



**UCD School of Politics and International Relations  
Humanities Institute, UCD Belfield**

**Norface Seminar Series  
The Challenge of Immigration for Smaller  
Countries of Europe, 7-8 December 2006**



**NORFACE**  
ERA-NET

# The Challenge of Immigration for Smaller Countries of Europe

## Programme

### *Thursday 7 December*

2.45 – 4.15 pm

Dr. Maarten Vink (Department of Political Science, University of Maastricht)

#### **The state of multiculturalist politics in the Netherlands**

Discussant: Dr Paul Gillespie (*Irish Times*)

4.15 Coffee

4.30 – 6pm

Professor Victoria Esses (Department of Psychology, University of Western Ontario)

#### **Understanding attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: the role of perceived group competition and national identity**

Discussant: Dr Tobias Theiler (School of Politics and International Relations, UCD)

6 pm Reception in UCD Staff Common Room

### *Friday 8 December*

9.30 – 11am

Dr. Alan Barrett (Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin)

#### **Immigration and participation in employment and welfare in Ireland**

Piaras Mac Éinrí (Department of Geography, University College Cork)

#### **The evolution of immigration legislation and policy in Ireland**

11 am Coffee

11.30 – 1pm

Dr. Alice Feldman (School of Sociology, University College Dublin)

#### **Integration and interculturalism in Ireland**

Dr. Claire Healy

#### **Language, education and integration: provisions for immigrants in Ireland.**

1pm Lunch (Main UCD restaurant, Belfield)

2 – 3 pm

Don Flynn (Barrow Cadbury Trust)

#### **The emergence of social cohesion as a political project in the UK**

3 – 4.30pm

#### **Roundtable with migrant organisation representatives**

Fidèle Mutwarasibo (Immigrant Council of Ireland)

Dr Katherine Chan Mullen (Irish Chinese Information Centre)

Katarzyna Mejger (POSK- Polish Social and Cultural Association in Dublin)

## **Introduction to the seminar series**

This seminar is one of four two-day seminars funded as a NORFACE seminar series running from 2006 to 2008. These will be held in Dublin, Braga, Maastricht, and, Aarhus, under the theme 'Challenges of Immigration for Smaller Countries of Europe'. They bring together an interdisciplinary network of researchers from seven partner countries (Ireland, Portugal, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, and Germany) to study these challenges comparatively.

The network members are Jørgen Carling (International Peace Research Institute, Oslo); Dr. Isabel Estrada (International Relations and Public Administration, University of Minho); Dr. Iseult Honohan (Politics and International Relations, University College Dublin) (principal organiser); Professor Christian Joppke (Sociology, International University, Bremen); Professor Dora Kostakopoulou (Law, University of Manchester); Professor Per Mouritsen (Political Science and Centre for Journalism, University of Aarhus); Dr. Maarten Vink (Political Science, Maastricht University).

Each seminar, in addition to focusing on immigration in the country in which it takes place, addresses a specific theme. These are: immigration and social cohesion (Dublin); programmes promoting civic integration (Braga); the impact of immigration on citizenship attribution (Maastricht); and religion, public culture and the new immigration (Aarhus). In developing the comparative study of immigration, the seminars draw speakers from invited experts on immigration in each country and on the seminar themes as well as from the network members.

The theme for the Dublin seminar is immigration and social cohesion. In recent years there has been what has been variously described as a 'retreat of multiculturalism' (Joppke) or a 'return to assimilation' (Brubaker) in countries with significant immigration. This has been noted, in particular, in the cases of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Arguments have also been advanced that social solidarity requires either limiting immigration or promoting integration more actively than in the past. This seminar examines theoretical arguments about the nature of social cohesion, or solidarity, necessary or desirable in contemporary societies, and the relationship between immigration and social cohesion in the countries studied. It considers how different kinds of immigration (economic, refugees, asylum seekers, and irregular migration), the rate of immigration, policies with respect to work, social benefits, and other conditions of immigration affect social cohesion

We wish to acknowledge generous funding from NORFACE for the seminar series. Thanks are due to Attracta Ingram, Head of UCD School of Politics and International Relations for supporting this initiative; to the UCD Humanities Institute, and its manager, Valerie Norton, for putting the venue and its facilities at our disposal, and to Elaine Coyle for administrative assistance during the seminar. We are particularly indebted to Cathal Coleman, without whom this seminar could not have taken place. As Research Fellow in UCD School of Politics and International Relations, he drew the series proposal together under considerable time pressure, and has also been the administrator for the Dublin seminar.

*Iseult Honohan, seminar convenor*

## Abstracts

**Dr. Maarten Vink** (Department of Political Science, University of Maastricht)

*The state of multiculturalist politics in the Netherlands*

This presentation assesses the state of multiculturalist politics in the Netherlands. I will discuss sometimes contrasting claims with regard to both the extent of recent changes in Dutch integration policy practices as well as the causes underlying them, and review the popular claim that a paradigmatic change has occurred in the Netherlands. My argument is that we need to rethink the idea of the Netherlands as a country with a tradition of multicultural Integration policies; not because things have changed dramatically after 9/11, the rise of Pim Fortuyn, and the murder of Theo van Gogh, but because ‘multiculturalism’ was never accepted and practiced as fully as is often suggested in more stereotypical depictions of the Netherlands.

**Professor Victoria Esses** (Department of Psychology, University of Western Ontario)

*Understanding attitudes toward immigrants and immigration: the role of perceived group competition and national identity*

Examining arguments made about immigration, and the beliefs that underlie them, is important for understanding attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, and for devising strategies to improve attitudes. In this presentation, I will describe three key beliefs about immigrants and immigration, present some of our research examining the role of these beliefs in determining attitudes toward immigrants and immigration, and describe potential strategies for counteracting these effects. The three beliefs that I will focus on are: (1) immigrants compete with members of the host population for economic resources, such as jobs, (2) immigrants compete with members of the host population for value and cultural dominance, and (3) immigrants are different from members of the host population in fundamental ways and are not part of the national ingroup. I will also present data suggesting that certain types of people are especially likely to hold these beliefs, and thus to require interventions that counteract these beliefs.

**Dr. Alan Barrett** (Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin)

*Immigration and participation in employment and welfare in Ireland*

Ireland's exceptional economic growth in recent years has led to an influx of immigrants. Given the favourable economic climate into which these immigrants are arriving, it is interesting to ask how their earnings and welfare dependence compare with the native population. Using data from a nationally representative sample drawn in 2004 immigrants are found to earn 18 percent less than natives, controlling for education and years of work experience. However, this single figure hides differences across immigrants from English-speaking and non-English speaking countries. On average, immigrants are half as likely to have been in receipt of social welfare payments in the previous twelve months relative to natives.

**Piarras Mac Éinrí** (Department of Geography, University College Cork)

*The evolution of immigration legislation and policy in Ireland*

The history of Irish migration policy is one of constancy and change. The dominant constant has been the enduring special migration relationship between Ireland and the UK, embodied in the Common Travel Area Agreement, effectively aligning Irish policy to that of the UK since the

independence of the State. The other constant has been a negative attitude towards immigrants, backed up by strict legislation. Recent changes, coinciding notably with the 'Celtic Tiger' period of the 1990s, have seen the evolution of a relatively more flexible and *laissez-faire* immigration policy largely dictated by the perceived needs of employers, although against a policy backdrop which continued to represent large-scale immigration as temporary at best. A process of consolidation now appears to be under way, reflecting an emerging two-tier labour market (high and low skills) and supported by draft legislation which appears to be strongly inspired by current EU-wide moral panics about immigration. Such legislation and policy threatens to move Ireland sharply in the direction of a landscape of citizens and denizens in which the welcome extended to a privileged few may be set against a very limited and contingent acceptance of the many.

**Dr. Alice Feldman** (School of Sociology, University College Dublin)

*Integration and interculturalism in Ireland*

Integration has proven to be an elusive concept and policy strategy, differing according to the national histories and contexts in which it is developed. This paper examines the emerging civic and political dynamics of Integration in Ireland and takes a critical look at what has been coined 'interculturalist integration'. In particular, it considers the development and implications of migrant-led civic mobilisation for the formation of 'new Irish' communities and for the generation of intercultural capital in this process of social and institutional transformation.

**Dr. Claire Healy**

*Language, education and integration: provisions for immigrants in Ireland.*

This paper will examine the issue of provision of language tuition and orientation to newcomers in the Republic of Ireland. Recent policy developments in Integration will be outlined together with the rationale for access by adult immigrants to language and education in relation to social cohesion and economic development. Existing provisions for language and civic education in Ireland will be evaluated, concluding with recommendations for moving forward on this issue. Reference will be made to other EU countries and their policies on this issue, such as the Netherlands and Denmark, in order to place Ireland's experience of immigration in a broader European context.

**Don Flynn** (Cadbury Barrow Trust)

*The emergence of social cohesion as a political project in the UK*

In around 2001, integration policy in the UK broke with its previous *laissez-faire* presumptions to favour a much stronger role for state direction around the themes of citizenship and the supposed values of Britishness. Whilst a rationale civic republican approach has informed aspects of this policy it has also contributed to a heightening of tensions between ethnic and cultural groups concerned about the implications of a prescriptive British identity. The implications of this tension for social cohesion will be considered, together with the options for moving beyond current confrontational stances.

## Notes on Speakers

### **Alan Barrett**

Dr. Alan Barrett is a Senior Research Officer with the Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin. He is also a Research Fellow of the Institute for the Study of Labour (IZA) in Bonn, Germany. He has published many papers on the topic of migration, including papers in journals such as the *Journal of Population Economics*, *Labour Economics* and the *Economic and Social Review*.

### **Katharine Chan Mullen**

Dr. Katharine Chan Mullen is a medical doctor who came to Ireland in 1978 and has worked as a GP in Dublin since 1981. She has been involved in volunteer work for the Chinese Community since the 1980's, serving as President of the Irish-Chinese Cultural Society. Becoming aware of the rapid expansion of the numbers of Chinese people and students in Ireland, and the problems they were encountering with communication and access to services, she formed a centre to provide free services and information for the Chinese community, including a 'hot-line' with a bi-lingual Chinese staff. In 2002, the Irish Chinese Information Centre was formally established to continue that work, and is also active in establishing and promoting Irish/Chinese cultural exchanges and events such as the Dublin Chinatown Festival.

### **Victoria Esses**

Victoria Esses is Professor of Psychology at the University of Western Ontario, Canada. Her research interests include inter-group relations, prejudice, and discrimination, with a particular interest in attitudes toward immigration and cultural diversity. She is co-editor-elect of *Social Issues and Policy Review*, a new publication of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. She has also served as associate editor of *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* and of *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*. She is a Fellow of the Canadian and American Psychological Associations, consults for Citizenship and Immigration Canada, and designed and delivers a course on public attitudes toward immigration and cultural diversity for government workers and NGOs.

### **Alice Feldman**

Dr Alice Feldman is a lecturer in the School of Sociology and Co-Director of the Migration and Citizenship Research Initiative, a multi-disciplinary and cross-sector research network at UCD. Her areas of specialism include identity, diversity and social change in the contexts of contemporary migration. Recent publications include 'Racism and belonging in diaspora space: changing Irish identities and 'race'-making in the 'age of migration', in Yuval-Davis, Kannabiran and Vieten (eds) *Situating Contemporary Politics of Belonging*, and 'Immigrant civic mobilisation' in B. Fanning (ed.) *Immigration and Social Change in the Republic of Ireland*.

### **Don Flynn**

Don Flynn has been working in the field of immigration law and policy in the UK for 28 years, firstly as a legal caseworker in a community law centre, and then as national policy officer for the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants. He is now the director of a new project, the Migrants' Rights Network, which promotes networking amongst migrant community organisations to increase their capacity for intervening in national policy discussions. He is co-author (with Roger Zetter et al.) of *Immigration, Cohesion and Social Capital: What are the Links?* (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2006)

### **Claire Healy**

Claire Healy received her B.A. (International) in History and German from NUI Galway in 2001 and spent a year as a visiting research fellow at the Department of Latin American History at the University of Hamburg. She was awarded a doctorate in history from NUI Galway in 2006 for her

dissertation: *Migration from Ireland to Buenos Aires, 1776-1890*. She has worked extensively with people seeking asylum, refugees and immigrants in Hamburg and Galway. Her publications include: 'Refugees in History' *Asyland: Magazine of the Irish Refugee Council* (2004) and 'Afro-Argentines and Argentine History' *Atlantic Studies* (2006). She recently completed a research project on language and introductory courses for immigrants for the Immigrant Council of Ireland.

### **Piarras Mac Éinrí**

Piarras Mac Éinrí was Director from 1997-2003 of the interdisciplinary Irish Centre for Migration Studies at University College Cork, focusing on Irish and comparative International migration research. He has lectured and published extensively in the fields of Irish and comparative migration studies, with a particular interest in immigration and integration issues. He serves on the boards of a number of migration-related NGOs in Dublin and Cork.

### **Katarzyna Mejger**

Katarzyna Mejger is an economist, and graduate of the University of Gdansk. She worked with Poland's leading company in commercial property development, investment and construction. Here in Ireland she is studying languages and philosophy, and running her own business. She serves as PR Officer on a voluntary basis for POSK – the Polish Social and Cultural Association ([www.poskdublin.org](http://www.poskdublin.org)), an organisation to help Poles in Dublin keep in touch with their culture and traditions. At the Polish House Poles can meet and talk, watch Polish TV, use the Polish library etc. They also organise Polish language classes, meetings with Polish speakers from the fields of culture, art, science and politics; and a variety of events including celebrations of national feast days, anniversaries, and exhibitions.

### **Fidèle Mutwarasibo**

Fidèle Mutwarasibo works with the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI) as the Research and Integration Officer since 2002. He has worked with Canal Communities Partnership and the African Cultural Project. He has written reports and articles on wide range of issues including Integration, rights and obligations of immigrants in Ireland, community development and cultural diversity. He is a founding member of the Africa Solidarity Centre. He has a personal interest in civic and political Integration of migrants and contemporary Irish identity. He is originally from Rwanda and before moving to Ireland over a decade ago, his professional career involved teaching, community development, and relief and emergency. He is researching 'Social Capital and the Emergence of Migrant/Ethnic Minority Leaders in Ireland' for a doctoral thesis at University College Dublin.

### **Maarten P. Vink**

Maarten P. Vink is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Maastricht. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Leiden (2003), has been postdoctoral Jean Monnet Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI, Florence (2003-4) and Visiting Scholar at the Center for European Studies, NYU and at the Department of Philosophy and Culture at the University of Minho, Braga, Portugal. He is author of *Limits of European Citizenship: European Integration and Domestic Immigration Policies* (2005) and co-editor of *Europeanization: New Research Agendas* (2006).

## Participants

Alan	Barrett	Economic and Social Research Institute	Dublin
Mary	Burke	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Jørgen	Carling	Geography	Oslo
Katherine	Chan Mullen	Irish Chinese Information Centre	Dublin
Denyce	Clohessy	Applied Social Science	UCD
John	Coakley	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Cathal	Coleman	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Aoife	Collins	Immigrant Council of Ireland	Dublin
Victoria	Esses	Psychology	University of Western Ontario
Isabel	Estrada	International Relations and Public Administration	Minho
Bryan	Fanning	Applied Social Science	UCD
Alice	Feldman	Sociology	UCD
Don	Flynn	Cadbury Barrow Trust	London
Rhona	Gaynor	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Paul	Gill	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Paul	Gillespie	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Claire	Healy	Researcher	Dublin
John	Heffernan	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Regina	Hennelly	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Iseult	Honohan	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Kevin	Howard	Humanities	Dundalk IT
Attracta	Ingram	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Brigid	Laffan	College of Human Sciences	UCD
Mette	Lebech	Philosophy	NUI Maynooth
Ronit	Lentin	Sociology	Trinity College Dublin
Steven	Loyal	Sociology	UCD
Piaras	MacÉinrí	Geography	University College Cork
Mark	Maguire	Anthropology	NUI Maynooth
Katarzyna	Mejger	Polish Social and Cultural Centre	POSK
Bettina	Migge	School of Irish, Celtic Studies	UCD
Per	Mouritsen	Political Science; Centre for Journalism Studies	Aarhus
Suzanne	Mulcahy	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Karen	Murphy	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Fidèle	Mutwarasibo	Sociology	Immigrant Council of Ireland
Cara	Nine	Philosophy	University College Cork
Wendy	Ross	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Nanette	Schuppers	Sociology	UCD
Tobias	Theiler	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Deirdre	Tinney	Politics and International. Relations	UCD
Maarten	Vink	Political Science	University of Maastricht



# The Challenge of Immigration for Smaller European Countries

## Network Members

**Jørgen Carling** has been a researcher at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO) since 2002. He has an M.Phil. and PhD in Human Geography from the University of Oslo. His publications include 'Migration control and migrant fatalities at the Spanish-African borders', *International Migration Review* (forthcoming); 'Migration in the age of involuntary immobility: theoretical reflections and Cape Verdean experiences', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2004); 'Emigration, return and development in Cape Verde: the impact of closing borders', *Population, Space and Place* (2004); 'Incorporating insights from migration research into policy on remittances', in OECD (ed.) *Migration, remittances and the economic development of sending countries* (2005).

**Isabel Estrada** has been Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations and Public Administration, of the University of Minho, Braga since 2004. She has a PhD in Sociology from the University of Warwick, and degrees in Sociology from the University of Coimbra, and in International Relations from the University of Minho. Her publications include: *Postnational Citizenship and the State* (forthcoming); 'Cosmopolitanism and postnational citizenship', *European Journal of Social Theory* (forthcoming); 'Political integration of Lusophone non-national citizens in Portugal: perceptions of key political actors', *Journal of Portuguese Social Science* (2004).

**Iseult Honohan** is Senior Lecturer, UCD School of Politics and International Relations. Her research interests cover political theory (historical and normative), communitarian and civic republican thought, citizenship and immigration, feminism, ethics and public affairs. Her publications include *Civic Republicanism* (2002) and (as contributing co-editor) *Republicanism in Theory and Practice* (2005); 'Friends, strangers or countrymen? The ties between citizens as colleagues' *Political Studies* (2001); and 'Bounded citizenship and the meaning of citizenship laws: Ireland's *ius soli* citizenship referendum' in *Managing Diversity*, L. Cardinal and N. Brown (eds) (forthcoming)

**Christian Joppke** is Professor of Political Science at the American University of Paris, and formerly at International University Bremen, University of British Columbia, and the European University Institute, Florence. His research interests lie in comparative political sociology, citizenship and immigration, ethnic and race relations, nations and nationalism, and sociology of the state. Publications include: *Selecting by Origin: Ethnic Migration in the Liberal State* (2005) and *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain* (1999). Recent articles include 'The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy', *British Journal of Sociology* (2004) and 'Exclusion in the liberal state: the case of immigration and citizenship policy', *European Journal of Social Theory* (2005).

**Theodora Kostakopoulou** is Jean Monnet Professor of European Law and European Integration, University of Manchester. She has a PhD from the University of Essex, and LLB, University of Athens Law School. Her principal research interests lie in European public law, European integration, the intersection of European Union law and political theory, European citizenship and migration law and policy. She is the author of *Between Past and Future: Citizenship, Identity and Immigration in the European Union* (2003) and articles in *Political Studies*, *Columbia Journal of European Law*, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, and *Journal of Political Philosophy*.

**Per Mouritsen** is Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, and currently Director of the Centre for University Studies in Journalism, University of Aarhus. He holds degrees from Warwick, Aarhus and a PhD from the European University Institute. His current research interests are in conceptions of Islam, the nation and shared values in public debate. He is the Danish partner in EMILIE: A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal, Political and Educational Challenges 2005-8. He is contributing co-editor of *Constituting Communities: Political Solutions to Cultural Conflict* (forthcoming); and author of 'The particular universalism of a Nordic civic nation: common values, state religion, and Islam in Danish political culture', in Modood, Zapata-Barrero and Triandafyllidou (eds.) *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship* (2005).

**Maarten Vink** is Assistant Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Maastricht. He holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Leiden (2003), has been postdoctoral Jean Monnet Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, EUI, Florence (2003-4) and Visiting Scholar at the Center for European Studies, NYU and at the Department of Philosophy and Culture at the University of Minho, Braga, Portugal. He is author of *Limits of European Citizenship: European Integration and Domestic Immigration Policies* (2005) and co-editor of *Europeanization: New Research Agendas* (2006).

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#### **A note on NORFACE - New Opportunities for Research Funding Co-operation in Europe**



**NORFACE**  
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NORFACE is a partnership between twelve research councils to increase co-operation in research and research policy in Europe. The twelve partners involved are the research councils for the social sciences from Estonia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Canada participates in NORFACE as an associate partner. This partnership is built on a history of less formal co-operation and joint activities between the Nordic and UK research councils. NORFACE formalises this existing working relationship and provides a framework and a vision for a durable multi-national strategic partnership in research funding and practice.

NORFACE receives core funding from the European Commission's 6th Framework Programme, under ERA-NET scheme. See also <http://www.norface.org/norface/>

#### **The NORFACE seminar series:**

The NORFACE Seminar Series scheme has been set up to support research networking in social sciences within strategically chosen themes. The funding from NORFACE enables researchers working within the seminar group to meet regularly, to exchange information and ideas with the aim of advancing research within their fields.