



**UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)**

**Conditional belonging**

de Waal, T.M.

[Link to publication](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*

de Waal, T. M. (2017). Conditional belonging: A legal-philosophical inquiry into integration requirements for immigrants in Europe

**General rights**

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

**Disclaimer/Complaints regulations**

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

# Bibliography

## 1. Books and Articles

- Abizadeh, Arash. 2010. "Closed Borders, Human Rights, and Democratic Legitimation." in *Driven from Home: Human Rights and the New Realities of Forced Migration*. ed. David Hollenbach. Georgetown University Press: 147-66.
- . 2008. "Democratic Theory and Border Coercion no Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders." *Political Theory* 36 (1): 37-65.
- Akkerman, Tjitske. 2012. "Comparing Radical Right Parties in Government: Immigration and Integration Policies in Nine Countries (1996–2010)." *West European Politics* 35 (3): 511-529.
- Allan, Kenneth. 2005. *Explorations in Classical Sociological Theory: Seeing the Social World* Pine Forge Press.
- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* Verso London.
- Anderson, Bridget. 2013. *Us and them?: The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control* Oxford University Press.
- Anderson, Elizabeth S. 2010. *The Imperative of Integration*. Princeton University Press.
- . 1999. "What is the Point of Equality?" *Ethics* 109 (2): 287-337.
- Arneson, Richard J. 1989. "Equality and Equal Opportunity for Welfare." *Philosophical Studies* 56 (1): 77-93.
- Axelsen, David V. & Lasse Nielsen. 2014. "Sufficiency as Freedom from Duress." *Journal of Political Philosophy*.
- Backhouse, Constance. 1996. "The White Women's Labor Laws: Anti-Chinese Racism in Early Twentieth-Century Canada." *Law and History Review* 14 (02): 315-368.
- Bader, Veit. 2005. "The Ethics of Immigration." *Constellations* 12 (3): 331-361.
- . 2001. "Cohesion, Unity and Stability in Modern Societies." in *The Many Faces of Individualism*. ed. Anton van Harskamp and A.W. Musschenga. Peeters: 107-32.

- Bakker, Linda. 2016. "Seeking Sanctuary in the Netherlands." Ph.D. diss. Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Baldi, Gregory & Sara Wallace Goodman. 2015. "Migrants into Members: Social Rights, Civic Requirements, and Citizenship in Western Europe." *West European Politics*: 1-22.
- Ballin, Ernst Hirsch. 2014. *Citizens' Rights and the Right to be a Citizen* Nijhoff.
- Ballin, Ernst Hirsch & Tamar de Waal. 2016. "Individueel Maatwerk kan Inburgering Versnellen" *Asiel&Migratierecht* 6/7: 307-308.
- Barbulescu, Roxana. 2013. "The Politics of Immigrant Integration in Post-Enlargement Europe Migrants: Co-Ethnics and European Citizens in Italy and Spain." Ph.D diss. European University Institute.
- Bauböck, Rainer. 2009. "Global Justice, Freedom of Movement and Democratic Citizenship." *European Journal of Sociology* 50 (01): 1-31.
- . 1994. *Transnational Citizenship* Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Beauchamp, Marie. 2016. "The Forfeiture of Nationality in France: Discursive Ambiguity, Borders, and Identities." *Space and Culture* 19.1: 31-42
- . 2015. "Affective Identities" PhD diss. University of Amsterdam.
- Beitz, Charles R. 1999. "Social and Cosmopolitan Liberalism." *International Affairs* 75 (3): 515-529.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 2004. *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*. Vol. 5 Cambridge University Press.
- Blake, Michael. 2003. "Immigration." in *A Companion to Applied Ethics*. ed. R.G. Frey and Christopher Wellman, Blackwell Publishing: 224-237.
- . 2001. "Distributive Justice, State Coercion, and Autonomy." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 30 (3): 257-296.
- Bloemraad, Irene. 2016. "The Politics of Immigration by James Hampshire." *Social Forces* 95 (1).
- . 2006. *Becoming a Citizen: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada* University of California Press.
- Böcker, Anita & Tineke Strik. 2011. "Language and Knowledge Tests for Permanent Residence Rights: Help or Hindrance for Integration?" *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13 (2): 157-184.
- Bonjour, Saskia. 2014. "The Transfer of Pre-Departure Integration Requirements for Family Migrants among Member States of the European Union." *Comparative Migration Studies* 2 (2): 203-226.
- Bosniak, Linda. 2008. *The Citizen and the Alien: Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership* Princeton University Press.
- Brettschneider, Corey. 2012. *When the State Speaks, what should it Say?: How Democracies can Protect Expression and Promote Equality*. Princeton University Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1992. *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press.
- Byrne, Bridget. 2016. "Testing Times: The Place of the Citizenship Test in the UK Immigration Regime and New Citizens' Responses to it." *Sociology* 1: 16.
- Caney, Simon. 2005. "Cosmopolitan Justice, Responsibility, and Global Climate Change." *Leiden Journal of International Law* 18 (04): 747-775.
- Carens, Joseph. 2013. *The Ethics of Immigration* Oxford University Press

- . 2010. “The most liberal citizenship test is none at all.” in *How Liberal are Citizenship tests?* ed. by Rainer Bauböck and Christian Joppke: 19-20. (See also reports below)
- . 2008. “Live in Domestic, Seasonal Workers, and Others Hard to Locate on the Map of Democracy.” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 16 (4): 419-445.
- . 1992. “Migration and Morality: A Liberal Egalitarian Perspective.” in *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and of Money* ed. Barry Goodin and Robert Goodin. University of Pennsylvania Press: 25-47.
- . 1978. “Aliens and Citizens: The Case for Open Borders.” *The Review of Politics*: 251-273.
- Castles, Stephen. 1985. “The Guests Who Stayed-the Debate on ‘Foreigners Policy’ in the German Federal Republic.” *International Migration Review*: 517-534.
- Cavallar, Georg. 2002. *The Rights of Strangers Theories of International Hospitality, the Global Community, and Political Justice since Vitoria*. Routledge.
- Cohen, Gerald A. 1997. “Where the Action is: On the Site of Distributive Justice.” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 26 (1): 3-30.
- Cole, Phillip. 2000. *Philosophies of Exclusion: Liberal Political Theory and Immigration*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Cooke, Melanie. 2009. “Barrier Or Entitlement? the Language and Citizenship Agenda in the United Kingdom.” *Language Assessment Quarterly* 6 (1): 71-77.
- Crisp, Roger. 2003. “Equality, Priority, and Compassion.” *Ethics* 113 (4): 745-763.
- Cuttitta, Paolo. 2016. “Mandatory Integration Measures and Differential Inclusion: The Italian Case.” *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 17 (1): 289-302.
- Dahl, Robert. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. Yale University Press
- De Groot, Gerard-René *et al*, 2016. “Passing Citizenship Tests as a Requirement for Naturalisation: A Comparative Perspective.” in *Illiberal Liberal States. Immigration, Citizenship and Integration in the EU*. ed. Elspeth Guild & Kees Groenendijk. Routledge: 51-77.
- De Hart, Betty. 2010. “Inleiding De Regulering van partnermigratie: Beleid en gevolgen.” *Migrantenstudies* 26 (4): 282-286.
- De Hart, Betty & Ashley Terlouw. 2015. “Born here! Revocation and the Automatic Loss of Dutch Nationality in Case of Terrorist Activities.” In *Liber Amicorum Titia Loenen*, ed. M. van den Brink, S. Burri and J. Goldschmidt: 205-329.
- De Leeuw, Marc & Sonja Van Wichelen. 2012. “Civilizing Migrants: Integration, Culture and Citizenship.” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 15 (2): 195-210.
- De Schutter, Helder & Lea Ypi. 2015. “Mandatory Citizenship for Immigrants.” *British Journal of Political Science* 45 (02): 235-251.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. (1838) 2000. *Democracy in America*. University of Chicago Press.

- De Vries, Karin. 2013. *Integration at the Border: The Dutch Act on Integration Abroad and International Immigration Law* Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Dummett, Ann. 1992. "The Transnational Migration of People seen from within a Natural Law Tradition." *Cap* 12: 169-180.
- Durkheim, Emile. (1897) 2013. *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*. The Free Press.
- Dworkin, Ronald. 1981. "What is Equality? Part 1: Equality of Welfare." *Philosophy & Public Affairs*: 185-246.
- . 1981. "What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources." *Philosophy & Public Affairs*: 283-345.
- Elias, Stella Burch. 2016. "Testing Citizenship." *Boston University Law Review* 96.
- Ellinas, Antonis A. 2010. *The Media and the Far Right in Western Europe: Playing the Nationalist Card* Cambridge University Press.
- Entzinger, Han. 2000. "The Dynamics of Integration Policies: A Multidimensional Model." *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics: Comparative European Perspectives*: 97-118.
- Ersanilli, Evelyn & Ruud Koopmans. 2011. "Do Immigrant Integration Policies Matter? A Three-Country Comparison among Turkish Immigrants." *West European Politics* 34 (2): 208-234.
- Fiss, Owen. 1999. "A Community of Equals." *The Constitutional Protection of New Americans, Boston* (12).
- FitzGerald, D.S., Cook-Martín, D., García, A.S. & Arar, R. 2017. "Can You Become One of Us? A Historical Comparison of Legal Selection of 'Assimilable' Immigrants in Europe and the Americas." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*: 1-21.
- Fourie, Carina. 2012. "What is Social Equality? An Analysis of Status Equality as a Strongly Egalitarian Ideal." *Res Publica* 18 (2): 107-126.
- Fourie, Carina, Fabian Schuppert, & Ivo Wallimann-Helmer. ed. 2015. *Social Equality: Essays on What it Means to be Equals*. Oxford University Press.
- Frankfurt, Harry. 1987. "Equality as a Moral Ideal." *Ethics*: 21-43.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2001. "Recognition without Ethics?" *Theory, culture & society*, 18(2-3), pp.21-42.
- . 1995. "From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age." *New Left Review*: 68-68.
- Fraser, Nancy & Axel Honneth, 2003. *Redistribution or Recognition?: a political-philosophical exchange*. Verso.
- Freeman, Gary P. 2004. "Immigrant Incorporation in Western Democracies." *International Migration Review* 38 (3): 945-969.
- . 1979. *Immigrant Labor and Racial Conflict in Industrial Societies: The French and British Experience, 1945-1975* Princeton University Press.
- Gerhardt, Uta. 2016. *The Social Thought of Talcott Parsons: Methodology and American Ethos* Routledge.
- Goldring, Luin, Carolina Berinstein, and Judith K. Bernhard. 2009. "Institutionalizing Precarious Migratory Status in Canada." *Citizenship Studies* 13 (3): 239-265.
- Goodin, Robert E. and Brian M. Barry .ed. 1992. *Free Movement: Ethical Issues in the Transnational Migration of People and of Money* Pennsylvania State University Press.

- Goodman, Sara Wallace. 2012. "Fortifying Citizenship: Policy Strategies for Civic Integration in Western Europe." *World Politics* 64 (04): 659-698.
- . 2011. "Controlling Immigration through Language and Country Knowledge Requirements." *West European Politics* 34 (2): 235-255.
- . 2010a. "Integration Requirements for Integration's Sake? Identifying, Categorising and Comparing Civic Integration Policies." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (5): 753-772.
- . 2010c. "Lost and found: An Empirical Foundation for Applying the 'Liberal Test'" in *How Liberal are Citizenship tests?* ed. by Rainer Bauböck and Christian Joppke: 35-39. (see also reports below)
- Goodman, Sara Wallace & Marc Morjé Howard. 2013. "Evaluating and Explaining the Restrictive Backlash in Citizenship Policy in Europe." *Studies in Law, Politics, and Society* 60: 111-139.
- Goodman, Sara Wallace & Matthew Wright. 2015. "Does Mandatory Integration Matter? Effects of Civic Requirements on Immigrant Socio-Economic and Political Outcomes." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (12): 1885-1908.
- Groenendijk, Kees. 2011. "Pre-Departure Integration Strategies in the European Union: Integration Or Immigration Policy?" *European Journal of Migration and Law* 13 (1): 1-30.
- Groenendijk, Kees & Ricky Van Oers. 2010. "How Liberal Tests are does Not Merely Depend on their Content, but also their Effects." *European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship*: 9.
- Guild, Elspeth, Cornelis Arnoldus Groenendijk & Sergio Carrera. 2009. *Il-liberal Liberal States: Immigration, Citizenship, and Integration in the EU* Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Gutmann, Amy. 1995. "Civic Education and Social Diversity." *Ethics* 105 (3): 557-579.
- Hampshire, James. 2011. "Liberalism and Citizenship Acquisition: How Easy should Naturalisation be?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (6): 953-971.
- . 2013. *The Politics of Immigration: Contradictions of the Liberal State* Polity.
- Hannah, Arendt. 1951. *The Origins of Totalitarianism* Harcourt Brace and Company New York.
- Hansen, Randall. 2010. "Citizenship Tests: An Unapologetic Defense." in *How Liberal are Citizenship tests?* ed. by Rainer Bauböck and Christian Joppke: 25. (See also reports below)
- . 2009. The poverty of postnationalism: citizenship, immigration, and the new Europe. *Theory and Society*, 38(1), pp.1-24.
- Holtug, Nils. 2010. "Immigration and the Politics of Social Cohesion." *Ethnicities* 10 (4): 435-451.
- Howard, Marc Morjé. 2010. The impact of the far right on citizenship policy in Europe: explaining continuity and change. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(5), pp.735-751
- . 2009. *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe* Cambridge University Press.
- . 2006. "Comparative Citizenship: An Agenda for Cross-National Research." *Perspectives on Politics* 4 (03): 443-455.

- Huntington, Samuel P. 2004. *Who are we?: The Challenges to America's National Identity* Simon and Schuster.
- Isbister, John. 2000. "A Liberal Argument for Border Controls: Reply to Carens." *The International Migration Review* Vol. 34 (No. 2).
- Jacobson, David. 1996. *Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship* Brill.
- Joppke, Christian. 2013. "Through the European Looking Glass: Citizenship Tests in the USA, Australia, and Canada." *Citizenship Studies* 17 (1): 1-15.
- . 2010a. *Citizenship and Immigration*. Vol. 2 Polity.
- . 2010b. "How liberal are citizenship tests?" in *How Liberal are Citizenship tests?* ed. by Rainer Bauböck and Christian Joppke: 19-20. (see also reports below)
- . 2009. "Limits of Integration Policy: Britain and Her Muslims." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35 (3): 453-472.
- . 2008a. "Comparative Citizenship: A Restrictive Turn in Europe?" *Law & Ethics of Human Rights* 2 (1): 1-41.
- . 2008b. "Immigration and the Identity of Citizenship: The Paradox of Universalism." *Citizenship Studies* 12 (6): 533-546.
- . 2007. "Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe." *West European Politics* 30 (1): 1-22.
- . 2003. "Citizenship between De- and Re-Ethnicization." *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes De Sociologie* 44 (3): 429-458.
- . 1998. "Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration." *World Politics* 50 (2): 266-293.
- Joppke, Christian and Tobias Eule. 2016. "18 Civic Integration in Europe: Continuity Versus Discontinuity." in *Handbook on Migration and Social Policy* ed. Gary P. Freeman and Nikola Mirilovic: 343-358.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1917. *On Perpetual Peace* Broadview Press.
- Kernohan, Andrew. 1998. *Liberalism, Equality, and Cultural Oppression* Cambridge University Press.
- Kiwan, Dina. 2008. "A Journey to Citizenship in the United Kingdom." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 10 (1): 60-75.
- Koopmans, Ruud, Ines Michalowski, & Stine Waibel. 2012. "Citizenship Rights for Immigrants: National Political Processes and Cross-National Convergence in Western Europe, 1980-2008." *American Journal of Sociology* 117 (4): 1202-1245.
- Koopmans, Ruud, Paul Statham, Marco Giugni & Florence Passy. 2005. *Contested Citizenship: Immigration and Cultural Diversity in Europe*. Vol 25. University of Minnesota Press.
- Kostakopoulou, Dora. 2010a. "The Anatomy of Civic Integration." *The Modern Law Review* 73 (6): 933-958.
- . 2010b. "What Liberalism is Committed to and Why Current Citizenship Policies Fail this Test." *European Union Democracy Observatory on Citizenship*: 15.
- . 2009. "Citizenship Goes Public: The Institutional Design of National Citizenship." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 17 (3): 275-306.
- . 2008. *The Future Governance of Citizenship* Cambridge University Press.

- Kukathas, Chandran. 2005. "The Case for Open Immigration." *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics*: 207-220.
- Kymlicka, Will. 2007. *Multicultural Odyssey: Navigating the new international politics of diversity*. Oxford University Press.
- . 2006. "Left-Liberalism Revisited." in *The Egalitarian Conscience: Essays in the Honour of GA Cohen*. Oxford University Press: 9-35.
- . 2002. *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction* Oxford University
- . 2001a. *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship*. Oxford University Press.
- . 2001b. "Territorial Boundaries: A Liberal Egalitarian Perspective." *Boundaries and Justice: Diverse Ethical Perspectives* 259.
- . 1995. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* Cambridge University Press.
- . 1991. *Liberalism, Community and Culture* Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, Will & Sue Donaldson. 2011. *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights*. Oxford University Press
- Lægaard, Sune. 2012. "Naturalisation, Desert, and the Symbolic Meaning of Citizenship." *Territories of Citizenship*: 40.
- . 2010. "Immigration, Social Cohesion, and Naturalization." *Ethnicities* 10 (4): 452-469.
- Lefort, C. 2016. *Wat is Politiek?*. Translated from French to Dutch by B. Verheijen and P. van de Wiel. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Lockwood, David. 1964. "Social Integration and System Integration." *Explorations in Social Change*: 244-257.
- Lozano, Alberto Arribas, Nayra García-González, Luca Sebastiani, Aurora Álvarez Veinguer, & Sandra Gil Araujo. 2014. "Revisiting the European Union Framework on Immigrant Integration: The European Integration Forum as a Technology of Agency." *Ethnicities* 14 (4): 556-576.
- Lucassen, Leo & Jan Lucassen. 2011. *Winnaars En Verliezers: Een Nuchtere Balans Van Vijfhonderd Jaar Immigratie* Bakker.
- Mantu, Sandra. 2015. *Contingent Citizenship: The Law and Practice of Citizenship Deprivation in International, European and National Perspectives* Brill.
- Marx, Karl. 1844. "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts." *Early Writings* 333.
- Mepschen, Paul & Jan Willem Duyvendak. 2012. "European Sexual Nationalisms: The Culturalization of Citizenship and the Sexual Politics of Belonging and Exclusion." *Perspectives on Europe* 42 (1): 70-76.
- Meijer, Jacob. 1955. "Hugo Grotius "Remonstrantie"." *Jewish Social Studies*: 91-104.
- Michalowski, Ines. 2011. "Required to Assimilate? The Content of Citizenship Tests in Five Countries." *Citizenship Studies* 15 (6-7): 749-768.
- . 2004. "Integration Programs for Newcomers—A Dutch Model for Europe?" *Migration and the Regulation of Social Integration, IMIS-Beiträge Special Issue* (24).
- Mill, John Stuart. 1859. *On Liberty and Other Essays*.



- Miller, David. 2016. *Strangers in our Midst* Harvard University Press.
- . 2010. "Why Immigration Controls are Not Coercive: A Reply to Arash Abizadeh." *Political Theory* 38 (1): 111-120.
- . 2008. "Immigrants, Nations, and Citizenship." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 16 (4): 371-390.
- . 2005. "Immigration: The Case for Limits." in *Contemporary Debates in Applied Ethics* ed. Cohen, Andrew & Christopher Heath Wellman. Wiley-Blackwell: 193-206.
- . 1997. "Equality and Justice." *Ratio* 10 (3): 222-237.
- . 1995. *On Nationality* Oxford University Press.
- Moch, Leslie Page. 2003. *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* Indiana University Press.
- Money, Jeannette. 1999. *Fences and Neighbors: The Political Geography of Immigration Control* Cornell University Press.
- Morawska, Ewa T. & Christian Joppke. 2003. *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation-States* Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morris, Lydia. 2002. *Managing Migration: Civic Stratification and Migrants' Rights* Psychology Press.
- Mouritsen, Per. 2012. "The Resilience of Citizenship Traditions: Civic Integration in Germany, Great Britain and Denmark." *Ethnicities*: 13.1 (2013): 86-109.
- . 2006. "The Particular Universalism of a Nordic civic nation. Common Values, State Religion and Islam in Danish Political Culture." In: *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship*. Routledge.
- Mouritsen, Per & T.V. Olsen, 2013. Denmark between liberalism and nationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(4), pp.691-710.
- Norman, Richard. 1997. "The Social Basis of Equality." *Ratio* 10 (3): 238-252.
- Norris, Pippa. 2005. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market* Cambridge University Press.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. 2011. *Creating Capabilities* Harvard University Press.
- . 2001. *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. Vol. 3 Cambridge University Press.
- Nyers, Peter. 2006. "The Accidental Citizen: Acts of Sovereignty and (Un) Making Citizenship." *Economy and Society* 35 (1): 22-41.
- Nygren-Junkin, Lilian. 2009. "Language, Citizenship in Migration Sweden: And Still a Test-Free Zone." in *Language Testing, Migration and Citizenship: Cross-National Perspectives on Integration Regimes* ed. Extra, Guus, Massimiliano Spotti & Piet van Avermaet. A&C Black: 57-65.
- Oberman, Kieran. 2011. "Immigration, Global Poverty and the Right to Stay." *Political Studies* 59 (2): 253-268.
- O'Neill, Martin. 2008. "What should Egalitarians Believe?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 36 (2): 119-156.
- Orgad, Liav. 2010. "Illiberal Liberalism Cultural Restrictions on Migration and Access to Citizenship in Europe." *American Journal of Comparative Law* 58 (1): 53-105.
- . 2009. "'Cultural Defence' of Nations: Cultural Citizenship in France, Germany and the Netherlands." *European Law Journal* 15(6): 719-737.

- Oudejans, Nanda. 2011. "Asylum: A philosophical Inquiry into the International Protection of Refugees." Ph.D diss. Tilburg University.
- . 2008. "The Right to have Rights as the Right to Asylum." *Political Theory* 7: 335.
- Parfit, Derek. 1997. "Equality and Priority." *Ratio* 10 (3): 202-221.
- Perchining & Bauböck in *Acquisition and loss of nationality: policies and trends in 15 European states*. ed. Rainer Bauböck. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006: 11-18.
- Permoser, Julia Mourão. 2012. "Civic Integration as Symbolic Politics: Insights from Austria." *European Journal of Migration and Law* 14 (2): 173-198.
- Peucker, Mario. 2008. "Similar Procedures, Divergent Function: Citizenship Tests in the United States, Canada, Netherlands and United Kingdom." *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 10 (2): 240-261.
- Pevnick, Ryan. 2011. *Immigration and the Constraints of Justice: Between Open Borders and Absolute Sovereignty* Cambridge University Press.
- Pogge, Thomas. 1997. "Migration and Poverty." In *Citizenship and Exclusion*, 12-27: Springer.
- Pogge, Thomas & Winfried Menko. 1989. *Realizing Rawls* Cornell University Press.
- Prins, Baukje. 2011. "How (Never) to Become Dutch." *Strangeness and Familiarity-Global Unity and Diversity in Human Rights and Democracy*: 63-69.
- Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, & Raffaella Y. Nanetti. 1994. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* Princeton university press.
- Radoilska, Lubomira. 2014. "Immigration, Interpersonal Trust and National Culture." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 17 (1): 111-128.
- Ramadan, Tariq. 2009. *Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation* Oxford University Press Oxford.
- Rawls, John. 1971. *A Theory of Justice* Harvard University Press.
- Repstad, Pål. 2006. *An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion: Classical and Contemporary Perspectives* Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Rostbøll, Christian F. 2010. "The use and Abuse of 'universal Values' in the Danish Cartoon Controversy." *European Political Science Review* 2 (3): 401-422.
- Rubio-Marín, Ruth. 2000. *Immigration as a Democratic Challenge: Citizenship and Inclusion in Germany and the United States* Cambridge University Press.
- Rytter, M. 2013. *Family upheaval: Generation, mobility and relatedness among Pakistani migrants in Denmark* (Vol. 21). Berghahn Books.
- Sassen, Saskia. 2000. "The Global City: Strategic site/new Frontier." *American Studies*: 79-95.
- Shachar, Ayalet, 2009. *The birthright lottery: Citizenship and global inequality*. Harvard University Press.
- Schain, Martin A. 2006. "The Extreme-Right and Immigration Policy-Making: Measuring Direct and Indirect Effects." *West European Politics* 29 (2): 270-289.

- Scheffler, Samuel. 2007. "Immigration and the Significance of Culture." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 35 (2): 93-125.
- . 2003. "What is Egalitarianism?" *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 31 (1): 5-39.
- Schemmel, Christian. 2012. "Distributive and Relational Equality." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics* 11 (2): 123-148.
- Schinkel, Willem. 2017. *Imagined Societies: A Critique of Immigrant Integration in Western Europe* Cambridge University Press.
- . 2013. "The Imagination of 'society' in Measurements of Immigrant Integration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36 (7): 1142-1161.
- . 2010. "The Virtualization of Citizenship." *Critical Sociology* 36 (2): 265-283.
- . 2009. "The Moralisation of Citizenship in Dutch Integration Discourse." *Amsterdam Law Forum* 1 (1).
- . 2008. *De Gedroomde Samenleving* Klement.
- Schotel, Bas. 2013. *On the Right of Exclusion: Law, Ethics and Immigration Policy* Routledge.
- Sen, Amartya. 1980. *Equality of what?* The Tanner Lecture on Human Values.
- Shachar, Ayelet. 2009. *The Birthright Lottery: Citizenship and Global Inequality* Harvard University Press.
- Shahidullah, S.M., 2012. *Comparative Criminal Justice Systems*. Jones & Bartlett Publishers
- Silvers, Anita, & Leslie Pickering Francis. "Justice through trust: Disability and the "outlier problem" in social contract theory." *Ethics* 116.1 (2005): 40-76.
- Singer, Peter. 1993. *Practical Ethics* Cambridge University Press.
- Somers, Margaret R. 2006. "Citizenship, Statelessness and Market Fundamentalism: Arendtian Right to have Rights." *Migration, Citizenship, Ethnos*: 35-62.
- Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 1994. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Post-national Membership in Europe* University of Chicago Press.
- Spijkerboer, T. 2007. "Zeker Weten; Inburgering En De Fundamenten Van Het Nederlandse Politieke Bestel." *The Hague: SDU*
- Stemplowska, Zofia & Adam Swift. 2012. "Ideal and Nonideal Theory." in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Philosophy* ed David Estlund. Oxford University Press: 373-389.
- Strik, Tineke & Yves Pascouau. 2012. *Which Integration for Migrants? Interaction between the EU and its Member States* Nijmegen Legal Publishers: Wolf.
- Stronks, Martijn. 2017. "Grasping Legal Time." Ph.D diss. Free University Amsterdam.
- Suvarierol, Semin & Katherine Kirk. 2015. "Dutch Civic Integration Courses as Neoliberal Citizenship Rituals." *Citizenship Studies* (ahead-of-print): 1-19.
- Tamir, Yael, 1995. *Liberal nationalism*. Princeton University Press.
- Tonkens, Evelien, Menno Hurenkamp, & Jan Willem Duyvendak. 2008. "Culturalization of Citizenship in the Netherlands." *Amsterdam School for Social Sciences Research (ASSR), University of Amsterdam*.

- Triadafilopoulos, Triadafilos. 2011. "Illiberal Means to Liberal Ends? Understanding Recent Immigrant Integration Policies in Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (6): 861-880.
- Valentini, Laura. 2012. "Ideal Vs. Non ideal Theory: A Conceptual Map." *Philosophy Compass* 7 (9): 654-664.
- Van Houdt, Friso, Semin Suvarierol, & Willem Schinkel. 2011. "Neoliberal Communitarian Citizenship: Current Trends Towards 'earned citizenship' in the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands." *International Sociology* 26 (3): 408-4
- Van Klink, Bart. 2016. "Symbolic Legislation: An Essentially Political Concept." In *Symbolic Legislation Theory and Developments in Biolaw*, 19-35: Springer.
- Van Oers, Ricky. 2014. "Kroniek Inburgering 2012-2013." *Asiel & Migrantenrecht* 5: 236-245.
- . 2013. *Deserving Citizenship: Citizenship Tests in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom*.
- Van Oers, Ricky, Eva Ersbøll, & Dora Kostakopoulou. 2010. *A Re-Definition of Belonging?: Language and Integration Tests in Europe* Brill.
- Verkuyten, Maykel. 2004. *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity* Psychology Press.
- Vieten, Ulrike M. & Scott Poynting. 2016. "Contemporary Far-Right Racist Populism in Europe." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 37 (6).
- Vink, Maarten. 2007. "Dutch 'Multiculturalism' Beyond the Pillarisation Myth." *Political Studies Review* 5 (3): 337-350.
- Waldron, Jeremy. 2011. "Does 'Equal Moral Status' Add Anything to Right Reason?" *NYU School of Law, Public Law Research Paper No. 22-52*.
- Walzer, Michael. 1983. *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* Basic Books.
- Weigend, Thomas. 2013. "There is Only One Presumption of Innocence." *Netherlands Journal of Legal Philosophy* 42 (3): 193-204.
- Wellman, Christopher Heath. 2008. "Immigration and Freedom of Association." *Ethics* 119 (1): 109-141.
- Wieviorka, Michel. 2014. "A Critique of Integration." *Identities* 21 (6): 633-641.
- Wilcox, Shelley. 2004. "Culture, National Identity, and Admission to Citizenship." *Social Theory and Practice* 30 (4): 559-582.
- Wolff, Jonathan. 2015. "Social Equality and Social Inequality." in *Social Equality: Essays on What it Means to be Equals*. ed. Carina Fourie, Fabian Schuppert & Ivo Wallimann-Helmer. Oxford University Press: 209-225.
- . 1998. "Fairness, Respect, and the Egalitarian Ethos." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 27 (2): 97-122.
- Willard, M., 1967. *History of the White Australia policy to 1920*. Psychology Press.
- Wong, Sophia Isako. 2009. "Duties of Justice to Citizens with Cognitive Disabilities." *Metaphilosophy* 40 (3 4): 382-401.
- Xhardez, Catherine. 2016. "Integratie Van Nieuwkomers in Brussel: Een Institutionele En Politieke Puzzel." *Brussels Studies. La Revue Scientifique Électronique Pour Les Recherches Sur Bruxelles*

- Young, Iris Marion. 2011. *Justice and the Politics of Difference* Princeton University Press.
- . 2009. “Five Faces of Oppression.” *Geographic Thought. A Praxis Perspective*.
- . 2002. *Inclusion and Democracy* Oxford University Press.
- . 2001. “Equality of Whom? Social Groups and Judgments of Injustice.” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 9 (1): 1-18.
- Ypi, Lea. 2008. “Statist Cosmopolitanism.” *Journal of Political Philosophy* 16 (1): 48-71.
- Zoetbrood, Nienke. 2017. “Essentializing Culture.” MA thesis, Graduate School of Humanities, University of Amsterdam.

## 2. Policy Briefs and Reports

### Algemene Rekenkamer

Algemene Rekenkamer 2017. *Inburgering: Eerste Resultaten van Wet inburgering 2013*

### Amsterdam Centre for European Law and Governance

Besselsen, Elles & Betty de Hart. 2014. *Verblijfsrechtelijke consequenties van de Wet inburgering. Een onderzoek naar de ervaringen van migranten in Amsterdam.*

### EUDO Citizenship Observatory

Bauböck, Rainier and Sara Wallace Goodman. *Naturalisation*, Policy Brief no. 2

Ersbøll, Eva. 2015. *Report on Citizenship Law: Denmark.*

Goodman, Sarah. 2010b. *Naturalisation Policies Europe: Exploring Patterns of Inclusion and Exclusion*

Joppke, Christian & Rainier Bauböck. 2010. *How Liberal are Citizenship Tests?*

Wautelet, Patrick 2013. *Naturalisation Procedures for Immigrants Belgium*

### European Policy Centre

Pascouau, Yves. 2014. *Measures and Rules Developed in the EU Member States regarding Integration of Third Country Nationals - Comparative Report*

### European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations

Entzinger, Han & Renske Biezeveld. 2003. *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration.* (Written for the European Commission)

### Human Rights Watch

Human Rights Watch. 2008. *The Netherlands: Discrimination in the Name of Integration*

### The INTEC project (Radboud University Nijmegen)

Perchining, Bernhard, 2010. *Country Report Austria.*

Strik, Tineke, Anita Böcker, Maakte Luiten & Ricky van Oers. 2010. *The INTEC Project: Synthesis Report*.

International Centre for Migration Policy Development

Scholten, Peter, Han Entzinger, Eleonore Kofman, Christina Hollomey, Claudia Lechner, Elena Vacchelli & Albert Kraler. 2012. *Integration from Abroad? Perception and impacts of pre-entry tests for third-country nationals. PROSINT Comparative Reports WP4*.

International Organization of Migration

Appave, Gervais & Chelowinski. ed. 2008. *World Migration 2008*.

Migration Policy Institute

Kymlicka, Will. 2012. *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future*.

Mudde, Cas. 2012. *The Relationship Between Immigration and Nativism in Europe and North America*

SCP

Huijk *et al.* 2015. *Werelden van Verschil*

UNHCR

The UN Refugee Agency. 2013. *A New Beginning Refugee Integration in Europe*.

University of Amsterdam

De Lange *et al.* 2017. *Van AZC naar een Baan*.

Pew Research Center

Connor, Phillip. 2015. *Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015*.

Wike, Richard *et al.* 2016. *Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs*

Vluchtelingenwerk IntegratieBarometer (Regioplan)

Klaver, J., *et al.* 2005. *Vluchtelingenwerk Integratiebarometer Een Onderzoek Naar Integratie Van Vluchtelingen in Nederland*.

WRR

Albeda, W. *et al.* 1989. *Allochtonenbeleid*

Driouichi, Fouzia. 2007. *De casus Inburgering en nationaliteitswetgeving*

Engbersen, Godfried *et al.* 2015. *Geen tijd verliezen: van opvang naar integratie van asielmigranten*

Holtslag, Jan Willem *et al.* 2012. *In Betere banen*

### 3. Case Law

Court of Justice of the European Union

Case 5-153/14 Minister van Buitenlandse zaken v K and A, 9 July 2015

Case-155/11 Bibi Mohammad Imran v Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, 10 June 2011.

Case-571/10 Servet Kamberaj v Istituto per l'Edizilia Sociale della Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano (IPES) and Others, 24 April 2012

Case C-578/06 Rhimou Chakroun v Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, 4 March 2010.

Case 579/13 P and S v Commissie Sociale Zekerheid Breda, College van Burgemeester en Wethouders van de gemeente Amstelveen, 4 Juny 2015.

European Court of Human Rights

Biao v. Denmark, 24 May 2016