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## **Boekbespreking van: Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics. Comparative European Perspectives**

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### **Citation**

Slijper, B. (2002). Boekbespreking van: Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics. Comparative European Perspectives. *Acta Politica*, 37: 2002(3), 323-325. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3450917>

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**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).



extensive experience studying Southern European and more recently, East-Central European democratic transitions.

In summary, Pridham argues that none of the dimensions in the interactive model taken individually are sufficient to explain the complex processes of democratic transition and consolidation. For instance, although the legacies of the past play an important role in shaping transition politics and can be an important factor affecting whether democracy is consolidated, historical influences do not determine what comes about under democratization. Like other economic, socio-cultural and international structural factors, legacies establish the scope conditions under which political elites operate. Indeed, decisions made by newly empowered democratic elites play a vital role in determining the ultimate outcome of democratic transition and the process of consolidation. Political elites decide institutional designs and determine how stateness and minority problems as issues affect the prospects for democratic consolidation. However, these political choices made by elites are constrained. Thus, political crafting and elite settlements alone (or the 'genetic approach') do not explain transitions or processes of consolidation – they can only be understood by appreciating the different and very often conflicting domestic and international contexts in which political decisions are made.

This work can hardly be criticized. The theoretical coverage of the work is impressive, and the design and organization of the book systematic and well thought out. In addition, the methodology employed is fully justified and compelling. If there is a 'shortcoming' at all it is something the author himself acknowledges in the book – that there is a trade off between breadth and depth in comparative analysis by only focusing on the European cases after 1945. As Pridham acknowledges, there are many special factors pertaining to Europe that make it different from the rest of the world. For example, there is clearly a preference among countries that engaged in post-1945 European transitions (including the post-communist transitions) for parliamentary over presidential systems, whereas many transitions elsewhere have opted for a presidential model. Thus, scholars studying transitions further eastward, particularly among the post-Soviet states, may find that this book has less to offer. Indeed, Pridham himself notes that the prospects for democratic development in these states are considerably dimmer than those in the former Eastern Europe, but does not venture to say why that is the case.

In sum, this book represents a fine addition to the literature on democratization. It is perhaps one of the most systematically structured studies on democratic transition and consolidation that I have yet seen available in print. In particular, this book will prove to be indispensable reading for scholars who seek to better understand not only the dynamics of democratization, but also for those who seek to be more systematic in comparing across European cases. Further, it represents an excellent starting point for any student interested in pursuing further comparative studies of democratic transitions and processes of consolidation elsewhere in the world.

John T. Ishiyama

R. Koopmans and P. Statham (eds.), *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics. Comparative European Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, ISBN 0-198-29560-8, £ 20.99.

Although Europe has been a *de facto* immigration continent since the late 1960s, it was not until the 1990s that immigration and immigrant integration emerged as hotly disputed political issues in many European countries. Three developments were important in this respect. Firstly, the growing stream of refugees and asylum seekers in the 1990s made it clear that a stop on the recruitment of guest workers and the drying up of the subsequent stream of family migration would not bring a halt to immigration to Europe. Secondly, all European countries witnessed a growing opposition to new and old immigrants, which led, in some countries, to a growth of anti-immigrant parties. Thirdly, the maturing of the so-called second generation created a category of 'immigrants' who – in a more politicized and assertive manner than their parents – claimed a right to retain their identity as equal citizens of the 'host country'. In some countries, such as the Netherlands, developments were rapid. Here, immigrant integration moved from being an almost completely de-politicized issue until the late 1980s to becoming an institutionalized policy field, headed by a separate 'Minister for Integration'.

For a long time, social geographers and anthropologists dominated European academic research on immigration and ethnic relations, respectively. Basically, social geographers studied the push-and-pull factors of immigration, while anthropologists studied the dynamics of acculturation and identity retention. In these studies, politics was largely neglected. Roger Brubaker's *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992) paved the way for research that explicitly focused on the political dimension of immigration and integration. More importantly, Brubaker (re-) introduced the concepts of citizenship and nationhood as key analytical tools for analysing differences in immigration and integration politics and policies between countries.

Brubaker's study proved to be a major inspiration for many, as a large stream of studies of a similar kind followed it (sometimes even with quite similar titles). Several of these studies disagreed with Brubaker's (rather static) juxtaposition of political nations based on *ius soli* and ethnic nations based on *ius sanguinis*. Yet, the importance of nationhood and citizenship as key concepts for understanding politics and policies surrounding immigrant integration was generally accepted. Unfortunately, it also led to many edited volumes containing articles merely restating familiar arguments and insights, thus adding little or nothing empirically, conceptually or theoretically.

*Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relation Politics* aims to be a different kind of edited volume. Statham and Koopmans explicitly aim to "carry this research agenda forward." This, they argue, requires more systematic cross-national and longitudinal research. At first, this may sound like a rather redundant remark: would not all research benefit from more systematic, cross-national and longitudinal research? But given the sometimes rather impressionistic and anecdotic research conducted in this



field, it certainly makes sense. Also, by stressing the importance of cross-national research, they rightly resist the tendency in this research field to overemphasize the importance of transnationalism. Although the emergence of a transnational social field certainly has important effects on patterns of immigration and integration, immigration and integration *politics* is still very much determined by national (and sometimes local) contexts.

Fortunately, the editors have not confined themselves to criticism alone. In addition to the obligatory introduction, they have contributed a separate programmatic chapter, where they present a state of the art, and make some very sensible suggestions for future research.

Firstly, Koopmans and Statham argue for more integrated research on ethnic relations politics, immigrant mobilization and especially anti-immigrant mobilization and xenophobia. Given that fact that these topics are obviously closely related, it is indeed astonishing that they have for the most part remained separate research fields. This plea for thematic integration also implies that 'politics' should be understood as more than just elite politics, and that there is a need to include 'politics from below' as well.

Theoretically, the editors are in broad agreement with the widespread neo-institutionalist claim that (national) political contexts are the most important determinants of (variations) in ethnic relations politics and policies. However, they make a strong argument for the framework of the so-called 'political opportunity structure' (POS). The arguments in favour of relying on the POS-framework are many. Firstly, it is a more appropriate conceptual and theoretical tool for the above-mentioned thematic integration, as it allows for the inclusion of a broad spectrum of political actors. Second, the POS-concept is more specific and developed than the, often vague, idea of 'institutions'. Third, it avoids the dangers of static and essentialist analysis inherent in the idea of (national) institutions.

Furthermore, the editors state that the traditional POS-concept, which mostly concentrates on institutional aspects, can be easily integrated with political culture and political discourses, so as to overcome the familiar shortcomings of both the neo-institutionalist approach as well as that of discourse analyses.

Finally, the editors criticize Brubaker's one-dimensional and static model of political versus ethnic conceptions of nationhood. This model may explain national differences in the acquisition of formal citizenship by immigrants, but it does not cover the subsequent demands of cultural assimilation for new citizens. The editors thus propose a two-dimensional model that combines Brubaker's formal-legal requirement of citizenship with the dimension of 'cultural obligations' that are tied to citizenship. This produces four types of citizenship models: 1) ethnic assimilationism; 2) ethnic segregationism; 3) civic republicanism; and 4) civic republicanism. Furthermore, these 'models' should not be understood as static regimes, expressing a completely shared and unquestioned understanding of citizenship. The editors stress that within countries different actors may take different positions. Theoretically, these conceptions of nation and citizenship may then be understood as part of the POS.

This two-dimensional model is certainly an improvement compared to Brubaker's already mentioned dichotomy. However, an important part of the politics of immigrant integration is related to the socio-economic sphere, an aspect absent in the volume's analytical framework. These controversies are framed by conceptions of what one may call 'economic citizenship'. In my opinion, the model should thus consist of three dimensions, namely, conceptions of 1) national citizenship, 2) democratic citizenship and 3) economic citizenship. However, this is but a minor criticism. In general, I completely agree with the editors' critique on former and many current approaches, and their suggestions for improvement sketched above are extremely useful.

*Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relation Politics* is an edited volume, based on conference papers. As such, neither the lay out of the volume nor all contributions individually comply with the programmatic suggestions set out above. For example, in Han Entzinger's contribution we find a six-fold typology for integration policy approaches based on the idea of domain specificity. Entzinger's model seems to be an alternative to rather than an elaboration on the model suggested by the editors. Furthermore, the two chapters by John Rex and John Solomos and Liza Schuster are not concerned with research on immigration and ethnic relation politics at all, but mainly normative interventions in the continuing debate on the possibilities and pitfalls of the idea and ideal of 'multiculturalism'.

Nevertheless, as a whole the book is quite coherent and reflects many of the editors' programmatic remarks. Firstly, comparative research on the POS for immigrant mobilization is found in interesting articles by Christian Joppke (comparing Germany and the United States), Dietrich Thranhardt (Germany and the Netherlands), Patrick Ireland (five European countries), and Romain Garbaye (Lille and Birmingham). The chapter by the editors themselves, on the other hand, focuses on actual immigrant mobilization in Germany and Britain. Second, much attention is paid to anti-immigrant/extreme right mobilization. The chapters by Meindert Fennema, Cathie Lloyd and Roger Eatwell analyse the POS for anti-immigrant politics in several European countries, while the two chapters by Roger Karapin and Tjore Björge offer results of empirical research on anti-immigrant mobilization. The reader will thus find a large number of articles based on comparative research, with attention for both elite politics as well as for immigrant mobilization and anti-immigrant/extreme right mobilization, and quantitative analyses combined with more qualitative approaches.

In sum, this book is one of the better contributions to the field of the politics of immigration and ethnic relations. It will prove invaluable reading for political scientists interested in this research field, as well as for researchers in the field of ethnic and migration studies who want to understand how and why 'politics matter'.

Boris Slijper