Book reviews

The last section of the book links R2P to wider social phenomena and draws important parallels between it and other norms it interacts with in crucial ways. Mats Berdal’s contribution highlights problems caused by conflating R2P with civilian protection in peacekeeping. William Maley’s chapter adds an essential dimension to the challenges of enforcing distinct protection norms by discussing ways to minimize potential risks arising from R2P being exploited by states trying to evade their responsibilities under existing refugee norms. Considerations of the gender status of R2P bring to the fore a particularly enlightening set of issues in Susan Harris Rimmer’s chapter, which also looks at the relationship between R2P and the Women, Peace and Security agenda. The last two chapters of the volume return to questions around whether R2P is an innately western idea (Jacinta O’Hagan) and around the agency of local populations, especially those with former colonial experiences which remain wary of external powers’ intentions to protect (Siddharth Mallavarapu).

While the book would have benefited from a concluding chapter bringing together the common themes, this is, in sum, a superbly integrated edited volume. It does an excellent job unfolding the philosophical and practical debates on R2P, which makes it a must-read for practitioners, academics and students interested in this salient topic.

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A fifth of western Europeans are first- and second-generation immigrants, as are a quarter or more of those in the US and Canada. Against this backdrop, Richard Alba and Nancy Foner’s Strangers no more and Claire Adida, David Laitin and Marie-Anne Valfort’s Why Muslim integration fails in Christian-heritage societies are invaluable contributions to studies in human migration. Alba, Foner and Adida have written much on historical and comparative migration, while Laitin and Valfort bring expertise in political economy and ethnic and religious tensions to the mix. Together, they present the realities facing migrants to North America and western Europe, reviewing national policies, economic models, ‘settler’ orientations, exceptionalism and convergence across the western world.

Comparative studies teach readers something about one context through the examination of another. American scholars and policy-makers can learn from the experiences of other countries, especially those sharing a western European and democratic heritage. Both books analyse immigrant inclusion in France. Alba and Foner investigate ‘low-status’ immigrants, those with little education and few skills, who are easily distinguished from the native majority; in France, mainly North Africans. Adida, Laitin, and Valfort use a subset of France’s Senegalese population to study the impact of religion on integration.

In addition to France, Alba and Foner also study the United States, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Canada and Germany. They explain that, just after the Second World War, France needed workers. Thousands were recruited from former colonies such as Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, making the country recipient of two types of migration—labour and post-colonial—opening a third route via family reunification. Now, a sixth of all children hail from immigrant homes, as the proportion of natives ages and shrinks. This

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may spell disaster. While France’s workers are less likely to be impoverished due to aggressive labour regulations, its low-status immigrants are much more likely to be unemployed. Low job creation and worker turnover and the shift in the marketability of certain skills has made it difficult for North African immigrants to find work. High bars to entrepreneurship also hinder their creation of economic opportunities for themselves and their communities, even when immigrants have the skill to do so.

France promotes an ideal of républicanisme, espousing ‘blindness’ to individual distinctions. Indeed, it has been more successful in reducing immigrants’ residential segregation than other nations and, despite Adida and colleagues’ French immigrants of colour perceiving race as a significant barrier to their integration, Alba and Foner find that race is less of a factor than in colour-sensitive societies like the United States. For instance, France has relatively high rates of interracial marriage and cohabitation. Republicanism may, however, have negative effects as it leaves no room for ethnic- or subculture-based political alliances. Consequently, North Africans have lower electoral success. Furthermore, the French government largely ignores group-based disadvantage, taking few mitigating policy measures. Finally, French immigrants are expected to assimilate into French culture wholesale. This zero-sum approach can generate alienation or marginalization.

Perhaps most problematic is the pressure to renounce religious difference in favour of unity. The consequences of this are seen in Adida, Laitin and Valfort’s study of Senegalese migrants, similar in every meaningful way except that some practise Christianity and others Islam. In their second chapter, the authors demonstrate that Muslim Senegalese experience worse life outcomes than their Christian counterparts, notably in income and job market success. Using a combination of surveys and experimental games, they find that, despite pressures to assimilate, Muslim Senegalese have different religious norms, gender expectations and levels of language proficiency. In chapter seven, negative views held by French nationals towards the Senegalese are found to be mediated by religion—not race. In chapter eight, Adida and colleagues identify a ‘discriminatory equilibrium’, defined as mutually reinforcing distrust between the native French and Muslim immigrants, and show evidence of this process in other western democracies.

Both books reveal France’s challenge from immigrant inclusion, likely mirroring those in other western nations. This presents an existential challenge, as immigrant-origin populations may be unprepared to take on critical societal roles as demographic shifts take hold. Adida and colleagues appear to offer a different resolution to this from Alba and Foner’s, arguing for assimilationist policies. Yet, on deeper review, it becomes clear that their prescription for a mixture of multiculturalist and assimilationist approaches are similar to the integrationist approach championed by Alba and Foner.

Immigration is a central theme in the history of the western world, where different peoples often met through war, conquest, displacement, colonialism and subjugation. Such encounters truly marked a ‘clash of civilizations’. By comparison, the challenges of modern migration seem small. There is hope, then, that the present move towards a common, global humanity, marvelled as it is by fits and starts, provides a way forward. In their unique ways, both Strangers no more and Why Muslim integration fails offer valuable contribution to this endeavour.

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