The politics of immigration in multi-level states: governance and political parties

Sheila Croucher

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The book draws attention to the *variety* of historical situations among indigenous peoples. There is the recency of exposure of some peoples to modem influences – the Innu still having collective memory of quite traditional ways of life held by living elders. This is opposed to other indigenous people who have long since been swallowed up by settler advances and for whom cultural revitalization from the remaining shreds is resultantly difficult. The newly colonized peoples are often right in the heart of the current aggressive push of resource-greedy capitalism into some of the remaining margins of the settled world.

A more systematic comparative treatment would have enhanced the book: one example of a useful comparison that might otherwise become lost in all the detail was the observation that where there is a higher proportion of teachers who are indigenous, better outcomes seem to result. A more systematic treatment, too, might better help order Samson's avalanche of points, which can become overwhelming at times. The way forward in future studies might include much more systematic comparative treatment of the experiences of different peoples: for example, those with more limited natural resources might be less subject to predation and therefore remain in better shape. A broad area that needs to be examined is that of world views (including schooling) and religions (including mission stations), which Samson only occasionally alludes to. The minds of many indigenous peoples are thoroughly 'Christianized' and if the absence of discussion suggests that the weight of Christianity and modern education on the Innu is light, this bears comparative examination. Even so, Samson has more than adequately achieved his objective of peeling back the ignorance (supported by Western cultural arrogance) concerning indigenous peoples and the attack on cultural diversity. Presumably less well-endowed communities are subject to fewer pressures on their land.

Charles Crothers
School of Social Sciences, Auckland University of Technology
Auckland, New Zealand
charles.crothers@aut.ac.nz

Humans are migrating across international borders at unprecedented speeds and distances, and resident populations of many immigrant-receiving locales throughout the world respond to this mobility with nativism and xenophobia. Transnational and supra-state formations challenge the autonomy of the modern nation state from above, and various units at the local, regional and sub-state level challenge it from below. The cultural, political and economic convergence that stems from growing global interconnectedness exists alongside persistent –and, in many cases, fortified – attachment to various forms of territorial identification and differentiation. Editors Eve Hepburn and Ricard Zapata-Barrero, and their fellow contributors, wade into

this morass with a wealth of collective knowledge and impressive analytical precision.

The book – a product of focused, sustained collaboration – examines immigration in multi-level states and does so through the distinct but related lenses of governance and political parties. A diverse group of scholars bring multiple methods to bear on a range of cases, including Belgium, Canada, Italy, Spain, the UK and the Netherlands. The result is an edited volume that coheres well and brings a much-needed multilevel perspective to what is indeed 'one of the most contested issues in advanced democracies' (3).

The book is divided into three parts. Part One, consisting of three chapters, lays out the guiding conceptual framework. In chapter one, the introduction, the editors concisely situate the volume within the relevant academic debates, explain the book's aim and approach, and introduce the contributions that follow. Chapter two provides a theoretical framework for understanding the governance dimension of immigration in multi-level states, and chapter three lays out a framework for studying the dynamics of party competition in the area of immigration. These two conceptual chapters guide the subsequent analyses that comprise Part Two (Governance) and Part Three (Political Parties) of the book. This interrelated focus on governance and political parties aims to capture, respectively, the structure and agency aspects of immigration politics.

The heuristic model for approaching immigration policies and multi-level governance presented in chapter two is multifaceted and far-reaching. Drawing inspiration from Robert Dahl's 1961, *Who Governs?*, Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Fiona Barker maintain that the classic tension between 'who decides' and 'who does' in politics is especially complex in the area of immigration in multi-level systems as sub-state and central state units may be equally involved in decision-making and bring conflicting policy preferences in high-stakes areas such as national identity and linguistic interests. As such, the authors proceed to map a detailed framework of 'driving forces', underlying 'principles' and potential 'scenarios' to apply to immigration governance in multi-level states. Grasping the intricate linkages between the various factors and relationships that comprise this model demands careful concentration from the reader, but, ultimately, the hypotheses that are generated are what one would expect. For example, a centralist governance scenario is a more likely outcome in the areas of citizenship or immigrant admission policy given the sovereignty concerns of central states. Meanwhile, decentralized governance is more common in the realm of immigrant reception – an area that poses less of a challenge to central state sovereignty.

In chapter three, Eve Hepburn turns the focus from the structure of immigration politics and policymaking to agency. In an era of spatial rescaling, power has devolved to sub-state areas, and these sub-state regions often have distinct policy agendas, particularly in the area of immigration. Hepburn presents a framework for explaining the sometimes divergent positioning of regional and statewide parties on the issue of immigration. Consisting of seven explanatory factors – demography, economy, linguistic and cultural barriers, party ideology, electoral system, party polarization, and policy control over immigration – the framework generates fourteen hypotheses designed to account for party competition in multi-level states. As is the case with the conceptual work of chapter two, these hypotheses inform the empirical chapters to follow.

Part Two, the governance section of the book, includes five chapters exploring a range of cases. The Belgian case confirms that a lack of intergovernmental coordination weakens policy efficiency. The Catalan case conforms to a central assumption of the governance model in chapter two that tension around who governs is intensified in a context of rival nation-building projects. Italy illustrates that variance across diverse regions complicates policymaking and poses particular challenges for immigrant integration; and in the Netherlands, it is clear that local-level immigration policies do not necessarily accord with central state policies.

Part Three also includes five chapters, but shifts the focus to the agents of immigration politics. An examination of regions in Germany and Italy reveals how socio-economics and political culture shape political party approaches to immigration. Belgium and Canada provide an intriguing contrast in that the main party in Quebec courts the immigrant vote, but in Belgium immigrant opposition is at the core of party politics. Scotland and Catalonia confirm how party stances on immigration shape nationalist discourse. Finally, after 284 pages of wide-ranging analysis, the breadth and depth of which cry out for a comprehensive conclusion, the editors provide one that is informative without being repetitive.

This is an ambitious project and, as the editors note numerous times, their subject matter and approach are complex and extensive. Fortunately, clear writing and careful organization of the text lends needed cohesion to analysis that might otherwise have become unwieldy. Although admittedly a potential minefield, clarification of the terms 'nation' and 'national' would have been useful since these terms are used repeatedly and sometimes inconsistently throughout the text. ('National' is at points a referent to the central state government and at other points a descriptor for sub-state attachments.) Ultimately, the focus is almost exclusively on Western Europe, and the contributors are overwhelmingly political scientists, but there are insights to be gleaned that should prove useful to other cases outside of Europe and to scholars in other disciplinary fields working on the topic of immigration.

Sheila Croucher

American Studies, Miami University, Oxford, OH, USA

crouchsl@miamioh.edu

John Stone and Polly Rizova's *Racial Conflict in Global Society* effectively employs a neo-Weberian approach to survey various forms of contemporary ethnic, racial, national and religious social conflict across the globe. In this instructive, nimble, across-the-board analysis, Stone and Rizova append additional theoretical substance to Stone's (1985) early work, *Racial Conflict in Contemporary Society*, addressing more recent developments of social conflict and presenting an analytic framework of group conflict that takes advantage of Max Weber's conceptual themes and theoretical insights. By incorporating a multidimensional neo-Weberian perspective, Stone and