Contents

List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	>
List of Maps	xii
Acknowledgements	xiii
Preface	xiv
Introduction	1
The overall socio-political context: the stigmatization of Islam	
	4
Securitization of migration as a form of governmentality: migrants as anti-citizens	7
Security sector: winners and losers	11
Fortress Europe: ultra-politics of symbols	14
Migrants in post-social state: from welfarism to prudentialism	n 24
Management of ethno-cultural and religious diversity	28
The scope of the study	36
1 Germany: from Segregation to Integration	39
Hyphenated citizenship: German-Turks	45
Anatomy of German-Turkish transnational space	52
Habitats of meaning for German-Turks	57
2 France: from Integration to Segregation	62
Stigmatization and statisticalization of illegal migrants	67
Weakening of Egalitarian Republican rhetoric	70
From assimilation to the Communautés	75
Crisis of French universalism: affaire des foulard	78
Banlieu riots: a quest for Republican resistance	81 88
Puissance: the power of collectivity	
3 Belgium: a Culturally Divided Land	93
The migratory process in Belgium: From Gasterbeiders	0.0
(guestworkers) to Vreemdelingen (foreigners)	98
Diverse understandings of citizenship	100
Integration of immigrants: Walloon and Flemish models	103 111
Attitudes towards foreigners	111

viii Contents

4	The Netherlands: from Multiculturalism to Assimilation	116
	Pillarization (Verzuiling) and depillarization of Dutch society	117
	Fifth column: Islam in the Netherlands	120
	Muslims in the Netherlands: colonial legacy	123
	Ethnic minority policy	127
	Naar Netherlands (Coming to the Netherlands)	134
	Structural outsiderism among Muslims	136
	Dutch minority research industry	138
5	Building Communities: Comfort in Purity	141
	Making and unmaking communities	142
	'Imported' brides and bridegrooms: search for purity	147
	Multiculturalism: a neo-colonial technique of governmentality	152
	The failure of republicanism and multiculturalism	155
	The need for political integration of migrants	161
6	Accommodation of Islam: Individualization vs.	
	Institutionalization	168
	Religion and state in different countries	168
	Euro-Islam: politics of honour	177
	The individualization of Islam among younger generations	180
	Religion as a tool for emancipation: portable Islam	187
	The other side of the coin: institutionalization of Islam	194
Conclusion: Transnationalizing Integration		201
	Transnationalizing integration	207
Nσ	ites	210
Bibliography		
Index		245

Figures

1.1	How often do you go to Turkey?	56
1.2	What is the purpose of your visits to Turkey?	
	(More than one answer)	57
1.3	How often do you watch German/Turkish television channels?	58
1.4	How often do you use the internet?	58
1.5	How often do you read German/Turkish newspapers?	59
1.6	How often do you listen to German/Turkish Radio channels	60
3.1	Do you feel yourself affiliated closer with Belgium or Turkey?	
	By region	112
3.2	Which identification suits you most?	113
4.1	Unemployed working population according to ethnic group	
	and background characteristics (education), 2004.	137
5.1	Do you have German/French/Belgian citizenship?	164
5.2	Do you feel yourself affiliated closer with Germany/	
	France/Belgium or Turkey?	165
5.3	Which identifications suit you most?	166
5.4	Which identification suits you most? By Birthplace?	166
6.1	How do you define yourself with the following statements	
	regarding your faith?	185

Tables

0.1	Net migration in western countries	20
0.2	Estimates of Turkish migrant stocks worldwide	21
0.3	Estimates of Moroccan migrant stocks worldwide	22
0.4	A schematic account of the evolution of a liberal	
	welfare regime	27
0.5	Dominique Schnapper's classification of German,	
	French and British integration models	30
0.6	Management models of cultural diversity	34
0.7	Form of assimilation/integration in four countries	35
1.1	Foreigners in Germany	41
1.2	Germany's Non-German population and Turkish minority	42
1.3	Naturalization of German-Turkish population	48
1.4	Naturalization of Turkish origin migrants and their	
	descendants between 1980 and 2006	49
2.1	National origins of the Muslim population	64
2.2	Population living in France according to nationality and	
	place of birth, in 1999	73
3.1	Primary problems of Belgian-Turks in everyday life	
	(Multi response)	97
3.2	What is the primary problem you face in Belgium? By gender	97
3.3	What is the primary problem you face in Belgium?	
	By age groups	98
3.4	What is the primary problem you face in Belgium?	
	By social economic status	98
3.5	Foreign population in Belgium, by region (2000–2007)	100
3.6	Number of naturalized foreigners between 1996 and 2007	105
3.7	Number of naturalized Belgian-Turks between 1990 and 2006	105
3.8	Unemployment rates in Belgium of foreign-and native-born	
	populations	107
4.1	Population of the Netherlands including the volume of	
	immigration and emigration	117
4.2	Migration motives of non-Dutch migrants, 2003	121
4.3	Non-western allochthons in the Netherlands, 2004	124
4.4	Total population in the Netherlands in 2004	125
4.5	Population by origin and generation in the Netherlands,	
	1 January 2007	126
4.6	Number of the MVV applicants in the Netherlands in 2006	135
4.7	Labour market position of persons aged 15-64 years	
	according to group of origin, 2003	137

5.1	What is the primary problem you are facing most in	
	the host country as a Turkish person?	148
5.2	Would you agree with the idea of bringing brides and	
	bridegrooms from Turkey?	149
5.1	How do you define yourself with the following statements	
	regarding your faith? By birthplace?	186
6.2	Has your religious faith become stronger or weaker than	
	before? By ages of intensive internet users (209 persons in	
	total out of 400)	191

Tables xi

Maps

0.1	Recent migration routes	16
0.2	Armed forces routes in World War II	17