

Roberta Medda-Windischer and Patricia Popelier (eds.),

Pro-Independence Movements and Immigration. Discourse, Policy and Practice
(Brill Nijhoff, Leiden, 2016) ISBN: 978-90-04-29438-7 (hardcover)

The increasing immigration influx to Europe, coupled with the territorial rescaling of public functions, both at the supranational and at the sub-state level,¹ have contributed to the development of a multiple sense of belonging of the individual to territorial institutions other than the state.² The traditional notion of citizenship as defining the membership of an individual to the political community of a state is increasingly subject to tensions.

An example of this trend is represented by the notion of “regional citizenship”.³ The more the subnational authorities are empowered to act in areas affecting individuals’ daily life, for example welfare, the more the ties of these individuals with the sub-state institutions strengthen and a “regional citizenship” notion develops. In turn, this may follow inclusive or, on the contrary, exclusionary attitude towards immigrants, according to the notions of “ethnic” or “civic” citizenship.

The idea of a regional citizenship may become even stronger in states characterized by a multinational structure of population,⁴ or where linguistic-national minorities are set. These subnational units with a considerable number of persons belonging to such a national minority, thus constituting a majority in that territorial unit, may feel the need to preserve their cultural-linguistic identity with respect to new immigrants, especially when the latter are deeply motivated to learn the majority language (i.e. the dominant official language in the country). Due to such situations, sub-state authorities have a strong interest in agreeing with the national authorities to have special

1 See Michael Keating, *Rescaling the European State: The Making of Territory and the Rise of the Meso* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2013).

2 See Willem Maas (ed.), *Multilevel Citizenship* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2013).

3 See Roberta Medda-Windischer and Karl Kössler, “Regional Citizenship: A Tool for Inclusion of New Minorities in Subnational Entities?” in 13 *EYMI* (Special Focus, 2014), 61–78.

4 I refer here to Stepan’s definition of multinationalism as a system in which significant historical communities, sharing linguistic, religious, cultural or ethnic factors, claim important political autonomy, or even independence, for the territories they occupy. This definition is expressly referred to in the editors’ introduction, p. 5. See A. Stepan, “Towards a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, Multinationalism, and Democracy”, in E.L. Gibson (ed.), *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2004), 39.

powers in selecting immigrants and/or to encourage immigrants to learn the language of the national minority. Quebec is the most prominent example in this regard.

The relationship between “new minorities”, resulting from migration flows, and the traditional linguistic/national minorities has increasingly drawn the attention of scholars, especially political scientists and political philosophers.⁵ Kymlicka has highlighted the “legitimacy dilemma” faced by sub-state nationalism in relation to immigration. The sub-state nation building process, whenever based on factors such as language, culture or common history, tends to imply the exclusion of migrants. In turn, this exclusion may undermine the nation building process itself as this could be perceived, externally, as illiberal and xenophobic.⁶

The volume *Pro-independence Movements and Immigration*, edited by Roberta Medda-Windischer and Patricia Popelier, is a new contribution in this research field. According to the editors' introduction, the purpose of the book is two-fold: to examine how pro-independence movements in multinational states fit immigrants into their call for independence and to analyse how immigrants approach independence projects in the relevant sub-state units.⁷

The analysis is specifically focused on “pro-independence movements” defined by the editors as those “movements and political parties striving for independence as opposed to parties that strive for greater autonomy within the central state”.⁸ Although separatism and sub-state nationalism are certainly two distinct concepts, since the latter does not necessarily pursue independence, the literature on sub-state nationalism is deemed to be particularly

5 See especially the chapter “Minority Nationalism and Immigrant Integration” in Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001); Joseph H. Carens, “Immigration, Political Community, and the Transformation of Identity: Quebec's Immigration Politics in Critical Perspective”, in Will Kymlicka (ed.), *Is Quebec Nationalism Just? Perspectives from Anglophone Canada* (McGill University Press, Montreal, 1995), 20–81; Ricard Zapata-Barrero, “Setting a Research Agenda on the Interaction between Cultural Demands of Immigrants and Minority Nations”, 5(4) *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies* (2007), 1–25; Ricard Zapata-Barrero, *Immigration and Self-Government of Minority Nations* (Peter Lang, Brussels, 2009); Eve Hepburn and Ricard Zapata-Barrero (eds.), *The Politics of Immigration in Multilevel States—Governance and Political Parties* (Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2014).

6 Kymlicka, *op. cit.* note 5, 277–278.

7 See the editors' introduction in Roberta Medda-Windischer and Patricia Popelier, *Pro-Independence Movements and Immigration. Discourse, Policy and Practice* (Brill Nijhoff, Leiden, 2016), 1–29, at 23.

8 *Ibid.*, 2.