Immigration and Politics in the New Europe

Reinventing Borders

With almost a quarter of the world's migrants, Europe has been attempting to regulate migration and harmonize immigration policy at the European level. The central dilemma exposed in this book is how liberal democracies can reconcile the need to control the movement of people with the desire to promote open borders, free markets, and liberal standards. Gallya Lahav's book traces public opinion and elite attitudes toward immigration cross-nationally and over time to show how and why increasing EU integration may not necessarily lead to more open immigration outcomes. Empirical evidence reveals that support from both elite and public opinion has led to the adoption of restrictive immigration policies despite the requirements of open borders. Unique in bringing together a rich source of original data on European legislators and national elites, longitudinal data on public opinion, and institutional and policy analyses, this study provides an important insight into the processes of European integration, and globalization more broadly.

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This book is dedicated:
to the beloved memory of my fathers – Eitan Lahav and Paul Rosenband – whose lives' lessons left me with many questions;
to my parents, Eva and Mike Meyerowitz, and Rosalie Rosenband – who occupy so much of the discourse;
and, especially, to the answers – my Michael and Odeya.

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Preface and acknowledgments

Max Weber, the preeminent social scientist, once said that all scientific inquiry begins with a modicum of subjectivity – merely in the researcher's choice of topic. It is upon this recognition that one can proceed to the true objectivity necessary for scientific investigation. For me, the journey into immigration scholarship took root in my first one-way plane trip from Israel to the United States as a child. It resurfaced over years of shuttling back and forth, and finding a personal safe haven in the middle – Europe – where I could recreate the foreigner context anew. The immigrant story is remarkably familiar to a significant number of immigration researchers I have encountered over the years, and so it is natural that the spin and interpretations we bring to the fore vary so greatly.

This inquiry on immigration attitudes in Europe has its earliest intellectual origins in my initial graduate training at the London School of Economics. Set among the dynamic intellectual commons at Holborn, the LSE provided me with the opportunity to have observer and subject status at one and the same time. From the vantage point of a foreign student in London, and later Paris, where I conducted my thesis work, I had been privy to the fact that Europe had become a multiracial, multiethnic, and multicultural society, perhaps unwittingly, perhaps unacceptingly. But one thing was clear: it lacked a corresponding set of attitudes that resembled the American-pioneered "melting-pot" spirit. What was the common European myth?

At the risk either of appearing to be confused about causal direction or, worse, of being grandiose, I would say that the salience of immigration on the international scene grew with my increasing interest in the issue. In 1986, when I completed my master's work, Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's anti-immigrant extreme-right party, took a seat along with thirty-three other ministers in the Assemblée nationale. In the United Kingdom, where I then lived, Margaret Thatcher, the neo-conservative who in 1979 stole the thunder from her right flank with her "swamped by foreigners" speech, was soon to enjoy her third mandate. Over the years, I have observed similar trends mirrored throughout Europe. One thing

became clear: immigration posed a serious dilemma to liberal democracies. It confounded policy-makers who were forced to deal with the increasing agitation of their publics, and with the reality that many foreigners had become permanent residents.

The immigration issue that has evolved over recent years has been further compounded by the increasing insecurity of the changing world. In Europe, immigration has reintroduced cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity at a time when Europeans are witnessing a challenge to the very idea of their nation-state. In the process of finding collective solutions to issues such as immigration, the construction of Europe both unleashes and exposes the deep-seated cultural and political differences on sensitive topics such as immigration, which tap into the core of identity and belonging.

In 1992, the year that touted "Europe 1992" and the completion of a single market "frontier-free" Europe, I took all my theories and conjectures to the hustle-and-bustle streets of Europe. Though I had great resolve to talk to Europe's newly thriving elites in Brussels and Strasbourg about their ideas and understanding of immigration, many of the lessons I was to learn were also unspoken and had to be inferred. One day, on my regular path back from the European Parliament in Brussels, my temporary home, I was struck by the writing on the wall. As I turned the corner of the Grand-place, the central square of Brussels, I saw the unmistakable signs of smoldering social and political unrest: the graffiti that screamed at me (in a snapshot that has sat on my desk every day since) "Immigrés Dehors" – Immigrants Out!! It was the context that impressed me most. It was the young African man passing in front, and glaring almost matter-of-factly; it was Beethoven's 9th Symphony ("Ode to Joy") playing so elegantly and all those beautifully dressed Europeans speaking a cacophony of languages, and those modern buildings superimposed onto a background of stone-paved streets and turn-of-the-sixteenth-century buildings and monuments. In the heart of one of the most cosmopolitan cities of Europe, where the capital of the European Union adorns itself with institutions such as the European Parliament and the Commission, I found one of the most daunting challenges: how can Europe, immersed in the processes of European integration and globalization, deal with the human implications of open borders? Indeed, in the streets of Europe, "the writing was on the wall."

In search of the discourse that captured the range and depth of ideas on immigration, I spent considerable time talking to members of the European Parliament, national elites, media people, experts, and colleagues about the paradoxes unfolding in their midst. It is difficult to exaggerate my indebtedness for a project which possessed me so

passionately. I hope to compensate by not appearing underappreciative or shortsighted.

The research for this book was conducted in three parts, and owes its debts to many different people and institutions – unfortunately far too many to mention, but that all nevertheless deserve credit. The construction and implementation of the survey questionnaire with members of the European Parliament and field work itself formed the basis of my doctoral dissertation. It has resulted in one part of the book, and one part of my thinking. Spanning five different European cities and New York, it owes a debt to a very great number of people, who assisted me in some form along the way. Most of them only now realize the importance of their impact – and some never will.

At the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, Christa Altenstetter, Miri Bitton, Bernard E. Brown, Mitchell Cohen, Jill Simone Gross, Hugo Kaufmann, W. Ofuatey Kodjoe, Stanley Renshon, and Henry Wasser contributed to my growth as a scholar and in some form provided me with either moral, intellectual, or organizational support to launch my project. Arthur Goldberg was instrumental in the creation and revisions of both the research design and the survey, and we shared mutual delight in cultivating the fruits of these scientific instruments and watching them ripen. Laurance Bressler personally made the implementation possible; he saw me through the toughest times, and his role transcended the project itself.

In Europe, there were many people who physically, psychologically, and spiritually helped get this project off the ground. Among them are my former teachers and classmates at the LSE, all my great friends who sheltered me or participated in the whirlwind and weight of my research. They include Jennifer Decker, the deBendern/Jurdant/Davis family, and many others, who continue to grow beside me as we turn to new chapters, and as our perspectives develop. Gilles Guilbert fastidiously listened for hours to my sometimes badly spoken French, and worked to make sense out of the interviews by translating much of the data.

And, of course, there are the multitudes of (and particular) people at the European Parliament itself, whose voices can be heard throughout the book, but who for obvious reasons must remain anonymous. Members of the European Parliament shuttle from Brussels to Strasbourg to their home countries; from committee meetings to party group meetings, to national party group committees, to the Hemicycle for voting or question time, to press events, and conferences. The receptivity and participation of so many MEPs, and the active involvement of their assistants, were truly encouraging and inspiring about this democratic forum emerging in Europe. The support and insights of MEPs Rinaldo

Bontempi, Bruno Boissiere, and Bill Newton Dunn irrevocably altered my beliefs in politics and the human spirit. Their generosity and guidance changed this project and my perspective fundamentally and certainly more than can be expressed. Additionally, Antonio Cruz of *Migration News Sheet*, Jan Niessen of the Migration Policy Group, Massimo Pastore, and many other party and media leaders were wonderful sources of information.

Attempting to schedule interviews with members of the European Parliament proved an invaluable and concrete lesson in political culture at work. MEPs have many overlapping interests; however, each orders those interests somewhat differently. Party traditions and ideological principles clearly affect style. Just as the MEPs themselves have collective interests, but individual variations, the Parliament is a forum bringing together a varied but representative group of European elites on a macro-level: a mélange of economists, bankers, civil servants, industrialists, intellectuals, lawyers, judges, scientists, and professional politicians. In all my months at the EP, both in Strasbourg and in Brussels, my conversations with them gave life and meaning to the concept of political culture. Understanding how these political culture indicators affect the variant modes of behavior provided insight into the core issues that questions like immigration raise during these changing times.

But this was only one part of the story. Had I left it there, I would have concluded what many traditional analyses and pundits have suggested, namely that elites (especially those found in ascendant institutions such as the EP) are more progressive and liberal than their diffuse public counterparts. In a second life for the project, I set out to figure out why despite all the differences among elites and policy-makers, and the incredible progress of European integration, immigration policy harmonization was proceeding so guardedly, with outcomes that were far from liberal.

The second part of this research involved extensive data collection and sifting through large Eurobarometer data sets of public opinion. The enormous time consumption and methodological prowess required would not have been possible without the resourcefulness of Joseph Bafumi, whose skills, methodological and intellectual integrity, and perseverance were unsurpassed. Without him, this book would have all looked so different. I am also grateful to Ronald Inglehart and the ICPSR at the University of Michigan, as well as Wesleyan University, for making the data available and digestible.

The third part of this project consisted of intellectual soul-searching, and tracking policy changes that seemed to make the work a moving target. It was the most tortuous, and certainly least indulgent, part, given the quiet walls, computer problems, and lack of sumptuous cafes and pubs.

But it was equally rewarding, and still full of much fortunate support from many people to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude, ranging from computer technicians to Starbucks clerks in the nick of time. While they may remain nameless, they are not forgettable. Hearty thanks also go to my invaluable research assistants at SUNY Stony Brook, Michele Baer, Kate Freitas, Jungseok Kim, and Michael Pisa, who diligently and resourcefully accompanied me at various points of the project.

It was a combination of many people along these three stages that brought this book and me to its deliverance. In this field of enormous interdisciplinary expertise, I have been particularly fortunate to be exposed to the work of sociologists, historians, economists, and demographers – too numerous to mention, but important nonetheless. I found them at the German American Academic Council's (GAAC) two-summer institute in New York and Berlin, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC)/Mellon Foundation, the Center for European Studies at Harvard University, the Center for European Studies at New York University, the European University Institute in Florence – all places where I have been graciously supported and hosted, either with funding and/or shelter.

In this context, I also need to mention the special role of the Population Division of the United Nations, headed by Mr. Joseph Chamie, who hired me for my research expertise. Ironically, I found myself one of the sole political scientists in a demographer's world, and so the learning went both ways. This ongoing relationship has given me new insights into the work that political scientists conduct on migration. I am thankful to Jofred Grinblat, Marta Roig, and Ellen Brennan for keeping me abreast of the substance of our study and for their friendship, and particularly to Hania Zlotnik for showing me the intricate ropes of demographic analysis.

Many have reacted to my arguments and have given me important comments on various works that helped me shape and hone my ideas over the years – and they have become friends in the process. They include Steven Brams, Pauline Cullen, Adrian Favell, Miriam Feldblum, Stanley Feldman, Mark Fischle, Nancy Foner, Terri Givens, Jim Hollifield, Leonie Huddy, Patrick Ireland, Christian Joppke, Rey Koslowski, Mark Miller, Jeannette Money, Rainer Münz, Peter Rutland, Yossi Shain, Karen Stenner, John Torpey, Emek Uçarer, Sarah Wayland, and Patrick Weil.

Over the years, my thinking has evolved, as I have been forced to convince students and colleagues at Wellesley College, Wesleyan University, SUNY Stony Brook, and many others I visited for a far shorter time of the import of this subject. I have benefited from the feedback, and from the lessons taught back to me.

There are a few teachers, colleagues, and friends who, after their reading and re-reading, in some cases spoke more for friendship than "duty"; they will understand their contribution. I am enormously grateful to Phil Cerny, Shari Cohen, Gary Freeman, Carol Gordon, Virginie Guiraudon, Anthony Messina, Kathy Moon, and Mark Schneider for their wisdom and time taken out to give me invaluable comments and guidance. It is difficult to thank Aristide Zolberg for bringing political scientists such as myself to immigration study without also thinking of the greater impact he has made on me generally. It is also not easy to express appropriate gratitude to two people who exceeded all labels and functions of assistance: Asher Arian and Marty Schain were my mentors, my friends, and my human voice of wisdom. Their contributions to this work include all stages of the project's development and more. I am grateful to Asher Arian, my dissertation advisor and guide, for without him the miracle on 42nd Street would not have taken place. Special thanks to John Haslam and his editorial staff, Ashlene Aylward, Karen Anderson Howes, Mike Leach, Karen Matthews, and Jackie Warren at Cambridge University Press for facilitating the transformation of this manuscript into a book. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers for awe-inspiring comments that made the ultimate difference. Hopefully, the book speaks to the length of all of their lessons digested. I absolve them all from any responsibility for what remain of my original obstinacies and errors.

On a personal level, I owe my deepest gratitude to my immediate and extended family (my dear friends and neighbors), who shall remain nameless lest I overlook anyone. Many have ridden in tandem with me over time and space – both mental and emotional – and I am so very lucky to have them, I know. I have learned the true meaning of resilience and strength of spirit from my parents, Dr. Eitan Lahav and Eva and Mike Meyerowitz, and my grandparents, Mina and Mordechai Mintz. My mother especially, who put me on this immigrant path, has provided me with the chance to realize my fullest potential, to set goals, and to have visions. I would also like to express special thanks to my sisters, Alona and Marna, their husbands, David Liebling and Eyal Agmon, and the younger generation of the family, Jonathan, Courtney, Dustin, Storm, Neta, Hadar, and Danielle. They have helped put it all in perspective. Rosalie and Paul Rosenband and Debra, Jeff, Joshua, and Leah Franklin have expanded my world of encouragement and support. On the home front, Charles "Danny" Santos made a lot of this possible, and I am enormously grateful. My husband Dr. Michael Rosenband and my divine daughter Odeya stand, like this project, as a testament to the role of perseverance, wonder, and faith in my life.