

*Bertelsmann Stiftung, Migration Policy Institute (eds.)*

# **Rethinking National Identity in the Age of Migration**

The Transatlantic Council on Migration

| **Verlag BertelsmannStiftung**

# Contents

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <b>Introduction</b> .....  | 7   |
| <i>Demetrios G. Papademetriou, Jörg Dräger</i>   |     |
| <br>   |     |
| <b>Section I: The Transatlantic Council on Migration</b> .....                             | 13  |
| <br>   |     |
| Council Statement: Rethinking National Identity<br>in the Age of Migration .....           | 15  |
| <i>Demetrios G. Papademetriou, Ulrich Kober</i>  |     |
| <br>   |     |
| <b>Section II: Managing Diversity in Challenging Times</b> .....                           | 31  |
| <br>   |     |
| Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future .....                                   | 33  |
| <i>Will Kymlicka</i>   |     |
| <br>   |     |
| The Relationship Between Immigration and Nativism<br>in Europe and North America .....     | 79  |
| <i>Cas Mudde</i>   |     |
| <br>   |     |
| The Role of the State in Cultural Integration:<br>Trends, Challenges, and Ways Ahead ..... | 124 |
| <i>Christian Joppke</i>  |     |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| <b>Section III: Country Perspectives</b> . . . . .   | 143 |
| Understanding “Canadian Exceptionalism”<br>in Immigration and Pluralism Policy . . . . .                     | 145 |
| <i>Irene Bloemraad</i>   |     |
| French National Identity and Integration:<br>Who Belongs to the National Community? . . . . .                | 171 |
| <i>Patrick Simon</i>   |     |
| Contested Ground: Immigration in the United States . . . . .   | 199 |
| <i>Michael Jones-Correa</i>  |     |
| Identity and (Muslim) Immigration in Germany . . . . .   | 227 |
| <i>Naika Foroutan</i>  |     |
| The Netherlands: From National Identity<br>to Plural Identifications . . . . .                               | 251 |
| <i>Monique Kremer</i>  |     |
| Building a British Model of Integration in an Era<br>of Immigration: Policy Lessons for Government . . . . . | 279 |
| <i>Shamit Saggat, Will Somerville</i>  |     |
| Exceptional in Europe? Spain’s Experience with<br>Immigration and Integration . . . . .                      | 319 |
| <i>Joaquín Arango</i>  |     |
| Immigration and National Identity in Norway . . . . .  | 342 |
| <i>Thomas Hylland Eriksen</i>  |     |
| <b>Immigration Resources</b> . . . . .   | 364 |
| <b>About the Transatlantic Council on Migration</b> . . . . .  | 367 |
| <b>About the Authors</b> . . . . .   | 370 |
| <b>Acknowledgments</b> . . . . .   | 379 |

# Introduction

Demetrios G. Papademetriou, Jörg Dräger

Globalization has been rewriting more than just the rules of economic behavior among nations. It has also created and nurtured the conditions for greater human mobility, with unprecedented levels of diversity transforming communities and challenging closely held notions of national identity. The Transatlantic Council on Migration, an initiative of the Migration Policy Institute with policy support from the Bertelsmann Stiftung, convened in Berlin on November 16–18, 2011 to examine the role migration plays in the social unrest seen in societies on both sides of the Atlantic. The Council’s goal: help shape a new vision for social cohesion that harnesses diversity’s potential benefits for all elements of society.

While a consensus may be emerging as to what has *not* worked well in the realm of immigrant integration (albeit with some misunderstanding, such as the role of multiculturalist policies), less thought has been given to proactively articulating a new “social contract” to bring immigrants and natives together in pursuit of shared goals. This volume – the Council’s sixth edited volume – contributes to the debate by offering ideas for the next generation of policies that can build more inclusive civic identities. The book, which contains in-depth analyses and policy recommendations, builds on the Council’s prior volumes: *Delivering Citizenship* (November 2008); *Talent, Competitiveness and Migration* (April 2009); *Migration, Public Opinion and Politics* (November 2009); *Prioritizing Integration* (April 2010); and *Improving the Governance of International Migration* (November 2011). The resulting collection deepens the evidence base on the complex

migration and integration issues that challenge transatlantic societies.

The volume opens in Section One with the Council's statement on "Rethinking National Identity in the Age of Migration." Demetrios G. Papademetriou and Ulrich Kober distill the main themes and recommendations that emerged from the Transatlantic Council's meeting in Berlin on how to mitigate the disorienting effects of rapid societal change. The authors dissect the roots of society's anxiety about immigration and put forward ten innovative policy ideas that can help create the conditions for cohesive societies. They argue that the key to fostering greater cohesiveness is to involve *all* citizens in the process of shaping the new "we."

Section Two, "Managing Diversity in Challenging Times," offers in three chapters three perspectives on the perceived "failure" of integration models in many Western democracies. Will Kymlicka begins this section with his chapter on "Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future." His analysis challenges four powerful myths about multiculturalism and discusses the factors that can either facilitate or impede its successful implementation.

In Chapter Two, Cas Mudde focuses on the complex relationship between migration and the rise of radical-right political parties in three industrialized regions: North America, Western Europe, and Central and Eastern Europe. Titled "The Relationship Between Immigration and Nativism in Europe and North America," this chapter charts the uneven success of far-right parties in these regions and analyzes the diverse state responses. The author shows that the relationship between immigration and extremism is not as clear-cut as is often assumed.

Christian Joppke is the author of Chapter Three, "The Role of the State in Cultural Integration: Trends, Challenges, and Ways Ahead," which examines how different European approaches to cultural integration have converged in important ways. Many liberal states have constitutional restrictions on state intervention in sensitive identity issues, which are for the individual and not the state to decide. A second commonality, for over a decade now, is "civic integration" policies

that seek to bind newcomers to majority institutions and culture by requiring them to learn the host-society language and acknowledge basic host-society norms and values. This chapter concludes with recommendations on how governments may achieve a mode of civic integration that is restrained enough to respect the moral autonomy of immigrants and aggressive enough to further a more cohesive and integrated host society.

Section Three, “Country Perspectives,” contains eight case studies on national identity in the age of migration. It examines the lessons that can be drawn from different approaches to immigrant integration and diversity in North America and Europe, looking specifically at Canada, France, the United States, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Spain, and Norway.

In Chapter Four, Irene Bloemraad takes an in-depth look at the Canadian approach to pluralism. She asks whether Canada is truly an outlier in terms of being able to deflect anti-immigrant sentiment and opposition to multicultural policies directed at immigrants and settled minority groups. In her piece on “Understanding ‘Canadian Exceptionalism’ in Immigration and Pluralism Policy,” Bloemraad concludes that immigrant selection policy and geography are not sufficient to explain why Canada is more open to and optimistic about immigration: The Canadian view of immigration as a nation-building exercise is also a key factor.

Patrick Simon examines France’s controversial public debates on national identity in Chapter Five, “French National Identity and Integration: Who Belongs to the National Community?”. Concerns that the split allegiances of “foreigners” might weaken social cohesion in France are examined systematically using the findings of the “Trajectories and Origins: a Survey on Population Diversity in France” (TeO) study. The author strongly challenges the perception that ties to another country automatically undermine individuals’ commitment to France and argues that restrictive definitions of national identity can be counterproductive.

Chapter Six, “Contested Ground: Immigration in the United States,” is by Michael Jones-Correa. As immigration to the United

States has increased and spread to new regions, there have been growing concerns that it has negatively impacted the US economy and altered the social fabric of society. This chapter analyzes the roots of American anxiety about immigration – particularly illegal immigration – and the policy responses implemented over the past 50 years.

Naika Foroutan is the author of Chapter Seven on “Identity and (Muslim) Immigration in Germany.” Germany is already a diverse country and will become increasingly so over time. One-fifth of the population is comprised of immigrants or the children of immigrants and, in many of Germany’s largest cities, a majority of children under the age of 6 have a so-called migration background. However, while Germany has become a country of immigration during recent decades, a still dominant perception in media and public discourse is that of a homogenous German society in which those with a migration background cannot fully belong. Muslims have become a focus of public debate despite comprising only 5 percent of the population, and German public opinion contains some of the strongest anti-Muslim sentiments in Western Europe. This chapter concludes with recommendations on how policymakers can combat negative stereotypes and develop a new national narrative reflective of Germany’s demographic reality.

In Chapter Eight, “The Netherlands: From National Identity to Plural Identifications,” Monique Kremer analyzes the highly politicized issue of what it means to be “Dutch.” A new dialogue in the Netherlands has marked a departure from multiculturalism and a turn toward “culturalized citizenship” – the idea that being Dutch means adhering to a certain set of cultural and social norms and practices. Immigrants now have to “become Dutch,” not only through language acquisition, but also in a cultural and moral sense. Kremer concludes that accepting the existence of plural national identities can be beneficial for social cohesion.

Shamit Saggat and Will Somerville are coauthors of Chapter Nine titled, “Building a British Model of Integration in an Era of Immigration: Policy Lessons for Government.” This chapter analyzes developments in integration policy over the past 15 years in the United King-

dom, dating from the election of the Labour government in May 1997 until the present day. The analysis focuses on whether policy has influenced (or has been perceived to influence) national identity, immigrant integration outcomes, and neighborhood cohesion. The chapter draws conclusions about the future direction of integration policy in the United Kingdom.

Chapter Ten, authored by Joaquín Arango, is titled “Exceptional in Europe? Spain’s Experience with Immigration and Integration.” In just a decade, Spain’s foreign-born population increased from less than 4 percent of the total population to almost 14 percent. Fewer than 1.5 million immigrants resided in Spain in 2000, compared to 6.5 million in 2009. But, unlike other European countries, Spain has not seen a significant backlash against immigration, even amid an economic crisis that has hit the country hard and led to extremely high levels of unemployment – especially among immigrants. There is evidence, however, that this could be changing. This chapter concludes that Spain’s exceptionalism is in danger and that economic stresses will be a key determinant of social cohesion in Spain. Yet, given the influence that politicians have on societal attitudes, the new government would be well advised to continue with policies that foster integration and promote the idea that immigration benefits society.

“Immigration and National Identity in Norway” is authored by Thomas Hylland Eriksen and comprises Chapter Eleven of this volume. Debates about integration, immigration policy, multiculturalism, and national identity have flourished in Norway in recent years – particularly in light of the atrocities of July 22, 2011. Although less than one-third of immigrants in Norway are from predominantly Muslim countries, it is Muslim immigrants who are the object of the greatest political and social debates. Looking ahead, Eriksen finds that a society that has historically been very ethnically and culturally homogenous faces a key challenge: adjusting to its increasing diversity. In order for the nation to instill solidarity and cohesion, a number of steps need to be taken, including strengthening unity and citizenship, promoting diversity within a framework of Norwegian values, and ensuring representation of diversity in the public and private sectors.



The appendix of this volume includes a resource section, information about the Transatlantic Council on Migration, biographies of the authors, and acknowledgments.

With this book, the Transatlantic Council on Migration – together with MPI and the Bertelsmann Stiftung – hopes to deepen the level of knowledge and policy deliberations on migration on both sides of the Atlantic.

**Section I:**  
**The Transatlantic Council on Migration**

# **Council Statement: Rethinking National Identity in the Age of Migration**

The seventh plenary meeting of the  
Transatlantic Council on Migration

*Demetrios G. Papademetriou, Ulrich Kober*

## **Introduction: The Roots of Society’s Anxiety over Immigration**

Large-scale immigration has led to unprecedented levels of diversity around the globe, transforming communities in fundamental ways and challenging long and closely held notions of national identity. In recent years, this rapid demographic transformation has coincided with a set of deeper challenges – first and foremost among them the most severe economic downturn in decades. Political leaders thus find themselves having to navigate a tangled web of complex policy dilemmas – from how to respond to economic insecurity to how to continue to draw benefits from (and make the political case for) globalization, to coming to terms with hybrid identities – all challenges that have caused enormous anxiety and even social unrest.

In the last few years, the backlash against immigration has manifested itself in increasingly vocal criticisms of “multiculturalism.” A chorus of European leaders has claimed that the very policies that aimed to weave societies together have instead split them apart, emphasizing difference rather than building community. And as people fear that the social fabric of their communities may be fraying, they have tightened their grip on the things they hold most dear – their identity, language, culture, and values. In response, many countries have narrowed the rights to residence and citizenship and attempted to more rigidly enforce cultural conformity, taking steps whose (predictable) effect has been to isolate – or, in some cases, penalize – those who fall outside these norms.

The seventh plenary meeting of the Transatlantic Council on Migration brought together high-level officials from Europe and North America in Berlin in November 2011. The Council meeting focused on what policymakers can do to mitigate the disorienting effects of rapid societal change – especially change tied or *perceived to be tied* to immigration – in order to create stronger and more cohesive societies. For governments, both the challenge and opportunity has become to create a new definition of “we” based on a more inclusive idea of national identity and belonging, and to convince the broader society that investing in integration is an investment in shared futures.

Skepticism about immigration – and, in particular, negative public reactions to it – does not always dovetail with the arc of large-scale immigration: Extreme reactions have occurred in places *without* large or sudden increases in the immigrant population. The opposite is also true: Not all places with sizeable or unexpected inflows of immigrants have experienced social disorder. Nor is illegal immigration the main culprit across societies. In fact, anti-immigrant expressions in some countries (e.g., the United States) continue to flourish even in the face of evidence of 40-year lows in illegal flows.

For example, the foreign-born population in the Netherlands has increased by less than 2 percentage points in the past decade, yet the Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) has become the third-largest in the country while campaigning on an anti-Muslim platform.<sup>1</sup> In the same vein, the Swiss referendum to ban minarets passed by over 50 percent in a country with a Muslim population of less than 6 percent (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2010). And, in the United States, the state of Alabama, whose immigrant population hovers under 4 percent,<sup>2</sup> recently passed one of the country’s most

1 See Eurostat 2011. Muslims make up 5.5 percent of the Dutch population. See Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2010.

2 Alabama’s foreign-born population increased from 43,533 in 1990 (1.1 percent of the population) to 168,596 in 2010 (3.5 percent of the population). See Migration Policy Institute Data Hub 2011a.

restrictive immigration laws. This may be evidence of the fact that it is the pace of change and composition of a flow, not the magnitude, which has the greatest effect. Though the state's immigrant population of 168,596 ranked it 33rd among US states in 2010, Alabama experienced the fastest rate of growth in its foreign-born population in the United States between 2000 and 2010 – with 92.1 percent growth compared to the national average of 28.4 percent. More than half of the state's immigrant population is Hispanic, with a sizeable number undoubtedly illegally present.<sup>3</sup>

Elsewhere, however, unprecedented rates of growth in immigration have not given rise to the kinds of anti-immigration reactions one might have expected. In Spain, the foreign-born share of the population soared from 3.6 percent in 2000 to 14 percent in 2010 (Migration Policy Institute Data Hub n.d.; Papademetriou, Sumption, and Terrazas 2011); and, in Ireland, it increased from 7 percent in 1995 to 12.8 percent in 2010 (*ibid.*). Yet, despite rising, if isolated popular reaction to immigration, neither country has produced a political party with an anti-immigrant platform on the national stage.

Finally, immigration itself is typically not the only, or even the most prominent, driver of the anxiety, social unease, and occasional unrest in our societies today, although it is often a contributing factor. More properly, immigration's effects on society are best understood as they interact with several different frames at once:

- A *cultural frame*: the sense of loss of control of the markers of one's identity, namely language, cultural norms, and a basic societal ethos
- A *social frame*: the relative costs to social “constancy” and familiarity that large influxes of newcomers – especially the visibly differ-

3 Migration Policy Institute Data Hub 2011b. Measuring the unauthorized migrant population is an inexact science, especially at the state level. Jeffrey Passel estimates that, in 2010, there were between 75,000 and 160,000 immigrants illegally resident in Alabama. With such a broad range, combined with a high margin of error, we cannot be sure what percentage of the foreign born in the state is illegally resident. See Passel 2011.

ent – entail and fears that neighborhoods cannot quickly adapt to new needs

- *An economic frame*: concerns over the redistribution of public goods and resources, and over the high perceived costs of immigration and integration
- *A political frame*: the public’s loss of confidence in the political classes as well as the sense of loss of sovereignty to supranational bodies, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) or the European Union (EU)
- *A security frame*: the fear that society’s newest members are not committed to their new country and might contribute to social unrest, illegality, crime, and even terrorism.

It is how these different concerns interact with one another – and become *activated* in specific national contexts – that fuels the anxiety that often surrounds immigration and contributes to extremist political views. In this context, immigration has become a visible target over which to exercise control in a time of great uncertainty.

## **The Five Principal Drivers of Anxiety**

### *1. Culture and Loss of Identity*

Many fear that the shared norms and values that bind societies together are weakened when newcomers do not adapt to the host-country language, culture, and identity – and, worse, if they harbor and practice illiberal cultural practices. On both sides of the Atlantic, the perceived cultural and/or linguistic homogeneity of “newcomers” (e.g., Muslims in Europe or Latinos in the United States) are seen as more of a challenge – and more likely to result in emphasis of a sub-culture rather than integration into the mainstream – than would be the case with a genuinely multiethnic wave of immigrants. Visibly and religiously different newcomers are thus thought to undermine

closely held notions of who the “we” is in society, even when they comprise small portions of the foreign-born population.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. *Rapid Pace of Social Change*

Many feel that too much change has occurred too fast, with negative consequences for neighborhoods and entire cities, especially for their overburdened education, health, transportation, and public-safety systems. Countries that had very small foreign-born populations two decades ago (e.g., Spain, Ireland, or Greece) became massive immigration destinations seemingly overnight, with inadequate and/or uneven legal and institutional preparation. And even in countries more accustomed to immigration, workers settled in areas that had not experienced much new immigration for many decades. As suggested earlier, anxiety about immigration is typically associated less with the *absolute numbers* of newcomers than with the *speed of change* and its geographic concentration. As the second generation comes of age in these societies, the question of *who gets to define* societal norms is paramount. While certain mechanisms exist to compel the newly arrived to adapt to the host-country culture and identity (e.g., civic integration and citizenship tests), the ability of the second and third generations to “redefine” the national ethos cannot be impeded.

## 3. *Economics and Inequality*

Unease over the unequal distribution of public goods and resources – especially in the face of sometimes grossly uneven outcomes between the “winners” and “losers” of globalization – have placed new

4 Some recent legislation governing Muslim cultural practices, for example, reflects this: The 2011 ban on wearing burqas that went into effect in Belgium is estimated to apply to as few as 30 women; and even in France, with a Muslim population of approximately 4.7 million, the ban on burqas and niqabs is estimated to apply to 300–2,000 people. See BBC News 2010; *Le Parisien* 2011; and *The Guardian* 2011.

strains on communities, particularly those unaccustomed to accommodating immigrants and minorities. A critical driver of public opinion about immigration is whether immigrants are seen as economic assets or liabilities. But while it is almost impossible to quantify all the economic contributions of immigrants, fiscal costs can be counted more easily – and they frequently tend to be confused with economic effects. Immigrants are often depicted as a financial burden on the host society, contributing to greater unemployment and wage depression, and straining the welfare state – in other words, taking more out of the system than they are contributing to it. Further, publics feel they shoulder not only the short-term costs of immigration, but also the long-term costs of *integration* – and lose sight of the totality of long-term benefits, which are almost always very significant.

Policymakers thus find themselves straddling two contradictory and highly emotive migration debates. One revolves around the economic importance of labor migration – which for countries with long-term low fertility is often stark – and the other around the cultural “costs” of past migration. While little can be done about the latter (other than focusing strongly on education, training, and investment in the civic engagement of the progeny of earlier immigrant waves), the former goes to the core of economic growth and competitiveness, especially in terms of creating a “welcoming culture” that can attract the better-skilled immigrants that competitive economies require.

#### *4. Politics: Low Confidence in Government and Loss of Sovereignty*

With hardly any exceptions, there is extraordinary dissatisfaction with the government elites on both sides of the Atlantic. Even publics with favorable views of immigration in general have negative views about those in charge of managing it, who are seen as either unaware of or indifferent to the effects of immigration on local communities – and on those who globalization leaves behind. The fact that, as a rule, politicians are deeply reticent to hold regular conversations with their publics about immigration – only engaging the issue when things go



wrong – leaves the impression that no one is in control. Finally, the steady loss of sovereign control over the issue to seemingly “unaccountable” supranational bodies with a growing reach on immigration decisions further fuels popular distrust, at least in some quarters.

### 5. *Security and Social Unrest*

Publics want to believe there is a steady hand holding the reins of the immigration system. What is most destabilizing is when public expectations of how much – and what kind – of immigration to expect diverge from reality, which in turn leads people to perceive the immigration system as “out of control.” Highly publicized and often inflated accounts of illegality are brandished by opportunistic politicians, especially on the far right. Meanwhile, hard data demonstrating the success of enforcement efforts tend to fall on deaf ears. Immigration’s perceived link to crime – and, even more worrisome, to terrorism – completes the circle of fear and anxiety. Trust in the system can only be restored if everyone in society can see and understand the rules governing immigration *and* be confident that they will be enforced.

### **Conclusions: Creating the Conditions for Cohesive Societies**

Integration will have “succeeded” when immigrants and their children have equal opportunities to compete for the same economic outcomes and can participate in civic and political life on the same basis as their native counterparts. To achieve this, states must invest in both targeted and mainstream policies in the two most important loci of integration: workplaces and schools. But there is also an intangible factor in all this: the *feeling* of belonging. States, working closely with civil society, have the responsibility to lay the foundation for immigrants to be seen as important contributors to society and to consistently and systematically reinforce this message; to create level playing fields in which everyone is treated equally and no one faces barriers to school or work; and to identify and reinforce shared values and norms.

# About the Transatlantic Council on Migration

The Transatlantic Council on Migration – formally launched in the beginning of 2008 as an initiative of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) – is a unique deliberative and advisory body that aims to have a tangible, measurable impact on migration and immigrant integration policy on both sides of the Atlantic. As such, it provides a mechanism for forward-looking, sustained discussions among four groups – senior policymakers, leading global migration experts, political leaders, and civil-society/private-sector stakeholders – who would not otherwise come together to deliberate on policy.

The Council has a dual mission:

- To help inform the transatlantic immigration and integration agenda and promote better-informed policymaking by proactively identifying critical policy issues, analyzing them in light of the best research, and bringing them to public attention.
- To serve as a resource for governments as they grapple with the challenges and opportunities associated with international migration. Council members representing governments (and other governments, as appropriate) are encouraged to bring policy initiatives to the Council so that they can be analyzed, vetted, and improved before implementation – and/or evaluated after they have been executed.

The Council has pursued evidence-based policy recommendations on migration and integration primarily through the following three vehicles: 1) formal meetings designed to foster forward-looking discus-

sions among policymakers, opinion leaders, and experts; 2) direct consultations with governments and government institutions to manage migration more effectively, including informal discussions with key decision makers; 3) publications and the public dissemination of Council conclusions.

## **Support and Membership**

The Council's work is generously supported by the following foundations and governments: Carnegie Corporation of New York, Open Society Foundations, Bertelsmann Stiftung (Policy Partner), the Barrow Cadbury Trust (UK Policy Partner), the Luso-American Development Foundation, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, and the governments of Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, and Sweden.

The permanent Council members are: Giuliano Amato, former Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior in Italy; Michael Chertoff, former US Secretary of Homeland Security and now senior of counsel at Covington & Burling LLP; the Rt. Hon. Charles Clarke, former member of the British Parliament (1997–2010) and former Home Secretary (2004–2006); Ana Palacio, founding partner of Palacio y Asociados and formerly Parliamentarian of the European Union, Foreign Minister of Spain, and Senior Vice President and General Counsel of the World Bank; Trevor Phillips, Chairman of the UK Commission on Equality and Human Rights; Rita Süßmuth, former President (Speaker) of the German Bundestag (1988–1998) and twice leader of Germany's Independent Commissions on Immigration and on Integration in the first half of the last decade; and Antonio Vitorino, partner in the international law firm Gonçalves Pereira, Castelo Branco & Associados, former European Commissioner for Justice and Home Affairs (1999–2004) and former Deputy Prime Minister of Portugal.

The Council is convened by MPI President Demetrios G. Papademetriou.

## **Council Meetings**

The full Council meets twice annually, and all meetings are held under the Chatham House Rule. Smaller preparatory and expert sessions are held prior to each meeting.

Extraordinary meetings of interested Council members are convened in the capital of the country that is consulting the Council at any one time. Such meetings focus on issues of particular concern to the host country and/or are in response to an immigration crisis.

Papers commissioned for the November 2011 Council meeting, which was held in Berlin, are presented in this volume.

More information about the Council and its membership, operations, and publications can be found at: [www.migrationpolicy.org/transatlantic](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/transatlantic).

## About the Authors

*Joaquín Arango* is Professor of Sociology at the Complutense University of Madrid and Director of the Center for the Study of Migration and Citizenship at the Ortega y Gasset Research Institute. Until May 2012, he was President of Spain's National Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants.

He is Co-Editor of the *Spanish Immigration and Immigration Policies Yearbook* and serves on the editorial boards of several scientific journals and a number of advisory committees. He is presently involved in European research projects dealing with irregular migration, the impact of admission policies on immigrant integration, attitudes toward immigration and diversity, and domestic migrant workers. He has worked as an expert for the European Commission, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Eurostat, and other international institutions.

Trained as a demographer and economic historian at the University of California, Berkeley, and as a sociologist at the Complutense University, his scientific interests include migration theories, migration systems and regimes, immigration and integration policies, labor migration, and the impacts of the economic crisis.

*Irene Bloemraad* is Associate Professor in Sociology and the Thomas Garden Barnes Chair of Canadian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, as well as a Scholar with the Canadian Institute for Ad-

vanced Research. Her work examines the intersection of immigration and politics, with emphasis on citizenship, immigrants' political and civic participation, and multiculturalism.

Her research has appeared in academic journals spanning the fields of sociology, political science, history, and ethnic/migration studies. Her books include the recently published *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America* (edited with Kim Voss, University of California Press, 2011), *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement* (edited with Karthick Ramakrishnan, Russell Sage Foundation Press, 2008), and *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada* (University of California Press, 2006), which won an honorable mention for the Thomas and Znaniecki Award for best book published in the previous two years from the American Sociological Association's International Migration section.

*Jörg Dräger*, born in 1968, Jörg Dräger studied physics and business administration at the University of Hamburg before transferring to Cornell University in New York State, where he received his M.Sc. and Ph.D. in theoretical physics. During his time in Cornell (1991–1996), he served as an academic assistant while completing his studies and doctoral thesis.

He began his professional career 1996 at the management consulting firm Roland Berger in Frankfurt/Main. In 1998, he returned to Hamburg to become executive director of the newly founded Northern Institute of Technology, a private institute of higher education that focuses on international MBA programs.

From 2001 to 2008, he served as Hamburg's (politically independent) Minister of Science and Research and was a member of Germany's Permanent Conference of Educational Ministers as well as deputy representative to the Bundesrat, the federal body that represents the German states at the national level. From 2004 to 2006, he also held the office of Minister of Health and Consumer Protection in Hamburg.

Since July 1, 2008, he has been a member of the Bertelsmann Stiftung Executive Board where he is responsible for the program areas of education, integration and democracy. He also serves as Executive Director of the CHE Centre for Higher Education. In January 2012, Dräger was appointed Adjunct Professor for Public Management at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin.

*Thomas Hylland Eriksen* is Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo and was Research Manager of Cultural Complexity in the New Norway (CULCOM), a major interdisciplinary research program, from 2004 to 2010.

His research has mainly dealt with the cultural implications of globalization, ethnicity, nationalism, and identity politics more broadly conceived. His most recent books in English are *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 3rd edition (2010); *Small Places, Large Issues*, 3rd edition (2010); *Globalization: The Key Concepts* (2007); and the co-edited volumes *A World of Insecurity: Anthropology and Human Security* (2010) and *Paradoxes of Cultural Recognition* (2009).

*Naika Foroutan* is Assistant Professor of Social Sciences at Humboldt University Berlin, where she heads the Volkswagen research project “Hybrid European-Muslim Identity-Models” (HEYMAT). She also works as a freelance analyst for radio and television on topics such as political Islam, politics in the Middle East, migration, integration, hybridity, and anti-Muslim racism.

Dr. Foroutan currently also heads a project entitled “The Young Islam Conference” (JIK). A mixture of lectures, workshops, and a simulation game that enables around 50 students to get to know the German Islam Conference, the most important forum between the German state and Muslims living in Germany. This project is being conducted in cooperation with the Mercator Foundation and with support from the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

In the past, she has taught seminars at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen in different disciplines, including international relations, political systems, political theory, and the politics of identity.

She wrote her dissertation on intercultural dialogues between the West and the Islamic world. Her current work focuses on nation-states transforming into countries of immigration as well as their migration and integration policies, with a particular focus on people with a Muslim background as agents of change and on the politics of identity around the topic of hybridity.

*Michael Jones-Correa* is Professor of Government at Cornell University and is team leader for the 2010–2013 theme project “Immigration: Settlement, Immigration and Membership” at the Institute for the Social Sciences at Cornell.

Professor Jones-Correa is co-author of *Latinos in the New Millennium* (Cambridge, 2012) and *Latino Lives in America: Making It Home* (Temple, 2010); author of *Between Two Nations: The Political Predicament of Latinos in New York City* (Cornell, 1998); editor of *Governing American Cities: Inter-Ethnic Coalitions, Competition and Conflict* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2001); a co-principal investigator for the 2006 Latino National Survey; as well as author of more than two dozen articles and chapters on immigration, race, ethnicity, and citizenship in the United States.

He was a Visiting Fellow at the Russell Sage Foundation in 1998–1999, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in 2003–2004, and the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics at Princeton University in 2009–2010. In 2004–2005, he served on the Committee on the Redesign of US Naturalization Test for the National Academy of Sciences. In 2009, he was elected Vice President of the American Political Science Association and, in 2010–2012, he was appointed to the American National Election Studies (ANES) Board of Overseers.

*Christian Joppke* holds a Chair in Sociology at the University of Bern, Switzerland. He received a PhD in sociology from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1989. Previously, he taught at the University of Southern California, European University Institute, University of British Columbia, International University Bremen (since renamed



Jacobs University), and the American University of Paris. He has also held research fellowships at Georgetown University and the Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

Among his recent books are *Citizenship and Immigration* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010), *Veil: Mirror of Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2009), and *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005).

*Ulrich Kober* is Program Director in the area of Integration and Education at the Bertelsmann Stiftung's headquarters in Germany. He has been with the Bertelsmann Stiftung since 2000. One of the most prominent projects for which Mr. Kober has been responsible was a federal competition on innovative integration projects. This competition was initiated by the then President of Germany, Johannes Rau. It resulted in the identification and dissemination of best practice on integration. It also promoted the positive aspects of integration and social cohesion in Germany. He was responsible for the 2008 Carl Bertelsmann Prize, which was awarded to the Toronto District School Board for its excellence and equity policy.

Mr. Kober was a member of the Catholic Jesuit order and has worked in various fields of education and integration. From 1991 to 2000, he was a Research Assistant for European migration policy at the Jesuit European Office in Brussels, Director of a civic education center in Dresden, and a secondary-school teacher in Berlin and Medellín, Colombia. He held study grants from the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (1983–1991) and of the German Academic Exchange Service/DAAD (1995–1996). He has a master's in theology from the University of Munich and a master's in sociology from the London School of Economics.

*Monique Kremer* is a Research Fellow at the Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid) and the University of Amsterdam. She published extensively on comparative welfare states before becoming interested in issues of integration, migration, and development policy. Currently, she is

working on the paradoxical relationship between migration and the welfare state. She is also an editor of "Policy and Society" (*Beleid en Maatschappij*) and of the series *Care and Welfare* of Amsterdam University Press.

*Will Kymlicka* is the Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy in the Philosophy Department at Queen's University in Kingston, Canada, where he has taught since 1998. His research interests focus on issues of democracy and diversity and, in particular, on models of citizenship and social justice within multicultural societies. He has published eight books and over 200 articles, which have been translated into 32 languages, and has received several awards, most recently the 2009 Premier's Discovery Award in the Social Sciences.

He is Co-Director, along with Keith Banting, of the Multiculturalism Policy Index project, which monitors the evolution of MCPs across the Western democracies. The MCP Index project is designed to provide information about MCPs in a standardized format that aids comparative research and contributes to the understanding of state-minority relations.

Born and raised in Canada, he was educated at Queen's and Oxford University, and held positions at various Canadian, American, and European universities before moving to Queen's. He is also a recurrent visiting professor in the Nationalism Studies program at the Central European University in Budapest.

*Cas Mudde* is Assistant Professor in the Department of International Affairs at the University of Georgia. Previously, he taught at DePauw University, Central European University in Budapest, the University of Edinburgh, and the University of Antwerp. He has also been a Visiting Scholar at Universita Karlova (Czech Republic), Academia Istrapolitana Nova (Slovakia), University Jaume I (Spain) and, in the United States, at New York University, the University of California Santa Barbara, the University of Oregon, and the University of Notre Dame.

The bulk of his academic work has been in the broad field of extremism and democracy, and he is involved in various projects on

populism, focusing particularly on the relationship between various types of populism and liberal democracy worldwide. He has started a research project that examines how liberal democracies can defend themselves against extremist challenges without undermining their core values.

Dr. Mudde is the author of *The Ideology of the Extreme Right* (Manchester University Press, 2000) and *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). He has edited or co-edited five volumes, including *Racist Extremism in Central and Eastern Europe* (Routledge, 2005), *Western Democracies and the New Extreme Right Challenge* (Routledge, 2004), and *Uncivil Society? Contentious Politics in Post-Communist Europe* (Routledge, 2003). His co-edited volume *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Corrective or Threat to Democracy?* will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2012.

He received his master's degree and PhD from Leiden University in the Netherlands.

*Demetrios G. Papademetriou* is President and Co-Founder of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), a think tank dedicated exclusively to the study of international migration. He is also President of the Migration Policy Institute Europe, a nonprofit, independent research institute in Brussels that aims to promote a better understanding of migration trends and effects within Europe. He is also the convener of the Transatlantic Council on Migration, which is composed of senior public figures, business leaders, and public intellectuals from Europe, the United States, and Canada.

Dr. Papademetriou has served as Chair of the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Migration (2009–2011); Chair of the Migration Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); Director for Immigration Policy and Research at the US Department of Labor; Chair of the Secretary of Labor's Immigration Policy Task Force; and Executive Editor of the *International Migration Review*.

He has published more than 250 books, articles, monographs, and research reports on migration topics and advises senior government

and political party officials in more than 20 countries (including numerous European Union member states while they hold the rotating EU presidency).

His most recent books include *Migration and the Great Recession: The Transatlantic Experience* (co-author and co-editor, 2011); *Immigration Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany: Negotiating Membership and Remaking the Nation* (co-author, 2010); and *Europe and its Immigrants in the 21st Century: A New Deal or a Continuing Dialogue of the Deaf?* (2006, editor and author).

He holds a PhD in comparative public policy and international relations (1976) and has taught at the universities of Maryland, Duke, American, and the New School for Social Research.

*Shamit Saggat* has been Professor of Political Science at the University of Sussex since 2004 and a board member of the Solicitors Regulation Authority (SRA).

After earning a PhD in government from the University of Essex, Dr. Saggat's academic career has spanned the University of Liverpool, Queen Mary – University of London, and the University of Sussex. He was a Harkness Fellow at UCLA, 1993–1994; a Yale World Fellow, 2003–2004; and a Visiting Professor of Public Policy at the University of Toronto, 2008–2009.

Between 2001 and 2003, Dr. Saggat was Senior Policy Advisor within the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit in the Cabinet Office.

He has held a number of nonexecutive and board membership posts, including with the Financial Services Authority, the Association of British Insurers, the Accountancy Foundation, the Peabody Trust, the National Consumer Council, and the Better Regulation Commission.

*Patrick Simon* is Director of Research at the Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) and is a fellow researcher at the Center for European Studies (CEE) at Sciences Po. He was a Visiting Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation and a Fulbright Fellow in 2010–2011.

Trained as a sociodemographer at L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS), where he earned a doctoral degree in 1994, he has studied social and ethnic segregation in French cities, antidiscrimination policies, and the integration of ethnic minorities in European countries. He is one of the principal investigators of a large survey *Trajectories and Origins: The Diversity of Population in France*, conducted by INED and the Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE).

He teaches political science at Sciences Po, with a focus on ethnic minorities, integration, and discrimination. He has worked as an expert for the European Commission, Eurostat, the Council of Europe, and the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

*Will Somerville* is a Senior Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) in the international program. He is also the UK Director for Unbound Philanthropy, a global grant-making foundation, and advises several international and UK-based philanthropic foundations.

Prior to joining MPI in 2006, Mr. Somerville worked at the Commission for Racial Equality, the Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion, the UK Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office, and the Institute for Public Policy Research.

He has authored over 60 policy papers, chapters, and journal articles. His most recent book is *Immigration under New Labour* (Policy Press, 2007). He is also a contributor to *The Guardian*.

He holds a first-class degree from Leeds University and a master's, with distinction, in social policy from the London School of Economics. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (RSA).