The combination of increased migration, new technologies, and growing wealth have changed the face of Europe. Today, one in ten Europeans was born outside the continent. Processes for incorporating these immigrants vary widely from city to city and within cities. This collection offers a comprehensive overview of the state of scholarship on all these approaches and their effectiveness. It brings together current theory with practice, analysing problems and debates in the field.

Marco Martiniello is research director at the Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research (FRS-FNRS), professor at the Institute for Human and Social Sciences and director of the Center for Ethnic and Migration Studies at the University of Liège and junior fellow at the Migration and Ethnic Studies Institute at the University of Amsterdam.

Jan Rath is professor of urban sociology and associated with the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) and the Centre for Urban Studies at the University of Amsterdam.

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Introduction
1 Immigrant Incorporation Studies in Europe
An Introduction

Marco Martiniello and Jan Rath

Summary
The process of immigrant incorporation has many different names and is described and analysed using a variety of terms: inclusion, adjustment, absorption, integration, assimilation, et cetera. In Europe the concept of ‘integration’ is popular. This rather fuzzy notion can refer to a number of different realities. Fortunately, a growing number of scholars in Europe have taken an interest in the study of these issues, producing a large body of literature. This chapter presents some of these European scholars and introduces readers to scholarship that matters for Europe.

* * *

Estimates of the population of Europe today vary between 502 million1 and 738 million.2 The exact number depends on the way Europe is defined, which is a matter of contention. Indeed, there is no consensus about the precise location of Europe’s boundaries and its exact geographic extent. Some would restrict Europe to the six founding states of the European Community, also recently called ‘Old Europe’ with a somewhat ironic undertone. Others extend Europe to the 28 member states of the present European Union (EU), including some of the countries that belonged to the Soviet Empire before the fall of the Berlin Wall. Some also count the non-EU countries situated on the European peninsula (or some of them, including the Holy See), while others would include countries like the Ukraine, the Russian Federation and Turkey. This lack of

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1 Situation as of 1 January 2011, according to EU statistics (http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/.DOM/Table.do?tab=table&language=en&pcode=tps00001&tableSelection=1&footnotes=yes&labeling=labels&plugin=1).

consensus sometimes leads to contradictions. For example, the Ukraine and Turkey are frequently considered to be outside the European realm – or at most are considered to be neighbouring states with which Europe should develop privileged cooperation. But they have, at the same time, been wholeheartedly welcomed as members or participants in the Council of Europe, the Eurovision Song Contest and the UEFA Championships. Clearly, Europe is not just a matter of geography and thus a particular place on the globe.

For those who consider Europe to be a political entity, made up only of the countries that are members of the EU, Switzerland would not be counted as a part of Europe. Alternatively, a view of Europe as a group of countries bound by a shared history and traditions of Christianity, Judeo-Christianity and Christian-humanism would exclude the many indigenous Muslims in Central Europe, as well as second- and third-generation Muslim immigrants living in Europe. But the subjects of current and former colonial areas elsewhere in the world might well be included as true Europeans, even though they live several thousand kilometres away from Europe’s geographical heart.

The very fact that Europe’s nature is the subject of such ongoing debate tells us that Europe is still under construction. Yet, as witnessed in electoral campaigns across the EU, many people find it fundamentally important to achieve clarity about Europe’s identity and the rules of membership. This situation is made even more complex by the international mobility that we have witnessed since the Second World War. Questions of identity, belongingness, membership and rights have been blurred and become more contested.

Today, one out of ten Europeans is foreign-born. Applying a ‘broad’ definition of Europe, the United Nations Population Division estimates that approximately 72 million people (or 9.5 per cent of the European population) is a first-generation immigrant. This figure, to be sure, includes ‘internal’ migrants as well as those coming to Europe from elsewhere.

The advanced economies in the north-western part of Europe constituted the first migration catchment areas after the Second World War. Guest workers from Spain and Italy, and later also from the Mediterranean, gravitated to the manufacturing industries in Germany, France, the Benelux, Nordic countries and Switzerland (Martiniello 2006). Furthermore, millions of people from former colonial areas outside Europe moved to their ‘motherland’ of the United Kingdom, France or the Netherlands, and after a while and at a much lower rate also to Spain and Portugal. At that time, Southern and Central European countries (but also countries such as Ireland) were predominantly migrant-sending coun-

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3 Figures refer to the situation in 2010 (http://esa.un.org/migration/p2kodata.asp).
tries, if they were involved in international migration at all. More recently, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy, as well as a number of countries in Central Europe, have been transformed into transit countries and receiving countries. They now serve as magnets for hundreds of thousands of newcomers from Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe and beyond. In the meantime, refugees and asylum seekers from war zones all over the world have flocked to Europe hoping to find a safe haven. Today, professionals are moving to the centres of Europe’s knowledge economies. These modern-day ‘guest workers’ are known as ‘expats’, as are the students who are enrolling en masse in Europe’s universities and other educational facilities. There is also the category of people who used to be labelled ‘spontaneous guest workers’ but who today are viewed as ‘illegal’ or ‘undocumented migrants’. In addition, people come to Europe seeking adventure, a new lifestyle, friendship or love, and there is a category of Europeans who are simply enjoying the right of free mobility. No country in Europe is unaffected by these migratory flows, although their impact varies from place to place.

Migratory movements, in combination with new technologies and increased wealth, have created a Europe that is connected in a myriad of ways to each and every part of the world. Many first-generation and second-generation Moroccans in Belgium or France – including those who are citizens of their country of residence – maintain or construct many-stranded linkages with their ‘hometowns’ in the Rif, but feel completely disconnected from other Europeans, for instance, in Nordic region or the Balkans. Today, more than ever before, family ties, economic ties, political ties, cultural ties and the like exist and develop beyond ‘European’ borders. Consequent to immigration, new diversities have been added to and articulated with older diversities, resulting in ever-changing linguistic landscapes, religious landscapes and legal landscapes (as the number of individuals with multiple passports is on the rise). This makes the question what Europe is and who belongs to it all the more urgent.

What applies to Europe as a whole – however defined – applies to units at lower scalar levels as well. International migrants arrive in a country, they find a job in a city, and they settle down in a neighbourhood. There they figure out how to get a place in the sun, how to access social and educational resources, and how to become upwardly mobile. They find ways to continue their identity, lifestyle, loyalties and ways of doing things while also adjusting to the host society’s ways and expectations. The host society’s individuals and institutions, for their part, have to figure out how to deal with all of these newcomers, how to maintain social order and social cohesion, and how to secure a smoothly running social, political and economic system in which everyone gets a piece of the pie and all feel connected in some way. As has become clear in Europe, these processes are complex and sensitive. They involve a great deal of negotiation, sur-
rounding institutional settings and everyday practices and interactions. A bit of conflict may be involved too, as well as some pain and frustration. Moreover, it is often forgotten that these processes take time. They are further complicated by the fact that neither host societies nor newcomers are fixed entities. Each is subject to profound internal tensions and transformations, and the world around them is in constant change as well, exerting a range of divergent influences on local processes. Globalisation, whether it pertains to political and economic dynamics, to cultural forms or to some other life domain, impacts relations between the host society and newcomers. Nonetheless, experiences from classic countries of immigration, such as the USA and Canada and the Australasia region, teach us the interesting lesson that in the end most newcomers do manage to become part of the mainstream (Alba & Nee 2003). Even the Irish in the USA managed to assimilate! They arrived hungry and penniless and with few resources. They were poor and rowdy. They were seen as a very different type of human being and as lacking civilization. They were Roman Catholics rather than good Protestants. They were loyal to the Pope in Rome – perhaps more loyal to that un-American power than to the US president. Yet, they gradually ceased to be different. Admittedly, it took a lot of bitterness and many generations to accomplish this, but still, assimilation did occur eventually. Their assimilation coincides today with an Irish symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979) visible, for example, in St Patrick’s Day.

The process of immigrant incorporation has many different names. It is described and analysed using terms like ‘inclusion’, ‘adjustment’, ‘absorption’, ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’. In general, we can say that the concept of ‘assimilation’ is en vogue in North America, whereas in Europe the concept of ‘integration’ is more popular. Both concepts are rather fuzzy and used to refer to several different realities. First of all, they may be understood as a way of describing the state of the art with regard to the position of immigrants and the actual makeup of a society. Second, they may be interpreted as reflecting a general vision of the way government and society should orient itself and thus a preferred end-situation. Third, they may be used to refer to a specific set of policy tools and support mechanisms for accommodating immigrant incorporation.

To understand the specificity of European ways of dealing with immigrant incorporation, in contrast to North American ways, it is useful to first take a closer look at the concept of ‘integration’. The notion of integration is almost absent from scholarly and policy discussion in the USA, but it has become absolutely central to debates in Western Europe (Burbaker 2001; Favell 2003; Penninx, Berger & Kraal 2006). In the USA, use of the concept of integration goes back to the black Civil Rights Movement, which invoked it as a goal in opposition to the segregation of schools and public services or as a description of processes of desegregation and ac-
The concept of integration in North America is thus historically associated with the plight of African-Americans and the Civil Rights Movement and not with the incorporation of recent immigrants, let alone with government policy to accomplish such an aim. On the American side of the Atlantic, the process of immigrant incorporation is commonly described and analysed in terms of ‘assimilation’. As it is currently used, the concept of ‘assimilation’ or ‘new assimilation’ refers not to the process of absorption into the mainstream but instead to the ‘process of becoming similar or making similar or treating as similar’ (Brubaker 2001: 532; see also Alba & Nee 1997, 2003). In Europe, the concept of integration is de rigueur in political and policy circles, though it is often rejected by the offspring of migrants born on European soil. This is undoubtedly related to social and political concerns about or perhaps even discomfort with international migration and with the presence of migrant and migrant-origin populations in urban Europe.

In the USA and other classic countries of immigration, each and every individual can claim a migration history, with the exception of such communities as the Aborigines in Australia, the First Nations in Canada and the Maoris in New Zealand. These countries’ mindset and institutional makeup are therefore geared towards accommodating newcomers. European countries, in contrast, tend to be hesitant about immigration, if not flat out resistant to it. Waves of immigrants have found their way to a multitude of European states. However, the arrival of immigrants is still typically seen as a disturbance of the nation’s daily routines and social relations rather than as a precondition for its continued vitality. Especially in the more advanced European welfare states, governments have stepped in to address these issues and to channel and enhance the process of immigrant integration. This urge to ‘integrate’ the ‘Other’ is related to international migration, the concomitant proliferation of new diversities, the often time-consuming processes of immigrant incorporation and a lack of patience on the part of the host county for this process to be successfully concluded (Vermeulen & Penninx 2000).

An important factor is whether newcomers as ethnic or religious minorities demand the right to be different and are allocated space to be so. When they are, such situations are often described as ‘multiculturalism’. The current political mood in Europe is not very favourable towards ‘multiculturalism’, as many fear proliferation of ‘communautarism’ and ‘parallel societies’ (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010). That fear or discomfort is so strong that it has led leaders of countries that have never officially pursued a multicultural policy – such as Nicolas Sarkozy of France and Angela Merkel of Germany – to make public statements about the purported failure of multiculturalism in their countries (Rath 2011). The critical, or perhaps cynical, discourses notwithstanding, even in these countries there is much of what we label ‘multiculturalism by stealth’ or ‘light multicultur-
turalism': manifestations of ethnic diversity in some institutionalised form that has become commonplace and accepted by a large share of the public (Aytar & Rath 2012). A case in point here is the abundance of ethnic food outlets, which create distinctive but trendy ethnic foodscapes; another is the popularity of world music.

This should remind us that policies and public discourse are not to be confused with everyday reality. More importantly, perhaps, it should sensitise us to the fact that processes of integration follow a different pace, take different forms and have different outcomes in different settings. The course of integration may vary from city to city and from country to country, but also from one institutional domain to another. The situation in the labour market is not identical to that in education or in leisure and entertainment.

A growing number of scholars in Europe have taken an interest in these issues, and they have produced a large body of literature. This student textbook brings together some of that European scholarship, or more precisely, scholarship that matters to Europe.

The first part of this book showcases and discusses a number of theoretical perspectives on immigrant incorporation. In a comprehensive chapter, Thomas Faist and Peter Kivisto discuss a range of citizenship theories that are relevant to the study of immigrant integration. Richard Alba and Victor Nee then examine assimilation models. They first critically discuss the ‘old school’ forms of assimilation which assume that newcomers enter a kind of ‘melting pot’ and, by default, dissolve into the mainstream. Then they present a more current perspective on assimilation. John Eade and Paolo Ruspini consider the intricacies of multiculturalism. John Solomos explores various paradigms and perspectives on the interrelationship between race, racism and class. Marlou Schrover concludes this first part of the book with a description of how, by whom and why differences according to gender are made in connection with integration.

The second part of the book examines a number of social fields in which the process of immigrant integration takes place. Education, the labour market, business economy, the political system, the health sector, religion, and art and sport are such domains. Martha Montero-Sieburth, Michael Samers, Robert Kloosterman and Jan Rath, Irene Bloemraad and Floris Vermeulen, Milena Chimienti, David Ingleby and Sandro Cattacin, Valerie Amiraux, Wiebke Sievers and Richard Giulianotti briefly describe the state of the art in these fields, respectively, pointing to central concepts and addressing some of the main theoretical debates.

Part three of this book discusses the policy dimensions of these processes. Patrick Ireland examines the relationship between different welfare state regimes and immigrant integration trajectories, while Han Entzinger and Peter Scholten explore national and local integration policies. The book concludes with an epilogue by Marco Martiniello, who reflects on
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a more general and normative issue: EU multicultural citizenship as an alternative to immigrant integration policies.

The editors selected and approached these authors on the basis of their expertise on these topics. We encouraged contributors to provide profound overviews of the state of the art. What is the situation? What theoretical perspectives have come to the fore in the international debates? What concepts and controversies have emerged? This book, therefore, provides a thorough theoretical introduction to the field of immigrant integration. This does not mean, however, that the editors and authors strived for completeness. Students of immigrant incorporation should be aware that this is merely an introduction, albeit a helpful one, for those seeking to understand the core features of European migration and ethnic studies.

References


About the authors

Marco Martiniello is research director at the Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research (FRS-FNRS). He teaches sociology and politics at the University of Liège and is the director of the Center for Ethnic and Migration Studies (CEDEM). Martiniello also teaches at the College of Europe (Natolin, Poland). He is member of the executive board of the IMISCOE Research Network (on International Migration and Social Cohesion in Europe) and president of Research Committee 31, Sociology of Migration (International Sociological Association). He has authored, edited or co-edited numerous articles, book chapters, reports and books on migration, ethnicity, racism, multiculturalism and citizenship within the EU and in Belgium with a transatlantic comparative perspective. These include Citizenship in European Cities (2004), Migration between States and Markets (2004), The Transnational Political Participation of Immigrants: A Transatlantic Perspective (2009), and La Démocratie Multiculturelle (2011).

Jan Rath is a professor of urban sociology and associated with the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) and the Center for Urban Studies at the University of Amsterdam. He is also the European chair of International Metropolis. An anthropologist and urban studies specialist, he is the author, editor or co-editor of numerous articles, book chapters, reports and books on the sociology, politics and economics of post-migration processes. These include Immigrant Businesses: The Economic, Political and Social Environment (2000), Unravelling the Rag Trade: Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Seven World Cities (2002), Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization (2003), Tourism, Ethnic Diversity, and the City (2007), Ethnic Amsterdam (2009), and Selling Ethnic Neighborhoods (2012).
Translation studies is the new academic discipline related to the study of the theory and phenomena of translation. Its nature is multilingual and also interdisciplinary, encompassing languages, linguistics, communication studies, philosophy and a range of types of cultural studies. Because of this diversity, one of the biggest problems in teaching and learning about translation studies is that much of it is dispersed across such a wide range of books and journals.

Wiebke Sievers.