We are all anti-multiculturalists now!
The Europeanization of Immigrant Integration Debates and the Rise of Neo-Assimilationism

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INTRODUCTION

Historically, focus on “national models of integration”:
– National debates
– Focus on national policies
– Local and regional specificities and differences not taken into consideration
– European encounters: battles of “models”
– Sayad: immigration and state thought
INTRODUCTION

Since the end of 1990’s, progressive “Europeanization” and “localisation” of integration debates and policies

Beyond the national models, integration has increasingly been seen as a matter of multilevel governance

2 PARTS

1. The Europeanization of Immigrant Integration Debates and Policies

2. The Rise of Neo-Assimilationism ? Are we really all anti-multiculturalists now ?
Part 1: The Europeanization of Immigrant Integration Debates and Policies

1. WHY?

2. How to characterize the process of “Europeanization” and “localisation” of immigrant integration debates and policies?

3. Current situation and future developments

1. Why?

How to explain the “Europeanization” of immigrant integration debates and policies?

A consequence of the change in the process of Europeanization of immigration and asylum policies since Amsterdam (1999) and Tampere (1999)

Immigration and asylum policies: less intergovernmental and more common

More and more stakeholders understand that a more common immigration policy without a more common immigrant integration policy is highly problematic
1. Why?

Similar rules of entry and dissimilar integration provisions could create political and economic problems:

- Economic: Increase in the internal competition between the MS in the recruitment of highly demanded elite migrants. Negative for the EU economy.

- Political: challenges the principle of non-discrimination, which is at the core the EU integration process.

1. Why?

Question: how to promote the Europeanization of integration policies without hurting the national sovereignty of the MS?

As a matter of fact, immigration integration is at the core of national sovereignty even more than before as immigration policy has become more European.

Strong willingness to keep it in most MS.
2. How to characterize the process of “Europeanization” and “localisation” of immigrant integration debates and policies?

- SOFT EUROPEANISATION PROCESS:
  - The Commission has not legal mandate to develop a common immigrant integration policy
  - Mandate given by the JHA Council in 2002: exchange of informations on existing policies and identification of best practices
  - Build a EU Framework on Integration though a rather open method of coordination

2. How to characterize the process of “Europeanization” and “localisation” of immigrant integration debates and policies?

- APPROACH:
  - creating convergence by using a bottom-up perspective involving all stakeholders as implied by the idea of governance: EU institutions, national, regional and local institutions (including cities), Ngo’s, civil societies, migrant organizations
  - NOKIA approach: “connecting people”
  - Promote the exchange of knowledge, know-how, ‘good practices’ and promote policy transfer between EU countries, regions and cities, “Benchmarking”
  - Final goal: to produce a common language, common guidelines and steering in the field of integration policies
  - DE FACTO HARMONIZATION FROM BELOW
2. How to characterize the process of “Europeanization” and “localisation” of immigrant integration debates and policies?

THE TOOLS:

- Soft law and other documents:
  - Common basic principles on Integration (The Hague, November 2004)
  - European Agenda for the integration of TCNs (2005, 2011)
  - Development on European Modules on integration (2010, Ramboll)
  - First EUROBAROMETER survey on migrant integration (2011)
  - MIPEX I, II and III (British Council, MPG, Commission)

- The European Integration Fund (2007):
  - 825 million Euros between 2007 and 2013
  - Follows the INTI-Programme, a funding programme for preparatory actions promoting the integration in the EU

- Institutions and Networks building:
  - National Contact Points on Integration (2003)
  - European Integration Forum (2009)
  - European website on Integration
2. How to characterize the process of “Europeanization” and “localisation” of immigrant integration debates and policies?

- A lot of documents of all kinds have been produced on integration and integration policies over the past 10 years
- A lot of meetings have taken place to discuss the same issues
- There is now a debate on integration at the European level
- Highlighted the importance of the local level and of local integration policies sometimes supported by EIF though national governments: Localization of integration policies.
- Why is this process steered by JHA (and later by HOME) and not by Employment social affairs and Inclusion? Illustrate the fact that integration policy is seen as a part of immigration policy
- No debate on the meaning of the concept of integration!
- Is it really a bottom-up process? The use of NGO’s.

3. Current situation and future developments

- The integration modules and the reinforcement of the social engineering approach
- Legitimation of the compulsory character of introductory courses and of the idea that duties and obligations precede rights: one view amongst other of the idea that integration is a two ways process.
- Little innovation in the thinking about integration
- A way to select immigrants
- Integration is also a matter of public policy
- Future developments: linked to the evolution of the current crisis
- This difficult debate remains open
Part 2: **Is there a Rise of Neo-Assimilationism? Are we really all anti-multiculturalists now?**

**Thesis 1:** Anti-multiculturalism backlash and the neo-assimilationist political and policy agenda: “We are all anti-multiculturalist now!” (Joppke)

**Thesis 2:** No anti-multiculturalist backlash. To the contrary, rise of multicultural policies (Banting nd Kymlicka)

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**Part 2:** **Is there a Rise of Neo-Assimilationism? Are we really all anti-multiculturalists now?**

**Thesis 3:**
- Discourses: 2 contradictory trends (in appearance): the rise of a neo-assimilationist discourse and the rise of the diversity discourse and of the “interculturalist” discourse
- Policies: even some multicultural policies are maintained and even developed, an assimilationist turn has developed in the debate about the integration of new migrants but also in the debate about the position of following generation