

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Few phenomena have been more disruptive to West European politics and society than the accumulative experience of post-WWII immigration. Against this backdrop spring two questions: Why have the immigrant-receiving states historically permitted high levels of immigration? To what degree can the social and political fallout precipitated by immigration be politically managed?

Utilizing evidence from a variety of sources, this study explores the links between immigration and the surge of popular support for anti-immigrant groups; its implications for state sovereignty; its elevation to the policy agenda of the European Union; and its domestic legacies. It argues that post-WWII migration is primarily an interest-driven phenomenon that has historically served the macroeconomic and political interests of the receiving countries. Specifically, it is the role of politics in adjudicating the claims presented by domestic economic actors, foreign policy commitments, and humanitarian norms that creates a permissive environment for significant migration to Western Europe.

Anthony M. Messina is a professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *Race and Party Competition in Britain* and the editor of several books, including most recently (with Robert M. Fishman) *The Year of the Euro: The Cultural, Political and Social Import of Europe's Common Currency*. He has also written articles published in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Parliamentary Affairs*, *Political Studies*, *Policy Studies Journal*, *The Review of Politics*, *West European Politics*, *World Politics*, and other scholarly journals and anthologies.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

ANTHONY M. MESSINA

University of Notre Dame



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

www.cambridge.orgInformation on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521821346

© Anthony M. Messina 2007

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2007

Printed in the United States of America

*A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.**Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

Messina, Anthony M.

The Logics and politics of post-WWII migration to Western Europe / Anthony M. Messina.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN: 978-0-521-82134-6 (hardback)

ISBN: 978-0-521-52886-3 (pbk.)

1. Europe, Western – Emigration and immigration – History – 20th century. 2. Europe, Western – Emigration and immigration – Government policy. 3. Europe – History – 1945– I. Title.

JV7590.M46 2007

304.8'4–dc22 2007012220

ISBN 978-0-521-82134-6 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-52886-3 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For Frances:

*My great love and inspiration, and with whom all of the very best
things in life became possible.*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
1 Introduction: Immigration and State Sovereignty	I
2 The Origins and Trajectory of Post-WWII Immigration	19
3 The Organized Nativist Backlash: The Surge of Anti-Immigrant Groups	54
4 Immigration and State Sovereignty: Implications of the British and German Cases	97
5 The Logics and Politics of a European Immigration Policy Regime	138
6 The Domestic Legacies of Postwar Immigration: Citizenship, Monoculturalism, and the Keynesian Welfare State	170
7 The Logics and Politics of Immigrant Political Incorporation	194
8 Conclusions	224
<i>References</i>	247
<i>Index</i>	273

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

List of Figures and Tables

FIGURES

1.1	Populations in Europe Favoring the Repatriation of Immigrants, 2003	<i>page 5</i>
2.1	Perceived Threat from Ethnic Minorities in Nineteen EU Member States	50
3.1	Influence of Anti-Immigrant Groups	90

TABLES

1.1	Foreign Population of Select Western European Countries, 1994–2002 (thousands)	4
2.1	Estimated Number of Foreign Workers, 1975 (thousands)	21
2.2	Approximate Boundaries of the First Wave of Labor Immigration	24
2.3	Decline of Foreign Labor in Select Countries, 1973–6	25
2.4	Percent Distribution of Foreign Residents by Country of Origin within the Total Foreign Population of That Origin Residing in the Immigrant-Receiving Countries, 1990	26
2.5	Influx of Seasonal Workers into France and Switzerland, 1974–81	31
2.6	Total Acceptances for Settlement in Britain: Commonwealth and Foreign Nationals, 1967–79	35
2.7	Primary and Secondary Migration to Britain, 1962–5, and France, 1975–8	36

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	ix
2.8 Foreign Residents in Switzerland by Permit of Stay, 1960–80	37
2.9 Inflows of Asylum Seekers into Select Countries and Western Europe, 1980–94 (thousands)	42
2.10 Inflows of Asylum Seekers into Germany from Eastern European States, 1985–92	43
2.11 Inflows of Asylum Seekers into Germany, 1953–95	44
2.12 Inflows of Asylum Seekers into Britain, France, and Germany by Geographical Origins and as a Percentage of the Annual Total, 1985–92	46
3.1 Select Anti-Immigrant Groups across Western Europe	57
3.2 Electoral Support for the French FN, 1973–2004	59
3.3 Types of Anti-Immigrant Groups	65
3.4 Anti-Immigrant Sentiment within the EU, 1992	78
3.5 Popular Attitudes Toward Minorities within the EU, 2000 (%)	79
3.6 Intolerance, Foreign Population, and Unemployment in the EU, 2000	80
3.7 Size of Foreign-Born Population and Anti-Immigrant Group Mean Electoral Performance	80
3.8 Anti-Immigrant Groups by Electoral Success and Type of Opposition	83
4.1 Estimated Net Immigration from the New Commonwealth, 1953–62	109
4.2 Commonwealth Migration to Britain, 1962–5	109
4.3 NF: General Election Results, 1970–2005	114
4.4 Inflows of Asylum Seekers into and the Number of Illegals Caught in Britain, 1980–2005 (thousands)	117
4.5 Inflows of Asylum Seekers into Select Western European Countries, 1995–2002 (per 100,000 population)	118
4.6 Ruling on Asylum Requests, Excluding Dependents in the United Kingdom, 1988–2004	120
4.7 Registered Foreign Residents in Germany by Nationality, 1961 and 1970	125
4.8 Inflows of Asylum Seekers into Germany, 1953–2003 (thousands)	127
4.9 Inflows of Ethnic Germans into Germany from Central and Eastern Europe, 1994–2001 (thousands)	131
5.1 Paradigms of Immigration Control	148

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

List of Figures and Tables

5.2	Distribution of Fifteen EU Member States' Proclivities on a Common Immigration Policy	158
5.3	Major Country Responses to Immigration Policy Proposals, 1996	159
5.4	MEP Opinion by Country Regarding the Need for a Common Immigration Policy, 1993–2004 (%)	160
5.5	MEP Opinion by Country on Where the Responsibility for Regulating Immigration Policy Should Reside, 1993–2004 (%)	162
5.6	Anti-Immigrant Public Sentiment across the EU, 1997 (%)	163
5.7	Anti-Immigrant Public Sentiment across the EU, 2000 (%)	164
5.8	Public Acceptance of Persons Seeking Asylum in the EU, 1997–2000 (%)	165
5.9	Public Support for Joint EU or National Decision Making on Immigration and Asylum, 2001 (%)	166
6.1	Status of Citizenship and Nationality Laws in Select Countries, 2000	173
6.2	Family Reunification Rights within the EU Member Countries, 2001	180
6.3	Naturalization Waiting Periods within EU Member Countries, 2001	181
6.4	Segregation Indices of Select Immigrant Groups in Selected European Cities, 1986–98	183
7.1	Voting Rights for Noncitizens in Select Western European Countries, 2002	196
7.2	Voter Turnout among Foreigners in Swedish Municipal Elections, 1976–2002 (%)	198
7.3	Ethnic Minority Voting Turnout in Copenhagen and Aarhus Municipal Elections, 1997 (%)	199
7.4	Ethnic Minority Voter Turnout Rates in Dutch Municipal Elections, 1994–8 (%)	199
7.5	Voter Turnout among Foreigners and Citizens with Immigrant Backgrounds in the 1999 Norwegian Municipal Elections (%)	200
7.6	Voter Turnout among Norwegian Citizens with Immigrant Backgrounds in Storting Elections by Length of Residence, 2001 (%)	200
7.7	Voter Turnout by Ethnic Minority Group in Britain, 1997 (%)	201

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

<i>List of Figures and Tables</i>	xi
7.8 Feelings of Political Efficacy by Ethnic Group in Britain, 1997 (%)	202
7.9 Ethnic Minority Voting Preferences in British General Elections, 1983–2001 (%)	204
7.10 Voting Intentions of Turkish-Born Naturalized Citizens in Germany, 1999	204
7.11 Ethnic Minority Party Choice in Dutch Municipal Elections, 1994 and 1998 (%)	206
7.12 Salient Issues among British Ethnic Minority Voters, 1987 (%)	208
7.13 White and Ethnic Minority Attitudes on Race-Related Issues in the United Kingdom	211
7.14 Attitudes of Labour MPs and Party Members Toward the Repatriation of Immigrants and Immigration Restrictions, 1969–90 (%)	212
7.15 Ethnic Minority Local Councillors in England and Wales, 1992–2004	214
7.16 Ethnic Minority Local Councillors in Six Dutch Cities, 1986–2000	214
7.17 Ethnic Minority Deputies in National Parliaments, 2002	215
7.18 Political Party Backgrounds of Ethnic Minority Local Councillors in Britain, 1997–2004 (%)	216
7.19 Political Party Backgrounds of Maghrebi Communal Councillors in the Brussels Region, 1994–2000, and Ethnic Minorities in the Belgian Federal Parliament, 2001 (%)	216
7.20 Political Party Backgrounds of Ethnic Minority Deputies in the Dutch National Assembly, 1998–2002 (%)	217
7.21 Proportion of Immigrants among Elected Representatives, 1979–94, and Representation Index (RI) in Local Government, 1979 and 1992, in Sweden (%)	217
7.22 Voter Turnout among Norwegian Citizens with Immigrant Backgrounds in Storting Elections, 1997–2001 (%)	220
8.1 Total Acceptances for Settlement in Britain, 1963–2004 (thousands)	230

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface and Acknowledgments

In many ways, this book completes an agenda that I implicitly promised to pursue in my book review essay in the journal *World Politics* (October 1996). In that essay, I offered two sweeping and somewhat provocative criticisms of the state of the then scholarly literature on postwar migration to Western Europe. First, I argued that due to the emotionally charged nature of many immigration-related subjects, scholars of immigration too often fell into the trap of staking out inadequately substantiated claims. Specifically, the prospect of influencing public policy debates led some toward hyperbole and exaggeration in their analysis of immigration-related phenomena and to offer inappropriate or unworkable policy prescriptions. Second, I lamented that a growing trend toward specialization within the literature on postwar immigration and the concomitant insularity of scholarly inquiry threatened to fragment our understanding of the general phenomenon. In elaborating upon the second problem, I urged that new scholarly initiatives be pursued to synthesize and unify the disparate literatures on postwar migration in order “to stitch together the various strands of scholarship on post-WWII migration to Western Europe in a manner that better illuminates its whole.”

This study is a direct, albeit an obviously tardy, response to the previously cited exhortation. Perhaps more so than others within its genre, this book is the product of years of reflection, research, and writing and, more importantly, a rejoinder to many of the stimulating arguments and much of the impressive evidence presented in the intellectual marketplace by three generations of scholars of migration to Western Europe. Its main theme, the implications of mass immigration for state sovereignty, is, of course, not new. Among others, Gary Freeman, Andrew Geddes, Virginie Guiraudon, Randall Hansen, Martin Heisler, Jim Hollifield, Christian Joppke, Rey Koslowski, Gallya Lahav, Mark Miller, Saskia Sassen, Yasemin Soysal, Myron Weiner, and Ari Zolberg have previously addressed it in different ways and with varying degrees of thoroughness and success. Yet, despite the considerable volume

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv

Preface and Acknowledgments

of scholarship generated on the theme of immigration and state sovereignty during the past decade, it has long been and remains my considered opinion that more needs to be said. For example, whatever their individual strengths, none of the critiques of the declining sovereignty thesis have considered its failings on every important front. Perhaps as a result, a central assumption of the thesis – that is, contemporary Western European states are overburdened with unwanted immigration – continues to be uncritically diffused, including within the writing of some scholars who are suspicious of its veracity and/or universality. Moreover, for every incisive critique of the declining sovereignty thesis advanced, with most of which I largely agree, new problems of interpretation and subtle errors of logic and/or fact have stubbornly and unfortunately crept in. Against this backdrop, one purpose of this book is to scrutinize the declining sovereignty thesis more comprehensively than hitherto has been attempted.

Like most intellectual products, this study has benefited from the assistance, generosity, and inspirational example of numerous people. On this last score, Jim Hollifield, Gary Freeman, and Marty Schain stand out both for their enormous influence on the field of immigration studies and, more personally, for the profound impact each has had on my own thinking. As even the casual reader can see, their considerable body of work is liberally cited and, more often than not, celebrated throughout this book. Personal thanks goes to each for his incisive criticisms of my work, professional support, and general intellectual guidance over the years.

As the readers of this study will also quickly discern, this book also owes an enormous intellectual debt to the dozens of American and European scholars, several of whom are personal friends, whose scholarship has literally transformed the field of immigration studies since my 1996 *World Politics* essay was published. Although they are too numerous to cite within these few pages, I nevertheless wish to recognize Andrew Geddes, Randall Hansen, Christian Joppke, Virginie Guiraudon, Gallya Lahav, Shamit Saggat, and Eiko Thielemann for the invaluable efforts each has made in pushing the boundaries of what we know about the general phenomenon of immigration. I have had the pleasure of sitting alongside and/or observing most of them on numerous conference panels and, occasionally, in more intimate professional settings. They have taught me much, and undoubtedly much more than I am aware of. Indeed, the deep stream of contemporary immigration studies would not be as rich or diverse were it not for their individual and collective contributions. After a brief period when immigration studies hit a dry patch, they infused it with new intellectual energy and insight.

I wish to extend more targeted thanks to the agencies that facilitated the research that ultimately culminated in this book. A summer faculty research award from the Nanovic Institute of European Studies at the University of Notre Dame, a small project grant from Notre Dame's Helen Kellogg Institute of International Studies, and the generous aid and sage advice of Bill

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface and Acknowledgments*

xv

Newton Dunn (Member of the European Parliament) allowed me to plug the gaps in my knowledge of the role of the European Union in formulating immigration policy and, specifically, gave my good colleague, Gallya Lahav, and me the opportunity to execute the Member of Parliament survey that informs Chapter 5. A Faculty Residential Fellowship from the Kellogg Institute permitted me to write two chapters of the manuscript and make considerable progress in organizing it.

As is common of studies of its kind, some of the arguments and evidence presented in this book were first presented in other fora. The typology of anti-immigrant groups presented in Chapter 3 expands upon material originally presented in my chapter in an anthology edited by Matthew Gibney and Randall Hansen. An abbreviated and less ambitious version of Chapter 4 appeared in *Policy Studies Journal*. Chapter 5 updates an essay I coauthored with Colleen Thouez in my edited volume, *West European Immigration and Immigrant Policy in the New Century*. The data and central arguments in Chapter 7 draw heavily from an article in my recent coedited volume (with Gallya Lahav), *The Migration Reader*. I am very grateful to the aforementioned sources for their permission to use these materials.

I also wish to thank Lew Bateman of Cambridge University Press for his support and, especially, his patience, as well as two anonymous reviewers for their helpful advice and insightful criticisms of the original manuscript.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge and extend my infinite gratitude to my colleague, best friend, and wife of twenty-seven years, Frances Hagopian, to whom this book is dedicated. In more ways than she knows, she has pushed me along the path of intellectual, professional, and personal growth and kept me going during the inevitable moments of doubt and discouragement. Indeed, to her I owe everything that is good in life, including our beloved son, Michael. As always, I only wish I could satisfy her high standards!

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-82134-6 - The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration to Western Europe

Anthony M. Messina

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

**The Logics and Politics of Post-WWII Migration
to Western Europe**