

**Addressing Integration and Exclusion:  
Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian  
Intervention**

Edited by

Yannis A. Stivachtis & Stefanie Georgakis Abbott  
*Virginia Tech*

Athens Institute for Education & Research (ATINER)  
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## **About ATINER**

The Athens Institute for Education and Research (ATINER) was established in 1995 as an independent world association of Academics and Researchers. Its mission is to act as a forum where Academics and Researchers from all over the world can meet and exchange ideas on their research, and discuss the future developments in their disciplines. Athens was chosen as the meeting place because of its long history and culture.

The organizing and hosting of International Conferences and Symposiums, as well as Research and Publications are the basic activities of ATINER. Since 1995, ATINER has organized more than 200 International Conferences and other events, and has published close to 150 books. In 2013, the Association launched its on-line journals.

Academically, the Association is organized into six Research Divisions and twenty-seven Research Units. Each Research Unit organizes at least an Annual International Conference and undertakes various small and large research projects. ATINER encourages other Institutions to participate as joint members in these research projects. Since 2012, the Institute has also organized a number of smaller events, such as roundtable discussions and public speeches.

Membership of ATINER is open to all Academics and Researchers from all over the world. The members of the Institute are invited to undertake a number of academic activities.



## About the Editors

**Yannis A. Stivachtis** is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the International Studies Program at Virginia Tech. He is the editor of the *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* and co-editor of the *Critical European Studies* book series published by Routledge/Taylor & Francis. He also serves as the Chair of the Social Sciences Research Division and Head of the Politics & International Affairs Research Unit of ATINER (Athens Institute of Education and Research); European Security Analyst and Senior Advisor of RIEAS (Research Institute for European & American Studies); and Chair of the English School section of the International Studies Association (ISA). He is the author of *Human and State (In)Security in a Globalized World* (Dubuque, IA: Kentall Hunt, 2010); *Co-operative Security and Non-Offensive Defense in the Zone of War* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001); and *The Enlargement of International Society* (London: Macmillan, 1998) and co-author of *Non-Offensive Defense in the Middle East* (New York: United Nations Publications 1998). He has edited or co-edited several books and special journal issues including *Europe after Enlargement* (London: Routledge 2014), *The European Union and Peace-building (Review of European Studies, 2013)*; *EUrope and the World (Review of European Studies, 2012)*; *International Society in Post-enlargement Europe (Journal of European Integration, 2011)*; *The Road to EU Membership: The Economic Transformation of Turkey* (Brussels: Brussels University Press, 2011); *Turkey-European Union Relations* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008); *The State of European Integration* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); *International Order in a Globalizing World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); *Current Issues in European Integration* (Athens: ATINER, 2004); and *European Union's Mediterranean Enlargement* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2002). He has written several articles published in various journals like the, *Contemporary Politics*, *Journal of European Integration*, *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, and *Mediterranean Politics*. He has also written several chapters published in edited volumes.

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Blacksburg, 31 March 2014

*Yannis A. Stivachtis & Stefanie Georgakis Abbott*

# Addressing Integration and Exclusion: Democracy, Human Rights and the Politics of Culture: An Introduction

*Yannis A. Stivachtis & Stefanie Georgakis Abbott*

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Integration and exclusion are concepts that are inextricably linked to the modern sovereign state system. With each border that is drawn or enforced, with each wall that is erected between sovereign spaces, choices of integration and exclusion are to be found. For every act of political inclusion must be considered alongside inevitable exclusion. It is impossible, then, to have any iteration of the State without excluding someone or something. Moreover, the everyday choices that are made around borderspaces, the choices of who to include and who to exclude, are highly political.

The concepts of democracy and human rights are not without flaws or documented difficulties in theorization and implementation. Yet, they are also inherently bound up in notions of inclusion and exclusion, for even in international human rights regimes, there are choices to be made on who can be made to count as “us” and who will be cast as “them.”

Thus, the topic of this volume is a timely one. Truly, we cannot fully bring into question notions of democracy or Human Rights without giving deep consideration to the politics of exclusion. Inclusion and exclusion can be understood in many different ways. From a perspective of Human Rights, the United Nations recognizes the right for an individual to be included in her polity. The discrepancy comes when we begin to peel back the various questions around the type of inclusivity. In this way, democracy, human rights, and the practice of culture are intimately tied to questions of political inclusion.

With this in mind, this volume is a collection of seemingly disparate topics that all come together around the knot of inclusionary and exclusionary politics. The goal of the volume is to highlight the commonalities between different discussions that approach the problem of political exclusion, to bring together distinct narratives, spanning different special and temporal backdrops, that help us to push the limits of our understanding of democracy and human rights in an increasingly multicultural world. With an unprecedented amount of

migration and spatial transience characterizing the “globalizing” international system, the implications of who can be made to count as the “inside” matters more than ever.

The volume is divided into four parts, Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention, Democracy and Democratization, Religion and Politics, and Cases of Inclusion and Exclusion, each with a distinct theme amongst the chapters.

Part one, Human Rights and Humanitarian Intervention, begins with a discussion about the implications of human rights regimes in Myanmar by Kenneth Christie and Robert James Hanlon. In their piece, Christie and Hanlon argue that although Myanmar is most often characterized through its military authoritarianism, there is a space for burgeoning discussion of human rights. Specifically, the authors suggest that the UN has been able to open a new space for the promotion of human rights standards in corporate and political governance within the isolated country.

Binoy Kampmark’s chapter adds to this discussion, drawing our attention to the question of humanitarian intervention and human rights abuses in Libya. The dilemma that the author confronts: whether or not intervention in Libya can be separated from notions of imperialism, is a difficult one to tackle. Kampmark’s analysis suggests, rightly, that humanitarian intervention provides a different avenue for regime change, outside of the parameters dictated by the Security Council.

The next chapter, which is a more theoretical discussion of persecution, takes on the challenge of producing a regime-based analytical framework. Deon Geldenhuys looks at the concept of persecution by drawing on international human rights and criminal law, in the pursuit of highlighting the political dynamics of persecution. Geldenhuys offers the argument that persecution on identity-related grounds is indicative of weakness in the international human rights sub-regime on persecution.

Yannis Stivachtis’ consideration of the value of humanism and the problem of difference adds a depth to the theoretical discussion of what it means to make political decisions about otherness and belonging. In the chapter, Stivachtis lays the theoretical imperative for engendering a set of universal values to support “international order” while preserving cultural integrity and heterogeneity.

In the final chapter in the first part, Masa Mrovlje’s discussion of Arendt, violence, and political reconciliation ties together all of the other chapters in this part. Drawing on Arendt’s narrative of judgment, Mrovlje convincingly helps us to rethink the concept of reconciliation

by shedding light onto the importance of memory and the fostering of a sense of shared responsibility and emphasizing a notion of reconciliation that emphasizes the existential sense of the commonality.

Shifting gears, part two of the book, *Democracy and Democratization*, begins with Chrysoula Gitsoulis' conceptual comparison of representative versus direct democracy. In a refreshingly clear comparison, Gitsoulis challenges the critiques of both models of democratic representation, unearthing some of the most pressing debates about what it means to be "democratic."

Fatih Duman and Ismail Seyrek pick up on this theme of what it means to practice democracy in their discussion of the modern Turkish republic. Turkey, with a complicated and recent history of "forced modernization" is a vitally important marker for the dangers of the adoption of an utopian notion of Westernization and nation building, providing important historical and contemporary lessons for practices of democratization around the globe.

Christiana Nichols Leahy's discussion of third wave democracy in Portugal and Greece continue to carry this theme of the consequences of implementing democracy along the Mediterranean, as she discusses the implications for the Eurozone in democratic woes in Portugal and Greece, bringing into question exactly what "European" democracy should "look like."

Finally, Dorota Urszula Opyd takes on the question of gender imbalances in parliaments across newly established democracies in the OECD. She presents the domination of heteronormative masculinity as a critical factor in understanding male dominated parliaments and the increase in female MPs around the globe.

Part three of the volume approaches the important topic of religion in politics, as this is a particularly salient meeting point of questions of democracy, inclusion and exclusion. Religion can both be inclusive and alienating, often simultaneously, and the chapters in this part tackle these issues.

Kathlen Luana de Oliveira takes on the importance of theology and religion in Latin America in the proliferation of democracy and human rights regimes. De Oliveira argues that the confluence of human rights and theology is an important one. Following de Oliveira, Helio Aparecido Teixeira discusses Liberation Theology in the construction of a human rights narrative in Brazil. Teixeira presents the reader with an analytical study of the ecumenical basis found in human rights in Brazil, tying it to the historical experience of Liberation Theology. Ezequiel de Souza rounds out the discussion of religion and politics in Brazil by adding a theorization of masculinity and spirituality in the

Brazilian landscape. Specifically, de Souza proposes a reconceptualization of spirituality, one that holds at its center expressions of masculinity that emphasize sharing and solidarity rather than power and strength.

This part then places emphasis on the question of religion and politics in Senegal. First, Sebastiano d'Angelo exposes the history of close ties between spiritual leaders and political figures in Senegal, questioning the implications that this has for a feeling of social cohesiveness in Senegal. Presidential races, d'Angelo argues, are largely based on the interaction between the religious and political leaders of communities. Adding to this discussion, Sarah Croché examines the state-religious networks in Senegal. Croché uses a Foucauldian methodology to excavate the relationship between Western scientific discourses and religious narratives, bringing into question the productive capacity of "scientific" discursivity using Actor-Network-Theory.

Finally, Part four of the volume examines specific cases of integration and exclusion tying together all of the threads explored in the previous sections. First, Rita Duca takes the case of family reunification of Muslim children and parents in Europe to highlight how the concept of *kafala* (sponsorship) has been interpreted differently across Europe. Stefanie Georgakis Abbott addresses the problem of the paradox of humanitarian intervention and exclusion and detention of migrants and asylum seekers on the southern Italian island of Lampedusa.

Baodong Liu then takes the 2008 and 2012 U.S. Presidential elections to discuss the suggestions that the US has reached an age of "post-racial" politics with the election of Barack Obama. Ultimately, Liu suggests that state-level white support for Obama in both 2008 and 2012 was directly related to historical and prior state race relations. Overall, we have seen an enduring, rather than diminishing, effect of race in American politics. Betty A. Dobratz and Lisa K. Waldner focus on the White Power movement in the United States, and the continued presence of an often forgotten about movement in the US. Dobratz and Waldner shed light onto a distinct fluidity and lack of consistency in the positions on violence taken by the white power movement, neither always for nor against violent means to reach their goals. Their analysis shows a much more nuanced and complex political and social faction than it is often characterized as.

In conclusion, the issues raised in this volume tackle questions that cannot be confined to any one geographic categorization. They are, instead, profound questions about what it means to belong to a polity

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and what it means, in contrast, to be excluded. The active drawing of boundaries, whether they are social, geographic, or cultural, remind us that questions of inclusion and exclusion are inherently political. The issues raised in this volume contribute a great deal of theorization and case studies to important considerations about how democracy, human rights, and culture work to reify understandings of belonging and otherness in the modern state system.