IMPROVING **US** AND **EU** IMMIGRATION SYSTEMS

Social Cohesion Challenges in Europe

by Didier Ruedin and
Gianni D'Amato

RSC
European University Institute
Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies

mpi
MIGRATION POLICY INSTITUTE

Improving EU and US Immigration Systems' Capacity for Responding to Global Challenges: Learning from experiences

Research Report
Background paper

EU-US Immigration Systems 2011/04

Social Cohesion Challenges in Europe

Didier Ruedin & Gianni D'Amato

Swiss Forum of Migration and Population Studies, University of Neuchâtel

European University Institute
Badia Fiesolana
I – 50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI)
Italy

http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/Publications/
http://www.eui.eu/TransatlanticMigration
http://cadmus.eui.eu

Improving EU and US Immigration Systems' Capacity for Responding to Global Challenges: Learning from experiences

The project is co-funded by the European Commission in the framework of the Pilot Projects on "Transatlantic Methods for Handling Global Challenges in the European Union and United States". The project is directed at the Migration Policy Center (MPC – Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies – European University Institute, Florence) by Philippe Fargues, director of the MPC, and Demetrios Papademetriou president of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) the partner institution.

The rationale for this project is to identify the ways in which EU and US immigration systems can be substantially improved in order to address the major challenges policymakers face on both sides of the Atlantic, both in the context of the current economic crisis, and in the longer term.

Ultimately, it is expected that the project will contribute to a more evidence-based and thoughtful approach to immigration policy on both sides of the Atlantic, and improve policymakers' understanding of the opportunities for and benefits of more effective Transatlantic cooperation on migration issues.

The project is mainly a comparative project focusing on 8 different challenges that policymakers face on both sides of the Atlantic: employment, social cohesion, development, demographic, security, economic growth and prosperity, and human rights.

For each of these challenges two different researches will be prepared: one dealing with the US, and the other concerning the EU. Besides these major challenges some specific case studies will be also tackled (for example, the analysis of specific migratory corridor, the integration process faced by specific community in the EU and in the US, the issue of crime among migrants etc.).

Against this background, the project will critically address policy responses to the economic crisis and to the longer-term challenges identified. Recommendations on what can and should be done to improve the policy response to short-, medium- and long term challenges will follow from the research. This will include an assessment of the impact of what has been done, and the likely impact of what can be done.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the websites of the project:
- http://www.eui.eu/Projects/TransatlanticProject/Home.aspx/
- http://www.migrationpolicy.org/immigrationsystems/

For more information:

Improving EU and US Immigration Systems' Capacity for Responding to Global Challenges: Learning from experiences

Convento
Via delle Fontanelle 19
50014 San Domenico di Fiesole
Italy
Tel: +39 055 46 85 817
Fax: + 39 055 46 85 770
Email: transatlantic@eui.eu

Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS/

Abstract

Recent decades saw increasing levels of immigration to European countries. This has lead to a more diverse population in Europe, and often this increased diversity is seen as a challenge to social cohesion. At the beginning of the 21st century, the political rhetoric has become harsher, with immigration, Islam, and security increasingly mentioned in one breath. Economic pressures because of global recession are similar in most European countries, leading to lower levels of economic integration, and thus may affect social cohesion. The article presents a number of reasons why reactions differ across Europe. Reasons include the ability of immigrants to adjust the recession, or different historical legacies of immigration. Moreover, the role of the welfare state in issues of immigration and social cohesion is highlighted. The welfare state plays an important role in cultural and social integration – which can differ significantly from economic integration – and can explain why social cohesion and the state of the economy are not directly linked. In European countries, the welfare state to some degree counters purely economic trends. Additionally, the article argues that stricter immigration policies tend not to affect areas directly relevant to social integration and social cohesion, where there are possibly no real alternatives to encouraging integration. Yet, the perception in society that social cohesion is under threat can lead to hostile reactions, but this is not necessarily the case. The political system and historical differences play a crucial role in how issues of immigration are politicized in times of economic crisis.

A. Introduction

Immigration may be an old phenomenon, but recent years saw an increasing number of individuals migrating. What is more, the nature of migration is increasingly diverse. Whereas in the past the number of countries of origin for a specific receiving country was limited, today the range of countries is larger, and includes countries from further away. This leads to an increasing diversity in immigrants, coming from various cultural, religious, linguistic, and social backgrounds. Technological advances in transport and communication have helped making migration more affordable and enabling individuals to stay in contact with others in the country of origin and thus maintain their cultural distinctiveness.

As a result of advancing economic globalization, countries across Europe and the US face similar pressures. Globalization means that these countries operate in the same global environment, which exposes the countries to similar challenges. Indeed, it can be argued that globalization has created a more or less single market, with the result that challenges of migration are a common challenge for all countries in this single global market. The extent and nature of immigration in European countries means that citizens and the political elite react and look for some form of political reaction: The aim is to manage migration.

Management of migration is the idea that proactive policies are required to preserve social cohesion in the receiving countries. In other words, unregulated migration to European countries and the US is regarded as a threat to the social order, particularly the welfare system and the economy. In order to avoid the negative aspects that increased numbers and diversity of migration are thought to have, it is necessary that immigrants are integrated into the receiving society. By so doing, levels of social cohesion can be maintained at a level that allows societies to continue as they did in the past.

The extent to which such integration of immigrants is possible depends to a certain degree on the state of the economy. A poor state of the economy is thought to prevent the economic integration of immigrants. In other words, during times when the economy is doing badly, immigrants find it hard to find work, and are more likely to be unemployed or working poor. Economic integration would require them to have paid work. Similar effects can be expected during times of an economic crisis or recession. At the same time, the welfare system in place can play a central role in integrating immigrants, affecting integration into social life. Whilst immigrants are not actually foreseen in welfare states, they are in principle included like everyone else because of the inclusive nature of welfare systems, based on principles of social rights and citizenship.

Economic integration is considered a central pillar for immigrants, just like it is seen as an essential aspect of social life for all citizens. During times of poor economic performance, this emphasis on paid work may encourage immigrants to participate in irregular and informal forms of employment. In certain areas of the economy, work may be available because desperate workers are willing to accept lower wages or more flexible, less secure work arrangements. From the point of an employer, such terms are often lucrative, especially in times when the economy performs poorly. It is in this sense that there is very strong economic demand for immigrant workers.[1]

At the same time, participation in the informal economy undermines social cohesion. It does so by running counter to collective efforts such as social insurance payments, agreed terms of work, or collective wages. As a result, the feeling that other workers are part of the same society can be challenged, to the degree that participants in the informal economy are marginalized. The status of immigrant workers in society means that they are frequently taking part in the informal economy; or at least that their participation in the informal economy is visible and publicized. Workers can be

---

[1] M. Borkert and R. Penninx, "The Dynamics of Migratory Policymaking in Europe - an Introduction," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

marginalized in different ways, and in the case of immigrant workers, one possibility of marginalization can take the form of xenophobia. Once workers in the informal economy are marginalized – perhaps combined with xenophobia –, the marginalized position of low status and bargaining power may be reinforcing, leading to additional marginalization because of low income, for example. Consequently, workers of the informal economy may find it increasingly difficult to leave such precarious states of employment the longer they participate in the informal economy.

At the same time, immigration to European countries currently keeps growing irrespective of the state of the economy. This is partly caused by immigrants who cannot be rejected for legal reasons. For example, refugees may arrive at a time of economic crisis; and they cannot be rejected with reference to the current performance of the economy. Usually more significant is immigration in the form of family reunion, often guaranteed under law with reference to the right to family – a human right. Illegal and irregular immigration describes individuals who migrated through an unofficial channel, or who migrated through an official channel, but stayed longer or with a different purpose than originally foreseen. Despite efforts to do so, illegal and irregular immigration is difficult to stop, especially as long as there are strong economic demands for cheap labour.[2]

Whilst economic factors certainly play a role in shaping flows of immigration, they are only part of the answer. In fact, there is no grand theory of immigration that could explain all facets of how, when, and why people migrate.[3] In a similar vein, there is no (single) global migration policy. This is not to say that there are no efforts to achieve some sort of international or even global coordination on immigration policies or parts of immigration policies. At the global level, there are platforms such as the Berne Initiative,[4] particularly since the 1990s. Efforts are also notable in the European Union, such as with the Schengen/Dublin agreements that regulate the movement of individuals within participating countries and regulate parts of asylum applications. Areas where most coordination appears to take place are aspects of border control rather than integration of immigrants already present. Examples include stricter admission policies for which a consensus appears to be emerging within the European Union, or the security framing of immigration. Whilst such efforts towards coordination are ongoing in Europe, the responsibility for implementing policies remains with individual countries, and different countries deal with the same or equivalent pressures in a different way. Moreover, at the national level issues around the integration of immigrants appear to be more salient and politicized, and consequently little convergence can be observed in European countries. In short, there is no single way to approach the impact of economic change on immigration in Europe.

1. Definitions

Social cohesion is one of these sociological concepts that is most commonly talked about when absent. The implication is that normally societies are socially cohesive, but that there are external threats that challenge this status. The cohesive state of a society is thus stable, and where not achieved, it is assumed that all societies aspire to socially cohesive stability. It is indeed the cohesion of a society that makes it stable.

It can be argued that social cohesion is necessary for collective action to take place. Such action is made possible because of the shared values that are found in society. Tönnies[5] makes a distinction between community (*Gemeinschaft*) and association (*Gesellschaft*) as two types of society, and social

---

[2] P. Emmenegger and R. Careja, "From Dilemma to Dualization: Social and Migration Policies in the 'Reluctant Countries of Immigration'" (presented at the 17th Conference for European Studies, Montreal, 2010).

[3] G. D'Amato, "Ein historisch-soziologisches Inventar der Migration in der Schweiz," *Schweizerischen Jahrbuch für Entwicklungspolitik* 27, no. 2 (2008): 177-196.

[4] IOM, "The Berne Initiative: A Global Consultative Process for Inter-State Cooperation on Migration Management," 2011, http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/cache/offonce/pid/1491.

[5] *Community and association* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1974).

cohesion is possible in both. In a community, there is a feeling of togetherness, close ties between members of the community and thus regular and intensive social interaction, a shared experience of time and space, and shared identity that is the result of the other factors. Social cohesion works through informal institutions and strong consensus in the community. Contrary to romanticizing accounts, it is important to note that social cohesion is also possible in an association. An association is characterized by superficial and fleeting interactions, individualization, a complex division of labour with co-dependence, and a relative lack of norms. This is a description of modern states as they are found in Europe. In this case, the state and formal institutions play an important role in organizing society and establishing social cohesion. There is a collective support of laws and support for markets: collective values that enable social cohesion.[6] Social cohesion in this case is institutionalized.

Social cohesion can thus be defined by the fact that individuals feel part of society and trust each other. This means that different groups are accepted as full members of society. In Penninx' words,[7] different groups are integrated in society, particularly immigrant groups. This integration can be based on close social ties (in the case of communities) or the collective support of laws and values (in the case of associations). The resulting trust leads to interaction between individuals of different groups, and is conducive to resolving collective action problems.

Calls for renewed social cohesion are often romantic, drawing on images of communities, or in Durkheim's terms mechanical solidarity. For policymakers it is important to realize that social cohesion is equally possible modern societies described by Tönnies as associations, as it is possible in small-scale communities. In both kinds of social organization different individuals and institutions can be integrated into a cohesive whole.

In recent years, increasingly attention was paid to the role of social capital in shaping social cohesion.[8] The concept of social capital may be useful to highlight how cooperation in different kinds of society is facilitated by generalized trust, shared norms, as well as the networks that connect individuals. The potential utility of the concept for understanding social cohesion stems from the fact that there are different ways through which trust, norms, and networks can be established. In a community trust may be based on mutual social interchange and close relations, in an association trust may be based on the shared norms and adherence to laws. The social networks in each kind of society are different, facilitating different interactions and different bases for trust.

Social cohesion and social capital are important factors for societies to overcome collective action problems. These are problems that can be overcome as a collective of individuals, but where the solution is unattainable for any individual. Challenges of immigration are certainly an example of a collective action problem: whilst the individual may have an interest in controlling immigration to his or her country, doing so is impossible for the individual. As a collective of individuals – in this case usually in the form of a state – individuals have the possibility to establish certain controls.

In the case of controlling immigration, it is possible to talk of an immigration system. An immigration system describes a set of coordinated policies and practices with the aim of controlling or managing immigration in one way or another.[9] The attempt to control and manage of immigration flows does not necessarily stand for repressive means, but describes all coordinated efforts, be they strict or liberal.

---

[6] É. Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. G. Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1964).

[7] "Integration: The Role of Communities, Institutions, and the State," *Migration Information Source* October (2003), http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=168.

[8] R. Putnam, R. Leonardi, and R. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: The Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Touchstone Books, 2000).

[9] C. Brettell and J. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

At the individual level, one possible reaction to immigration is the perception of immigration as a threat. This psychosocial reaction can translate into xenophobia. Strictly speaking, xenophobia refers to the rejection and hatred of those from a different country. It is worth maintaining a distinction between xenophobia and racism. Racism is the rejection and hatred of specific (racial) groups, and thus includes an element of essentialism. The groups who are rejected are rejected on the basis of their essentially being different, on their essentially different and presumably incompatible culture and way of life. Since differences are seen as fixed characteristics, there is no way to successfully overcome this difference. In contrast, xenophobia leaves open the possibility of assimilation or acculturation, allowing the initially rejected group to be integrated and accepted by the receiving society.

2. Historical Legacies

When discussing immigration policies and immigration systems, it is important to recognize that in different countries, different historical legacies shape current practices. Indeed, the different historical legacies have been highlighted as a reason why immigration policies in different European and Western countries may not be the same.[10] Such historical legacies include political factors, but also non-political issues such as the size and nature of the economy, the welfare system in place, citizenship regimes, or legal and institutional differences that shape the economy and social life. All these differences are reflected in laws, policies, and practices shaping the labour market and social cohesion, irrespective of immigration and economic performance. Legacies mean that certain policies persist, despite perhaps changed pressures from new kinds of immigration. One reason it is possible for policies to persist in a changed environment is that the impact of single policies is often difficult to determine, for example because of lobbying, party politics, or the impact of direct democracy.

The political context specific to each country – often summarized under the heading of political opportunity structures – is a key reason why immigration policies may differ across countries. The potential threat of a referendum in a country with direct democratic measures, for instance, has a direct impact on the kind of policy changed or implemented by governments affected. A similar effect can be found in other countries, where the nature and power constellation within a coalition or the relationship with the opposition shapes the policy changes that are politically viable. A situation where government action is dependent on the support of other political actors means that the chance of sudden and large changes in policies is reduced, as the risk of alienating key partners is too high. This is the case in many coalition governments around Europe.

Other factors that can influence immigration policies and their implementation are the media, civil society, the strength of courts, or changes in the strength of the economy.[11] In addition, external factors such as regime change in many Central and Eastern European countries after the end of the Soviet influence, or changing borders such as after World War II can equally affect immigration policies put into practice.[12] The reason for this is that such external events change the power constellation and incentives for individual political actors, making it more or less likely that certain changes are implemented. Put briefly, there are many reasons to believe that immigration systems in different European and Western countries have remained sufficiently distinct, despite common pressures leading to some convergence in integration policies, for instance.[13]

---

[10] G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert, eds., *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

[11] L. Cerna and A. Wietholtz, "Immigration and Integration Policymaking: The British Case," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

[12] Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert, *Migratory Policymaking in Europe*.

[13] D. Schnapper, *Qu'est-ce que l'intégration ?* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2007).

European Countries with Old Migration and Colonial Past

In Europe, a distinction can be drawn between countries that have experiences immigration for many years and decades, and countries for which large-scale immigration is a recent phenomenon. Countries where immigration is older either have a colonial past, or have experienced an economic boom after World War II. In the latter case, workers were actively sought in order to meet the demand for unskilled labour. Guestworker programmes were one possibility to meet economic demand. The idea behind such programmes was to recruit workers without allowing them to settle permanently. Indeed, policies were often set up to actively discourage long-term settlement, and integration into the receiving society was not foreseen, meaning that no formal citizenship rights were granted. Increased competition between countries was one reason such restrictive policies were increasingly abolished, allowing immigrants to stay longer or to bring their family. Until the 1980s guestworkers in Europe tended to come from other European countries.

The situation is somewhat different for European countries with a colonial past. The link to their then colonies meant that they recruited workers from their colonies to meet labour shortages in times of economic boom. Countries with colonies were involved in attempts to control and regulate immigration from the beginning of colonial times. Such attempts to manage flows of migration, however, differ from what was done in other European countries. In former colonial powers, the management of immigration was part of a larger effort to control the population of the entire empire.[14] A slightly different case is France, where immigration was a demographic policy to fill gaps in the native population. The focus was not just on labour shortages, but on France as a society. Formal citizenship was granted early to encourage inclusion and integration. This approach contrasts with other programmes where labour was the sole concern. Existing links with the former colonies mean that a large part of present-day immigration in countries with a colonial past is from former colonies.

Because of the similar patterns of increasingly diverse immigration, as well as the similar economic and political macro developments, however, all European countries with a long tradition of immigration can be considered comparable. As a result, it can be expected that there is some degree of convergence in immigration policies in these countries.[15] Yet, Bruquetas-Callejo *et al.* note that despite such similar pressures and patterns of immigration, the actual politicization of the topic varies significantly.[16]

European Countries with New Migration

Not all European countries experienced significant flows of immigration after World War II. To the contrary, some European countries continued to send migrants to other countries, where the economy was booming. In Italy immigration only became significant after 1973 – in the context of the oil crisis. As a result of the oil crisis, countries like France, Germany, and Britain to some extent closed their borders, and Italy became a new destination for migrants seeking labour.[17] Similarly, Spain has recently become a destination country for migrants seeking work. Migrants are concentrated in some

---

[14] Cerna and Wietholtz, "The British Case."

[15] Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert, *Migratory Policymaking in Europe*.

[16] "Policymaking Related to Immigration and Integration: The Dutch Case," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

[17] G. Zincone, "Immigration and Immigrant Policymaking in Italy – Structures, Actors and Practices," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

areas, but they are no longer predominantly from the former colonies.[18] Having become a destination country does not mean that these countries have completely ceased to send migrants to other European countries where there is demand. In particular Portugal continues to send migrants to many countries in Western Europe.

Central and Eastern European Countries

The influence of the Soviet Union in Central and Eastern European countries for much of the twentieth century means that these countries come with a different history when it comes to immigration and related policies. In these countries there was strong state control over many aspects of everyday life, combined with strict border controls and restrictions on movement more generally. As a consequence, unregulated immigration was not a significant phenomenon in Eastern European countries. Guestworker programmes of a kind existed in countries with a strong economy, but these programmes were set up to avoid contact with the local population and to prevent long-term settlement of migrant workers.[19]

With the ascension of Central and Eastern European countries to the European Union in 2004 (EU enlargement) these countries suddenly were in the position where they needed to formalize immigration policies at the state level. The formulation of these policies happened under the influence of the European Union.[20] At the same time, the countries were interested in policies that allowed their citizens to move freely to other European countries.

US/Canada

For comparison, it might be interesting to look at the US and Canada. Both countries can be described as old immigration countries, that is to say countries where significant immigration is a historical fact. The predominant discourse is one of welcoming new immigrants, indeed immigrants are sought for the development of the countries and their society. As such, immigration is generally regarded as a positive phenomenon, with the consequence that it is expected that immigrants stay permanently. Despite this positive climate, immigration policies in these countries are highly selective, and they have been selective from an early time. In other words, whilst certain kinds of immigrants are actively sought, and their incorporation into the mainstream society is sought, immigration policies for others are relatively restrictive. As in other areas of the world, there is a tension between the seeking of highly skilled migrants and the fact that the economy also benefits from the cheap and unskilled labour that other immigrants can provide.

B. Indicators of Social Cohesion

Following the definition of social cohesion outlined in the preceding section, it is possible to draw up a list of indicators of social cohesion. The approach outlined here is somewhat comparable to the much more extensive efforts by the Council of Europe to quantify levels of social cohesion, where

---

[18] M. Bruquetas-Callejo et al., "Immigration and Integration Policymaking in Spain," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

[19] A. Kicinger and I. Koryś, "A new Field to Conquer and Manage: Migration Policymaking in Poland after 1989," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

[20] M. Čaněk and P. Čižinský, "Migration Policies and the Institutional Setting in the Czech Republic," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

immigrants are only one of many groups considered.[21] Unfortunately, the availability of data means that for many countries there are currently no adequate data. One possibility is to use more generic, structural indicators, as do Eurostat[22] and the OECD: [23] income inequality, risk of poverty, long-term unemployment, or crime rates. For many of these indicators there are relatively high correlations to the indicators used in **Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.** (r>0.6, p<0.05), but the link to the definition of social cohesion is less apparent. What is more, data availability is still limited for some of the structural indicators.

In **Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.**, five indicators are used to capture the different aspects of the definition of social capital provided above. Individuals who feel part of society and trust each other are reflected by a variable on generic trust in others ("Would you say that most people *can be trusted* or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?"). With a focus on immigrants, the acceptance of different groups as full members of society can be approached with naturalization rates. As aforementioned, integration can be based on a closely knit social network in the case of traditional communities, but in modern societies (associations), leading to collective support of laws and values. This is reflected in the confidence individuals have in key state institutions such as the police or government ("Could you tell me how much confidence you have in [the police]?").

The interaction between different groups indicative of social cohesion can be measured in various ways. Of these, the proportion of marriages between different groups is a good indicator of groups really being accepted and being part of society rather than being merely tolerated.[24] The availability of adequate data might be an issue for this indicator. A different approach is to focus on the chances that different groups have to progress in society, captured for example by the proportion of early leavers from education and training. Again the availability of comparable data can be an issue.

Social cohesion and social capital have been highlighted above as conducive to resolving collective action problems. Of these, the turnout in national elections captures the mobilization of individuals using widely available data.

---

[21]   Council   of   Europe,   *Social   cohesion   indicators*   (Brussels: Council   of   Europe,   2005), http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/socialpolicies/socialcohesiondev/source/GUIDE_en.pdf.

[22] Eurostat, "Social cohesion," *Eurostat*, June 3, 2010, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/structural_indicators/indicators/social_cohesion.

[23] OECD, *Society at a Glance 2009: OECD Social Indicators* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2009).

[24] D. A. Coleman, "Trends in Fertility and Intermarriage Among Immigrant Populations in Western Europe as Measures of Integration," *Journal of Biosocial Science* 26, no. 1 (1994): 107-136.

Table 1. Indicators of Social Cohesion

Legacy	Trust	Naturalization	Confidence	Early Leavers	Turnout
					Old Migration
France	18.8%	4.7%	71.2%	12.3%	60.4%
Germany	36.8%	2.5%	73.9%	11.1%	77.7%
United Kingdom	30.5%	3.7%	72.3%	15.7%	61.4%
New Migration					
Cyprus	9.9%		64.9%	11.7%	89.0%
Italy	29.2%	0.7%	78.3%	19.2%	80.5%
Spain	20.0%	2.2%	64.0%	31.2%	75.3%
Central and Eastern Europe					
Bulgaria	22.2%	9.6%	54.8%	14.7%	61.0%
Poland	19.0%	3.3%	47.1%	5.3%	53.9%
Romania	20.3%	0.7%	39.8%	16.6%	39.2%

Sources: World Value Survey, Wave 2005-8 (trust, confidence);[25] Böcker and Thränhardt 2006, Pierobon 2010, and OECD 2006 (naturalization);[26] Eurostat 2010 (early school leavers); International IDEA 2011 (turnout)[27]

Notes: The selection of countries presented in **Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.** is based on data availability. Naturalization rates are given as percentage of the foreign population. The indicator of early leavers from education and training gives the percentage of 18 to 24 years old with at most lower secondary education, but who are not in further education or training. Voter turnout is given for the most recent parliamentary election, as proportion of registered voters.

All the indicators presented in **Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.** reflect the situation at the national level. Put differently, they are indicators of social cohesion for the entire society. Whilst indicative of social cohesion, they are unable to cover other aspects that influence for example naturalization rates or confidence into the police. What is more, these indicators gloss over significant differences that may exist within societies. As such, some of these indicators could be envisaged as indicators of integration, in the sense that the situation of immigrants can be compared with the situation for the entire population. Rather than looking at the situation at the national level, in this case, values for immigrant groups would be compared with values for the entire population. A lack of difference could be understood as a sign of integration. This is the case for the indicators of trust, confidence, early leaving, and turnout in elections.

More generally, the integration of different groups can be understood as a key aspect of social cohesion. Integration is the outcome of a process that can span multiple generations, depending on the context and individuals involved. The different indicators that exist for social cohesion and integration are a reflection of the fact that integration involves different facets or dimensions of social, political, cultural, and economic life. The speed of at which integration takes place can differ across dimensions, and may indeed stagnate for prolonged periods. Integration may take longer if immigrants have the ability of living in separate communities where differences can be reinforced, both for immigrants of the first generation and their children. It may also take longer where the mainstream society is reluctant to accept a group as a full member of society, irrespective of whether relevant differences

---

[25] World Values Survey Group, *World Value Survey (Release 20060423)* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 2006).

[26] Anita Böcker and Dietrich Thränhardt, "Multiple citizenship and naturalization: An evaluation of German and Dutch policies," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 7, no. 1 (2006): 71-94; Chiara Pierobon, "Back to the nation-state: citizenship practices in Germany and Italy," *Eurosphere Working Paper* 26 (2010), http://eurospheres.org/files/2010/08/Europshere_Working_Paper_26_Pierobon_1.pdf; OECD, *International Migration Outlook: Annual Report 2006 Edition (SOPEMI)* (Paris: OECD, 2006).

[27] IDEA, "Voter Turnout," *International IDEA*, 2011, http://www.idea.int/vt/.

exist or not. This can be the case when a cultural marker is used to reject certain immigrants. For example, an immigrant may not be accepted as a full member of society because of the headscarf she is wearing, irrespective of her attitudes, language skills, or economic status.

C. Possible Immigration Policies

When it comes to managing immigration, there are two possibilities. On the one hand, countries can attempt to control flows of immigration at the border. The intuition here is to prevent unwanted immigrants from entering the country, whilst letting in those sought. On the other hand, countries can attempt to manage the immigrants who are in the country, irrespective of how they entered. The focus in this case is on integrating the immigrant population into the mainstream population. These two approaches are of course not mutually exclusive, and all European countries are involved in both, but with a different emphasis.

1. Managing Flows

Immigration policies in Europe and the US and Canada can be regarded as a continuity from the past, although this tends not to be the case politically. Politicians on both sides of the Atlantic focus on and politicize the recent growth in immigration, portraying the current situation as unprecedented. This is the case for all European countries, irrespective of their historical legacy. The current focus on immigration means that it is easy to forget that until the 1950s many European countries were countries of emigration, or beyond that in the case of many Southern European countries. With their ascension to the European Union, many Eastern European countries have also become countries of emigration. Nonetheless, a significant change was that the nature of immigration changed into a more global form in the 1980s, leading to a more diverse kind of immigration compared to the past.[28] Today, the European countries that continue to send migrants to other European countries all experience immigration or transit migration, with the same implications on social cohesion as in other European countries.

For forms of immigration that were dominant before the 1980s, there were political and particularly economic reasons to allow relatively unhindered entry to receiving countries in Europe. In the case of colonial immigration, political motives played a more central role than in other countries where economic demand was almost the sole consideration. Such demand for labour was more pronounced in Western European countries. The acceptance of political refugees from Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and other communist countries into Western European countries was largely politically motivated. Given the small number of individuals who managed to leave their countries as political refugees, countries in the West could politicize the situation of political refugees in the form of propaganda to highlight the purported essential freedom of individuals in the West.

Whilst filtering immigration has been a key aspect in the US and Canada, the increasing international nature of immigration meant that efforts to keep potential migrants out increased in Europe, too. This led to the notion of a fortress Europe, where outside borders are very difficult to pass for unwanted immigrants. At the same time as mobility within European countries was facilitated with steps toward the free movement of goods and people, mobility to Europe is increasingly controlled. As a reaction to continuing immigration, external borders have been fortified, pushing European borders further outside.[29]

---

[28] C. Wihtol de Wenden, "The case of France," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

[29] O. Clochard, "Les camps d'étrangers, symbole d'une politique," *Les blogs du Diplo*, June 1, 2010, http://blog.mondediplo.net/2010-06-01-Les-camps-d-etrangers-symbole-d-une-politique.

In European countries, there is an increasing distinction between third-country nationals (TCN) and individuals from other European countries. Third-country national in this context simply refers to any country outside Europe: countries which are not members of the European Union or associated to it through close agreements, as is the case for example with Norway or Switzerland. With this distinction, two developments take place in parallel. On the one hand, barriers are coming down to encourage mobility within Europe. On the other hand, barriers are erected for unwanted immigrants from outside of Europe, with strict filtering. In this context, it is interesting to note the different vocabulary used: *mobility* for wanted movements, and *immigration* for unwanted movements. This development of encouraging certain kinds of movements and migration whilst trying to limit and control others suggests some convergence in the approaches between Europe and the US. What is central to these developments is that migration flows are controlled as far as possible.

2. Managing Integration

The increasing number of asylum seekers and refugees in the 1980s changed the focus on managing flows, and it became apparent that not all refugees are politically equally attractive. At the same time, in Europe it became clear that many of the labour migrants called wanted to, and in fact were going to stay,[30] and despite efforts it turned out to be difficult to close borders for certain kinds of immigrants whilst encouraging the relatively free movement of others. As a result, the attention of immigration policies increasingly turned to the integration of immigrants already in the country, at least as an additional component of policies.

At the end of the 19th century, it was commonly assumed that immigrants quickly assimilate to the mainstream society. In other words, the assumption was that within a short period of time, newly arrived immigrants would become just like everyone else in society: having a migration background was of no further relevance except for those interested in genealogy. The relative small number of immigrants meant that assimilation was often the only viable option, since maintaining customs from the country of origin would have been costly in terms of the effort required to do so. As a consequence, integration affected immigrants of the first generation only, with immigrants of the second generation integrated and accepted to the extent that they were often not recognized as such. With World War I the perception changed fundamentally, and immigrants were no longer regarded in a positive light. For a brief time, many European countries used naturalization as an attempt to integrate immigrants and encourage assimilation.

The situation was different for immigrants in the US, where often large numbers of immigrants came from the same country of origin. Whilst assimilation was the essential aim, as a consequence of the large number of immigrants, for many immigrant groups there were many immigrants speaking the same language and adhering to the same customs. With this it was possible to maintain cultural differences, as reflected in many places such as *Little Italy* in New York. Such segregation was facilitated by a discourse where nearly everyone was aware of their immigrant origins, and consequently inclined to be tolerant toward cultural difference as long as it did not interfere with living together in society. The notion of a melting pot is used to capture this variety of difference, which can creatively combine into new forms of culture: the mainstream itself is a new combination of different cultures. In many areas of social life, however, difference was regarded as interfering with social cohesion, and assimilation to the mainstream was actively encouraged.

Even though the situation might be similar, less is done in the US to manage the integration of immigrants. One reason for this is that integration is regarded as a natural process, albeit one that takes some time to complete. On both sides of the Atlantic lack of integration, persistent difference, and strict segregation are seen as a problem. This problematic has been politicized for different immigrant groups, depending on the receiving society and the time in history. For example, in the past Italians

---

[30] Wihtol de Wenden, "The case of France."

were highlighted as lacking integration in countries such as Germany or Switzerland. Some commentators doubted that integration was at all possible, because cultural differences were regarded as too pronounced. Today, Italians are regarded as a model case of successful integration, where immigrants of the second and third generation are often only identifiable by name.[31] Instead, similar arguments are now put forward for immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries. The politicization of immigration and difference in each case means that the lack of integration is regarded as an issue that needs resolving, often because it is portrayed as a threat to social cohesion. A difference exists here between the US and European countries: in the US the burden on integration is largely put onto the individual, whilst in Europe the state is recognized as a potentially important actor who can facilitate integration.

This role of the state as an important actor in facilitating integration and maintaining social cohesion in Europe is not exclusive to immigration, but a general reflection of the role of the state and particularly its welfare programmes in organizing many aspects of everyday life. Whilst the state plays an important role in facilitating the social integration of immigrants in Europe, there are many different approaches to managing immigration. Of these, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, ideas of multiculturalism gained currency. This can be attributed to a general trend toward liberal attitudes to difference – sometimes linked to increasing development[32] –, as well as increasing recognition of minority rights. For example in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and Sweden, policies were implemented to support the use of language of origin in schools, or government documents were translated in many different languages.

It is important to recognize that there are different kinds of multiculturalism: different ways to manage integration based on the idea that difference can be positive and minorities have specific rights. Kinds of multiculturalism range from segregation into autonomous areas to a cosmopolitan form where differences are combined into a vibrant new. The policies in the Netherlands resembled more the segregation variant, where policy was conceptualized in different pillars for different groups. On the other hand, real cosmopolitan multiculturalism was never sought in Europe. Perhaps closest came some of the policies in Sweden, introducing affirmative action in education and enabling access to public services to all. Whilst the rhetoric may have been cosmopolitan to some extent, the focus always remained on the immigrants integrating into the mainstream society. Despite the differences in policies and dominant public discourses, in reality, societies in Europe and North America are more similar than descriptions of ideal-typical forms of multiculturalism imply. The same is the case with the involvement of the state, which is commonplace in the US, despite a public discourse that regards the state as an unwelcome interference. Whilst real differences may be less pronounced than ideal types, in most countries there is also a lack of clearly formulated visions to inform integration policies and social cohesion programmes. In other words, whilst multiculturalism was regarded as the general approach to go by, governments did not invest enough to specify the kind of multicultural society aspired to. As a result, it was and remains difficult if not impossible to coordinate policies to achieve a particular kind of society.

Multiculturalism was by no means the only option of organizing society that existed for European countries, but it was the dominant one.[33] At the same time as ideas of multicultural societies flourished in Europe, critical voices existed, highlighting the danger of encouraging parallel societies and

---

[31] J. Stolz, "Religion und Integration aus der Perspektive der erklärenden Soziologie," in *Religion und Integration aus der Sicht des Rechts. Grundlagen-Problemfelder-Perspektiven*, ed. R. Pahud de Mortanges (Freiburg: Schulthess, 2010), 39-80; David Laitin, "Rational Islamophobia in Europe," *European Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 3 (2010): 429-447.

[32] R. Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); P. Norris and R. Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, "Changing Mass Priorities: The Link between Modernization and Democracy," *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 2 (2010): 551-567.

[33] S. Vertovec and S. Wessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2010).

marginalized groups in the name of valuing difference in itself. It was not until just after the turn of the century, however, that the critical voices became more prominent, quickly turning into a backlash against multiculturalism. Within a decade, multiculturalism as a concept has fallen out of fashion, and a public consensus appears to have emerged that multiculturalism as a policy to integrate immigrants has failed. Such accounts tend to ignore the different kinds of multiculturalism, but the word itself has almost entirely disappeared from official use. In its stead, there is an increasingly tough rhetoric.[34] It is unclear whether significant changes in policies followed, largely because it seems less clear what other policies would lead to the desired outcome of integration. For example, in the MIPEX indicators of integration policies,[35] no clear trend towards stricter policies can be determined.

Within Europe, the European Union increasingly plays a central role in coordinating immigration policies to the extent as this occurs. The ascension of Eastern European countries to the European Union in many places meant that countries had to establish clear immigration policies. In this context, policies of migration control were often copied from Western European countries with a tradition of immigration.[36] At the same time, when it comes to integration policies, the learning and diffusion of policies is less formalized. Directives from the European Union give relatively general pointers and encourage some policy convergence. The implementation of these directives occurs at different speeds and at times is rather incomplete.[37] Given the relative novelty of immigrant integration as a topic in new countries of immigration and Eastern European countries, the dissemination of policies does not follow a strict pattern. This is the case because old immigration countries continue to search for policies that lead to accelerated and certain integration whilst respecting human rights that guarantee the dignity of individuals.

The recent rhetoric changes in Europe mean that some new policies focus on assimilation that is forced by the state rather than occurring voluntarily from within. It is still the individual immigrant who is expected to change his or her behaviour and attitudes in order to integrate with the mainstream society, but the state is pushing harder and for quicker integration. One problem that exists across European countries is that it is not entirely clear what exactly is meant when politicians talk about an integration of immigrants. In practice, in many places there is a focus on language courses and citizenship tests, although there is little actual evidence that such efforts help toward the goal of integration and ultimately social cohesion. For example, formal language tests have been introduced for example in the Netherlands and Denmark; citizenship tests are found for instance in the United Kingdom or Germany. These programmes appear to be implemented because of their feasibility, and they reflect the recent trend toward formalizing criteria for immigrants. The way criteria are formalized, however, remains in the hands of individual European countries, and policies are implemented in different ways.[38]

One reason that language tests are increasingly used is that speaking the local language may be a factor that facilitates social interaction in a country. However, social cohesion is shaped by a range of factors that are not as tangible as results of language of citizenship examinations. More important are adherence to laws, shared norms and attitudes that may be formalized into law. Other aspects exist separate from the state, such as collective values or support for markets in European countries. At the same time, social cohesion also requires the mainstream society to accept new groups, something which cannot be captured by looking at immigrants only, or by encouraging immigrants to change. Whilst

---

[34] Ibid.

[35] T. Huddleston and J. Niessen, *Migrant Integration Policy Index* (Brussels: British Council and Migration Policy Group, 2011), http://www.integrationindex.eu.

[36] K. Stancova, "Assisted Voluntary Return of Irregular Migrants in Policy and Practice: Case Study of the Slovak Republic" (IMIS International Workshop presented at the Disciplining Global Movements. Migration Management and its Discontents, Osnabrück, November 13, 2010).

[37] Huddleston and Niessen, *Migrant Integration Policy Index*.

[38] Ibid.

some factors relevant to social cohesion are difficult to capture, the social integration of immigrants can be approached through participation: participation in paid work or participation in social life, meaning contacts with the mainstream. The interpretation of these factors is an inherently political matter, since significant differences between immigrants and the mainstream exist in these regards.

There are a number of indicators that could be used to capture the extent to which immigrants are integrated in the different European countries. For example, geographical segregation can be understood as a lack of integration. Throughout Europe, immigrants tend to be concentrated in urban areas, a situation that has not changed noticeably over the years. The situation is somewhat different with knowledge of the local language. Whilst language acquisition is increasingly demanded, there are no adequate data that would allow a comparison to previous years to examine whether recent immigrants learn the local language at a different rate than previous immigrants. Probably more significant for social integration are aspects of having contact and social interaction with the mainstream. As aforementioned, intermarriages between immigrants and members of the mainstream society can be used as a measure of such interaction. In several European countries, there is evidence that intermarriage and assimilation go hand in hand, and increasing patterns of intermarriage can be observed for all immigrant groups as well as the mainstream. Levels of intermarriage tend to be higher for the second generation compared to immigrants of the first generation.[39] Differences persist, however, and members of a specific ethnic group remain more likely to marry within the same group. Significant differences can also be observed for political participation, where immigrants are less likely to engage politically. In terms of school performance, disadvantages for immigrant children can be observed in a persistent manner across Western Europe.[40] In all these areas of social integration, there are significant differences between the sending areas of the immigrants. Cultural difference may be a key explanation for different treatment, but this is at times difficult to establish empirically.

Whilst there are potentially many different approaches to managing immigrants already in the country, there is much communality in practice. This begins with the active encouragement of skilled and desired workers, opposed to the strict barriers for undesired migrants. In terms of managing borders and policing immigrants, recent years witnessed a toughening of practices, such as reduced eligibility for work permits. Since there is persistent economic demand for unskilled workers in European countries, and given the difficulty or impossibility to enter receiving countries otherwise, many immigrants seem to choose illegal or irregular immigration.[41] Another similarity across European countries is the social security systems that are designed to avoid transfers from the mainstream society to the immigrant population.[42] In contrast to managing borders, much less convergence in policies could be observed in this regards, particularly when it comes to integrating immigrants. The legacy of history and the impact of welfare regimes may be stronger than common pressures on social cohesion.

D. Rhetoric Shifts

In addition to real changes in policies that occur all the time, immigration policies experienced a significant change in public rhetoric at the beginning of the 21st century. More specifically, the years between 2001 and 2003 have been identified as the tipping point.[43] This rhetoric shift describes

---

[39] R. Muttarak and A. Heath, "Who intermarries in Britain? Explaining ethnic diversity in intermarriage patterns," *The British Journal of Sociology* 61, no. 2 (2010): 275-305; Leo Lucassen and Charlotte Laarman, "Immigration, intermarriage and the changing face of Europe in the post war period," *The History of the Family* 14, no. 1 (2009): 52-68.

[40] A. Heath, C. Rothon, and E. Kilpi, "The second generation in Western Europe: Education, unemployment, and occupational attainment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 34 (2008): 211-34.

[41] Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert, *Migratory Policymaking in Europe*.

[42] Emmenegger and Careja, "From Dilemma to Dualization."

[43] Vertovec and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash*.

changes in the way immigration is talked about, the vocabulary used, the policies considered useful. In addition, immigration as a political issue has become increasingly prominent, starting in many places in the 1980s, but also significantly later, such as in the Netherlands.[44] Despite a general increase in politicization of the issue, significant differences remain between countries: In some countries such as Britain or Austria immigration is possibly the central political issue, to which other questions are linked. Yet, in countries such as Ireland or Spain, immigration and related questions are far less prominent on the political agenda.

Vertovec and Wessendorf highlight the new rhetoric and the new vocabularies that are used by many European governments.[45] The notion of multiculturalism and references to cultural diversity are now very rare. Vertovec and Wessendorf focus on the fact that the changes in the political rhetoric were more radical than changes in actual policies. Whilst the lack of viable alternatives might be an issue, the formalization of criteria for third-country nationals wishing to work in many places, or stricter implementations regarding family reunions in others have an immediate and real impact on the lives of immigrants. It remains to be seen whether more significant changes in policies follow, or whether the legal framework established to grant rights to minorities and immigrants is of a more enduring nature.

1. Islam

One area where the public rhetoric has changed significantly is with regard to Islam. (Unwanted) immigration and religion – particularly Islam – are increasingly mentioned in one breath. If it is Islam and religion that are the focus, it is their allegedly fundamental difference, the inability to integrate yet alone assimilate to the mainstream. The rhetoric here is simplifying and essentializing. It is simplifying in that all Muslim are reduced to a single homogeneous group of highly religious Muslim; the fact that the majority of Muslim is moderate, especially among the immigrants to the US and Europe, is suppressed. It is essentializing in that religion is put at the centre of the individuals in question, ignoring any other aspect of identity or behaviour.

The tendency to simplify and essentialize the image of immigrant groups into stereotypes is not new. Similar (essentialist) arguments have been used for other immigrant groups. This was also the case for certain Europeans who immigrated as labour migrants within Europe in the past, such as Italian workers in Germany or Switzerland. Their purportedly essential and unchangeable difference was highlighted in the past; yet Italian workers would today fall under the positive label of inter-European mobility. The fact that similar arguments have been used for different groups in the past, and that these groups are today regarded as positive examples of successful integration suggests that Islam and religious differences may simply be the way the debate over immigration is carried out at the moment.

Whilst the population in most European countries has long been concerned with the cultural integration of immigrants, these concerns have now entered political mainstream in most countries. In the past, public debates over immigration were often dominated by economic arguments revolving around the need for migrant workers to support a growing or even booming economy. Increasingly questions of integration and social cohesion took centre stage, with Muslim singled out as a group of immigrants purportedly unable or unwilling to integrate. Concerns over integration and Islam came to the fore only once it was accepted that some (unwanted) immigrant workers may not return, despite programmes that attempted to discourage settlement generally.[46] In the Netherlands, the politicization of Islam was particularly strong. The combination of Pim Fortuym politicizing immigration and Islam,

---

[44] Bruquetas-Callejo et al., "The Dutch Case."

[45] *The Multiculturalism Backlash.*

[46] G. D'Amato, "Migration and Integration Policies in Switzerland," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

together by the murder of Theo van Gogh changed the perception of Islam in the Netherlands.[47] These events made it apparent that being liberal towards others does not necessarily mean that everyone socializes into the same form of civic liberalism. The reaction was a strong rejection of immigrants regarded as illiberal.

Today the difference between the citizens and governments has largely diminished, and questions of Islam are also dominant in public discourse across Europe.[48] The rhetoric shift means that the governments increasingly speak the same language as the citizens. At the same time, economic aspects revolving around jobs and economic growth remain powerful albeit being less politicized than Islam. Through lobbying it is ensured that economic aspects remain on the agenda on both sides of the Atlantic, even though they may be less discussed in public.

2. Security

With the link to religion and Islam, the purported association between immigration and security is increasingly highlighted in public rhetoric. Whilst concerns over security and immigration are not new, the possible connection between the two is discussed especially since the terrorist attacks on 9/11. What happens in debates related to the topic is that a singular worldview is perpetuated: us the mainstream versus them the immigrants/terrorists. Questions of security and immigration have become intertwined to the extent that every immigrant – particularly if he or she is from a predominantly Muslim country or has a Muslim name – is regarded as a potential terrorist. The shift in the rhetoric means that the burden of proof has been reversed for immigrants. Rather than assuming that immigrants are as innocent as everyone else in society, it is now up to them to prove that they are not like the stereotypical fundamentalist who associates with or supports terrorists.

The fact that some immigrants are fundamentalist of course does not help the rest of the immigrant population. In line with the rhetoric shift, the terrorist attacks in London in 2007 can be seen as a sign that immigration and terrorism are linked. Following this argument, having a migrant background is seen as the direct cause, and it is not questioned whether the relationship may be more intricate. Where a more nuanced view is attempted, the public rhetoric is of moderates versus fundamentalists, implying that in their tendency all (Muslim) immigrants are the same, just some are more radical. This illustrates well how the rhetoric around security and immigration is essentializing. An alternative and probably more fruitful approach in terms of security would be to differentiate between the mainstream on the one hand and fundamentalist terrorists on the other. This would allow capturing ordinary citizens and immigrants together, and differentiating them from fundamentalist groups that exist among the mainstream and immigrant groups.

E. Economic Performance and Social Cohesion

There is common agreement that economic reconstruction can be a threat to social cohesion. Globalization and its competitive pressure are regarded as the underlying cause. It is the decline of manufacturing in the US and Europe, which leads to a relocation of capital and jobs. These changes constitute a removal of previous stability in favour of more flexibility and informality in work. Because of economic pressures, restructuring occurs particularly in times of crisis, in times when profits may be down.[49]

---

[47] R. Carle, "Demise of Dutch Multiculturalism," *Society* 3 (2006): 68-75; Laitin, "Rational Islamophobia in Europe."

[48] Transatlantic Council on Migration, *Migration, Public Opinion, and Politics* (Gütersloh: Bertelsman Foundation, 2009), http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/cps/rde/xchg/SID-D7888E31-A6D3DF3A/bst_engl/hs.xsl/publikationen_98119.htm.

[49] Z. Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998); F. Düvell, *Europäische und internationale Migration* (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2006).

1. General Argument

To a certain extent, immigration policies are linked to economic performance. This is the case because immigration is recognized as an essential ingredient of economic performance in the economies across Europe.[50] In this section, the purported link between economic performance and the impact on social cohesion and related policies is examined in more detail. To this extent, a general argument is presented, which will be discussed and qualified in the subsequent sections. Such qualifications are necessary as each step in the simple chain presented is open to challenge. At the same time, the argument is presented in this generic or simplistic manner, because this reflects how the situation is predominantly presented in politics and the media.

The general argument presented in figure 1 begins with the economic performance as the underlying cause for changes. If the economy goes well, demand for labour is likely to outstrip supply, leading to low levels of unemployment. This can be understood as high economic integration, and immigrants are likely to be engaged in regular paid work. If the economy does not go well, by contrast, levels of unemployment are increasing. Immigrant workers are affected by this more than workers from the mainstream society; they are more likely to lose their job. As a result, the economic integration of immigrants is affected.[51] Looking at this fundamental principle, it is important to recognize that the economy is segmented and that different sectors can perform well or poorly in relative independence.

Figure 1. Economic Performance and Social Cohesion
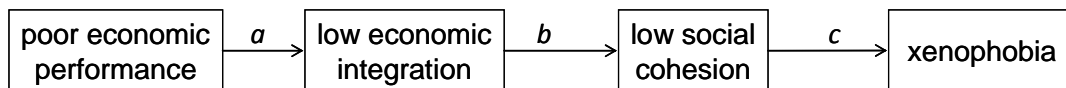
Notes: A possible link between economic performance and social cohesion, with a possible consequence in xenophobia

If economic performance is regarded the underlying cause, economic integration can be regarded the mechanism by which social cohesion is affected. It is the increased levels of unemployment amongst immigrants and their involvement in less secure modes of work that is a challenge to social cohesion. In this context it is important to reiterate that integration into society consists of multiple aspects of which paid work is only one. Indeed, the informal economy may be regarded as one segment. In this basic argument, social cohesion is the variable affected by economic integration. This relationship is likely to be moderated by the historical context. This means that the political system in place, the legacy and nature of immigration, or the strength of the welfare state are likely factors that moderate the way in which economic integration affects social cohesion.

Xenophobia is presented here as a possible consequence of challenges to social cohesion. Where the social fabric of a society is challenged by what is perceived as the unsuccessful integration of immigrants, it is possible for populist politicians to exploit this perception. The lack of integration and challenges to social cohesion are portrayed as a threat to the mainstream society. At the same time, successfully integrated immigrants can also be exploited politically. This is the case because of relative deprivation, and the argument that welfare benefits should be reserved to natives. According to this argument, immigrants who benefit from the welfare system are regarded as a threat, irrespective of their level of integration. It is this portraying as a threat rather than any possible difficulty of integration that is important in both cases. By presenting immigration as a threat, the solution presented by populist politicians is to combat it. If challenges to social cohesion were instead regarded

---

[50] A. Kraler, "Immigrant and Immigration Policymaking in Austria," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

[51] R. Cholewinski and P. Taran, "Migration, governance and human rights: Contemporary dilemmas in the era of gobalization," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2010): 1 -33.

as reflecting difficulty to integrate, policies tackling economic integration could be a politically viable alternative approach.

As further outlined below, there are three steps involved in this chain linking economic performance and social cohesion. First, the nature of immigration involved shapes the extent to which economic performance and integration are linked. Depending on the motivation for migration, immigrants may react differently to economic pressures. They can stay and switch to the informal economy which means choosing a more precarious state. Unemployment may be a solution depending on the welfare system in place. Immigrants can also choose to return to their country of origin or to move to a different country. Second, it is important to remember that social cohesion is affected by factors beyond economic integration. Cultural and social integration may be two of these factors. Third, populism and the politicization of xenophobic arguments are moderated by other factors, including political opportunities.

Of interest is particularly what happens when the economy performs badly. According to the simple chain presented in figure 1, it can be expected that poor economic performance leads to a lower level of economic integration of immigrants. This in turn affects social cohesion in the sense that the social fabric is challenged. Because the very basic of living together in a society is challenged, one possible reaction is an increase in hostility to immigrants who are portrayed as the root behind problems. Hostility against immigrants in most cases means xenophobia. This simple argument is discussed and qualified in the paragraphs that follow.

2. Effects of Recession

When an economic recession hits, demand for labour is affected immediately. Initially employers may try to compensate lower demands by other means such as reduced working hours or temporary cuts in salaries, but if recession endures, in many cases it is necessary to reduce the workforce in order to prevent more serious consequences. The resulting impact on unemployment rates can endure beyond the end of recession. The effects of recessions are not felt equally across the economy, and it is low-skilled workers and new entrants to the labour market who have not gained significant experience who are hit hardest.[52] This means that low-skilled immigrants are disproportionably hit.

Immigrants are also hit harder by economic crises, because they tend to be concentrated in certain sectors that are themselves affected heavily by economic downturns. For example the construction industry, tourism, or the personal service industries are among the first and hardest to be affected by economic crises. Not all immigrants work in sectors that are particularly vulnerable to economic downturns and highly-qualified migrants or those with extensive work experience tend to be kept in times of crisis because their skills are needed.[53] Since it is low-skilled immigrants who tend to be recognized as different and lacking integration across European countries, poor economic performance seems to affect mostly the immigrant populations relevant for questions of social cohesion.

One consequence of economic crises is that actual rates of immigration are reduced.[54] This is the case for countries across Europe, and may be a combination of two factors. On the one hand, potential new immigrants may choose not to migrate or to delay their journey. On the other hand, some immigrants may choose to return to their country of origin or to move to a different country where economic prospects are more promising. These cases are commonly referred to as return migration and circulatory migration respectively. From an economic point of view, it can be problematic if

---

[52] F. Hörisch and T. Weishaupt, "In the Midst of the Crisis: Supporting the Unemployed through Direct Job-Creation Schemes?" (presented at the 17th Conference for European Studies, Montreal, 2010).

[53] G. D'Amato, "Auswirkungen der Finanzkrise auf die Migration" (presented at the AOZ, Zürich, 2009).

[54] M. Rist, "Dynamik dank Zuwanderung: Die OCED sieht in der Migration grossen wirtschaftlichen Nutzen," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich, July 13, 2010), sec. Wirtschaft.

immigrant workers leave the country, because they are required for economic recovery as soon as the recession is over. Given that migration tends not to be something that is done instantaneously, economic recovery can be delayed as a result.

The possibility of migrant workers to move to a different place, especially their country of origin is a characteristic that was actively sought in the past. It is the idea that migrant workers act as a buffer against cyclical shocks, because they would move to their country of origin.[55] Experience of previous recessions suggests that whilst some immigrant workers react as outlined, not everyone seems to do so.[56] The alternative that is available to immigrant workers is to stay and find other ways to cope with the economic downturn. Indeed, in times of a global recession it may not make economic sense to return to one's country of origin, as the situation may be more difficult there.

In order to compensate for loss of income or even unemployment, many immigrant workers seek additional employment. For instance, in many cases the partner of the main earner may earn additional income through supplementary or informal labour. In times of need, many workers accept working conditions characterized by flexibility and insecurity, sometimes also by irregular nature. The consequence of such jobs is a more precarious situation, as immigrants cannot be sure how the situation develops and whether certain incomes will be available in the near future. It is also the case that attempts to compensate for lost earnings are generally only partially successful, with the result that overall earnings are reduced.[57] In other words, extra effort plus the willingness to live in a more precarious state seem to be a common alternative for migrants, who thus choose to stay in the country throughout the recession.

During a recession, individuals in search for extra work to compensate for loss of earnings are in a weak bargaining position. This makes them vulnerable not only to unfavourable conditions such as flexible hours and short-term employment, but also to exploitation. Irregular and illegal employment may be one option open to workers seeking additional income during an economic downturn. Common possibilities for additional employment are unskilled social services and family care such as working as maids or nannies.[58] In other cases, illegal and irregular employment is preferred because of the greater choice, flexibility, and unbureaucratic nature.[59]

It is commonly argued that the economy in many European countries is dependent on immigrants,[60] but the fact that migrant workers decide to stay during times of economic crisis suggests that the picture is more complicated. Supply and demand for work seem to be in balance, and it is even possible the make an argument that the balance is supply-led: workers migrating in the knowledge that at times their situation may be precarious, but choosing this over an alternative future elsewhere. In other word, migrants cut out their economic niche by undercutting local prices, and there are always employers who are willing to benefit from these offers – as illustrated by employers willing to engage workers illegally. Migrant workers also probably stay because they are settled in their own way. After a prolonged stay in the country of destination, ties to the country of origin are not as strong as assumed when it is suggested that they may simply return. This is particularly the case for workers who migrated with their family and have friends in the country of destination. As such, the apparent choice of a precarious economic condition may make more sense when social aspects are included into consideration.

---

[55] D'Amato, "Ein historisch-soziologisches Inventar der Migration in der Schweiz."

[56] Rist, "Dynamik dank Zuwanderung: Die OCED sieht in der Migration grossen wirtschaftlichen Nutzen."

[57] Ibid.

[58] Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert, *Migratory Policymaking in Europe*.

[59] S. Rother, "… und sie migrieren immer noch: Arbeitsmigration in Südostasien 10 Jahre nach der Finanzkrise," *Südostasien*, 2008.

[60] Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert, *Migratory Policymaking in Europe*; Rother, "Und sie migrieren immer noch."

3. Effects on Society

There is no doubt that economic crises affect society, especially through increased levels of unemployment, loss in earnings, and increased insecurity related to work. Such influences can be regarded as challenges to social cohesion overall. For example, those losing their jobs may feel alienated and let down by society. In such a situation the welfare state may play a significant role in maintaining social cohesion. At their core, however, policies of social cohesion and particularly the welfare states in Europe work according to a logic of individual need – independent of economic performance. Whilst such policies are not generally designed with immigrants in mind, immigrants are accepted in welfare programmes because such programmes are designed for everyone. For example, in Europe normally nobody is denied necessary medical treatment because they lack legal status or appropriate insurance cover.

There are social cohesion policies that not only affect immigrants, but are designed solely for them. Examples include amnesties for illegal and irregular immigrants, enforcement of immigration laws, changes in the requirements for permanent residence and citizenship, or policies related to family reunification. There are two different logics that drive such policies, with different emphasis across European countries, but also with different views within countries. On the one hand, formal integration – most notably permanent residence and citizenship – is granted at an early stage to encourage and facilitate social integration. On the other hand, formal integration is regarded as the end of a process of social integration.[61] It is inherently difficult to judge the impact of such policies on social cohesion. This is the case because policies normally affect only formal integration, but it is social integration that is relevant for the social cohesion of a society. Given the different logics that co-exist, the evaluation of the impact of policies is tied to either of the views, making it difficult to provide independent assessments.

At the beginning of the 21st century, multicultural policies have lost their political currency, particularly after terrorism-related incidences in the US and Europe. The initial reaction was a change in rhetoric,[62] but it appears that increasingly policies may be changed in the line of the tougher rhetoric. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that multiculturalism was not a single coherent policy, and that changes in policies are more nuanced and gradual. With so many aspects affecting social cohesion, it is difficult to ascertain an impact on social cohesion of a change in a single policy, such as increasing residence requirements for permanent residence permits.

Local institutions are involved in the implementation of policies, and as such they have an impact on the way policy changes affect social cohesion, the integration of immigrants, and ultimately also migration flows. The importance of local institutions stems from their role in interpreting and applying policies in everyday life. For example, it is local institutions who sort out who is considered a deserving immigrant rather than an undeserving one, with direct implications on the resources accessible to individual immigrants.[63] The institutional and political reality of a country mediates the room for interpretation in policy implementation. For instance, in a federalized setting – as opposed to a centralized one –, many competences related to immigration policies are left with the regional or local governments. In a similar vein, in a country dominated by a single political party or a strong coalition, room for deviating from policies and guidelines may be much more limited.

Even though welfare programmes were designed without considering the presence of immigrants, policies are in place to prevent resources to be transferred from the native population to the immigration population. Cases where governments and their local institutions fail to prevent such a transfer of resources are normally highly mediatised and politicized. Examples include immigrant

---

[61] A. Achermann et al., *Country Report: Switzerland*, EUDO Citizenship Observatory (Florence: European University Institute, 2009), http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Switzerland.pdf.

[62] Vertovec and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash*.

[63] Hörisch and Weishaupt, "In the Midst of the Crisis: Supporting the Unemployed through Direct Job-Creation Schemes?."

families thought to claim more than a fair share from the welfare system. With the tougher rhetoric against immigrants and a trend towards forcing integration where possible, policies regarding access to social benefits have changed in some European countries, with the idea of making it more difficult for migrants to access benefits. A side-effect of such efforts is that redistribution in general is reduced, which equally hits those of the native population in a precarious situation. Members of the native population in a situation close to many of the immigrants seem to be affected most by such policy changes.[64] With reduced redistribution, social cohesion in general is affected, and because of the unintended effects of toughening policies, the social cohesion within the mainstream is also affected.

4. Societal and Political Reaction

The reason that there are increasing pressures on welfare programmes to be more exclusive is that the reaction to immigrants in society and politics is at times hostile. Politically, there is an increasing rhetoric of the native population versus the immigrants – rhetoric of *us versus them*.[65] It is important to bear in mind that in Europe attitudes toward immigrants are becoming more liberal and welcoming, irrespective of the economic situation. Hostile reactions seem to be linked to lack of contact, lack of positive experiences, changes in migration flows, and cultural distance to immigrant groups, and particularly social identity.[66]

Whilst there is no doubt social hostility towards immigrants, it is important not to confuse political rhetoric and support for far-right parties at the fringes with the dominant attitudes in society. There are many influences on social hostility, not a simple link between economic performance and hostility, or between the degree of integration of immigrants and societal reaction. Although attitudes towards immigrants are necessarily an individual affair, it is not the case that only certain strata in society were affected by hostility whilst others were not. Neither at the individual nor at the societal level there are constellations of social cohesion that would mechanistically provoke hostile reactions or xenophobia: the situation is more nuanced in each case.

The shift in public rhetoric means that voices more critical of immigration and cultural diversity are more prominent these days. It appears that the public prefer restrictive policies,[67] despite attitudes that are relatively tolerant of the immigrants already present in European countries. For the political elite, immigrants – especially immigrants from a visibly different culture – are a topic that can be exploited. As aforementioned, in Europe, Islam has become a central factor in politicizing difference and immigration, possibly because of the more visible differences compared with many other immigrant groups, and because of the purported link to terrorism-related security issues.

In political rhetoric, different groups of immigrants are often mixed up. The distinction between asylum seekers, refugees, regular immigrants, and irregular or illegal immigrants is often blurred if not completely lost. Considering the rhetoric of *us versus them*, there is no room for distinctions, neither in the local population nor in the immigrant population. The common discourse is that all immigrants have come for economic reasons, if not to unfairly benefit from a welfare system to which they have

---

[64] Emmenegger and Careja, "From Dilemma to Dualization."

[65] Ibid.

[66] L. Togeby, "Prejudice and tolerance in a period of increasing ethnic diversity and growing unemployment: Denmark since 1970," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 6 (1998): 1137-54; L. McLaren, "Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: contact, threat perception and preferences for the exclusion of migrants," *Social Forces* 81, no. 3 (2003): 909-37; E. Kilpi, "Prejudice as a response to changes in competitive threat: Finnish attitudes towards immigrants 1986-2006," *Sociology Working Papers* 1 (2008), http://www.sociology.ox.ac.uk/research/workingpapers/2008-01.pdf; S. Schneider, "Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: Outgroup size and perceived ethnic threat," *European Sociological Review* 24, no. 1 (2008): 53-67; A. Ceobanu and X. Excandell, "Comparative analyses of public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration using multinational survey data: A review of theories and research," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 15 (2010); R. Ford, "Is Racial Prejudice Declining in Britain?," *British Journal of Sociology* 59, no. 4 (2008): 609-36.

[67] Emmenegger and Careja, "From Dilemma to Dualization."

not contributed. In other words, the political discourse often collapses the different reasons that exist for migrating into a single pull factor: a better economic life. Such a simplistic view cannot account for the range of migration patterns that can be observed in reality.

In politics, particular in the more confrontational discourse as it is more common since the beginning of the 21st century, there are many demands how immigrants should behave or become. The underlying idea is that immigrants need to assimilate in order to become integrated into society, but the demands sometimes differ in unexpected ways. This is the case, where immigrants are asked to assimilate to a stereotypical image of the native population, even where this is not reflected in society. For example, immigrants are generally asked to be tolerant and respect religious diversity, yet many Europeans show very little tolerance to religious difference, particularly when related to immigrants.[68] The insistence on stereotypical images reflects romantic views of social cohesion based on small communities.

What was described as the political reaction thus far is particularly the case for populist movements found across Europe, where immigration has become a central topic. To some extent immigration can be regarded a political scapegoat, but the increasing salience of immigration as an issue has led to political pressures to deal with immigration.[69] Since the beginning of the 21st century there is increasing focus on cultural and social integration in addition to economic integration.[70] Accordingly, having a regular income from paid work and paying taxes is no longer considered sufficient. This is reflected in increased demands for language skills and insistence of passing formal citizenship tests for naturalization or permanent residence, such as in the Netherlands or the United Kingdom. The purported lack of integration is exploited politically, highlighting differences between the local population and immigrants – with the implicit argument that these differences cannot be overcome.

The populist reaction to immigration, however, is not the same across European countries or the US. The extent and nature of immigration flows, together with economic pressures would suggest that the potential for populist movements is largely the same. Yet, the reality on the ground is different: In some countries such as Austria or Germany immigration is a central topic in political debates, in others such as Spain or Ireland, immigration is far less politicized. It appears that the political environment – the way political institutions and party politics are organized – plays a crucial role in determining whether the topic can be politicized and with that a more aggressive and tougher rhetoric becomes more visible. There might also be historical differences that mediate the extent to which immigration and the role of migrants in purportedly declining levels of social cohesion can be politicized, although the historical legacies of immigration in themselves cannot account for differences in politicization.

F. Conclusion

In this paper, a generic argument was presented, connecting economic performance with economic integration and social cohesion (figure 1). The argument was qualified in many ways and at each step, not least because of the different traditions in European countries. Some countries have experience of colonial or labour immigration for many years; for others large-scale immigration is a new issue. One aspect that unites European countries, especially when compared to the situation in the US, is the central role of the welfare state in issues of immigration and social cohesion.

---

[68] G. Zincone, "Conclusions – Comparing the Making of Migratory Policies," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011); C. Joppke, "Immigrant integration in Western Europe: Pressures and policy responses" (presented at the Immigrant Integration in Switzerland: The Impact of Federalism, Bern, February 24, 2010).

[69] D'Amato, "Auswirkungen der Finanzkrise auf die Migration"; D'Amato, "Ein historisch-soziologisches Inventar der Migration in der Schweiz."

[70] Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert, *Migratory Policymaking in Europe*.

Whilst economic performance and economic integration appear to have commonalities, there are many other influences on economic integration than a direct and deterministic link to economic performance. In a similar vein, economic integration and social cohesion are related, but the reality is more nuanced and differentiated than a direct influence. In particular the role of cultural and social integration – which can differ significantly from economic integration – may be a reason why social cohesion and economic integration are not directly linked. In European countries, the welfare state appears to play a central role in mediating this relationship between economic performance and social cohesion, to some degree countering purely economic trends. The impact on society and hostile reactions were presented as possible outcomes, but this is not necessarily the case. The political system and historical differences may play a crucial role in how issues of immigration are politicized in times of economic crisis. In short, figure 1 presents one possible story, but there are many more influences. It is important to be careful and not fall into the simplistic rhetoric commonly used in the media and political debates.

It is apparent that the political rhetoric related to immigration and social cohesion has undergone significant changes at the beginning of the 21st century.[71] Changes in the political discourse have probably affected the predominant rhetoric in the public sphere and the media, but it is unclear whether there have been significant changes in policies so far. This relative lack of changes in policies relevant to social cohesion is probably caused by two factors. First, changes of policy so far have focused on economic integration and policing immigrants. This means that stricter policies in line with a tougher rhetoric tend not to affect areas directly relevant to social integration and social cohesion. In these areas it is unclear whether there are real alternatives to current programmes that encourage integration. Second, the existing rights granted to immigrants were generally granted as part of larger changes, such as recognition of human rights or general recognition of a right to family. Such rights are institutionalized and cannot be dismantled quickly – which of course does not guarantee their long-term survival.

One area where policies in Europe have changed significantly is the distinction between migrants from other European countries and third-country nationals. Migration within Europe is encouraged in the name of mobility, and great efforts are made to remove remaining barriers. At the same time, the situation for individuals from countries from outside of Europe is increasingly characterized by selection and filtering. Highly-qualified workers are admitted, but only in a controlled manner. For other potential workers, the borders to Europe have become increasingly controlled and officially closed, which may encourage irregular and illegal immigration for those determined to come to Europe. Countries with old immigration and new immigration are ill prepared for these pressures, reacting largely by tightening borders. Despite increasing efforts, this does not appear to be a realistic goal,[72] particularly not as long as economic demands for cheap labour cannot be met by programmes focusing on highly qualified immigrants. In this sense countries from Eastern Europe are involved in European immigration policies. Given that few immigrants choose to stay in Eastern European countries, merely trying to pass through, pressures from immigration on social cohesion are less marked in Central and Eastern Europe compared to the rest of Europe. In these countries, historic minorities such as the Roma are probably more topical when it comes to social cohesion.

Despite similar pressures and efforts to coordinate immigration-related policies at the European level, historical differences remain between countries. At the same time, it would be wrong to regard historical differences as deterministic. Indeed, not all countries with a colonial past or all countries in Central and Eastern Europe share the same policies, despite shared histories.[73] Recent changes in immigration did not result in identical responses, because the political and historical context of each country mediates the pressures in its unique way. Another reason may be that differences in the

---

[71] Vertovec and Wessendorf, *The Multiculturalism Backlash.*

[72] Clochard, "Les camps d'étrangers, symbole d'une politique."

[73] Zincone, Penninx, and Borkert, *Migratory Policymaking in Europe.*

welfare state across Europe mean that countries have different capacities to deal with pressures on social cohesion.

In the first decade of the 21st century, increasing convergence in the political rhetoric vis-à-vis immigrants and their impact on social cohesion can be observed. On their own, these changes in rhetoric may not lead to convergence of policies in Europe. However, if external pressures are strong enough, more convergence can be expected, something that may still happen. Such pressures may come from the supra-national level, such as international organizations or common approaches to immigration and integration led by the European Union. At the same time, there may be increasing pressures from a globalized economy and increasingly global migration. Based on historical evidence it does not appear that complete convergence is the most likely outcome,[74] which does not preclude the possibility of increasing convergence in some areas of immigration policy.

It is unclear in what way and to what extent economic crises affect current trends. The shift in rhetoric predates the most recent economic downturn in the late 2000s, and seems to have remained largely unaffected by the crisis. One possible impact of the changed rhetoric may be a more exclusive welfare system, justified by the argument of avoiding transferring resources to immigrants. A more exclusive welfare system would, however, also exclude individuals from the native population, which may have significant consequences for social cohesion.[75] In this sense, concerns that immigration can negatively affect social cohesion can have the unintended consequence that the welfare programmes are dismantled, despite the fact that these play a crucial role in maintaining social cohesion across Europe.

It would be wrong to argue that social cohesion is challenged solely because of immigration. Political changes can mean efforts to reduce welfare spending more generally, with direct implications for social cohesion. Challenges to the notion of the state, such as from international bodies like the European Union or NAFTA, as well as from below through interests groups and social movements calling for minority recognition are further areas where social cohesion is challenged, irrespective of possible challenges from immigration. Challenges to the notion of the state are important, since the state plays a crucial role in shaping laws and norms that enable social cohesion in modern societies characterized by organic solidarity. In sum, there are many factors that seem to influence social cohesion and integration policies, many of which appear resilient to short-term economic changes, just like attitudes towards immigrants do not appear to fluctuate in line with economic growth.

The many qualifications to the generic argument linking economic performance to economic integration and social cohesion make it clear that the same pressures do not always lead to the same outcomes. Historical differences remained to the present day, resisting convergence in Europe despite similar immigration pressures in the past.[76] It is unclear why the current situation would be fundamentally different. On the one hand, differences in historical legacy, political arrangements, and the welfare systems suggest differences in outcomes despite the same pressures. On the other hand, the magnitude of the pressures and convergence in the political rhetoric to present immigration as a cultural threat means that some convergence in policies can be expected in some areas of immigration and social cohesion policies, but such convergence will be incomplete.

G. Acknowledgements and Author Contributions

---

[74] Ibid.

[75] Emmenegger and Careja, "From Dilemma to Dualization."

[76] T. Hammar, ed., *European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

H. References

1. M. Borkert and R. Penninx, "The Dynamics of Migratory Policymaking in Europe - an Introduction," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

2. P. Emmenegger and R. Careja, "From Dilemma to Dualization: Social and Migration Policies in the 'Reluctant Countries of Immigration'" (presented at the 17th Conference for European Studies, Montreal, 2010).

3. G. D'Amato, "Ein historisch-soziologisches Inventar der Migration in der Schweiz," *Schweizerischen Jahrbuch für Entwicklungspolitik* 27, no. 2 (2008): 177-196.

4. IOM, "The Berne Initiative: A Global Consultative Process for Inter-State Cooperation on Migration Management," 2011, http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/cache/offonce/pid/1491.

5. F. Tönnies, *Community and association* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1974).

6. É. Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. G. Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1964).

7. R. Penninx, "Integration: The Role of Communities, Institutions, and the State," *Migration Information Source* October (2003),
http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=168.

8. R. Putnam, R. Leonardi, and R. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: The Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

9. R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Touchstone Books, 2000).

10. C. Brettell and J. Hollifield, eds., *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

11. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert, eds., *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

12. L. Cerna and A. Wietholtz, "Immigration and Integration Policymaking: The British Case," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

13. D. Schnapper, *Qu'est-ce que l'intégration ?* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 2007).

14. M. Bruquetas-Callejo et al., "Policymaking Related to Immigration and Integration: The Dutch Case," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

15. G. Zincone, "Immigration and Immigrant Policymaking in Italy – Structures, Actors and Practices," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

16. M. Bruquetas-Callejo et al., "Immigration and Integration Policymaking in Spain," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

17. A. Kicinger and I. Koryś, "A new Field to Conquer and Manage: Migration Policymaking in Poland after 1989," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

18. M. Čaněk and P. Čižinský, "Migration Policies and the Institutional Setting in the Czech Republic," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

19. Council of Europe, *Social cohesion indicators* (Brussels: Council of Europe, 2005), http://www.coe.int/t/dg3/socialpolicies/socialcohesiondev/source/GUIDE_en.pdf.

20. Eurostat, "Social cohesion," *Eurostat*, June 3, 2010, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/structural_indicators/indicators/social_cohesion.

21. OECD, *Society at a Glance 2009: OECD Social Indicators* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2009).

22. D. A. Coleman, "Trends in Fertility and Intermarriage Among Immigrant Populations in Western Europe as Measures of Integration," *Journal of Biosocial Science* 26, no. 1 (1994): 107-136.

23. World Values Survey Group, *World Value Survey (Release 20060423)* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 2006).

24. Anita Böcker and Dietrich Thränhardt, "Multiple citizenship and naturalization: An evaluation of German and Dutch policies," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 7, no. 1 (2006): 71-94.

25. Chiara Pierobon, "Back to the nation-state: citizenship practices in Germany and Italy," *Eurosphere Working Paper* 26 (2010), http://eurospheres.org/files/2010/08/Europshere_Working_Paper_26_Pierobon_1.pdf.

26. OECD, *International Migration Outlook: Annual Report 2006 Edition (SOPEMI)* (Paris: OECD, 2006).

27. IDEA, "Voter Turnout," *International IDEA*, 2011, http://www.idea.int/vt/.

28. C. Wihtol de Wenden, "The case of France," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

29. O. Clochard, "Les camps d'étrangers, symbole d'une politique," *Les blogs du Diplo*, June 1, 2010, http://blog.mondediplo.net/2010-06-01-Les-camps-d-etrangers-symbole-d-une-politique.

30. J. Stolz, "Religion und Integration aus der Perspektive der erklärenden Soziologie," in *Religion und Integration aus der Sicht des Rechts. Grundlagen-Problemfelder-Perspektiven*, ed. R. Pahud de Mortanges (Freiburg: Schulthess, 2010), 39-80.

31. David Laitin, "Rational Islamophobia in Europe," *European Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 3 (2010): 429-447.

32. R. Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

33. P. Norris and R. Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

34. R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, "Changing Mass Priorities: The Link between Modernization and Democracy," *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no. 2 (2010): 551-567.

35. S. Vertovec and S. Wessendorf, eds., *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2010).

36. T. Huddleston and J. Niessen, *Migrant Integration Policy Index* (Brussels: British Council and Migration Policy Group, 2011), http://www.integrationindex.eu.

37. K. Stancova, "Assisted Voluntary Return of Irregular Migrants in Policy and Practice: Case Study of the Slovak Republic" (IMIS International Workshop presented at the Disciplining Global Movements. Migration Management and its Discontents, Osnabrück, November 13, 2010).

38. R. Muttarak and A. Heath, "Who intermarries in Britain? Explaining ethnic diversity in intermarriage patterns," *The British Journal of Sociology* 61, no. 2 (2010): 275-305.

39. Leo Lucassen and Charlotte Laarman, "Immigration, intermarriage and the changing face of Europe in the post war period," *The History of the Family* 14, no. 1 (2009): 52-68.

40. A. Heath, C. Rothon, and E. Kilpi, "The second generation in Western Europe: Education, unemployment, and occupational attainment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 34 (2008): 211-34.

41. G. D'Amato, "Migration and Integration Policies in Switzerland," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

42. R. Carle, "Demise of Dutch Multiculturalism," *Society* 3 (2006): 68-75.

43. Transatlantic Council on Migration, *Migration, Public Opinion, and Politics* (Gütersloh: Bertelsman Foundation, 2009), http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/cps/rde/xchg/SID-D7888E31-A6D3DF3A/bst_engl/hs.xsl/publikationen_98119.htm.

44. Z. Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

45. F. Düvell, *Europäische und internationale Migration* (Hamburg: LIT Verlag, 2006).

46. A. Kraler, "Immigrant and Immigration Policymaking in Austria," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

47. R. Cholewinski and P. Taran, "Migration, governance and human rights: Contemporary dilemmas in the era of gobalization," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2010): 1 -33.

48. F. Hörisch and T. Weishaupt, "In the Midst of the Crisis: Supporting the Unemployed through Direct Job-Creation Schemes?" (presented at the 17th Conference for European Studies, Montreal, 2010).

49. G. D'Amato, "Auswirkungen der Finanzkrise auf die Migration" (presented at the AOZ, Zürich, 2009).

50. M. Rist, "Dynamik dank Zuwanderung: Die OCED sieht in der Migration grossen wirtschaftlichen Nutzen," *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zürich, July 13, 2010), sec. Wirtschaft.

51. S. Rother, "… und sie migrieren immer noch: Arbeitsmigration in Südostasien 10 Jahre nach der Finanzkrise," *Südostasien*, 2008.

52. A. Achermann et al., *Country Report: Switzerland*, EUDO Citizenship Observatory (Florence: European University Institute, 2009), http://eudo-citizenship.eu/docs/CountryReports/Switzerland.pdf.

53. L. Togeby, "Prejudice and tolerance in a period of increasing ethnic diversity and growing unemployment: Denmark since 1970," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 6 (1998): 1137-54.

54. L. McLaren, "Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: contact, threat perception and preferences for the exclusion of migrants," *Social Forces* 81, no. 3 (2003): 909-37.

55. E. Kilpi, "Prejudice as a response to changes in competitive threat: Finnish attitudes towards immigrants 1986-2006," *Sociology Working Papers* 1 (2008), http://www.sociology.ox.ac.uk/research/workingpapers/2008-01.pdf.

56. S. Schneider, "Anti-immigrant attitudes in Europe: Outgroup size and perceived ethnic threat," *European Sociological Review* 24, no. 1 (2008): 53-67.

57. A. Ceobanu and X. Excandell, "Comparative analyses of public attitudes toward immigrants and immigration using multinational survey data: A review of theories and research," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 15 (2010).

58. R. Ford, "Is Racial Prejudice Declining in Britain?," *British Journal of Sociology* 59, no. 4 (2008): 609-36.

59. G. Zincone, "Conclusions – Comparing the Making of Migratory Policies," in *Migratory Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*, ed. G. Zincone, R. Penninx, and M. Borkert (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011).

60. C. Joppke, "Immigrant integration in Western Europe: Pressures and policy responses" (presented at the Immigrant Integration in Switzerland: The Impact of Federalism, Bern, February 24, 2010).

61. T. Hammar, ed., *European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).