

Xenophobia in European Societies

A case study of France and Greece

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May 2015

Executive summary

This thesis provides an analysis of the drivers and manifestations of xenophobia in European societies. Massive migration flows have taken place in European countries during the second half of the 20th century, which have caused a swift rise of multicultural societies. This rapid societal change has caused resistance amongst native populations and the rise of xenophobic attitudes. Xenophobia refers to "the fear of the stranger" (UNESCO, 2009-2014, para. 1). This thesis discusses several drivers and manifestations of xenophobia and are tested for the countries France and Greece in a case study.

Methods of research include desk research (qualitative research) consisting of academic sources, and a case study that examines the manifestations of xenophobia in France and Greece. Desk research is the main method used in this research as most of the information is gathered from books, journals and articles. This method is chosen since it provides a significant amount of reliable information that was shared by scholars who are experienced in their fields. The case studies are a combination of articles that illustrate current events in politics and societies and academic articles of scholars that analyze those events.

Several factors play a role when it comes to the rise of xenophobic attitudes in a society and this thesis continues on the role of politics, education and national background, and tolerance. These concepts are tested for both countries and have shown more similarities than differences in xenophobic manifestations. Firstly, in both countries xenophobia has led to the rise of extreme right political parties. These parties are driven by xenophobic attitudes that emphasize differences, which is harmful to the social cohesion. The education system in both countries is driven by nationalistic, and in Greece even ethnocentric values, which generates a sense of superiority and makes minority groups feel unaccepted. Moreover, low levels of tolerance appear in both societies that also contribute to this sentiment. In both countries the level of xenophobia has reached the extent that it has manifested itself in social unrest.

The complexity in which xenophobia extends itself make it hard to draft a general conclusion for this thesis. Xenophobia is not simply shaped by one factor but includes several environmental influences. The fact that such a factor can serve as both a driver and an manifestation of xenophobia makes this attempt more complicated. However, many xenophobic attitudes seem to be derived from a limited interaction between native and immigrant groups and a limited intercultural understanding. Therefore, it would be wise to address this issue in its early stages, which is the educational system. Educating the youth about acceptance and tolerance can considered to be key.

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1. Introduction

The second half of the 20th century is characterized by large scale migration flows that took place in European countries. With the rise of modern transport and communication technologies, many individuals seized the opportunity to start new lives elsewhere. Migration flows have led to the rise of multicultural societies all over Europe. Besides the cultural enrichment and positive aspects this has brought along, natives have not always positively received certain societal changes. This has led to resistance towards immigration and disunity in societies. Differences are emphasized and a sense of harmony is far to be found. Resistance towards immigration and disunity in societies are often derived from xenophobic attitudes. Xenophobia refers to the "fear of the stranger" (UNESCO, 2009-2014, para. 1) and has several drivers and manifestations.

The purpose of this research is to analyze the causes and manifestations of xenophobia in European societies. Xenophobia is a phenomenon that takes place in European societies due to several drivers. With this research a better explanation will be given as to what xenophobia is and what the drivers are for this phenomenon within societies. Furthermore, a short timeline of migration periods will be presented, which shows how xenophobia has developed itself throughout the decades and how it is currently developing in modern society.

The research is conducted within a period of five months between January 2015 and June 2015. Various theories of drivers of xenophobia will be provided, as well as to what the origins and manifestations are. The case study presents viewpoints on current events, as this will provide a better perspective of how xenophobia is manifesting itself currently and an analysis of these events.

Two case studies about France and Greece are based on the presented causes of xenophobia and will illustrate its manifestations. Each case study will provide a short overview of the country and will present their situation. This report will not elaborate on situations in every EU country due to the large number of countries within the European Union and the amount of time presented to develop this case study. The aim of the thesis is to provide a better understanding of the phenomenon xenophobia, which could help future policy makers to develop effective solutions.

This thesis is based on the following research question:

"What are the drivers and manifestations of xenophobia in European societies?"

In order to answer this question the following sub questions were formulated:

1. How did migration flows contribute to the rise of multicultural societies?

Massive migration flows in the twentieth century have led to a distribution of ethnicities across European societies. Part two describes each of these periods in order to illustrate the rise of multicultural societies.

2. What are the drivers of xenophobia?

Xenophobia is a phenomenon that can be triggered by many drivers. Part three describes several drivers of xenophobia in order to create a better understanding of the concept.

3. How does xenophobia manifest itself into societies?

In order to illustrate the manifestations of xenophobia in European societies, a case study has been set up about France and Greece.

1.2 Methodology

This research provides an overview of several drivers and manifestations of xenophobia in European societies. Research methods include qualitative secondary desk research, which consists of academic sources such as books, journals and articles. This method is chosen since it provides a significant amount of reliable information that was shared by scholars who are experienced in their fields. The case studies are a combination of articles that illustrate current events in politics and societies and academic articles of scholars that analyze these events.

The initial idea to write this thesis came from the Transatlantic Council Statement made by the Migration Policy Institute. In this statement dr. Papademetriou explains the necessity to mitigate the destabilizing effects of rapid societal change, especially changes tied or perceived to be tied to immigration, in order to create stronger and more cohesive societies (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 1). Papademetriou claims that there are five principal drivers of xenophobia. This thesis briefly describes these concepts but mainly focuses on the role of politics, education and social background, and tolerance. This is because these concepts are also used in the case study in order to test the manifestations of xenophobia in France and Greece.

Part two starts out to explain the rise of multicultural societies by examining different migration flows into European countries. This includes several credible overviews of migration flows by different scholars, such as a description of the history of migration by political scientist Randall

Hansen, an overview by the OECD of the four main migration periods in predominantly western Europe and another overview of migration flows in other parts of Europe by Didier Ruedin and Gianni D'Amato. The latter is a research funded by the European Union and aims to improve the US and EU immigration systems. These sources have provided a sufficient amount of information to provide a clear overview about the rise of multiculturalism in Europe.

Next to the five principal drivers of xenophobia that are described by Papademetriou, this research focuses mainly on the role of politics, education and social background, and tolerance. The section about the role of politics again references Hansen and his description of the rise of immigration as a political issue. An article by James Mayfield explains the rapid rise of the xenophobic right in Europe. The section about the role of education and social background is based on a research report about ethnic hostility among ethnic majority and minority groups in the Netherlands by Jochem Tolsma. The section about tolerance references the working paper from Niclas Berggren and Therese Nilsson, in which they explain what role tolerance plays when it comes to economic growth and wellbeing. The part concludes with a small section that describes the effects of xenophobia on immigrant groups. This is relevant since these effects may influence social cohesion in a society, which will be further examined in the case study. This section references the work from Ramos, Cassidy, Reicher and Haslam which discusses the phenomenon of in-group identification and Kay Deaux that explains the concept of stigma consciousness.

Since manifestations of xenophobia might be different across European societies, countries have to be examined individually in order to provide a clear picture. A case study has been set up about France and Greece in order to examine if they are experiencing similar or different manifestations of xenophobia. Since only two countries will be examined, general conclusions about drivers and manifestations of xenophobia in European societies cannot be made. However, the case study should provide enough information to generate a clear picture of the situation in the countries France and Greece. Several articles and reports have been consulted that describe the role of politics, education and social background, tolerance and social unrest in shaping xenophobic attitudes.

2. Migration in Europe

Over the centuries, people have crossed the continent to practice their trades or to start new lives. Today, Europe is known as a multi-ethnic continent. Multi-ethnicity was hardly the case halfway through the 20th century since large-scale immigration flows into predominantly western Europe are a more recent phenomenon. Migration is defined by UNESCO as the as "the crossing of the boundary of a political or administrative unit for a certain minimum period of time" and includes the movement of refugees, displaced persons, uprooted people and economic migrants (Appleton, 2011, p. 1). International migration is a territorial relocation across nation states.

2.1 Migration to western Europe

Throughout the second half of the 20th century, Western European countries have experienced four main migration periods (Garson & Loizillon, 2003, p. 2).

1 Employment-related migration and the reconstruction of Europe

This period of "post-war" migration was characterized by the return of ethnic citizens and other displaced persons to their country of origin. The reconstruction of post-war Europe suffered great labor shortages. Therefore, several countries recruited guest migrant workers. The idea was that they would remain as long as there were jobs for them, and they would return to their countries if the economy got better (Hansen, 2004, p. 26). These major migration movements have contributed to the economic development in Europe between 1945 and 1975, which is often referred to as the "Trente Glorieuses". The number of migrants was highest in countries with (former) colonies, since there was a relatively open access for its citizens. Therefore, countries such as the UK, France, Belgium and the Netherlands were able to provide themselves with a vast supply of unskilled workers. Some scholars argue that European policy-makers deliberately filled these positions with workers from former colonies due to an inability to secure (white) workers. This flow of immigration into Europe all but ended with the oil crisis in 1973.

2 Economic crisis and new migration adjustments: increasing flows of family reunification and the permanent nature of migration

The oil crisis in 1973 launched the beginning of the second period of migration. Several European countries tried to reduce the immigration flows due to growing unemployment and increasing social tensions, and the employment-related migration did fall dramatically until the late 1980's (Garson & Loizillon, 2003, p. 3). However, even though governments implemented measures with the aim to encourage guest workers to return to their home countries, immigrants had entered in

society as citizens and many decided to stay in their host countries to benefit from their social rights. One of these rights was the right to family unification. Many governments attempted to limit the flows of family unification and continued to encourage repatriation but almost all these efforts failed. This is most likely because domestic courts blocked these efforts on the basis of domestic constitutions. Therefore, residence permits were being issued for the purpose of family reunification and as a result, young men were admitted in the 1950's and 1960's. Later on wives, children and even grandparents were admitted. Moreover, migrants show a higher birth rate than the native population which caused for the multicultural society to grow over the years (Hansen, 2004, p. 27).

3 Diversification of host and sending countries and the increase in the flow of asylum seekers, refugees and ethnic minorities

Immigration into Europe took a different form in the late 1980's. This period is characterized by the diversification of host and sending countries. The traditional emigration countries in Europe, such as Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Ireland, gradually experienced a shift towards becoming countries of immigration (Garson & Loizillon, 2003, p. 4). Moreover, most immigrants did not only originate from former colonies, but from a more diverse group of countries, such as Africa and Asia. The motivation of immigrants also changed, the number of people applying for asylum sharply increased and lasted during much of the 1990's. This sudden increase originated from the end of the cold war, which rekindled a number of small wars and ethnic conflicts around the world. Consequently, civilian populations were often targeted as a result of "ethnic cleansing" (Prospect Magazine, 2000, para. 4), most noticeable in former Yugoslavian countries Bosnia and Kosovo. Moreover, with the end of the communist rule, many eastern Europeans pursued a better life in the west. Therefore, next to the ongoing family reunification flows, asylum became one of the principal means of immigration in the EU. Another characteristic of this third period is the renewed interest in employment-related immigration, which was focused on skilled and highly skilled labour in the late 1990's.

4 The return of employment-related migration with a "preference" for skilled workers and temporary migration

The fourth migration period is currently taking place and again experiences an increase in the employment-related migration, since the development of information and communication technology, and health and education sectors, require skilled and highly skilled workers. On the other hand, unskilled employment-related migration is also a part of this period, especially in the agricultural, building, public and domestic services sector. Temporary labour migration has also been on the rise since 1998 and recent policies have been implemented to favour solutions with

temporary foreign workers. The 1990's also show an increasing proportion of women among migrants, and is also known as the "feminisation" of migration flows (Garson & Loizillon, 2003, p. 5).

2.2 Other migration flows in Europe

European countries with "new migration"

Migration flows did not start in all European countries after the second world war. Around this time, some European countries continued to send workers to other countries where the economies were growing. In Italy for example, immigration only became significant after 1973, as a result of the oil crisis (Ruedin & D'Amato, 2011, p. 5). When western countries like France, Germany and the UK, closed their borders as a result of this crisis, countries like Italy and Spain became the new destination for migrants looking for labor. This does not mean that these countries have ceased to send migrants to western countries where there is a demand. Especially Portugal continues to send migrants to many countries in western Europe.

Central and Eastern European countries

Due to the influence of the Soviet Union in Central and Eastern Europe during a large part of the twentieth century, central and eastern European countries have a total different history of immigration and its policies. Strong state control ruled many aspects of daily life (Ruedin & D'Amato, 2011, p. 6). In general, strict border controls and restrictions on movement were the case. Consequently, unregulated immigration was not a significant phenomenon in Eastern European countries. Certain guest worker programs did exist in countries with a strong economy, but were set up in a way to avoid contact with the local population, and prevented a long-term settlement of migrant workers. Only when joining the EU in 2004 during the EU enlargement, central and eastern European countries were obligated to start developing immigration policies on a state level. These policies were created under the influence of the European Union, and also caused for a growing interest in policies that allowed citizens to move freely to other European countries.

3. Xenophobia in multicultural European societies

The large scale immigration flows described in the previous part have led to European societies becoming increasingly multicultural with a large diversity of cultural, religious, linguistic and social backgrounds. Technological advances in transport and communication have made it easier for individuals to stay in contact with their country of origin and therefore to maintain their cultural distinctiveness. This phenomenon has led to rapid societal changes which are not always positively received by natives (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 1). Societal changes have caused hostile attitudes between different ethnic population groups and resistance and anxiety towards immigration. As a result, differences are being emphasized and ethnic minorities discriminated against, which makes them unable to develop a real sense of belonging (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009, p. 106). The hostility is usually mutual which creates a vicious circle, and social unification is therefore far to be found.

It can be stated that hostilities have led to instable societies since a stable society is usually considered to be socially cohesive. Social cohesion can be defined by the fact that individuals feel part of the society and trust each other. Different groups, particularly immigrant groups, are accepted as full members of society (Ruedin & D'Amato, 2011, p. 3). This results in interaction between different groups, which is necessary to overcome collective issues. Collective issues can only be overcome with combined efforts, and the challenges of immigration are an example of this.

A main trigger of hostile attitudes towards ethnic minorities is the society's anxiety towards immigration, or xenophobia. Hostile attitudes occur when immigration is perceived as a threat. Xenophobia refers to "the fear of the stranger" (UNESCO, 2009-2014, para. 1). Xenophobia is not to be confused with racism, since racism stands for the rejection and hatred of specific racial groups. Xenophobes believe that differences are fixed characteristics, which makes it hard for the rejected group to be accepted and integrate in society.

3.1 Drivers of xenophobia

The way in which xenophobia manifests itself in society depends on several environmental influences. The Migration Policy Institute recognizes five principal drivers of xenophobia. However, other factors such as politics, education and social background, and tolerance play a role in shaping xenophobic attitudes in a society. This part will provide an overview of several causes of xenophobia.

3.1.1 The five principal drivers of xenophobia

The Migration Policy Institute is concerned with the effects of rapid societal change, and especially the changes that are perceived to be tied to immigration, in order to create stronger and more cohesive societies. Therefore, a Transatlantic Council statement has been drawn up, which claims that there are five principal drivers of anxiety of xenophobia (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 4).

Culture and loss of identity.

Many natives value the old held notions of national identity, and believe that the current norms and values of the society will be weakened if the newcomers do not adapt to the society's language, culture and identity. A homogeneous population of newcomers is considered to be more threatening than a multi-ethnic wave of immigrants because they are more likely to establish their own subculture rather than to integrate into the mainstream (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 4). Therefore, newcomers who are visible and religiously different are seen as a threat towards the commonly held notions of a society's identity.

The rapid pace of social change.

Many individuals believe that too much change has happened too fast, which has had negative effects on society. Countries or areas were not prepared for such a big wave of immigrants and this caused negative effects for neighborhoods, cities and especially the overburdened education, health, transportation, and public health systems. Therefore, it can be determined that anxiety over immigration in fact correlates less to the absolute number of newcomers than to the speed of change and its geographic concentration (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 4).

Economics and inequality.

Unease exists about the unequal distribution of public goods and resources. Tensions originated in societies since people started questioning whether immigrants are to be seen as economic assets or liabilities (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 4). This goes along with the fact that it is far easier to count the fiscal expenses rather than the economic contributions of immigrants. Therefore, immigrants are often labeled as a financial burden on society, contributing to a higher level of unemployment, wage depression and straining the welfare state, in other words: Taking more than they are contributing.

Low confidence in government and loss of society.

When it comes to immigration policy, a high level of dissatisfaction with the governments exists. Even publics with a positive view towards immigration are unsatisfied with the management of it

(Papademetriou, 2012, p. 4). Governments and politicians are seen as either unaware or indifferent towards the effects of immigration on society since they are reserved in their communication about immigration. This leaves an impression that no one is really in control and leads to a growing level of distrust in society.

Security and social unrest.

When the expected level of immigration into society diverges from reality, people can perceive the immigration system as "out of control". Often high levels of illegal immigration are published by far right politicians while data that demonstrates the success of enforcement efforts are not so regularly publicized (Papademetriou, 2012, p. 5). Moreover, immigration is often linked to crime and terrorism, which completes the circle of anxiety.

3.1.2 The role of politics

The guest labor initiative has been successful during its first two decades and native workers did not especially feel threatened by the newcomers. This is partly because, most of the time guest workers took jobs that no native worker would take. Moreover, until the late 1950's the illusion existed that the migrants were temporary, and would return to their homelands when the need for them ended (Hansen, 2004, p. 28). Because of this illusion, migration was not considered as a political issue.

When it became clear that migrants were to stay, a large number of individuals became insecure about their social and economic positions, which contributed to the hostility towards the presence of immigrants in the society (Hansen, 2004, p. 29). Therefore, European countries started to politicize immigration. The majority of public opinion across Europe started to become anti-immigrant. The previous three decades have shown a significant rise in xenophobic, deeply conservative, and extreme right-wing parties across Europe. Strikingly, this political shift has largely occurred in countries that are usually associated with liberalism and multiculturalism (Mayfield, 2013, para. 3). The level of xenophobia in political parties varies from one country to another. However, far-right parties are always most successful in countries with large immigrant populations and where hostility towards newcomers is strong. This rise of the extreme right across the continent is a source of great concern the European Union, and is therefore continuously aiming to encourage national courts to ban xenophobic parties.

As a result of this anti-immigration attitude, effective integration policies have remained absent and European countries have done little to promote the integration of new migrants. To this day,

hostile attitudes towards immigrants are still present in European societies. Consequently, immigrants and their descendants are poorly represented in national parliaments, and to suffer from disproportionately high levels of unemployment which also causes for them to draw from welfare services disproportionately (Hansen, 2004, p. 33).

3.1.3 The role of education and national background

Predictors of hostile attitudes between ethnic groups such as prejudices, discrimination and ethnocentrism, can depend on educational achievement, social class and upbringing. Sociological literature finds that less educated persons hold less favourable attitudes towards other ethnic groups than more educated persons (Tolsma, 2009, p. 31). Therefore, highly educated people are also less often associated with ethnic hostility and it is stated that this is because schools and universities are also functioning as socializing agents which transmit societal norms and values and most importantly: tolerance. Moreover, education also develops cognitive competence, increases open mindedness, and reduces authoritarian attitudes, which all contributes to a more tolerant standpoint towards ethnic minorities (Tolsma, 2009, p.33). Also, sociological theories explain that highly educated parents are more likely to transmit their tolerant attitudes onto their children.

No matter how educated an individual might be, for a large extent the level of tolerance is also influenced by national background. The higher the level of tolerance in a country, the more persons are stimulated to live by these values. This also means that intolerant attitudes are difficult to express since this might evoke social criticism. Therefore, it can be concluded that the general social pressures make it easier for individuals to join the mainstream norms of society. However, social classes exist within a country which hold different attitudes towards ethnic minorities and some might be more hostile than the other. Social mobility has led to different attitudes within the same social class since newcomers in a certain social position might have different attitudes towards ethnic minorities than others in the same social position. The general experience is that: "Someone who moves to a social destination category of which the immobile members are in general less hostile towards ethnic minorities than the immobile members of the origin category will be more likely to adopt the attitudes of the destination class than someone who is mobile into a social category of which the immobile members express more hostile attitudes than the social origin category" (Tolsma, 2009, p. 35).

3.1.4 The role of tolerance

A society's level of tolerance can have very important consequences. In order for a society to be socially cohesive, tolerance is considered to be key. Therefore, the level of harmony in a society is

often related to different measures of tolerance (Berggren & Nilsson, 2012, p. 2). Casual relationships and social trust play a vital role when it comes to tolerance. A higher level of trust in the society has a more positive effect on the social cohesion, and people in tolerant societies also tend to be happier. This is partly because, in tolerant societies, minorities enjoy protection and full political rights.

Today, there is a focus on fostering tolerance in international relations and promoting a culture of peace through education, which could also prevent future wars. The UN and UNESCO have been working on this since the end of World War II and the end of Nazism. The connection between tolerance and education has been made in the Universal Declaration of Human rights, which states that "education should promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups" (Article 26) (Liakos, 2008, p. 2). Moreover, the elimination of clichés or incorrect interpretations were added to this goals, such as the removal of discrimination stereotypes against other peoples, religions and ethnic groups.

3.2 Effects on immigrant groups

In their turn, when rejected by the mainstream population, immigrant minority groups tend to identify more with their in-group. In this way, they are buffered from the negative effects of discrimination. The minority group is serving as a coping resource since it provides psychological shelter from the hostile treatment experienced from the majority group (Ramos, Cassidy, Reicher, & Haslam, 2011, p. 643). Over the course of time, the stereotypes that exist about the minority group become part of their reality. The stereotypes are recognized and a constant belief arises that they are judged accordingly. Consequently, an anxiety to confirming these expectations arises, with reduced performance as an effect, which is a phenomenon that can be described as stigmatization. A decrease in performance can lead to problematic social interaction. Stigma consciousness refers to the awareness that when one's group is negatively received, a recognition of membership will bring negative consequences (Deaux, 2006, p. 66). Research shows that immigrant groups are well aware of the way they are being viewed, which makes individuals wary that negative situations will reoccur. Rejection based on ethnic group membership can undermine confidence and reduce motivation. The latter can even lead to hostility towards the mainstream society, which only creates a greater divide. Thus, the national identity is rejected and social integration is unsuccessful (Deaux, 2006, p. 66).

4. Case study: Manifestations of xenophobia in France and Greece

In order to measure the different manifestations of xenophobia in European societies, two case studies will be presented about France and Greece. Both case studies will explore different societal outcomes of xenophobia. The different manifestations of xenophobia can only be made clear by measuring both countries equally. This is because different environmental influences in societies can cause for xenophobia to manifest itself differently in European societies. Firstly, different historical legacies also shape current situations, which is combined with other factors, such as the media, civil society, the strength of courts and changes in the economy.

4.1 France

France has a long history of immigration. The industrial revolution that took place in the 18th and 19th century demanded a large labor force. However, a fall in birth rates caused by the wars in 1870-71 and 1914-1918 resulted in a shortage of labor. Labor recruitment agreements with other European countries were made in order to alleviate this problem. As a result, France became the second most important country (after the USA) for immigration in the 1930's. Around 2.7 million immigrants were living in France around that time, which amounted 6.6 percent of the total population (Focus-Migration, 2015, para. 3). This phenomenon repeated itself after the second world war, and was accompanied with an immigration flow from the former colonies due to the process of decolonization.

Like the other western European countries, France stopped all recruitment programs of foreign workers during the economic crisis in the 1970's. However, this did not result in the return of foreign workers to their home countries, many stayed in France and collected family members under the principle of family reunification. As a result, a zero immigration policy was initiated in the 90's as an attempt to scale back the immigration. Regulations were adopted that made the admission procedure for immigrants under the principle of family reunification stricter, which usually extended the waiting time. Also, foreign graduates that had attended French universities were forbidden to take up employment in France. In recent years, like other European countries, immigration policies started to focus more on admitting immigrants that benefit the economy (fourth migration period), which is also known as selective immigration (Focus-Migration, 2015, para. 5). This more restrictive approach towards immigration and asylum has also been adopted by the European Union. Despite its restrictive policy, immigration into France has still risen in recent years.

The history of immigration to France has had a strong impact on French society. Immigration can be regarded as a success when it comes to economic terms, but started to become the root of several social problems in the past three decades. This has led to extreme rightwing parties gaining momentum and frequent unrest in the French suburbs.

4.1.1 Social and cultural effects of migration

Massive migration flows in France have caused social change to occur in a rapid pace. The country now houses a large variety of ethnicities and cultures that all hold the French nationality. However, many natives do not view a composition of multiple ethnic identities as a positive mark of a diverse heritage. Many French natives have developed a fear for a loss of their culture and identity. A manifestation of this fear is the ongoing debate about immigrant groups holding a dual identity. The concern is that dual citizenship causes for a "conflict of loyalty", which might weaken the social cohesion. This is because, it is presumed that any sense of belonging to another country must necessarily weaken an individual's sense of being French (Simon, 2012, p. 3). In 2010 there was a parliamentary amendment to ban dual citizenship for French citizens. Dual nationals were urged to make a choice between their citizenships and select only one country in which they wish to exercise their political rights. France is continuously questioning the loyalty of its immigrants and their descendants which only has a reversed effect on the social cohesion.

A reason why so many immigrant groups are keeping a dual citizenship can be because they did not develop a real sense of national belonging, which can be defined as feelings of attachment to France or their country of origin (Simon, 2012, p. 7). The perception that others have of one's identity, and can be denied by a restrictive definition of national identity based on, ethnicity or socio-cultural norms is related to this sentiment. Therefore, it can occur that a person's own representation differs from how others perceive that person, which contributes to the tension between ethnic groups and generates feelings of rejection. Rejection is the result of diversity not yet being incorporated in the representation of being French. Ethnic minorities are therefore not perceived as part of the French mainstream, but are labeled as "others". Othering is a process in which members of the community are being labeled on the basis of their ethnic appearance, accent, self presentation, or surname (Simon, 2012, p. 13).

4.1.2 Social unrest: Social unrest in French suburbs

Second and third generation descendants of immigrants are often experiencing social and economic exclusion, and racial discrimination. This can lead to social unrest, which was the case in

November 2005. Two French Muslim boys were rushing home before sunset in order to make it home in time for their Ramadan breakfast. Suspicion was raised amongst some French policemen, who began to chase them. When the boys tried to avoid the police, they ran into an electric fence and got electrocuted. Their deaths triggered the biggest wave of civil unrest since 1968 and consisted of riots in 274 towns and suburbs in the Parisian region that went on for nearly three weeks (Henley, 2011, para. 5). The rioters mostly consisted from second- and third generation immigrants.

The media labeled these riots as the "usual cries of angry young Muslim men", and would be a sign of their limited integration. Also, the Islam's compatibility with the West was questioned. However, for French Muslims, the riots were the result of their frustrations with not being able to find adequate employment or receive other rights associated with equal citizenship (Khan, 2007, p. 1). Sociologist Michael Fize agrees with this statement, who finds that the underlying reason for these riots is the lack of any real prospect for employment and states that: "Youth has been tricked, betrayed," (Henley, 2011, para. 13). Society tells them to get an qualification, which turns out to be useless since they are being discriminated based on their ethnicity.

The French law enforcement only had a limited ability to exercise control since it has very limited contact with the Muslim community, and therefore a small understanding of the causes or possible solutions (Khan, 2007, p. 2). This small understanding can be considered to be the root of the problem. Muslims have been in France for generations. However, misinformation and prejudice about Muslims in Europe still exists, which clouds the examination of the underlying reasons of social unrest. Moreover, former interior minister and presidential candidate Nicholas Sarkozy, has recently dismantled neighborhood policing, which was one of the few links between the police and local communities (Khan, 2007, p. 2).

4.1.3 The role of politics

France's traditional approach towards integration was based on assimilation with a focus on equality. The underlying idea was that immigrants would be emancipated from their status of minorities as they integrate, and their descendents would not be recognizable from the mainstream society (Regout, 2011, p. 22). Despite this policy, France has become increasingly marginalized over the years. The social unrest that occurred in 2005 has forced France to reconsider their policy in order to tackle discrimination and social exclusion.

France is currently aiming to base its immigration policy on naturalization. In this way, there is one policy that applies to all immigrants and in which the learning of French culture and history will no longer be required (The Levin Institute, 2015, para. 6). The current integration policy in France exists of immigrant integration programs, which are designed to serve newcomers that are defined as people who have been in the country less than five years. The main institution in charge is the Office for Integration, Reception, and Citizenship (Direction de l'accueil, de l'intégration, et de la citoyenneté, or DAIC) (Escafré-Dublet, 2014, p. 4). The integration programs focus on legal newcomers, usually young immigrants. However, the limitation of the initiatives to an immigrant's first five years causes for general policies to take over after this time. Usually, these are area-based policies that target disadvantaged areas with a high rate of foreign born. These policies are addressed by the Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunity (l'Agence pour la cohésion sociale et l'égalité des chances, or Acsé).

The City Ministry guides this agency and implements the "city policy", which allocates more means to disadvantaged areas. French integration policy, intervenes in three areas: education, employment, and social cohesion. DAIC offers language courses for new arrivals and helps to gain recognition for diploma's that are acquired abroad. Moreover, DAIC helps newly arrived immigrants to access the labor market by signing them up at unemployment agencies, and targets specific branches like construction and cleaning companies. Hereby, the Diversity Label is closely monitored, which seeks to fight discrimination in the workplace. Acsé contributes by guiding individuals that are excluded from the job market, but predominantly finances community associations that organize cultural activities at the neighborhood level and is involved in conflict resolution. The social cohesion initiatives executed by Acsé have been evaluated by their impact on strengthening social ties. By creating a sense of civic engagement among young immigrant groups in suburbs, unrest is being discouraged (Escafré-Dublet, 2014, p. 4).

Opponents of these integration policies consider France to have an overabundance of immigrants, and blame them for economic hardship and a lack of "national cohesion" in the country. This situation demonstrates that even though the politics around immigration have slowly shifted to become more welcoming, anti-immigrant sentiments are still strongly felt by a large proportion of the French population. The rise of xenophobia in France has caused for a significant proportion of the French voters to abandon the traditional moderate left and right parties, and turn to anti-immigrant and xenophobic political movements. The most successful party is the Front National which was lead by Jean-Marie Le Pen until 2011. The party is known for blaming immigrants for the high crime and unemployment rate in France (Anti-Defamation League, 2012, para. 1). Le Pen frequently uses hateful words in an attempt to stir up resentment against France's minority groups.

The ongoing social and political unrest caused a decrease in the level of trust in politics and government. From all European nations, the French are the least willing to trust their government and political parties. This dissatisfaction originates from different attitudes. Some individuals claim that France has changed too much over the years which has led to a "disappearing France". Others state that the country has changed too little and that France has chosen to ignore the great transformation of the 21st century which cultivates a culture of status quo and rigidity" (Hall, 2005, p. 4). This contradiction leads to confusion and debate about complex politics and social change.

4.1.4 The role of education and national background

Citizenship education has traditionally been high on the political agenda in France. This originated out of national support for the Third Republic after the restoration of democracy in 1871. The curriculum of compulsory primary education consists from writing and literature in terms of national priorities (Osler & Starkey, 2001, p. 289). The French government is concerned that young people receive an education that helps them to become good republicans. French citizenship education intends to integrate a diverse ethnic population into a single national culture which is defined as republican and based on the principles *Liberté*, *Egalité*, *Fraternité* and on human rights. Differences are not recognized in this policy and rather focuses on the belief that all citizens are equal. This is because, inequalities are deemed to originate from a family background, which makes it irrelevant to the school since it is part of the public sphere.

The education system is based on the perceived danger of the society fragmenting into ghettos, ethnic minorities or religious communities (Osler & Starkey, 2001, p. 290). The reluctance to recognize community identities has led to tensions that originate in families that are not traditionally republican or French. Students from these families sometimes feel excluded since citizenship education defines French citizenship in such narrow terms. Moreover, the liberal values that are taught may be perceived as threatening to certain communities which are based on hierarchy and tradition.

4.1.5 The role of tolerance

Another concept that is based on the French liberal values is the freedom of speech and expression. This freedom often causes for offensive statements based on xenophobic attitudes. Magazine *Charlie Hebdo* is an example of this phenomenon. The magazine regularly publishes cartoons that

ridicule non-western religions. Even though the cartoons can be justified by the right of free expression, they are often experienced as offensive to some population groups and show a lack of tolerance towards other cultures and religions (Milligan, 2015, para. 5). The cartoons could be a demonstration of the old French assimilation mentality. Migrant groups are expected to adopt the French values, and should rid themselves of their own values, ideas and norms.

This statement can be supported by the fact that several laws have been passed that prohibit Islamic clothing such as the burqa, and limit the construction of mosques, minarets and et cetera. Consequently, many Muslims have developed the feeling that they are living in a culture that does not accept its traditions and where they are not free to express themselves (Why Evolution is True, 2015, para. 4). This is a feeling that can lead to anger which can manifest into violence and is eventually what happened in the case of Charlie Hebdo. A group of armed men forced themselves into the Charlie Hebdo office and shot several people.

4.2 Greece

Greece is one of the countries that experienced "new migration". It used to be one of the most important countries of emigration following the Second World War. Only in the 1980's, Greece slowly started to attract immigrants coming from mainly Africa and Asia. In the beginning of the 1990's, also large flows of immigrants from central and Eastern Europe, with Albania on top of this list, arrived as a result of the collapse of the communist regimes (Cavounidis, 2013, p. 60). Today, the majority of immigrant groups in Greece are originated from these group of countries. However, the majority of these group of migrants have entered the country without proper documents. This has lead to irregular and undocumented employment of migrants in the underground economy, which is still ongoing today.

Before the arrival of immigrants, Greece's economy was characterized by its family character. The country presented high levels of self-employment which relied on unpaid family labor. With the arrival of immigrants, family labor was replaced by migrants who were willing to work for lower wages. Low wages of immigrants have contributed to Greece's entry in the Euro zone in 2001 (Cavounidis, 2013, p. 65). This is because the production costs were being kept low which also reduced inflationary pressure. The competitiveness of Greek products in international markets also improved, which led to the survival of small and medium sized firms. However, low-wage labor affected productivity negatively, since it encouraged employers to focus on labor intensive techniques instead of adopting new technologies.

The rise of the economic crisis since 2008, has had consequences in both the economical and social landscapes of Greece. A large share of the incoming migrants were no longer able to find work in the informal sector. Consequently, the unemployment rate of migrants surpassed that of natives for the first time. Specifically, between 2008 and 2011 the unemployment rate of migrants increased from 6% to 18% while the unemployment rate of native Greek citizens increased from 7% to 16%. The increase in unemployment was highest among citizens of Albania, whose rate increased from 6% to 21% (Cavounidis, 2013, p. 66). The increase in the unemployment of migrants did however not lead to a decrease of migration flows to Greece. Heavy inflows continued, which led to Greece maintaining its status as the main gateway of illegal migration in the EU.

Greece is continuously faced with illegal immigration problems that also impact the rest of Europe. This is because 40 percent of Europe's immigrants come through Greece (The Levin Institute, 2015, para. 9). Because of the country's economic problems and budget restrictions due to the economic crisis, effective efforts to counter the flow of illegal immigrants, or an effective integration policy remains absent.

4.2.1 Social and cultural effects of migration

The arrival of immigrants in Greece caused a shift in the commonly held notions of the Greek identity and the homogeneity of the Greek population. The transition into a multicultural society took place quite suddenly which led to the migrant population being perceived as alarmingly large. Research on xenophobia in northern Greece has identified feelings of “excessive numbers of foreigners” amongst the local population (Hatziprokopiou, 2005, p. 9). Rather than identifying the Greek identity with civic criteria, the concept of being Greek is based on religious, linguistic and genealogical ones. Consequently, widespread sentiments of mistrust towards national and religious identities of migrants arise, particularly against Albanians and Muslims. This sentiment proves a present fear of the "other" in Greek society and highlights the importance of ethnicity and religion.

4.2.2 The role of politics

The recently elected political party Syriza is engaged in reducing social inequalities and has come up with several immigration policies. The policies are based on the aim for social inclusion of immigrants and equal rights protection (Chen, 2015, para. 3). Some of the policies include: speeding up the asylum petition process, which could help migrants secure their right to resettle and protect them from deportation, combating the EU-wide rules that restrict migrants to travel

within the region, guaranteeing human rights protections for immigrants currently in detention, and the promotion of reunification of immigrant families.

This aim is being opposed by the political neo-Nazi party Golden Dawn that has significantly risen in recent years. The party makes use of Nazi symbolism and praises figures of old Nazi Germany. The group can be considered to be Racist and Xenophobic and even the party's leader has openly identified it as nationalist and racist. Golden Dawn has successfully pushed a heavily anti-immigration platform, which is blaming migration for social problems. Anti-racism proposals by other political parties are being dismissed as "racism against Greeks" (The Levin Institute, 2015, para. 10). Golden Dawn has gained a high number of followers in recent years which characterizes the social polarization in Greece. The group is known for its involvement in violent attacks on immigrants and dissenting Greeks, the idealization of Greeks, and the belittlement of stigmatized social groups. However, no charges have been filed against its members until today.

4.2.3 Social unrest: Ethnic discrimination and violence in Greece

In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of racist attacks. A long series of violent events can serve as evidence for the advance of an ideology of hate, which turns against the participation of migrants in Greek society (Gazakis, Syrri, & Takis, 2014, p. 22). In 2009, there has been an incident in Greece in which an attack on a courthouse, housing 600 immigrants, was unhindered by the police. This is a reflection of Greece's policy of discouraging immigration and asylum-seeking (The Levin Institute, 2015, para. 10).

There are hints about a relation between Golden Dawn and the Greek police. This is because police leadership has the opportunity to exterminate fascism but they are choosing not to. The unwillingness of police officers to arrest perpetrators, or record the incidents has resulted in the majority of the assaults not being reported, or when reported they are often not being recorded. Therefore, the belief arose that there will be no justice after all which has, together with the attitude and conduct of the police and other state agencies, contributed to the increase in racist attacks. The Greek ombudsman explains that the reason for only a small number of incidents with racist motivation are being acknowledged, is because otherwise ethnic minorities will be labeled as victims of "social panic". This would give a bad reputation to Greece and its citizens (Gazakis, Syrri, & Takis, 2014, p. 23). Therefore, he also states that the contribution of local governments is vital in order to reduce this fear of assault, and combating xenophobia.

A study performed by the university of Minnesota found that frequent exposure to multiple risk factors during childhood can result in the development of dysfunctional emotional and extremely violent behavioral patterns (Xiarchogiannopoulou, 2013, para. 6). Therefore, reducing the exposure of these factors will also reduce violent behavior. Moreover, in times of crises, social risk factors tend to accumulate, which results in feelings of collective humiliation and can lead to the rise of fanatical extremist groups. For example, since the beginning of the crisis in 2009, Greeks have frequently been under intense pressure. The country has suffered from radical adjustments which started since the country's fiscal recovery. However, the Greek society has paid a high toll for this progress. In this time, Golden Dawn has risen from holding 0.29 percent of the votes in 2009 to 13 percent in 2013. The unemployment rate has risen up to 27 percent and individuals who lose their jobs are likely to stay unemployed for a long period of time. The disposable income has shrunk by 22 percent and the percentage of homeless has reached 25 percent. Crime has also risen since 2008 and now hold a percentage of 40 percent. According to the Greek Centre for Social Research, prostitution in Greece has risen by 150 percent since the beginning of the crisis and domestic violence against women by 47 percent (Xiarchogiannopoulou, 2013, para. 15). Even incidents of malnutrition have occurred in which students were fainting at schools and the rate of minors with a severe material deprivation has increased by 38 percent between 2010-2011. The psychological stress in families also affects the children. This can be shown by the 74 percent increase of bullying in schools between 2002 and 2010, and the 58 percent growth rate of juvenile perpetrators between the ages of nine and 13.

4.2.4 The role of education and tolerance

On October 28 Greece celebrates the refusal of Greece to let Italian fascist groups into the country. On this day, all public schools organize a parade in which the best student carries the Greek flag. In 2000 an Albanian student was called out to carry the Greek flag for the first time. This caused furious media debates and opposition by parents. The motivation behind this opposition is that the 28th of October is a national celebration and should only concern Greeks. Even though a new legislation was passed shortly after this event that stated that non-Greek pupils that are enrolled in public schools are allowed to carry the Greek flag, great opposition remains towards non-Greek students being selected to bear the flag (Baldwin-Edwards, 2003, p. 1).

The level of xenophobia in Greek society can partly be derived from a certain degree of ignorance towards Greece's neighbors which was imposed by the iron curtain. Prejudices and stereotypes have been build due to this ignorance and were strengthened by governmental policy and negative media images (Hatziprokopiou, 2005, p. 9). However, with the rise of intercultural relationships on

the basis of mutual trust, collaboration and friendship, xenophobic attitudes are gradually fading. The effect of time has had a gradual effect on the level of tolerance which can be observed in public discourse and the media. The latter now takes the anti-discriminatory regulations more carefully under consideration and positive portraits of migrants are more frequently pictured. Moreover, some state TV and radio channels have included special multilingual programs for immigrants.

The Greek education system has also recently become invested in furthering intercultural relationships and recognizes the need for intercultural education. There is a concern about changing the current educational philosophy in order for Greek students to compete in an increasingly globalized and competitive environment and to successfully integrate in the European Union (Triandafyllidou, 2011, p. 8). Another motivation is the poor school performance of native minority children and the need to enroll undocumented children of immigrant in Greek schools. Special schools have been created for these children which follow the mainstream national curriculum, but are more flexible to adapt this curriculum to the special needs of these children. However, the program of international education only concerns 0.2 percent of all Greek schools and are mostly just educational ghettos for minority students (Kakos & Palaiologou, 2014, p. 73). This separation of schools causes for a segregation of the educational system and does little to further a shift in perceptions among the majority population in understanding Greek society as more diverse, multicultural and changing (Kakos & Palaiologou, 2014, p. 73).

Citizenship education has been a part of the Greek educational system since the establishment of the Greek state. The basic aim was the formation of citizens' social behaviors and political morality. The sense that citizens were members of the newly established political community was highly emphasized. Ethnicity, mainly in terms of language and religion, was promoted as the main unifying force of citizens and also defined their political identities. Consequently, ethnocentric and nationalistic ideals took root in the Greek education system which have remained until today. Historical events in which Greece was involved, are approached and explained with an ethnocentric approach. This approach leads to intolerance towards minority groups, xenophobia, and prejudice (Kakos & Palaiologou, 2014, p. 74).

4.3 Case study analysis

The rise of xenophobia has led to some serious manifestations in France and Greece. Both countries have experienced a rise of extreme right political parties. In France a political divide exists between two rising ideologies. The fact that France is currently aiming to base its

immigration policy on naturalization, has led to differences being less emphasized and a higher acceptance of incoming ethnic groups by some French natives. However, this development has triggered some extreme behaviors of opponents of immigration. The rise of extreme right political parties such as the Front National is an example. The fact that the learning of the French language and history is no longer required, might have caused these opponents to feel especially threatened since the fear for a loss of culture intensifies.

In Greece, budget restrictions have led to effective integration policies to remain absent. Therefore, there has been little promotion of interracial interaction and with that little understanding of other ethnic groups. This has caused xenophobic attitudes to arise or worsen. As a result, there has been a rise of the extreme right in Greece which idealizes Greeks, belittles stigmatized ethnic groups and is blaming migration for social problems.

Xenophobia has manifested itself in social unrest in both countries. Due to xenophobic attitudes, immigrants and their descendants often face discrimination and social and economic exclusion. This leads to immigrant groups not being able to become full members of society or to develop a real sense of belonging. In France, resentment among immigrant groups has risen which has manifested itself into rebellious behavior. The response of the media that these riots would be a sign of their limited integration, could be considered as true. However, in a way, the immigrants are not to blame but this is rather a shortcoming of the French integration system.

In Greece, the roles are reversed since violent events are undertaken by the Greeks instead of immigrant groups. Xenophobia has manifested itself into hate which has led to more serious offenses against immigrants than discrimination or exclusion. The violence that is used against them is an expression of this hate and a sign that these minorities are not welcome in society. It is clear that these attitudes also exist on a governmental level since many accidents are unhindered by the police. This policy of discouraging immigration and asylum seeking does not seem to work since millions of immigrants still enter Greece every year.

Xenophobic attitudes already originate in schools and are derived from the nationalist citizenship education in both France and Greece. These systems are based on old traditional values that are associated with the national identity. As a result, students with other ethnic or religious backgrounds may feel excluded or even feel threatened in the sense that the national values are being forced upon them. In France, differences are not being recognized and the education system rather focuses on the fact that all citizens are equal. In the first sense, this could be considered as a positive aspect. However, due to this approach, students do not learn to accept or cooperate with other ethnicities and religions. The Greek education system has a similar approach, but even reaches to the extent of ethnocentrism. Little efforts are undertaken to further a shift in perceptions

among the majority population in understanding Greek society as more diverse, multicultural and changing.

The level of tolerance has proved to be significantly low in both societies. In France the freedom of speech and expression can be mistaken for a high level of tolerance. There appears to be a discrimination when it comes to the freedom of expression. The cartoons published by magazine Charlie Hebdo, are often perceived as offensive by some population groups. The offended parties are expected to be tolerant towards these cartoons since these are justified by the right of free expression. However, the freedom of expression is not perceived as such by all population groups. The laws that prohibit the certain Islamic dressing like the burqa and limit the construction of mosques make these population groups feel unaccepted and limit their freedom of expression. Therefore, it can be stated that the freedom only reaches as far as the old French values.

In Greece, ethnocentric and intolerant attitudes have led to a small acceptance of immigrant groups in society. The resistance towards non-Greek students carrying the Greek flag can be considered to be example. These attitudes can be derived from the ethnocentric educational system and ignorance towards other nationalities which might have enhanced the level of xenophobia that is present in Greece. To add up, governmental policy and negative media images could have strengthened prejudices and stereotypes.

Conclusions and recommendations

Throughout the decades, xenophobic attitudes have slowly taken root in European societies. Differences in migration flows and environmental influences may have caused xenophobia to manifest itself differently in different societies. Therefore, there is no universal answer to the main question of this thesis that applies to all European societies. Unfortunately, this thesis only provides enough information in an attempt to answer this question for France and Greece.

Based on the case study analysis, it can be stated that both countries are experiencing significant manifestations of xenophobia. Xenophobia is not simply shaped by one factor but includes several environmental influences. The case study explores several of these influences such as politics, education and social background, and tolerance. Research has pointed out that such a factor can serve as both a driver and an manifestation of xenophobia. For example, a low level of tolerance in a society can contribute to xenophobic attitudes while xenophobic attitudes can contribute to a low level of tolerance. This illustrates a vicious circle that is hard to be broken and makes it hard to trace back the origins of xenophobia.

The complexity in which the phenomenon xenophobia extent itself makes it difficult to draft a general conclusion. However, many xenophobic attitudes seem to be derived from a limited interaction between native and immigrant groups and a limited intercultural understanding. This leads to mutual stereotypes and prejudices that cause individuals to solely interact with their in-group. Moreover, the small timeframe in which massive migration flows occurred in the twentieth century have left insufficient time for natives and immigrants to get used to each other.

Therefore, it would be wise to address this issue in its early stages which is the educational system. Educating the youth about acceptance and tolerance can considered to be key since it would teach individuals from different ethnic backgrounds to interact with each other from a young age. A higher level of acceptance and tolerance could spring from this which would reduce the overall xenophobic attitudes in society. The same approach could be enforced on a societal level in the shape of improved integration policies. Integrating immigrant groups better in society would reduce prejudices and stereotypes which could lead to a higher level of interaction between ethnic groups.

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Appendix

European Studies Student Ethics Form

Your name: Samantha Eliza Kooreman

Supervisor: M. van Haspel

Instructions/checklist

Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code

(<http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>). If you are planning research with human subjects you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

- a. [☒] Read section 3 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these issues in section 1.
- b. [☒] Complete sections 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
- c. [☒] Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have one) and sign the form.
- d. [☒] Append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation.

Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

(i) Title of Project: Xenophobia in European Societies - A case study of France and Greece

(ii) Aims of project: To explore the causes and manifestations of xenophobia in European societies.

(iii) Will you involve other people in your project – e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher – e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer ‘NO’ to this question.)

YES / NO

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects . I understand that I do not have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research, to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature _____ - date 28-05-2015