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Ruud Koopmans, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni, Florence Passy, Contested Citizenship. Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, 312 pp.

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Recensioni

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The book by Koopmans *et al.* is an interesting contribution to the debate on national citizenship models and the inclusion of diversity, both from a theoretical and an empirical point of view. On the one side, the authors take up the literature concerning nation-based citizenship features and produce models based on two dimensions: 1) individual access to equal citizenship rights and 2) group differential rights. The outcome is a matrix with four models (as reported in the Introduction and in Chapter 1), following a classification not very dissimilar from others already developed in the literature: assimilationism (citizenship based on ethnic bonds and on conformity to a single cultural model); segregationism (citizenship based on ethnic bonds and on the retention and stimulation of diversity); universalism (citizenship based on the territorial principle – *ius soli* – and on conformity to a single cultural model); multiculturalism (citizenship based on the territorial principle and on the retention and stimulation of diversity).

Analytically however, this book is an important step to ground further analysis: actually, from a methodological point of view, the definition of the four models is based on a fine-tuned score system of different sub-dimensions considered in three different points in time. As a consequence, interestingly this analysis shows the evolution of national models, that in the last 25 years (with different scopes and degrees) move from ethnic to civic individual rights and from cultural monism to cultural pluralism as far as collective rights are concerned. The original contribution of this exercise, however, comes in when the four models are analysed through the lens of social movements studies. This integrated conceptual framework pays major attention to the interplay of collective actors, making the usual national citizenship models more actual and concrete, and in this way even easier to inquire empirically: as a matter of fact, real actors' behaviour is used creatively to test main theses in the migration and citizenship literature, usually placed at a high level of abstraction. In this way, general statements concerning citizenship models (e.g. the prevalence of ethnic or civic rights recognition) are tested through the claims made in this field by relevant actors.

As a consequence, the book provides a significant account of the role of some important collective actors in the making of citizenship politics, mainly studying claim making in the field of immigration and ethnic relations politics, as reported in major national newspapers in five European countries (Germany, France, UK, Switzerland and the Netherlands).

Although the book ends with a methodological appendix that includes a clear exemplification of the coding system used, a detailed methodological account is missing (especially as the link between the theoretical framework and the data analysis is concerned). Since the authors maintain that this book is one of the first wide-scope empirical studies confronting citizenship and inclusion theories, more attention to this point was

expected. Methods used (mainly analysis of newspaper articles) are disputable for many respects (as the authors themselves acknowledge), providing a biased and one-sided view coming from the choice of individual newspapers chosen up to the significance of “public space” deriving from the choice of these media. In spite of this necessary disclaimer, the book also includes valuable research results. Chapter 3 deals with claims coming from different types of migrant mobilization, with the main aim of studying how such claims develop along the dimensions studied to classify national citizenship models, and how much (if at all) the transnational dimension of migrant communities and international bodies play a role in making the nation-state level weaker. This chapter shows a considerable consistence between the type and the extent of migrant claims and citizenship models in the issues raised by migrant mobilization.

Chapter 4 provides further analysis of this kind of mobilization, with a special focus on religion-based minority group demands. The main focus is on Islamic claims, whose intensity, span and features are connected again with nation-centred accommodation paths in three of the five countries analyzed throughout the book (France, UK, the Netherlands). Though the findings support a certain level of consistency between national models and religious claims, the authors maintain a substantial autonomy of Islamic claims that make them a bigger challenge. This last point, I believe, is one of the weakest in the book, as it pursues a rather essentialist view of Islam. The authors, in fact, underestimate the fact that Islam has not always been an issue, but that it has become so although religious difference was present from the beginning of migration flows. In this case, the burden of international facts and the history of Islamic revival has probably been underrated: A wider acknowledgement of a “sociology of Islam” could be mixed with the interesting approach to social movements used in other parts of the book, in order to ground a more in-depth analysis of differences within the Islamic field, synchronically and diachronically.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to extreme rights movements and their “xenophobic claims.” Also in this case, the political space for actors’ voice and the type of actions in which they are involved is read as a consequence of public sphere organization, citizenship configurations and party competition. The latter makes the interpretation more flexible, able to account for the transformations, rises and falls that xenophobic movements have had in Europe in the last twenty years or so. Unfortunately the limited time span of the analysis (focused mainly on the 1990’s) fails to see the withdrawal (or the change) that some of these movements have had (e.g. the Front National in France). Chapter 6 accounts for the adverse party, i.e. the pro-immigrant and antiracist actors. In this case the opportunity structure influencing levels and features of claims again involves citizenship configurations and public sphere organization, but also an interplay with competing actors (migrants themselves and xenophobic movements). As a result, the authors argue that pro-immigrant actors’ claims are coherent with general understandings of diversity accommodation in national models, though a certain degree of relative strength can be due to other actors in the field.

In synthesis, the main point the authors suggest is the focal and continuing role of nation-state models in shaping claims, public representations and the role of diversity and minorities. Such a role, hence, is not fading at all in many respects, and proved to be more consequential than suggested by “anti-national” theories, based on the role

of supra- and trans-national actors. This does not mean that nation-based policies are uncontested: a large part of the book is interested in studying challenges coming from minority-related claims. A great number of these claims however, even the more radical ones, move from some basic features of national models: they shape the claims and also shape the challenges to the models. The evolution of the models is an interplay between path-dependent configurations of citizenship and multi-sided claims channelled within the models themselves: as a consequence, innovation trajectories are quite path dependent, and usually happen within a given configuration more than among configurations.

This study provides interesting empirical evidences of the viability of national models, through extensive accounts from different countries with different nation-state configurations. The authors open a potentially prolific branch of migration studies with the integration of social movement studies. As an example of further analysis, it could be interesting to assess the situation in countries with citizenship models in the making or under heavier pressure, like the Mediterranean countries that are going federal (Spain and Italy) and Eastern countries in transition. Possibly, these countries could provide further, interesting evidences and challenges for the national models and their change, hence benefitting from an integrated approach that – with the use of social movements literature – has a grasp on actions in the making.

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