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What is This?
At the international level legitimacy is seen as weaker both in the organisations and institutions created by Roma (such as the International Romani Union and the Roma National Congress) and in the Gaje institutions created for Roma (such as the European Roma Rights Centre and the Roma Participation Programme of the Open Society Institute). In the first case, Romani organisations have mostly incarnated the interests of political elites, whereas in the second, Gaje organisations suffer from an intrinsic lack of legitimacy within the Romani community.

Notwithstanding these weaknesses of legitimacy, McGarry maintains that political representation at the transnational political level can potentially be more effective and influential vis-a-vis Gaje institutions than in the domestic one.

At that level in fact, the dimensions of identity and ethnicity act ‘as a glue’ to link the heterogeneity of this social group (p. 141) thus reinforcing ‘the uniqueness of Roma’ which can interact with non-national and supranational institutions in a new and more flexible way detached from national models (p. 142).

McGarry’s book is a significant contribution to Romani Studies and his analysis of ‘legitimacy’ questions the efficacy of the political representation of Romani rights as currently conceived in Europe. Specifically, by providing substance to the concepts of ‘transnational minority’ and ‘political participation’, McGarry propels the Romani academic debate forward. This analysis of the transnational Roma undoubtedly offers useful insights for researchers working in the field of minority rights in the realms of politics, sociology and law. At the same time it can stimulate the debate also for a wider spectrum of readers: those working in the field of indigenous rights.

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As the political and social status of Muslim immigrants in Europe is discussed, policies and analyses of this subject are debated more frequently among academics and politicians alike. One of the main characteristics of Muslim immigrants is that they are no longer considered short-term labour workers, but rather citizens and active participants in European social and political spheres. Both books provide a timely and relevant discussion on the current situation of Muslim immigrants, and present possible policy options for European states towards them at national and supranational levels.

Published by a credible think-thank in the policy making field, the Centre for European Policy Studies, *European Islam* sets out ‘to supply policy-makers in the member states
and European Union (EU) institutions with an inventory of the main issues concerning the presence of Islam at the European level’ by ‘revealing the weaknesses and contradictions in initiatives undertaken’ (p. 11). In that sense, the purpose of the book is to produce a perspective at the European level, as its name also indicates, rather than simply producing ‘a juxtaposition of national case studies’ (p. 11) about Islam in Europe.

Along with an introduction to the theme by the editors, the book consists of three sections. The first section, titled Ideologies and Movements, includes three articles. Amel Boubekeur presents a survey of political Islam in Europe by focusing on the plurality and diversity of such movements. Her argument is that the first wave of Muslims were refugee seekers from repressive regimes in the 1960s and 1970s. Since the 1990s, however, immigrants became permanent residents and the focus shifted to the representation of European Muslims in the political systems of their host countries. In the second article, Samir Amghar explains in detail the inclinations and tendencies among the Salafist movement and their appeal to young Muslims in Europe. What follows is the contribution of Olivier Roy, a renowned analyst on the topic, who argues that ‘there is no clear-cut sociological profile’ of Western European terrorists and psychological dimensions are more important than others such as ‘poverty, exclusion, racism, acculturation etc.’ (p. 55). Roy asserts that ‘they are a lost generation … frustrated by a Western society that does not meet their expectations’ (p. 55).

Roy’s piece stands out as the most important contribution in the book because it contributes greatly to current debates on the issue, while bringing fresh ideas to the table. He challenges much of the conventional wisdom on the subject of Muslim extremism. Roy suggests that ‘the issue is not to solve the crisis in the Middle East, but to accompany the process of de-culturation and the assertion of Islam as a “mere” religion’ in Europe (p. 57). He does not think that sponsoring an officially ‘good’ and liberal Islam is healthy, as many have suggested in the West. Rather, he believes that the main motivation behind radicalisation is not theological but ‘political’ (p. 57). He advocates that state policies should be based on integration and empowerment of Muslims in a pluralistic way (p. 58) by ‘pushing for a Western Islam’ (p. 59). However, ‘a Western Islam does not mean interfering in theology’ (p. 59), but implies ‘the recognition of Islam as a Western religion and Muslims as full citizens’ (p. 60).

Very much in line with the purpose of Roy’s article, the second section contains additional suggestions for various issues. For example, Imane Karich and Tufyal Choudhury recognise the nature of discrimination and argue that the scope of the Framework Directive should be widened (p. 105). Isabelle Rigoni suggests that the media should be included as an actor in discrimination (p. 122). Valerie Amiraux focuses on the headscarf issue in schools and public spaces, and contends that the best way to move forward is less politicisation of the issue (p. 143). Although these suggestions are fine, it seems that the authors do not really question the validity of an issue-based approach to the situations of Muslims in Europe as a right way to start. Without producing a nuanced analysis, it may be difficult to implement such suggestions in various countries.

From an overall perspective, the book provides a useful overview of some of the key issue-areas that will determine future relations between Muslim immigrants and European countries. However, it seems that its policy-oriented purpose undermines the possibility for deeper analysis of some issues, such as European identity, pluralism and
the future of Europe, all of which are directly linked to Muslim immigrants and immigration. This makes it seem at times as if the book’s chapters constitute a compilation of individual articles rather than a comprehensive volume. Furthermore, if space had been allocated for Muslim immigrant perspectives, it would have allowed for those under discussion to articulate their views too. Unfortunately, there is no such chapter included.

Nevertheless, the editors are correct in stating that ‘the time has come for a new European political and social discourse in relation to its Muslim communities’ (p. 12). However, this book – Roy’s contribution being the exception – is far from producing a new discourse, namely in terms of examining what Europe should do with regard to immigrants. Unfortunately, in many chapters the book falls prey to merely providing case studies and historical accounts that are already available to readers in other volumes.

By contrast, Kaya’s book, *Islam, Migration and Integration*, is specifically aimed at a wider readership in academia and beyond. It attempts to compare and contrast the policies of integration, migration and citizenship in France, Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. It adopts a bottom-up approach to the issues explored as its analysis is mostly based on ‘in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions’ (p. 1) in the selected countries. It also presents a nuanced approach which avoids compartmentalisation of issues and countries. The book consists of six main chapters along with a long introduction and a short conclusion. In the introduction, Kaya explains where his book is situated in migration studies and discusses such scholarship in detail. He asserts that his book is a critical follow-up to *Citizenship and Nationality in France and Germany* (Routledge, 1992) by Rogers Brubaker (p. 2). However, the findings of the book are very different from those of Brubaker as much has changed in France and Germany since the 1990s.

Where Brubaker praised the citizenship regime in France and heavily criticised that of Germany, Kaya argues the reverse, but not in the straightforward way in which Brubaker did (pp. 2–3). He outlines the security sector, the situation of migrants in general and religious diversity as background information for the analysis presented in subsequent chapters. While claiming that ‘Migration Studies has recently started to operate as an ideological discipline’ which constructs illegal and legal migrants ‘as a threat to labour market, national culture, societal security and to the overall well-being of the social body’ (p. 24), Kaya aims to engage the changing face of the nation-state in the aforementioned countries.

Chapter 1 discusses Germany while Chapter 2 describes France in terms of the history of immigrants, citizenship policies and changing discourses about migration over time. The former chapter is heavily based on German-Turks in its analysis, and the latter focuses on North African Muslims through the Banlieu riots of 2009. Kaya argues that Germany has been ‘more inclusionary’ towards immigrants with its citizenship law enacted in 2000 (p. 60). However, the French model has moved from being a ‘highly assimilationist’ one to something between ‘assimilation and a timid multiculturalism’, which he calls ‘betwixt’ (p. 75, italics in original). By ‘timid multiculturalism’, he means the limitation of ethnic and religious identities to the private sphere. Chapters 3 and 4 evaluate Belgium and the Netherlands, respectively. The general argument of these chapters is that the Wallonian approach is identical to that of France, while the Flemish and Dutch models resemble that of Germany.
The following chapters review the response of Muslim immigrants to state policies and the relative accommodation of Islam in the above cases. Kaya argues that structural constraints compel immigrants to create their own communities to protect themselves; moreover, the projects of multiculturalism and republicanism have failed in integrating Muslims into political and social life (pp. 155–6). According to Kaya, there are two simultaneously occurring processes influencing the changing nature of Islam in Europe: individualisation and institutionalisation (pp. 187–99). In this respect, what he observes today is a ‘transnationalizing integration’, meaning that migrants are ‘both subjects and objects of the processes of globalization’ (p. 207).

Islam, Migration and Integration appeals to both European observers and to the decision-makers. It succeeds well in summarising, interpreting and putting into context the key differences of European countries’ policies towards immigrants. Kaya is also right in maintaining that ‘Migration Studies no longer underlies enough the positive impact of migrants’ (p. 23) and in that sense this book is rich in its discussion and scope.

Overall, Kaya’s book is a stimulating and innovative piece which challenges extant justifications of immigration policies and suggests rethinking the ways in which they are framed in relation to securitisation and national identity in Europe. European Islam compiles an abundance of well-researched articles in a skilfully constructed way, and offers detailed analysis of various themes and countries. Yet, its main arguments are lost amid readers engaging the text’s many detailed facts and debates. Its wide scope and rich details sometimes prevent readers from locating those details into the general context and purpose of the book.

Aside from the fact that both texts shed light on a controversial and still poorly understood topic, they also focus on the plight of younger, European-born Muslims in the context of the evolution of Islam on the continent. Both books, directly and indirectly, emphasise that policies towards this younger generation in the future will define the state of Europe’s Muslim communities, and, hence, should be taken seriously.

Although the contributions of these two books are rather different in their style and format, as well as their perspectives – the former being more policy-oriented while the latter’s tone is rather bottom-up and descriptive – they both provide timely and valuable insights into the future of Muslims, immigration, European politics and its relationship with the transnational character of culture and religion.

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Marie-Luisa Frick and Andreas Oberprantacher (eds), Power and Justice in International Relations: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Global Challenges (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009, 256 pp., $114.95 hbk).

At the intersection of law and International Relations (IR) a significant body of scholarship continues to grapple with the question of understanding the relationship between