

Roland Hsu / Christoph Reinprecht (eds.)

Migration and Integration

New Models for Mobility and Coexistence

Vienna University Press



V&R Academic

Migrations- und Integrationsforschung Multidisziplinäre Perspektiven

Band 8

Herausgegeben von Heinz Fassmann, Richard Potz
und Hildegard Weiss

Die Bände dieser Reihe sind peer-reviewed.

Advisory Board: Christine Langenfeld (Göttingen), Andreas Pott
(Osnabrück), Ludger Pries (Bochum)

Roland Hsu / Christoph Reinprecht (eds.)

Migration and Integration

New Models for Mobility and Coexistence

V&R unipress

Vienna University Press



universität
wien



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

ISSN 2198-5243

ISBN 978-3-8471-0474-2

ISBN 978-3-8470-0474-5 (E-Book)

ISBN 978-3-7370-0474-9 (V&R eLibrary)

**Veröffentlichungen der Vienna University Press
erscheinen im Verlag V&R unipress GmbH.**

Weitere Ausgaben und Online-Angebote sind erhältlich unter: www.v-r.de

© 2016, V&R unipress GmbH, Robert-Bosch-Breite 6, 37079 Göttingen / www.v-r.de
Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Das Werk und seine Teile sind urheberrechtlich geschützt.
Jede Verwertung in anderen als den gesetzlich zugelassenen Fällen bedarf der vorherigen schriftlichen Einwilligung des Verlages.

Printed in Germany.

Titelbild: Paris Graffiti, © Hagen411 bei Fotolia

Druck und Bindung: CPI buchbuecher.de GmbH, Zum Alten Berg 24, 96158 Birkach

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Inhalt

Acknowledgements	7
Roland Hsu (Stanford University)	
Settling Peoples: Lessons from Diasporas and Difference	9
 Part One – Migration: Experiencing New Mobility	
Zhongshan Yue / Shuzhuo Li (Xi'an Jiaotong University) /	
Marcus W. Feldman (Stanford University)	
Social Integration of Rural-Urban Migrants: Policy Challenges for China	29
Raimund Haindorfer / Roland Verwiebe / Christoph Reinprecht /	
Laura Wiesböck (University of Vienna)	
Economic Outcomes and Life Satisfaction of East-West Commuters in the	
Central European Region	49
 Part Two – Integration: Models for Trust	
Nils Holtug (University of Copenhagen)	
Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion	71
David D. Laitin (Stanford University)	
Exodus: Reflections on European Migration Policy	85
Rennie J. Moon (Yonsei University) / Gi-Wook Shin (Stanford University)	
Embracing Diversity in Higher Education: Comparing Discourses in the	
US, Europe, and Asia	95

Part Three – Resettlement: Responding Effectively

Alexander Betts (University of Oxford) / Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar (Stanford University) / Aparna Surendra (Stanford University) Humanitarian Innovation, Integration, and the Architecture of Refugee Protection	111
---	-----

Sieglinde Rosenberger / Carla Küffner (University of Vienna) After the Deportation Gap: Non-Removed Persons and their Pathways to Social Rights	137
---	-----

Part Four – Land and Labor: Indigenous and Immigrant Rights

C. Matthew Snipp / Karina Kloos / Dolly Kikon (Stanford University) Suffering for Territory: Immigrant Claims and Indigenous Rights in the United States and India	153
--	-----

Peter Cirenza (London School of Economics) Geography and Assimilation: A Case Study of Irish Immigrants in Late Nineteenth Century America	173
--	-----

Part Five – Reception and Recognition

Paola Mattei (St Antony's College, University of Oxford) Religious Diversity in French Schools: From the 1989 <i>affaires des</i> <i>foulards</i> to the 2004 Headscarf Ban	203
---	-----

Claire Lévy-Vroelant The “Immigrant” through the Prism of Hospitality “à la française”	215
---	-----

Heinz Fassmann (University of Vienna) Rethinking Migration Policy in Austria	229
---	-----

List of Contributors	243
--------------------------------	-----

Index	251
-----------------	-----

Acknowledgements

We are delighted to acknowledge those who inspired this volume's greatest strengths. First thanks go to our contributors, for their intellectual openness to bring their work to the give-and-take of our transnational conference on migration and integration at Stanford University¹. We express our enduring appreciation to our contributors, for their patience and openness to our edits and requests for revisions, and for their generosity offering expertise with their essays, and with comments to improve our own.

At Stanford University, we give our very special thanks to Amir Eshel, whose leadership of the Europe Center at Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies provided support to conceive and run over the course of multiple years the series of seminars, working groups, visiting fellowships, and workshops on this subject. This series at Stanford gave us the extraordinary privilege of hosting the insightful scholars who ultimately contributed to this book. At Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute, our special thanks also go to Mariano-Florentino Cuellar for his continuing support and engagement with this project and the subject. We extend our thanks to Gi-Wook Shin for bringing as a project partner the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Area Research Center, and to Elizabeth Gardner and Lynn Eden for spearheading our partnership with the Center for International Security and Cooperation. Karen Eggleston and Don Emmerson provided invaluable expertise for us to identify and benefit from our outstanding colleagues who specialize in East Asia. We give our warm thanks to Karen Haley and Suzanne Kierstead for their unflagging dedication and talent to make such a complex project come together.

At the University of Vienna, special thanks go to August Reinisch, Head of the Section of International Law and International Relations, indispensable catalyst

1 The international conference "Migration and Integration: Global and Local Dimensions" (September 19–20, 2013) was hosted at Stanford University, and was sponsored by the Europe Center and the University of Vienna, with co-sponsors the Center for International Security and Cooperation, and the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies.

for obtaining a stable and strong bridge between Stanford and Vienna, to Heinz Fassmann who supported the conference and book project both in his function as vice-rector and co-founder of the research platform for migration and integration research, and to Maximilian Kudler from the team for international cooperation and higher education projects.

We also wish to thank Judith Welz and Georg Layr for preparing the manuscript for publishing, and to the scholarly reviewer for valuable feedback, and to the editors at the University of Vienna Press. Finally, to all these colleagues and friends this work owes its strengths; any remaining shortcomings in the text remain our own.

This book is dedicated to Jeanne Hsu.

Roland Hsu and Christoph Reinprecht, Stanford and Vienna

Settling Peoples: Lessons from Diasporas and Difference¹

We live in an age of great numbers of unsettled people, displaced by natural resource deprivation, conflict, poverty, and persecution. Most dramatic are the reports of migrants taking extraordinary risks to cross international borders. All major political economies are affected, and the scope of displacement is reflected in the diversity of populations.² North Africans seek passage to Europe, some for economic opportunity, others to flee persecution in the wake of the region's "Arab Spring" (BBC 2014c; Kaunert/Léonard 2014).³ Those without legal documents may fall prey to smugglers and the perils of passage on the high seas or under truck and train transport (Andersson 2014b; Bommers/Fassmann/Sie-

1 This essay benefited from reviews and comments on earlier drafts of sections presented to the Stanford Working Group on Responding to Refugees, winter 2014, and the Conference on "Migration and Integration: Global and Local Dimensions", Stanford University, September 19–20, 2013. Special thanks to James Hathaway for generously sharing his expertise on refugee law and comments on this essay, and to Stephanie Hom for extended discussions during her faculty fellowship at the Stanford Humanities Center.

2 The literature on international migration is rich and growing, notably on three areas of influence: regime change, natural resource deprivation, and asylum protection. Especially strong on detail of migration in the Americas, the Mediterranean basin, and Southeast Asia is: Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino, and Taylor 2002. See also: Massey and Taylor 2007. For an analysis of global "cyclical migration" see Saskia Sassen 2010; Sassen 2007; and the large study with historical and contemporary analysis, Castles, de Haas, and Miller 2013.

3 For extended analysis of the influence of the events of the "Arab Spring" and the free movement protocols of the region's economic and political organization, the "Economic Community of West African States" (ECOWAS), on the flow of migrants between African countries and across the Mediterranean basin, see "Regional Conference on Refugee Protection and International Migration in West Africa (Dakar, Senegal, 13–14 November 2008), at: <http://www.unhcr.org/4a27be466.html> (accessed September 11, 2014); and BBC, "'Easier from Libya' – Migrants Return to Tripoli", <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24521875> (accessed September 15, 2014); and Nick Cumming-Bruce, "Smugglers Rammed Migrants' Boat, Sinking it, Group Says", *New York Times*, September 15, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/16/world/europe/smugglers-rammed-migrants-boat-sinking-it-group-says.html?_r=0 (accessed September 17, 2014). On the EU policy regime for surveillance (EUROSUR) of Europe's southern maritime borders and Europe's North African "pre-frontier" see: European Union, Europa 2008 (accessed September 29), 2014; and Andersson 2012.

vers 2014; BBC 2014a; Berman 2003; Cross 2009; Schain 2013; Trauner/Deimel 2013; Courau 2008).⁴ Undocumented workers, youth, and families from Eurasian republics and the greater Middle East are transiting Europe's eastern borders and are being held in an expanding constellation of immigrant and refugee camps (Albrecht 2002; Rekacewicz 2013; Bermejo 2009; Schwell 2009; Geddes 2008; Samers 2004; Asale 2003).

From East Africa, asylum applicants follow migration and human trafficking routes to Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Australia/Papua New Guinea, and survive without permission to work while the processing of their asylum status outlasts their residency permits.⁵ Refugees from Gaza, Iraq, Iran, Syria (in 2014 more than three million), Central and South-East Asia (Afghanistan, Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia), and the Great Lakes and Horn of Africa regions (Congo, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Uganda, Chad), are fleeing military conflict, political persecution, and devastated health, housing, and education infrastructure, and are overwhelming the capacity of neighboring countries to host U.N. refugee camps (Betts/Orchard 2014; Betts 2011/2013). In each of these cases local governments capitalize on political pressure to segregate migrants, constrain asylum courts, and especially to reinforce borders.⁶

4 On the EU policy response see, Kanter 2013. On EU and UN analysis and policy response see, Frontex 2014; and the research publication sponsored by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), focused on immigrant refugees, UNHCR 2014b, which includes the multi-national "10-Point Plan of Action on Refugee Protection and Mixed Migration".

5 Author interview with M. F. Dixon, Organizational Secretary, African Community, Hong Kong, June 5, 2014. See also: Wall Street Journal, "Hong Kong's Asylum System Under Scrutiny", <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2013/06/21/hong-kongs-asylum-system-under-scrutiny/> (accessed September 15, 2014); and Mathews 2011. Also, author interview with Gordon Mathews on June 5, 2014; Sassen 2007; Shah 2008.

6 On the creation of modern procedural migration detention, and the tension between national sovereignty and human rights norms, see Wilsher 2012; Ryan and Mitsilegas 2010; and Good 2007. See also: Boubekur, Amghar, de Wijk, and Malashenko 2006; Amy Taxin, "Overwhelmed Immigration Courts Could Face Further Delays", *Christian Science Monitor*, July 12, 2014, <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Latest-News-Wires/2014/0712/Overwhelmed-immigration-courts-could-face-further-delays> (accessed September 15, 2014); United States Government, U. S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement: Review of the use of segregation for ICE detainees" (September 4, 2013) http://www.ice.gov/doclib/detention-reform/pdf/segregation_directive.pdf (accessed September 15, 2014); and The John Marshall Law School International Human Rights Clinic, "U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement's New Directive on Segregation: Why we need further protections", (February 2014) <http://www.jmls.edu/clinics/international-human-rights/pdfs/customs-segregation-report.pdf> (accessed September 15, 2014).

Resettling: Looking behind the Experience of Integration

After displacement, what does it mean to migrants to resettle? In this essay and in the chapters that follow we use the term resettle in particular instances to specify the formal procedure for assigning refugee residency; but more often we refer to its informal usage pointing to the experience of situating and settling in a new community. We examine the commonly articulated goal of integrating newcomers, and in this volume we will unpack settlement by differentiating between international and domestic displacement, migration and asylum, and statutory or administrative and qualitative experience. This volume combines the research of twenty leading scholars on this subject, all invited in 2013 to engage these issues at Stanford University.⁷ Each brought perspectives from the areas of migrant settlement in Europe, the United States, North and East Africa, South Asia, and East and South-East Asia. This volume frames a discussion about prevailing models of integration and assimilation. In what follows I describe the way the problem has been framed through four main questions.

First, what is the scale of interior or domestic movement? To understand migration in its full impact we must take account of the staggering scale of domestic or internal displacement and resettling. In this opening essay, taking inspiration from the contributing authors' case studies, I put forward this comparison of scale. In China, the central State Council recently acknowledged what millions experience but few until recently have been able to officially quantify: that massive numbers of its citizens migrate domestically. In 2014, the government put the official number of those who have migrated specifically from rural homes to towns and cities – from agricultural to manufacturing employment, and often to a region with a new language dialect – at 174 million people (cf. Xinhua News Agency 2014). Independent researchers put the number of these rural-to-urban migrants even higher (up to 15 percent of the total population), or up to 202 million people, a total that nearly equals the combined population of neighboring Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea.⁸

In Europe, by comparison, the official Eurostat figures also indicate extra-

7 The conference "Migration and Integration: Global and Local Perspectives" (2013), was developed by this author, with the Europe Center at Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, and with co-sponsorship at Stanford by the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, and the Center for International Security and Cooperation, along with the University of Vienna. The conference program is at: http://fsi.stanford.edu/events/migration_and_integration_global_and_local_dimensions).

8 In this volume, the essay by Li Shuzhou, Yue Zhongshan, and Marcus Feldman cites the National Bureau of Statistics of China that puts the number much larger at 261 million domestic migrants (report from 2011 of the year 2010). They note that this number includes urban-to-urban migrants. The number that I cite here represents the official claim to isolate solely the number of rural-to-urban migrants within China.

ordinary movement. While relocating between European countries is technically not domestic migration, Eurostat data treats displacement into and within the EU in analogous terms, and reveals a comparable proportion of displaced and relocated population. Recent figures categorize 84.9 million people, or roughly 16.8 percent of the total EU population, as foreign – that is: non-EU citizen residents, EU citizens residing in a different EU country, foreign (non-EU) born, or born in the EU but residing in a different EU member country (EC, Eurostat 2013/2014). In separate studies this volume examines Asian and European cases, and probes the administrative and social experiences of such large-scale settling.

Second, what are the uncharted experiences of immigrant residency? Those who have crossed borders that necessitate residency permits are compelled to demonstrate their economic productivity and potential contribution to the host economy. In Europe, the case of Germany demonstrates what can be termed “preference migration”. Germany, with its comparatively robust economy, has attracted a record number of more than four hundred thousand migrants. Of these migrants who have been granted residency, more than one-third arrive with a post-baccalaureate degree, compared to twenty percent of the general population (Kuhn/Klingholz 2013; Sievert/Slupina/Klingholz 2012; see also Smale 2014). Those who cross borders that are open by treaty, such as within the European Union, face no technical requirement to demonstrate productivity.

Such policies of mobility, however, also preclude or at the very least complicate the legal protections against being “repatriated” to a homeland. For indigenous peoples, especially in the experience of the Roma of Western Europe, national governments are implementing policy that targets known immigrant communities. Two successive French administrations admit to, and continue to pursue a policy that targets Roma residents for “return” to presumed homelands in Romania and Bulgaria (Radio France International 2014; Costa-Kostritsky 2012). Such policy puts the European Union in the position of internally “repatriating” indigenous peoples. Roma representatives dispute such policy in national courts, the European Court of Human Rights, and the International Court of Justice. However the combination of multiple national defendants, the technicality that these displaced peoples receive monetary compensation, and the overwhelming caseload, means that legal injunctions are long delayed.

Returning to our China-EU comparison, we find in China similar statutory restriction against long-term resettling. In China’s larger cities and centers of employment, the hundreds of millions of rural-to-urban migrant laborers are subject to the official system of *hukou* or household registration that retains the original rural status, and blocks domestic migrants from accessing urban social services and educational institutions. Without equal access to social benefits or full legal status to press grievances, the millions of migrants in China’s major employment centers who come with their rural *hukou* residency registration are

unable to secure minimum standards for housing, labor law protection, education for their children, or health care. Even now that the Chinese Central State Council has announced reforms of the *hukou* system, and promised changes that would loosen the process to apply to change to urban *hukou* registration, and thereby give more equitable access to social services, analysts note that the vast majority of internal migrants would still be excluded from the most attractive residency status in the major cities (cf. Melander/Pelikanova 2013; Chan/Zhang 1999; Zhu 2007; Chan/Buckingham 2008; Marshal 2013; Silk 2014). Focusing on the migrant experience, this volume features an essay that offers a particularly revealing survey of China's rural-to-urban migrants.

Third, what are the experiences of social integration? Migrants are subject to the forces of popular politics of exploiting difference, and to social service programs designed to assimilate. In Europe, over the past fifteen years, new and second-generation migrants have witnessed the political gains of the Far Right in national and European Parliament, and electoral campaigns based on anti-immigrant platforms. Europe's political landscape from North to South, East to West, now includes well-organized parties that attract fifteen to fifty percent of votes in local elections for candidates who scapegoat migrants for the demise of the Eurozone (cf. Alduy 2013; Higgins 2014; The Economist 2014; Liang 2007).

In some cases, the relationship between migrants and local neighbors is determined by conflicts and ideologies far beyond the local setting. By way of example, recently we find notable cases of Europe's Muslim communities in the UK, France, and Germany which originate predominantly in the Asian sub-continent and North Africa, but which also have been compelled by European campaigns to boycott Israeli institutions to take sides on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and to associate their Muslim identity with an elusive, quasi pan-Arab position on the divisive issue (Yacobi/Newman 2008; Israeli 2009; Kikeli/Al-louche-Benayoun 2013).⁹ Such contradictory responses can position those of immigrant family origin as divisive influences in their host communities. The essays in this book reveal these processes that create politicized communitarian identities, and thus help us unfold the layers of ideological criticism of assimilation projects.

Fourth, how do we respond to the experience of seeking asylum? The rights of refugees, including those seeking recognition of their protected status, are stipulated in the UN's Refugee Convention¹⁰; their legal hearings, however, are

9 See also Huband 2010; Bakker 2010; Marret 2010; Alonso 2010; and Bjorkman 2010.

10 The right to claim asylum is based on international law. Governments are obliged to provide protection to people who meet the criteria for asylum. Asylum seekers petition for refugee status under the protection of three provisions of international law: the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (must demonstrate well-founded fear of future persecution), the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) (filing as part of an

subject to the contradictory tension of national sovereignty and international compliance (Acosta 2009; Hathaway 2011/2013).¹¹ Asylum seekers from East Africa (especially Kenya and Ghana) and the Middle East (especially Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan) follow known transit routes to arrive in Europe, and to reach in far greater numbers Hong Kong, Indonesia, and Australia. There refugees fall into the repeated pattern of submitting their application for asylum, and waiting for processing by asylum courts that elude effective oversight for due process. Their applications linger beyond the period of their entry visa, and they slip into obscurity in semi-clandestine communities where they must seek work as day-laborers, without legal status for long-term employment.¹²

In Europe, absent from the official data are the number of migrants who have entered the EU to apply for asylum, and who sit stranded while they await the resolution of their application. These migrants in limbo populate what have become holding zones and borderland communities. In some frontiers the borderland community has developed a culture rich in hybrid identity with semi-sustainable economy of cyclical transit (Levi/Zilnik 2010; Zaiotti 2011; Anderson/O'Dowd/Wilson 2003; University of Oxford and the European Research Council 2013; Bodomo 2007).¹³ In other zones, the slow asylum processing, and negligent attention to immigrant rights to due process, accommodation, and protection have allowed the emergence of semi-lawless transit camps. For example, near the French North Sea port city of Calais, at the large trucking depots that flank the entry to the underground "Chunnel" crossing to

asylum claim under the above Refugee Convention, or as a stand alone "human rights claim"), and/or in the case of Europe, the European Union Asylum Qualification Directive, which is intended to unify the criteria throughout the EU for identifying people in need of international protection. The UN 1967 Protocol removed the 1951 Convention's temporal and geographic limitation, creating the governing Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees: <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html> (accessed August 18, 2014).

- 11 For the case of Hong Kong, the People's Republic of China has ratified the UN Convention on Refugees, but has not operationalized this in the courts of its Special Administrative Region (Hong Kong). In 2014 with Beijing direction the government of Hong Kong created a "unified screening mechanism" to process claims for asylum. Successful petitioners in Hong Kong's asylum screening courts are granted (infrequently) status as "Protection Claimants" and it is not clear that they possess the full rights of those granted "Asylum" under the UN Refugee Convention. For summary details see: Hong Kong Refugee Advice Centre 2013; and Asylum Access 2014.
- 12 Author interview with M. F. Dixon, Organizational Secretary, African Community, Hong Kong, June 6, 2014. On the conduit of migrants from the greater Middle East (predominantly from Iran and Afghanistan) transiting East Asia, finally through Indonesia, to reach Australia by boat see Luke Mogelson, "The Dream Boat", *New York Times Magazine*, November 15, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/17/magazine/the-impossible-refugee-boat-lift-to-christmas-island.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed September 17, 2014).
- 13 Cf. also the conference "The New Immigrant Europe: Languages and borderlands" at the European Union Center, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, <http://www.euc.illinois.edu/events/conferences/immigrantillinois/> (accessed September 12, 2014).

the UK, large camps have grown up around the truck and rail yards (Longhi 2013; Chebel d'Appollonia 2012; Howarth/Ibrahim 2012; Penketh 2014).¹⁴ Migrants with and without legal documentation come to the transportation yards with the hope to find transit to the UK and gain access to its economy and labor market. The French Interior Ministry under successive administrations (both center-right and Socialist left), has ordered in the national police and public works clean-up crews to dismantle the makeshift camps and disperse those without legal documents to temporary holding centers (Hepburn/Simon 2013; Scattle 2012, especially "Europe's Inward Turn: the Retrenchment of Public Space", 101–134; BBC 2014b; Press Association 2014; Willsher 2014). But the camps have remained in clandestine form, and recent reports note that Albanian criminal gangs are running the camps and extorting payments for protection and transit from migrants in the most desperate economic and political straits, especially those of East African and Sudanese origin (Gov.UK, Home Office 2014; The Independent 2014).

In Greece, migrants are transiting via the Turkey-Greece border to gain entry into the EU. Increasing numbers come from Iran, Afghanistan, Sudan, and Syria and face aggressive police raids and hostility in local communities with high unemployment. The goal for many is to gain access to the ferries connecting with Italy and the Adriatic coast. In the interim, migrants are targeted by the resurgent political far Right, exploited as day laborers, and forced by police back to the Turkish border, and into detention centers with harsh conditions (FRA 2013; Alderman 2012; Smith 2012). Reports quote a Turkish police commander as saying that the practice is to make the lives of undocumented migrants "unbearable" so as to coerce self-imposed repatriation and to deter new arrivals (Daley 2014).

Apart from such urban immigrant cultures, growing numbers of migrants are sheltered in U.N. refugee camps. U.N. global figures currently list more than fifty-one million people forcibly displaced. Of these, more than thirty-three million are internally displaced within their country's borders – and at risk of needing to flee, and hence becoming refugees. Nearly seventeen million are "refugees of concern" registered in U.N. refugee camps and urban settlements (UNHCR 2014a). More than three million Syrians have been forced to flee their homes to take shelter as refugees (UNHCR 2014f); and more than five million Palestinian refugees are registered in sixty U.N. refugee camps in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria (UNRWA 2014). In the face of regional conflict a growing number of these refugees are fleeing multiple times to new camps across second and third borders (Barnard 2014). There are more than

14 The specter of the Calais immigrant "camp" has become sufficiently iconic to be the subject of narrative film representation, interpreted in Rascaroli 2013.

three hundred forty-one thousand refugees within and immediately outside the border of South Sudan (UNHCR 2014e). In the East and Horn of Africa the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) lists more than six million people of concern, including more than 4.8 million internally displaced and refugees (UNHCR 2014c). These figures represent those who have officially registered with the UNHCR, and the total number of unsettled and at-risk persons, including those internally displaced, is acknowledged by NGOs and the U.N. itself to surpass the official U.N. refugee total.

In this book, and based on insights from a working group at Stanford, we seek to better respond to the refugee experience.¹⁵ By the U.N.'s own analysis two-thirds of refugees (ten million) live in "protracted refugee status", applying for asylum for five consecutive years or more. These displaced peoples live in limbo predominantly in either U.N. refugee camps or urban settings (U.S. Department of State 2014b).¹⁶ All refugees face four possible outcomes: repatriation (return required by the host state), re-establishment (return by choice), local integration, and resettlement. Refugees are responsible for pursuing their interests, but they are not entirely the masters of their own fate. If residing in U.N. camps, refugees press their interests from the position of long-term insecurity, while their hosts and aid agencies face their own exigencies. The UNHCR must broker with governments to continue hosting the camps, and international agencies must navigate the camps' political exigencies and regulatory regimes to deliver aid.¹⁷ This book brings to the table leading scholars on governance and refugee protocol reform to question how to more effectively respond to the

15 The greater insights and the contributions on refugee experience and response in this volume are the result of the originating conference and editorial production, and in addition an extraordinary group of faculty and visiting interlocutors convened at Stanford University. Over the course of ten weeks and six workshops, we convened thirteen scholars from the social sciences, humanities, law, business, engineering, and medicine, to engage six high-ranking officials from the UNHCR and instrumental NGOs. We steered the discussions to raise questions, review practice, and refine protocols for refugee determination, protection, and assistance. Details and the "Working Group Overview" are at: http://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/research/unhcr_project_on_rethinking_refugee_communities (accessed September 17, 2014). Credit for the insights developed in this workshop are owed to the participants, and in particular to Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar (Stanford University), James Hathaway (University of Michigan), Emily Arnold-Fernández and Diana Essex (Asylum Access), and Elisabeth Gardner (Stanford University).

16 See as well the graphic representation: U.S. Department of State, Humanitarian Information Unit, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM), "Protracted Refugee Situations", <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/157337.pdf> (accessed September 17, 2014).

17 In the large body of literature on refugee law and administration, Agier 2010, Autesserre 2013, and Betts 2013 have especially influenced my thinking on the transformation of norms of refugee policy and governance.

growing forces that displace, that harden resistance to host, and that widen the gap between refugee aspirations and institutional capacity to respond.

Essays in this Volume

These thirteen essays seek to answer these questions of the experience of settlement from humanities, social science, and policy perspectives. The authors seek to reveal the myriad policy and social forces that shape whether and to what extent displaced peoples – migrants, migrants, and asylum-seekers – settle and integrate, or simply coexist.

In part one we compare experiences of internal migration. The co-authors Zhongshan Yue, Shuzhuo Li (Xi'an Jiaotong University), and Marcus Feldman (Stanford) study the Chinese model of *hukou* residency registration as an example of centrally planned migrant segregation. They survey the experience of rural-to-urban migrants with urban reception and modernity, and also the extent to which China's *hukou* registration enables government demographic engineering or perpetuates two worlds of rural migrant labor and urban host neighborhoods. For comparison, the team of Raimund Haindorfer, Roland Verwiebe, Christoph Reinprecht, and Laura Wiesbock (University of Vienna) consider the labor migration across the Central European internal "border" between "old Europe" and the countries newly admitted to the EU. Together these essays illuminate the ingenuity and vulnerability of internal migrants who move within borders yet across languages, life-style expectations, and levels of welfare benefits.

In part two we test three theoretical frameworks for social integration. Research by Nils Holtug (University of Copenhagen), David Laitin (Stanford), as well as that of Gi-Wook Shin (Stanford University) with Rennie Moon (Yonsei University, Korea), unfold the philosophical, historical, and trans-cultural meanings of multiculturalism, diversity, and competitive assimilation. The essay by Holtug reconsiders "multiculturalism" from the priority of building models of social cohesion or what Holtug articulates as "trust". Laitin takes to task the prevailing assumption in much of the post-industrial West – and especially in Europe – that mass migration from so called underdeveloped societies undermines the host economy's social fabric and social welfare model. The work of Shin and Moon traces the history in the East and West of "diversity" as immigration policy. They demonstrate the origin of East Asian global education policy, and the challenge of importing a goal of "diversity" to institutions of advanced study while at the same time insulating the university community – and by extension Korean society – from foreign and diverse social interaction.

In part three we rethink what are effective responses to migration and in-

ternational refugees. Essays by Mariano-Florentino Cuellar (Stanford) with Alexander Betts (Oxford), and by Sieglinde Rosenberger with Carla Kuffner (University of Vienna) posit models for sustainable settlement. Cuellar and Betts profoundly rethink a practical and theoretical basis for innovation in response to refugees. Especially focused on intractable settings of refugee camps, they expose the gaps between administrative requirement and actual experience of refugees. They also underline the distance between the aspirations of institutional actors (i.e. UNHCR, International Rescue Committee, etc.) and their capacity to marshal limited resources and counter political resistance. Rosenberger and Kuffner focus on central Europe, and uncover the status of “non-removed” persons. They rightly call for sensitivity with their findings because these migrants and asylum-seekers do not yet have a determination of legal residency, but are not yet deported either. These “non-removed” or “non-deported” linger in a bureaucratic “gap” between national administration and local authorities. This essay posits an important potential way forward: while the status of the “non-removed” leaves them vulnerable, understanding why they are in this “gap” could help point towards appealing to the bureaucrat who is most likely to give a favorable resolution.

In part four we counterpose indigenous and immigrant rights. Essays by Peter Cirenza (Oxford), and by Matt Snipp with Karina Kloss and Dolly Kikon (Stanford), interpret the history of labor migration into and within the United States to test models of economic and social assimilation. Cirenza tests the assumptions about the impact of immigration on labor markets. He subjects large data sets to quantitative analysis to determine the consequence of migration and diaspora settlement (ethnic enclaves) on housing and labor markets. This research deploys methodology applicable to international and internal migration studies: it models a way to test whether ethnic enclaves accelerate or delay the assimilation of migrants into their new society. Snipp, Kloos, and Kikon reveal the tensions between immigrant and indigenous rights and claims to resources and opportunity. This research offers a way to move beyond traditional doctrine of conquest and dispossession, and underlines the need to reinforce United Nations’ Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples to provide the legal framework for adjudication.

In part five we explore the value of recognition. Three essays by Paola Mattei (Oxford), Claire Lévy-Vroelant (University of Paris 8), and Heinz Fassmann (University of Vienna) combined offer a comparison of ways of recognizing difference in religion and culture and how these can impact the reception of migrants in the liberal West. Lévy-Vroelant unlocks the subtle process by which the French notion of ‘hospitality’ casts the immigrant as perpetual outsider. Mattei reconstructs the noted French legislative response to the wearing of the headscarf in public, and shows how the legislative debate exposes the bias

against communitarian identity, or identity politics, within the liberal republican ideology of citizenship and the state. Fassmann demonstrates how one state (Austria) that perceives its role as traditionally on the “edge” of Europe may be illustrating the way that migration and integration reform in the West is being driven by a neoliberal ideology of economic competitiveness. For scholars and policy leaders, the urgency of global migration, human trafficking, and political response commands attention: in this volume, the authors look behind the policies of segregation and security, to support more innovative response based on a better understanding of the experiences of settlement.

References

- Acosta, Daniel 2009: “The Good, the Bad and the Ugly in EU Migration Law: Is the European Parliament Becoming Bad and Ugly? (The Adoption of Directive 2008/15: The Returns Directive)”, *European Journal of Migration and Law*, vol. 11, 19–39.
- Asylum Access 2014: *Global Refugee Work Rights: Taking the Movement from Theory to Practice*, Oakland.
- Andersson, Ruben 2012: “A Game of Risk: Boat migration and the business of bordering Europe”, *Anthropology Today*, vol. 28, no. 6, 7–11.
- 2014a: “Hunter and Prey: Patrolling Clandestine Migration in the Euro-African Borderlands”, *Anthropological Quarterly*, vol. 87, no. 1, 118–149.
 - 2014b: *Illegality, Inc.: Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe*, Berkeley.
- Agier, Michael 2010: *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee camps and humanitarian government*, Cambridge.
- Albrecht, Hans 2002: “Fortress Europe? – Controlling illegal immigration”, *European Journal of Crime, Criminal Law, and Criminal Justice*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1–22.
- Alderman, Liz 2012: “Greek Far Right Hangs a Target on Immigrants”, *New York Times*, July 10. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/11/world/europe/as-golden-dawn-rises-in-greece-anti-immigrant-violence-follows.html?pagewanted=all>.
- Alduy, Cécile 2013: “The Devil’s Daughter”, *The Atlantic*, October. Retrieved September 12, 2014 from <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2013/10/the-devils-daughter/309467/>.
- Alonso, Rogelio 2010: “Radicalisation and Recruitment among Jihadist Terrorists in Spain: Main patterns and subsequent counter-terrorist measures”, in Magnus Ransborg (ed.): *Europe’s Muslims and the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, London, 207–230.
- Anderson, James/O’Dowd, Liam/Wilson, Thomas M. 2003: “Culture, Co-Operation and Borders”, *European Studies*, vol. 19, Special Issue: Culture and Cooperation in Europe’s Borderlands, 13–29.
- Angel-Ajani, Asale 2003: “The Racial Economies of Criminalization, Immigration, and Policing in Italy”, *Social Justice*, vol. 30, no. 3, 48–62.
- Autesserre, Séverine 2013: “Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, local violence, and international intervention”, *International Organization*, vol. 63, no. 2, 249–280.

- Bakker, Edwin 2010: "Islamism, Radicalisation and Jihadism in the Netherlands: Main developments and counter-measures", in Magnus Ranstorp (ed.): *Europe's Muslims and the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, London, 167–190.
- Barnard, Anne 2014: "Palestinian Refuge for Six Decades, Now Flooded from Syria", *New York Times*, November 29, Retrieved November 20, 2014 from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/29/world/middleeast/palestinian-haven-for-6-decades-now-flooded-from-syria-.html?_r=0.
- BBC 2014a: "Afghan Notebook: From Kabul to Calais", May 27. Retrieved September 15, 2014 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-27545079>.
- BBC 2014b: "French Police Move in Against Migrants in Calais Camps", 2 July. Retrieved on September 15, 2014 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-28123261>.
- BBC 2014c: "Mapping Mediterranean Migration", 15 September. Retrieved September 15, 2014 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-24521614>.
- Berman, Jacqueline 2003: " (Un)Popular Strangers and Crises (Un)Bounded: Discourses of sex-trafficking, the European political community and the panicked state of the modern state", *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 9, no. 1, 37–86.
- Bermejo, Rut 2009: "Migration and Security in the EU: Back to fortress Europe", *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 5, no. 2, 207–224.
- Betts, Alexander 2014: *Survival Migration: Failed governance and the crisis of displacement*, Ithaca.
- /Orchard, Phil 2014: *Implementation and World Politics: How International Norms Change Practice*, Oxford.
 - 2011: *UNHCR: The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection*, London.
- Bjorkman, Carl 2010: "Salafi-Jihadi Terrorism in Italy", in Magnus Ranstorp (ed.): *Europe's Muslims and the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, London, 231–255.
- Bodomo, Adams B. 2007: "An Emerging African-Chinese Community in Hong Kong: The Case of Tsim Sha Tsui's Chungking Mansions", in Kwesi Kwaa Prah (ed.): *Afro-Chinese Relations: Past, Present, and Future*, Cape Town.
- Bommes, Michael/Fassmann, Heinz/Sievers, Wiebke (eds.) 2014: *Migration from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe*, Chicago.
- Boubekeur, Amel/Amghar, Samir/de Wijk, Rob/Malashenko, Alexey 2006: "Between Suicide Bombings and the Burning Banlieues: The Multiple crises of Europe's parallel societies", *European Security Forum*, Working Paper 22 (June).
- Castles, Stephen/de Haas, Hein/Miller, Mark (eds.) 2013: *The Age of Migration*, 4th edition, London.
- Chan, Kam Wing/Buckingham, Will 2008: "Is China Abolishing the 'Hukou' System?" *The China Quarterly*, vol. 195, 582–606.
- Chan, Kam Wing/Zhang, Li 1999: "The 'Hukou' System and Rural-Urban Migration in China: Processes and Changes", *The China Quarterly*, vol. 160, 818–855.
- Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane 2012: *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe*, Ithaca.
- Costa-Kostritsky, Valeria 2012: "The Roma in France: 'Is Hollande going to expel us all?'" *New Statesman*, 1 October. Retrieved September 12, 2014, from <http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/world-affairs/2012/10/roma-france-hollande-going-expel-us-all>.
- Cross, Hannah 2009: "The EU Migration Regime and West African Clandestine Migrants", *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 5, no. 2, 171–187.

- Cumming-Bruce, Nick 2014: "Smugglers Rammed Migrants' Boat, Sinking it, Group Says", *New York Times*, 15 September. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/09/16/world/europe/smugglers-rammed-migrants-boat-sinking-it-group-says.html?_r=0.
- Daley, Suzanne 2014: "In Greece, Migrants are Desperate to Flee Again", *New York Times*, August 6, 2014. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/07/world/europe/in-greece-migrants-are-desperate-to-flee-again.html>.
- Dixon, M. F. 2014. Organizational Secretary, African Community. Interview. Hong Kong. 5 June.
- The Economist* 2014: "Turning Right: Parties of the nationalist right are changing the terms of European political debate", 4 January. Retrieved September 12, 2014 from <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21592666-parties-nationalist-right-are-changing-terms-european-political-debate-does>.
- Europe Center 2013: "Migration and Integration: Global and Local Perspectives (conference)", Europe Center, Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies/Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center/Center for International Security and Cooperation/University of Vienna (eds.). Retrieved on November 20, 2014 from http://fsi.stanford.edu/events/migration_and_integration_global_and_local_dimensions.
- European Commission, Eurostat 2013: *Eurostat News Release*, 173/2013, 20 November. Retrieved September 26, 2014 from http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-201112013-AP/EN/3-201112013-AP-EN.PDF.
- 2014: *Migration and Population Statistics*. Retrieved September 19, 2014 from http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php?title=Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics&printable=yes.
- European Union 2008: *European External Border Surveillance System (EUROSUR)*. Retrieved September 29, 2014 from http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/free_movement_of_persons_asylum_immigration/l14579_en.htm.
- European Union Center 2010: "The New Immigrant Europe: Languages and borderlands conference", University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Retrieved September 12, 2014 from <http://www.euc.illinois.edu/events/conferences/immigrantillinois/>.
- FRA, European Union, Agency for Fundamental Rights 2013: "Exploitation of Migrant Workers is Illegal and Unacceptable", Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2013/exploitation-migrant-workers-illegal-and-unacceptable>.
- Frontex, European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Members States of the European Union 2014: 'Annual Risk Analysis 2014'. Retrieved September 9, 2014 from http://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk_Analysis/Annual_Risk_Analysis_2014.pdf.
- Geddes, Andrew 2008: *Immigration and European Integration: Beyond Fortress Europe?*, Manchester.
- Good, Anthony 2007: *Anthropology and Expertise in the Asylum Courts*, London.
- Gov.UK, Home Office, Border Force 2014: "Partner Bulletin", vol. 18 (August). Retrieved September 17, 2014 from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/348423/BF_Partners_Bulletin_Aug_2014_FINAL.pdf.
- Hathaway, James 2011: "E.U. Accountability to International Law", *Michigan Journal of International Law*, vol. 33, no. 1, 1–7.

- (ed.) 2013: “Human Rights and Refugee Law”, *Human Rights Law Series*, Cheltenham.
- Henri, Courau 2008: “Tomorrow Inch Allah, Chance!’ People Smuggler Networks in Sangatte”, in Ahmed Al-Shahi, and Richard Lawless (eds.): *Middle East and North African Immigrants in Europe*, London.
- Hepburn, Stephanie/Simon, Rita J. 2013: *Human Trafficking Around the World: Hidden in Plain Sight*, New York.
- Higgins, Andrew 2014: “Far-Right Fever for a Europe Tied to Russia”, *New York Times*, 20 May. Retrieved September 12, 2014 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/21/world/europe/europes-far-right-looks-to-russia-as-a-guiding-force.html>.
- Hong Kong Refugee Advice Centre 2013: *Submission to the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Complementing the Third Report of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) of the People’s Republic of China*, Hong Kong.
- Howarth, Anita/Ibrahim, Yasmin 2012: “Threat and Suffering: the Liminal space of ‘The Jungle’”, in Hazel Andrews, and Les Roberts (eds.) *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience, and Spaces In-Between*, London.
- Hsu, Roland/Hathaway, James 2014: “Stanford Working Group on Responding to Refugees”. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from http://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/research/unhcr_project_on_rethinking_refugee_communities
- Huband, Mark 2010: “Radicalisation and Recruitment in Europe: the UK Case”, in Magnus Ranstorp (ed.): *Europe’s Muslims and the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, London, 117–143.
- The Independent* 2014: “Ethnic Riots in Calais as Albanian Gangs Charge African Migrants for Access to Port Area”, August 5, 2014. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ethnic-riots-in-calais-as-albanian-gangs-charge-african-migrants-for-access-to-port-area-9650338.html>.
- Israeli, Raphael 2009: *The Islamic Challenge in Europe*. Piscataway, NJ.
- Jawad, Rana 2013: “Easier from Libya’ – Migrants Return to Tripoli’, BBC, 15 October. Retrieved September 15, 2014 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24521875>.
- John Marshall Law School International Human Rights Clinic 2014: “U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement’s New Directive on Segregation: Why we need further protections”, Retrieved September 15, 2014 from <http://www.jmls.edu/clinics/international-human-rights/pdfs/customs-segregation-report.pdf>.
- Kanter, James 2013: “Europe Turns Its Eye to Migration Policies, Amid Another Sea Rescue”, *New York Times*, 25 October. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/26/world/europe/europe-turns-its-eye-to-migration-policies-amid-another-sea-rescue.html?_r=0.
- Kaunert, Christian/Léonard, Sarah (eds.) 2014: “Special Symposium of Comparative Migration Studies. After the Arab Spring: EU Asylum and Migration Policy in Flux”, *Comparative Migration Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, 123–126.
- Kikeli, Gunther/Allouche-Benayoun, Joelle (eds.) 2013: *Perceptions of the Holocaust in Europe and Muslim Communities: Sources, Comparisons and Educational Challenges*, Berlin.
- Kuhn, Eva/Klingholz, Reiner 2013: *Allowing Diversity: What population decline means for public service provision in rural regions*, Berlin.
- Levi, Pavle/Zilnik, Zelimir 2010: “Europe’s Internal Exiles: Sound, Image, and Performance of Identity in Zelimir Zilnik’s films”, in Roland Hsu (ed.): *Ethnic Europe: mobility, identity, and conflict in a globalized world*, Stanford, 104–126.

- Liang, Christina (ed.) 2007: *Europe for the Europeans: the foreign and security policy of populist radical right*, Farnham, Surrey.
- Longhi, Vittorio 2013: *The Immigrant War: A Global movement against discrimination and exploitation*, Bristol.
- Marret, Jean-Luc 2010: "The Jihadists and Anti-Terrorist Challenges in France: An overview", in Magnus Ranstorp (ed.): *Europe's Muslims and the Israeli Palestinian Conflict*, London, 91–206.
- Marshall, John 2013: "China: Urbanization and Hukou Reform", *The Diplomat*, October 11. Retrieved September 24, 2014 from <http://thediplomat.com/2013/10/china-urbanization-and-hukou-reform/>.
- Massey, Douglas/Taylor, J. Edward 2007: *International Migration: Prospects and policies in a global market*, Oxford.
- Massey, Douglas/Arango, Joaquin/Graeme, Hugo/Kouaouci, Ali/Pellegrino, Adela/Taylor, J. Edward (eds.) 2002: *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millenium*, Oxford.
- Mathews, Gordon 2011: *Ghetto at the Center of the World: Chunking Mansions, Hong Kong*, Chicago.
- 2014. Interview on 5 June.
- Melander, A./Pelikanova, K. 2013: "Reform of the hukou system: a litmus test of the new leadership", *European Commission Directorate General for Economic and Financial Affairs ECFIN: Economic Brief*. 26 (July).
- Mogelson, Luke 2013: "The Dream Boat", *New York Times Magazine*, 15 November. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/17/magazine/the-impossible-refugee-boat-lift-to-christmas-island.html?pagewanted=all>.
- Penketh, Anne 2014: "Ethnic Riots in Calais as Albanian Gangs Charge African Migrants for Access to Port Area", *The Independent*, 5 August. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/ethnic-riots-in-calais-as-albanian-gangs-charge-african-migrants-for-access-to-port-area-9650338.html>.
- 2014: "French Far Right Demonstrates in Calais", *The Guardian*, 7 September. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/07/french-far-right-demonstrates-calais-protest-migrants>.
- Press Association 2014: "UK to Send NATO Summit Fences to Calais to Deter Illegal Immigrants", *The Guardian*, 7 September. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/sep/07/nato-fences-summit-calais-illegal-immigrants>.
- Radio France International 2014: "Rights Groups Slam France's Roma Policy on World Romani Day", 8 April. Retrieved September 12, 2014 from <http://www.english.rfi.fr/europe/20140408-rights-groups-slam-frances-roma-policy-worldromani-day>.
- Rascaroli, Laura 2013: "On the Eve of the Journey: Tangier, Tbilisi, Calais", in Michael Gott, and Thibaut Schilt (eds.): *Open Roads/ Closed Borders: The Contemporary French-Language Road Movie*, Bristol, 19–38.
- Rekacewicz, Philippe 2013: "Mapping Europe's War on Immigration", *Le Monde Diplomatique*. October. Retrieved September 10, 2014 from <http://mondediplo.com/blogs/mapping-europe-s-war-on-immigration>.
- Ryan, Bernard/Mitsilegas, Valsamis (eds.) 2010: *Extraterritorial Immigration Control: Legal challenges*, Leiden.

- Samers, Michael 2004: "An Emerging Geopolitics of 'Illegal' Immigration in the European Union", *European Journal of Migration & Law*, vol. 6, no. 1, 27–45.
- Sassen, Saskia 2010: "Membership and its Politics", in Roland Hsu (ed.): *Ethnic Europe: Mobility, Identity, and Conflict in a Globalized World*, Stanford, 21–43.
- 2007: "The Making of International Migrants", in Jeffrey C. Alexander (ed.): *Contemporary Societies*, New York, 129–163.
 - 2007. *The Sociology of Globalization*, New York.
- Scattle, Hans 2012: *Globalization and Citizenship*, Plymouth.
- Schain, Martin 2013: "The Challenge of Illegal Immigration in Europe", *E-International Relations*, December 14. Retrieved September 15, 2014 from <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/12/14/the-challenge-of-illegal-immigration-in-europe/>.
- Schwell, Alexandra 2009: "De/Securitising the 2007 Schengen Enlargement: Austria and 'the East'", *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, vol. 5, no. 2, 243–258.
- Shah, Svati 2008: "South Asian Border Crossings and Sex Work: Revisiting the question of migration in anti-trafficking interventions", *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, vol. 5, no. 4, 19–30.
- Sievert, Stephan/Slupina, Manuel/Klingholz, Reiner 2012: *Leading on Points: What Germany can learn from Canada's immigration and integration policy*, Berlin.
- Silk, Richard 2014: "China's Hukou Reform Plan Starts to Take Shape", *The Wall Street Journal: China Realtime*, August 4, 2014. Retrieved September 24, 2014 from <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2014/08/04/chinas-hukou-reform-plan-starts-to-take-shape/>.
- Smale, Alison 2014: "Needing Skilled Workers, a Booming Germany Woos Immigrants", *New York Times*, 18 July. Retrieved September 12, 2014 from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/19/world/europe/needing-skilled-workers-a-booming-germany-woos-immigrants.html?_r=0.
- Smith Helena 2012: "Greek Crackdown on Illegal Immigrants Leads to Mass Arrests", *The Guardian*, August 7. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/aug/07/greece-crackdown-illegal-immigrants-arrest>.
- Taxin, Amy 2014: "Overwhelmed Immigration Courts Could Face Further Delays", *Christian Science Monitor*, July 12, 2014. Retrieved September 15, 2014, from <http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Latest-News-Wires/2014/0712/Overwhelmed-immigration-courts-could-face-further-delays>.
- Thomas Diez/Albert, Mathias/Stetter, Stephan 2008: *The European Union and Border Conflicts: The Power of integration and association*, Cambridge, 173–202.
- Trauner, Florian/Deimel, Stephanie 2013: "The Impact of EU Migration Policies on African Countries: the case of Mali", *International Migration*, vol. 51, no. 4, 20–32.
- UNHCR, United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2008: "Regional Conference on Refugee Protection and International Migration in West Africa", Dakar, Senegal, 13–14 November. Retrieved September 11, 2014 from <http://www.unhcr.org/4a27be466.html>.
- 2014a: *Facts and Figures on Refugees*. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.unhcr.org.uk/about-us/key-facts-and-figures.html>.
 - 2014b: *Mixed Migration into Europe*. Retrieved September 8, 2014 from <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a1d569d6.html>.
 - 2014c: *Regional Operations Profile: East and Horn of Africa*. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e4838e6.html>.
 - 2014d: *Regional Operations Profile: East Asia and the Pacific: Hong Kong*. Retrieved

- October 24, 2014 from <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/page?page=49e488026&submit=GO>.
- 2014e: *South Sudan*. Retrieved September 10, 2014 from <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4e43cb466.html>.
 - 2014f: *Syria Regional Refugee Response: Inter-Agency information sharing portal*. Retrieved August 18, 2014 from <http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>.
 - 2014 g: *Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*. Retrieved <http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html> (accessed August 18, 2014).
- UNRWA, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East 2014: *Where We Work: Gaza Strip, West Bank, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan*. Retrieved September 10, 2014 from <http://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/gaza-strip>.
- U.S. Department of State, Humanitarian Information Unit, Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (PRM) 2014a: *Protracted Refugee Situations*. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.state.gov/j/prm/policyissues/issues/protracted/#1>.
- 2014b: *Protracted Refugee Situations*. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/157337.pdf>.
- U. S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement 2013: *Review of the use of segregation for ICE detainees*, 4 September. Retrieved September 15, 2014 from http://www.ice.gov/doclib/detention-reform/pdf/segregation_directive.pdf.
- University of Oxford and the European Research Council 2013: “Crim/Migration and State Governance: Foreigners in prison and detention at Europe’s northwestern border”, *Border Criminologies: Foreigners in a Carceral Age*, 11 November. Retrieved September 12, 2014 from <http://bordercriminologies.law.ox.ac.uk/tag/crime-control-in-the-borderlands-of-europe/>.
- Wall Street Journal* 2013: “Hong Kong’s Asylum System Under Scrutiny”. Retrieved September 15, 2014 from <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2013/06/21/hong-kongs-asylum-system-under-scrutiny/>.
- Willsher, Kim 2014: “French Riot Police Bulldoze Calais Migrant Camps”, *The Guardian*, 28 May. Retrieved September 17, 2014 from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/28/french-riot-police-clear-calais-migrant-camps>.
- Wilsher, Daniel 2012: *Immigration Detention: Law, history, politics*, Cambridge.
- Xinhua News Agency* 2014: “China Focus: Hukou reforms to help 100 mln Chinese”, 30 July. Retrieved August 19, 2014 from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-07/30/c_133520576.htm?_ga=1.225640473.244569228.1408481063
- Yacobi, Haim/Newman, David 2008: “The EU and the Israel-Palestine Conflict”, in Thomas Diez, Mathias Albert, and Stephan Stetter (eds.): *The European Union and Border Conflicts: The Power of integration and association*, Cambridge, 173–202.
- Zaiotti, Ruben 2011: *Cultures of Border Control: Schengen and the evolution of European frontiers*, Chicago.
- Zhu, Yu 2007: “China’s Floating Population and their Settlement Intention in the Cities: Beyond the ‘Hukou’ reform”, *Habitat International*, vol. 31, no. 1, 65–76.