness because its otherness capacitates it to associate itself with others. The diverse society is, thus, the community of 'selves', 'others' and 'co-others' (Sicakkan 2003), which can accommodate differences, commonalities, mobility, and immobility at the same time.

The alternative ontology implied here is one of individuals as physically mobile between places on the one hand, and of minds as emphatically mobile between different references of identification. This ontology should apply as a supplement to the classical liberal ontology of autonomous individuals and also the classical communitarian ontology of socially embedded persons, which fixes and limits 'identities' and belongings to territories, states, ethnies, communities, nations, etc. The diversity ontology regards both the presence and absence of such fixities as facts that exist, not as goals to achieve. With this inclusive ontology, one can conceive of the phenomenon citizenship as a structure that provides access for people with legitimate claims to arenas, spaces, and benefits in the state.[2] A claim of access to arenas and benefits in the state is legitimate insofar as the claimants are directly affected by the citizenship structure and as long as it does not opt for deconstructing an already inclusive structure. This inclusive ontological frame both contains and supplements the assumptions of the former three ontologies.

It is this comprehensive ontological frame that enables the diversity perspective to be a more adequate approach in today's diverse societies. As the problems are related to citizens' involvement, any design of a citizenship form and a public space model should address the issues of fixed and mobile individual and collective belongings and fixed and mobile political and cultural boundaries. These mobilities and immobilities set individuals, groups, and the citizenship institutions apart; and they increasingly detach individuals from the existing public spaces. This process of increasing misalignments manifests itself as a decrease in citizen involvement. Citizens' spatial mobility detaches citizens from the public spaces because public spaces have fixed locations that require belonging to a place. Immobility of minds detaches citizens from the public spaces because the political and cultural boundaries of citizenship have now become mobile. The postulate that citizens can be educated to participate in politics and will someday 'learn' to come back to the existing public spaces is therefore not a realistic one. This paper suggests instead designing and/or uncovering new types of public spaces which can bring the public spaces to where citizens are rather than waiting for citizens to come where public spaces

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[2] Sicakkan, H.G and Lithman, Y. (2005, forthcoming in May), "Theorizing Citizenship, Politics of Identity, and Modes of Belonging" in *Envisioning Togethernes*, Edwin Mellen Press, New York and London.

are. This presupposes mobile, multiple, composite civic public spaces which can accommodate diversity and (im)mobility.

In this paper, I will present some features of such empirical public spaces and of individuals who attend/create such public spaces - i.e. glocal spaces, which may be the prototypes of a future diverse society.

Historical Transformations of Public Spaces

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

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

Conceptualized as a gradually growing process of merging of markets and politics within and beyond the boundaries of nation states (as predicted by Jean Monnet), globalization has further affected - not to say diminished - national states' normative, instrumental, and symbolic influence on collective identity formation. In Europe, we now see more clearly the creation of local, regional, and global alliances across national boundaries. The processes of globalization have altered the meaning of politics and citizenship such that the nation state now to a lesser extent provides a reference frame for individuals' and groups' identities, belongings, actions, and interactions. That is, in the regions of the globe where these processes have advanced, the meaning of citizenship as a mode of belonging has altered.

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

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

The above considerations point to four spheres of 'being public' and citizens' involvement. In order of chronological appearance in political history, the first sphere is that of essentialized belongings and the forms of citizenship they represent. The *essentialized modes of belonging* are at present observed in

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

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

Citizenship, Belonging and Models of the Public Space

Figure 1 is a simplified overview of the existing mainstream and alternative models of the relationships between forms of public spaces, citizenships, and belongings. The horizontal axis (types of belongings) represents citizenship models' assumptions about humans' belongings and identities. The perpendicular axis (types of public space) represents citizenship models' envisaged forms of public space designed for accommodating these belongings. The respective citizenship models are placed on the diagonal line stretching from the top-left to the bottom-right corner of the figure.

Figure 1: Belonging, citizenship and models of the public space

Types of Public Space	*Types of Belongings Allowed in the Public Space*						
	Singular and Biologically Fixed	Singular and Historically Fixed	Singular and Socially Fixed	Singular and Politically Fixed	Singular and Alterable	Multiple and Alterable	Multiple, Alterable, Mobile
Single Hierarchical Space	1. The community of blood						
Single Protected Space		2. The community of culture					
Multiple Segregated Spaces			3. The multicultural society				
Single Shared Space				4. The civic political community			
Multi-level Overlapping Nested Spaces					5. The civil political community		
Multi-level Differential Spaces						6. The civil plural society	
Multiple Composite Euroglocal Spaces							7. The civic diverse society

The first four models (community of blood, community of culture, multicultural society, and civic political community) have dominated the discussions about citizenship. They have particularistic and universalistic presuppositions concerning the relationship between citizenship, belonging, and public space. The models 'community of blood' (Miller 2000), 'community of culture' (Taylor 1992), and 'multicultural society' (Kymlicka 1995) can be associated with 'essentialized public spaces'. On the other hand, 'the civic political community' model (Habermas 1994) can be associated with 'national public spaces'. Our findings about the multidimensionality of belongings, multiplicity of participation patterns, and mobility of minds weaken the basic assumptions of these models. Their assumptions about the nature of the individual and their envisaged models of the good life have proved not to encompass the beliefs and desires of many types of individuals. However, although they do not address all sorts of belongings and identities and reject the existence of certain forms of belonging, their models and ontological exhortations fit with the realities of certain real contexts. By using conceptualization with multiple models, it became possible to exploit certain aspects of these models as tools of thinking for model development. This concerns specifically the models developed by Charles Taylor, Jürgen Habermas, and Will Kymlicka.

The other three models (civic political community, civil plural society, and the civic diverse society) can be distinguished from the former four models with their ambition of context-sensitivity and the balance they find between

particularism and universalism. The thinking about citizenship and public space has, indeed, developed parallel to the increasing visibility of the problems related with incongruences between belongings and citizenship models as well as the recent scientific findings about the multidimensional and mobile nature of humans' belongings. The findings of this research - i.e. the multidimensionality of belongings, multiplicity of participation patterns, and mobility of minds - support the basic assumptions of these three models to a large extent.

The common concern in these three models is to give voice to and empower as many segments of societies as possible in an effective citizenship structure; and this without demanding a change in individuals' and/or groups interests emanating from their belongings and identities. The differences between these three perspectives lie primarily in their ontological elaborations and the ontological status they give to individuals' different modes of belonging and identity. The civil political community model (Bauböck 2003a) gives priority in its model to discrete, singular and alterable forms of belonging, structures the public space on such belongings, and proposes *ad hoc* institutional solutions for people with multiple and mobile forms of belonging. Its nested-overlapping public space model pre-supposes a degree of homogeneity in these nested political units, which also allows incorporation of migrants. The civil plural society model (Bader 2000, 2003), on the other hand, recognizes the multiple and alterable nature of belonging and proposes a public space model which gives differential rights to citizens and residents. These rights increase with respect to individuals' degree of 'insideness' in the political system. The 'insideness' criterion excludes mobile forms of being - both spatial and mental mobility - from the resultant model of public space. The civic diverse society perspective (Sicakkan and Lithman 2005-forthcoming), on the other hand, recognizes all the above forms of belonging as equally valid and equally moral modes of being/relating oneself to the world and also problematizes the exclusion of belongings which are based on individual identities that are mobile between different references of identification. These differences are reflected in the three models' proposed forms of a public space. The three models agree that the plurality of belongings should be accommodated in inter-connected multiple public spaces. However, their designs vary between nested-overlapping, differential, and embracive glocal spaces; and mobility is treated on an *ad hoc* basis in the former two whereas it is included thoroughly in the ontological and theoretical frames of the civic diversity perspective.

The Empirical Features of Glocal Spaces

How is coexistence in diversity possible? In what sorts of social and public spaces can diversity be accommodated? Are there any empirical prototypes of such inclusive public spaces in Europe, which can be investigated as a model for a future European diverse society? Is the quality of citizenships in these

new spaces better than in the other public spaces? The research behind this paper sought answers to these questions in six European 'glocal public spaces'.

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

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

1- Fluid external organizational boundaries
2- Frequently changing patterns of interactions (a) between persons, (b) between groups, (c) between persons and groups, (d) between persons and the incipient organization proper, and (e) between groups and the incipient organization proper
3- Acceptance, cooperation, and symbiosis of a diverse set of groups and persons with conflicting, contradicting, supplementary, and complementary political projects (immigrants, historical minorities, third country nationals, majority citizens, hybrid collective and/or multidimensional individual identities)
4- Accepting, encouraging, promoting diversity (at the collective level) and multidimensional belongings and identities (at the collective and personal levels).
5- Vague operative boundaries between organizational leaders, opinion leaders and other participants
6- Openness to all (everybody can define himself/herself as belonging or not belonging there at anytime and can use this space to deliberate his or her preferences)

The Fieldwork Sites in Comparative Perspective

We treated the above-description as an ideal type and located the fieldwork sites that came closest to these requirements. The fieldwork sites where we conducted our interviews are mapped in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Selected Fieldwork Sites

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

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

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

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

Concerning the Hungarian case, as also many interviewees emphasized during the fieldwork, Budapest is a 'glocal site' in itself. In this respect, there does not seem to exist a social or political need for special 'glocal' organizations or

institutions. As Bozóki and Bösze (2004) write in the Hungarian country report:

> We tried to collect 'glocal sites', but it turned out that these types of sites in Hungary were rather based on informal networks than formal institutions. The Hungarian government cannot and do not particularly support the creation of formal organizations in order to enhance social integration and intercultural learning. So we, researchers, found ourselves in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, as some of our respondents pointed out, Budapest proved to be a cosmopolitan, global/local environment in itself. At the first glance, it does not look like a provincial place which particularly needs institutionalized forms of integration. On the other hand, Budapest is a jungle, which hides 'glocal sites' or makes them 'invisible'. The city is cosmopolitan, but its 'sites' are not necessarily so. One had to do an intensive search to discover the 'sites' themselves, in order to be able to start the meaningful phase of the empirical research. (Bozóki and Bösze 2004:131-32)

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

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

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

underdeveloped, or hidden, or based on quickly changing constellations of informal networks. (Bozóki and Bösze 2004:135-136)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Furthermore, the main function of CAISA has been described as follows:

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

Also the Norwegian report points to similar features:

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

In comparison, the main concern in all of these incipient organizations or social structures proves to be preservation of diversity. Basically, this refers to both the diversity of individual identities and collective belongings. However, the Estonian intercultural sites proved to be much different from those in the other five European cities because of their stronger focus on collective identities in terms of ethnic and religious belonging.

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

Motives/reasons for attending the glocal sites

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

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

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

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

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

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

have become more active in the kind of activities and organisations which take place there. (Melve 2004:59)

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

The Hungarian report classifies respondents' motives for participation in the glocal sites into three categories: (1) professional, (2) friendship/curiosity, and (3) social/political motives.

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

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

Table 2 shows that also in Estonia historical native minorities have been included in the project. The Estonian findings can be interpreted as contradicting the above-listed findings. Lagerspetz and Joons report that:

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

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

Belonging, Participation, and Mobility in Glocal Spaces

Glocal spaces accommodate many sorts of persons, groups, movements, etc. They also establish solid links between the numeric, corporate, and essentialized public spaces in a diverse environment. Glocal spaces seem to be a natural meeting place for all and can also be investigated/thought of as a model of diverse society and as accommodating the types of individuals and groups who can cohabit a social and political space of diversity. But, what are the features of the people who attend glocal spaces and what types of individuals make it possible for individuals and groups to coexist in diverse environments like glocal spaces? To answer these questions at least partially, I will enquire into the belonging, participation and mobility patterns of the attendants of the glocal spaces.

Multidimensional belongings in glocal spaces

Respondents' belonging patterns have been mapped along eleven dimensions, which are shown in the first column of Table 1. One aspect that should be emphasized is that most respondents have multidimensional belongings. Table 1 illustrates the results from a categorical principal components analysis (CATPCA) with ordinal variables. The results show five main types of multidimensional belonging patterns in the project's data set.

Table 1: Components of Multidimensional Belongings

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

Variable Principal Normalization used.
All dimensions with an eigenvalue over 1 included.
Ranking discretization used.
Total variance accounted for 82,23% (rounded).

Each of the five dimensions illustrated in the columns of Table 1 shows a particular multidimensional belonging model. It is possible to interpret the CATPCA-results from different angles. For the purposes of this volume, I will first briefly give my suggestion of what each dimension means and then shortly comment on how respondents' degree of European belonging relates to other singular types of belonging in each dimension.

Dimension 1: Individualist-national versus subnational/supranational belonging

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

belongings. Global, individual, national, religious, and/or transnational belongings play little role in their belonging profile. This dimension accounts for 26% of the total variance.

Dimension 2: Collectivist-transnational versus glocal belonging

The respondents who score high on this dimension identify themselves most with collective references of belonging - such as religion, ethnicity, and nation. They relate themselves to the world through both their national-territorial and subnational belongings, herein primarily as members of their ethnic groups. Although subnational ethnic and religious belongings seem to be the main ingredients of their profile, they have a dominant sense of transnational belonging. Examining these respondents' responses to the in-depth interview questions, one may state that they have primarily an ethnic-transnational belonging; that is, a *diasporic* belonging which also comprises a high level of loyalty to their country of residence/citizenship. Both high and low scores on this dimension represent an openness beyond the boundaries of the nation state. However, in contrast to the high-scorers, the respondents who score low on this dimension have weak communal (ethnic and/or religious), national and transnational belongings and high political, individual, gender, global, and European belongings. They have a sense of belonging to a civic and religiously/ethnically open humanity, the world and Europe. This dimension accounts for 20,17% of the total variance.

Dimension 3: Universalist-cosmopolitan versus gendered-territorial belonging

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

Dimension 4: Political belonging

There is a single dominant variable in this dimension - political belonging. 'Political belonging' clusters in this dimension - to a limited extent - with ethnic, gender, sexual, individual, and transnational belongings. In other words, this dimension is about certain 'problematic' issues in western politics such as minority, gender, gays/lesbians, etc. A closer examination of the respondents' profiles indicated that this dimension is primarily and almost exclusively about

the degree of respondents' self-identification as a political person. Since the values of the three negative loadings on this dimension are much smaller than that of 'political belonging', this dimension can be interpreted as unipolar - indicating the degree of the respondents' political belonging with a focus on ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and ethnic transnationalism. Dimension 4 accounts for 11,13% of the total variance.

Dimension 5: European-territorial belonging

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

Multiple participation patterns in glocal spaces

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

Apart from the historical new minorities and second country nationals, respondents' participation level in corporate-plural channels is considerably high. Those who use the essentialized sites the most - such as ethnicity and religion-based organizations - are historical native minorities and imperial minorities. These groups are also the ones whose participation level in glocal sites is the lowest.

Table 2: Components of Participation Patterns

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

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

Table 2 illustrates results from a CATPCA-procedure applied to four variables measuring respondents' degree of participation in different channels. The procedure resulted in two dimensions. Since all the variables' loadings on the first dimension have the same sign this is a common underlying dimension for all the respondents. The first dimension, therefore, measures the degree of respondents' general participation in all spaces of voice and influence - national space (numeric and corporate channels), essentialized spaces (exclusively ethnic/religious spaces), and glocal spaces. However, it is important to note that 'participation in glocal spaces' loads less on this dimension than the other three variables. The second dimension, on the other hand is bipolar; that is, it distinguishes between participation in essentialized spaces and participation in glocal spaces. The respondents who score high in this dimension attend the essentialized spaces more often than those who score low on this dimension - and vice versa.

Mobility of Bodies (Spatial Mobility)

The respondents were asked to respond to three item-batteries measuring their degree of mobility between (1) neighborhoods in their residence town, (2) different towns in their residence country, and (3) other countries. All the three variables were measured along an ordinal Likert-scale with categorical values from 1 to 7 (1=no mobility, 7=several times a month).

Table 3: Components of Geographical Mobility Patterns

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

Variable Principal Normalization used.
2-dimension solution imposed.
Ranking discretization used.
Total explained variance is 91,66% (rounded).

In order to inspect the associations between these three types of geographical mobility, a CATPCA-procedure was used with ranking discretization. As illustrated in Table 3, the CATPCA-procedure generated two dimensions, which distinguish between two types of mobility. Dimension 1 represents respondents' general mobility level, where inter-neighborhood (local) mobility within the town of residence and inter-city (domestic) mobility within the country of residence is dominant. Dimension 2, on the other hand, distinguishes between international (cross-country) and local/domestic types of mobility.

Mobility of Minds (Psychic/Mental Mobility)

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

Table 4: Components of Mind-Mobility Patterns

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

Variable Principal Normalization used.
2-dimension solution imposed.
Ranking discretization used.
Total accounted variance 93,4%.

Application of the CATPCA-procedure to the respondents' mobility scores resulted in two dimensions, which are shown in Table 4. The first dimension is unipolar. It can be interpreted as measuring the degree of general mind-mobility of the respondents between different belonging references such as time (past, present and future), place (birth place, residence place, national territory, visited places, or places respondents have never been to but imagine to belong to), and belonging (different social groups such as nations, races, ethnies, diasporas, political groups, etc or imagined groups). Its positive high values represent high level of mobility of mind in general and its low values represent low mobility of mind.

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

Determinants of Mobility of Mind

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

Therefore, one question in this section is whether the degree of geographical mobility is associated with psychic mobility. To inspect the effect of geographical mobility on psychic mobility, a categorical regression analysis (CATREG) was applied to each of the two 'mobility of mind' dimensions that we found in the previous section - they were used as the dependent variables. Furthermore, one of the basic assumptions in this project is that psychic mobility (mobility of mind) is also associated with the degree of attendance to glocal spaces. This hypothesis is a supplement to Lerner's above hypothesis. Therefore, we also included in the categorical regression model the two variables of participation/involvement, which we constructed in the preceding sections. This is in order to make it possible to compare the effects of geographical mobility and participation/involvement factors in one single model.

Table 5 shows that cross-country mobility is associated with increased mind-mobility between *group references* whereas it implies decreased mind-mobility between different *time references* (this dimension is bipolar and its small and large values have different meanings). Amongst the four variables included in the analysis in Table 5, variable 'cross-country mobility' is the dominant explanatory factor. This implies that cross-country mobility can be a relevant factor if the aim is to increase individuals' allegiance to groups other than their own groups. However, as the dependent variable should be interpreted in a bipolar way, it is also important to note that cross-country mobility leads to a decrease in individuals' ability to identify with multiple time-references. This may mean, for example, that *it may be difficult for an individual to identify with a future 'Europe' project although that individual has a high level of mind-mobility with respect to group-identification references.*

**Table 5: Categorical Regression Analysis of Mobility of Minds Pattern 2
(Group vs. Time references)**

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

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

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

> Therefore, the higher the degree of cross-country mobility, the higher the degree of mobility of mind between references of group (collective) identification.

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

> Therefore, the higher the degree of cross-country mobility, the lower the degree of mobility of mind between different references of time-identification (i.e. between the past, the present and the future).

**Table 6: Categorical Regression Analysis of Mobility of Minds Pattern 1
(General-Combined)**

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

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

Table 6 illustrates findings which indicate that attendance to glocal spaces may be an alternative and/or supplement to geographical mobility. This is a categorical regression analysis of the other mind-mobility dimension, which measures mobility of mind between all references of identification. Firstly, geographical mobility variables have small effects on general psychic mobility. On the other hand, the participation/involvement variables have the largest significant effects. Mobility of mind between all sorts of identification references is affected negatively by 'participation in all spaces'. Inspecting the cases in our qualitative dataset one by one, we find that 'participation in all public spaces' is primarily related with those respondents who relate their belongings to the present state of social affairs.

> Therefore, the higher the degree of participation/involvement in multiple public spaces, the lower the degree of mobility of mind between the past, the present, and the future.

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

> Therefore, the higher the degree of participation in glocal spaces, the higher the degree of mobility of mind.

Alignments and misalignments in the public spaces

Table 7 illustrates the results from a CATPCA-procedure applied to eight variables. The two dimensions uncovered with the CATPCA-procedure are bipolar; and they indicate diverse types of alignments and misalignments. The first dimension indicates the presence of (1) a connection between the national (numeric and corporate channels) and glocal spaces, (2) a detachment between essentialized and other spaces. The second dimension indicates (1) a

connection between essentialized and national spaces and (2) a detachment between glocal spaces and all the other public spaces. On the other hand, these two dimensions can also be used to measure the degree of alignments and misalignments. Thus, in the following analysis, these two dimensions are used to determine both the types and the degrees of alignments and misalignments.

The first dimension separates between essentialized spaces and other spaces. Respondents who score low on this dimension are content with how their preferences are represented, articulated and voiced in essentialized public spaces. The low-scorers are at the same time discontent with the other channels/spaces. Those who score high on this dimension are discontent with essentialized spaces whereas they are content with the other spaces/channels. Thus, the CATPCA-procedure has uncovered one alignment and two misalignments: In this first dimension, the numeric and corporate channels (the national public space) are coupled with the glocal spaces.

Table 7: Alignments/Misalignments in the Public Spaces

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

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

The second dimension separates between glocal spaces and the other channels/spaces. On this dimension, the low-scorers are content with how their preferences are voiced and articulated in glocal spaces whereas they are discontent with the other spaces. Those who score high on this dimension are discontent with glocal spaces whereas they are content with the other three channels/spaces.

Explaining (Mis)alignments in Public Spaces: Three Models

The respondents reported that they attend to one or several of the four types of public spaces: *national* (*numeric* and *corporate*), *essentialized* (ethnic and/or religious organizations), and *glocal spaces*. All the respondents – except those residing in Estonia - were contacted while and/or because they were visiting a glocal space. In this analysis, assuming that the types and degrees of (mis)alignments are due to the respondents' characteristics (belonging, participation, and mobility patterns) rather than those of the public spaces, we inquire into how the respondents' mobility, participation, and belonging patterns have impact on (mis)alignments. Three causality models are explored:

- The belonging model
- The participation model
- The mobility model

Multidimensional belongings and (mis)alignments

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

Table 8: Categorical Regression Analysis of (Mis)alignments – Belonging Model

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

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

Table 8 shows the results from two separate categorical regression analyses, one for each of the two (mis)alignment dimensions that we constructed in the

previous section (see Table 7). The independent variables are the five belonging dimensions we constructed earlier (see Table 1). The analysis results shown in Table 8 strengthen and detail the above-given hypothesis. In very general terms, the first conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis with the belonging model is that different types and degrees of multidimensional belongings lead to different degrees of (mis)alignments in public spaces. Secondly, different belonging patterns are associated with (mis)alignments in different public spaces/channels.

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

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

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

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

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

Multiple participation patterns and (mis)alignments

This model is designed to inspect whether there is a relationship between (mis)alignments and participation in different public spaces. The two participation patterns presented in Table 2 are used as independent variables. A separate categorical regression analysis has been performed for each of the two (mis)alignment patterns.

Table 9: Categorical Regression Analysis of (Mis)alignments - Participation Model

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

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

Table 9 illustrates the results from these two separate analyses. Concerning '(mis)alignment in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces (*content-1*)', both participation patterns gave significant results. However, 'participation in essentialized spaces versus glocal spaces' has a stronger impact than 'participation in all spaces'. The finding concerning the first (mis)alignment dimension can be summarized as follows:

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

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

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

All these tell us that the degree of participation is an important factor as to the degree and type of (mis)alignments in public spaces. The general - and also the most obvious - conclusion from the above analysis is that people are more satisfied with the public spaces that they attend more, and they are less satisfied with the public spaces that they attend less. However, these findings also raise a question of both *spuriousness* and *redundancy*. One aspect related with the redundancy problem is that, most probably, people attend the public spaces which they are already content with and where their preferences and those spaces' capabilities are aligned. Furthermore, this may also mean that the

degree of alignment is rather determined by people's other characteristics, such as belongings, interests, etc, which relates to the question of spuriousness. We shall turn back to these questions later.

Spatial and mental mobility and (mis)alignments

The mobility model entails the assumption that geographical and/or mental mobility has an impact on people's perceptions of themselves, their belongings as well as on their perceptions of political systems and their rights in the society at large. And, this will in turn affect their degree of contentment with the ways that different types of public spaces represent, articulate and voice their interests. To inspect this proposition, we conducted a categorical regression analysis of each of the two alignment/misalignment patterns by using the four mobility dimensions (tables 3 and 4) as the independent variables. Table 10 gives the results from these two analyses. Concerning 'alignments/ misalignments in national and glocal spaces versus essentialized spaces (*content-1*)', the 'general mobility of mind' and 'cross-country mobility' are the most important factors.

Table 10: Categorical Regression Analysis of (Mis)alignments - Mobility Model

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

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

Focusing only on the two most important determinants of *content-1*, we can summarize the findings in this analysis as follows:

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

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

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

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

The explanatory powers of the three models

The above-presented three models each have a significant explanatory power concerning (mis)alignments in different types of public spaces. Table 11 illustrates measures for each model's explanatory power.

Table 11: Explanatory Powers of the Three Models

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

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

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

In further analyses, the categorical associations between the mobility variables and the belonging variables were found to be from weak to moderate. Therefore, it is certain that these two sets of variables are not measuring the same phenomenon. However, the two models - the belonging and mobility models - each account for very high portions of the variation in the two misalignment dimensions. Since these are two different models whose variables are relatively unassociated with each other, this means that the variances which the mobility and belonging models account for, are different from each other. While digesting this result, it should be kept in mind that this analysis is with discontinuous, discrete categorical variables. In other words, it is about associations between the variables' ordinal categories; and the categories relate to each other in different ways in separately conducted different analyses. Therefore, in contrast to analyses with continuous or interval variables, it is possible here to infer that the two explanatory models account for two different types of categorical variances in the dependent variables.

On the other hand, further analyses - which are not presented here due to limited space - showed that the two participation patterns are strongly associated with the five belonging patterns. The belonging patterns account for 68% of the variation in 'participation in all spaces' and 82% of the variation in participation in 'essentialized versus glocal spaces". This means that the five belonging patterns, which are orthogonal, explain much of the variation in the two participation patterns. At the same time, as we found in Tables 5 and 6, the two participation patterns are also associated with the two mental mobility patterns in different ways. Table 5 shows that one spatial mobility pattern (i.e. cross-country mobility) accounts perfectly for the variation in one of the mental mobility patterns (i.e. psychic mobility between group versus time references). Table 6 illustrates that the two participation variables are very important predictors of the general mental mobility.

These considerations lead us to the following preliminary conclusion: The project measured the multidimensional belongings of the respondents. Separately, it also measured their mobility of mind between different references of identification. As the measurement of belongings represents the temporal and situation-dependent multidimensional belongings at the time of data

collection, it is indicative of the non-dynamic and temporally limited aspects of belongings. On the other hand, adding the mobility of mind dimension enriched the analysis and uncovered the dynamism in respondents' multidimensional belongings. The belonging model shows the impact of the respondents' belongings on the (mis)alignments they experience in different public spaces, whereas the mobility model shows the impact of the respondents' ability to shift between different modes of belonging. This qualitative difference between the meanings of these two models is the source of the difference in the categorical variances they account for.

Conclusions

We can arrive at the following general model, which is illustrated in Figure 3. It should be underlined that '(mis)alignment' is an indicator of the quality of citizenships. It comprises two separate, uncorrelated dimensions. The three models presented in Figure 3 are also comprised of several sub-dimensions, each with different impacts on different dimensions of '(mis)alignments'.

Figure 3: Three Models for Explaining (Mis)alignments
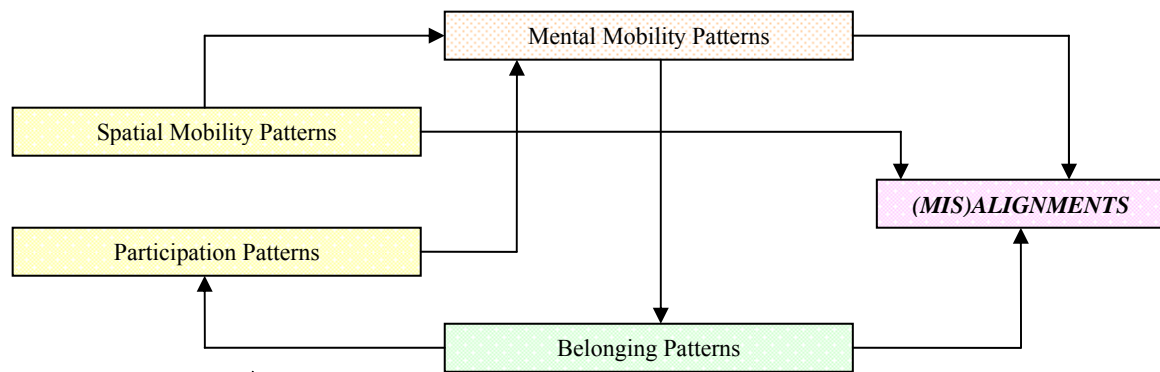
The above model does not illustrate these nuances. The specifics of the models' impacts have been given in the preceding sections. A more systematic summary of the three models' separate impacts is presented in the following:

In Figure 4, the most important predictors of the first (mis)alignment dimension - (mis)alignment in national/glocal versus essentialized spaces - are illustrated, which can be significant factors in reducing/eliminating the misalignments between citizens' and residents' preferences and the different public spaces' ability to respond. Figure 4 tells us that manipulating any one of the above predictors will result in elimination/reduction in one type of misalignment; and at the same time, it will result in intensification/reification of another type of misalignment. For example, increasing 'mobility of mind between all references of identification' or 'political belonging' will result in an increase in the alignment in national and glocal spaces. However, this will also result in increased misalignment in essentialized spaces. Thus, any measure will eliminate some and reify other misalignments.

Figure 4: Predictors of (Mis)alignments in National/Glocal versus Essentialized Spaces
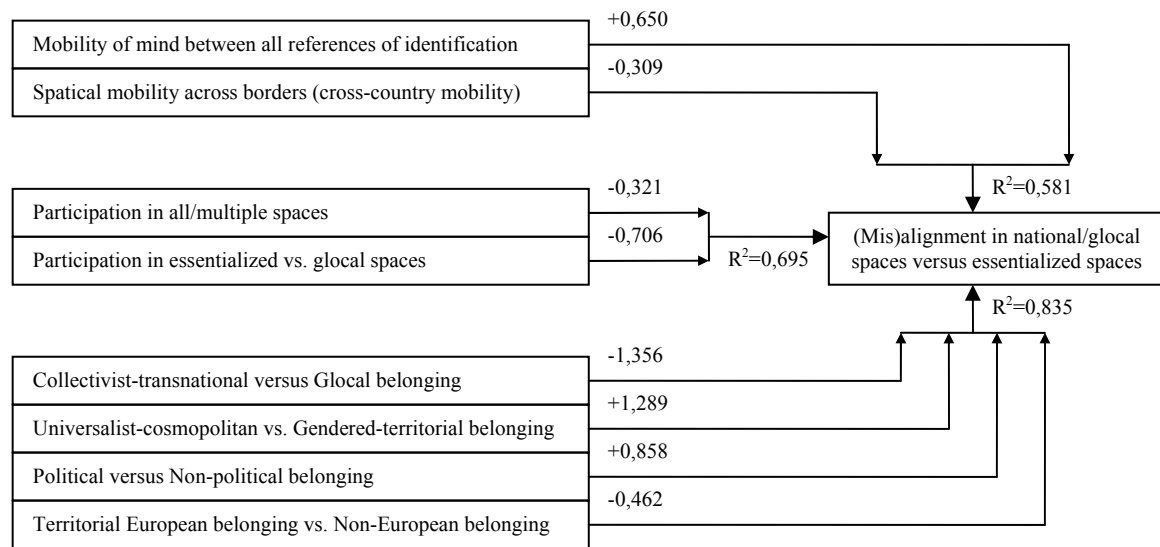

Figure 5 illustrates the most important predictors of the second (mis)alignment dimension - (mis)alignment in national/essentialized versus glocal spaces. The situation here is also the same: changes in one predictor will lead to elimination of one misalignment and reification of another simultaneously. For example, increasing 'mobility of mind between all references of identification' and decreasing 'political belonging' simultaneously will increase alignment in glocal spaces, but this will also increase misalignments in national and essentialized spaces.

Figure 5: Predictors of (Mis)alignments in National/Essentialized versus Glocal Spaces
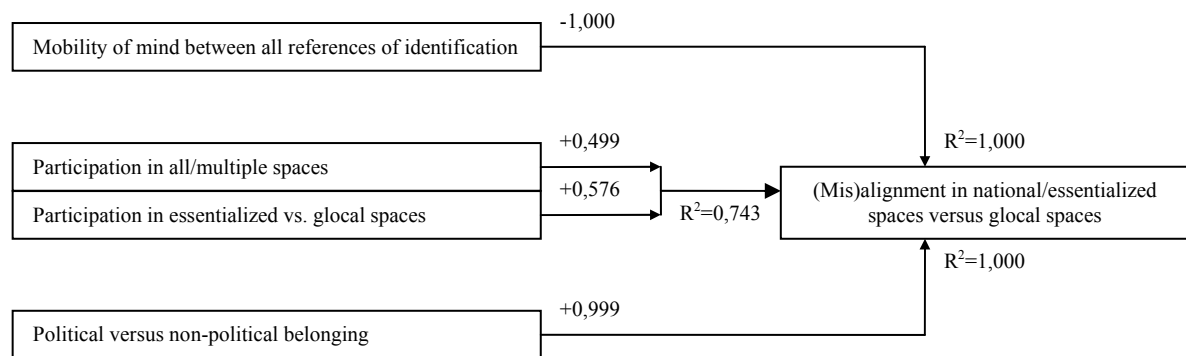
To reduce/eliminate certain misalignments, one of the three models can be utilized. The belonging model requires changing the multidimensional belongings of citizens and residents. The mobility model requires changing the psychic and spatial mobility patterns of citizens and residents. As the history of the European states testifies to, these are both doable for good social/political engineers. However, regarding the belonging and mobility models, such measures may raise ethical questions, as any choice will imply giving priority to certain 'modes of being'. The participation model, on the other hand, requires strengthening and/or designing and establishment of the types of

public spaces that residents and citizens need for voicing, articulating, and representing their preferences emanating from their belongings and other interests without having to change themselves.

Finally, it should be emphasized that all the results that are presented hitherto have been controlled for the country variable. This was done by repeating all the summary and association analyses six times by excluding from the analysis one country at a time. The results obtained in the categorical regression analyses with the sub-sets of the data set are very similar to the results obtained by using the whole data set. In other words, more or less the same associations between participation, mobility, belonging, and misalignment were obtained in all the analyses.

At this exploratory stage, this can be interpreted as that the attendants of the different public spaces in different national contexts have similar characteristics in the six countries that this project studied. However, this is a preliminary conclusion, which requires validation with statistically representative population samples combined with qualitative in-depth research with larger samples.

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