

# Europe's Immigration Turmoil

## IS EUROPE BECOMING INTOLERANT OF FOREIGNERS?

**R**ecent gains by European right-wing political parties advocating halts in immigration from Muslim countries signal a growing resentment against foreigners as Europe faces an economy with fewer jobs to go around. Anti-immigrant parties have received unprecedented shares of the vote in famously tolerant Sweden and the Netherlands. Mainstream politicians in France, Germany and Britain have vowed to cut immigration, complaining that many immigrants — especially conservative Muslims — fail to integrate into mainstream society. Ironically, anti-immigrant fervor is rising just as the economic downturn is slowing immigration to many countries. Some economists argue that aging Europe needs young immigrants to fill its work force and support its growing pension costs. Other experts say governments need to do more to integrate Muslims, many of whom are native-born. As governments pass laws to ban burqas, headscarves and minarets, many are asking how much cultural conformity Europe can demand in an increasingly globalized world. Immigrant advocates say language requirements and citizenship tests discriminate against Muslim immigrants and, together with immigration caps, send a hostile message to the skilled workers Europe needs to attract from abroad.

Afghan migrants are held at a detention center in Mukachevo, Ukraine, in April 2009 after trying to sneak into the European Union through eastern Ukraine, which borders four EU countries and is a popular route for would-be immigrants.



## THE ISSUES

- 291 • Does Europe need its immigrants?  
 • Should European governments do more to integrate immigrants?  
 • Should immigrants be required to follow local customs?

## BACKGROUND

- 304 **Colonial Roots**  
 EU immigration patterns grew from colonial ties.
- 307 **'Immigration Stop' Policies**  
 EU nations tried to halt immigration in 1973-1975.
- 307 **Radical Islam Emerges**  
 Terrorism fueled fears of radical Islamists.

## CURRENT SITUATION

- 310 **Rise of Extremists**  
 Anti-immigrant parties are gaining popularity.
- 313 **Roma Dispute**  
 France deported hundreds of Gypsies.
- 314 **Migration Slowdown**  
 Immigration has reversed in some places.

## OUTLOOK

- 314 **'Temporary Blip?'**  
 Experts think migration will shift to India and Brazil.

## SIDEBARS AND GRAPHICS

- 292 **France, Germany and Britain Saw Largest Influx**  
 Three million immigrants became EU citizens in 2004-2008.

- 293 **Germany Has the Most Foreign-Born Residents**  
 Nearly 10 million people born abroad live in Germany.

- 295 **Anti-Immigration Parties Score Election Gains**  
 Right wing made big gains in liberal nations.

- 296 **Homeless Migrants in Britain Feel the Pain**  
 Some jobless immigrants sleep on the street.

- 298 **Germany's Turks Reverse Course**  
 More people are leaving for Turkey than are arriving.

- 301 **New Integration Policies Seen as Discriminatory**  
 Critics say the rules target non-EU immigrants.

- 303 **Chronology**  
 Key events since 1830.

- 304 **Gypsies Face Poor Education, Discrimination**  
 In traditional clans, girls drop out early.

- 311 **At Issue**  
 Is the French ban on headscarves in schools a good idea?

- 320 **Voices from Abroad**  
 Headlines and editorials from around the world.

## FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

- 317 **For More Information**  
 Organizations to contact.

- 318 **Bibliography**  
 Selected sources used.

- 319 **The Next Step**  
 Additional articles.

- 319 **Citing CQ Global Researcher**  
 Sample bibliography formats.



December 2010  
 Volume 4, Number 12

MANAGING EDITOR: Kathy Koch  
 kkoch@cqpress.com

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Thomas J. Colín  
 tcolin@cqpress.com

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Peter Behr,  
 Roland Flamini, Sarah Glazer, Robert Kiener,  
 Barbara Mantel, Jennifer Weeks

DESIGN/PRODUCTION EDITOR: Olu B. Davis

ASSISTANT EDITOR: Darrell Dela Rosa

FACT CHECKER: Michelle Harris



A Division of SAGE

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER:  
 John A. Jenkins

DIRECTOR, REFERENCE SOLUTIONS:  
 Todd Baldwin

Copyright © 2010 CQ Press, A Division of SAGE. SAGE reserves all copyright and other rights herein, unless previously specified in writing. No part of this publication may be reproduced electronically or otherwise, without prior written permission. Unauthorized reproduction or transmission of SAGE copyrighted material is a violation of federal law carrying civil fines of up to \$100,000.

CQ Press is a registered trademark of Congressional Quarterly Inc.

*CQ Global Researcher* is published monthly online in PDF and HTML format by CQ Press, a division of SAGE Publications. Annual full-service electronic subscriptions start at \$500. For pricing, call 1-800-834-9020, ext. 1906. To purchase *CQ Global Researcher* electronic rights, visit [www.cqpress.com](http://www.cqpress.com) or call 866-427-7737.

# Europe's Immigration Turmoil

BY SARAH GLAZER

## THE ISSUES

Shooting at mosques and killing *muezzins* aren't usually part of election campaigns in Austria. \* But such measures were featured in "Bye Bye Mosque," an online video game launched by the anti-immigrant Freedom Party (FPÖ) during September elections in the industrial state of Styria.

Local party leader Gerhard Kurzmann — who says a multicultural society "can only be a criminal society" — defended the game, which closed with the message "Styria is full of minarets and mosques. So that this doesn't happen (in reality): Vote . . . the FPÖ!"<sup>1</sup>

The game was taken down shortly after protests from the opposing Green Party, which pointed out that there are no minarets in Styria. But Kurzmann's party apparently benefited from the heated debate about the game: For the first time since 2005 the Freedom Party gained a seat in the nine-member provincial government. Even in cosmopolitan Vienna, where the party pushed for referendums banning minarets, it won more than a quarter of the vote in October's provincial elections, spurring speculation the party could dramatically affect national elections in three years.<sup>2</sup>

Fringe factions like the Freedom Party have been gaining support across Western Europe, most surprisingly in two countries traditionally known for their tolerance — Sweden and the Netherlands. And while Swedish and Austrian mainstream parties so far have resisted including such minority parties

\* *Muezzins* are the mosque criers who call faithful Muslims to prayer five times a day.



AFP/Getty Images/Robyn Beck

*African migrants at a detention camp in Malta await immigration processing, which can take up to 18 months. Hundreds of African "boat people" arrive each year on the Mediterranean island — the European Union's smallest member state — after risking their lives at sea trying to migrate to the EU, primarily from North Africa.*

in their governments, Dutch politician Geert Wilders — charged this year with inciting racial hatred for his rabidly anti-Muslim statements — has become the main power broker in his country's coalition government.<sup>3</sup>

Rhetoric and anti-immigrant code words once reserved for right-wing, xenophobic parties have seeped into the speeches of mainstream politicians. German Chancellor Angela Merkel's uncharacteristically blunt remark in October that the nation's "multicultural" experiment — to "live happily side-by-side" with foreign workers — has "utterly failed" was widely interpreted as a criticism of the nation's 4 million Muslims, most of Turkish origin. Referring to America's own recent brouhaha over a proposed mosque near Ground Zero,

*Boston Globe* religion columnist James Carroll commented, "On both sides of the Atlantic, a rising tide of xenophobic hostility toward immigrants is threatening to swamp the foundation of liberal democracy."<sup>4</sup>

While it's tempting to draw parallels to the recent upsurge in American anti-Muslim hostility, important differences exist between U.S. Muslims — mainly educated and professional — and Europe's Muslims, workers who migrated primarily from rural villages in countries like Turkey, Algeria and Bangladesh. European Muslims are "more like the black communities of the United States — in terms of handicaps and social problems," such as high unemployment, school dropout and welfare dependency rates, notes Shada Islam, senior program executive at the European Policy Centre think tank in Brussels. And Europe's Muslims don't enjoy as much mainstream political support as American Muslims do.

"I haven't heard a single European politician stand up and say what Mayor [Michael] Bloomberg of New York and others say in the United States" in defending Muslims who want to build a mosque near Ground Zero, observes Islam.

European immigration experts are particularly disturbed by the growing power of anti-immigrant parties. For instance, Wilders' party won promises from the new Dutch government to cut immigration from non-Western (presumably Muslim) countries in half and to make it harder for workers from those countries to bring over their spouses. "For the first time we have a government that is singling out a specific group of citizens; . . . it's pure discrimination," says

*Continued on p. 293*

## France, Germany and Britain Saw Largest Influx

More than 3.5 million immigrants became permanent citizens of European Union countries between 2004 and 2008, nearly 60 percent of them settling in France, Germany and the United Kingdom. The migrants were from both EU and non-EU countries. Countries with fewer job opportunities, such as Poland and Romania, saw only modest increases.

### Number of New Citizens in EU Countries, 2004-2008



Source: Eurostat, August 2010

Continued from p. 291

Jan Willem Duyvendak, a sociology professor at the University of Amsterdam.

Even more disturbing, say experts, is the trend of mainstream politicians adopting similar anti-immigrant positions. The National Front, France's most right-wing party, has declined in popularity since it peaked in 2002, when its leader Jean-Marie Le Pen came in second in presidential elections. But if it no longer garners as much support, that's in part because French President Nicolas Sarkozy "gives people a respectable way" of echoing the party's anti-immigrant sentiments, says Philippe Legrain, the British author of the 2007 book, *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them*.

"There's a great temptation among mainstream politicians to adopt the rhetoric and the xenophobic diatribes of populist parties," says Islam, who is "very alarmed" by this trend. "People in these uncertain times want to know there is one guilty party," and Muslims have become a convenient scapegoat, she says.

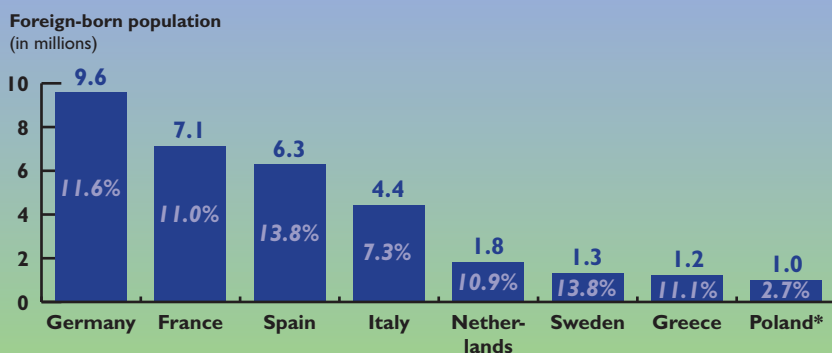
In the past year, anti-immigrant hostility has emerged in various rhetorical and legislative forms in several European countries:

- In the Netherlands, the coalition government that took power in October agreed to Wilders' demands to pursue headscarf bans and measures making it harder for immigrants' spouses to join them. The agreement followed the strong third-place showing of Wilders' Freedom Party in national elections.<sup>5</sup>
- In France, Sarkozy expelled Romanian and Bulgarian Roma, also known as Gypsies, a move that violated European Union agreements on antidiscrimination and the free movement of EU citizens between countries, according to human rights groups. The parliament banned the public wearing of the Muslim burqa, a full-body covering that exposes only the eyes through a mesh screen.

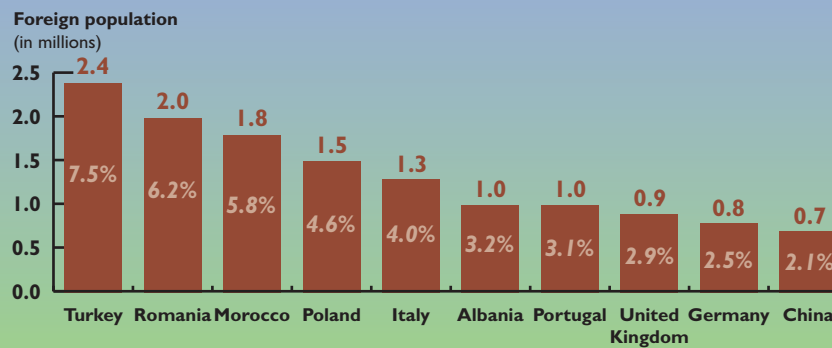
## Germany Has the Most Foreign-Born Residents

Nearly 10 million foreign-born residents live in Germany — more than in any other European Union (EU) country. More than 2 million Turks live in the EU, making Turkey the largest source of EU immigrants.

### EU Countries with the Most Foreign-born Residents, 2009 (in millions and as a percentage of total population)



### Home Countries of EU's 10 Largest Foreign Populations, 2009 (in millions and as percentage of total EU immigrant population)



\* Provisional data

Source: Katya Vasileva, "Foreigners Living in the EU Are Diverse and Largely Younger Than the Nationals of the EU Member States," Eurostat, August 2010

- In a referendum in Switzerland, nearly 58 percent of voters supported a ban on new minarets on mosques in 2009, and a majority say they want to ban the burqa.<sup>6</sup>
- In Sweden, the anti-immigrant Swedish Democrat Party doubled its support in September from the last election — to nearly 6 percent — allowing members to sit in parliament for the first time. The party's

campaign called for banning full-face veils, new mosques and most new immigration from Muslim countries.<sup>7</sup> Also in Sweden, authorities warned in October that in 15 separate shootings this year one or more snipers had targeted "dark-skinned" residents of Malmo, killing one and wounding eight.<sup>8</sup>

- In Britain, Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron was elected

# EUROPE'S IMMIGRATION TURMOIL

after promising to cut immigration from hundreds of thousands to “tens of thousands,” and his government temporarily capped non-EU immigration — to become permanent next year.

- In Italy, Roman officials bulldozed 200 Roma squatter camps, which some say was aimed at getting them to leave Italy.<sup>9</sup>

in some countries. Ireland and Germany, for instance — where booming economies attracted foreign workers for years — are now seeing more out-migration than in-migration, as the economies of those countries slow down or, in the case of Ireland, flounder.<sup>11</sup>

Experts point out that the number of immigrants entering Western Europe from majority Muslim countries

ers feel about jobs, pensions and benefits in budget-cutting Europe.<sup>15</sup> Others say Europeans worry about losing their national identities in increasingly diverse societies that don't subscribe to America's melting-pot cultural heritage.

Sarkozy's mass expulsion of the Roma was widely viewed as a ploy to satisfy right-wing voters, as was his support for banning burqas and stripping French citizenship from naturalized citizens who commit violent crimes. “Sarkozy, with very low approval ratings, is trying to shore up or gain support among the far right and supporters of the National Front,” says John R. Bowen, a Washington University, St. Louis, anthropologist and author of the 2007 book *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves*. “The burqa ban looks like it's about Islam, but all of these [initiatives] are really about immigrants and about a deal for the far right.”

Still, much of Europe's recent anti-immigrant hostility has focused on Muslims, and that often seems to include Muslims born on the continent or who are citizens. In the Netherlands, Wilders once proposed taxing headscarves for “polluting” the landscape. Similar sentiments in Germany helped to boost former central banker Thilo Sarrazin's new book, *Germany Does Away with Itself*, to the top of bestseller lists. The book claims Muslim immigrants are “dumbing down” society and coming to Germany only for its generous welfare benefits.<sup>16</sup>

“The Turks are taking over Germany . . . with a higher birth rate,” Sarrazin has said. “I don't want the country of my grandchildren and great-grandchildren to be largely Muslim, or that Turkish and Arabic will be spoken in large areas, that women will wear headscarves and the daily rhythm is set by the call of the *muezzin*.”<sup>17</sup>

Sarrazin's book dared to break a politically correct silence about Germany's real problems with its Turkish population: high rates of unemployment and welfare dependency com-



AFP/Getty Images/Denis Charlet

Afghan migrants receive food handouts from a nongovernmental organization in Calais, France, in November, 2009, after riot police bulldozed a makeshift camp used as a base to sneak across the English Channel into Britain. Resentment toward immigrants has grown in recent years throughout Europe as the weak economy intensifies unemployment.

Meanwhile, recent polls show that sizable percentages of Europeans feel immigrants drain welfare benefits, damage the quality of life and make it harder to get jobs. In a *Financial Times* poll in September about 63 percent of Britons thought immigration had harmed the National Health Service and the education system. In Spain, where 20 percent of the workers are jobless, 67 percent of respondents thought immigration made it harder to find a job, and nearly a third said immigration lowers wages.<sup>10</sup>

Paradoxically, Western Europe's anti-immigrant fervor is peaking just as the recession has been slowing immigration and even reversing immigrant flows

is dwarfed by the number coming from non-Muslim countries, especially from the EU. (European Union governments are required by law to accept other EU citizens, as well as all political refugees deemed eligible for political asylum.)<sup>12</sup> For example, Germany now has more people emigrating back to Turkey than Turks entering Germany, and the other countries sending the most migrants to Germany last year — Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and the United States — weren't Muslim at all.<sup>13</sup> Austria, home of the anti-Muslim Freedom Party, has more immigrants arriving from Germany than from Turkey.<sup>14</sup>

Some experts blame growing anti-immigrant hostility on the insecurity vot-

bined with low education levels, even among second- and third-generation immigrants.<sup>18</sup> In a survey released in October, 30 percent of respondents believed Germany was “overrun by foreigners” seeking welfare benefits,<sup>19</sup> and 58.4 percent thought German Muslims’ religious practices should be “significantly curbed.”<sup>20</sup> Newspapers are filled with politicians’ statements about Muslim immigrants’ inability to integrate — ironically, just when Turkish migration has declined dramatically, and more people are leaving Germany for Turkey than entering.<sup>21</sup> (See graph, p. 298.)

Some mainstream politicians and economists argue that Western Europe’s aging population needs young migrants to expand the work force, pay social security taxes and keep the economy growing, considering Europe’s low birth rates and coming retiree bulge. “Europe’s feeble demographic outlook” means that continued support of its generous state-funded health and welfare benefits is “incompatible” with the desire to “ring-fence their national cultures with controls on immigration,” editorialized Tony Barber, former Brussels bureau chief of the *Financial Times*.<sup>22</sup>

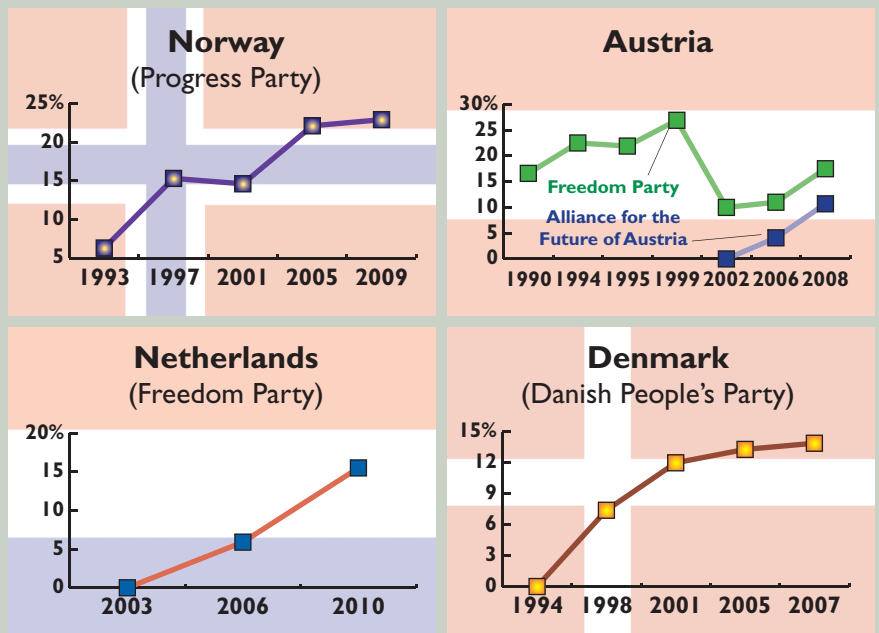
Yet perceptions of immigration are often more about fear and protecting one’s culture than about demographics or economics. Statistics “don’t address the feeling of unease that voters have [about] ‘What kind of society are we developing into? What’s happening to our culture?’ ” says Heather Grabbe, executive director of the Open Society Institute, a think tank in Brussels concerned with immigrants’ rights. Much anti-immigrant sentiment perceives Islam as an alien, threatening ideology, even though many Muslims were born in Europe.

“This is not about recent migration,” says Grabbe. “This is about several generations of migration and people who are in many cases very well-integrated into communities.” And the right’s political rhetoric about national identity

## Anti-Immigration Parties Score Election Gains

Right-wing, anti-immigrant political parties have made significant gains in recent parliamentary elections in several traditionally liberal European nations. The Freedom Party in the Netherlands, for example, garnered 16 percent of the vote in the latest election, up from zero percent seven years earlier. Two parties in Austria — the Freedom Party and the Alliance for the Future of Austria — combined to earn more than one-quarter of the votes in 2008.

### Percent of Votes Won by Anti-Immigrant Parties



Source: European Election Database

“hasn’t been opposed effectively by any other kind of discussion, particularly on the left.”

As Western Europeans struggle with their fears about immigration and its impact on their economies, jobs and culture, here are some of the questions being asked:

### Does Europe need its immigrants?

Former central banker Sarrazin’s best-seller claiming immigrants “drag down” Germany triggered an eruption in the blogosphere from Germans who say they’ve had enough immigration. Yet large swathes of eastern Germany are becoming depopulated due to the country’s extremely low birth rate and greater out-migration than in-migration over the last two years.

Demographer Reiner Klingholz, director of the Berlin Institute for Population Development, suggests Germany follow the American example of the Wild West: encourage settlement and “massive” in-migration.<sup>23</sup> Even if Germany could increase its annual net immigration rate back up to the levels of a few years ago (about 100,000-200,000), Klingholz calculates, the population would decline by 12 million by 2050 — a “blood-letting” similar to emptying Germany’s 12 largest cities. Young, booming nations like India, China and Brazil will have a clear economic advantage, he says, and when they also begin to age and need to recruit young workers from abroad, there will be no workers left to immigrate into “good old Europe.”

The recent fiscal crisis has shined a laser on two trends that will force all European governments deeper into debt: Europe's burgeoning aging population and fertility rates that are too low to replace the current populations.<sup>24</sup> Thus, governments across Europe face the specter of having to support a huge generation of retiring baby boomers with too few young workers to pay the social security taxes needed to support them. Many

countries have already turned to immigrants to solve some of their labor shortages, such as Turkish taxi drivers in Berlin and African chambermaids in Italy.

Because immigrants tend to be younger than native-born populations, they can offer an important solution to the looming pension and demographic crises, some experts argue. According to the most recent figures from Eurostat, the EU's statistical office, the median age for for-

eigners living in the European Union is 34.3, about six years younger than that of the national population.<sup>25</sup> The percentage of older persons in Europe's population is expected to rise even more in nearly all of the EU, primarily because people are living longer and birth rates are declining. But migration will help sustain population growth — where it exists — between now and 2030, according to Eurostat.<sup>26</sup>

## Homeless Migrants in Britain Feel the Pain

*With winter coming, jobless immigrants are sleeping on the street.*

When 22-year-old Polish immigrant Michal Aniśko showed up in October at a homeless day shelter in Slough, England, he was a far cry from the stereotypically successful "Polish plumber" often blamed in British tabloids for depriving native workers of jobs.

His weather-beaten face showed the strain of having slept on park benches for four months, ever since returning to this charmless, industrial suburban town outside London — known for its factories, plentiful jobs and big Polish community. After finding only spotty employment in his native Poland for a year, England had drawn him back with memories of an earlier year of steady work in restaurant kitchens, car-washes and construction. But that was before the recession hit Slough; when he returned this summer, the temp agency that had found him those jobs had shut down.

Even the Polish food shop window, which he remembered crammed with help-wanted placards, was comparatively bare. "These days there are only a few jobs posted, and when I ring up, they say someone already took the job," he said through an interpreter. Desperate, Aniśko took an illegal job as a construction day laborer, but when he asked for his pay, his employers beat him up.

Slough is only one barometer of Britain's economic downturn since 2004, when Poland and seven other former Soviet bloc countries joined the European Union and thousands of Poles — just granted the right to work anywhere in the EU — were attracted to England's booming economy.<sup>1</sup> Three or four years ago only one or two Eastern European migrants per day came through the door of Slough's Save Our Homeless shelter seeking a hot meal or a shower.

"We're now looking at 30 or 40 a day using our service, because they're sleeping on the street," Mandy McGuire, who runs the shelter, said in October. Typically, the men, most of them older and more street-hardened than Aniśko, have lived in Slough for four or five years and once earned enough at low-skilled jobs to send money home and rent a room. "But now the work's gone, their accommodations are gone; they're

turning to alcohol," McGuire says. "The more they're turning to alcohol, the less employable they're becoming."

London has seen a similar trend. At the latest count, 954 people — about a quarter of those found sleeping on the street — were from Eastern Europe, according to London's Combined Homeless and Information Network. That is more than triple the number counted in 2006-2007. Across the country, 84 percent of homeless day centers have reported an increase in the number of Eastern European migrants using their services, according to Homeless Link, which represents 480 homeless organizations in the U.K.<sup>2</sup>

Because Aniśko's past employers paid in cash, which was off-the-books, he's not eligible for unemployment or housing benefits available to registered immigrants who have worked legally for a year — another contradiction to the widespread British view of immigrants as "welfare scroungers." Aniśko's ineligibility for welfare is typical of homeless migrants from Eastern Europe, either because their jobs are illegal or migrants can't afford the \$145 fee to register as a worker, experts say.

The European Commission has said Britain's policy of denying housing, homeless assistance and other social benefits to immigrants from Eastern Europe who have not been registered workers for at least 12 months is discriminatory and violates EU rules on free movement and equal treatment. The United Kingdom has two months to bring its legislation in line with EU law, the commission said on Oct. 28. Otherwise, the commission may decide to refer the U.K. to the EU's Court of Justice.<sup>3</sup>

Also in October, the Polish charity Barka UK offered Aniśko a free plane ticket back to Poland and help finding work there. But he refused, saying it would be even more difficult to find a job back home. Six of his fellow migrants from Slough had accepted Barka's offer and flew home the previous week, according to McGuire.

While most of Britain's approximately 1 million Polish immigrants have fared well in England, about 20 percent — generally older men who don't speak English — have failed to



find a steady source of income, according to Ewa Sadowska, chief executive of Barka UK.<sup>4</sup>

"This is a communist generation that spent most of their lives under a regime where everything was taken care of by the state," she says. Some were lured to London by sham employers who advertised British jobs in Polish newspapers, then took their money and passports when they arrived in England, according to Sadowska.

After the Soviet Union began disintegrating in 1989, Barka UK was founded in Poland by her parents, two psychologists, to help homeless, troubled individuals. Barka was first invited to London in 2007 by one of the local councils in a neighborhood where homeless Polish immigrants were sleeping on the streets. Since then, Barka has been working in a dozen London boroughs and in nearby Slough and Reading at the invitation of local governments, which fund their outreach work.

Besides a free plane ticket, Barka offers help in Poland with alcohol and drug addiction. Unregistered migrants in Britain don't qualify for rehab or detox programs under England's National Health Service. Often, homeless migrants are ashamed to go back home and be seen by their families as economic failures, says Sadowska.

"We help them to understand it's pointless to stay in London and die on the street," says Sadowska. So far, 1,248 mainly Polish migrants have returned to Eastern Europe with Barka's help.

Slough residents have complained of drunken noisemakers and rat infestations at makeshift homeless camps. Slough's local newspaper ran a front-page picture on Sept. 24 of a homeless camp beneath a discarded billboard under the headline "How Can We Be Proud of This?"<sup>5</sup>

Asked if Slough is funding Barka just to export a local nuisance, McGuire said: "We're certainly not saying, 'Go back to Poland and stay there.' We're saying, 'Go back, get yourself sorted out. If you've got an alcohol problem, address that; maybe get trained with a skill that's needed over here so it's comparatively easy to find work.'"

In a new report, experts at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris say migration is the key to long-term economic growth. For their own economic self-interest, the report urges, European countries should be opening — not closing — citizenship to foreigners. And, the authors argue, governments should be helping immigrants who have lost jobs by giving them the

same unemployment benefits they give to natives — another inflammatory issue among voters this year.<sup>27</sup>

"There is no escaping the fact that more labour migration will be needed in the future in many OECD countries, as the recovery progresses and the current labor market slack is absorbed," said John P. Martin, OECD's director of employment, in an editorial.<sup>28</sup> "In a world where labour is becoming scarcer,

immigrants are a valuable resource, and employers need to see this."

Yet skeptics suggest that as more women enter the labor force and as native-born Europeans begin working beyond their traditional retirement age, which is generally in the late 50s, more immigrant workers may not be needed at all. In Austria, life expectancy is now about 20 years past the average retirement age of 58 for women and



Getty Images/Dan Kitwood

*Discouraged by Britain's sagging job market, Polish immigrants in London board a bus to return to Poland on May 20, 2009. Thousands of Polish workers flocked to Britain after Poland's entrance into the European Union in 2004 eliminated barriers to Poles working in other EU countries.*

The temperature had just dropped to freezing the previous October night. As winter approaches, McGuire says, "My personal concern is that those that don't want to go back will be freezing to death out there."

— Sarah Glazer

<sup>1</sup> The eight Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004, thereby granting their citizens working rights in the U.K. are: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania were accepted into the EU, but with only limited working rights in the U.K. The homeless figures in this sidebar include migrants from all new EU countries in Eastern Europe. See [www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/business/help-advice/employment-issues/eu-nationals-and-their-rights-to-work-14314169.html#ixzz13Xz341HR](http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/business/help-advice/employment-issues/eu-nationals-and-their-rights-to-work-14314169.html#ixzz13Xz341HR).

<sup>2</sup> "Snap 2010," Homeless Link, [www.homeless.org.uk/snap-2010](http://www.homeless.org.uk/snap-2010).

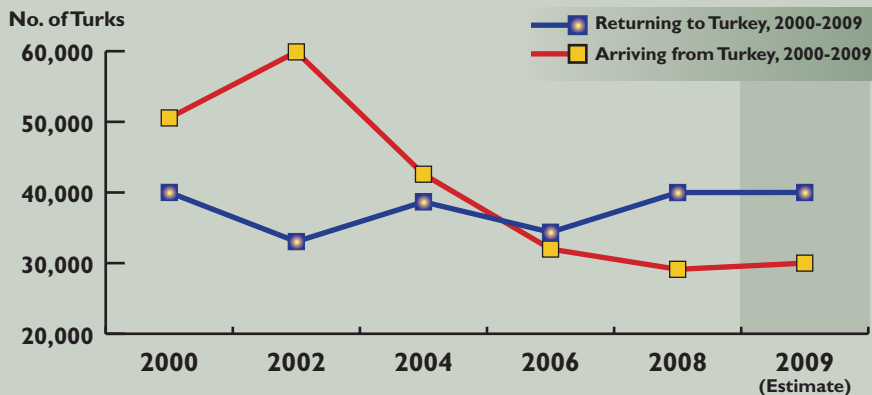
<sup>3</sup> "Commission Requests UK to End Discrimination on Other Nationals' Right to Reside as Workers," news release, European Commission, Oct. 28, 2010; <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=457&newsId=917&furtherNews=yes>.

<sup>4</sup> The Civic Institute for Monitoring and Recommendations estimates that about 20 percent of approximately 1 million Polish migrants who live in the U.K. don't speak English, lack a stable income, have health problems (including addictions) and lack access to organized information sources.

<sup>5</sup> "How Can We Be Proud of This?" *Slough Observer*, Sept. 24, 2010, p. 1, [www.sloughobserver.co.uk/news/roundup/articles/2010/09/25/48537-how-can-we-be-proud-of-this-/](http://www.sloughobserver.co.uk/news/roundup/articles/2010/09/25/48537-how-can-we-be-proud-of-this-/).

## Germany's Turks Reverse Course

Reflecting Germany's poor job market, 10,000 more people have been emigrating from Germany to Turkey each year since 2008 than have been arriving. German anti-immigrant sentiment is growing, despite the fact that only 30,000 Turks immigrated into Germany last year — about half as many as in 2002.



Sources: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Destatis

59 for men, so many older people probably will remain in the work force years longer than in the past, says Wolfgang Lutz, demographer at the International Institute of Applied Systems Analysis in Laxenburg, Austria, outside Vienna. And as for women entering the work force, countries like Germany and Austria — with their traditions of stay-at-home mothers — have a long way to go to catch up with Scandinavian countries, where women play an equal part with men in the work force, he points out.

“Reforms to labor markets to reduce barriers to working — like child-care policies for women — are going to be more important, quantitatively, than immigration,” says Madeleine Sumption, policy analyst at the Migration Policy Institute in Washington, D.C. “If immigration were to solve the problem alone, the scale of numbers you’d have to have coming in would be politically impossible.”

It’s also possible that technology will improve future productivity, enabling Europe to produce the same amount of goods and services with fewer workers. Under that scenario, says

Lutz, “The low birth rate may be the best thing that could happen to Europe. Otherwise there would be lots of unemployment.”

More over, countries like Germany are getting the wrong kind of migrants — low-skilled, uneducated workers that don’t contribute much to the economy or taxes, says Ruud Koopmans, director of migration and integration research at the Social Science Research Center in Berlin. “We need immigrants, it’s quite clear; but we do not need the immigrants we are getting so far,” he says. “Europe has not succeeded in being attractive enough for highly skilled immigrants from India or other Asian countries. Usually, we’re getting immigrants for whom there are no shortages in the labor market.”

Skeptics of the immigration solution also question whether underpaid, low-skilled immigrants can really bail out governments from their pension shortfall, since the taxes they pay will be relatively small due to their low incomes. With immigrants’ unemployment rates running at twice those of European natives in the recent crisis,

they could eat up more in welfare benefits than they pay in taxes, suggest some experts and anti-immigrant voices in Britain.<sup>29</sup>

A recent British study examined the impact of Eastern European immigration into the U.K., where in 2004 a flood of young Poles and other Eastern Europeans began entering Britain after their countries joined the EU. Although Polish immigrants often generated resentment among working class voters, the study found that immigrants from the new EU countries had actually contributed more in taxes than they consumed in welfare benefits. According to the study, these immigrants were 60 percent less likely than natives to collect state benefits, tax credits or subsidized housing.

“They made a positive contribution to public finance,” according to study author Christian Dustmann, professor of economics at University College London. Eastern European immigrants paid 37 percent more in taxes than they received in public goods and services in 2008-2009.<sup>30</sup>

Despite these positive findings, Dustmann doesn’t think immigration can solve the problem of aging societies needing younger immigrant labor. “It’s only a quick fix,” not a long-term solution, he says, because immigrants will eventually age and will also require social security. “I don’t think immigrants can solve our demographic problems.”

Still, foreign workers could defuse another demographic time bomb, argues author Legrain: the need for workers to care for the elderly. The demand for such workers will skyrocket in the health and eldercare industries, he predicts, as the share of Europe’s population over age 80 almost triples by 2050.<sup>31</sup>

“Many of these jobs are low-skilled, low-paid jobs that Europeans don’t want to do,” he argues. “Who’s going to work in the care homes?”

But Sir Andrew Green, chairman of Migration Watch, a British group that

wants to cut migration, says access to cheap migrants is precisely why these kinds of jobs are so “appallingly badly paid.” He considers it “immoral” to import what he calls “an underclass” to care for the elderly.

“In the short term it does make elder care affordable,” he says, “but in the long term it’s a bad policy” that will contribute to Britain’s projected population growth and the nation’s already crowded highway and mass transit systems. “And we are a small island,” he notes, citing statistics showing that Britain is about twice as densely populated as France and about 12 times as crowded as the United States.

Ironically, both sides in the debate admit, when governments try to limit low-skilled immigration, they send culturally hostile signals to the very same high-skilled workers they hope to attract to their country. “If you’re an Indian IT specialist, why go to Germany?” Legrain asks. “Even in a high paid job, you’ll be made to feel unwelcome, you’ll feel excluded from the rest of society” and will pay higher income tax than in the United States, “where you’ll have no problem fitting in.”

“That’s the striking thing: Europe is so terrified of immigrants, and increasingly immigrants don’t want to come to Europe,” he observes.

### ***Should European governments do more to integrate immigrants?***

Chancellor Merkel’s remark that multiculturalism has “utterly failed” in Germany reflects a growing sentiment that foreigners and their children should assimilate more into German society. Referring to the nation’s majority population as “we,” Merkel went on to tell the youth branch of her party, “We feel tied to Christian values. Those who don’t accept them don’t have a place here.” That comment seemed to put the blame squarely on Turks, not Germans, for their failure to assimilate.<sup>32</sup>

Yet, for many years Turkish *Gastarbeiters* (guestworkers) were not even al-



AFP/Getty Images/Denis Charlet

A Roma girl plays with her doll on Sept. 8, 2010, in an illegal camp in Lille, France. After France began expelling illegal Roma immigrants in July, the European Parliament on Sept. 9 demanded that France suspend the expulsions. Italian police also recently demolished illegal Roma settlements on the outskirts of Rome in an effort to force the Roma back to Romania and Bulgaria.

lowed to seek German citizenship, and children born in Germany to Turkish immigrant parents did not automatically become German citizens. A 2000 law that made it easier for Turks to become German citizens spurred an initial surge of applications, but applications have declined steadily in recent years, primarily because Germany does not permit dual citizenship.<sup>33</sup> Many Turks do not want to give up their Turkish citizenship, even if that means being required to do military service in Turkey.

“We have two nationalisms clashing,” says Berlin sociologist Koopmans: “Germans saying, ‘You have to make

a choice;’” and Turks, who “are also very nationalistic.”

Turks without German citizenship cannot vote in Germany or play a part in the political process. “They’re still not politically integrated, and that affects the degree of identification of Turks in Germany with their home country,” Koopmans acknowledges. First- and second-generation Turkish immigrants share some of the blame for that, he says.

The tendency for Turkish pride to come before German identification was recently illustrated by a widely viewed video clip of young German-speaking Turks booing German-Turkish soccer

star Mesut Özil, as he played for the German team in the World Cup.

"Mesut Özil is no Turk!" shouted young Turks decked out in the colors of the Turkish flag, angry at Özil for choosing to play for Germany rather than Turkey. To many Germans, the film clip was yet another sign that Turks don't want to integrate.<sup>34</sup>

But that's not the whole story, says German economist Sabine Beppler-Spahl, an editor at the libertarian German magazine *Novo Argumente*. At her children's predominantly Turkish public school in Berlin, Turkish children arrived waving German flags and rooted for the team during the World Cup, she reports. Germans are just as much to blame for creating two parallel societies, she suggests.

"A lot of middle-class German people moving to the suburbs have virtually no contact with Turks," she says. "Their kids don't go to school with them and don't have Turkish friends in their immediate circle. Middle-class Germans agree with [former German central banker] Sarrazin because they go into the city and see women with headscarves" and are frightened by the sight of young Turks hanging out on the streets, whom they assume are unemployed, on welfare and have criminal tendencies.

In an effort to require greater "integration" of immigrants into their societies, some European governments have begun to require courses on their national culture and language and citizenship tests as a precondition for emigrating to their country. The Netherlands, once known for its tolerance, led the way in this trend in March 2006, requiring applicants for family reunification to take an "integration" test at a Dutch embassy abroad as a precondition for being granted even a temporary residence permit. Since then similar policies have been adopted by Finland, Denmark, Austria, Germany and France.<sup>35</sup>

In the Dutch citizenship tests, would-be immigrants must understand that it is acceptable for unmarried and gay couples to live together, that women

enjoy equal rights and that domestic violence (including honor killings and female genital mutilation) will be punished. In the Netherlands, Austria and Germany, religiously conservative Muslims are "a particular target group of these tests," according to a study.<sup>36</sup>

In the Netherlands, "what began as an immigration-integration policy has turned into the opposite: a no-immigration policy," concluded migration expert Christian Joppke, a professor of political science at the American University of Paris. The integration tests and other requirements are aimed at keeping out low-skilled family immigrants, particularly Muslims of Turkish and Moroccan origin, he said.<sup>37</sup>

To Dutch sociologist Duyvendak, such tests are clearly discriminatory. "The wrong answers on these multiple-choice tests . . . have implicit prejudices about Muslims," he says. "People taking the test feel they're depicted as backward and intolerant." Several years ago, the Netherlands garnered international attention for a video it showed would-be immigrants abroad of topless women sunbathing and gay couples kissing. "You can only understand this when you see how monocultural the Dutch are," Duyvendak says, a homogenous culture with clearly progressive values.

But other experts say language requirements and citizenship tests help immigrants achieve economic independence. A recent study by Koopmans found that countries like Germany, Austria and France, which make welfare benefits or visas dependent on a certain amount of assimilation (such as language tests and obligatory integration courses) tend to produce better results for immigrants than countries like Sweden, with traditionally easy access to citizenship and generous welfare benefits. Countries like Germany, which have stricter immigration prerequisites, have more immigrants who are employed, less crime among immigrants and less residential segregation, Koopmans finds.<sup>38</sup>

While some politicians may see these requirements as a way to keep Muslims out, Koopmans defends them: "It's an attempt by European countries to do something the classical immigration countries like Canada and Australia have done all along, namely selective immigration," or recruiting the highly skilled workers they need, not low-skilled immigrants who will become welfare dependent.

Most of today's European immigration involves relatives of current residents, and governments are trying to make it more difficult for those family members to emigrate. Often the would-be immigrant is a bride-to-be from the home country. Even Muslims born in the Netherlands or Germany tend to import wives from their parents' native land. About 80 percent of second-generation Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands marry someone from their country of origin, Koopmans notes. Typically, they are highly religious, have low levels of education and can't speak the language of their new country — all factors associated with high welfare dependency and the delay of assimilation for generations.

"The children of these immigrants will be raised in the Berber dialect and start with the same disadvantage as children of the first generation," he says. So language and other assimilation requirements are "good for educational and labor market integration."

Unlike the United States, where the immigrant bears the cost of not learning English — in the form of poorer job prospects — welfare-generous Europe pays the bill, through higher welfare costs if an immigrant doesn't assimilate, Koopmans argues. "That gives receiving societies more of a right to make demands on immigrants than in the United States, where it's your choice," whether to learn English or adjust to American ways, he says.

But Beppler-Spahl says Germany's citizenship tests are a superficial response designed to assuage Germans' fears about immigrants not integrating

# New Integration Policies Seen as Discriminatory

*Critics say the tough rules target non-EU immigrants.*

British university graduate Emily Churchill began to cry when she heard the announcement that starting this fall, foreign spouses must pass an English test overseas before being allowed to join their British spouses.

Last summer she married an aspiring Palestinian filmmaker named Basel whom she had met while studying abroad in Syria the previous winter and with whom she speaks Arabic. The British government has refused their first two attempts to obtain a visa for him. The English test “epitomized how I felt we’d been treated by the system and the government approach to make spousal immigration as difficult as possible,” she says.

In announcing the new requirement, Home Secretary Theresa May said it “will help promote integration, remove cultural barriers and protect public services.”<sup>1</sup> But because the rule applies only to non-EU immigrants, Churchill feels it is more about discrimination than integration. “If Basel were British or Italian, we would not be apart,” she wrote on a *Guardian* newspaper blog.<sup>2</sup> Under European Union agreements, immigrants from EU member countries are allowed free movement within the EU.

Some experts charge that marriage rules like this — along with strict age limits and required integration courses for would-be immigrant spouses — are discriminatory because they are aimed only at non-EU immigrants. Such restrictions also get vocal support from anti-immigrant politicians with growing electoral power in several European countries. For example, the Netherlands government has agreed in principle to the anti-immigrant Freedom Party’s demand to follow Denmark’s example by raising the age for immigrant spouses from 21 to 24. The Dutch marriage partner would also have to earn 120 percent of the minimum wage.

“If you’re 23 and want to bring your bride from Turkey or Morocco and you don’t earn enough, you cannot marry the partner you want,” says Jan Willem Duyvendak, a sociology professor at the University of Amsterdam. “Whereas, if you’re 24 and want to bring someone from Bulgaria, Rumania or a European country, then it is possible. That shows how discriminatory it is.”

But Ruud Koopmans, director of migration research at the Social Science Research Center in Berlin, says the measures are “a good thing because many of these migrants came from rural regions not knowing how to read and write. Almost certainly

they will end up dependent on social welfare with integration problems.” France, too, has introduced language tests as a prerequisite for entry for prospective marriage migrants. Under pressure from the anti-immigrant Danish People’s Party, the Danish government is dropping its age minimum of 24 — but only for those immigrant spouses who speak Danish and have high levels of education and work experience.<sup>3</sup> The policies are aimed at reducing the number of immigrants with low skill levels “for whom there is no demand in the labor market,” Koopmans says.

In Germany, newly arrived immigrants from non-EU countries must, at the discretion of immigration authorities, participate in a government-funded integration course that includes 600 hours of German language instruction and a 30-hour orientation on German culture, history and law. Thousands of people are on waiting lists for the courses, but budget cuts suggest the waiting lists will only get longer, according to *Der Spiegel*, Germany’s leading news magazine.<sup>4</sup>

Anti-discrimination laws limit the extent to which such restrictions can target only immigrants, Koopmans says, so some countries pass sweeping laws, such as the Dutch decision to abolish welfare benefits for anyone under 27. Though it sounds draconian, the law appears to have improved immigrants’ employment rates and reduced dependence on welfare. However, Duyvendak points out, the job market was already booming when the law was passed.

— Sarah Glazer

<sup>1</sup> “UK Marriage Visa Applicants will have to pass English tests,” June 10, 2010, [www.workpermit.com/news/2010-06-10/uk/uk-marriage-visa-applicants-english-language-test.htm](http://www.workpermit.com/news/2010-06-10/uk/uk-marriage-visa-applicants-english-language-test.htm).

<sup>2</sup> Emily Churchill, “Being with your spouse is a right, not a privilege,” *Guardian*, June 14, 2010, [www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/jun/14/foreign-spouse-language-tests-immigration-system](http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/jun/14/foreign-spouse-language-tests-immigration-system).

<sup>3</sup> “PM: 24-year-rule expands to points system,” *Copenhagen Post Online*, Nov. 8, 2010, [www.cphpost.dk/news/politics/90-politics/50410-pm-24-year-rule-expands-to-](http://www.cphpost.dk/news/politics/90-politics/50410-pm-24-year-rule-expands-to-).

<sup>4</sup> “Migrants on the Waiting List,” *Spiegelonline*, Oct. 25, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,725118,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,725118,00.html) and “German Integration Summit Delivers Little,” *Spiegelonline*, Nov. 4, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,727238,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,727238,00.html).

that doesn’t solve the country’s real problems. “Our problem is we’re not using the potential we have,” she says. “If we have young Turkish children, we should ask ourselves, ‘Why are they failing in German schools, and what can we do about that?’ ”

Sarrazin’s controversial assertion that Germany is being “dumbed down” by

a lower-intelligence population of Turks intensifies the perception that the problem lies with the immigrants rather than with Germany’s educational system, she contends. “I don’t believe Sarrazin’s theory that, ‘There’s a limited intelligence pool, and we’re getting the low end of a nation’s limited intelligence pool,’ ” says Beppler-Spahl.

“That’s wrong. . . . Why say that people from poor families will stay poor and will never make it? That’s where the racism starts flowing in.”

***Should immigrants be required to follow local customs?***

Liberals, feminists and anti-immigrant conservatives can become strange

bedfellows when it comes to one issue in Europe: banning the burqa. Dutch right-wing populist Wilders sounds like some feminists when he argues that the burqa is “a medieval symbol, a symbol against women.”<sup>39</sup>

France, which banned headscarves for students attending public schools in 2004, recently banned public wearing of the burqa. Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Denmark and Switzerland have considered similar legislation.

Some see the move as a thinly veiled anti-Muslim policy, others as a strike for women's freedom and integrating Muslims into mainstream society. Washington University anthropologist Bowen described France's national unity around the headscarf ban as stemming from the French philosophy that citizens must all subscribe to the same values. That desire for “shared values” played strongly in the French support of the burqa ban, he says.

“In France everyone is expected to potentially interact with everyone else; wearing a burqa is cutting oneself off from that sort of interaction. That's the justification the justice minister gave when it was being debated,” Bowen explains. “All the other arguments — it oppresses women, it's against human dignity — really don't work because no women are complaining. How can you say it harms them if no one's complaining?”

But some Muslim women, like Algerian-American law professor Karima Bennoune, do see the veil as inherently oppressive. She remembers driving into Algiers during the Algerian civil war of the 1990s, when armed fundamentalist groups were killing women who went out unveiled. “I knew that my bare head, like those of the thousands of Algerian women who refused to submit, was marked with a target,” she writes.<sup>40</sup>

In a 2007 law review article, Bennoune, who teaches at Rutgers School

of Law in Newark, N.J., strongly supported the French headscarf ban. Before the ban, she wrote, gangs of young men in immigrant neighborhoods of Paris had taken to raping young girls who wore miniskirts or went to the movies. Many French Muslim women's groups supported the ban on the grounds that girls were frequently forced by their family or an older brother to wear the headscarf. The French Algerian feminist Fadela Amara called the veil a “visible symbol of subjugation.”<sup>41</sup>

More recently, leading German feminists Alice Schwarzer and Necla Kelek came out in support of proposed burqa bans in Germany. Kelek said the garment has nothing to do with religion and comes out of an ideology where “women in public don't have the right to be human.”<sup>42</sup>

Human rights groups, however, have generally opposed both headscarf and burqa bans. “Treating pious women like criminals won't help integrate them,” said Judith Sunderland, senior researcher with the Europe and Central Asia division of Human Rights Watch in April.<sup>43</sup>

These same human rights groups, Bennoune counters, “would not come out in favor of Christian prayer in American schools . . . or the right to wear a swastika [once a religious symbol, now a political one] in a European classroom, because they understand the potential impact on other students and are able to appreciate the political meaning in context.”<sup>44</sup>

Patrick Weil, a University of Paris immigration historian, said the French headscarf ban was largely a reaction to gangs of young Muslim men threatening Muslim girls who did not wear a scarf in school. “The law was endorsed by the majority of Muslims; it preserved the freedom of Muslim girls,” maintains Weil, author of the 2008 book *How to Be French, Nationality in the Making Since 1789*, who served on

the commission that advised the government to institute the ban. And the law has been enforced over the last six years with very little protest, he has pointed out.<sup>45</sup>

Devout Muslim girls who still want to wear the headscarf can attend the religious schools that operate in France under contract to the government, he points out (though most such schools are Christian): “We have a dual system that works well.”

To Weil and other supporters, the headscarf ban was about upholding a basic French principle: separation between government and religion within state schools. But as for adult women walking in the streets, he sees the burqa ban as an assault on women's basic freedom to wear what they want. “I think it's unconstitutional. I don't like the burqa, and very few people in France are in favor of it, but I say these women have the right to go in the street dressed as they wish,” he says. “That's a fundamental human right.”

Paradoxically, of the fewer than 2,000 women who don burqas in France today, a quarter of them are converts to Islam, and two-thirds have French nationality, according to government estimates.<sup>46</sup>

“These are a small number of young women — several hundred — trying out their relationship to their religion and to the rest of society,” Bowen says. “To stigmatize them seems wrong-headed from the point of view of social psychology.” Some research indicates that young Muslim women may use headscarves as a way to negotiate with their families for more freedom, to attend university, for example. Banning the veil will, if anything, prompt a more fundamentalist reaction among such women, some critics predict.

After the French Senate passed the burqa ban in September, some Muslim women said they would remain clois-

*Continued on p. 304*

# Chronology

---

## 19th Century

*European nations colonize much of the Muslim world, providing source of immigrant labor.*

**1830**

French control of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia leads to exodus of Muslim immigrants to France.

## 1950s-1960s

*After deaths of millions of working-age men in World War II, Europe recruits immigrants to rebuild economy. Number of Turkish “guestworkers” in Germany surges. European resentment against immigrants grows.*

**1954-55**

Germany begins recruiting temporary foreign workers from Italy and Spain, later from Turkey.

**1961**

Germany signs a recruitment agreement with Turkey to import guest workers for two-year periods.

## 1970s-1980s

*Jobs for immigrants dwindle in recession; Europe limits workers’ immigration but lets in families, causing more Muslim immigration. Palestinian intifadas, riots in Britain, Saudi money for fundamentalist Wahhabi teachings stoke religious extremism.*

**1974**

France, Netherlands institute “immigration stop” policies. Immigration from Muslim countries triples in France, increases tenfold in the Netherlands in next three decades.

**1977**

France offers to pay immigrants to leave — with little success.

## 1990s-2000s

*Terrorist attacks focus governments to monitor extremism among Muslim residents. Thousands of migrants from Eastern Europe move West; Europe begins requiring immigrants to integrate. Anti-immigrant parties make electoral gains, even as global economic crisis slows immigration to Europe.*

**1995-1996**

Radical Algerian group seeking Islamist state explodes bombs in Paris subways and trains.

**1998**

Al Qaeda calls on Muslims to kill Americans and their allies.

**2000**

Germany makes it easier for Turkish guestworkers and their children to become citizens.

**Sept. 11, 2001**

Al Qaeda attacks World Trade Center and Pentagon, killing nearly 3,000 people.

**2002**

Far-right Dutch leader Pim Fortuyn, who criticized Muslims for not assimilating, is murdered.

**2004**

Thousands of Eastern Europeans move to Western Europe to work. France bans headscarves in schools. . . . Madrid subway bombings kill 191; radical Islamist kills Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh.

**2005**

London’s “7/7” transit bombings kill

52; disaffected African immigrants riot in Paris suburbs.

**2006**

Netherlands requires applicants for family reunification to pass integration test abroad.

**2007**

EU admits Bulgaria and Romania but with limited working rights. . . . Radical immigrants try to blow up Glasgow, Scotland, airport. . . . Germany, Denmark foil extremist terrorist plots.

**2008**

As worldwide recession begins, migration starts to slow.

**2009**

Swiss ban new minarets on mosques. . . . Immigration to Spain, Ireland falls drastically; unemployment among foreign-born youth exceeds 40 percent in Spain, 37 percent in Sweden.

**2010**

Anti-immigrant parties make electoral gains in Sweden, Netherlands, Austria. . . . Conservatives take power in Britain with pledge to reduce immigration. . . . French President Sarkozy expels Roma from France. . . . French parliament bans the burqa in public. . . . German bestseller spurs debate on Muslim integration. . . . Migration Policy Institute says European immigration has come to a “virtual halt.” . . . British government places temporary ceiling on skilled immigrants from outside EU, prompting industry protests. . . . New Dutch government pledges to halve non-Western immigration. . . . European Commission withdraws threat of legal action against France for expulsion of Roma. . . . France pledges to bring its immigration law in line with EU rules. . . . German Chancellor Merkel says multiculturalism has failed.

*Continued from p. 302*

tered in their homes rather than go out unveiled, boding badly for increased integration.<sup>47</sup>

In a 2006 court case, *Begum v. Headteacher*, the British House of Lords upheld a British high school's authority to prohibit a young girl from wearing a *jilbab* (a dark cloak) to school and found that the prohibition did not violate human rights.<sup>48</sup> Yet in a country like Britain, with its long tradition of freedom of expression, most people disapprove of the government banning the wearing of burqas in

public, judging from polls and recent interviews.<sup>49</sup>

Muslim groups in Britain protested in 2006 when Labour member of Parliament and ex-foreign secretary Jack Straw said he asked Muslim constituents to remove their veils from their faces when they came to his office. Some Muslim community spokesmen claimed Straw was being discriminatory. Straw argued that face-to-face communication was better when you could "see what the other person means, and not just hear what they say."<sup>50</sup> ■

## BACKGROUND

### Colonial Roots

Modern Muslim migration in Europe began in the late 19th century as a result of Europe's colonial and trading activities. Those historic patterns largely explain the different ethnic groups that migrated to each country and, to some degree, their acceptance by those societies.

## Gypsies Face Poor Education, Discrimination

*In traditional clans, girls drop out of school early.*

Twenty-four-year-old Sara Kotowicz seems like any other fashionably dressed Londoner finishing her university education. But she is a rare exception in her clan of Polish Roma, or Gypsies. Girls in her large extended family are expected to marry by 15 or 16, have children right away and stop attending school — despite living in 21st-century London.

Kotowicz, whose family migrated to England when she was 11, married at 17, the upper age-limit for acceptable marriage in her family. But her decision to pursue a degree in interior design during her first year of marriage subjected her to severe criticism.

"Within the community you're expected to do the duties of a wife. There's no time for school," says Kotowicz, whose one concession to Gypsy attire is her long black skirt. Each morning as she left for class, she faced a scolding from her mother-in-law — "You should think of washing clothes, looking after your husband" — harassment that drove her and her husband, uncharacteristically, to move out of his family's home.

Throughout Europe, experts say, the lack of education is probably the single greatest impediment to the advancement of the Roma, along with discrimination.<sup>1</sup> British professionals who work with Romanian and Polish Roma immigrants say it's sometimes difficult to convince Roma parents to allow their children to attend school, because in their home countries — Poland, Romania, Hungary and Slovakia — Roma children often were consigned to segregated schools or backwater classes for the mentally handicapped.

For traditional Roma families where girls are commonly expected to marry as early as 14, girls who become mothers enjoy high status, says Michael Stewart, an anthropologist at University College London, who studies the Eastern European Roma. "There's enormous value in traditional Romany communities in becoming mothers — literally reproducing the com-

munity" — one that faced extermination under the Nazis and persecution under communist regimes.

"Twenty years ago I never found a 16- or 17-year-old girl who was unmarried," says Heather Ureche, a consultant with the charity Equality, which helps Eastern European Roma migrants in Britain.<sup>2</sup> "Now I do. It's changing slowly, but we still have quite a way to go."

"A lot of people in Eastern Europe say the Roma are not educated, the parents don't want their children in school, don't value education. That's not true — in general," says Stewart. "The problem is they're very badly treated — humiliated and put into separate classes for the hard-to-educate."

In Romania, few Roma children continue school after age 9 or 10, according to Ureche. Moreover, she says, "Roma parents are often worried about sending young girls into coed school settings just after puberty for fear they'll get in trouble with non-Roma boys."

Children in Roma culture generally are given great independence at an early age and are expected to have the maturity needed to be a parent by 14, experts report. "If you're an academically ambitious 13-year-old girl in a traditional Romany family, it is really tough," Stewart observes. "You have a battle on your hands to persuade your parents to let you go on and study." Some younger Roma from traditional families are bucking the trend, such as Viktoria Mohacsi, who represented Hungary as a member of the European Parliament from 2004 to 2009.<sup>3</sup>

Getting a high school education is becoming more acceptable for Roma girls in London, says Kotowicz, who is a youth advocacy worker for the Roma Support Group, a London charity. But she still has trouble persuading teenage girls from her community to continue their education.



A recent visit to a house in North London illustrated some of the striking differences in how Romanian Roma families raise their children. As school was letting out, an array of spirited children, ages 4-16, some related to the family and some not, paraded through the tiny kitchen. All seemed perfectly comfortable eating something from the refrigerator, whether they lived there or not.

Unlike British and American culture, where childhood is viewed as a separate phase of life that can last until age 18, for the Roma “young children have enormous autonomy,” Stewart explains. “Children are never told off, never told, ‘You mustn’t do that.’ Children learn not to do things through making mistakes rather than through constant correction; the assumption is that by the age of 10 or 13 Romany people are autonomous moral agents — what we would call adults.”

These cultural values sometimes create serious problems for Roma families in Britain, says Sywia Ingmire, coordinator of the Roma Support Group. “Children are the responsibility of every adult visiting the home; children are passed from hand to hand,” she says. But sometimes “bewildered social workers” think a child is being trafficked. For instance, in 2008 several large extended Roma families were living together in the town of Slough. In a series of dawn raids on 17 houses, 24 Roma adults were arrested, supposedly for taking Roma children from their families and forcing them into a life of crime. But nine days later, none of the 24 adults arrested at the scene had been charged with child trafficking offenses, and all but one child had been returned to the Roma community in Slough.<sup>4</sup>

“These stories about rings of trafficking people are often built more on exaggeration and fantasy than a good empirical basis,” says Stewart, who finds that children who beg and steal are a small minority of Europe’s Roma population.



CQ Press/Sarah Glazer

School uniforms identify two Roma sisters — Violeta Stelica, 8, (right), and Nicoleta Mihai, 6, (left) — as public school students in North London on Oct. 11, 2010. But in traditional Roma families across Europe, girls often drop out in order to get married, sometimes as early as age 14.

Yet the view of Roma children as beggars and thieves is widespread in Europe. In a recent street survey in three cities, more than 60 percent of those questioned associated Gypsies with negative activities like thievery.<sup>5</sup> In Europe, Ureche says, prejudice against Gypsies “is the last bastion of racism.”

— Sarah Glazer

<sup>1</sup> Angela Doland, “Lack of Schooling Seen as Root of Gypsy Woes,” The Associated Press, Oct. 9, 2010, [www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5hA\\_jAjqctB4r\\_ZYfw645v7vLBIWAD9IOJLD01!docId=D91OJLD01](http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5hA_jAjqctB4r_ZYfw645v7vLBIWAD9IOJLD01!docId=D91OJLD01).

<sup>2</sup> See Equality’s website, at <http://equality.uk.com/Welcomes.html>.

<sup>3</sup> “Interview: Viktoria Mohacsi,” *Foreign Policy*, Oct. 20, 2010, [www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/20/interview\\_viktoria\\_mohacsi](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/10/20/interview_viktoria_mohacsi).

<sup>4</sup> Helen Pidd and Vikram Dodd, “From Brilliant Coup to Cock-up. How the Story of Fagin’s Urchins Fell Apart,” *Guardian*, Feb. 2, 2008, [www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/feb/02/immigration.ukcrime](http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2008/feb/02/immigration.ukcrime).

<sup>5</sup> Heather Ureche, “Racism in a Velvet Glove,” *Oxfam Poverty Post*, Sept. 10, 2009, [www.oxfamblogs.org/ukpovertypost/2009/09/racism-in-a-velvet-glove/%E2%80%A6/](http://www.oxfamblogs.org/ukpovertypost/2009/09/racism-in-a-velvet-glove/%E2%80%A6/).

By the late 1800s, France, Britain and the Netherlands had gained control over most of the world’s Muslims. France conquered Algiers in 1830, eventually leading to French control of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The British colonized India (which included modern-day Pakistan and Bangladesh). The Dutch dominated trade in Southeast Asia, where today’s Indonesia — the world’s most populous Muslim nation — became a Dutch colony after the Dutch East India Company relinquished control. By the end of the 19th century, France was importing low-paid workers from Algeria

and other African territories, while other European countries recruited workers from their colonies and territories.

However, Europe — where residents had long been immigrating to the United States in search of a better life — did not become a major immigrant destination until the 1950s, when it needed workers to help rebuild cities and economies ravaged by World War II. After the wartime deaths of thousands of working-age men, England sought workers from throughout the British Empire, in part because they would speak English: Indians and Pakistanis came from the 1950s on,

Bangladeshis from the 1970s. For much the same reason, in the postwar economic boom, France, Germany and the Netherlands also recruited immigrants from their former colonies, and in some cases, the mother countries gave preferential treatment to former colonists wanting to enter the country to work.

Some former colonials integrated more quickly into their new home countries than others. Muslims from francophone Africa, for instance, have been more interested in becoming part of France than Turks have been in Germany, where they have no cultural links, argues Bowen, of



Getty Images/Tiziana Fabi



AFP/Getty Images/Carl De Souza

### For and Against Immigrants

Kurdish immigrants in Rome wave the Kurdistan flag and portraits of their historical leader Abdullah Ocalan during Italy's first nationwide "day without immigrants" strike on March 1, 2010 (top). The rally was one of dozens held around Europe in the last year to protest harsh anti-immigrant measures taken by European governments, which some critics say are particularly targeting Muslim immigrants. Anti-Muslim sentiment was evident in Harrow, North London, on Sept. 11, 2009 (bottom), when riot police quelled clashes between Muslims and anti-Islamic extremists protesting outside a London mosque on the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks in the United States.

Washington University. "The very bitterness of France's colonial history channels Muslims toward demanding inclusion in French society," Bowen wrote. "They, or their parents or grandparents, came from former French territories in North or West Africa, where they learned that they were now part of the grand story of France, albeit in second-class roles."<sup>51</sup>

After World War II, when a devastated Germany needed immigrant labor to help rebuild, Germany's choice of workers would have long-term repercussions. In the mid-1950s, Germany instituted an active immigration policy, first for Italian and Spanish farmworkers.<sup>52</sup> Later, as the economy boomed and industry needed labor, the government turned to North Africa and Turkey for workers, who were expected to stay only two years.

"The German and Austrian governments had recruitment offices in the least-developed rural areas of Anatolia to recruit illiterate Turks because of the false belief that if they can't read, they won't join trade unions and make trouble," explains Viennese demographer Lutz.

But unlike Czech and Ukrainian migrants who settled in Austria earlier, Turks did not become absorbed into the society or even learn the language in many cases. "Many Turks didn't think they would stay," Lutz says, "nor did society."

Indeed, most European governments saw the recruitment of immigrant labor as a temporary measure. Temporary "guestworker" programs were initiated in Germany, Belgium and Sweden, recruiting first from Italy and Spain and later from the Mediterranean, North Africa and the Middle East.

Turks made up the largest percentage of German migrants. And the *Gastarbeiter* (guestworker) program was a "hard-currency bonanza" for Turkey, according to author Christopher Caldwell, a columnist for *The Weekly Standard* and *Financial Times* whose book, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*, chronicles how Muslims transformed postwar Europe. The Turkish government petitioned hard for inclusion in the program,

---

and the single Turkish men who arrived to work in German mines and steel plants discovered they could make far more money than in Turkey. The number of Turkish guestworkers in Germany burgeoned from 329,000 in 1960 to 2.6 million by 1973, the year the program was discontinued.<sup>53</sup>

But the workers found Germany attractive, and the gap steadily widened between what natives understood the program to mean and what the workers understood. German corporations pressured the government to make the *Gastarbeiter* contracts renewable, to allow workers' families to join them and to permit those that had started families to stay. A "rotation clause" intended to limit a foreign worker's stay in Germany to two years was removed from the German-Turkish guestworker treaty in 1964, partly due to industry pressure.<sup>54</sup>

Europe's acute manpower shortages, however, were not chronic, Caldwell writes. In the 1960s, migrants were manning soon-to-be obsolete linen mills in France and textile mills in England. The jobs would soon be eliminated, creating joblessness among migrants and a growing anti-immigrant reaction.

On April 20, 1968 — two weeks after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., triggered riots in Washington, D.C., and other major U.S. cities — Conservative British Parliament member Enoch Powell warned that Britain's growing immigration would lead to similar violent conflicts between immigrants and Britons. Already, he claimed, the native-born English "found themselves made strangers in their own country," and he quoted a constituent's prediction that "in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man." Citing the poet Virgil, he said, "I seem to see 'the River Tiber foaming with much blood.'" <sup>55</sup>

Powell received enthusiastic letters in response from British natives, and much of the British debate since then has been over whether Powell's "rivers of blood" predictions would prove correct.

## **'Immigration Stop' Policies**

During Germany's 1966-67 recession, many laid-off guestworkers returned home only to find the Turkish economy in crisis. But when the 1973-77 global recession hit, many migrants stayed in their adopted countries, even if they were unemployed — spurring European fears that immigrants would compete for jobs. EU governments between 1973 and 1975 instituted an "immigration stop" policy, aimed at deterring immigration and halting overseas recruitment.<sup>56</sup>

The number of new foreign workers arriving declined, but migration continued — primarily due to extended families joining the original immigrant or new spouses arriving on marriage visas. Today, most immigration into Western Europe involves family migration.

Paradoxically, more immigrants came to Europe during the decades after the "stop" policies were instituted than arrived in the preceding decades, largely because of family immigration. In the Netherlands, the number of first-generation Moroccan and Turkish immigrants increased tenfold in the three decades following the 1974 halt. By 2003, the number of North Africans in France was triple the number from before the government started restricting immigration.<sup>57</sup>

Since then, EU governments have tried repeatedly to discourage immigration. Some, like France, have even offered monetary incentives and continued welfare support to immigrants who return home. Most of the programs ended in failure.<sup>58</sup>

Experts say once an immigration dynamic has been established between countries it is hard to stop. In Belgium, Turkish immigrants from Emirdağ settled in Brussels and Ghent, with family and friends living on the same street with their neighbors from back home. Bangladeshis settled in East London, while Pakistanis from Punjab and Kashmir settled in Birmingham and Bradford.<sup>59</sup>

## **Radical Islam Emerges**

During the 1980s some young Muslims, frustrated by job discrimination, turned to their religion as a source of identity. Europe became a target of proselytizing campaigns, helped along by the distribution of Saudi Arabian petrodollars, which financed the construction of new mosques and Islamic schools. Saudi money specifically supported the spread and teaching of the ultra-conservative Wahhabi strand of Islam.<sup>60</sup>

Acts of terrorism in the 1990s and early 2000s fueled fears of radical Islamists. Between 1995 and 1996, radical Algerians exploded bombs on Paris subways and trains, adding to French anti-immigrant sentiment. France and other nations expelled radical Islamists, and members of the French secret services dubbed the British capital "Londonistan" for its role as a refuge for radical Islamist groups.

Then on Feb. 23, 1998, al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden issued a fatwa stating that all Muslims had a duty to kill Americans and their allies — civilian or military — around the world. Islamic liberation movements worldwide began to shift their emphasis from national revolution to localized, violent terrorism.

The Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center, in which nearly 3,000 people died, would change forever the way Europeans looked at their Muslim neighbors. Although directed by al Qaeda and carried out by mostly Saudi Arabian jihadists, the attacks had been planned by a group of English-speaking Muslims at a mosque in Hamburg, Germany.

"September 11 turned the spotlight on European Muslims and made people feel insecure; they started looking at Muslims through a security prism," says the European Policy Centre's Shada Islam. Soul-searching about whether Europe was becoming a breeding ground

for terrorists intensified after a string of terrorist attacks tied to Muslim extremists: the Madrid subway bombings in 2004; the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh by a radical Islamist the same year; the “7/7” 2005 London transit bombings that killed 52.

But rather than focus on jobs, education and disaffected youth — the root causes of integration problems — Islam says, the debate about Muslim immigrants was no longer about social disadvantages. Suddenly, “it was as if every Muslim in Europe was a potential terrorist.” Islam says the current wave of anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim sentiment would not have “reached this point if September 11 had not happened.”

In 2002 far-right Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn (who had criticized Muslims for not assimilating) was murdered by a Dutch man who said he was protecting Muslims. Then in 2004, filmmaker Theo van Gogh, who had made a film critical of the treatment of women by Muslims, was murdered in broad daylight on an Amsterdam street by a Dutch-born son of Moroccan immigrants. As Dutch *Financial Times* columnist Simon Kuper puts it, “violence associated with Muslims suddenly entered the public debate. Nowhere else in Europe has the far right done so well out of 9/11” as in the Netherlands.<sup>61</sup>

In Britain, young Muslims said 9/11 — and the London transit suicide-bomb attacks on July 7, 2005, by radical British Muslims — made them identify as Muslims more than they had before. In 2007, Muslim doctors from India and the Middle East working in Britain tried to blow up the airport in Glasgow, Scotland, and authorities foiled Muslim plots to blow up a U.S. military base in Frankfurt, Germany, and a bomb attack by Muslims in Copenhagen.<sup>62</sup> Polls by the Pew Research Center found that Muslims in France, Spain and Britain were twice as likely as U.S. Muslims to say suicide bombs can be justified.<sup>63</sup>

In 2004, the EU admitted 10 new countries: the Czech Republic, Estonia,

Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Cyprus and Malta. Under EU rules, citizens of those countries were free to move to any member country to work, and thousands of Eastern Europeans poured into Western Europe. In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania were admitted, but citizens of those countries do not have full working rights in most EU-15 countries.<sup>64</sup>

While the EU was opening its eastern borders, impoverished West Africans continued to risk their lives to enter Europe from the south. During the early 2000s, scores of Africans drowned when their over-packed small boats capsized en route to Spanish territory. And in 2005, an estimated 11,000 would-be migrants tried to enter Spain by scaling a 10-foot wall surrounding Melilla — a tiny coastal Spanish enclave on Morocco’s northern coast. Three immigrants died in the attempts. And in one brazen, pre-dawn incident, about 500 Africans stormed the barrier, using 270 ladders crafted from tree branches. About 100 migrants made it into the Spanish territory before being detained by police.<sup>65</sup>

## **Examining Multiculturalism**

As fear of Muslim extremism and terrorism spread after 9/11, Europeans began to question whether terrorism was caused by a failure to integrate immigrants into society. In their soul-searching, many became increasingly critical of multicultural policies — which sometimes meant government funding of religious and ethnic groups or taking a hands-off attitude toward cultural traditions that may conflict with European laws.

For example, some critics blamed laissez-faire multiculturalism for the failure to prevent up to a dozen suspected “honor killings” every year among Britain’s Muslim communities. In these cases, the women were murdered by fathers and brothers, presumably for having “dishonored” the family, such as

by dating men outside their ethnic group. One such case particularly spurred outrage: A 20-year-old Kurdish woman, who repeatedly sought help from police, was killed in 2006 by her father and uncle, prompting an investigation into police handling of the case. The Independent Police Complaints Commission found in 2008 that officers had failed to follow up promptly on murder victim Banaz Mahmud’s assault allegations, and the Commission recommended “reinforcing” police officers’ knowledge about honor-based violence.<sup>66</sup>

Police “may be worried that they will be seen as racist if they interfere in another culture,” Diana Sammi, director of the Iranian and Kurdish Women’s Rights organization, said at the time.<sup>67</sup>

After Sept. 11 and the Fortuyn and Van Gogh murders, even the Netherlands, long considered the leading proponent of multiculturalism, adopted more restrictive immigration policies. Other countries followed suit, including those in Scandinavia, which attempted to limit arranged marriages from abroad. Since then, women’s rights advocates have supported legislation to protect women from forced marriages, which they see as often being linked to honor killings. In Norway, participation in a forced marriage brings up to six years in prison; Denmark requires that a spouse brought into the country be at least 24 years old — as must the resident spouse.

Defending these laws, Unni Wikan, a professor of social anthropology at the University of Oslo, said Scandinavian countries felt their values — including the belief in gender equality — were being threatened by Muslim communities that failed to integrate. She said several governments were considering such laws because “we’re afraid we’re leading toward a society that’s breaking up into ethnic tribes.”<sup>68</sup>

Islam, of the European Policy Centre, agrees forced marriages and honor killings should be treated as crimes: “Let’s not let people off the hook by saying this is tribal tradition.” But she

# Globalization Fosters Identity Crisis

*“People don’t feel at home anymore in their own country.”*

In the Netherlands, where the same meat-and-potatoes dinner traditionally is eaten night after night, people often “feel threatened” by the mosques and kebab shops proliferating in their neighborhoods, says Floris Vermeulen, who teaches political science at the University of Amsterdam. “Their country is changing, their neighborhoods are changing” and “they don’t feel at home anymore in their own country.”

Many European countries are experiencing similar national identity crises, as their once monocultural societies — with everyone sharing the same values, ethnicity and food — seem at risk due to the globalization of human migration. That helps explain why Europeans are disturbed at the thought of immigrants living next door who resist interacting with their neighbors. Vermeulen observes wryly, “In many countries this is not considered a problem if they’re not killing each other.”

But in monocultural societies like Germany or the Netherlands, mainstream politicians want “a new society where everyone has contact and feels the same about all the norms and values.” When it comes to a religion like Islam, Vermeulen says, “this is not considered a Dutch, German or northern European value; this is something they have to change. That becomes problematic because how [could] a government . . . change the religious beliefs of a certain people?”

Muslims have been able to resist assimilation with the rest of the society, experts say, partly by importing wives — often illiterate — from their family’s village of origin, a custom that has continued into the second and third generation in Germany and the Netherlands. To combat this, European countries have toughened visa requirements for marriage partners. Both the Netherlands and Germany now require spouses to have a basic grasp of the new country’s language and pass exams testing their knowledge of the society before they can legally enter. Britain’s new Conservative-led government is introducing a pre-entry English test for arriving spouses.

While Ruud Koopmans, director of migration at the Social Science Research Center in Berlin, sees these measures as “very good for integration,” economically and socially, others condemn them as discriminatory, aimed mainly at stopping immigrants from Muslim countries. Americans would probably find such pre-entry



Getty Images/Christopher Furlong

*Dominik Wasilewski poses proudly on April 1, 2008, outside the Polish delicatessen where he works in Crewe, England, home to one of Britain’s largest Polish communities. Many Europeans feel their once monocultural societies are endangered by the cultural changes caused by increased migration.*

requirements unduly burdensome, since many of their grandparents entered the country without knowing English.

But Koopmans argues that in Europe’s generous welfare societies, where taxpayers bear a heavy burden to support unemployed immigrants, governments have the right to require newcomers to have the necessary tools for employment before entering the country.

— Sarah Glazer

adds, “You can do it confrontationally or through a process of consultation; let’s not assume every single Muslim believes in these crimes or commits them.” For example, grassroots Muslim organizations in Belgium have launched school campaigns to warn young African women returning to their home countries for summer holidays that they could be forced into marriages there.

In the Netherlands, the 90-year-old policy of “pillarization,” which permits each faith to set up its own government-funded religious schools and organi-

zations, became increasingly unpopular in the 1990s and 2000s because it was seen as further segregating Muslims from society.

Statistics showed that only one-third of non-EU foreigners in the Netherlands were gainfully employed; the rest were either not in the labor market or depended on social benefits. Welfare-dependency rates among foreigners were 10 times that of the native Dutch, and high-school dropout and residential segregation rates were high as well.<sup>69</sup> In 2004, a Dutch parliamentary inquiry

into government policy toward ethnic minorities between 1970 and 2000 came to the damning conclusion that if some migrants succeeded it was “in spite of” government policy.<sup>70</sup>

Because of a long tradition in which the state paid for Catholic and Protestant schools, Dutch sociologist Duyvendak says, “We’re struggling: On the one hand, we don’t want Muslim schools, but we want to protect our privileges — the state paying for our Catholic and Protestant schools,” which are considered academically superior to secular public schools.

# EUROPE'S IMMIGRATION TURMOIL

In reaction to what it saw as alien Muslim values, the Netherlands demanded that immigrants adopt Dutch progressive values. A new policy of civic integration, starting with its 1998 Newcomer Integration Law, required most non-EU immigrants to participate in a 12-month integration course, including Dutch language and civic education.

the country. Noncompliance could result in financial penalties or the denial of permanent legal residence. Eventually, the policy morphed into a tool to restrict migration, especially of unskilled migrants or relatives from traditional backgrounds.

For example, in May 2006, after intense debates about honor killings in the Turkish immigrant community and

striking evidence that many of France's Muslims feel economically left behind.

Still, Floris Vermeulen, a Dutch expert on radicalization who teaches political science at the University of Amsterdam, says religious radicalism is much less prevalent in France than elsewhere in Europe. Some immigration experts, including anthropologist Bowen, maintain that the French riots of 2005, spurred by joblessness and discrimination, were driven more by a desire to be part of France, rather than a separatist Muslim movement.

For instance, When French Muslims took to the streets in 2004 to protest the proposed ban on headscarves in French schools, their chant was Francophile: "First, Second, Third-Generation: We don't give a damn: Our home is here!"<sup>74</sup> ■



German Chancellor Angela Merkel (right) arrives with delegates from immigrant groups for the fourth summit on the integration of foreigners in Germany on Nov. 3, 2010, in Berlin. The summit followed recent heated public debates on immigration policy and the integration of Muslims in Germany, punctuated by Merkel's uncharacteristically blunt October remark that Germany's "multicultural" experiment has "utterly failed" — widely interpreted as a criticism of the nation's 4 million Muslims.

The 2002 murder of Fortuyn, who had criticized Muslims for not adopting the country's tolerant attitudes towards homosexuals, helped to turn the Dutch government in an even more draconian direction.<sup>71</sup> After March 2006, applicants for family reunification were required to take an integration test at a Dutch embassy abroad to receive even temporary residence. The policy quickly became a model for the rest of Europe, and variations have been adopted by Finland, Denmark, Austria, Germany, France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain.<sup>72</sup>

The policies generally require newcomers to enroll in civic and language courses, either before or after entering

ethnic violence in a Berlin public school, German authorities made attendance at a civic integration course a requirement for naturalization. This reversed a previous trend towards liberalization — most notably, Germany's efforts to make it easier for Turkish guestworkers to become citizens, which began in 2000.<sup>73</sup>

France has been spared a major Muslim terrorist attack since the mid-1990s, leading some French experts to conclude that France does a better job of culturally integrating its Muslim immigrants, who mostly come from francophone Africa. But riots in the poor, largely African suburbs of Paris in 2005 and Grenoble in 2010 — both plagued with high unemployment — presented

## CURRENT SITUATION

### Rise of Extremists

Anti-immigrant parties are surging in popularity among voters in the Netherlands, Sweden and Austria. Although these remain minority parties, the governing coalitions often need their votes to pass legislation.

"The fall of parliamentary seats into extremist hands represents the biggest shake-up in European politics since the disappearance of communism," Denis MacShane, a Labour member of the British Parliament, recently wrote.<sup>75</sup>

Experts say Europe's progressive social democratic regimes and Britain's liberal Labour government have been defeated because they failed to control immigration.<sup>76</sup>

In the Netherlands, the coalition that emerged from this fall's election joined two center-right parties and did not

*Continued on p. 312*

## *Is the French ban on headscarves in schools a good idea?*



**RÉMY SCHWARTZ**  
*MEMBER, FRENCH COUNCIL OF STATE AND  
FORMER RAPPORTEUR, STASI COMMISSION  
ON SECULARISM*

FROM "WORLD ON TRIAL," A SERIES OF MOCK INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS TRIALS CREATED BY PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY'S DICKINSON SCHOOL OF LAW, TO BE WEBCAST AND BROADCAST ON PUBLIC TELEVISION STATIONS WORLDWIDE IN 2011.

France has always welcomed people from all over the world . . . and everyone can worship as they wish here. We've had many Muslims in our country for a long time; the Mosque of Paris was founded in 1920. Islam is the second religion of France. We have Europe's largest mosque and more mosques than any other European country. . . . We didn't wake up one morning in 2004 and say, "Now we're going to discriminate against Muslims."

It's very rare in France to have unanimous decisions between the Left and the Right . . . but after a 15-year discussion, we said we need to stop what the "older brothers" are doing. Young girls came to us and said, "Protect us, we want to be free — free to wear skirts, free to wear pants and not to be forced to wear headscarves. . . . We want to be able to go to school in tranquility." . . .

It was appropriate to protect young children without forcing them to attend private schools or take correspondence courses. . . . We do not wear religious symbols in schools. We did not set out to discriminate against Muslims. The European Court of Human Rights ruled that we did not discriminate.

And where are the victims? Forty-four students were sent [home] from school out of millions of children, and there hasn't been one single incident for the last couple of years. French laws are always being challenged, and yet this law is one of the few that has unanimous consent throughout the country. Even among the Muslim immigrant population, surveys have shown that 70 percent of French Muslims approve of the law. . . . The French Council of Muslim Faith, which represents 6 million French Muslims, accepted this law.

The law is a victory of democratic French Islam against fundamentalists, who want to impose their vision on others. It's also a victory for these young girls. Go onto the Internet and read what the Stasi Commission did. The hearings were recorded, and young women and girls supported this law, and these immigrant women wanted the protection by the state. The women and girls came to us and said, "Thank you for allowing us to be free."



**JOHN R. BOWEN**  
*DUNBAR-VAN CLEVE PROFESSOR OF ARTS  
AND SCIENCES, WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY,  
ST. LOUIS; AUTHOR OF WHY THE FRENCH  
DON'T LIKE HEADSCARVES (PRINCETON,  
2007) AND CAN ISLAM BE FRENCH?  
(PRINCETON 2009)*

WRITTEN FOR *CQ GLOBAL RESEARCHER*, DECEMBER 2010

The headscarf ban is not a good idea. Before the 2004 law, France's highest court had consistently held that Muslim girls or women had a constitutional and a human right to wear headscarves. Since then, France has escaped legal sanctions by saying that the law was enacted to protect Muslim school girls who wanted protection against social pressure to wear a scarf, i.e. that it was not about Islam.

Whatever the merits of this argument, it does not reflect the wide range of claims made by French politicians in favor of the ban. France's leaders on the Right and the Left claimed that headscarves led to the oppression of women, that they favored the entry of political Islam onto French soil and that they were responsible for disorder in the public schools. Quite a lot of trouble to pin on the heads of a few hundred girls seeking to practice their faith! At the same time, sociologists and others who had studied reasons why some Muslim girls wear scarves were ignored.

These wild claims kept politicians from having to tackle real social problems, such as social exclusion, high unemployment and police harassment.

But this easy fix came at a price: It stigmatized Muslims who were exercising their religious freedom. Although many Muslims do not wear headscarves, and many agreed with the law, this is hardly a justification for denying others their religious rights.

It is hard to say to what degree the ban has contributed to a sense among some Muslims that France will never accept their right to be publicly Muslim. The ban started France down a "slippery slope" of attacks on people who may be French but who look or act differently. This past year Parliament enacted a ban on women wearing full face-coverings on the street, a practice that some Muslims consider part of their religion. A minister became so enraged when a woman in face-covering and her husband dared to speak out against a traffic ticket that he tried to deprive the man of his French citizenship.

The president brought down European Union criticism for expelling Roma EU citizens rather than ensure their access to decent housing. Once one denies religious rights, whatever the social justification, it becomes easier to erode them just a bit further the next time.

# EUROPE'S IMMIGRATION TURMOIL

*Continued from p. 310*

invite Wilders' anti-immigrant Freedom Party into the coalition. But holding only 52 of the parliament's 150 seats, the coalition needs the support of the Freedom Party's 24 members to pass legislation, making Wilders a kingmaker. In exchange for his party's support, Wilders extracted policy concessions, including consideration of a ban on the Islamic face veil and halving immigration from non-Western (read Muslim) countries. The government also agreed to consider making family reunification and marriage immigration more difficult and to make it harder for people from places like Iraq and Somalia to obtain asylum.

But it's unclear whether international agreements will allow the government to implement all these measures, such as refusing to grant asylum to people from certain countries. "That's problematic for the European Declaration of Human Rights," points out Vermeulen, of the University of Amsterdam. As for cutting immigration, he says, "It's already very difficult to immigrate to the Netherlands. We can't do much more."

In Sweden, the nationalist Swedish Democrats won enough votes in September to gain representation in parliament for the first time. Their campaign had included a controversial TV ad showing an elderly, white Swedish woman in a race for pension/welfare benefits beaten by a stampede of burqa-wearing women pushing strollers. The party's leader, Jimmie Akesson, campaigned for a 90-percent reduction in immigration and described Muslim population growth as the greatest foreign threat to Sweden since World War II. Center-right Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt pledged not to work with the Swedish Democrats even though he failed to achieve a majority.<sup>77</sup>

In Austria, the Freedom Party won enough votes in provincial elections to raise speculation it could have a major impact on Austria's national elections in three years. Formerly led by Nazi-sympathizer Jörg Haider, the

party won 17.5 percent of the national vote in 2008.<sup>78</sup>

In Germany, a far-right party has not breached the 5 percent threshold for obtaining representation in the national parliament since World War II, usually attributed to the political elite's fear of a Nazi party re-emerging.<sup>79</sup> But recent surveys suggest up to one-fifth of today's electorate would vote for a party to the right of Merkel's Christian Democrats if it were on the ballot today.<sup>80</sup>

In Britain's May elections, many say the deciding moment came when Labour Prime Minister Gordon Brown was caught on tape privately calling a voter who asked him about Eastern European immigrants "a bigoted woman." Party leaders and critics alike said the comment cost him votes among British workers and helped bring the Conservatives to power.<sup>81</sup>

When it came to confronting immigration, politicians like Brown, who had cut their political teeth on anti-racism and anti-apartheid campaigns in the 1970s and '80s, suffered from a "psychological failure," says Tim Finch, head of migration for the Institute for Public Policy Research, a center-left British think tank. "Labour saw migration and race as two sides of the same coin: Anything about immigration control they found instinctively very difficult," he says. But for Labour's working-class base, "immigration was a proxy for economic insecurity and pressure on public services" like public housing, he says. "Race was not a big element of it."

Britain's two right-wing anti-immigrant parties, the British National Party and the UK Independence Party, captured only 5 percent of the vote, but that was enough to cost the Conservatives a clear majority, according to analyst William Galston at the Brookings Institution in Washington, who attributed their growing percentage to anti-immigration sentiment.<sup>82</sup>

Shortly after the election, Conservative Prime Minister Cameron temporarily reduced non-EU immigration by 5 per-

cent, with a permanent cap to be set next April. But in September the business secretary, Liberal Democrat Vince Cable, complained the cap was "very damaging" to industry and that some companies were relocating abroad.<sup>83</sup> Business leaders said the cap would prevent the hiring of IT specialists from India, investment bankers from the United States and other highly skilled workers from outside Europe.<sup>84</sup>

Because EU agreements require Britain to accept workers from all 27 EU countries, the cap only covers non-EU immigrants, who under Britain's newly restrictive point system are skilled and high-skilled workers. "It's insane economically to chop huge numbers out of that; those are people the economy needs," says Finch.

A parliamentary committee recently reported that — given how few migrants can be capped under international agreements — the proposed cap will cover fewer than 20 percent of long-term migrants. So, while barely affecting Britain's overall migration, the cap could do serious damage to Britain's "knowledge economy," the report said.<sup>85</sup>

Under pressure from business leaders, Prime Minister Cameron was expected to increase the number of non-EU migrants allowed under the cap next year — from about 2,600 a month to 4,000 — the British press reported Nov. 16.<sup>86</sup> The government was expected to shift its attention to limiting the entry of "bogus" students and those getting low-level degrees. After the government effectively barred unskilled workers from outside the EU, "student visas rocketed by 30 per cent to a record 304,000 in just one year, as some applicants used it as an alternative work route," Home Secretary Theresa May said in a speech Nov. 5, adding that students now constitute the majority of non-EU immigrants to the U.K.<sup>87</sup>

In September, the independent Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants challenged the cap in court,



arguing the government sidestepped parliamentary procedures when it introduced the cap.<sup>88</sup>

Like other European governments, Britain is still struggling to find a magic recipe to promote integration while preventing religious radicalism and, ultimately, terrorism among Muslim youth. In November, May announced that the new government was dismantling the previous Labour government's "Prevent" program, an effort to prevent radicalization of Muslim youth by working in their communities.

"Prevent muddled up work on counterterrorism with the normal work that needs to be done to promote community cohesion and participation," May said on Nov. 3. "Counterterrorism became the dominant way in which government and some communities came to interact. That was wrong; no wonder it alienated so many."<sup>89</sup>

## Roma Dispute

In July President Sarkozy sparked an international firestorm when he announced he would dismantle 300 illegal Roma camps in France within three months. Sarkozy's office said the camps were "sources of illegal trafficking, of profoundly shocking living standards, of exploitation of children for begging, prostitution and crime."<sup>90</sup> By October, dozens of camps had been emptied and more than 1,000 inhabitants sent home to Romania and Bulgaria.<sup>91</sup> Last year, 10,000 Roma were returned to the two countries.

EU Justice Commissioner Vivian Reding called the deportations a "disgrace." Citing a leaked memo showing that the French had singled out the Roma for deportation, she told the European Parliament: "This is a situation I had thought Europe would not have to witness again after the Second World War."<sup>92</sup>

Initially, the European Commission announced it was investigating France with an eye towards taking it to court



AFP/Getty Images/Robert Utrecht



Getty Images/Keyston/Hulton Archive

## Anti-immigrant Sentiment Returns

Politicians blaming immigrants for economic hardship — such as Dutch anti-immigrant leader Geert Wilders (top), whose Freedom Party made surprising gains in June parliamentary elections in the Netherlands — are not new. Conservative British Parliament member Enoch Powell railed against immigrants in the late 1960s and early '70s, triggering demonstrations such as the August 1972 march on the Home Office by meat porters bearing a petition demanding an end to all immigration into Britain (bottom). Between 1973 and 1975, several European governments instituted "immigration stop" policies, aimed at deterring immigration and halting overseas recruitment.

for violating EU free movement rules and for discriminating against an ethnic minority in violation of the Charter of Fundamental Rights. But the commission suspended its disciplinary action on Oct. 19, saying the French government had promised to enact legislation by next spring to align French law with EU anti-discrimination principles.<sup>93</sup>

The Open Society Institute's Grabbe called the action "a P.R. disaster, making the commission look weak and France look vindicated."<sup>94</sup>

Rob Kushen, executive director of the European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest, says "France could . . . amend its legislation and still act in a discriminatory way against Roma." The event highlighted the lack of EU enforcement power on immigration issues. "Ultimately, the only serious sanction that carries weight is the threat of expulsion from the EU, and that's such an extraordinary threat that I don't think it's a credible deterrent."

The EU's freedom of movement directive allows member nations to deport immigrants from EU countries after three months if the migrants cannot show they have sufficient employment or resources to support themselves. However, the directive also requires a case-by-case decision before the person can be expelled.

"France in our view is clearly in violation of all those guarantees," says Kushen, because they have been expelling people without individual determinations of immigration status. Even if an immigrant is convicted of a crime, they cannot be deported without an individual investigation, he notes. "The Roma have been accused as an ethnic group of begging, illegally squatting on land," a clear example of ethnic discrimination, says Kushen.

Roma from Bulgaria and Romania are in a catch-22 situation when working abroad, because under a political compromise struck when the two countries were admitted into the EU in 2007, European governments were allowed to limit Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants' rights to work in their coun-

tries for up to seven years.<sup>95</sup> Member nations were "horrified at the thought that Bulgaria and Romania would empty out, and every able-bodied citizen would go to Western Europe looking for work," Kushen explains.

Advocates for the Roma agree with France on one thing: Romania and Bulgaria are to blame for discriminating against the Roma in the first place, keeping them impoverished. "As long as unemployment rates are reaching 80 to 90 percent in Roma communities in Romania, people are going to move, try to go somewhere else where life is better," Kushen says.

## Migration Slowdown

Ironically, anti-immigrant fervor in Europe is occurring just as the global recession has brought the rapid growth of foreign-born populations in developed countries to "a virtual halt," according to a report released in October by the Migration Policy Institute in Washington, D.C.<sup>96</sup>

Between 2008 and 2009, immigration to Ireland from new EU member states dropped 60 percent while overall EU migration to Spain plummeted by two-thirds. The number of foreign workers caught trying to enter the EU illegally at maritime borders fell by more than 40 percent during the same period and continues to decline.

Skyrocketing unemployment rates mean immigrants no longer see the EU as the land of promise. In 2009, unemployment among foreign-born youth reached 41 percent in Spain and 37 percent in Sweden. And substantial numbers of young, native-born men are leaving countries like Ireland and Greece to look abroad for work.<sup>97</sup>

If immigration is dropping so drastically, why is anti-immigration sentiment running so high in Europe? There's still a sizable immigrant population in Europe, "and the vast majority of those people will not go home as a result of the crisis," says Madeleine Sumption, co-

author of the institute's report. "When there are fewer jobs around, it's natural for people to get more anxious about economic security — and immigration is one aspect of that." ■

## OUTLOOK

### "Temporary Blip?"

Europe's big unknown is whether the dramatic recent drops in immigration spell the end of an era or are just a temporary blip, according to the Migration Policy Institute report.

"My own view is that immigration levels, at least in the U.K., will not return to the levels of 2005 or 2006 at least for some time," says Sumption, who wrote the chapter on Britain. "In part, this is because the number of workers coming from Eastern Europe was a function of it being a new opportunity for those workers: There was pent up demand combined with a strong economic boom. I don't see those kinds of conditions returning in the next few years."

Increasingly, experts say, fast-growing developing nations like Brazil and China — not the industrialized countries — will drive most of the future worldwide immigration. And traditional immigrant-exporting countries like India and China, with higher projected economic growth than Europe, are expected to attract their highly skilled diaspora back from abroad, according to Sumption.

Press reports have emphasized both the growing anti-immigrant sentiment and government policies pushed by right-wing parties. But some experts, including those at the Migration Policy Institute, expected even harsher restrictions on immigrants in the wake of the global recession.

"Immigrant-receiving countries have not resorted to the protectionism that many initially feared," says the institute's report.

For example, while a few governments have offered to pay immigrants to return home, immigrants have been reluctant to accept these offers, so only a few countries adopted such measures.<sup>98</sup>

And legal protections, like the EU's free-movement agreements, will likely hamper efforts to cut the numbers as drastically as right-wing politicians in the Netherlands, Sweden and Britain have pledged to do. At the same time, economic insecurity tends to stir fears about immigrants taking jobs and living off welfare, with much of the resentment aimed at the foreigners already living in their countries.

The European Policy Centre's Islam, a Belgian citizen born in Pakistan, says the biggest problem for Muslims in Europe is, "We're looking at European Muslims not as Europeans but as exotic foreigners who should really not be at home in Europe — which is absolutely the wrong approach to take if you're going to get serious about integration." If Europe's 20 million Muslims are viewed as legal residents who contribute to the mainstream culture, politics and economy, that would change the conversation, she suggests. "Instead, all these diktats are coming up" — about banning burqas and adopting European values — "and Muslims in Europe are feeling very estranged," she says. "It's a suicidal approach."

Meanwhile, as cash-strapped governments prepare to slash welfare benefits — drastically in the case of Britain's new Conservative-led coalition government — some think that Europe's famous social "solidarity" will turn against immigrants, including second- and third-generation populations who may be as European as the natives.

If the immigration debate is truly about what constitutes national identity, Europeans may need to view their countries as places that embrace their Turkish, Polish, Pakistani and African communities in the same way that ethnic street markets, music and restaurants have become part of the accepted fabric and pleasure of European living. ■

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> "FPÖ Behind Muezzin-Shooter Game," *AustrianTimes*, Sept. 1, 2010, [www.austriantimes.at/news/General\\_News/2010-09-01/26447/FP%D6\\_behind\\_muezzin-shooter\\_game](http://www.austriantimes.at/news/General_News/2010-09-01/26447/FP%D6_behind_muezzin-shooter_game). Austria has hundreds of Muslim houses of prayer and community centers but only three mosques with minarets — in Vienna, Bad Vöslau and Telfs. The muezzin is the person at a mosque chosen to broadcast the call to prayer from the mosque's minaret for Friday services and five times daily.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* The Freedom Party was forced to drop out of the Styrian parliament in 2005 after suffering election losses. See "SPO-FPO Deal Possible," *Austrian Independent*, Sept. 27, 2010, [http://austrianindependent.com/news/Politics/2010-09-27/4708/SP%D6-FP%D6\\_deal\\_possible\\_in\\_Styria](http://austrianindependent.com/news/Politics/2010-09-27/4708/SP%D6-FP%D6_deal_possible_in_Styria). Also see, "Right-wing Triumph in Vienna Shocks Federal Coalition Partners," Oct. 11, 2010, [www.austriantimes.at/news/General\\_News/2010-10-11/27371/Right-wing\\_triumph\\_in\\_Vienna\\_shocks\\_federal\\_coalition\\_partners](http://www.austriantimes.at/news/General_News/2010-10-11/27371/Right-wing_triumph_in_Vienna_shocks_federal_coalition_partners).

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Bickerton, "Dutch Culture Wars," *The New York Times*, Oct. 22, 2010, [www.nytimes.com/2010/10/23/opinion/23iht-edbickerton.html?\\_r=2&scp=3&sq=Christopher%20Bickerton&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/23/opinion/23iht-edbickerton.html?_r=2&scp=3&sq=Christopher%20Bickerton&st=cse).

<sup>4</sup> James Carroll, "The Rising Tides of Xenophobia," *Boston Globe*, Oct. 25, 2010, [www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial\\_opinion/oped/articles/2010/10/25/the\\_rising\\_tides\\_of\\_xenophobia/](http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2010/10/25/the_rising_tides_of_xenophobia/).

<sup>5</sup> "Anti-Establishment Rage is Fueling Populism Everywhere," *Spiegelonline International*, Sept. 29, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,720275,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,720275,00.html). Also see Ian Traynor, "Dutch Far-Right Party Wins Pledge on Burqa Ban," *The Guardian*, Oct. 1, 2010, [www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/01/dutch-far-right-burqa-ban](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/01/dutch-far-right-burqa-ban).

<sup>6</sup> "Swiss vote to ban minarets showcases new populism," *The Christian Science Monitor*, Nov. 29, 2009, [www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2009/1129/p06s05-woeu.html](http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2009/1129/p06s05-woeu.html). Also see "Swiss Want to Ban Burka," *News24*, May 23, 2010, [www.news24.com/World/News/Swiss-want-to-ban-burqa-20100523](http://www.news24.com/World/News/Swiss-want-to-ban-burqa-20100523).

<sup>7</sup> Anthony Faiola, "Anti-Muslim Feelings Propel Right Wing," *The Washington Post*, Oct. 26, 2010, [www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/25/AR2010102505374.html?sid=ST2010102600369](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/10/25/AR2010102505374.html?sid=ST2010102600369).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Stephan Faris, "The Roma's Struggle to Find

a Home," *Time*, Sept. 23, 2010, [www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2021016,00.html#ixzz13SmqGHDl](http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2021016,00.html#ixzz13SmqGHDl).

<sup>10</sup> James Blitz, "Britons Lead on Hostility to Migrants," *Financial Times*, Sept. 6, 2010, [www.ft.com/cms/s/0/231ffb5e-b9fa-11df-8804-00144feabdc0.html#axzz15SubSd2d](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/231ffb5e-b9fa-11df-8804-00144feabdc0.html#axzz15SubSd2d).

<sup>11</sup> "Migration and Immigrants Two Years after the Financial Collapse," Migration Policy Institute, October 2010, p. 1, [www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2010\\_10\\_07.php](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2010_10_07.php). German migration is negative. "Germany's Population by 2060," Federal Statistical Office, 2009, [www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/EN/Content/Publikationen/SpecializedPublications/Population/GermanyPopulation2060.psm](http://www.destatis.de/jetspeed/portal/cms/Sites/destatis/Internet/EN/Content/Publikationen/SpecializedPublications/Population/GermanyPopulation2060.psm).  
<sup>12</sup> About 261,000 people sought asylum in the EU-27 countries in 2009, but only 78,800 were granted legal protection by EU member governments. See "EU Member states granted protection to 78,800 asylum seekers in 2009," Eurostat press release, June 18, 2010, [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product\\_results/search\\_results?mo=containsall&ms=asylum+seekers+&saa=&p\\_action=SUBMIT&=&us&co=equal&ci=,&po=equal&pi=,](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_results/search_results?mo=containsall&ms=asylum+seekers+&saa=&p_action=SUBMIT&=&us&co=equal&ci=,&po=equal&pi=,)

<sup>13</sup> Charles Hawley, "Letter from Berlin: Searching for Facts in Germany's Integration Debate," *Spiegelonline*, Oct. 12, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,722716,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,722716,00.html).

<sup>14</sup> Katya Vasileva, "Foreigners Living in the EU Are Diverse and Largely Younger than the Nationals of the EU Member States," *Eurostat Statistics in Focus*, no. 45, Sept. 7, 2010, p. 5, [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY\\_OFFPUB/KS-SF-10-045/EN/KS-SF-10-045-EN.PDF](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-10-045/EN/KS-SF-10-045-EN.PDF).

<sup>15</sup> For background, see Sarah Glazer, "Social Welfare in Europe," *CQ Global Researcher*, Aug. 1, 2010, pp. 185-210.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Slackman, "With Film Afghan-German is a Foreigner at Home," *The New York Times*, Oct. 17, 2010, [www.nytimes.com/2010/10/18/world/europe/18germany.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/18/world/europe/18germany.html).

<sup>17</sup> Tony Barber, "European Countries Cannot Have it Both Ways on Immigration," *The Financial Times*, Sept. 3, 2010, [www.ft.com/cms/s/0/dab74570-b788-11df-8ef6-00144feabdc0.html](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/dab74570-b788-11df-8ef6-00144feabdc0.html).

<sup>18</sup> Hawley, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Matthew Clark, "Angela Merkel: Multi-culturalism has 'utterly failed,'" *The Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 17, 2010, [www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2010/1017/Germany-s-Angela-Merkel-Multiculturalism-has-utterly-failed/%28page%29/2](http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Global-News/2010/1017/Germany-s-Angela-Merkel-Multiculturalism-has-utterly-failed/%28page%29/2).

<sup>20</sup> Slackman, *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> Reiner Klingholz, "Immigration Debate: Germany Needs More Foreigners," *Spiegelonline*,

Aug. 30, 2010. See accompanying graphic “A Change of Direction,” [www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/0,1518,714534,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/0,1518,714534,00.html). According to *Der Spiegel*, about 10,000 fewer people emigrated to Germany from Turkey in 2009 than left the country for Turkey.

<sup>22</sup> Barber, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Klingholz, *op. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> Among Germans the fertility rate has fallen from 2.5 children born to each woman in the 1960s to only 1.4 children — far below the 2.1 rate needed to replace the population.

<sup>25</sup> Vasileva, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> Migration will compensate for natural population shrinkage in more than half the European regions that are expected to grow, according to Eurostat. See “Regional Population Projections,” Eurostat, last modified Oct. 12, 2010, [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics\\_explained/index.php/Regional\\_population\\_projections](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Regional_population_projections).

<sup>27</sup> “Economy: Migration Key to Long-Term Economic Growth, Says OECD,” Press Release, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, July 12, 2010, [www.oecd.org/document/26/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_37415\\_45623194\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/26/0,3343,en_2649_37415_45623194_1_1_1_1,00.html). Also see “International Migration Outlook 2010,” OECD, 2010, [www.oecd.org/els/migration/imo](http://www.oecd.org/els/migration/imo).

<sup>28</sup> John P. Martin, “Editorial: Ensuring that Migrants Are Onboard the Recovery Train,” in *ibid.*, pp. 15-17, [www.oecd.org/dataoecd/27/0/45593548.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/27/0/45593548.pdf).

<sup>29</sup> OECD, “International Migration Outlook 2010,” *op. cit.* This OECD report finds unemployment for immigrants running about twice the rate for native-born in many countries.

<sup>30</sup> Christian Dustmann, *et al.*, “Assessing the Fiscal Costs and Benefits of A8 Migration to the UK,” Center for Research and Analysis of Migration, University College London, July 2009, [www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/cream/pages/Press\\_release\\_A8fiscalimpact.pdf](http://www.econ.ucl.ac.uk/cream/pages/Press_release_A8fiscalimpact.pdf).

<sup>31</sup> According to U.N. projections, the share of Europe’s population over age 80 will rise from

3.8 percent to 9.5 percent by 2050. Philippe Legrain, “How Immigration Can Help Defuse Europe’s Demographic Timebomb,” speech delivered in Helsinki, October 2010.

<sup>32</sup> Carroll, *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> “International Migration Outlook 2010,” *op. cit.*, p. 206. The new law shortened the time an adult must live legally in Germany before gaining citizenship from 15 years to 8. Under the law, babies born to foreign parents in Germany are considered both German citizens and citizens of their parents’ country of origin until age 23. They must reject their parents’ citizenship by age 23 or forfeit their German citizenship.

<sup>34</sup> “Mesut Özil: Auswärtsspiel in der Heimat,” Spiegel TV, Oct. 11, 2010, [http://video.spiegel.de/flash/1088559\\_iphone.mp4](http://video.spiegel.de/flash/1088559_iphone.mp4). Also see, “Turkish President Criticizes Özil Jeers,” *Times Live*, Oct. 16, 2010, [www.timeslive.co.za/sport/soccer/article710604.ece/Turkish-president-criticises-Ozil-jeers](http://www.timeslive.co.za/sport/soccer/article710604.ece/Turkish-president-criticises-Ozil-jeers).

<sup>35</sup> Christian Joppke, “Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe,” *West European Politics*, January 2007, pp. 1-22, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01402380601019613>.

<sup>36</sup> Ines Michalowski, “Citizenship Tests in Five Countries — An Expression of Political Liberalism?” Social Science Research Center Berlin, October 2009, pp. 17, 24, [www.wzb.eu/zkd/mit/pdf/dp\\_sp\\_iv\\_2009-702.pdf](http://www.wzb.eu/zkd/mit/pdf/dp_sp_iv_2009-702.pdf).

<sup>37</sup> Joppke, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>38</sup> Ruud Koopmans, “Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, January 2010, pp. 1-26, [http://193.174.6.11/zkd/mit/projects/projects\\_Trade\\_offs.en.htm](http://193.174.6.11/zkd/mit/projects/projects_Trade_offs.en.htm).

<sup>39</sup> “Are Women’s Rights Really the Issue?” *Spiegelonline*, June 24, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,702668,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,702668,00.html).

<sup>40</sup> Karima Bennouna, “Secularism and Human Rights: A Contextual Analysis of Headscarves, Religious Expression, and Women’s Equality

under International Law,” *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, vol. 45, no. 2, April 11, 2007, pp. 367-426.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 415.

<sup>42</sup> “Are Women’s Rights Really the Issue?” *op. cit.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Bennouna, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

<sup>45</sup> Patrick Weil, “Why the French Laïcité is Liberal,” *Cardozo Law Review*, vol. 30:6, pp. 2699-2714, [www.cardozolawreview.com/content/30-6/WEIL.30-6.pdf](http://www.cardozolawreview.com/content/30-6/WEIL.30-6.pdf).

<sup>46</sup> “French Senate Bans Burka,” CBC News, Sept. 14, 2009, [www.cbc.ca/world/story/2010/09/14/france-burka-ban.html#ixzz149619Pri](http://www.cbc.ca/world/story/2010/09/14/france-burka-ban.html#ixzz149619Pri).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Bennouna, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

<sup>49</sup> However, a majority supported banning veils in airport security checks. “Survey Finds Support for Veil Ban,” BBC News, Nov. 29, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6194032.stm>.

<sup>50</sup> “Straw’s Veil Comment Sparks Anger,” BBC News, Oct. 5, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/5410472.stm>.

<sup>51</sup> John R. Bowen, “On Building a Multi-Religious Society,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 5, 2007, [http://articles.sfgate.com/2007-02-05/opinion/17231341\\_1\\_french-muslims-headscarves-french-people](http://articles.sfgate.com/2007-02-05/opinion/17231341_1_french-muslims-headscarves-french-people).

<sup>52</sup> Leticia Delgado Godoy, “Immigration in Europe: Realities and Policies,” Unidad de Políticas Comparadas, Working Paper 02-18. See Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West* (2010), p. 25.

<sup>53</sup> Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>54</sup> Matthew Bartsch, *et al.*, “A Sorry History of Self-Deception and Wasted Opportunities,” *Der Spiegel*, Sept. 7, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,716067,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,716067,00.html).

<sup>55</sup> Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>56</sup> Esther Ben-David, “Europe’s Shifting Immigration Dynamic,” *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring 2009, pp. 15-24, [www.meforum.org/2107/europe-shifting-immigration-dynamic](http://www.meforum.org/2107/europe-shifting-immigration-dynamic).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> See Sarah Glazer, “Radical Islam in Europe,” *CQ Global Researcher*, Nov. 1, 2007, pp. 265-294.

<sup>61</sup> Simon Kuper, “Where is the Netherlands that I Knew?” *Financial Times*, Oct. 16/17, 2010, *Life & Arts*, p. 2, [www.ft.com/cms/s/2/badfdad672-11df-81f0-00144feabdc0.html#axzz15VN-BajlD](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/badfdad672-11df-81f0-00144feabdc0.html#axzz15VN-BajlD).

<sup>62</sup> Glazer, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>63</sup> Pew Research Center, “Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream,” 2007,



## About the Author

**Sarah Glazer**, a London-based freelancer, is a regular contributor to *CQ Global Researcher*. Her articles on health, education and social-policy issues also have appeared in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. Her recent *CQ Global Researcher* reports include “Radical Islam in Europe” and “Social Welfare in Europe.” She graduated from the University of Chicago with a B.A. in American history.

<http://pewresearch.org/assets/pdf/muslim-americans.pdf>.

<sup>64</sup> For background, see Brian Beary, "The New Europe," *CQ Global Researcher*, Aug. 1, 2007, pp. 181-210.

<sup>65</sup> Daniel Howden, "Desperate Migrants Lay Siege to Spain's African Border," *The Independent*, Sept. 28, 2005, [www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/desperate-migrants-lay-siege-to-spains-african-border-508674.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/desperate-migrants-lay-siege-to-spains-african-border-508674.html).

<sup>66</sup> "IPCC Concludes Investigation into MPS and West Midlands Police dealings with Banaz Mahmud," Independent Police Complaints Commission, April 2, 2008, [www.ipcc.gov.uk/news/pr\\_020408\\_banaz\\_mahmod.htm](http://www.ipcc.gov.uk/news/pr_020408_banaz_mahmod.htm).

<sup>67</sup> Emine Saner, "Dishonorable Acts," *The Guardian*, June 13, 2007, p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> Glazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278.

<sup>69</sup> Joppke, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 6.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> "Fortuyn Killed to Protect Muslims," *The Telegraph*, March 28, 2003, [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/netherlands/1425944/Fortuyn-killed-to-protect-Muslims.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/netherlands/1425944/Fortuyn-killed-to-protect-Muslims.html).

<sup>72</sup> Joppke, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>74</sup> Glazer, *op. cit.*

<sup>75</sup> Quoted from Newsweek in James Kirchik, "Europe the Intolerant," *The Wall Street Journal*, Oct. 12, 2010, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704696304575537950006608746.html>.

<sup>76</sup> Matthew Campbell, "Left's Long Silence on Migration Turns EU to the Right," *The Sunday Times*, Sept. 19, 2010, [www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/world\\_news/Europe/article397964.ece](http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/world_news/Europe/article397964.ece).

<sup>77</sup> Stephen Castle, "Political Earthquake Shakes Up Sweden," *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 21, 2010, p. 3.

<sup>78</sup> Kirchik, *op. cit.*

<sup>79</sup> Michael Slackman, "Germany Hearing Louder Voices from the Far Right," *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 23, 2010, p. 3.

<sup>80</sup> Hawley, *op. cit.*

<sup>81</sup> "Gordon Brown 'bigoted woman' comment caught on tape," BBC News, April 28, 2010, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8649012.stm>.

<sup>82</sup> William Galston, "The British Election Was All about Immigration," *The New Republic*, May 11, 2010, [www.tnr.com/blog/william-galston/the-british-election-was-all-about-immigration](http://www.tnr.com/blog/william-galston/the-british-election-was-all-about-immigration).

<sup>83</sup> "Vince Cable: Migrant Cap is Hurting Economy," *The Guardian*, Sept. 17, 2010, [www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/sep/17/vince-cable-migrant-cap-economy](http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/sep/17/vince-cable-migrant-cap-economy).

## FOR MORE INFORMATION

**European Policy Centre**, Résidence Palace, 155 rue de la Loi, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; (32) (0) 2 231 0340; [www.epc.eu](http://www.epc.eu). A think tank that focuses on immigration and integration in the European Union.

**European Roma Rights Center**, Naphegy tér 8, H-1016 Budapest, Hungary; (36) 1 4132200; [www.errc.org](http://www.errc.org). Advocates for the legal rights of Roma in Europe.

**Eurostat**, for English-language inquiries: (44) 20 300 63103; <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home>. The statistical office of the European Union; issues migration statistics for the 27 EU countries.

**Institute for Public Policy Research**, 4th Floor, 13-14 Buckingham St., London WC2N 6DF, United Kingdom; (44) (0) 20 7470 6100; [www.ippr.org.uk](http://www.ippr.org.uk). A progressive think tank that has a generally positive perspective on immigration to Britain.

**Migration Watch**, P.O. Box 765, Guildford, GU2 4XN, United Kingdom; (44) (0) 1869 337007; [www.migrationwatchuk.com](http://www.migrationwatchuk.com). A think tank that advocates limiting immigration into the U.K.

**Open Society Institute-Brussels**, Rue d'Alie 9-13, Brussels 1050, Belgium; (32) 2 505.46.46; [www.soros.org/initiatives/brussels](http://www.soros.org/initiatives/brussels). In alliance with the Soros Foundation, promotes tolerant democracies and outspokenly supports Roma migrants' rights.

**Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development**, 2, rue André Pascal, 75775 Paris, Cedex 16, France; (33) 1 45.24.82.00; [www.oecd.org](http://www.oecd.org). Represents 33 developed countries; issues frequent reports about migration.

**WZB**, Social Science Research Center Berlin, Reichpietschufer 50, D-10785 Berlin-Tiergarten, Germany; (49) 30 25491 0; [www.wzb.eu/default.en.asp](http://www.wzb.eu/default.en.asp). Conducts research on immigration and integration in Europe.

<sup>84</sup> "Plans to Cap Number of Skilled Workers Under Scrutiny," *Guardian*, Sept. 7, 2010, [www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/sep/07/plans-cap-migrants-under-scrutiny](http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/sep/07/plans-cap-migrants-under-scrutiny).

<sup>85</sup> Alan Travis, "Immigration Cap Not the Answer to Cutting Net Immigration Figure, Say MPs," *Guardian*, Nov. 3, 2010, [www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/nov/03/immigration-cap-net-migration-figure](http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/nov/03/immigration-cap-net-migration-figure).

<sup>86</sup> Robert Winnett, *et al.*, "David Cameron Will Bow to Business and Relax Immigration Cap," Nov. 16, 2010, *Daily Telegraph*, 2010, [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopping/politics/david-cameron/8132543/David-Cameron-will-bow-to-business-and-relax-immigration-cap.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopping/politics/david-cameron/8132543/David-Cameron-will-bow-to-business-and-relax-immigration-cap.html).

<sup>87</sup> "The Home Secretary's Immigration Speech," Office of the Home Secretary, Nov. 5, 2010, [www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/speeches/immigration-speech](http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/speeches/immigration-speech).

<sup>88</sup> Wesley Johnson, "Legal Challenge to Immigration Cap," *The Independent*, Sept. 24, 2010, [www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/legal-challenge-to-immigration-cap-2088649.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/legal-challenge-to-immigration-cap-2088649.html).

<sup>89</sup> Theresa May, "Our Response to the Terrorist Threat," Office of the Home Secretary, Nov. 3, 2010, [www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/speeches/terrorist-response](http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/media-centre/speeches/terrorist-response). Also see, Alan

Travis, "Theresa May Promises 'Significant' Reform of Counter-Terror Law," *Guardian*, Nov. 4, 2010, p. 20, [www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/nov/03/theresa-may-counter-terrorism-reform](http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/nov/03/theresa-may-counter-terrorism-reform).

<sup>90</sup> "Q&A: France Roma Expulsions," BBC News Europe, Sept. 30, 2010, [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11027288](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11027288).

<sup>91</sup> Matthew Saltmarsh, "EU Panel Suspend Case against France over Roma," *The New York Times*, Oct. 19, 2010, [www.nytimes.com/2010/10/20/world/europe/20roma.html?\\_r=1&cp=2&sq=Matthew%20Saltmarsh&st=cse](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/20/world/europe/20roma.html?_r=1&cp=2&sq=Matthew%20Saltmarsh&st=cse).

<sup>92</sup> "Q&A: France Roma Expulsions," *op. cit.*

<sup>93</sup> Saltmarsh, *op. cit.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> For the different rules of EU countries governing Bulgarian and Romanian workers, see European Commission, "Enlargement: Transitional Provisions," <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=466&langId=en>. For example in the U.K., immigrants generally cannot work unless self-employed, and the restrictions extend to Dec. 31, 2011, but could be extended.

<sup>96</sup> "Migration and Immigrants Two Years after the Financial Collapse," *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

# Bibliography

## Selected Sources

### Books

**Bowen, John R.,** *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Spaces*, Princeton University Press, 2007.

In analyzing why the French banned headscarves in schools in 2004, an American anthropologist cites fears — of radical Islam and alien values — and asks how much newcomers must give up to become part of French society.

**Caldwell, Christopher,** *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam and the West*, Penguin Books, 2010.

A columnist for the *Financial Times* and *Weekly Standard* says Muslim immigration is producing “an undesirable cultural alteration” of Europe, which most Europeans don't want and is not economically necessary.

**Legrain, Philippe,** *Immigrants: Your Country Needs Them*, Abacus, 2007.

An economics journalist argues that demand for migrants will rise in aging societies that need a young, cheap work force to do the work that Europeans dislike, such as elder-care, cleaning and child care.

### Articles

**Barber, Tony,** “European Countries cannot have it both ways on immigration,” *Financial Times*, Sept. 3, 2010, [www.ft.com/cms/s/0/dab74570-b788-11df-8ef6-00144feabdc0.html#axzz14xtymjdq](http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/dab74570-b788-11df-8ef6-00144feabdc0.html#axzz14xtymjdq). (Subscription required)

A former *Financial Times* Brussels bureau chief says aging Europe cannot maintain its expensive social welfare states without immigration.

**Batsch, Matthew,** “A Sorry History of Self-Deception and Wasted Opportunities,” *Spiegelonline*, Sept. 7, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,716067,00.html](http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,716067,00.html).

Germany recruited Turkish workers in the 1960s, tried to send them home in the 1980s and has struggled with what to do with them ever since.

**Bennoune, Karima,** “Secularism and Human Rights: A Contextual Analysis of Headscarves, Religious Expression, and Women's Equality under International Law,” *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law*, Vol. 45. No.2, posted May 2007, [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=989066](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=989066).

A Rutgers University law professor favors the 2004 French ban on headscarves and describes the major legal cases that preceded it.

**Klingholz, Reiner,** “Germany Needs More Foreigners,”

*Spiegelonline*, Aug. 30, 2010, [www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/0,1518,druck-71](http://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/0,1518,druck-71).

A German population expert says Germany needs more immigrants, not fewer, if it is to maintain a strong economy, attract skilled workers and populate a country that suffers from a declining birth rate.

**Koopmans, Ruud,** “Trade-Offs between Equality and Difference: Immigrant Integration, Multiculturalism and the Welfare State in Cross-National Perspective,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, January 2010, pp. 1-26, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691830903250881>.

A sociologist finds that immigrants in countries that require them to integrate have higher employment rates than those in other countries.

**Weil, Patrick,** “Why the French Laïcité is Liberal,” *Cardozo Law Review*, Vol. 30:6, 2009, pp. 2699-2714, [www.cardozo.lawreview.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=116%3Atable-on-contents-30-6&Itemid=14](http://www.cardozo.lawreview.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116%3Atable-on-contents-30-6&Itemid=14).

A French immigration historian who advised the French government to institute the headscarf ban says the law is not an attack on liberty.

### Reports and Studies

“Foreigners Living in the EU are Diverse and Largely Younger than the Nationals of the EU Member States,” Eurostat, Sept. 7, 2010, [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product\\_details/publication?p\\_product\\_code=KS-SF-10-045](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/product_details/publication?p_product_code=KS-SF-10-045).

The statistical arm of the European Commission finds that foreign immigrants are younger than European natives.

“International Migration Outlook 2010,” Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010, [www.oecd.org/document/41/0,3343,en\\_2649\\_33931\\_45591593\\_1\\_1\\_1\\_1,00.html](http://www.oecd.org/document/41/0,3343,en_2649_33931_45591593_1_1_1_1,00.html).

The report says migration is the key to long-term economic growth in aging Western countries, and governments should open their citizenship laws and unemployment benefits to migrants to help them weather the recession.

“Migration and Immigrants Two Years after the Financial Collapse: Where Do We Stand?” Migration Policy Institute, Oct. 7, 2010, [www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2010\\_10\\_07.php](http://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/2010_10_07.php).

A Washington think tank says migration is slowing to a virtual halt in parts of the European Union, that Ireland has once again become a country of out-migration, and immigrants in Spain and Sweden are suffering high rates of unemployment.

# The Next Step:

## *Additional Articles from Current Periodicals*

### **Integration Efforts**

**“Czech Republic Becomes New Immigration Country,” Czech News Agency, Dec. 12, 2009.**

The Czech Republic must create suitable conditions for immigrants' integration into society in order for them to benefit the country.

**“Italian Church Renews Calls for Migrant Integration,” ANSA News Service (Italy), March 22, 2010.**

Italian Catholic bishops have renewed calls for policies boosting the integration of immigrants to ensure foreign-born residents are not marginalized.

**Kurdi, Iman, “Europe’s Siege Within,” *Khaleej Times (United Arab Emirates)*, Oct. 25, 2010.**

Europe's immigration problem is not one of cultural integration, but rather one of economic integration.

**Wereschagin, Mike, “Turks Face Integration Challenges in Germany,” *Pittsburgh Tribune Review*, Jan. 24, 2010.**

Many European countries are struggling with the dilemma over how to effectively integrate growing Muslim populations.

### **Multiculturalism**

**“Merkel on Failed German Multiculturalism: Other Countries Should Listen Up,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 18, 2010.**

German Chancellor Angela Merkel says the experiment to integrate Turks into German society has failed, but she's not abandoning the idea of assimilating immigrants.

**“Multiculturalism Undermines Diversity,” *Guardian Unlimited (England)*, March 17, 2010.**

Multiculturalism in Britain expresses the essence of a modern and liberal society, but it has also created an anxious and fragmented nation.

**Erlanger, Steven, “France Debates Its Identity, But Some Question Why,” *The New York Times*, Nov. 29, 2009, p. A8.**

France is beginning to learn that its national identity is largely connected to immigration and integration.

**Kabir, Anwarul, “Multiculturalism, UK Bangladeshis and the British High Commission,” *Dhaka (Bangladesh) Courier*, Sept. 10, 2010.**

Multiculturalism prompts European immigrant communities to be trapped between the cultures of their host countries and their countries of origin.

### **Opposition**

**“Fears of Anti-Immigration Alliance As Berlusconi Lauds France’s Expulsion Policy,” *The Independent (England)*,**

**Sept. 17, 2010.**

Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi fully supports France's controversial decision to repatriate thousands of Roma to Eastern Europe.

**“France’s Anti-Immigration Parties on the Rise,” *Thai Press Reports*, Nov. 1, 2010.**

French immigration policies, such as banning the full veil worn by many Muslim women, have contributed to an anti-immigrant resurgence.

**Castle, Stephen, “Anti-Immigration Party Wins First Seats in Swedish Parliament,” *The New York Times*, Sept. 20, 2010, p. A5.**

The anti-immigration Swedish Democrats won their first seats ever in the country's parliament.

### **Roma**

**“France and Romania Plan to Co-operate Over Roma,” *Irish Times*, Sept. 10, 2010.**

Romanian leaders have asked the European Union to formulate strategies that improve the well-being of the Roma.

**“French Police Ordered to Single Out Roma Camps,” *Daily Telegraph (England)*, Sept. 14, 2010.**

The French interior ministry has ordered police to single out Roma squatters in a campaign against illegal camps, according to a leaked memo.

**Faiola, Anthony, “Milan Moves to Evict Gypsies From Camps,” *The Boston Globe*, Oct. 17, 2010, p. A7.**

Many Italians in Milan are blaming the city's rising crime rate on the new waves of Roma immigrants.

### **CITING CQ GLOBAL RESEARCHER**

Sample formats for citing these reports in a bibliography include the ones listed below. Preferred styles and formats vary, so please check with your instructor or professor.

#### **MLA STYLE**

Flamini, Roland. “Nuclear Proliferation.” *CQ Global Researcher* 1 Apr. 2007: 1-24.

#### **APA STYLE**

Flamini, R. (2007, April 1). Nuclear proliferation. *CQ Global Researcher*, 1, 1-24.

#### **CHICAGO STYLE**

Flamini, Roland. “Nuclear Proliferation.” *CQ Global Researcher*, April 1, 2007, 1-24.

# Voices From Abroad:

## PETER TRAPP

Domestic Policy Analyst  
Christian Democrats  
Party, Germany

### *Give immigrants intelligence tests*

"We have to establish criteria for immigration that really benefit our country. In addition to adequate education and job qualifications, one benchmark should be intelligence. I am in favor of intelligence tests for immigrants. We cannot continue to make this issue taboo."

*Accra (Ghana) Mail, June 2010*

VINCENT GEISSER  
Islamic Scholar, French  
National Center for  
Scientific Research

### *Fear of Islam abounds*

"Today in Europe the fear of Islam crystallizes all other fears. In Switzerland, it's minarets. In France, it's the veil, the burqa and the beard."

*The New York Times  
December 2009*

## MARIE BIDET

Former Interior Ministry  
Officer, France

### *The new Gypsies*

"These Gypsies created an organization with spokesmen. . . . They speak with [the] authorities, something new in France. They are serious, respectable; they vote, they don't want to burn cars, they want everyone living in peace. That's opposite from the traditional image. . . . [I]

can be underlined that they succeed in their approach."

*The Christian Science Monitor  
September 2010*

PIERGUIDO VANALLI  
Member of Parliament, Italy

### *Catholic Church has limited vision of immigration*

"The Catholic Church does its job. . . . Ours is a different vision. We have to temper the needs of the people who live in Italy with the problems that excessive immigration brings with it. The church sees only one aspect, whereas we have a broader vision."

*Los Angeles Times, July 2010*

GUIDO WESTERWELLE  
Vice Chancellor, Germany

### *Also address emigration*

"Germany is not a country of immigration but of emigration. The question of what we can do against this emigration is just as important as the question of what immigration policy we want."

*Spiegel Online (Germany)  
October 2010*

ROBERTO MALINI  
Representative  
EveryOne NGO, Italy

### *A cruel strategy on the Roma*

"The strategy is clear and simple: Rather than forcing someone on the airplane, authorities keep demolishing Gypsy camps so that eventually Roma people have no place to go and leave the country."

*The Christian Science Monitor  
October 2010*

RICCARDO DE CORATO  
Vice Mayor, Milan, Italy

### *The zero solution*

"These are dark-skinned people [Roma], not Europeans like you and me. Our final goal is to have zero Gypsy camps in Milan."

*The Boston Globe, October 2010*

KADRI ECVET TEZCAN  
Turkish Ambassador  
to Austria

### *Leave the ministry out*

"Integration is a cultural and social problem. But in Austria . . . the Ministry for Interior . . . is responsible for integration. That is incredible. The ministry for interior can be in charge of asylum or visas and many security problems. But the minister for interior should stop intervening in the integration process."

*Die Presse (Austria)  
November 2010*

THERESA MAY  
Home Secretary  
United Kingdom

### *No more cheap labor*

"We will bring net migration down to the tens of thousands. Our economy will remain open to the best and the brightest in the world, but it's time to stop importing foreign labour on the cheap."

*Daily Telegraph (England)  
October 2010*

SILVIO BERLUSCONI  
Prime Minister, Italy

### *A potential new Africa*

"Europe runs the risk of turning black from illegal immigration, it could turn into Africa. We need support from the European Union to stop this army trying to get across from Libya, which is their entry point."

*The Express (England)  
September 2010*

