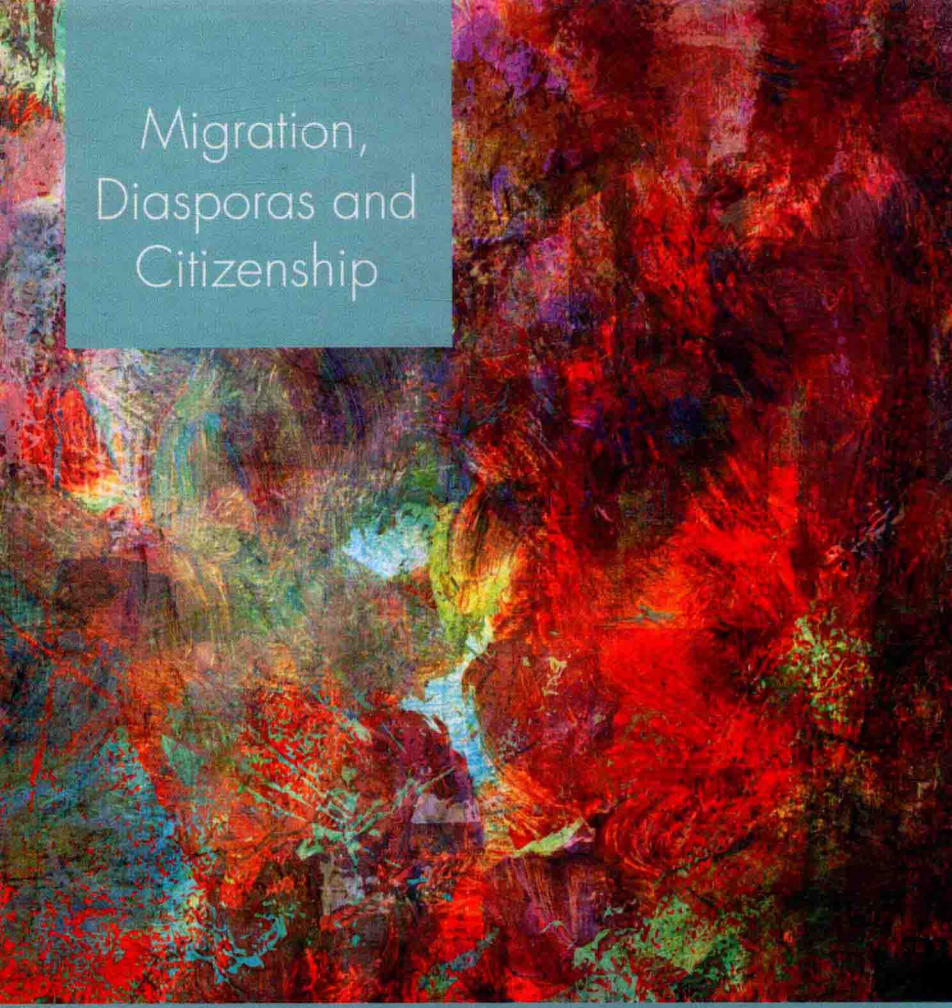
Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship



NATIONALISM, IDENTITY AND THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

Old Politics, New Arrivals

Fiona Barker

Nationalism, Identity and the Governance of Diversity

Old Politics, New Arrivals

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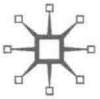

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For François

Acknowledgements

The ideas, research and writing in this book took shape over several years. To a long-held interest in issues of immigration, I added curiosity about nationalism and the complex realities of societies possessing not just immigrant-driven diversity, but also long-standing experience of competing national identities and aspirations for the country.

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Glossary

A8	Refers to eight 'accession' states that joined the European Union as part of its May 2004 enlargement – Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.
ADQ	Action démocratique du Québec. Autonomist political party in Quebec, established in 1994 and merged into Coalition Avenir Québec in 2012.
ABNI	Advisory Board for Naturalisation and Integration. Established by the United Kingdom government in 2004 to advise on the development of a naturalization test policy, the ABNI functioned until 2008.
ADVN	Archief en Documentatiecentrum voor het Vlaams-nationalisme (Archive and Documentation Centre for Flemish Nationalism), Antwerp; http://www.advn.be.
Allochtonen	In Flanders, refers to legal residents whose parents or grandparents were born outside Belgium, and who may experience disadvantage as a result of their ethnic origins or socio-economic situation.
Allophone	In Quebec, refers to residents whose mother tongue is neither French nor English.
AMSAB	Amsab-Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (Amsab-Institute of Social History), Ghent; http://www.amsab.be.
AMVB	Archief en Museum van het Vlaams Leven te Brussel (Archive and Museum of Flemish Life in Brussels), Brussels; http://www.amvb.be.
BEF	Belgian Francs
Bill 22	'Official Language Act' (Loi 22: Loi sur la langue officielle), passed in 1974 by a PLQ government in Quebec.
Bill 60	'Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests' (Projet de loi n°60 : Charte affirmant les valeurs de laïcité et de neutralité religieuse de l'État ainsi que d'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes et encadrant les demandes d'accommodement), introduced in 2013 by a PQ government in Quebec.

Bill 63	'Act to Promote the French Language in Quebec' (Loi 63: Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec), passed in 1969 by a Union Nationale government.
Bill 75	'An Act respecting immigration to Québec' (Loi 75: Loi sur l'Immigration au Québec), passed in 1968 by the Union Nationale government under Daniel Johnson.
Bill 94	'An Act to establish guidelines governing accommodation requests within the Administration and certain institutions' (Projet de loi n°94 : Loi établissant les balises encadrant les demandes d'accommodement dans l'Administration gouvernementale et dans certains établissements), introduced in 2010 by a PLQ government in Quebec.
Bill 101	'Charter of the French Language' (Loi 101: Charte de la Langue française), passed in 1977 by the newly-elected PQ government under René Lévesque.
BNAA	British North America Act 1867 (Constitution Act 1867). An Act of the British Parliament that created a federation and set out the division of federal and provincial legislative powers in Canada. The BNAA was 'patriated' by the Constitution Act 1982.
BNP	British National Party.
Besluit	Ministerial or Executive Order of Federal, Regional or Community governments in Belgium.
CEGEP	Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel (College of general and professional education). A two year institution between secondary school and tertiary education in Quebec.
CFC	Commission française de la Culture de l'Agglomération de Bruxelles (Francophone Cultural Commission). Established in 1972 to deliberate on cultural and linguistic matters in Brussels, it was superseded by the COCOF in Belgium's 1989 state reform.
COCOF	Commission communautaire française (Francophone Community Commission). Established in 1989, the institution representing the Francophone Community in Brussels.

COCOM	Commission communautaire commune (Joint Community Commission). Established in 1989, the institution in Brussels governing 'bicommunal' policy matters, which do not fall clearly within the jurisdiction of either the VGC or COCOF.
COFI	Centres d'Orientation et de Formation des Immigrants (Centers for Immigrants' Orientation and Education), Quebec.
COSLA	Convention of Scottish Local Authorities.
CD&V	Christen-Democratisch en Vlaams (Christian-Democratic and Flemish). A successor party to the Christelijke Volkspartij/Christian People's Party.
CRISP	Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques. Publisher of the *Courrier hebdomadaire*.
Cultuurraad	Cultuurraad voor de Nederlandse Cultuurgemeenschap (Cultural Council for the Dutch Cultural Community). Established in 1970 to deliberate on Dutch-speaking Community issues in Belgium, it was superseded by the Flemish Parliament (VP).
Decreet	Decree (law) passed by a Federal, Regional or Community parliament in Belgium.
Handelingen	Proceedings of the Flemish Parliament.
Hoorzitting	Committee hearing on proposed legislation in the Flemish Parliament.
ICM	Interdepartementale Commissie Migranten (Interdepartmental Committee for Migrants), Flanders.
ICEM	Interdepartementale Commissie Etnisch-Culturele Minderheden (Interdepartmental Committee for Ethnocultural Minorities), Flanders.
Inburgering	Flemish civic integration policy. Implemented by the *Decreet van 28 februari 2003 betreffende het Vlaamse inburgeringsbeleid*. Current inburgering policy is governed by the *Decreet betreffende het Vlaamse integratie- en inburgeringsbeleid 2013*.
Inwijkelingen	While it could refer to both foreigners and Belgians who arrive in Flanders, the term has come to be used primarily in relation to immigrants and in the context of integration policy.

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KCM	Koninklijk Commissariaat voor het Migrantenbeleid (Royal Commission on Migrant Policy). Established by the Belgian government in 1989 to make recommendations on the issue of migration and migrants.
MAC	Migration Advisory Committee. An independent, non-statutory committee within the Home Office, established in 2007 to advise the United Kingdom government on immigration issues. Publishes the shortage occupation list. https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/migration-advisory-committee.
MAIICC	Ministère des Affaires internationales, de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (Ministry of International Affairs, Immigration and Cultural Communities), Quebec, 1993–1996.
MCCI	Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration), Quebec, 1981–1993.
MICC	Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities), Quebec, 2005–2014. Renamed Ministère de l'Immigration, Diversité et Inclusion in 2014 by Quebec's incoming PLQ government.
MRCI	Ministère des Relations avec des Citoyens et de l'Immigration (Ministry for Relations with Citizens and for Immigration), Quebec, 1996–2005.
MSP	Member of the Scottish Parliament.
NCC	Nederlandse Commissie voor de Cultuur van de Brusselse Agglomeratie (Dutch Cultural Commission). Established in 1972 to deliberate on cultural and linguistic matters in Brussels, it was superseded by the VGC in Belgium's 1989 state reform.
N-VA	Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie (New Flemish Alliance). Flemish nationalist political party, established in 2001 partly out of the Volksunie.
ONS	Office for National Statistics, Scotland.
PBS	Points-based system for managing immigration into the United Kingdom, introduced in 2005.
PLQ	Parti Liberal du Québec (Liberal Party of Quebec).
PNP	Provincial Nominee Program. Allows Canadian Provinces to nominate individuals for permanent residence based on local labour market needs.

PQ	Parti Québécois.
SNP	Scottish National Party.
sp.a	Socialistische Partij – Anders (Socialist Party – Different), Flanders.
Stuk	Document in the parliamentary record at Flemish Community and VGC levels. The same Stuk number relates to all stages of assembly debate, committee consideration and voting on a given legislative proposal or policy document.
UKBA	United Kingdom Border Agency. Established in 2008, its functions were reabsorbed by the Home Office in 2013.
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party.
VCIM	Vlaams Centrum Integratie Migranten (Flemish Centre for the Integration of Migrants). Functioned from 1990 to 1998.
VFIK	Vlaams Fonds voor Integratie van Kansarmen (Flemish Fund for the Integration of the Underprivileged).
VGC	Vlaamse Gemeenschapscommissie (Flemish Community Commission). Established in 1989, the institution representing the Flemish Community in Brussels.
VHRM	Vlaamse Hoge Raad voor Migranten (Flemish High Council for Migrants). Composed of migrants and academics, the VHRM functioned from 1982 until the early 1990s. It was officially annulled in 1997.
VLD	Vlaamse Liberalen en Democraten (Flemish Liberal Party).
VMC	Vlaams Minderhedencentrum (Flemish Minorities Centre).
VOC	Vlaams Onderwijscentrum (Flemish Education Centre). Functioned from 1968. In the 1990s its work was largely superseded by the VGC, and it was formally dissolved in 2002.
VOCOM	Vlaams Overlegcomité Opbouwwerk Migranten, later Vlaams Overlegcomité Migratie (Flemish Consultative Committee for Sociocultural/Socioeducative Work with Migrants, later Flemish Consultative Committee for Migration). Established in 1977, it was superseded by the VCIM in 1990.
VP	Vlaams Parlement (Flemish Parliament). The legislative body for the Region of Flanders and the Dutch-speaking Community.

Contents

List of Tables and Figures viii

Acknowledgements ix

Glossary xi

1 Immigrant Newcomers and the Old Politics of Nationalism 1

2 Nationalism, Decentralization and the Politics of Migration 19

3 Taming the Trojan Horse: Quebec and the Politics of Demography 45

4 Managing Multiple Diversities: Belgian Federalism and the Flemish Politics of Integration 84

5 Civic and Economic Nationalism: The Scottish Turn to Immigration 127

6 Challenges and Opportunities of Governing Diversity in the Multinational Society 157

Notes 173

References 189

Index 228

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 3.1	Quebec Ministry of Immigration Subsidies for Integration, 1969–1975	60
Table 4.1	Foreign Population in Belgium, 2000 and 2008	87

Figures

Figure 3.1	Quebec's Share of Canadian Immigration and Population	47
Figure 4.1	Home Language of Pupils in Dutch-speaking Brussels Primary Schools	116
Figure 4.2	Home Language of Pupils in Dutch-speaking Brussels Pre-schools	117

1
Immigrant Newcomers and the Old Politics of Nationalism

1.1 The challenge of multiple diversities

In contemporary democracies, immigration, migrant integration, and the management of diversity are the objects of robust political and social debate. In European societies, for instance, the numbers of immigrant newcomers, the place of cultural and religious diversity, and, in some countries, even the labour mobility of European Union (EU) citizens have become electorally charged. Formal demands regarding migrants' linguistic, cultural or values adaptation via 'civic integration' tests or courses have proliferated in recent years. Yet, despite some claims of convergence on immigration, integration and citizenship policies (Soysal 1994), states continue to adopt a variety of approaches regarding admissions criteria, integration requirements and the social, civic and political rights extended to both individual migrants and ethnic and religious groups (Koopmans et al. 2012).

In multinational societies like the United Kingdom, Belgium and Canada, the challenge of governing diversity is even more complex because of pre-existing debate and contestation over the claims of substate nations—regions that claim some degree of linguistic, cultural or national recognition or self-determination (Barker 2010; Winter 2011; Zapata-Barrero 2009). In these societies, the 'new' diversity arising from immigration meets the 'old' politics of substate nationalism, as political leaders in societies like Scotland, Flanders and Quebec confront immigration flows and immigrant integration patterns that could impact, either positively or negatively, on the substate nation's own identity and interests. For some, the presence of diverse immigrant populations challenges the substate nation's claims to cultural or linguistic distinctiveness. Moreover, immigrants' integration patterns

could buttress the linguistic, cultural or political majority in the nation-state, to the detriment of the substate nation. For others, migrants might prove to be potential allies in ongoing cultural and political struggle against the central state. This is ever more relevant as migrants and their descendants increasingly possess the full political rights associated with citizenship. Thus, as Chapter 2 outlines further, migrants' arrival, presence and integration patterns have the potential to be of particular interest to substate national leaders as they continue to negotiate their relationship with the central state.

Not only might questions of immigration and integration be of interest to substate national leaders, but the global trend of decentralization of power means they are increasingly empowered to decide how to respond to migration and diversity. Under conditions of political decentralization, policy making is no longer solely the domain of the central state. Important questions therefore arise: First, how do substate national leaders respond to immigration, migrant integration and diversity? Second, what shapes their responses? Third, what is the relationship between substate nations' ongoing political and constitutional struggles with the central state, on one hand, and their relationship to immigrants in their midst, on the other? More broadly, what are the implications of political decentralization for how diversity is governed in contemporary democracies?

This book provides answers to these questions. While others have studied aspects of immigration from the perspective of federal systems (Joppke & Seidle 2012), regionalist party strategies (Hepburn 2009b), the confrontation of multinationality and multiculturalism in public discourse (Winter 2011) and the consequences of multinational politics for immigrants' sense of belonging (Banting & Soroka 2012), my focus is on the policy responses of substate governments in decentralized political systems characterized by multinationality. The comparative study of how political leaders in Quebec, Flanders and Brussels, and Scotland have responded to immigration and diversity sheds light on two phenomena that continue to challenge traditional notions of the nation and citizenship—namely, the 'old' politics of substate nationalisms and the 'new' diversity of immigration.

In response to the first, descriptive question of *how substate national leaders respond to immigration, migrant integration and diversity*, I show there is no single typical substate nation response. Examining the substate policy approach to immigration and integration in terms of both the relative openness to migrants' presence in the substate national community and the extent to which substate governments seek

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