
**FEAR, ANXIETY, AND
NATIONAL IDENTITY**

**FEAR, ANXIETY, AND
NATIONAL IDENTITY**

**IMMIGRATION AND BELONGING
IN NORTH AMERICA AND
WESTERN EUROPE**

NANCY FONER AND PATRICK SIMON
EDITORS

Russell Sage Foundation • New York

The Russell Sage Foundation

The Russell Sage Foundation, one of the oldest of America's general purpose foundations, was established in 1907 by Mrs. Margaret Olivia Sage for "the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States." The foundation seeks to fulfill this mandate by fostering the development and dissemination of knowledge about the country's political, social, and economic problems. While the foundation endeavors to assure the accuracy and objectivity of each book it publishes, the conclusions and interpretations in Russell Sage Foundation publications are those of the authors and not of the foundation, its trustees, or its staff. Publication by Russell Sage, therefore, does not imply foundation endorsement.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
Sara S. McLanahan, Chair

Larry M. Bartels
Kenneth D. Brody
Karen S. Cook
W. Bowman Cutter III
Sheldon Danziger

Kathryn Edin
Lawrence F. Katz
Nicholas Lemann
Peter R. Orszag
Claude M. Steele

Shelley E. Taylor
Richard H. Thaler
Hirokazu Yoshikawa

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fear, anxiety, and national identity : immigration and belonging in North America and Western Europe / Nancy Foner and Patrick Simon, editors.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-61044-853-6 (ebook) 1. North America—Emigration and immigration.

2. Europe—Emigration and immigration. 3. Immigrants—North America. 4. Immigrants—Europe. 5. Cultural pluralism—North America. 6. Cultural pluralism—Europe.

7. National characteristics. I. Foner, Nancy, 1945- editor. II. Simon, Patrick, editor.

JV6465.F43 2015

304.8'4—dc23

2015009150

Copyright © 2015 by Russell Sage Foundation. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Reproduction by the United States Government in whole or in part is permitted for any purpose.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials. ANSI Z39.48-1992.

Text design by Suzanne Nichols.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION
112 East 64th Street, New York, New York 10065
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Contents

| | | |
|--------------|--|-----|
| | List of Figures and Tables | vii |
| | Contributors | ix |
| | Acknowledgments | xi |
| Introduction | Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity: Immigration and Belonging in North America and Western Europe <i>Nancy Foner and Patrick Simon</i> | 1 |
| PART I | North America | 31 |
| Chapter 1 | The Contradictory Character of American Nationality: A Historical Perspective <i>Gary Gerstle</i> | 33 |
| Chapter 2 | Reimagining the Nation in a World of Migration: Legitimacy, Political Claims-Making, and Membership in Comparative Perspective <i>Irene Bloemraad</i> | 59 |
| Chapter 3 | Does Becoming American Create a Better American? How Identity Attachments and Perceptions of Discrimination Affect Trust and Obligation <i>Deborah J. Schildkraut</i> | 83 |

| | | |
|-----------|---|-----|
| Chapter 4 | The War on Crime and the War on Immigrants: Racial and Legal Exclusion in the Twenty-First-Century United States <i>Mary C. Waters and Philip Kasinitz</i> | 115 |
| PART II | Western Europe | 145 |
| Chapter 5 | Feeling Dutch: The Culturalization and Emotionalization of Citizenship and Second-Generation Belonging in the Netherlands <i>Marieke Sloopman and Jan Willem Duyvendak</i> | 147 |
| Chapter 6 | Nationhood and Muslims in Britain <i>Nasar Meer, Varun Uberoi, and Tariq Modood</i> | 169 |
| Chapter 7 | Constituting National Identity Through Transnationality: Categorizations of Inequalities in German Integration Debates <i>Thomas Faist and Christian Ulbricht</i> | 189 |
| | Index | 213 |

List of Figures and Tables

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| Figure 3.1 | Probabilities of Latinos Trusting Government “Most of the Time” | 97 |
| Figure 3.2 | Probabilities of Latinos Never Trusting Government | 97 |
| Figure 3.3 | Probability of Stating Obligation to Donate | 102 |
| Figure 5.1 | Average Scores on Identification | 159 |
| Table 3.1 | Identity Attachment | 91 |
| Table 3.2 | Perceptions of Discrimination | 92 |
| Table 3.3 | Trust in Government | 95 |
| Table 3.4 | Obligation to Participate | 100 |
| Table 5.1 | Extent of Feeling Dutch | 155 |

Contributors

Nancy Foner is Distinguished Professor of Sociology at Hunter College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

Patrick Simon is director of research at Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques and a research fellow at the Centre d'Etudes Européennes at Sciences Po.

Irene Bloemraad is professor of sociology and Thomas Garden Barnes Chair of Canadian Studies at the University of California at Berkeley.

Jan Willem Duyvendak is Distinguished Research Professor in Sociology at the University of Amsterdam.

Thomas Faist is professor of sociology and dean of the Faculty of Sociology at Bielefeld University.

Gary Gerstle is Paul Mellon Professor of American History at the University of Cambridge.

Philip Kasinitz is Presidential Professor of Sociology at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

Nasar Meer is reader in comparative social policy and citizenship and a Royal Society of Edinburgh Research Fellow at Strathclyde University.

Tariq Modood is professor of sociology, politics, and public policy and director of the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship at Bristol University.

Deborah J. Schildkraut is professor of political science at Tufts University.

Marieke Slooman is assistant professor of cultural anthropology at Leiden University and a postdoctoral researcher in sociology at the University of Amsterdam.

Varun Uberoi is senior lecturer in politics at Brunel University.

Christian Ulbricht is a doctoral student in sociology at Bielefeld University.

Mary C. Waters is M.E. Zukerman Professor of Sociology at Harvard University.

Acknowledgments

This book has its origins in a conference held at the Russell Sage Foundation, with additional support from INED (the French National Institute for Demographic Studies), in December 2011, “Fear and Anxiety over National Identity: Contrasting North American and European Experiences and Public Debates on Immigrant and Second Generation Integration.” The conference brought together an interdisciplinary group of distinguished North American and European scholars to explore, through a transatlantic perspective, a broad range of themes related to the role of public discourse, policies, institutions, cultural patterns, and social practices in issues of national identity and the integration of immigrants and the second generation.

Our greatest debt of gratitude is to the Russell Sage Foundation for funding and hosting the conference, and especially to then president Eric Wanner and senior program officer Aixa Cintron for their support in making it possible. Kelly Westphalen, then at the foundation, handled many of the details and arrangements that went into making the conference a success.

In addition to the authors in this volume who attended the conference, we would like to thank others who also presented papers, served as discussants, or chaired sessions: Richard Alba, Valérie Amiraux, John Bowen, Grete Brochmann, Rogers Brubaker, Ayse Caglar, Ruby Gropas, Jennifer Hochschild, Marc Morjé Howard, Dirk Jacobs, Christian Joppke, Peter Kivisto, Jennifer Lee, Peggy Levitt, Karthick Ramakrishnan, Andrew Shryock, John Solomos, Daniel Tichenor, Anna Triandafyllidou, and Elke Winter.

In preparing the book for publication, we have had the good fortune to work with a wonderful editor at the Russell Sage Foundation, Suzanne Nichols, who has been a source of support, wisdom, and advice at every

stage of the publication process. The publications assistant, Nina Psoncak, also provided valued assistance. Thanks as well to the current head of the foundation, Sheldon Danziger, for his support of the volume. We are also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers for providing useful suggestions that we believe have made this a better book.

Nancy Foner owes a special debt to Richard Alba; in working on this book, she has drawn on many ideas and insights developed in their joint publications comparing immigrant integration in North America and western Europe. Patrick Simon was a visiting scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation in the 2010–2011 academic year, when he had the opportunity for many stimulating discussions with other scholars that were a benefit in developing and elaborating, in collaboration with Nancy Foner, the ideas which framed the conference and ultimately this book.

Finally, we are grateful to the authors of the chapters in this volume for their responsiveness and commitment to the book, including requests for revisions from us and from reviewers, and for the quality of their contributions.