

The Changed Perception of Multiculturalism in Academic Discourse!

**Reconstructing the Public Debate on the Failure of  
Multiculturalism: An Analysis of Three National Public  
Debates: Germany, France, and the UK.**

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## Abstract

This thesis investigates the evolving perceptions of multiculturalism and explores the factors contributing to this transformation within the discourse surrounding the concept. Utilizing Discourse Analysis as a methodological framework, the research examines how the term "multiculturalism" has been employed and significantly altered over time in academic literature. Within the realm of European political discourse, multiculturalism has increasingly been characterized as a failed initiative, undermining social cohesion and local cultural values. This shift has prompted serious concerns and critiques during contentious debates in the political mainstream.

Additionally, this chapter explores the emergence of national political discourses on multiculturalism across Europe, particularly in light of the escalating challenges related to immigrant integration. Influential European leaders have publicly labeled multiculturalism as a failed project. The analysis incorporates a comparative study of three national case studies, focusing on political speeches delivered by prominent leaders from France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, which have shaped public discourse on multiculturalism. Notably, German Chancellor Angela Merkel stated in October 2010 that the multicultural approach had "utterly failed" in Germany. Similarly, in February 2011, French President Nicolas Sarkozy declared multiculturalism a failure, while British Prime Minister David Cameron criticized the UK's multicultural policy for failing to foster a common identity and inadvertently encouraging Muslim segregation and radicalization.

The findings indicate a significant shift in the perception of multiculturalism, moving from viewing it as a comprehensive solution to Europe's challenges to advocating for its reconsideration and the development of a new cultural framework.

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

The term "multicultural" denotes a society characterized by cultural diversity, typically arising from immigration, and encompasses the policies designed to address this phenomenon. Both advocates and critics of multiculturalism contend that mass immigration has transformed European societies into more heterogeneous and diverse entities. Initially, multicultural policies were widely adopted across Europe as solutions to various social challenges. However, in recent years, these policies have increasingly been perceived as problematic. This evolving perception has led several mainstream politicians, including British Prime Minister David Cameron, German Chancellor Angela Merkel, and former French President Nicolas Sarkozy, to express their disillusionment with the once-celebrated concept of multiculturalism.

A critical question arises: how did this transformation occur? The reasons behind this shift are multifaceted. The perception and fundamental nature of cultural diversity have evolved, influenced by the intricate character of multiculturalism, which encompasses multiple interpretations (Malik, 2013). Critics of multicultural policies argue that the growing diversity in Europe, stemming from mass immigration without adequate integration, has jeopardized national identity and social cohesion, fundamentally altering host societies. Conversely, some contend that the discourse surrounding multiculturalism and immigration should be viewed in a broader context, positing that the issue lies not in "too much diversity," but rather in "too much racism" (Malik, 2013).

At the onset of the 21st century, political discourse surrounding multiculturalism has become increasingly intertwined with themes of immigration, Islam, and security. Contemporary European national political discussions regarding multiculturalism frequently involve topics such as Islam, Muslim communities, immigration, European history, and Western values.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

## 1.2 Introduction to Multiculturalism and Thesis Overview

Movement of people has throughout history created pluralistic societies and cultural heterogeneity within national boundaries that led to the discussion over the co-existence of diverse communities. Multiculturalism is a result of past and present immigration and today multiculturalism is increasingly seen not as the solution but as the cause of Europe's multiple social problems.

The integration of immigrants is a source of constant controversy engendering extreme xenophobic sentiments across Europe based on the dominant perception that their cultural values, theological radicalism and religious practices are deemed to be in sharp contrast with the European values and that their normative constructions of community does not refer to the national community; moreover, they are inevitably an increasing burden on national social systems.<sup>2</sup>

Persistent integration difficulties led to the European political discourse to criticize the long-cherished idea of multiculturalism because it is constantly having far-reaching consequences on the host societies' way of life. In this scenario, the most significant is to investigate changes of the concept of multiculturalism over the period and to analyze the political debates of the national leaders who have now focused on the strategy of homogenous collective identity based on common values of Western culture by discarding the multicultural idea through generic appeals to security, integration and an idealized European identity.

Multiculturalism has been an extensively debated term within Western political discourse and is a complex theme of research that has been experiencing enormously important recent changes. Multiculturalism is largely considered as a normative framework reflecting a set of state policies based on integration, tolerance and the recognition of cultural difference which has historically assumed a 'race relations approach to equality' (Favell, 2001) and has indeed been a

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<sup>2</sup>Sarrazin, Thilo. 2010. See e.g. Banting, K., Johnston, R., Kymlicka, W., & Soroka, S., 2006. Do Multiculturalism Policies Erode the Welfare State? In *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and Redistribution in Contemporary Democracies*, eds. K. Banting and W. Kymlicka. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

key term in Western political discourse over the past few decades, adopted as a core policy in order to cope with the cultural difference and advance cultural equality.

Normative and philosophical notions of multiculturalism seek to develop frameworks for equal participation in culturally diverse societies; however they are also idealistic to a certain extent and ignore the social tensions, political dynamics and cultural dimensions interlaced with divergent identities related with the multiculturalism on ground (Semi et al. 2009). Usually the term means acceptance, appreciation, respect or promotion of multiple cultures appreciating the diversity. As it has been rightly put forth that Multiculturalism as "cultural mosaic" is generally deemed antithetical to the concepts such as assimilationism and social integration and has been described as a 'salad bowl' rather than a 'melting pot' (Burgess, 2005:31). Angela Davis also assimilates Multiculturalism to 'salad',

*'The metaphor that has displaced the melting pot is the salad. A salad consisting of many ingredients is colorful and beautiful, and it is to be consumed by someone. Who consumes multiculturalism is the question begging to be asked' (1996:45).*

Multiculturalism refers to 'global shifts of power, population, and culture in the era of globalization and post colonialism' (Jay 2011). At one level the term applies to the demographic make-up of a specific place. Tariq Madood in his famous book "Multiculturalism-- a Civic Idea" describes it as a politics of identity being true to one's nature and seeking public recognition for one's collectivity. He also analyses that it is a political movement in the USA and a fundamental movement of people having different backgrounds as immigrants in Britain's perspective (Madood 2007:2). Andrew Heywood makes a distinction between two kinds of multiculturalism-one as a descriptive form it refers to cultural diversity, and other one as a normative based on communal diversity having mutual respect and recognition (Heywood, 2007: 313). Multiculturalism simply means no-one culture is superior to any other, and that the idea of a host community whose values, practices and norms should take precedence over those of minority groups is to be rejected and identity is simply formed of common shared cultural values.

It is based on the assumption that people from absolutely different ethnical backgrounds, possessing different values, can live together in the society without any conflicts erupted; as a 'community of communities'(Parekh 2000) ; therefore, considered state-community partnerships 'multiculturalism'(Maddood, 2011). In the last decades, multiple theoretical and political perspectives of cultural difference and issues of diversity drew a special 'fashionable attention' (Kymlicka, 1999: 34). However, the cultural diversity perspective has recently experienced a 'backlash' in European public sphere.(Grillo 2007; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010).

In fact, there is not only isolation and self-isolation of immigrants due to lack of the efforts to integrate into the host societies of Europe, causing tensions between them but also economic difficulties in Europe have also intensified the growth of nationalist and xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants. Now this nationalistic and political discourse to emphasize on the need to integrate immigrants reflects the political vision in which cultural diversity is seen as a threat rather than a potential opportunity for Europe<sup>3</sup> and that multiculturalism has not been conducive to develop the relationship of immigrants and the indigenous population of Europe.

Globalization is having a paradoxical effect on the dimension of immigration processes--- on the one hand promoting exchange of cultures among different civilizations, while on the other hand, creating civilizational imbalance by eroding national borders and cultural identity. The process of globalization tremendously increased in the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century by modern means of transportation, technologies, communication and telecommunication. With the increased opportunities of air travel, a large number of people made their way to the big cities to seek fortune. People from different lands and remote areas belonging to different cultures and backgrounds gathered in one place leading towards the trend of multiculturalism. Moreover, with the advancement of Information Technology and the concept of free market, this world turned into a global village in the real sense. In this scenario, the concept of multiculturalism proved to be vital for peaceful co-existence of different communities and cultures. But now the dynamics of globalization have changed considerably and the concept of multiculturalism is under threat.

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<sup>3</sup> Mavelli, Luca. 2012. Europe's Encounter with Islam: the Secular and the Postsecular. London: Routledge.

The ever-growing increased scale of immigration from regions of Asia and Africa to the European Union and poor adaptation and integration of immigrants in the European cultural and political environment raise grave concerns among the receiving European population and consequently fuel extremist nationalist views, including on religious grounds. Particularly, the religious identity and cultural values of Muslim immigrants is considered one of the major obstacles concerning their integration. In this context, religion has emerged as a major social signifier and has assumed enormous significance being vital element of the culture<sup>4</sup> (Abootalebi, Ali Reza. 2000: 1) of the immigrants posing a serious threat to the secular status of the European societies<sup>5</sup>.

In the aftermath of 9/11 and the Madrid and London bombings, fear of Muslims and resentment toward Muslim immigrants increased to an extremely alarming level across Europe and particularly after the Swiss vote on the minarets, political consensus emerged simultaneously across Europe emphasizing upon the Muslim immigrants to make vigorous and serious efforts to adapt to the liberal and secular values and traditions of European Society to avoid any sort of friction and tensions within society. As Jackson-Preece describes that the collision between immigrant diversity and uniformity reflects the 'diversity dilemma'.<sup>6</sup> It also depicts a marked difference and contradiction between an imaginary self-collective<sup>7</sup> (Anderson, 1991) and the collective identity of other minorities.

The increasing visibility of their Islamic religious identity poses a serious threat for the core secular. Liberal and democratic values of Europe (Silvestri, 2010: 46). The strong perception that Muslim immigrants have problems in respect of integrating full-fledged into the host societies stirred public debates portraying multicultural strategies and policies as disruptive

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<sup>4</sup> "Religion, a central component of culture, becomes an important factor in the struggle for political democracy when it contributes to either concentration or dispersion of social, economic, and political resources." Abootalebi, Ali Reza (2000: 1). *Islam and Democracy: State-Society Relations in Developing Countries, 1980-1994*, New York, Garland Publishing.

<sup>5</sup> Habermas, Jürgen. 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Jackson-Preece, Jennifer. 2005. p. 3-5.

<sup>7</sup> The social imaginary is "the creative and symbolic dimension of the social world, the dimension through which human beings create their ways of living together and their ways of representing their collective life". John B. Thompson. 1984. *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. p. 6. ; See e.g. Donnelly, Michael. 1987. Review of *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. *American Journal of Sociology* 92 (4). The University of Chicago Press: 1013–14. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2780063>. ; Outhwaite, W., & Thomon, J. B. (1987). *Studies in the Theory of Ideology*. *History and Theory*, 26(1), 121. doi:10.2307/2505263.

and hostile (Vertovec, S., & Wessendorf, S. 2010). Sarrazin wrote that Islamic immigrants threaten Germany's freedom and prosperity because they are unwilling to integrate<sup>8</sup> and this unwillingness poses a threat to the "host" culture.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, the fear of radical Islam has further reinforced the already ingrained perception that the established Muslim community demands the undue concessions regarding their political and cultural practices fortifying their religious identity and alienated way of life which is considered incompatible with the European culture and values<sup>10</sup>. In this context, recently multicultural policies have been severely and increasingly criticized in political discourse across Europe because the cultural and religious practices of the Muslim immigrants such as forced marriages<sup>11</sup> and Sharia Law<sup>12</sup> are considered in sharp contrast with the European liberal and secular values.

As mentioned earlier, the concept of multiculturalism today is a highly debated issue, foremost in the European political sphere. With consideration to that, multiculturalism generally covers a wide range of different definitions. I would like to highlight the type of governmentally

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<sup>8</sup>“Germany Does Away With Itself,” a book that argues that the future of Germany is threatened by the wrong kind of immigrants, especially from Muslim countries. In the book, Thilo Sarrazin, a politician from the Social Democratic Party who sat on the Bundesbank board, develops proposals for demographic policies aimed at the Muslim population in Germany. Sarrazin, Thilo.(2010). *Deutschland Schafft Sich Ab: Wie Wir Unser Land Auf's Spiel Setzen*["Germany Does Away With Itself" or "Germany Abolishes Itself"]. 7. Aufl. München: Dt. Verl.-Anst.

<sup>9</sup> "Integration requires effort from those that are to be integrated". Sailer, Steve.2010. An English Review Of Thilo Sarrazin's Book. *Deutschland Schafft Sich Ab: Wie Wir Unser Land Auf's Spiel Setzen*[Germany Abolishes Itself]. <<http://www.vdare.com/posts/an-english-review-of-thilo-sarrazins-book>>.

See also Ed West.2011. "Germany Abolishes Itself – the publishing sensation that challenges Europe's diversity consensus".*The Telegraph*. [Last updated] January 17th, 2011 <<http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/edwest/100072142/germany-abolishes-itself-the-publishing-sensation-that-challenges-europes-diversity-consensus/>>

<sup>10</sup> This political discourse and social narrative emphasized upon the idea of civic integration and national identity, diverting the focus from the concept the multicultural society.

Modood, Tariq. 2012. "Multiculturalism and the nation" in openDemocracy, 20 December 2012.

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/tariq-modood/multiculturalism-and-nation>

See also Modood, Tariq. 2005. *Multicultural Politics : Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*.

Edinburgh University Press.

<sup>11</sup> Meer, Nasar. 2010.

<sup>12</sup>Euro-Islam-info.*Islamic Law: Europe's Shari'a Debate*. <[http://www.euro-islam.info/key-issues/islamic-law/#footnote\\_0\\_8097](http://www.euro-islam.info/key-issues/islamic-law/#footnote_0_8097)> See also David,Rene and Brierley, John.1985. Sharia law is the body of Islamic law. It is the basic Islamic legal system(Oxford English Dictionary, under 'sharia) or legal framework within which the public and some private aspects of life are regulated for those living in a legal system based on Islam. See also BBC.2009. *Sharia*. [Last updated] 03-Sep.2009.<[http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/sharia\\_1.shtml#top](http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/islam/beliefs/sharia_1.shtml#top)>Accessed 08 Jan. 2013.;

Feisal Abdul Rauf.1999. *Islam: A Sacred Law: What Every Muslim Should Know About the Shariah*. Kazi Pubns.

enforced multiculturalism, being the model of a multicultural society or state multiculturalism, discussed in Europe today. State multiculturalism describes the situation of people of different decent and cultures living together in one society. It is this type of multiculturalism that Angela Merkel, David Cameron and Nicolas Sarkozy attend to when recently alleging the failure of the multicultural societies in European countries.

### **1.3 A Brief Historical Background**

In the post-War era, the first generation of North African immigrants to France and Turkish immigrants to Germany was comparatively secular as compared to the south Asian immigrants to the United Kingdom with the air of religion. However, they preferred their ethnic identities to their religious ones and did not follow religion practically as a code of life. But the immigration to Europe has profoundly changed in the contemporary period (Malik 2013).

In this context, Caldwell delves into the changing character of immigration in Europe and argues that prewar ‘intra-European’ immigration generated not much trouble for the host societies and the immigrants integrated well because they came from the same continent as compared to the post-War immigration from outside Europe with the diverse cultures (Caldwell 2009).

In the late 1980s, culture became the important in defining the social differences and cohesion and the fundamental character of social cohesion or cultural diversity was re-defined by ethnic and cultural affiliations rather than in political terms. Consequently, the immigrant generation started emphasizing upon their separate identity due to several reasons. Malik describes this shift as,

‘Only in the late 1980s did the question of cultural differences become important. A generation that, ironically, is far more integrated and ‘westernized’ than the first turned out to be the more insistent on maintaining its alleged distinctiveness. The reasons for this shift are complex. Partly they lie in a tangled web of larger social, political, and economic changes over the past half century, such as the collapse of the left and the rise of identity politics. Partly they lie in international developments, such as the Iranian Revolution of 1979 and the Bosnian war of

the early 1990s, both of which played an important role in fostering a more heightened sense of Muslim identity in Europe. And partly they lie in European multicultural policies.’(2013).

The concept of multiculturalism has become one of the most debated topics in the political sphere of Europe today. This new and quite sudden focus on the concept can easily lead one to conceive multiculturalism as something relatively newly established, but the fact is that multiculturalism as an acknowledged concept started to circle in the academic sphere already during the 1960’s to 1970’s. It was during this period of time that cultural themes started to grow of importance, especially in the field of international affairs, and the apprehension of a multilateral cultural view, as opposed to the earlier hegemonic as well as homogenous cultural view, started to grow.

In 1972, a report from the Hazen Foundation wrote that a ‘clear historical trend away from unilateral cultural relations’ could be noted, and even though the start of this change mainly had its roots in North America and the problems the country was facing with post-war culture and identity, the change could be noted on an international level as well (Palumbo-Liu 2002:113). Based on the growing cultural diversity during the 70’s, multiculturalism started its growth during the 80’s and the 90’s.<sup>13</sup> The history of the multicultural concept is of course far more nuanced than what is portrayed in this description, but considering that the main focus of my paper is not on the background and history of multiculturalism, but rather on the current situation of multiculturalism in Europe, this description will serve to give a very superficial survey of the history of the concept.

Mass migration to Europe from inhabitants of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and the Caribbean began about 50 years ago. The increased level of immigrants has sent a wave of dissatisfaction and tension in the local populations because the migrants settle permanently in Europe, to bear and raise children here. As a result, the EU has already settled nearly 33 million<sup>14</sup>. Moreover, even internal migration within Europe from Eastern Europe, particularly

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p.118.

<sup>14</sup> Data of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 2013. OECD. 2013. “World Migration in Figures”. 3-4 October 2013.

<<http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf>> Accessed 11 Nov. 2013.

Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania has also prompted grave concerns for the local residents because they believe that the eastern Europeans create competition on the labor market.

The public visibility of Islam in Europe is manifested through considerably growing Muslim immigrant communities in European countries (Göle, 2002), especially in Germany<sup>15</sup>, France<sup>16</sup> and in the United Kingdom.<sup>17</sup> Muslims are the largest growing minority in most of Western Europe, and this phenomenon seems to be growing in future as well (Leiken, 2010: 104). Over the past two decades, the number of Muslims living in Western Europe has steadily increased, rising from less than 10 million in 1990 to approximately 17 million in 2010.<sup>18</sup> The continuing growth in Europe's Muslim population is sparking many political and social problems of co-existence in a multicultural society (Laurence, 2012).

Now the immigrants including Muslim ones have become the part and parcel of the permanent demographic and political landscape of these Western European countries. The manifest visibility of Islamic conspicuous signs and symbols also raise some serious concerns for the multicultural framework in the contemporary Europe and are considered a threat to the values of the European societal sphere (Göle, 2011) consequently, headscarves, mosques, and minarets are deemed as a negation of western democratic values. As in November 2009, Switzerland voted in Europe's first referendum to add a provision to their Federal Constitution

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<sup>15</sup> Germany and France have the largest Muslim populations among European Union member countries. As of 2010, there were 4.8 million Muslims in Germany (5.8% of the country's population) and 4.7 million Muslims in France (7.5%). In recent decades, the Muslim share of the population throughout Europe grew about 1 percentage point a decade, from 4% in 1990 to 6% in 2010. PEW Research Center. 2011. "The Future of the Global Muslim Population. Region: Europe" <[http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/future-of-the-global-muslim-population-regional-europe/#ftn35\\_rtn](http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/future-of-the-global-muslim-population-regional-europe/#ftn35_rtn)> Accessed Jan. 3, 2013. Also PEW Research Center. CONRAD HACKETT. "5 facts about the Muslim population in Europe" <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/15/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> BBC.Co.UK.2005. "Muslims in Europe: Country guide". [Last Updated]. 23 December 2005. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4385768.stm>> Accessed Dec 6, 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Pew Forum report that estimates growth rates among Muslim populations worldwide and provides population projections for 2020 and 2030. A 2009 Pew Forum report, "Mapping the Global Muslim Population" <<http://pewforum.org/Muslim/Mapping-the-Global-Muslim-Population.aspx>> provides 2009 population estimates.

For a broad overview of Muslim communities in Europe, see: Allievi, Stefano and Jørgen Nielsen, editors. *Muslim Networks and Transnational Communities In and Across Europe*. Brill, 2003. Lawrence, Bruce and Miriam Cooke, editors. *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop*. University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Mandaville, Peter. *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma*. Routledge, 2001. Metcalf, Barbara Daly, editor. *Making Muslim Space in North America and Europe*. University of California Press, 1996. Nielsen, Jørgen. *Muslims in Western Europe*, third edition. Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

that bans the construction of new minarets because they symbolize the ‘*religious-political force*’<sup>19</sup> (Fraudiger, 2008).

The Muslim Immigrants are considered to be considerably incompatible with the presumed guiding principles of European societal organization or European ethos, consequently deepening the cultural differences (Meer: 2010). There is a growing skepticism about the increased social visibility of Muslims immigrants that sparked the heated debate about the integration in Europe<sup>20</sup>, especially in the post September 11 context (Aziz Al-Azmeh, Effie Fokas 2007, p.51). As a consequence, controversies surrounding the visibility of these signs have steadily grown. Controversy is not merely a disagreement about divergent points of view; but it is about fundamental differences about the principles and norms that regulate society.

As a result of this multicultural crisis<sup>21</sup>, political leaders across Europe have also showed grave concerns about the effectiveness and practicability of the multicultural policies and have emphasized upon the immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants to integrate well into the host communities to avoid any kind of disharmony (Elliott & Turner 2012.p. 86, Mavelli 2012. p.140). For instance, French former President Nicolas Sarkozy [see speech in appendix] endorsed the Swiss Referendum<sup>22</sup>, defending the rationale that it is not prejudiced against the freedoms of

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<sup>19</sup> The ‘visibility’ of Islam in public is conceptualized as a form of power, agency, a manifestation of religious difference. Göle, Nilüfer.2011. “The Public Visibility of Islam and European Politics of Resentment: The Minarets-Mosques Debate”. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, SAGE Publications, Vol. 37 (n4), pp. 383-392.

<sup>20</sup> El-Din Shahin, Emad and Esposito, John L (eds.). 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>21</sup>Lentin, A., & Titley, G. (2012). *The crisis of 'multiculturalism' in Europe: Mediated minarets, intolerable subjects*. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(2), 123 - 138. doi:10.1177/1367549411432384.

See also Zapata-Barrero, Ricard(ed.). 2009. *Citizenship Policies in the Age of Diversity Europe at the Crossroads*. Fundació CIDOB Grup de Recerca Interdisciplinari sobre Immigració, Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

<[http://dcpis.upf.edu/~ricard-zapata/~ricard-zapata/gritim\\_cidob\\_monograph\\_2008.pdf](http://dcpis.upf.edu/~ricard-zapata/~ricard-zapata/gritim_cidob_monograph_2008.pdf)> Retrieved at 04 March 2013.

<sup>22</sup> In November 2009, Switzerland voted in Europe's first referendum to add a provision to their Federal Constitution that bans the construction of new minarets. Despite criticism from the government and the churches in Switzerland, the proponents of the referendum argued that the prohibition of minarets would preserve Switzerland's legal and political order because minarets are a symbol of a religious-political force. According to final results, 57.5 per cent of voters and a majority of cantons backed the initiative – up from 34 per cent last month. Turnout was high at around 53 per cent. ; Eva G. T. Green, Nicole Fasel, & Oriane Sarrasin. (2010). The More the Merrier? The Effects of Type of Cultural Diversity on Exclusionary Immigration Attitudes in Switzerland. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*177 - 190. Array.; Swissinfo.2009.*Minaret result seen as "turning point"*. 29 November 2009. <<http://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/minaret-result-seen-as--turning-point-/7793740>> Accessed 27 Jan. 2013. See e.g. Fox News.2009. *Swiss Approve Constitutional Ban on Mosque Minarets*. November 30, 2009.<<http://www.foxnews.com/story/2009/11/30/switzerland-defends-ban-on-mosque-minarets.html?test=latestnews>> Retrieved 27 Jan. 2013. ; Cumming-Bruce ,Nick and Erlanger, Steven.2009. *Swiss Ban Building of Minarets on Mosques*. The NewyorkTimes.NOV.29,2009.<[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/30/world/europe/30swiss.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/30/world/europe/30swiss.html?_r=0)>Retri-eved 28 Jan. 2013.;

religious practice or conscience. Sarkozy claimed that the visibility of Muslims' religious practice are often considered disruptive and are not in accordance with 'the greater secularity' (Fetzer, J. S., & Soper, J. C. 2006)<sup>23</sup>, and Christian traditions of Europe. Sarkozy tried to clarify that European people have reservations and fears about the accommodations of religious practices and expect the Muslim Immigrants to respect and integrate into the host communities.

This discourse on civic integration<sup>24</sup> and national identity has become part of the political agenda for many leaders across Europe. In October 2010, German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, claimed that Germany's attempts to build a multicultural society have completely failed [see Appendix]. In February 2011, British Prime Minister David Cameron echoed Angela Merkel in a speech at the Munich Conference on Security Policy by claiming "state multiculturalism" has failed [see Appendix]. He added that the state must oppose, rather than accommodate, the non-violent Muslim groups that are indifferent to British values such as democracy, the rule of law, and equal rights for race, sex or sexuality. A week after Cameron's speech, Sarkozy, speaking on a French television program, directly quoted Merkel and Cameron, remarking "multiculturalism is a failure" (AFP, 2011).

## 1.4 Research Problem and Research Questions

### 1.4.1 Scientific Problem

The specific point of research design is to investigate the changes of the perception of the concept of multiculturalism in Western political discourse over the period of the last twenty

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Peters, Anne.2009. *The Swiss Referendum on the Prohibition of Minarets*. December2,2009.<<http://www.ejiltalk.org/the-swiss-referendum-on-the-prohibition-of-minarets/>>Retrieved 28 Jan.2013. See e.g. Göle, Nilüfer.2011. *The Public Visibility of Islam and European Politics of Resentment: The Minarets-Mosques Debate*. Philosophy and Social Criticism, SAGE Publications,Vol.37 (n4), pp. 383-392.

<sup>23</sup> Fetzer, J. S. and Soper, J. C. (2006). *Muslims and the state in Britain, France, and Germany*(1. publ., reprint.). Cambridge [u.a.]: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>24</sup>Civic integration, unlike multicultural integration, represents social cohesion, homogeneity and assimilation in the host communities' cultural and political ethos with the emphasis on national identity in order to become part of the economic and social structure. Jackson Preece, Jennifer. 2005. *Minority Rights: Between Diversity And Community*.Key Concepts. Polity Press. See also Lacroix, Chantal. 2010. *Immigrants, Literature and National Integration*.Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

years. Twenty years ago multiculturalism was widely seen as the sustainable answer to many of Europe's social problems. It is obvious that the meaning and usage of the concept has changed dramatically. In Europe multiculturalism as a policy for diversity of ethnicities was introduced in the post-colonial era, as a result of a large wave of immigration into Europe. However, the 9/11 terror act, the Madrid train bombing, the 7<sup>th</sup> July London bombing, and other similar tragic events have caused the concept of multiculturalism to be doubted. Finally, the high-profile speeches held by Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, and David Cameron, the Prime Minister of the UK and Nicolas Sarkozy, former president of France, claiming that multiculturalism has failed in their countries have even led to discussions of a post-multiculturalism era (Merkel 2010).

To summarize, the research project proposes that the current debate on the failure of multicultural policies shares a common discourse on the notion of a European community of values and traditions,<sup>25</sup> which is recontextualised along national identities with a specific

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<sup>25</sup> It has been assumed that European national cultures share a common essence, or values set—e.g. democracy, tolerance, respect for human rights, etc. allowing European national communities to coordinate within a organized European civilization context. This has been summed up in the *Charter of European Identity*:

A Charter OF European Identity. 28 October 1995. <<http://www.eurit.it/Eurplace/diba/citta/cartaci.html>>

“Europe is a community of destiny. The process of European civilization set in motion by us and our forebears has led to a stage in our development in which we are all dependent on one another. We can accept this common destiny, or we can shape it. The maintenance of peace, the conservation of the environment, and the means to enable people to live their lives with dignity and demand common policies. Unifying Europe is our response to past suffering and the challenge of history. All Europeans are called upon to work responsibly together to build a peaceful European order. Europe as a Community of Values Europe is above all a community of values. The aim of European unification is to realize, test, develop and safeguard these values. They are rooted in common legal principles acknowledging the freedom of the individual and social responsibility. Fundamental European values are based on tolerance, humanity and fraternity. Building on its historical roots in classical antiquity and Christianity, Europe further developed these values during the course of the Renaissance, the Humanist movement, and the Enlightenment, which led to the development of democracy, the recognition of fundamental and human rights, and the rule of law”.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU): CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. (2001). EUROPEAN UNION (EU): CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. *International Legal Materials*,40(2), 266–276. Retrieved from <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20694096>>

Rich, Paul. 1999. “European Identity and the Myth of Islam: A Reassessment”.*Review of International Studies* 25 (3). Cambridge University Press: 435–51. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20097609>>

ZEMNI ,Sami and PARKER ,Christopher. “European Union, Islam & the Challenges of Multiculturalism: Rethinking the *Problematic*” Center For Third World Studies/Middle East Institute. Ghent University, Belgium.

<[http://www.cie.ugent.be/CIE/zemni\\_parker\\_1.htm#not](http://www.cie.ugent.be/CIE/zemni_parker_1.htm#not)>

concentration on integration depicting multiculturalism as divisive and disruptive and also along particular national political interests.

### **1.5 Thesis Statement, Research Goals**

My first research question aims at finding out how perception of the concept of multiculturalism has been recontextualised and changed in the recent years because this change of concept demonstrate how this discourse of Multicultural failure has entered into the national policy agenda, and how this political narrative performs a political legitimating function, which aims at creating consensus towards the failure of multicultural policies emphasizing on the integration of immigrants, especially Muslims, into the complete conformity with the core values of Europe. Therefore, the question I have attempted to answer in my project is: how has the term of multiculturalism been discussed and defined in research articles?

Further Second main research question will examine the political discourse of multiculturalism – how is state multiculturalism portrayed by three of the most influential European countries, Germany, Great Britain, and France? The concept of multiculturalism has recently become somewhat of the hot topic in the European political debates and the narrative is often put forward in negative terms, therefore I further investigate the relevant question.

- Could this in fact be seen as a step towards European exclusion, Fortress Europe, leaving an era of diversity and inclusion?

These debates, held publicly, have attracted a lot of focus in both national and moreover international media where they have sparked both resentments and positive responses throughout the European community. Therefore, it is quite pertinent to explore:

- Is this sudden outburst on multiculturalism to be seen as a response to a real political dilemma or a sellout of popular politics?

This aims at analyzing public debate across Europe regarding “multicultural crisis”<sup>26</sup> and demonstrating how national political debates portraying the failure of Multicultural policies and

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<sup>26</sup> Lentin, A. and Titley, G. (2012).

switching over to reinforcing discourse on the integration of immigrants into the host societies? Furthermore, I will further propose how this national political discourse has had a deep impact on the society with the underlying social and political implications? These national political debates have a correlative impact on reinforcing a similar discourse on integration. Therefore, it is significant to acknowledge the discursive sources of mutual influence and the objects that correlate with these national debates. In this context, the purpose of this research design is to examine in detail how the political debates on failure of multiculturalism as policy recontextualises a discourse about Integration of immigrants and European identity through the European public sphere.

The analysis of the political speeches of the most influential European leaders offers an understanding of the connections the European public sphere establishes between countries and how simultaneous debates on targeting Multicultural policies might have a critical impact on how the national public sphere reconstructs transnational discourses on migration and integration, and how these relationships contribute to the construction of a shared normative discourse about integration rather than multicultural agenda.

Taking this point of departure further pertinent questions can be answered: How this concept of multiculturalism constituted at the national level and national discourses explains these differences in public debate? Have these national speeches had any impact on public sphere or society? Have these speeches any cultural and social relevance? Second, what are the communicative practices and discursive dynamics, offering legitimacy to public debate? What arguments are advanced? How are these arguments structured, linked and then recontextualised along different national levels? What themes are discussed under a common discursive regime?

### **1.5 Personal Interest**

The high-profile speeches of the European leaders and the excessive agenda-setting coverage of media draw my attention to this research project. Skepticism about the multiculturalism is widespread at present on every political stage especially in Europe and the USA. In this regard, my case study will be the debatable speeches of David Cameron,

the British Prime Minister, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and former French President Nicolas Sarkozy. Especially the issue of multiculturalism has assumed enormous importance in the light of this national political discourse in which these key European leaders believe that multiculturalism as a policy has failed as it has not been successful in imbibing the immigrants, especially Muslim minorities that continue to have a separate identity. They declared that the doctrine of multiculturalism has met an abject failure because it has generated extremism and it did not contribute to form the common identity. This political consensus across Europe sparked off contentious and heated discussions about the concept of Multiculturalism and identity throughout the world. Of course, this discourse reflects the renewed policy about multiculturalism on national level. It is also fascinating to find out how the concept of multiculturalism has been recontextualised and changed in the recent years which led to national discourse.

This inflammable concept of the failure of multiculturalism has also been endorsed and reinforced by media coverage across Europe and within public sphere. This debate still echoes in the corridors of political arenas and aftershocks are being felt so far especially by the immigrants in Europe, the UK and the USA whom future and identity is at stake if the idea of Multiculturalism collapses. Multiculturalism is a core element and has played a vital role in the development of the ongoing process of globalization. Moreover, last but not the least, it is immensely significant hot issue in the ever-growing and long-standing phenomenon of the formidable terrorism and increasing extremism especially after the unprecedented and catastrophic events of 9/11 and 7/7. This issue is not only significant in European perspective but is also compatible with the ground realities of many other countries like Australia, Canada, the USA. The upshot of this discussion is also tremendously crucial for Pakistan as well as many of those naturalized in many European nations have identity links with Pakistan.

Naturally as an immigrant and as a student, I felt attracted to this project during university study in a bid to better comprehend the multicultural society and integration within broader social and theoretical prototypes. My concern is to understand precisely why *the Other* is still

such an issue today in Europe and how the how the fear of the Other<sup>27</sup> continues to dominate the political discourse. Specifically, why is a different identity perceived as a menace and at what point does this fear become the primary source for a concrete, supported political program that aims at limiting or even normalizing the diversity of a minority? Can multiculturalism cannot be functional or practicable maintaining the respective identities of immigrant communities and the host community? So in this sense, my interest in this project is focused on a critical analysis of the national political discourse to examine how the multicultural discourse aims at regulating and controlling the immigrants, especially the Muslim ones, which are assumed to be incompatible to the receiving society.

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<sup>27</sup> A self-image and its discursive representation can lead to an image of a so-called "Other" as a focus of contrast and suspicion ,which can create Fear of the 'Other'.(Rash, Felicity J.2012).See e.g. Str ath, Bo. (2004). Europe and the other and Europe as the other(3. print.). Bruxelles: Lang.

## Chapter 2

### Methodology and State of the Art: Critical Discourse Analysis

#### 2.1 Methodology

This chapter frames the methodology to analyze how national political discourse about multicultural backlash<sup>28</sup> has emerged across Europe in the wake of growing challenges regarding the integration of immigrants and how the European influential political leaders have been intentionally dropping the notion ‘multicultural’ or other references to cultural diversity in their policy vocabularies. More and more politicians and public intellectuals have criticized a perceived shift towards ‘too much diversity’<sup>29</sup>.

In this chapter, I discuss how I proceed to answer the research questions. I employ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as analytical framework to scrutinize in detail, the national discourses on multicultural policy and to compare similar discursive strategies and structures. Moreover, this will help to analyze these political debates, their articulations, impact and interconnections within the public debate through the analytical process of data analysis based on a three-dimensional model expounded by Fairclough (1992): discursive practice, textual practice and socio-cultural explanation. Critical Discourse Analysis will be significant in understanding how discourse on Multiculturalism functions toward specific political narrative and interests and content analysis is exercised to compare similar discursive strategies and structures across Europe.

I have used discourse analysis as my main method to investigate how the term of multiculturalism is used in research articles. Linguistically, discourse is defined as an utterance, or a structure, larger than a sentence (Mills 1997: 132). The main reason why I opted this method in my research is to investigate the changes in multicultural discourse throughout the recent

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<sup>28</sup> Vertovec, Steven, and Susanne Wessendorf. eds. 2010. *The Multicultural Backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

twenty years. In order to do that, I put emphasis on the two keywords: “Europe” and “multiculturalism”. Furthermore, my methodological approach focuses on a comparative analysis of three national case studies, based on three political speeches by the influential European Leaders, France, Germany, and England which developed the narrative for reconstructing the public debate on the failure of multiculturalism. My aim is to explore how a normative discourse on multicultural myth is articulated across Europe and to what extent it relates to the specific societal and political characteristics of national public spheres.

As Foucault has said “language is not just one variant of power; it is the most important kind of power” (Tosh 2010: 287) – that is why, I have applied the main research method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to conduct my research work. I have therefore selected political speeches delivered by the leaders of the three “heavy-weight” European countries, namely; Prime Minister David Cameron of Britain, President Nicholas Sarkozy of France and Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany. The selection itself is based not only on the influential aspect all three countries play in and outside European politics but more importantly on the part they have all become to play in the new visible political discourse towards the concept of multiculturalism and multicultural societies.

In this study I would like to analyze given speeches, applying the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), focusing mainly on their linguistic aspects, especially the usage of particular words. Lastly, I will analyze and compare each of the three speeches together, taking the linguistics aspects into account and with a view on the social and cultural impact of these speeches. The purpose of this research design is to examine in detail how the political debates on failure of multiculturalism as policy recontextualises a discourse about Integration of immigrants and European identity through the European public sphere.

### **2.1.1 Method of Argumentation Analysis**

While conducting the research, I also used the method of argumentation analysis. Being able to give reasons, to argument is an important factor in order to develop critical thinking. First of all the number of concepts used, the way they are used and organized are very important while applying an argumentative method. For instance, all of my articles contain different concepts based on the author’s position on multiculturalism. Moreover, in all the articles the authors take

positions towards the definition of multiculturalism, its origin and future. It can then be said that the texts themselves are argumentative and that in order to understand and analyze them, the use of the method of argumentation analysis is more suitable.

The main advantage of using this method is that it helps to analyze the articles in details. However, the main disadvantage is the same as with discourse analysis, meaning that it might stop from having an unbiased view, which is critical in order to write a well-written research paper.

### **2.1.2 Quantitative research Method**

Lastly, I have used quantitative research to see how often the term of multiculturalism has been used in research articles for the past twenty years. I have selected twelve databases in which I search articles with the two keywords: ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘Europe’. Then I classified the articles according to the year they had been published and investigated the evolution of the term of multiculturalism in research articles. However, this method is only slightly used.

## **2.2 State of the Art: Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) entails the elements of composition of interpretations based on the “relationship between text and interaction”; explanation, which focuses on “the relationship between interaction and socio-cultural contexts” (Fairclough, 2001: 21).

Discourse analysis first emerged from disciplines “in which models for understanding, and methods for analyzing discourse first developed, such as linguistics, anthropology, and philosophy.”<sup>30</sup> My discourse analysis focuses on 1) the idea of multiculturalism as a failed concept with certain interpretations of integration and identity;2) discourse entails the conceptualization of social practice through multiculturalism develops the national discourse relates to political relationship,<sup>31</sup> Widdowson further argues that because discourse analysis examines “language patterns above the sentence”( 2004, 3). In this regard, Hajer describes discourse analysis as “a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are

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<sup>30</sup> Schiffrin, Deborah, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton. eds. 2001. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Fairclough, 1992.

produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities”(Hajer 1995: 44). And according to Habermas’, discourse refers to application of language as a “medium of domination and social force, as it serves to legitimize the accepted relations of organized power” (1977:360).

I will apply the concept of discourse, by articulating both the semiotic process of a discourse and the social practice indicating the interactive processes in which a discourse is represented (Fairclough, 2003).As Schmidt proposes<sup>32</sup> that discourse is not what and how it is represented but it also refers to audience, social setting and cultural relevance and this social practice includes the communicative process in the public sphere (Schmidt, 2008). In other words, public actors reproduce and disseminate discourses within a given semiotic context so as to assess, legitimate and recreate a discourse through the public sphere. Accordingly, both the semiotic as well as the social process need to be analyzed in order to explain the explanatory role of discourse and its causal influence in political debate.

In this manner, one of the most common analytical strategies adopted in CDA is Fairclough’s three-dimensional model.<sup>33</sup> These important analytical strategies explore the relationship between text and its social context: 1) Interpretation of discursive practice, describing social and political textual features and identifies the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of the discourse; 2) Description of textual practice, which examines the textual strategies; 3) Explanation of the socio-political scenario which elaborates the political implications on multiculturalism.

By conducting an analysis building upon Norman Fairclough’s theory or method of *critical discourse analysis* , I will be able to show both similarities, in terms of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, and variations between the speeches and political stand points of given national leaders. There will thus be a moment of comparison, both in terms of an actual comparison

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<sup>32</sup> Schmidt, 2008:p.309-311.

<sup>33</sup> Fairclough, 2001.

Three levels of analysis form Fairclough’s three-dimensional model:

1. Description is the level of analysis for the formal features of the text;
2. Interpretation concerns the text as a creation of a social process;
3. Explanation explores the relationship between the social context, the production of text, and the reading of its potential political effects.

between the speeches but also through a brief background section on each country and additionally the concept of multiculturalism. Furthermore, I take into account possible trends and discourses which have changed or are changing in comparison to the current situation.

Important to mention is the objective nature which is to be held throughout the whole analysis. The analysis, performed on each speech, follow an analytical framework for critical discourse analysis provided by Fairclough in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2010:127), which contains of the following five steps:

- 1) Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect;
- 2) Identify obstacles to it being tackled, through analysis of
  - a) the network of practices it is located within;
  - b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned;
  - c) the discourse (the semiosis itself);
  - structural analysis: the order of discourse;
  - interactional analysis;
  - interdiscursive analysis
  - linguistic and semiotic analysis;
- 3) Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense “needs” the problem;
- 4) Identify possible ways past the obstacles;
- 5) Reflect critically on the analysis (1-4).

Step two contains of three individual parts (a, b and c) where I have chosen to put the emphasis on the linguistic and semiotic aspect, the actual language and wording used in the speeches. I will cover part a) and b) also but to a lesser extent - briefly commenting upon the subject of network of practices, as I believe that the actual part of analytical interest lies within part c) – semiosis/language. Furthermore, part a) and b) are also connectable to historical background of each country. Part c) of the second step will make out most of the analytical body of each speech putting focus upon word usage, rhetoric and agency, and additionally discussing possible previous trends or discourses in terms of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. To highlight the concrete choice of wording used in the addresses, I decided to use a pattern, where we are looking for primarily three different aspects. Firstly, how is multiculturalism portrayed, whether it is positive or a negative; secondly, in which aspect is religion and culture mentioned;

thirdly, the concept of “we” and “them” both in connection to terrorism/extremism, immigration/immigrants, national identity and moreover agency. The study of word usage can therefore be said being both quantitative, in looking at how often key words are used, and qualitative in terms of observing the way these keywords are used and in which light each speaker portrays the concept of multiculturalism.

Steps three and four are contradictions to the original pattern set by Fairclough saved for the concluding part as it is difficult in constructing a fair and objective analysis when bringing in these steps at such an early stage of the analysis. I do instead; perceive the advantage in drawing a clear line between the objective analysis itself and the more reflective steps of three, four and five. Lastly, as step four will bring in counter/sub – discourses in the form of outside sources I find this amendment as more suitable for the chosen topic.

To sum up, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a critical social theory and a hermeneutic, discursive and analytical method, which interprets and illustrates language in research and is useful in analyzing how various discourses on multiculturalism are generating norms and discursive practices in political and social context. However, the analytical framework includes not only the semiotic analysis of the skeptical view of multiculturalism, but also the analysis of a normative attempt to reconstruct a discourse on integration into national community and European identity based on common liberal, secular and cultural values.

### **2.2.1 Criticism on Critical Discourse analysis**

The main advantage of CDA is that it allowed us to read between the lines, by that see the discourse in a different light and to understand it more closely than the main audience would. However, the objectivity of the Discourse analysis as a scientific practice<sup>34</sup> has been criticized. As Widdowson criticizes CDA analysts of “a kind of ad hoc bricolage which takes from theory whatever concept comes usefully to hand” (1998: 137). Furthermore, it lacks concrete empirical evidence and more focuses on the ‘validity of arguments through appeals to moral conscience

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<sup>34</sup> Henderson.2005.

and social justice'.<sup>35</sup> When one does a discourse analysis one must be objective and leave out any sort of subjective interpretations. This is often hard to do so because when reading a text, for instance, one has one's own opinion about the topic and therefore lacks the objectivity.

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<sup>35</sup> Widdowson.1998.p. 150.

## Chapter 3

### State of the Art: Concept of Multiculturalism in Research Articles

#### 3.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter explores how the perception of the concept of multiculturalism has changed over the last twenty years. Therefore, I have attempted to answer how has the term of multiculturalism been discussed and defined in research articles? I have used discourse analysis as our main method to investigate how the term of multiculturalism is used in research articles.

It is obvious that the meaning and usage of the concept has changed dramatically. In Europe, multiculturalism as a policy for diversity of ethnicities was introduced in the post-colonial era, as a result of a large wave of migration into Europe. However, the 9/11 terror act, the Madrid train bombing, the 7<sup>th</sup> July London bombing, and other similar tragic events have caused the concept of multiculturalism to be doubted. Finally, the national speeches held by national leaders, such as Angela Merkel, Sarkozy and David Cameron, claiming that multiculturalism has failed in their countries have even led to discussions of a post-multiculturalism era.

#### 3.2 Sources

In order to examine how multiculturalism is used in research articles I decided to work with the following databases: Jstor.org, SAGE Journals ,UBLA academic Search Elite (EBSCO), ASSIA (CSA), Cambridge Journals Online, ERIC (CSA), ERIC (EBSCO), JSTOR Collection II Humanities, JSTOR Collection VI Humanities, University of Leipzig data base(Ubl), Oxford Journals, Project Muse, Wiley Online Library, JSTOR Collection II (Social Studies), and JSTOR Collection VI (Social Studies). My main sources are three research articles, which I chose chronologically from these databases and which were written in different periods of time. The first research article is “The Australian Model of Immigration and Multiculturalism: is it Applicable to Europe?” written in 1992 by Stephen Castles. The second article, written in 2002 by David Palumbo-Liu is called “Multiculturalism Now: Civilization, National Identity, and Difference Before and After September 11<sup>th</sup>”. The third and last article is “Towards Post-

multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity” written in 2010 by Steven Vertovec.

The first article I analyzed is *“The Australian Model of Immigration and Multiculturalism: is it Applicable to Europe?”* There are three main reasons for the selection of this particular article for my analytical framework: 1) the historical period when it was written, 2) its theme, 3) and its direct connection to Europe. The article was published in 1992, not long after the end of Cold War, when the common enemy for the Western civilization ceased to exist. This opened up new horizons for communication between nations. Furthermore, the iron curtain fell, which allowed for the new patterns of international migration to form. At that time Europe, not long ago divided by iron curtain, had to face serious challenges of cultural diversity and new flows of immigration; therefore, new strategies were searched to cope with these challenges. This whole scenario is comprehensively reflected in the theme of the article, which was the second reason why I chose it. Its theme is the studies of possible solutions suggested to European countries, based on the experiences of "classical immigration countries". One of these solutions was the multicultural policy as the embrace of an inclusive, diverse society which at that time was highly aspired to and seen as a logical and sustainable answer to Europe’s social problems. Lastly, since I am particularly interested in the multiculturalism from European perspective in my research, I consider this article highly relevant in this context.

The second article I analyzed is *“Multiculturalism Now: Civilization, National Identity, and Difference Before and After September 11<sup>th</sup>”*. Firstly, I decided to study the background of multiculturalism to have a full understanding of the concept. How did it come about and for what reason? Secondly, after analyzing different historical contexts, I selected this article because the long-lasting repercussions of the events of 9/11 severely affected the multiculturalism as an ideal concept. The selection of these articles aims at exploring the changes in the use of the transformation of the perception of the concept of multiculturalism within research. There was in fact a surge of national identity and conservatism ideas throughout Western Nations. Issues such as immigration and integration were making the headlines and made as a priority among Western governments. Therefore, it is highly significant and pertinent to analyze an article written after the September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 attacks to explore the multicultural debate that has evolved in Europe since the catastrophic and unprecedented events of 9/11.

Lastly, I have chosen to analyze “*Towards Post-multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity*” because this article was published in the end of 2010 and it is one of the most recent research articles available that is dealing with issues connected to multiculturalism in the wake of ‘multicultural backlash’<sup>36</sup> both from the public and from important public figures. Events like the 9/11 terror act, the 2004 Madrid train bombing, the 2005 London bombing, and the December 11, 2010 Stockholm blast, as well as the high diversity between majority and minority groups in multicultural countries might be the reasons for the present criticism towards multiculturalism. One of the latest of such criticisms was the UK PM’s speech at the Munich Security Conference on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 2011 in which he stated that multiculturalism had failed.<sup>37</sup> Therefore, it is interesting to see if events like these have also affected the meaning of multiculturalism in research articles.

### 3.2.1 Source Criticism

Due to the limitation of both time and fear of prolongation for this research project I was able to analyze a limited amount of material, i.e. three research articles. However, I tried to put forward how the term has changed based on the analysis of the three articles and added additional sources to support my findings.

Furthermore, there are scholars both proponents and opponents of multiculturalism. I have selected to analyze those specific articles according to the year they were published as well as to the connection to the topic.

### 3.3 Defining Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism not only relates to a matter of politics and demographics but in its larger spectrum, it also represents political and social change ( Marilyn 2005). Multiculturalism is the direct result of increased globalization and migration. The consequences of globalization are

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<sup>36</sup> Vertovec, Steven, and Susanne Wessendorf. eds. 2010. *The Multicultural Backlash: European discourses, policies and practices*. New York: Routledge.

<sup>37</sup> BBC News.2011. “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron.” 5 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>> Accessed 06 Sep. 2012.

more than political or economical. It has transformed the world's order from agricultural societies through the era of the industrial revolution during which nationalism was strong, we now live in a global and diverse society.<sup>38</sup> This brought important social changes and led citizens to think internationally and be more culturally sensitive. However, when it comes to defining it, the task becomes rather difficult. The background and the social status determine how the world is seen and therefore there are debates on how to define the concept of multiculturalism.<sup>39</sup>

Rosado defines multiculturalism as follows:

*Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behavior that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society* (1996).<sup>40</sup>

In the context of this definition, analysis of this definition reflects multiple linguistic aspects such as there are numerous verbs, many courses of action, which portrays multiculturalism as a systematic set with different dimensions.<sup>41</sup> First of all, “beliefs and behavior” denotes different groups in a society having different beliefs; basic assumptions suggest that later have an impact on their “behavior”. Secondly, “recognition” is important because certain groups of people (women, ethnic minorities) have lacked recognition throughout history. Thirdly, “respect” is the notion that the immigrants should be treated with dignity, compassion and integrity, as well as be socially recognized as valuable by the host community. Then, “acknowledging” and “valuing” socio-cultural differences are connote that no-one culture has priority to other one.<sup>42</sup>

Moreover, multiculturalism means that there has to be a process of “encouragement” and “empowerment”. Too often citizens from minority groups are afraid to bring new ideas because of constant discouragement. Their ideas are frequently disregarded and treated as they are not as

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<sup>38</sup> Rosado, Caleb. 1996. “Toward a definition of multiculturalism”. rosado.net. 28 October 1996. <[http://www.rosado.net/pdf/Def\\_of\\_Multiculturalism.pdf](http://www.rosado.net/pdf/Def_of_Multiculturalism.pdf)> Accessed 03 Oct. 2012.p.2.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p.3.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 4.

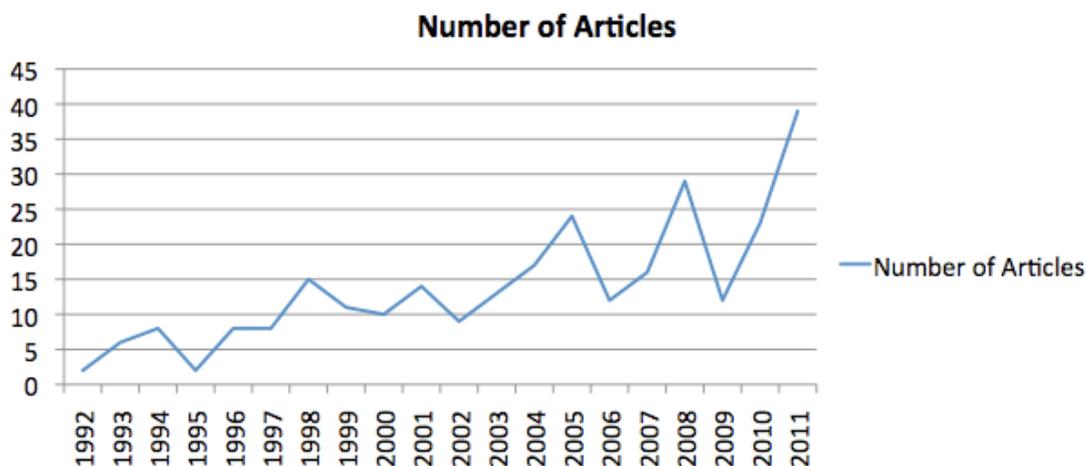
<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p.5.

worth it. The concept of empowerment is used here to describe what “enable” means. What the author meant was that minority groups need to be able to be more self-critical in order to be stronger.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the core of multiculturalism is the capacity to rejoice with the “Other” that society has taught to take advantage of, view them with suspicion, and not accord them any trust. At last, the last part of the sentence “within an inclusive cultural context” holds high significance. It means that despite the fear that multiculturalism will include foreign concepts and take over the cultural heritage of a country, it is quite the opposite. Conclusively, Multiculturalism means, according to the author, cultural diversity of different groups showing respect, tolerance and acceptance for cultural differences.

The reason of selecting this definition is because it is comprehensive encompassing the whole concept of multiculturalism that enables to give a better understanding and concrete analysis of each of our articles.

### 3.4 Evolution of Research Articles

I decided to investigate the evolution of research articles over the last twenty years. The criteria for the research articles were that, first, they had to be from one of the twelve above-mentioned databases and, second, that the research article keywords included ‘multiculturalism’ and ‘Europe’. In total there were 285 articles that fulfilled both of these criteria.



<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

Even though the amount of articles about multiculturalism and Europe in the twelve databases has been constantly fluctuating, and with the passage of time, these articles tend to increase. Two or more research articles in the same year first occurred in 1992, before that there had been only 7 articles at all. The smallest amount of articles (2) has been in years 1992 and 1995, after that the tendency has mostly gone up with only two considerable falls. As shown in the graph above, in the year 2005 there have been 24 research articles on multiculturalism and Europe, but the next year the number of articles had dropped to 12. The same happened two years later, when in 2008 there was a total of 29 articles, but in 2009 only 11. However, since then there has been a significant climb reaching a peak in 2011 with 39 articles. Worth mentioning is the fact that the data was collected till 2011; therefore, most likely there will be even more articles on this topic in the coming years.

### **3.5 “The Australian Model of Immigration and Multiculturalism- Is It Applicable to Europe?”**

The first article I analyzed is the one by Stephen Castles, published in *International Migration Review* in 1992 and titled "The Australian Model of Immigration and Multiculturalism: is it Applicable to Europe". Stephen Castles is Research Chair in Sociology at the University of Sydney. He is a sociologist and political economist with the main focus on international migration dynamics and dimensions and multicultural phenomena and regional migration trends in Africa, Asia and Europe.

His research has significantly contributed to the contemporary migration studies. Castles' previous academic positions include Professor of Migration and Refugee Studies and Director of International Migration Institute at the University of Oxford, and Professor of Sociology and Director of the Centre of Multicultural Studies at the University of Wollongong, Australia. Most of his previous research works are concerned mainly with migration and multiculturalism, of which the most notable ones are 1984's *Here for Good: Western Europe's New Ethnic Minorities*; 1990's *Mistaken Identity - Multiculturalism and the Demise of Nationalism in Australia* ; 2003's *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*; 2009's *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern*

*World[4th Edition]*<sup>44</sup> and 2013's *Migration and Citizenship in the Making of a Global Labour Market*.<sup>45</sup> Recently he has worked on a 5-year research project "Social Migration and Integration in the 21 Century", aimed at re-examining international migration policies.<sup>46</sup>

The article's main focus is the comparison of immigration policies in Australia and the countries of the EU, along with studying the possibility of EU's adopting some of the Australian policies of multicultural society, in order to handle Europe's myriad social problems and challenges caused by the globalization and international migration. The first part of the article looks back at the Australian history and examines the evolution of the immigration policies. They started with exclusively British at the time of colonization, when all non-British minorities, especially the aboriginals were strongly discriminated. After World War II the immigration was established as the primary source of population growth, yet its policies were still discriminating, being white-racist.

The foundation for current immigration policies was put by the Australian Labor Party, which abolished the White Australia Policy and the discrimination of immigrants in terms of race, ethnical and national background, and religion. Castles then goes on to describe how current immigration policies are organized and function. The policies are set by the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, which distinguish between family, economic and humanitarian migration. The next part of the article is the analysis of the Australian model of multiculturalism, which is shaped by the Office of Multicultural affairs and is 'not defined in terms of cultural pluralism or minority rights, but in terms of the cultural, social and economic rights of all citizens in a democratic state' (Castles 1992: 557).<sup>47</sup> The problems of such model are also discussed in the article, most notable of them being Australia's

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<sup>44</sup> Castles, S., Miller, M. 2009. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World, 4th Edition*. Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>45</sup> Castles, S. 2013. *Migration and citizenship in the making of a global labour market*. Boston: The HMM Information Clearing House.

<sup>46</sup> The University of Sidney. PROFESSOR STEPHEN CASTLES. **Department of Sociology and Social Policy**. Retrieved 04 Nov. 2013 <[http://sydney.edu.au/arts/sociology\\_social\\_policy/staff/profiles/stephen\\_castles.shtml](http://sydney.edu.au/arts/sociology_social_policy/staff/profiles/stephen_castles.shtml)>.

<sup>47</sup> Castles, Stephen. 1992. "The Australian Model of Immigration and Multiculturalism: Is It Applicable to Europe?". *International Migration Review* 26 (2). The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.: 549-67. doi:10.2307/2547071.

geographical specificity, allowing for the strict entry control; vagueness and controversy in some notions defining Australian multiculturalism; as well as failure to execute some of the policies of multiculturalism. In the final section of the article the author compares the immigration and cultural policies of Australia and Western Europe and draws a conclusion, that ‘the Australian experience can provide useful impulses, if not easy answers, to Europeans’.<sup>48</sup>

As stated above, the regions concerned in the article are of fundamental significance for the project. First of all, Europe is one of the two central geographical entities of the article since it covers the issue of applying Australian multicultural models to Western Europe. However, there is yet another geographical aspect in the article's discourse itself. In fact this aspect is presented by Castles as the main factor that may prevent Europe's successful adoption of Australia's multicultural model: the differences in their geography. These differences are defined by Australia's ‘relative remoteness and surrounding ocean [that] have made entry regulations easy to enforce’<sup>49</sup>, whereas Europe's location and historical significance has led to ‘the increasing difficulty of controlling national borders’.<sup>50</sup> Thus, as far as the introduction of multicultural policies in Europe is concerned, the geographical factor is of high importance.

Multiculturalism is the central concept of the article. It is characterized as a situation when people bearing different cultural heritage and ethnical background co-exist in a democratic state, and are allowed to preserve their cultural baggage. However, its emergence in Australia took place due to the obvious failure of assimilationism in 1960's - a policy of enforcing state's native culture on the immigrants. The two other significant concepts mentioned in the articles, that can be analyzed in connection to multiculturalism are the concepts of culture and pluralism.

The concept of multiculturalism is framed within the current immigration and cultural policies by the Australian government, mainly the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia, launched by the Prime Minister in 1989.<sup>51</sup> It conceptualizes multiculturalism from the three

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p.565.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p. 559.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 561.

dimensions: cultural identity, social justice and economic efficiency. In particular, according to Castles, it is 'seen as a system of rights and freedoms which, however, are limited by the overriding commitment to the nation, a duty to accept the Constitution and the rule of Law, and the acceptance of basic principles such as tolerance and equality, English as the national language, and the equality of sexes' (1992:557).<sup>52</sup> Thus, in Australia, the concept of multiculturalism has gained the status of institutionalized governmental policy, which is guided by constitution and law.

However, the concept that is often considered as an antithetical to multiculturalism is the so-called assimilationism. This concept was central in Australia's immigration policy until the introduction of multiculturalism in the 1960's and represented 'the doctrine that immigrants could be culturally and socially absorbed and later become indistinguishable from the existing Anglo-Australian population' (Wilton and Bosworth, 1984, qtd. in Castles).<sup>53</sup> On a larger scale, however, the concept has been widely used in immigration research. In his article "Assimilationism and Pluralism as Cultural tools" Mitch Berbrier, taking US as an example thus divides assimilationism, which was a prominent ideal in American nation building: conformist assimilationism and melting-pot assimilationism. The former manifests itself in radical desire to erase immigrants' ethnicity by all means, whereas the latter is a milder form of assimilation, where immigrants ethnicity is not radically erased, but may also contribute to the common American identity (Berbrier 2004: 32-33). Such approaches are highly discriminating which may be seen as the prerequisite for immigration policies' evolution and their move towards multiculturalism.

The last but not least two concepts that are closely connected to multiculturalism and to

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<sup>51</sup> Prime Minister Bob Hawke introduced the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia in 1989, trying to leave behind his government's sometimes mixed signals on multiculturalism. Jakubowicz, Andrew. *Commentary on: A national multicultural agenda for all Australians*. <<http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/122.A-national-multicultural-agenda-for-all-Australians>>. Accessed Nov. 2013. ; Castles, Stephen (et al).1992. *Mistaken identity: multiculturalism and the demise of nationalism in Australia*, 3rd edn. Sydney, Pluto Press. See e.g. *A NEW AGENDA FOR MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA*.1999.

<[https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/files/settle/multicultural\\_australia/agenda.pdf](https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/files/settle/multicultural_australia/agenda.pdf)>.

See e.g Fact Sheet 6 - Australia's Multicultural Policy.Australian Government: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. <<https://www.mia.org.au/documents/item/232>>Accessed 14 Nov. 2013.

<sup>52</sup> Wilton, J. and Bosworth, R. 1984 . *Old Worlds and New Australia*, Victoria: Penguin.

each other are the concepts of culture itself, and pluralism. According to Castles, culture or in particular its opaque and shifting interpretation is the main stumbling block in executing Australian multicultural policy. The government 'based its approach to multiculturalism on a primordialist concept of culture, defined in static terms as the language, folklore, cuisine and customs brought in as 'cultural baggage' by migrants' (1992: 559). However this approach transformed in the National Agenda and the diversity turned to be a universal right of an Australian citizen, detaching it from the concept of culture. Thus, cultural pluralism which manifested itself in specifying ethnic minorities in the context of Australian state, gave way to a new interpretation of multiculturalism.

Castles' article, in spite of being highly descriptive and comparatively-analytical, as well as argumentative, may be seen as a comprehensive illustration of the critical thought concerning the idea of multiculturalism at that time. Most of the article is devoted to the description of Australia's immigration policy, its evolution through time and its analysis. Along with that Australian and European policies are compared, in order to argue that Europe has to give up those of them, which are based on myth and prejudice; but instead adopting some of those practiced in Australia. Thus the tone of the article is obviously positive towards multiculturalism, since it is proposed as a potential solution to Europe, and negative to Europe's 'Tendencies towards exclusionism - the 'fortress Europe' mentality - and romantic and often violent attempts to return to an illusory ethnic purity'.<sup>54</sup>

### **3.6 "Multiculturalism Now: Civilization National Identity and Difference Before and After September 11<sup>th</sup>"**

The second article to analyze is "Multiculturalism Now: Civilization National Identity and Difference Before and After September 11<sup>th</sup>", in which David Palumbo-Liu invoked Samuel Huntington's widely circulated theory about the "clash of civilizations." It was written by David Palumbo-Liu and published by Duke University Press in 2002. The author of the article, David Palumbo-Liu is a Professor and Director of Comparative Literature at Stanford University. His fields of studies are social and cultural criticism, literary theory and criticism, East Asian and Asia Pacific plus American studies. He has published several books and articles in all of these

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid. p. 565.

fields that have been translated into Chinese, German, French and Portuguese. Palumbo-Liu is mostly interested in issues such as social theory, community, justice, globalization, race, ethnicity and the role of literature and the humanities.

His area of studies is East Asian studies, classical Chinese literature and comparative literature. Some of his published works are: *The Ethnic Canon: Histories, Institutions, Interventions*; *Streams of Cultural Capital: Transnational Cultural Studies*; and *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier*. Palumbo-Liu graduated at the University of California, Berkeley, obtaining undergraduate degrees in Comparative Literature (English and French) and Oriental Languages. He studied Chinese in Taiwan and spent one year in Kyoto as a member of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. After having completed a PhD in comparative literature at Berkeley, he started to work in Asian American studies, teaching courses on Asian American history and literature. In 1990, he joined the Department of Comparative Literature at Stanford. He was a founding member of Stanford's Program in Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity (CSRE), which was created in 1997. From 1999 to 2005 he worked as director of the Program in Modern Thought and Literature. During that time he helped organize important conferences on Rational Choice Theory and the Humanities and World-Systems Analysis, plus other events.<sup>55</sup>

The unprecedented event of 9/11 has changed the direction of history and also had the indelible and adverse impact on the multiculturalism. The world is still facing the dire repercussions of this catastrophe and many new ideas and concept came into being and on the other hand many became outdated. In this regard, Multiculturalism is one of the causalities of 9/11 that received severe set-back and many countries especially the USA, the UK and European countries started thinking differently and changed their policies.

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<sup>55</sup>“David Palumbo-Liu, Professor of Comparative Literature, Stanford University”. <<http://www.stanford.edu/~palboliu> >. Accessed 16 Nov. 2013.

After the events of 9/11 many journalists and researchers worked on finding the cause behind such a catastrophe. Georges W. Bush junior, then the President of the United States (US) called it a civilization's fight. This is the reason why the author of this article based his research while covering the recent historical context linked to the issues of multiculturalism, civilization and national identity. Particularly, These questions have become even more significant and contentious in the aftermath of the September 11 attack. In order to fully understand the concept of multiculturalism one has to study its origin. The author then goes through some historical events that in the end led to the birth of multiculturalism. The majority of his analysis takes place in the US because this is where multiculturalism is thought to have started. During the Second World War there was some effort to try to understand national identity and after the war a determination to define what was "exceptionally American" (Palumbo-Liu 2002: 112).<sup>56</sup> The American character became the American Identity, but at the same time the world was going through the transformation rapidly and the US had to familiarize itself with its new position as a world power. It meant that they had to have an understanding of the world outside their borders.<sup>57</sup>

Ruth Benedict, one of the two anthropology students who funded the Committee for National Moral (1939) stated in 1946 "A world made for differences". The author then moved on to the 1970's during which culture became more important and the increased multiculturalism in developed countries was linked to international business and cultural relations. Capitalism brought multilateral thinking and the development of democracy prepared the conditions in order for multiculturalism to emerge in the 1980's.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, minorities were asking for more recognition and rights. Furthermore, the author starts analyzing parts of Samuel Huntington's book *Clash of Civilizations*. Palumbo-Liu in his article "Multiculturalism Now: Civilization, National Identity, and Difference Before and After September 11th" invoked Samuel Huntington's widely circulated theory about the "clash of civilizations."<sup>59</sup> Huntington's

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<sup>56</sup> Palumbo-Liu, David. 2002. "Multiculturalism Now: Civilization, National Identity, and Difference Before and After September 11th." *boundary 2* 29:2 (summer 2002): 109-128.  
<<http://box836.bluehost.com/~palumbol/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Multiculturalism-Now-copy.pdf>>.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* p.112-113.

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

theory has not only been used by the Bush Administration to explain "why" the terrorist attack took place, but more problematically "how" the United States should respond to the "war on terror," and the ideology of otherness as a site of abjection.

As stated above, after 9/11 G. W. Bush declared in a discourse that the world had changed and that there will be a new war. He then declared that it was a civilization's fight, which indirectly refers to Huntington's book. According to Palumbo-Liu, the main theory of the book is that future conflicts will not be States against States or capitalism against socialism, but civilizations against civilizations. It came out as a warning for Western nations (118).<sup>60</sup> It is indirectly what G. W. Bush was referring to. By analyzing this book the author's goal is to determine how the concept of civilization is connected to multiculturalism. In "Multiculturalism Now" Palumbo-Liu says that "Huntington's thesis has dramatic ramifications for minority studies, minority rights, and political dissent in general" (109).<sup>61</sup> These ramifications begin to form the central thesis of Palumbo-Liu's timely book, *The Deliverance of Others*,<sup>62</sup> where both the articulation of Otherness and one's ethical responsibility in such an articulation is discussed through the lens of one's engagement with the literary novel.

After analyzing Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*, the author discusses some of his other work in which he also wrote arguments against multiculturalism. Although Palumbo-Liu analyzed a lot of Huntington's work throughout the article, he concluded by emphasizing that his theories are dangerous for minorities' right. Multiculturalism is, according to him, very important phenomenon on international scale. He states that one has to think in a multicultural way outside their own borders and on many levels: national, sub-national and regional culture. In order to do that one has to study the history of those cultures (Palumbo-Liu 127).

According to Palumbo-Liu, there is nowadays no difference being made between national identity and international civilization. The events of 9/11 have had for consequences a new enemy: Islam. As a result dangerous amalgams were made. Although politicians insist on stating

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<sup>59</sup> The Clash of Civilizations is a theory that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. It was proposed by political scientist Samuel P. Huntington in a 1992 lecture at the American Enterprise Institute.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.p. 118.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. p.109.

<sup>62</sup> Palumbo-Liu, David. 2012. *The Deliverance of Others: Reading Literature in a Global Age* Durham: Duke University Press.

that this new war is against terrorism and not Islam their actions are proved otherwise. There is a sharp increase in Islamophobia<sup>63</sup> resulting from the September 11 attacks and the definition of multiculturalism changed dramatically in a negative way.<sup>64</sup> A good example is the UK which was in the past a model of successful multiculturalism. Minorities were in the 1950-1960's divided by color, then by race in the 1960's to 1980's, then by ethnicity in the 1990's, and finally by religion after 9/11 (Abbas 2004:1).

This civilization war against Islam has not only had consequences within the international political order, but also within societies.<sup>65</sup> A large number of Muslim populations in the West aspire to live harmoniously despite cultural differences; an entire civilization cannot be targeted.<sup>66</sup> British multiculturalism's successfulness is at risk and the attacks of 9/11 have changed the world, having an indelibly enormous impact on Western societies.<sup>67</sup>

The main concept articulated in the article is civilization, which is directly connected to multiculturalism. This concept is explained in the article through the analysis of Samuel P. Huntington's book *Clash of Civilizations*<sup>68</sup> which caused a furor. According to Huntington, the era of Western ideology domination is over and so we are entering in another one in which many different cultures and civilizations will interact with each other. Other civilizations are making

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<sup>63</sup> Peter Gottschalk and Gabriel Greenberg, *Islamophobia: Making Muslims the Enemy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), ; some disagreement exists among scholars as to when the term actually originated. Although popularized by the 1997 Runnymede Trust Report, the term has been in existence at least since 1922, when it appeared in an article by French Orientalist Étienne Dinet. However, Dinet uses it to refer to Muslims fearing Islam. The Oxford English Dictionary (online version, June 2012) traces the term back as far as a 1976 issue of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. It also catalogues another early use in 1985 by Edward Said in a *Cultural Critique* article. See Jocelyne Cesari, "Islamophobia in the West: A Comparison between Europe and the United States," in *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*, ed. John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21; Étienne Dinet, "L'Orient vu de l'Occident," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 21, no. 84 (July 1922), 347-48.

<sup>64</sup> Peter Gottschalk and Gabriel Greenberg, *Islamophobia: Making Muslims the Enemy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), 11; some disagreement exists among scholars as to when the term actually originated. Although popularized by the 1997 Runnymede Trust Report, the term has been in existence at least since 1922, when it appeared in an article by French Orientalist Étienne Dinet. However, Dinet uses it to refer to Muslims fearing Islam. The Oxford English Dictionary (online version, June 2012) traces the term back as far as a 1976 issue of the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. It also catalogues another early use in 1985 by Edward Said in a *Cultural Critique* article. See Jocelyne Cesari, "Islamophobia in the West: A Comparison between Europe and the United States," in *Islamophobia: The Challenge of Pluralism in the 21st Century*, ed. John L. Esposito and Ibrahim Kalin (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21; Étienne Dinet, "L'Orient vu de l'Occident," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 21, no. 84 (July 1922), 347-48.

<sup>65</sup> Abbas 2004. P. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. p.11.

<sup>68</sup> Huntington, Samuel P. 2003. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*.1. Simon & Schuster paperback ed. New York : Simon & Schuster.

clearly known of the value of their own culture within their welcoming countries. Huntington believes that immigrants having different civilization, culture and national identity pose a serious threat to the Western culture. They will, according to him, refuse any kind of assimilation and social cohesion and live according to their own values and tradition all while trying to propagate them (Palumbo-Liu 2002:119-120).<sup>69</sup> This will then lead to the failure of multiculturalism.

Other concepts used are national identity and culture. As stated before, they are indirectly linked to multiculturalism. Before the birth of multiculturalism there was a search for American national identity which led to question of what it was to be American the notion of culture. Palumbo-Liu argues that theoretically adoption of the culture refers to becoming American, but in reality paradoxically, eschewing the liberal celebration of diversity, there was a request for a separation between national and foreign.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, in order to study the concept of multiculturalism one has to understand the concepts of national identity and culture. In his work on Caribbean immigrants in Britain, Stuart Hall links identity with history and culture and describes it as dynamic and ever-changing.<sup>71</sup>

The concept of culture is directly linked to multiculturalism. Cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo defines culture "refers broadly to the forms through which people make sense of their lives, rather than more narrowly to the opera or art museums [...]. Neither high nor low, culture is all-pervasive."(1989).

Cary Nelson, Paula Treichler, and Lawrence Grossberg define culture more clearly in the introduction to their edited collection *Cultural Studies*: "[C]ulture is understood both as a way of life-encompassing ideas, attitudes, languages, practices, institutions, and structures of power-and a whole range of cultural practices: artistic forms, texts, canons, architecture, mass-produced

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<sup>69</sup> Palumbo-Liu, David. 2002. "Multiculturalism Now: Civilization, National Identity, and Difference Before and After September 11th." *boundary 2* 29:2 (summer 2002): 109-128. <<http://box836.bluehost.com/~palumbol/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Multiculturalism-Now-copy.pdf>>.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p. 112.

<sup>71</sup> Hall, Stuart. 1990. 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' in Rutherford, J. (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, pp. 222-239.

commodities, and so forth" (1992:5).<sup>72</sup> So, according to some of the major contemporary cultural theorists, culture is "an ensemble of beliefs and practices" (Greenblatt 225), "a way of life [...] and a whole range of cultural practices".<sup>73</sup>

Last but not least, the concept of multiculturalism is used. It is defined in the text as people from different civilizations living harmoniously together. However there is another kind of multiculturalism: critical multiculturalism, which focuses on historical differences instead of cultural differences.<sup>74</sup>

The article is well written and the concepts are used in a clear and consistent way. The article is written in an informative and argumentative way. The author goes through historical events in order to explain different concepts. Although he is clearly in favor of multiculturalism he chose to analyze throughout a big part of his article, a book famously written by a conservative anti-multiculturalism political scientist. However, he analyzes it in such a way that it is a good persuasion for the reader of the danger of such theories. Despite the use of an important contra-argument, the author manages to argument his point of view, which is that efforts have to be made in order for multiculturalism to succeed.

### **3.7 “Towards Post-multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity”**

The third and last research article that I have analyzed is “Towards Post-Multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity” written by Steven Vertovec. The article was first published on November 23, 2010 in the *International Social Science Journal*. The author Steven Vertovec, born in Chicago, USA, is currently the Director of the Max-Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen, and the Honorary Joint Professor of Sociology and Ethnology in the University of

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<sup>72</sup> Nelson, Cary, Paula A. Treichler, and Lawrence Grossberg.(eds.). 1992. "Cultural Studies: An Introduction." New York: Routledge,1-22.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

Göttingen.<sup>75</sup> He is also working as the co-editor of the *Global Networks* journal, and as the editor of the book series ‘Transnationalism’ published by Routledge.<sup>76</sup> His field of study is Social Anthropology, and he is mainly interested in topics like globalization, international migration, and multiculturalism.<sup>77</sup> His previous occupations are Professor of Transnational Anthropology at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford; Director of the British Economic and Social Research Council’s Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS); and Senior Research Fellow at Linacre College, Oxford.<sup>78</sup> He has done a lot of research in this field; some of the most recent ones are research articles “The cultural politics of nation, migration and diversity” written in 2011, “Introduction: Depicting diversity” and “Networking Diversity” both written in 2010, and the book *Transnationalism* written in 2009.<sup>79</sup>

Steven Vertovec claims that multiculturalism lately has been ‘seriously challenged’ and that it has to be re-evaluated. Therefore, in this article he discusses how the term multiculturalism has changed over time and has dramatically transformed into an era called post-multiculturalism. The article also describes some of the concepts that are connected with multiculturalism, how immigration has changed and affected multicultural policies, and how all this might lead us into an era of post-multiculturalism. The article takes off with defining multiculturalism and looks back on how the term was used in the past compared with the recent critique of it. Then it moves on talking about migration patterns in present times and how it tends to move into a more diverse and transnational world. Next, it analyzes in detail the current critique of multiculturalism. Finally it concludes claiming that the world is actually moving towards a post-multiculturalism era and gives some suggestions that would make the new policies applicable.

In the article, multiculturalism is discussed not in connection to some specific region or country, but in its general form. With the passage of time, multicultural policy might take multiple dimensions, even within the same country (Vertovec, 2010).<sup>80</sup> However, when giving

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<sup>75</sup> Vertovec, Steven. *Max-Planck-Gesellschaft*. <[http://www.mpg.de/451831/erforschung\\_gesellschaften\\_wissM27](http://www.mpg.de/451831/erforschung_gesellschaften_wissM27)>. Accessed 06 Dec. 2013.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

example, the author refers to the UK as the perfect model for showing the roots of the criticism towards multiculturalism. The UK is used as the example because it is a very multicultural country; according to Vertovec, the population of London alone consists of people coming from 179 different countries.<sup>81</sup> Multiculturalism has been core policy in the UK towards a more integrated nation for a long period of time, yet nation is quite diverse and Vertovec claims that multiculturalism has even led the UK towards ‘super-diversity’.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, some are concerned that the lack of belongingness and integration among some of the minority members in Britain drives them to extremism and terrorism. For example, the four persons responsible for the 2005 London bombings were all raised in Britain and three of them were even born in Britain (BBC News 2005).<sup>83</sup> Moreover, the socioeconomic standings for immigrants in the UK are very poor. In 2004, the unemployment rate for Muslim men was more than three times higher than the unemployment rate for the indigenous people.<sup>84</sup>

This article is mainly focused on the conceptualization of multiculturalism, but other relevant themes were also expounded such as super-diversity, transnationalism, and post-multiculturalism. For many years multiculturalism has meant a combination of policies aimed at “the promotion of tolerance and respect for group identities, particularly of immigrants and ethnic minorities” (Vertovec 2010: 83).<sup>85</sup> However, nowadays multiculturalism is seen in a different light, i.e. as a combination of policies that leads a nation towards diversity.<sup>86</sup>

Logically, the next concept is ‘super-diversity’<sup>87</sup>, Steven Vertovec has widely used in his works on multiculturalism, particularly on multiculturalism in Britain. Super-diversity is, as

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<sup>80</sup> Vertovec, Steven. 2010. Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, conditions and contexts of diversity. *International Social Science Journal*, 61.199:83-95. <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2010.01749.x/abstract>>.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. p.87.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> “London bombers: Key facts.” BBC News. 2005. Last Updated [21 July 2005]. <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/4676861.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4676861.stm)>. Retrieved 08 Oct. 2013.

<sup>84</sup> “Labour Market. Muslim unemployment rate highest.” *Office for National Statistics*. 21 Feb. 2006. <<http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=979>>. Accessed 03 Sep. 2013.

<sup>85</sup> Vertovec 2010.p. 83.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. p. 90.

Vertovec puts it, a more complex form of the migration-driven diversity (Vertovec 2010: 87).<sup>88</sup> Over last thirty years, migration has caused various patterns that involves the movement of people have different backgrounds in terms of ethnicity, language, religion. Super-diversity describes such changing patterns of diversification and employs multi-dimensional methods to their analysis.

Most of the immigrant-receiving countries welcomed the idea of diversity in the past, when most of the immigrants came from colonial countries as the cheap labor. Nowadays, however, the picture of diversity is quite different and, for most of the part, more complex; “more people are now moving from more places, through more places, to more places”.<sup>89</sup> Hence when studying diversity, one must take into account these following criteria: where the immigrant comes from, how he or she got there, and if they are legally staying there.<sup>90</sup>

Another dominant concept enunciated in the article is ‘transnationalism’<sup>91</sup>, representing social phenomenon which means interconnectivity between people and the networks between migrants and their home countries.<sup>92</sup> Transnationalism, at its inception, basically refers to economic and political interconnectedness that migrants maintained with their home country (Remennick 2003).<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> ‘Super-diversity’ is- a term intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything previously experienced in a particular society. Vertovec argues super diversity in Britain ' is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade'. See Vertovec, Steven. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30:6, 1024-1054, DOI: 10.1080/01419870701599465.

<[http://www.uio.no/studier/emner/sv/sai/SOSANT2525/h14/pensumliste/vertovec\\_super-diversity.pdf](http://www.uio.no/studier/emner/sv/sai/SOSANT2525/h14/pensumliste/vertovec_super-diversity.pdf)>.

See e.g. "Opinion: Super-diversity revealed". 2005. BBC.co.uk.[*Last Updated*] 20 September 2005.

<[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/4266102.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/4266102.stm)>. Accessed 22 Oct. 2013.; See also "About superdiversity - University of Birmingham". Birmingham.ac.uk. <<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/activity/superdiversity-institute/about/about-superdiversity.aspx>>.

<sup>88</sup> Vertovec 2010.p. 87.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. p.86.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. p.87.

<sup>91</sup> See also Vertovec, Steven. 2004. “Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation”. *International Migration Review* 38 (3). The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.: 970–1001. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27645423>>; Vertovec, Steven.1999. “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism”. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2. University of Oxford. <<http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/conceiving.PDF>>.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. p.89.

Over the past decade, approaches to migration have evolved into new dimensions and patterns due to rapidly political, social and technological revolutions modifying the context of movement in which 'migrants maintain to families, communities and causes outside the boundaries of the nations-state to which they have migrated' (Vertovec 2001). Globalization and the accompanying technological advancements have motivated migrants to participate in processes taking place in their nation of origin. The current globalized world makes it easier for people to communicate with each other over long distances; travel costs are reducing, the Internet becomes more and more accessible, also the prices for both local and international calls are relatively low. All these factors make it easier for migrants to maintain contact with their home countries and so to keep their identities. As a result, in some cases the newcomers do not fully integrate into their new environment and their strongest connection remains with people from their homeland.<sup>94</sup> This tendency has been reflected in the development of theories of transnationalism and the formation of a transnational framework for analyzing the dimensions of prevalent migration processes.<sup>95</sup> However, the author argues that it does not necessarily mean that “the more transnational individuals are the less integrated they are” (Vertovec 2010: 90).<sup>96</sup> One can have a strong connection with one’s homeland and still fully integrate in the new environment.

The last concept is ‘post-multiculturalism’ which originates from the recent skepticism directed towards multiculturalism. Post-multiculturalism could be the new policy that might replace multiculturalism with new, better, and more up-to-date policy. There is consensus that multiculturalism seems to be a finished project as Kymlicka puts it, “there is a surprising consensus that we are indeed in a post-multicultural era,” (2010, 97). Post-multiculturalism goal would be to create “a strong common identity and values coupled with recognition of cultural

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<sup>93</sup> Remennik, Larissa. 2003. 'A Case Study in Transnationalism: Russian Jewish Immigrants in Israel in the 1990s' in Münz, Rainer and Ohliger, Rainer (eds.), *Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants: Germany, Israel and Post-Soviet Successor States in Comparative Perspective*, London: Frank Cass, pp. 370-384. <[http://samples.sainsburysebooks.co.uk/9781135759384\\_sample\\_517540.pdf](http://samples.sainsburysebooks.co.uk/9781135759384_sample_517540.pdf)>

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p.90.

<sup>95</sup> Portes, Alejandro ; Guarnizo, Luis Eduardo ; Landolt, Patricia. 1999. 'The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), pp. 217-237. <<https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/16704>>.

<sup>96</sup> Vertovec. 2010. 90

differences” within a nation.<sup>97</sup> The author cites Desmond King<sup>98</sup>, who defined post-multiculturalism as “a wide acknowledgment of group distinction combined with a state struggle to ensure that government policies do not accentuate hierarchical divisions between groups based on race, ethnicity and national background” (Vertovec 2010: 91).<sup>99</sup>

The overall tone of the article concerning multiculturalism is rather negative. Already by reading the title of this article one can understand that it deals with some sort of discussion about new policies that might replace multiculturalism. Throughout the whole article the idea of multiculturalism has been criticized from different aspects. In the introduction part, the author refers to multiculturalism as a possible “contributor to social breakdown, ethnic tension and the growth of extremism and terrorism”.<sup>100</sup> To support this argument, Vertovec has mentioned the fact that “the 2005 London bombers were home grown terrorists”.<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, he adds that recently “multiculturalism has been seriously challenged” and that there has been “a broad backlash against multiculturalism”.<sup>102</sup> Throughout the article, Vertovec claims that the multicultural policies have created many different problems and that these policies have to be changed or even replaced. In most of the cases, multiculturalism separates immigrants and the natives and creates a diverse nation; “there had been a ‘failure of integration’ and multiculturalism was largely to blame”.<sup>103</sup> In conclusion, it is claimed that multiculturalism has actually failed to integrate ethnic minorities into their new environment and therefore it is suggested that multiculturalism might be replaced by post-multiculturalism rather the world has virtually entered a period of post-multiculturalism.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid. p. 91.

<sup>98</sup> King, Desmond S.2005. *The Liberty of Strangers: Making the American Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>99</sup> Vertovec. 2010. P.91.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. p.83.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. p. 86.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. p. 90-91.

### 3.8 Results

This research aims at investigating to determine if there have been tangible changes in the use of the concept of multiculturalism in research articles and in order to answer the question I first compared the articles chosen. First of all, the authors come from different fields of studies. Stephen Castles is political economist and sociologist, international migration being his primary field of study. David Palumbo-Liu is a professor and director of comparative literature, specialized in social and cultural criticism, literary theory. His work covers East Asia, Asia Pacific, and American studies. Steven Vertovec, on the other hand, is a professor of sociology and ethnology. His field of study is mainly social anthropology. However, despite their different field of studies the authors have common interests, which include multiculturalism, immigration, race, ethnicity, globalization, and social theories.

The tones of the articles obviously differ. Castles' article is comparatively analytical and argumentative, and its tone is distinctively in favor of multiculturalism. David Palumbo-Liu article is theoretical, includes historical facts, and treats of many different concepts. It is rather both informative and argumentative. Steven Vertovec's article is contemporary and discusses current issues. It is written in an argumentative way, as the author's aim is to argue that multiculturalism has failed.

Furthermore, the concepts used and associated with multiculturalism also differ. Stephen Castles employs such concepts as assimilationism, culture and pluralism. David Palumbo-Liu in his turn discusses civilization, national identity, and culture. Steven Vertovec links multiculturalism with concepts such as super-diversity, transnationalism, and post-multiculturalism. Moreover, the authors seem to have a different view of multiculturalism. Castle views multiculturalism as a reasonable solution for Europe. He also points out the peculiarity of Australian multiculturalism and its relevancy and compatibility to Europe. According to Palumbo-Liu, in order for multiculturalism to succeed people need to make an effort and learn about other cultures and their historical background. He is a supporter of multiculturalism and is hopeful for the existence of the concept in the future. Steven Vertovec is on the other hand sure of its failure and therefore in favor of change, a new era, which will be post-multiculturalism. He believes that through policy changes societies would be able to move towards that new era.

### 3.9 Discussion

The above results show that within research there are different ways of defining and analyzing the concept of multiculturalism. First of all, the field of study is important because it will determine the way the concept is studied. For example, Stephen Castles' article, whose main focus is immigration, is analytical and argumentative. Professor David Palumbo-Liu's field is a more cultural, literary; therefore, his analysis is dominantly theoretical and includes historical backgrounds and many different concepts. Steven Vertovec, on the other hand, is a social anthropologist and therefore his article relates more to current social issues connected to multiculturalism. Furthermore, the difference in the concepts chosen to be associated with multiculturalism is interesting and surely linked to the field of study of the authors. Castles used the concepts connected to immigration issues (assimilation, culture, pluralism). Palumbo-Liu chose cultural and historical concepts (civilization, national identity) whereas Vertovec is essentially discussing contemporary ones (super-diversity, transnationalism). Moreover, some may argue the origin and definition of the term multiculturalism. Therefore, it is important to study the background of the author and his field of studies, as well as to compare the concepts used.

The first thing that can be noticed is the fact that in the 1970's up until the 1990's it was considered as something positive with countries such as Canada and Australia being shown as models. The policies of multiculturalism were seen as an innovative and suitable substitute for the highly discriminating policies of nationalism and assimilationism. Being first introduced as "cultural pluralism"<sup>105</sup> it then evolved into multiculturalism, which unlike the former covered not only ethnic minorities, but a vast range of "Others", especially the ones oppressed and discriminated and was aimed at reorganizing and restructuring the current cultural model (Berbrier 2004: 35). The policies of multiculturalism were met with enthusiasm in the countries where they were highly relevant - the "classical countries of immigration"(Castles 1992: 549). Two of such countries may be used as examples: Australia and Canada. Immigration played the

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<sup>105</sup> Berbrier, Mitch. 2004. "Assimilationism and Pluralism as Cultural Tools". *Sociological Forum* 19 (1). Wiley: 29–61.  
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4148806>>.

central role in the former's nation building, making it difficult to build up a clear national identity.<sup>106</sup> The same can be said about the latter as well, with the addition of the controversies between the francophone and Anglophone population (Wayland 1997:33). However, now these countries are some of those with the highest life standards and the most prosperous ones, taking into account that their immigration policies were shaped by the ideas of multiculturalism. This accounts for the attempts of the researchers to advocate such ideas to Europe in the beginning of 1990's, Castles article serving a vivid example.

Furthermore, another perceptibly notable variation in course of changing concept of multiculturalism is that, in the wake of 9/11 unprecedented event, the national political discourse portraying the multiculturalism as failed project across Europe is often expressly directed towards Islam and more manifestly Muslim immigrants. Particularly in the post-9/11 era, there is a widespread reflection of a strong tendency towards 'Islamization' of identities and issues (Grillo, 2010; Silvestri, 2010).

As discussed above during the article analysis, the catastrophic events of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 have had serious repercussions and indelible impact on the development of multicultural policies. Politicians such as former President G. W. Bush declared that the world had entered a new era and that it was the beginning of a new "civilization's fight". Samuel Huntington's book that predicted such a "war" came into limelight again (Palumbo-Liu 2002: 109). Islamophobia rose to new high dimensions, politicians started to make anti-Muslim statements, and the media manipulated the seriousness of the situation, playing with citizens' fear (Abbas 2004: 1).

Consequently, there was proliferation of serious doubts and reservations about the functionality and practicability of multicultural policies within European public sphere. All these events had significant results on how research on the concept of multiculturalism was handled. Although the majority of such research was in the past concerning all cultures and nations, 9/11 and its aftermath allowed it to concentrate specifically on one civilization. Researchers became more and more interested in the phenomenon and as a result more papers were published about it. It can then be said that not only did the events of 9/11 have political and social consequences, but also affected research made on multiculturalism.

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

Lastly, in dominant discourse in research, multiculturalism is deemed as divisive and disruptive which is segregating a nation instead of integrating it and those multicultural policies need to be replaced (Vertovec 2010:83). Therefore, some scholars have moved forward and have started discussing the possible replacements for multiculturalism as Vertovec propounds post-multiculturalism as an alternative. Post-multiculturalism will eventually change multicultural policies: “Post-multiculturalist policies and discourse seek to have it both ways: a strong common identity and values coupled with the recognition of cultural differences”.<sup>107</sup> However, there are others who disagree with the idea of a post-multiculturalism era. For instance, Kymlicka in his work “The rise and fall of multiculturalism?” argues that “the post-multiculturalist critique is largely off-target” (2010:103).<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid. p. 91.

<sup>108</sup> Kymlicka, Will. 2010. The Rise and Fall of Multiculturalism: New Debates on Inclusion and Accommodation in Diverse Societies. *International Social Science Journal* 199: 97-112.

## Chapter 4

### Reconstructing the Public Debate on the Failure of Multiculturalism: Three National Case Studies Based on Three National Public Debates: France, Germany and the UK.

#### 4.1 Chapter Overview

This research project proposes a comparative investigation of the debate on skepticism about the merits of multiculturalism. The empirical analysis reconstructs each national public debate on the failure of multicultural policy starting from a nodal point. This chapter explores how the discourse on the failure of multiculturalism and integration on immigrants into the host society circulated through the European public sphere. As a consequence, the present research design proposes a comparative investigation of the debate on the skepticism and demerits of multiculturalism using three national cases: France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Obviously, France, Germany and the United Kingdom are specifically relevant as case studies for this comparison, given their status as the highest immigrant-receiving countries in Europe<sup>109</sup>(Lacroix, 2010: 3). Moreover, many other factors contribute to the shared sense of this particular discourse on the demerits of multiculturalism such as their respective histories with immigration, national political structures<sup>110</sup> and changing perception of the concept of multiculturalism and immigration.<sup>111</sup>

This chapter also analyzes how national political discourse on multiculturalism has emerged across Europe following the growing challenges regarding the integration of immigrants and how the European influential political leaders have declared the concept of multiculturalism as a

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<sup>109</sup> Data of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 2013.

OECD. 2013. "World Migration in Figures". 3-4 October 2013.

<<http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf>> Accessed 11 Nov. 2013.

See e.g. PEW Research Center. 2011. "The Future of the Global Muslim Population. Region: Europe"

<[http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/future-of-the-global-muslim-population-regional-europe/#ftn35\\_rtn](http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/future-of-the-global-muslim-population-regional-europe/#ftn35_rtn)> Accessed Jan. 3,

2013. Also PEW Research Center. Conrad Hackett. "5 facts about the Muslim population in Europe"

<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/15/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>

<sup>110</sup> Favell. 2001.

<sup>111</sup> Chebel d'Appollonia, Ariane, and Simon Reich. 2008. *Immigration, Integration, and Security : America and Europe in Comparative Perspective*. University of Pittsburgh Press.p. 206.

failed project. The analytical framework is based on a comparative analysis of three national case studies based on three political speeches by the influential European Leaders, France, Germany, and England which developed the narrative for reconstructing the public debate on multiculturalism. Moreover, this chapter explores how a normative discourse on multicultural myth is articulated across Europe and to what extent it relates to the specific societal and political characteristics of national public spheres.

## 4.2 Sources

In terms of material (see appendix), the selection has been made in accordance to the influence and political power of each of the European countries and the role each of them play in the multicultural discourse. The speech presented by Prime Minister David Cameron is extracted from the official webpage of the British government and kept in its original language. Chancellor Angela Merkel's speech was on the other hand only available as a video source and had therefore to be first transcribed and later translated into English. A similar action was needed in the case of the two French speeches by President Nicholas Sarkozy as the first speech, held at Versailles in front of the entire French Parliament, was only available in the form of a written transcript in French and was thus also needed to be translated into English. The second source was a video recording of an interview, which also was transcribed and translated. Additional material have been used firstly in terms of bringing depth and knowledge to the topic and the chosen research form of discourse analysis, where in the later examples includes written works such as *Critical Discourse Analysis* by Norman Fairclough<sup>112</sup>; *Methods of critical discourse analysis* by Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer<sup>113</sup>; *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, Louise Phillips and Marianne W. Jørgensen.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Fairclough, Norman. 2010. *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. Harlow: Longman.

<sup>113</sup> Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer. 2001. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.

<sup>114</sup> Jørgensen, Marianne and Louise Phillips. 2002. *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: Sage. See e.g. Coulthard, Malcolm. An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. 1995. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. London: Longman.; Gee, James Paul. 1999. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. London: Routledge. London: Routledge.

<<http://ir.nmu.org.ua/bitstream/handle/123456789/14201/9fd8f444556bd43b3660a796b650845a.pdf?sequence=1>>.

Source criticism can be made in the sense of translating the used material. As in the case of all translations made some risks should always be taken into account in terms of misinterpretations and changing of meaning. I am fully aware of these risks and have taken them into consideration both in the actual work of translation but additionally during the analytical part of the paper. I have furthermore chosen to include all made translations in an appendix part of the paper, as well as naturally including all original sources so that any reader, that wishes to make a comparisons of their own, will have the opportunity.

#### **4.3 Historical and Political context of the Debate**

Before the analysis of the actual speeches, I would like to focus on the historical background and political context of these countries, because this might help understand what the Heads of States had in minds while giving the speeches. The next step to proceed with is a short historical background to Germany, France, and Great Britain. I find that a short introduction to the background of the country of each speech will facilitate the understanding of the context and condition behind each speech and the topic addressed. I would like to bring back these pieces of information in the same order that the speeches were given, therefore firstly I will focus on Germany, afterwards on Great Britain, and lastly on France.

##### **4.3.1 Germany: Historical and Political context**

Partition into West and East Germany after World War Two, has left visible and indelible marks in course of the history of Germany. West Germany developed rapidly after the war with the help of the western world, such as America and the western powers of Europe, while East Germany, the GDR, was influenced and re-structured under the strong socialist values of the Soviet Union.<sup>115</sup> This historical division of Germany, characterized by people having the differing values, affects the construction of a current national identity.<sup>116</sup> And the problem of

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<sup>115</sup> Persson, Hans-Åke.2001.“Soweit die deutsche Zunge klingt”. *Europe: The Return of History*. Ed. Sven Tägil. Lund: Nordic Academic Press.p.280-289.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. p. 296-309.

integrating immigrants into the Germany society can be traced back to the construction of the national identity.<sup>117</sup>

After reunification, “concepts of political identity and national culture underwent significant redefinition”, and in this context, this dimension still aims at redefining ‘foreigners’ in Germany (Stehle 2012: 168). It was also after reunification that Germany was recognized as a country of immigrants. However, according to law, non-German were still ‘foreigners’ until the government led by the Greens and the Social Democrats – (SPD) adopted bold measures to reform immigration and integration policies including reformed Nationality Law by recognizing the principle of *ius solis*.<sup>118</sup>

Afterwards the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) led by Merkel won the elections in 2005 and 2007 and introduced many changes in the immigration policy profoundly characterized by a traditional concept of the nation<sup>119</sup>, urging upon the integration of immigrants in German society by learning German language and adapting to the values and norms of dominant culture.<sup>120</sup>

There was massive recruitment of guest-workers in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Since the 1950s post-war boom German economy has been dependent on immigrant workers, especially ‘guest workers’. Many of them returned to their home countries, but many of them remained in Germany to seek fortune including Turkish immigrants. This has developed Germany gradually to a country with regulated immigration.<sup>121</sup> In the current scenario, the prevalent problem

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<sup>117</sup> Joppke, Christian. 1999. *Immigration and the Nation-State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>118</sup> Under German law, nationality has for a long time determined by the nationality of the parents, not by the place of birth. This principle is called *ius sanguinis*. *Ius soli*, the law of the birthplace, is the legal principle that determines citizenship by place of birth. See e.g. Morjé Howard, M. 2008. The Causes and Consequences of Germany's New Citizenship Law. *German Politics*, 17(1), 41 - 62. doi:10.1080/09644000701855127 <<http://www18.georgetown.edu/data/people/mmh/publication-30404.pdf>>.

<sup>119</sup> Gottfried, P. 2007. The Rise and Fall of Christian Democracy in Europe. *Orbis*, 51(4), 711 - 723. doi:10.1016/j.orbis.2007.08.012.

<sup>120</sup> Connolly, Kate. 2010. “Angela Merkel declares death of German multiculturalism”. *The Guardian*. [Last Updated] 17 Oct. 2010. <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-germany-multiculturalism-failures>>. Accessed 6 September 2013.

<sup>121</sup> Constant, Amelie F and Tien, Bienvenue N. 2011. Germany's Immigration Policy and Labor Shortages. IZA Research Report No. 41. <[http://www.iza.org/en/webcontent/publications/reports/report\\_pdfs/iza\\_report\\_41.pdf](http://www.iza.org/en/webcontent/publications/reports/report_pdfs/iza_report_41.pdf)>.

concerning national identity building, is the problem of finding a common ‘German-ness’, focusing on the German language being of great significance when deciding upon who is German and who is not.<sup>122</sup>

The importance of a common German identity built upon language might come in conflict with the fact that approximately 19% of the population in Germany is of immigrant decent, which means that almost 20% of the population do not have German as their mother tongue (“International Migration Report 2009”).<sup>123</sup> This alarming increase of population with foreign decent has generated escalating hostility and xenophobic sentiments within the host society towards the immigrants.

A study showed that over 30% of people believe the country is being “overrun by foreigners”.<sup>124</sup> The study - by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation think-tank - also suggested that 16 million of Germany's immigrants or people with foreign origins are attracted towards the social benefits.<sup>125</sup> In this context , Thilo Sarrazin triggered a controversy about multiculturalism by turning down post-war immigration policy and claimed that the Muslim immigrants are a burden on the German welfare system holding them responsible the social problems.<sup>126</sup> The former German President, Christian Wulff (Christian Democratic Union - CDU), on October 4, 2010, during his speech on the anniversary of German unification, also triggered a new debate by stating that Islam was part

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<sup>122</sup> Person 2001. P.298.

<sup>123</sup> “International Migration Report 2009: A Global Assessment”. Department of Economic and Social Affairs(DESA): Population Division. United Nations. ST/ESA/SER.A/316 December 2011. <<http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/migration/WorldMigrationReport2009.pdf>>. Accessed 18 Aug. 2013.; See also Federal Statistical Office of Germany. 2012. statistical yearbook Germany. <[https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook\\_Chapter2\\_5011001129004.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.destatis.de/EN/Publications/Specialized/Population/StatYearbook_Chapter2_5011001129004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)>. Accessed 20 Aug. 2013. See e.g. “German immigration jumps to highest levels in 16 years”. *BBC News*. 2012 . [Last Updated 17 May 2012]. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-18105037>>. Accessed 02 Sep. 2013.

<sup>124</sup> Kern, Soeren. 2010. “The Beginning of the End of European Multiculturalism”. [Last Updated 21 Oct. 2010].<<http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/1612/european-multiculturalism-end>>. Accessed at 04. Feb. 2014.

<sup>125</sup> “Merkel says German multicultural society has failed”. *BBC News*. [Last Updated 17 Oct. 2010]. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11559451>> Accessed 19 Jan. 2014.

<sup>126</sup> Evans, Stephen. 2010. “Germany's charged immigration debate”. *BBC News, Berlin*. [Last Updated 17 Oct. 2010]. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11532699>>. Accessed 10 Oct. 2013. See e.g. Sarrazin, Thilo. 2010. ; See also Goodhart, David. 2010. “The challenge to German liberalism”. *Prospect Magazine*. <<http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/arts-and-books/thilo-sarrazin-germany-immigration-multiculturalism-review>>. Accessed 12 Oct. 2013.

of Germany. Specifically, Wulff said that in addition to Christianity and Judaism, “Islam also belongs in Germany”.<sup>127</sup>

Germany’s approach to multiculturalism was different from the United Kingdom’s, in a sense that the labor shortage was fulfilled by foreign workers, not from former colonies but from the countries around the Mediterranean, called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers). Over time, however, these guests, the vast majority of them Turks stayed permanently in Germany. The policy of multiculturalism was adopted to deal with the Turkish immigrants which encouraged them to develop a parallel community with their own culture and language. Consequently, this led Germans to view Turkish culture with increasing xenophobic sentiments. . A study conducted by Germany’s Bielefeld University in 2005, suggested that three out of four Germans believed that Muslim culture is not compatible with the Western world. A 2011 Survey conducted by the French polling firm Ifop showed that 40 percent of Germans considered the presence of Islamic communities ‘a threat’ to their national identity.<sup>128</sup>

Today, Germany is the world’s second most popular immigrant destination, after the United States. Since the last decade, immigration and integration of immigrants, especially about Muslim immigrants, has been the main issue on political agenda. This debate has been mostly focused on the Muslim immigrants whether they can be a part of German society? <sup>129</sup> In this context, Merkel’s speech has stirred the contemporary German debate on integration more vigorously.

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<sup>127</sup> Reuters. 2010. “German president welcomes Islam during unity speech.” [Last Updated] 03 Oct. 2010. <<http://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-unity-islam-idUSTRE69218Z20101003> >. Accessed at 12 Feb. 2014. : See also Leslie, Liz. 2010. “ German President Addresses Islam in Unity Speech” . [Last Updated] 05 Oct. 2010. <<http://muslimvoices.org/german-president-addresses-islam-unity-speech/>>. Accessed at 15 Feb. 2014.

<sup>128</sup> “Islam et intégration : le constat d’échec franco-allemand”( Islam and integration: the failure of Franco-German statement). [Last Updated] 07 Jan.2011. <[http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2011/01/04/islam-et-integration-le-constat-d-echec-franco-allemand\\_1460748\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2011/01/04/islam-et-integration-le-constat-d-echec-franco-allemand_1460748_3224.html)>. Retrieved 08 Jan. 2014.

<sup>129</sup> Pautz, Hartwig. 2005. “The politics of identity in Germany: the Leitkultur debate”. Race & Class 46(4):39-52.

### 4.3.2 Britain: Historical and Political context

I would also like to give a very brief description of the background of multiculturalism in Britain. Many countries are banner holders of multicultural formations. Particularly, For a long time, the UK is a shining example of a multicultural state and also a multicultural society formed of a diverse range of cultures and identities. They have coexisted with mutual respect, understanding and tolerance for each other and they also preceded a large-scale immigration to UK after the Second World War. Great Britain is to be seen as a colonial empire, they started setting up their colonies in 1607 and soon afterwards they owned almost all North America. The issue of colonization is very important, when it comes to aspects of immigration and multiculturalism. As John Tosh writes in *Pursuit of History* ‘. . . colonialism has not really ended but continues in less formal and more cover ways.’ (2010: 287).

British officials feared that a large number of immigrants from the Caribbean, India, and Pakistan, during the late 1940s and 1950s, might undermine the country’s sense of identity. As a government report warned in 1953,

*‘A large coloured community as a noticeable feature of our social life would weaken . . . the concept of England or Britain to which people of British stock throughout the Commonwealth is attached.’*<sup>130</sup>

Despite all the conflicts between British states and the Second World War, Great Britain still is seen as a mostly Christian country with a strongly highlighted national identity within its citizens. Due to the colonization, Britain is a country where a lot of foreigners have come to live in and even though nationalism has highly developed. In fifteen years over 2.3 million people has moved to live in Great Britain (Doughty and Slack 2008).

Some other events that ignited the public debate on multicultural policies was the ethnically-motivated riots in 2001 and 2011 in London which involved segregated

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<sup>130</sup> Malik, Kenan, 1996. *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society*. New York. New York University Press.p.20.

communities, considerably isolated from the mainstream society. Moreover, it is the general debate within the public sphere about the Muslim immigrants that they have always had their separated identity in Britain urging upon the accommodation of their religious needs. Political elite and public opinion have developed the perception that they have lack of interest in the integration and assimilation policies and this self-isolation and segregation is leading them to radicalization and extremism. This general perception deepened after the terrorist attacks of 7th July 2005.

As the public pressure increased immensely, the Immigration Act 1971, imposed certain limitations on immigration from the Commonwealth to migrate to the UK . British local bodies introduced multicultural strategies mainly from the 1970s and 1980s onwards particularly, Tony Blair’s labor government reinforced it (Marrin. 2009). Mainly immigrants are from the Indian subcontinent or the Caribbean, which have been from former British colonies. In 2004, the number of people who became British citizens rose to a record 140, 795, a rise of 12% on the previous year. These figures are on the increase since 2000. Most of the immigrants come from Africa (32%) and Asia (40%), the largest three groups belong to Pakistan, India and Somalia.<sup>131</sup> This background of the immigrants as a part of British multicultural society helps us understand which youth the Prime Minister is Talking about in his speech.

#### **4.3.3 France: Historical and Political context**

Sarkozy’s speech reveals the main problems of Muslim immigration in France and reinforces the main pillars of French integration model. France is seen as a prototype nation-state, exquisitely called a “state-nation state”, which means that the construction of the state took the main role over the construction of the nation (Johansson 185). Rune Johansson calls it “an artificial political construction” (185). In comparison to the United Kingdom, the nation is seen from an entirely opposite way, namely as a group of individuals from the same territory who share similar views on the common identity and history and the void of political control over

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<sup>131</sup> “Thousands in UK citizenship queue”. *BBC News*. [Last Updated] 12 Feb. 2006. (Accessed at 21.03.2011). <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk/4706862.stm>>. Accessed 02 Jan. 2014.

their territory (Johansson 186). When comparing to Britain, it should be noted that France from the seventeenth century to the late twentieth, was the second largest after the British colonial empire, owing mainly parts in Africa, Asia and few in North America. That is why; nowadays French is such a common language, after English and Spanish. Despite all the colonial wars with Great Britain which had definitely weakened the French position in the world, it still has recovered and remained powerful and cohesive state. France has always seen itself as a very strong country, with strong national feelings towards it and strongly secular. Revolution brought drastic changes to the country, mainly within politics, administration, economy and politics (Johansson 214).

Nowadays, as Rune Johansson writes, about four million people living in France were born outside of it. Mainly people from Arabic Countries and North Africa (211). Despite that the concept of Republican nationalism, that emphasize ethnic descent, tradition, and language and the role of religion, actually its division from the state, are still very valuable and important (215). Johansson states that the strong sense of identification and a principle that the French identity cannot be disrupted may be causing problems within the European Integration (216).

France's policy of assimilationism was considered as antithetical to multiculturalism because it was based on the premise that every individual is like a citizen and not a member of a racial, ethnic, or cultural group. During the 1970s and early 1980s, the French government adopted the multicultural policy because minority communities wanted to assert their identities. French President François Mitterrand even coined the slogan *le droit à la différence* [the right to difference] (Brubaker, 2001).<sup>132</sup> But later on, some untoward incidents like riots in 2005 and the growing visibility of Islam compelled French authorities to review the multicultural policy. According to the famous poll 2013 conducted by the French research group Ipsos and the Centre de Recherches Politiques, over 50 percent the people are not happy with the growing presence of Islam out of fear. (Courtois, 2013)<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Brubaker, R. 2001 "The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany and the United States", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4): 531-548.

<sup>133</sup> Courtois, Gérard. "Les crispations alarmantes de la société française" (The alarming tensions in French society). [Last Updated] 25 Jan. 2013 < [http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2013/01/24/les-crispations-alarmantes-de-la-societe-francaise\\_1821655\\_823448.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2013/01/24/les-crispations-alarmantes-de-la-societe-francaise_1821655_823448.html)>.

Some political incidents can be seen as backdrop of Sarkozy's stance on multiculturalism as failed project and consistent integration problems of immigrants. For instance, firstly the religious and cultural practices of the immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants, were considered non-adjustable with the local community and raised serious reservation about the adaptation and adjustment of Muslim population into French Identity. Furthermore, construction of the Mosque in Lyon in 1994 also generated controversy and seen as antithetical to French non-religious and secular foundations.<sup>134</sup>

Secondly, social and urban exclusion of the Muslim immigrants in suburban areas engendered unrest and violent riots started on 27 October 2005.<sup>135</sup> The incident sparked the rising tensions as they have higher unemployment rates than other communities and was categorized into 'less-skilled employment'.<sup>136</sup> The rioters have the immigration background from North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa and they shared the common cultural and religious practices and the binding force for them was Islam which was also an inseparable component of their self-identity.<sup>137</sup> Muslims are seen 'as one of the least integrated minority groups in contemporary Europe' due largely to their Muslim self-identity. (Maxwell, R., Bleich, E. 2014).<sup>138</sup> This incident left an indelible impact and the state started crackdown on immigration.

Lastly, another controversy related to the religious practice was the ban on Islamic scarf (*hijab*). Muslim women were forbidden from wearing a veil in public because French political

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<sup>134</sup> LaFranchi, Howard. 1990. "Mosque Project in Lyon Stirs Controversy". *The Christian Science Monitor*. [Last Updated ] 08 Nov.1990. <<http://www.csmonitor.com/1990/1108/omosq.html>>. Retrieved 4 Dec. 2013.

<sup>135</sup> Crampton, Thomas. 2005. "Behind the Furor, the Last Moments of Two Youths". *The New York Times*. [Last Updated ] 07 Nov. 2005.< <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/11/07/world/europe/behind-the-furor-the-last-moments-of-two-youths.html>>. Accessed 14 Nov. 2013.

<sup>136</sup>Leiken, Robert. S. 2012. *Europe's angry Muslims: The revolt of the second generation*. New York: Oxford University Press. Europe's Angry Muslims traces the routes, expectations and destinies of immigrant parents and the plight of their children. Leiken's book especially stands out for focusing on individual tales of Europe's second generation Muslim migrants. See also Leiken, Robert. S.2005. *Europe's Angry Muslims*. *Foreign Affairs*, 84(4), 120–135. <http://doi.org/10.2307/20034425>. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20034425.pdf?acceptTC=true>>.

<sup>137</sup> Falksohn, Rüdiger et al. 2005. "Rioting in France: What's Wrong with Europe?". *SPIEGEL ONLINE INTERNATIONAL*. [Last Updated ] 07 Nov. 2005.< <http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/rioting-in-france-what-s-wrong-with-europe-a-383623-2.html>>. Accessed 14 Nov.. 2013.; See e.g. Laurence,Jonathan and Vaisse,Justin.2005. "Understanding Urban Riots in France." [Last Updated ] 01 Dec. 2005. <<http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/2005/12/01france-laurence>>.Accessed 15 Nov.2013.

<sup>138</sup> Maxwell, R., & Bleich, E. (2014). What Makes Muslims Feel French?*Social Forces*, 93(1), 155 - 179. doi:10.1093/sf/sou064.[AvailableOnline]<<http://rahsaan.web.unc.edu/files/2013/05/WhatMakesMuslimsF elFrenchFinal.pdf>>.

elites and public opinion equated it to the oppression of the women and symbolizes the separate identity not compatible to French secular values.<sup>139</sup> These are examples of difficulties the French have had in integrating Muslim immigrants and the context in which the Sarkozy's speech is more perceivable and intelligible.

#### **4.4 Theoretical Framework:**

Before analyzing the three cases of European debates in this chapter, it is necessary to clarify briefly some of the recurrent concepts pertinent to the discourse of multicultural policy. This theoretical framework comprises some conceptual clarifications that will be taken up in the empirical investigation such as the notion of integration, identity and the otherness. This discourse on integration and national identity has become part of the political agenda for many leaders across Europe.

##### **4.4.1 Integration**

The integration of immigrants has invariably been a dominant issue of European democracies for several decades. However, recently it has specifically adopted enormous proportions involving religious identity after the multicultural policy has been depicted as a failed project in the public sphere. Integration compels immigrants to adopt the collective identity and cultural values of the host society. The discourse of integration specifically directed towards Muslim Immigrants mirrors the intricacy and tension in the receiving society and raises some serious questions about the lack of interest for social cohesion and integration which often maneuvered politically.

The multicultural idea has been severely criticized due to the indifference of the immigrants towards the social cohesion and integration and therefore, this challenge of

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<sup>139</sup> The controversy over the Islamic scarf (hijab) dated back to the 18 September 1989, when three female students were suspended for refusing to remove their scarves in class at Gabriel Havez Middle School in Creil. See e.g. Jones, Nicky 2009. "Beneath the Veil: Muslim Girls and Islamic Headscarves in Secular France" *MqLawJl* 4; (2009) 9 *Maquarie Law Journal* 47. <<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/MqLawJl/2009/4.html>>.

integration highlights complex relationship between the immigrants and the long-standing social imaginary of nation building (Anderson 1991) which articulates the collective national identity.

Integration approach promotes within immigrants cultural homogeneity and social cohesion (Mouritsen, 2009) unlike diversity of culture, values and identities. While multicultural involves a ‘two-way process of adaptation’ concerning changes in ‘values, norms and behavior’ for both immigrants and indigenous population.(Castles et al., 2002: 115).Different approaches have been adopted to cope with the problem of integration of immigrants which are clearly visible on the example of France (assimilation model)<sup>140</sup>, Germany (segregation)<sup>141</sup> and Britain (pluralist model)<sup>142</sup>. The first model emphasizes on immigrants to discard from its former identity and complete assimilation of values and behaviors. It involves cultural homogeneity and full-fledged social cohesion in the host community.<sup>143</sup> As François Fillon said that multicultural distinct communities pose a threat to France’s national identity.<sup>144</sup> And the German integration model is deemed to be ethnic exclusionary and assimilationist compared to the French and British ones which are civic-territorial and assimilationist or multicultural, respectively.<sup>145</sup> However, all these immigration modals and efforts resulted in the overarching consequences of fragmented societies and segregated minorities.

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<sup>140</sup>Sylvia Zappi. 2003.Migration Policy Institute.French Government Revives Assimilation Policy. 01 Oct.2003.<<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/french-government-revives-assimilation-policy>>Accessed07 Mar.2013.;Vladescu,Eloisa. 2006. The Assimilation of Immigrant Groups in France— Myth or Reality? Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series Vol. 5 No. 39. See e.g. Commentary: French assimilation vs. British multiculturalism - what integration model for Europe? [Last Updated : 15 Nov 2005]<<http://www.euractiv.com/social/europe/commentary-french-assimilation-vs-british-multiculturalism-integration-model-europe/article-148227>>.

<sup>141</sup> Dietmar Loch. 2014. *Immigration, segregation and social cohesion: is the ‘German model’ fraying at the edges?*,*Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*,21:6, 675-692, DOI: 10.1080/1070289X.2013.868350.

<sup>142</sup> Modood, Tariq.2005. *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity, and Muslims in Britain*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>143</sup> Jennings, Jeremy. 2000. “Citizenship, Republicanism and Multiculturalism in Contemporary France” *British Journal of Political Sciences* 30, 575-598.

<sup>144</sup> Referring to the Press conference of " François Fillon, Social Affairs Minister François Fillon(2003).François Fillon is a French lawyer and politician who served as Prime Minister of France from 17 May 2007 to 16 May 2012. Fillon said, “France is a republic with rules that are the foundation of our national community,” in a press conference held in 2003.

<sup>145</sup> Dietmar Loch (2014).

Britain, France and Germany adopted different strategies to cope with the issue of multiculturalism and integration. France adopted the policy of 'laïcité,' the division of church and state and 'monocultural multiculturalism (Pieterse, 2010)<sup>146</sup>. However, Germany's approach to integration has been different while keeping a distinction between foreigners and host society 'tak(ing) care of' rather than 'integrating' (Schiffauer, 2006).<sup>147</sup>

Proponents of civic integration propose that multicultural approaches create the threat of dissolution into culturally distinct communities threatening the national identities of the host populations and segregated ghettos generating extreme religious and cultural identities (Flood et al, 2012: 145). Multiculturalism is considered to push immigrants, especially Muslim immigrants into isolation and self-isolation and they cut themselves off the main-stream population. (AlSayyad & Castells 2002: 142). Multicultural policy negates homogeneity, develops monocultural community and advocates the diversity of different cultures and identities. (Castles, 2000: 5). European societies now feel the impact of increased global migrations, and that impact is experienced most directly in the proliferation of cultural differences across society.

The criticism on multiculturalism does not aim at exclusion of the immigrants but at adapting the immigrants to the core values of the indigenous community because integration policies tend to bring the immigrants into the circles of mainstream society and with attempt to promote a popular sense of European identity help them to form identity in accordance with the host society (Geddes 2003:116). Simultaneously, the nation-building process involves "a single, homogeneous identity with a shared sense of history, values and traditions" (Smith 2010: 127).

One of the major challenges is that the cultural sensitivities and social norms of the immigrants, especially Muslims, are incompatible with the democratic structure and liberal values of Europe which encapsulates this sense of profound incompatibility that relates to not only politics but also social life. (Cesari, 2013). This new integrationist discourse is widely

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<sup>146</sup> Pieterse, Jan N. 2010. 'Global Multiculture, Flexible Acculturation', *Globalizations*, 4/1 : 65-79

<sup>147</sup> Schiffauer, Werner. 2006. 'Enemies Within the Gates: the debate about the citizenship of Muslims in Germany', in *Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship: a European approach*, eds. Tariq Modood, Anna Triandafyllidou, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero .London: Routledge, 94.

shared across European countries in which Muslim immigrants are identified as the Other and they are required to assimilate culturally homogenous identity and demonstrate conformity to these liberal values in order to become legitimate members of national communities (Joppke 2010: 139).

#### 4.4.2 Conceptualization of Identity and Otherness

The term *identity* refers to the assertion of one's individuality or affiliation to a certain group or ethnic class based on his or her religious and cultural values and traditions,<sup>148</sup> such as cultural identity or national identity. It is also about retaining oneself and one's uniqueness over time. "Identity" is simply formed of common shared cultural values. Mostly it is naturally constructed and from the birth of a person, consciously or unconsciously the essentials of identity are inculcated in his or her mind. It is also debatable whether different identities which are based on different cultures coming from different backgrounds and values can merge into one single identity forming national identity.

There is a growing debate over the nature of European identity in the wake of the specific European national discourse about the demerits of multiculturalism. In a post-Cold War era, the debate over the meaning of being 'European' came into limelight (Schlesinger 1992). Over the last two decades, Communist threat to the collective European identity has been obviously replaced by a 'rising Islamic threat'<sup>149</sup> in the contour of national political discourse in Western Europe. As the contact with Islamic societies increased, it emphasized upon the need to secure the identity of Europe against the Islamic 'other' (Neumann and Jennifer 1991). European identity is a normative discourse of inclusion which reflects a common belief in liberal and democratic values, representing its political and civic entity. In this sense, the immigrants, especially the Muslim Immigrants are perceived as the incompatible other because

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<sup>148</sup> See Tajfel, Henri & John Turner, C. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. The social psychology of intergroup relations?" In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, 33-47.

<sup>149</sup> See Hippler, Jochen. and Lueg, Andrea (Eds.).1995. *The Next Threat. Western Conceptions of Islam*. London:Pluto Press.

The idea of '*otherness*' is central to sociological analyses of how majority and minority identities are constructed. This is because the representation of different groups within any given society is controlled by groups that have greater political power. The other by definition lacks identity and in this sense he or she can be described as the foreigner: the one, who does not belong to a group, does not speak a given language and does not have the same customs.

## **4.5 Analysis of Speeches**

### **4.5.1 Angela Merkel's speech**

As earlier mentioned, the text is a transcript of a video recorded speech that was held by Merkel in October last year, addressing the Junge Union (the youth section of Merkel's Party CDU in Germany) during a meeting and later ended in a debate where the members of Junge Union were allowed to ask Merkel questions. In the speech, Merkel brings up what she finds to be problematic, that is the identity, immigration, integration and multiculturalism in the German society.

I would like to start with describing the structures in the speech, that is how the speech is built, which topics are brought up and in what order. Angela Merkel begins the speech with addressing the Christian Democrats, speaking of the identity and the Christian view of man and how this has defined the Christian people of Germany throughout the years, even though the influence of Christianity in Germany might not be as evident as it was fifty or sixty years ago. The speech moves further on to discussing the importance of creating opportunities for every person in the German society and how this is the Christian view of society. After this section, the speech brings up aspects of religion and how the Christian and Jewish heritage has been of importance in Germany. Merkel states, that the Islamic heritage should not be important and continues with connecting it to the immigration aspect and how immigrants are needed in the German society, but at the same time stating that the multicultural model of society has not worked. The speech ends with pointing to the importance of immigrants knowing the German language and highlights the great importance of immigration for the economic aspect.

The next part of the analysis is the interactional analysis, which according to Normal Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis method has two aspects. Firstly, the interdiscursive aspect of the text should be analyzed, that can in another word be explained as the intertextuality of the text, where questions about what other sources or influences the text is built on are to be answered. The second aspect is the linguistic and semiotic aspect of the text where mainly things such as word-usage will be treated (Fairclough in Wodak and Meyer 2001).<sup>150</sup>

When studying this text from an interdiscursive aspect, it is hard to find any clear or obvious references to other sources or authors. Merkel is referring to previous events, such as the rescuing of the Minors in Chile, as a good model of how she wants the society and country to work and stand up for each other, rather than giving references to previous speeches or sources to support her standpoint. What needs to be taken into consideration when observing the lack of references or sources to other texts is that Angela Merkel was seemingly the first out of the European leaders who approached the topic of failed multiculturalism, or at least who went as far as alleging a complete failure.

The next step to analyze in this speech is the linguistic and semiotic aspect. To begin with, I would like to have a closer look at how the concept of multiculturalism is approached in the speech and in what context the concept can be observed.

The word multiculturalism is mentioned at only one point during the speech and after that mentioned two other times but in a subtle way where Merkel is aiming at multiculturalism but not actually pronouncing the word. Multiculturalism is mentioned while speaking about the foreign workers brought to Germany during the 50's and 60's and how "The intentioned was of course to live side by side in multiculturalism", after this sentence, Merkel continues the speech with stating "this intention has failed. Utterly failed". As can be seen, the concept of multiculturalism is brought up in a negative context, where Merkel maintains the failure of the multicultural model of society.

Moving on further to the cultural and religious aspect of the word usage, I found that the essential words to look at in this speech would be immigration, integration, Christian/Christianity

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<sup>150</sup> Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer. 2001. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.

and Islam. To start with, the importance of the word or theme immigration in the speech is highlighted early in the text when Angela Merkel says, “the question of immigration is a central theme” and is further discussed in the text in close connection to integration. Immigration is mentioned in a positive context when Merkel is speaking about that “we do need immigration of specialists” and how the German society could not make it without the extra work power, but it is also mentioned in a slightly more negative context, for an example when stating that “of course we don’t need any immigration that will burden our social systems”. The integration aspect of the immigration problem is principally brought up together with the idea that the best and only way to properly integrate is to learn the German language and that the earlier statement about the high rate of immigrants not finishing school is in the same paragraph connected to the importance of integrating and knowing the German language.

As far as the religious aspect is concerned, the importance of the Christianity in the history of German society is highlighted throughout the speech, for an example when Merkel says things such as “we are the Christian image of people” and also when she mentions the former President Christian Wulffs’<sup>151</sup> words about how “Christianity is connected to us”<sup>152</sup>. Not only Christianity is mentioned as a part of the German society, but also it is said “Islam is also a part of Germany”. As can be seen, the cultural and religious aspect of the speech is approached in both positive and negative terms and it cannot clearly and easily be determined whether the general attitude is positive or negative.

The last step of the linguistic analysis is where I will look closer at how the concept of “us/we” and “they/them” is used in contrast to each other, who is defined as “us/we” and who is defined as “them/they” and if there is a noticeable difference between the two groups. After counting the number of times “us/we”(55) and “them/they”(8) is mentioned in the text and by

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<sup>151</sup> Christian Wilhelm Walter Wulff is a German politician and lawyer. He served as the President of Germany from 2010 to 2012. A member of the Christian Democratic Union, he served as Prime Minister of the state of Lower Saxony from 2003 to 2010. Archontology.org.2012 .”A Guide for Study of historical Offices”[Last updated 20 Feb 2012] [http://www.archontology.org/nations/german/germ\\_1949a/wulff.php](http://www.archontology.org/nations/german/germ_1949a/wulff.php)

<sup>152</sup> Dowling, Siobhán. 2010. “The World from Berlin: 'German President's Criticism of Turkey Was Also Aimed at Germans” SPIEGEL ONLINE International. [Last Updated] October 20, 2010. <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/the-world-from-berlin-german-president-s-criticism-of-turkey-was-also-aimed-at-germans-a-724206.html>>. Accessed 11 Dec. 2013. See also Heneghan, Tom. 2010. “Islam part of Germany, Christianity part of Turkey – Wulff”. Reuters. [Last Updated] October 20, 2010. <<http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2010/10/20/islam-part-of-germany-christianity-part-of-turkey-wulff/>>. Accessed 11 Dec.2013.

looking at what context these words are mentioned in, a somewhat clear pattern of that *we/us* is the German people, that is the native German people, and that *they/them* is classified as the immigrants coming to Germany can be seen. I find that a good example of this is represented in sentences such as “it is this that *us* and every single in our society have committed to, and this is our Christian view of society” and “These people (the immigrants) should stay with us, they have contributed to our prosperity”. An interesting aspect of particularly the latter sentence and that can be noted when studying the speech is how the people that immigrated during the 50’s and 60’s, that has been living in Germany for fifty years, are still in this speech classified as “them” and not as a part of “us”.

For example, in the sentence: “Because the ones who we want to integrate, those are the ones who need examples to follow”, the “We” is opposed to the “ones”. The “We” is clearly the German people, which have the role to integrate the “ones”. However, the “ones” is not clearly identified through any ethnic or religious group, it represents an abstract Other. In this way, Merkel is more prudent than Sarkozy in addressing the Muslims. She articulated abstract othering more sagaciously without pointing to any ethnic or minority groups as compared to David Cameron and Sarkozy. However, it is identifiable from other part of the speech that it is certainly the Muslim Other.

Another important question to ask is who is the “we” in this text? As mentioned earlier, the “we” should be seen as the native German people, but what needs to be taken into consideration here is the context within which Angela Merkel is speaking, to whom is she speaking. As this speech is held in front of the youth section of the Christian Democrats, it is hard to define whether Angela Merkel is speaking as a leader of the CDU with the Christian values at first hand, or if Merkel is standing up for this point of view as a representative of the German government, as the chancellor of Germany. There is indeed a certain difference between the two of them as one presents the opinions of one Party, while the other is a prominent figure of a whole nation. As the focus in the speech is to a great extent put on the Christian Democratic values, it would lead one to assume that it is Angela Merkel, the leader of CDU, that is speaking, but with her references to the big changes that needs to be done in Germany in order for the integration of immigrants into the German society to work, it becomes somewhat uncertain who Angela Merkel is actually representing.

Lastly, I would like to pay attention to the presence of what by Fairclough is described as the “familiar features of political rhetoric”. These familiar features refer the assumption, often seen in texts and speeches by politicians, that the readers or listeners are actually aware and familiar with the situation. Fairclough refers to this occurrence as “is” and “ought”, Angela Merkel state that there “is” a problem with immigration and that multiculturalism has failed and then further what “ought” to be done about this. In the speech by Chancellor Merkel the occurrence of “ought” is particularly evident in statements such as “This intention [living in multiculturalism] has failed. Utterly failed” and “Those who wants to take part of our society needs to not only live by our laws, not only respect our constitutional law, but before everything else learn our language”. In both of these sentences focus is put on what needs to be done instead of what is the actual problem and situation, focus is put on the “ought” and by doing so, the receivers of this speech is put in an inferior position as Angela Merkel is put as the superior figure in power.

Merkel’s discourse on the failure of multiculturalism suggests political undercurrent that there is only one suggested way of integrating Islam into German society while excluding all other options and that German identity is reflected through its specific national historical context.

#### **4.5.2 David Cameron’s speech**

David Cameron has severely criticized *State Multiculturalism* in his speech at the Munich Security Conference in Germany on February 5, 2011. His controversial speech sparked a heated debate about the concept of multiculturalism and identity. He argued that UK needed a stronger national identity to prevent people turning into all kinds of extremism. He declares that multiculturalism is no more acceptable as he says ”Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and much more active, muscular liberalism,”.<sup>153</sup> He also added ‘State multiculturalism is weakening of our collective identity’ and said it encouraged different cultures to live ‘separate lives, apart from each other and apart from

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<sup>153</sup>Ibid.

the mainstream'.<sup>154</sup> He also spoke about the radicalization of the Muslim youth and causes of terrorism.<sup>155</sup> He also highlighted the point that “under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream”.<sup>156</sup>

He denounced Britain’s long-standing and cherished policy of multiculturalism as a failure, emphasizing upon better integration of young Muslims to cope with home-grown extremism. This U-turn in policy astonished Britain’s ethnic and religious minorities, saying the “hands-off tolerance” of those who reject western values.<sup>157</sup>

David Cameron and Angela Merkel found common ground at the Munich conference. Cameron echoed Merkel in stating multiculturalism as a failure. At the *International Security Policy Conference* in Munich in February of 2011, he argued the UK needed a stronger national identity to prevent people turning to all kinds of extremism. David Cameron presented a speech targeting terrorism, national identity, Islamic extremism and building on previous comments by German chancellor Angela Merkel, the alleged failure of state multiculturalism. Though the speech is primarily focused upon the British experience and issues brought by state multiculturalism as presented by Cameron, the political discourse or trend builds upon and collects influences from neighboring European countries, mainly that of Germany (Chancellor Merkel is mentioned twice in the speech). Placed within the network of political (governmental) practices the speech itself follows a certain structure or discourse connected to the network, including both linguistic and social aspects. However with the growing globalization these national networks “are increasingly incorporated within larger networks of practices ... coming to function as ‘nodes’ within a transnational network” (Fairclough in Wodak and Meyer 2001:130).<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer. 2001. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage. p.130.

This incorporation of national networks is visible in the previously mentioned context of intertextuality or interdiscursivity of Cameron's speech building upon the statement by chancellor Merkel commenting that "multiculturalism have utterly failed" (see appendix), an ever clearer intertextuality/recontextualisation is visualized in the choosing to borrow the same wording; "failed" - "Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong" (Cameron 2011).<sup>159</sup> Through the use of recontextualisation, Cameron extracts a segment of a speech given by Merkel and by inserting it in a new, though similar, context manages to keep the same message as in the original context but however combines it with the message wished to portray through the Munich speech.

The prevalent characteristics of British multicultural society are abidance of law, individual liberty, freedom of expression, tolerance, democratic values and respect for rights of others. These attributes of diverse society in Britain have been lucid indication of the success of multiculturalism for a long time. However, this speech has created confusion over what multiculturalism means? I will try to analyze the various facets of the debate that is now beginning to take center stage in many European capitals. The question arises whether Cameron is right in criticizing multiculturalism when he wants the integration and assimilation of Muslim minorities. This contradiction of the meaning of words can lead to a type of solipsism that can damage the policy formulation, leading to dominant majority violence or it can trigger the rise of fascism and racism in many European countries.

Moving into the actual linguistic analysis of the speech, I would like to highlight the concrete choice of wording through a set pattern where I are looking for primarily three different aspects; firstly, in which light is multiculturalism portrayed; secondly, in which aspect is religion and culture mentioned; thirdly, the concept of "we" and "them" both in connection to terrorism/extremism, immigration/immigrants, national identity and moreover agency. As the three sources do not fully cover the exact structures or content additional linguistic features will

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<sup>159</sup> "State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron". 2011. BBC News. [Last Updated] 05 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>>. Accessed 07 Sep. 2013.

have to be added in each individual case. Additionally I focus upon concepts such as foreign politics and gender which each makes up different components of the speech.

Firstly, in the case of the multiculturalism as a concept, the actual word is only mentioned once throughout the speech (paragraph 9) and here in a clear negative context – as “failed”.<sup>160</sup> As discussed earlier in relation to interdiscursivity and intertextuality Cameron does by the choosing of this particular wording (“failed”) effectively build upon an earlier statement and political discourse provided by Merkel. Multiculturalism is in the speech described as “state multiculturalism”, thus presented as a politically and governmentally structured and enhanced form of the concept – inserted from above through policies and following a set political practice within the certain state. This notion of the “failed state multiculturalism” is used in different forms (“fail”, “failed”, “failure”) throughout the whole document all in all exposing a negative setting with examples including not only the earlier quoting but moreover later in the speech commenting upon the “sense of community ... the wider society has failed to supply”.<sup>161</sup>

Secondly, cultural and religious features which is one of the main aspects of the speech, particular in the form of Islam. Religious wordings including “Islam”/”Islamist” and “Muslim”/”Muslims” features extensively in the speech, nineteen contra sixteen times to be precise whereas other religions including “Christian”/”Christianity” (mentioned twice) and “Hindu”/”Hinduism” (mentioned once) where not covered to the same extent. Visible in the words spoken by Cameron is the connections made between “Islam” and Muslims” and “extremists”/”extremism” and “terrorism”/”terrorists” even though Cameron stresses that “terrorism is not linked exclusively to any one religion or ethnic group” the connections are made repeatedly whereas other religions, “Christian fundamentalists”, is only mentioned once.<sup>162</sup> Examples of the Islam – extremist/terrorist connections includes; “we should acknowledge that this threat comes in Europe overwhelmingly from young men who follow a completely perverse, warped interpretation of Islam” and moreover “Islamist extremism”, “Islamist extremism is a political ideology”.<sup>163</sup> Whereas examples also include “Someone can be a devout Muslim and not be an extremist” and furthermore “We need to be clear: Islamist extremism and Islam are not

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

the same thing”.<sup>164</sup> Interesting is also the choice of extensively making a distinction between Islam and its followers as “them” contra a not always clearly defined “we” which leads us to the third aspect of our analysis.

Thirdly, this concept of the existence of a “we” and a “them” is played upon heavily throughout the speech; “we” is used as extensively as 64 times and “those” (including themselves”) ten. As mentioned in the previous paragraph the group or community residing under the common identities of neither “we” or “them” are not always described perfectly clear but examples indicates a cut between the Muslim community within Britain and internationally as the “them” and the “we” the “non-Muslims”

Some organizations that seek to present themselves as a gateway to the Muslim community are showered with public money despite doing little to combat extremism. ... these organizations: do they believe in universal human rights – including for women and people of other faiths? Do they believe in equality of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separation? These are the sorts of questions we need to ask.<sup>165</sup>

In the example above a clear definition is made through wording such as “they” and “themselves” and “we”. Definitions of “we” given is “we the British”, “we the government” and “we the West” but also this unclear definition of the “we” being the opposite to the “them” thus often the “we” meaning the “non-Muslims” as the “them” and “they” is often used in connection to the Muslim community and the “non-British”, foreign individuals – immigrants. This also sets the agency and relation in power of the document between the “we” and the “them” visible both in the use of “ours” (“our countries”, “our liberty”) and the use of wording such as “we”, “their” (as in “immigrants”) and “people are educated” in “There are practical things that we can do as well. That includes making sure that immigrants speak the language of their new home and ensuring that people are educated in the elements of a common culture and curriculum”.<sup>166</sup> In the statements made by Prime Minister Cameron on the importance of the strengthening of the national identity focus is laid on the actual activities to be made to enable this, examples includes

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

“we should encourage meaningful and active participation in society” and “we must build stronger societies and stronger identities at home”.<sup>167</sup>

The Cameron speech as described by Fairclough, “familiar features of political rhetoric – it is more heavily oriented towards” ought” than towards ‘is” the problems and issues of multiculturalism is somewhat presented as taken for granted facts or truisms, the problem *is* there and “we” *ought* to do something about it (Wodak and Mayer 2001:133).<sup>168</sup> This *ought* is portrayed through the rhetoric used in the speech; “must tackle”, “we must resolve” and as shown above “we must build stronger societies and stronger identities” (Cameron 2011).<sup>169</sup> Wording of action includes; “That is why this is a challenge we cannot avoid; it is one we must rise to and overcome” and “we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism”.<sup>170</sup>

It also aroused a lot of criticism within Britain that it is a political statement issued for cheap popularity as his then shadow justice secretary was reported as saying Cameron was "writing propaganda material for the EDL"<sup>171</sup> and a senior Conservative Baroness Warsi reacted that prejudice against Muslims has ‘passed the dinner-table test’ and become socially acceptable in the UK.<sup>172</sup> David Cameron did what politicians always do when the chips are down attack the outsiders.(Smith,2011).<sup>173</sup>

It is also point in case that Europe as a whole has adopted the policy of withdrawing from the process of multiculturalism and there are clear indications as France has put ban on religious symbolism, Switzerland has banned the minarets and now Britain says ‘no’ to multiculturalism. On the other side, proponents of multiculturalism describe it as *liberal fascism* and *cultural imperialism*. Jonah Goldberg argues in Liberal

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer. 2001. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage. p.133.

<sup>169</sup> Cameron, David.2011. “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron”. BBC News. [Last Updated] 05 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>>. Accessed 07 Sep. 2013.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron”. 2011. BBC News. [Last Updated] 05 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>>. Accessed 07 Sep. 2013.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Smith, Laura. “Why Cameron is wrong about multiculturalism”. 8 Feb 2011. <[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2011/02/08/why-cameron-is-wrong-about-multiculturalism\\_n\\_7412190.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2011/02/08/why-cameron-is-wrong-about-multiculturalism_n_7412190.html)> Accessed 12 Nov. 2013.

Fascism that how the ideas are imposed in the name of liberalism (2007)<sup>174</sup> as Prime Minister urged for ‘muscular liberalism’. As Tariq Madood discusses that “inclusion is not possible within some narrow forms of liberalism” He also discusses that one set pattern is not suitable for different minorities and they need to be accommodated in different ways (2007).

#### 4.5.3 Nicolas Sarkozy’s speech

In case of France, I have chosen two addresses given by President Nicolas Sarkozy, because they seem to be equally relevant and adequate in this case.

The first speech is a governmental document and it was held on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June 2009 in Versailles before the Parliament, which was extraordinary, because since 1875 the Head of State had no right to do this. Sarkozy declared that nowadays the Republic was strongly rooted in the country, that was why the law had been changed and from now on the President is allowed to speak to the Parliament once a year. The speech was held in French and it discusses topics concerning the future of France, the economic crisis, and its views upon the issue of religion. The speech is built in a very clear and easy way. At first Sarkozy explained the reason and contents of his address to the members of Parliament. Moreover, Nicholas Sarkozy described how latest events changed the tradition and which other things needed to be reshaped.

The speech was held in French, that is why I had it translated to make it easily understandable, but for the analysis I will mainly focus on the part concerning the religious beliefs. This part of the speech starts with words “Where are we with secularism?” (“Où en sommes-nous avec la laïcité?” – Sarkozy, see appendix).<sup>175</sup> Starting the speech with the

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<sup>174</sup> Goldberg, Jonah. 2007. *Liberal fascism: the secret history of the American left, from Mussolini to the politics of meaning*. New York : Doubleday.

<sup>175</sup> Sarkozy, Nicolas.2009. “Congrès de Versailles : l’intégralité du discours de Nicolas Sarkozy”. *L’International Magazine*. 22 June 2009. <[http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x9npw1\\_discours-nicolas-sarkozy-devant-le\\_news](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x9npw1_discours-nicolas-sarkozy-devant-le_news)>. Accessed 10 Dec. 2013. See also Kirby, Emma Jane.2009. “Sarkozy stirs French burka debate”. BBC News, Paris. [Last updated] 22 June 2009. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8113778.stm>>. Accessed 04 Jan. 2014.

rhetorical question is used when someone wants to take notice at the important issue under discussion. The speech is not long, it is explicit and consistent. Sarkozy speaks about the secular France that “secularism is the respect for all opinions and all believes”. Afterwards, he cites short story/maxima about the concern over people’s feelings and offensive statements. Additionally, at the end of this part, he mentions that it was not only his wish to address this issue, but the Parliament’s as well, which strengthens his position. The speech was well planned, so there are no difficulties in understanding it neither when it comes to the structure, nor the linguistics.

To perform the linguistic analysis, I have decided to use the same pattern as to the speeches of Chancellor Angela Merkel and Prime Minister David Cameron. I focus on the presentation of multiculturalism in the particular state, which is France, secondly how are the aspects of religion and culture portrayed, and thirdly focus on the use of concepts of “we” and “them” both in connection to national identity, immigration/ immigrants, terrorism/extremism, and lastly the agency.

The speech is building upon the current situation of religion and culture in France. By all means it does not mention multiculturalism or any kind of its failure. Sarkozy encourages the nation not to be deceived and threatened by the clericalism. The French President states that the Republic of France should respect and tolerate the Islamic religion as much as all the other religions, there should be no excuse for this particular one. As he said, “We must not fight the wrong battle. In the republic, the Muslim faith must be respected as much as other religions”. separates the issue of women wearing burka from the religious believes. He calls it an issue of freedom, liberty and dignity of women, additionally calling it a sign of subservience, submission and lowering. He expressed his strong distaste for veil,”It will not be welcome on French soil,” he said.” We cannot accept, in our country, women imprisoned behind a mesh, cut off from society, deprived of all identity.” In fact, he shared the same discourse of Chancellor Angela Merkel and Prime Minister David Cameron that cultural values and religious practices of the immigrants do not accord with the secular and liberal values, hence the immigrants must adapt to the social norms and cultural values of the host society. In this speech Sarkozy introduces a law to discuss on banning wearing burka – the integrated veil in France

In the speech, there are no overused words. As it is a speech about the religion – the word itself was used six times in different variants: “religious feelings”, “the Islamic religion”, “religious membership”, “religious symbols”. The speech concerns women wearing the integrated veil, that is why word “women” was used three times and a word “burka” two. The words “Islam” or “Muslims” were used twice in a context of “French Muslims” and “Islamic Religion”. The words like “they”, “terrorism”, “extremists” and all their derivatives were not used at all. Sarkozy speaks to the Parliament about the national identity, but in all cases there is no negative tone towards Islam as a religion. Muslims are seen as a part of French society, despite the fact that the burka is seen as something wrong and subservient.

Sarkozy sees a clear problem in wearing the integrated veils, although he had said before that France is a secular country and “In the Republic the Islamic religion should be respected as much as other religions”. He does that because as he states further “The problem of the burka is not a religious problem. This is an issue of freedom/liberty and dignity of women. . . . This is not the idea that we have of the dignity of women.” where “we” in this context is used in terms of France seen as a secular country. The political rhetoric, as Norman Fairclough names it, is oriented in a greater amount towards “ought” than towards “is” (Wodak and Mayer 2001: 133), because Sarkozy states a problem and gives a clear solution to it.

The second address by Nicholas Sarkozy is an interview on the French television, which was given on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February 2011 – that is within a week after David Cameron’s speech. It was a debate, where French citizens from different social groups could ask questions. The question about multiculturalism was sent via Internet and a news reader Jean-Pierre Perneaut read it to the President: “Mr. President, Is multiculturalism a failure and the origin of many problems in our society? This Angela Merkel said last week and David Cameron. How, do you think, it applies to France?” In this analysis I will focus on the answer to this question, concerning all the points of analysis mentioned before.

Nicolas Sarkozy’s statement is building upon the previous statements of Angela Merkel and David Cameron, he clearly states “I share the opinion of Mrs. Merkel and Mr. Cameron – we cannot have this.” interestingly he also mentions the United States of America, as the ones, along with England, who thought about developing multiculturalism. Additionally, this sentence is the only one using the word “multiculturalism” directly.

The main religions and words connected to the topic of multiculturalism are for the French President: “Muslims”, “Islam”, and “religion” come up only three times each, but in comparison to other religions – “Jews”, “Protestants” who are mentioned once, and “Catholics” who are mentioned twice (“We are a Catholic country”) – they are still mentioned at least twice as many. Moreover, words like “they”, “this”, “it” in a context of religion, for instance “ There is a separation between religion and state, the prayer offends no-one, but we do not want on the territory of French Republic the proliferation of aggressive religion. . . . Whichever one it is. Naturally whichever one it is”, are used fourteen times, where the word “compatriot” describing other believers with empathy is used four times “I am one of your compatriots” or “our compatriots – Muslims”.

On the other hand, the word “we” was used twenty-five times but in various combinations; as “we” as a French country, for instance “we have to respect everyone within their differences”, as well as “we” as followers of other religions “If we come to France, we accept to melt within one community, that is the national community”. All the words concerning “national identity”, “national community” and “identity” itself were used eight times in total, meaning “identity of the person that was arriving” and “identity of the country that was receiving them”. The issues of the integrated veil and women rights were also the part of this address, but more in the context of “the equality between people”, due to which both of these phrases were used only twice. Finally, the word “failure” was used only once , nonetheless Sarkozy used also other terms like “problem”, “we cannot have it”, and “we do not want” eleven times.

This time, as well as previously, Nicolas Sarkozy states the problem and gives a solution to it. The “is” is failure of multiculturalism, and the “ought” is what should be done to stop or prevent it from failing. That is, each person migrating to France should speak the national language and he or she should melt into society culturally, because as the President has said “[religion] is a part of private matters – not public.”

#### **4.6 Comparison**

In this part, I would like to compare the presented speeches, discuss possible differences and similarities as well as look into the way the speeches are presented. Furthermore, I will take into consideration the audience targeted by each speaker as well as the alleged problems, issues

in each of the countries in focus and in addition if any solutions are brought forward. This analysis demonstrates some variations between Merkel, Cameron and Sarkozy's discursive approach. Merkel builds up debate unequivocally on integration while constructing a historical narrative, while Cameron reasserts his clear vision on 'British-ness' and national Identity and Sarkozy shows a strong stance in defending and promoting core values of secularity. However, an equivalence can easily be identified in this debate which suggests a prototypical shift towards fortress Europe characterized by homogenous approach. This discursive approach also develops a political consensus across Europe that rejects the idea of multiculturalism or cultural diversity due to its divisive impact on the host society.

The settings for each speech differ naturally somewhat from each other both in structure and in the intended audience, while Nicholas Sarkozy's speech in front of the entire French parliament where a great national event, the speech by Angela Merkel performed at a conference for the youth wing of CDU where perhaps not intended to attract the national media coverage as it did. The two speeches performed by David Cameron and Nicholas Sarkozy contain some similarities in their structure as they were both set in a more international setting, planned for a longer period of time. The second address given by Sarkozy on the French television differs the most from the rest, because of its non-structured nature being a not previously rehearsed live broadcast.

All four speeches cover the main issue of multiculturalism, although they approach it from different angles. For instance, Angela Merkel addresses mainly the issue of the spoken language of the home country, putting focus on the importance of learning and having the knowledge of the German language as a first step towards integration. Secondly, David Cameron tackles the alleged challenges and threats brought by state multiculturalism as a weakening factor to the national identity. Giving rise to different identifications such as the one of Islam religion, which according to Cameron is a source of extremism. Finally, Nicolas Sarkozy in the first speech held in front of the French Parliament, focuses upon the issue of burka within the French society, he is concerned about the women's rights to wear and believe in what they want. In the second address I analyzed, he approaches the issue of multiculturalism from the national identity perspective focusing mainly on the issue of religion.

Language wise, the speeches share both some similarities and differences. Cameron's speech builds on Merkel's previous speech both in terms of intertextuality ("multiculturalism has failed") and interdiscursivity. The speeches all share the element of the "we" or "us" contra "them", thus to a greater and lesser extent, Cameron uses the concepts extensively whereas Sarkozy played it down to some extent. Another common linguistic factor connectable with the "we" and "them" aspect is the one concerning the issue of nationalism and national identity, which all three speakers brought up in their speeches. An interesting aspect is that the leaders of all three countries focus particularly on Islam and the Muslim community when speaking of "them" in the context of immigration and multiculturalism in general. As earlier mentioned in connection to multiculturalism Merkel, Sarkozy and Cameron have different angles towards "them" in the connection with the Muslim community of each country which is similar to the general view upon multiculturalism.

All three speeches are directed towards problems and its solution, with the rhetoric of what "ought" to be done about the alleged problem of multiculturalism in each country. Analyzing the speeches, I have found various examples, namely; according to Prime Minister David Cameron the solution is "a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism. A passively tolerant society says to its citizens: 'as long as you obey the law we will just leave you alone '". Secondly, Chancellor Angela Merkel states that "those who want to take part of our society needs to not only live by our laws, not only to respect our constitutional law, but before everything else to learn our language". Lastly, President Nicholas Sarkozy does not state clearly a possible solution, but what he states is that "There is a separation between religion and state and the prayer offends no one, but we do not want on the territory of the French Republic the proliferation of aggressive religion". To summarize, the three speeches, though different, do together portray an adequate image of the multicultural discourse in Europe.

## Chapter 5

### Social and cultural Impact and Political Implications

The analytical approach of these three speeches also reveals the social and political implications of the discursive structure. The discourse on multiculturalism and complexity of integration generates skepticism within public sphere about cultural diversity and depicts Muslim immigrants as they cannot comply with the neutral and pluralistic values of European secularism. This debate within public sphere across Europe entails political implications which has compelled political leaders such as Merkel, Cameron, and Sarkozy to safeguard the Europe's secular identity against the threat represented by immigrants (Mavelli 2012: 139).

#### 5.1 Britain : Social and cultural Impact and Political Implications

Cameron defends the 'British way of life' and "muscular liberalism" and propounds British identity as a solution to extremism and terrorism. But it is worth underlining that terrorism is out of context with racial integration.<sup>176</sup> However, it may also be taken as a political tactic of 'an anxious politician' when the government is in hot water just as Labour did after Iraq.<sup>177</sup> Cameron also taking the same path by suggesting the limitations to regulate Muslim extremism through a view of political belonging based on identity.<sup>178</sup>

Reacting to the speech, the local Muslim community expressed deep disappointment in the government's approach to tackling the problem of extremism because this speech reflects the approach that 'the community had been singled out as part of the problem'.<sup>179</sup>

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"Cameron on multiculturalism: Blaming the victims".2011. The Guardian. [Last Updated 7 Feb. 2013]<<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/feb/07/editorial-david-cameron-multiculturalism-edl?intcmp=239>>.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> "British multiculturalism has failed: David Cameron".2011. DNA Analysis. [Last Updated 5 February 2011]<<http://www.dnaindia.com/world/report-british-multiculturalism-has-failed-david-cameron-1503571>>.

Cameron also highlights the problem of identity which is inseparably interwoven in the discourse of multiculturalism and that the separate identities have abjectly failed to attain social cohesion. Consequently, Cameron claims "It's that identity, that feeling of belonging in our countries, that I believe is the key to achieving true cohesion"[ See Appendix].<sup>180</sup> Cameron's major concern was about the young Muslims who felt rootless and could not connect with any form of British identity. He asserts that the 'doctrine of state multiculturalism'<sup>181</sup> has contributed to devitalize Britain's collective identity. He supports less 'passive tolerance' and a "much more active, muscular liberalism".<sup>182</sup> Like Merkel, he also strongly opposes forced marriages and he wants Britain to champion "freedom of speech, freedom of worship, democracy, the rule of law, equal rights regardless of race, sex or sexuality".<sup>183</sup>

Cameron criticizes the multiculturalism as a strategy to deal with the radicalism and extremism within immigrants and to cope with challenge posed by the separate Muslim identity. The political elite rejects the cultural and political discrepancy through this normative discourse. However, Cameron ignores the social exclusion and marginalization such as urban enclaves of immigrants' communities in the suburban areas, employment and institutional discrimination, and long-standing unresolved issues which can possibly engender the causes of extremism.

## **5.2 France: Social and cultural Impact and Political Implications**

Sarkozy's speech reflects not only the context of the debate concerning the Swiss referendum, veil controversy and opposition to the construction of Mosques but also epitomizes the larger spectrum of the political beliefs of French national identity and secularity.<sup>184</sup> He

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<sup>180</sup> "State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron". 2011. BBC News. [Last Updated] 05 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>>. Accessed 07 Sep. 2013

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Cosgrove, Michael. 2010. "What exactly is France's National Identity debate about?". Le Figaro, [Last Updated] 02 March 2010. <<http://plus.lefigaro.fr/note/what-exactly-was-frances-national-identity-debate-about-20100302-148106>>. Accessed 14 Jan. 2014.

urges to respect cultural differences but expects different communities to merge into one national communities rather than having distinctive identities.<sup>185</sup>

Sarkozy's speech also reveals the underlying social and political undercurrents of the French normative discourse on multiculturalism. This discourse entails integration initiatives based on national identity and targets social cohesion and assimilation. In this context, Sarkozy emphasizes upon the Muslim Immigrants to be the part of the French self and relinquish those practices and ostentatious symbolism which are in contrast with the French secularity [*laïcité*]<sup>186</sup>, the political and cultural nature of French national identity and the assimilation required by France's integration model.<sup>187</sup> However, some incidents such as the veil controversy and the communal riots in the suburbs have challenged the Republican model of integration.

Though Sarkozy declares to protect fundamental rights of the Muslim community "Our Muslim compatriots must be able to practice their religion, as any citizen can," and 'fight all forms of discrimination' [See Appendix], he ignores the serious grievances and concerns of the Muslim immigrants which complain high level of discrimination with respect to employment and low social mobility resulting in the segregated ghettoized suburbs. Moreover, they also fear the social, economic and political rejection due to the growing Islamophobic rhetoric.

Moreover, French assimilationist policies have deepened the sense of isolation in the working-class communities. In this regard, the social geographer Christophe Guilluy has propounded the phrase 'The Peripheral France' [La France Périphérique] to describe the exacerbating polarization and rift in the French society 'pushed out by the deindustrialization and

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<sup>185</sup> "France's Sarkozy: Multiculturalism Has Failed". 2011. *CBN News*. [Last Updated] 11 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.cbn.com/cbnnews/world/2011/february/frances-sarkozy-multiculturalism-has-failed/?mobile=false>>. Retrieved 12 Jan. 2014.

<sup>186</sup>French national identity is based on the principle of Laïcité which refers to the separation of the spiritual and the secular i.e. separation of church and state. This principal prohibits the religious involvement and influence in government or state affairs. See e.g. "Constitution de la République française". *ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE*. <<http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/langues/welcome-to-the-english-website-of-the-french-national-assembly>>. Accessed 02 Feb.2014.; See e.g. "French Secularism – Laïcité".2004. [Last Updated Jul 25, 2011]. <[http://h2g2.com/edited\\_entry/A2903663](http://h2g2.com/edited_entry/A2903663)>. Accessed 02 Feb.2014.

<sup>187</sup> Sarkozy, Nicolas. 2009. "Congrès de Versailles : l'intégralité du discours de Nicolas Sarkozy". *L'International Magazine*. 22 June 2009. <[http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x9npw1\\_discours-nicolas-sarkozy-devant-le\\_news](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x9npw1_discours-nicolas-sarkozy-devant-le_news)>. Accessed 22 Nov. 2013.

gentrification of the urban centres’, (Vincour ,2014).<sup>188</sup> In fact, political and economic developments have engendered ‘The peripheral France’; however, cultural and ethnicity also played a role in the marginalization country’s North African communities.<sup>189</sup> According to the 2013 Ipsos-cevipof poll,<sup>190</sup> seven out of ten people were of the view that there were ‘too many foreigners in France’, and 74 percent considered Islam to be not in accordance with French society.<sup>191</sup> This image of depicting Islam as a challenge to French values has not only strengthened culture’s political role but also deepened the sense of disillusionment with mainstream politics (Courtois, 2013).

Laurent Bouvet criticizes Sarkozy’s views on multiculturalism as ‘muddled’, misrepresented and paradoxical to previous ones, advocating diversity and “positive secularism”, which will further weaken ‘the social and cultural fabric of French society’( 2011). He argues that Sarkozy’s stance on the failure of multiculturalism is ambiguous and confused because the concept of multiculturalism has not been part of the French political terminology and traditionally is uncommon with the French public sphere.<sup>192</sup> It is not the French-born idea, Sarkozy only emulated his ‘European conservative counterparts Angela Merkel and David Cameron’ to join this ‘overall trend’ across Europe which is generally based on Islamophobic rhetoric and posing Muslim immigrants as a looming threat to the core Western liberal, secular and democratic values.<sup>193</sup>

He argues further, Sarkozy turned down the idea of multiculturalism in a bid to compete with the French far-right leader Marine Le Pen<sup>194</sup> in order to ‘win a significant chunk of the

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<sup>188</sup> Vincour, Nicholas. 2014. Geographer's 'forgotten French' shakes up political class". *Reuters.Com*.

< <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-books-authors-guilluy-idUSKCN0I509420141016>>

<sup>189</sup> Ibid. See also Moutet, Anne-Elisabeth.2014. “Life in France? Now is our winter of discontent”. The Telegraph.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11218338/Life-in-France-Now-is-our-winter-of-discontent.html>>.

<sup>190</sup> Courtois, Gérard. 2013. “Les crispations alarmantes de la société française”. [“The Alarming Tensions in French society”]. *Le Monde.fr*. [Last Updated] 25.Jan.2013.< [http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2013/01/24/les-crispations-alarmantes-de-la-societe-francaise\\_1821655\\_823448.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/politique/article/2013/01/24/les-crispations-alarmantes-de-la-societe-francaise_1821655_823448.html)>. Accessed 04.Dec.2013.

<sup>191</sup> Le Bars, Stéphanie. 2013. “La religion musulmane fait l'objet d'un profond rejet de la part des Français”.

[“The Muslim religion is the subject of a deep rejection by the French”]. [Last Updated] 24.Jan.2013

< [http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2013/01/24/la-religion-musulmane-fait-l-objet-d-un-profond-rejet-de-la-part-des-francais\\_1821698\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2013/01/24/la-religion-musulmane-fait-l-objet-d-un-profond-rejet-de-la-part-des-francais_1821698_3224.html)> Retrieved 05.Dec. 2013.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

“National Front vote”<sup>195</sup> and to save his declining credibility among voters due to economic recession and failure of policies in curbing crimes.<sup>196</sup> This also indicates how issues of immigration are politicized during economic recession. It will be out of place to blame the idea of multiculturalism as a whole and issue sweeping statement of failure, instead; there is an urgent need to cope with the problems arising out of multiculturalism and rectify the ‘inequitable’ policies regarding it rather than rejecting it as a whole.<sup>197</sup>

### 5.3 Germany: Social and cultural Impact and Political Implications

In her speech, Angela Merkel stands disenchanted with the long-cherished concept of multiculturalism and declared it bluntly a fiasco of ‘*Multikulti*’<sup>198</sup>, i.e. diversely cultural society because it turned out to be divisive and illusionary. She argues that multicultural and immigration policy has had negative connotations while creating parallel societies within a society and failed in assimilating the immigrants into the mainstream social and cultural fabric of the society. As she states ‘attempts to build a post-war multicultural society have ‘utterly failed’.[See appendix] , and "The concept that we are now living side by side and are happy about it does not work"[See appendix] . She urges and expects immigrant to integrate well into *Leitkultur*,<sup>199</sup> i.e. German core culture. Her speech has had highly significant underlying implications both political and socially not only in Germany but across Europe since public criticism of cultural diversity has long been considered to be as taboo in German public sphere to

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<sup>194</sup> Marine Le Pen is famous for her anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric. She is the president of the National Front (FN), the third-largest political party in France in 2011. She is the youngest daughter of longtime FN leader Jean-Marie Le Pen.

<sup>195</sup> Sarkozy employed the same political tactics in 2007 elections to win a considerable share of the National Front vote. See e.g. Wolfreys, Jim. 2010. “Did Sarkozy boost the Front National?”. *The Guardian*. Last Updated 24 March 2010. <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/mar/24/nicolas-sarkozy-front-national>>. Accessed 08 Jan. 2014.; Borrud, Gabriel. 2012. “Sarkozy intensifies anti-immigration rhetoric”. [Last Updated 12 March 2012]. <<http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/france-how-far-right-leader-marine-le-pen-using-her-racism-trial-promote-fn-rethoric-1525049>>. Accessed 12 Nov. 2013.

<sup>196</sup> Bouvet, Laurent. 2011.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Multikulti refers to the multicultural public policy approach and German progressive movements of the 1970s and 1980s. The term refers to a vision of a society in which people having different nationalities, languages, religions and ethnic and cultural backgrounds coexist peacefully.

<sup>199</sup> **Leitkultur** means ‘Leading or core German culture’, first introduced in 1998 by the German-Arab sociologist Bassam Tibi in his book *Europa ohne Identität* (‘Europe without identity’).

The term refers to mono-cultural vision of German society and figured prominently in the national political debate in Germany about national identity.

avoid any kind of untoward impression of the racial discrimination in keeping view of the historical experience. She, as a down-to-earth politician, concluded her assessment on multiculturalism that integration has not worked .

Merkel emphasizes upon the immigrants to learn German and integrate well not only into the core values of German society. In fact, she does not denounce the importance of immigrants with respect to the growing needs of labor market and German economy but demands to make vigorous efforts to integrate socio-economically as well to contribute to German development in spite of creating the isolated societies.<sup>200</sup> The chancellor's comments come after a series of anti-immigrant feeling from other German politicians.<sup>201</sup> Earlier the same week of Merkel's speech , Horst Seehofer, the leader of the CDU's Bavarian sister party, the CSU, said it was "obvious that immigrants from different cultures like Turkey and Arab countries, all in all, find it harder" to integrate.<sup>202</sup>

The political and normative discourse of these high-profile speeches indicate not only apparently 'a pan-European paradigmatic shift towards a broadly homologous approach to cultural diversity' (Lewis 2013), but also will have indelible impact on the social and cultural fabric of the European Society. Moreover, it identifies the undercurrents of the changing spectrum of mindset of the political elite as well as national policies of these most politically influential European countries. This has also caused far-right parties and populist politicians to get momentum across Europe, from the Party for Freedom<sup>203</sup> in the Netherlands to the Front National<sup>204</sup> in France (Palmer 2013). By forming a pan-European alliance of far-right parties, these "populists, xenophobes, extremists, fascists" elements are also supposed to get considerable share in the high-profile EU institutions in Brussels (Traynor 2013).

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<sup>200</sup> "Chancellor Merkel says German multiculturalism has 'utterly failed".DW.Com. Last Updated 17 Oct. 2010]. <http://www.dw.com/en/chancellor-merkel-says-german-multiculturalism-has-utterly-failed/a-6118859>.

<sup>201</sup> "Merkel says German multicultural society has failed". BBC.Com. [Last Updated 17 Oct. 2010].< <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11559451>>.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> The Party for Freedom is a right-wing populist political party, founded by **Geert Wilders** who is known for his criticism of Islam, in the Netherlands. In the 2010 general election it won 24 seats, making it the third largest party. The party staunchly holds the program of strong assimilationist stance on the integration of immigrants into Dutch society. See e.g. "Netherlands Islam Freedom: Profile of Geert Wilders".2011. *BBC News Europe*. [Last Updated] 23 June 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-11443211>>. Retrieved 07 Jan. 2014.

<sup>204</sup> The National Front is far right nationalist political party in France , which also strongly opposes immigration and multicultural policies. The current Leader Marine Le Pen, the youngest daughter of longtime FN leader Jean-Marie Le Pen , is also known as anti-immigrants and anti-Muslim speeches.

These inflammable speeches may lead to the perception in society that national identity and core values of Europe are under threat may also lead to hostile reactions and extreme acts of violence and racism against the immigrants and minorities, such as Anders Behring Breivik's 'homicidal rampage'<sup>205</sup> on the Norwegian island of Utøya in July 2011 (Malik 2013). As he 'justified' in the homicidal rampage. 'to save the country from multicultural forces' (Magnay 2012).

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<sup>205</sup> Anders Behring Breivik is the man accused of killing 77 people in a mass killing on the Norwegian island of Utøya in July 2011. He admitted and justified his extreme act to prevent 'Multicultural Forces' and 'Islamization of Europe'. See e.g. Magnay, Diana. 2012. "Rampage suspect says he acted to save Norway". <<http://edition.cnn.com/2012/04/16/world/europe/norway-breivik-trial/>>. Accessed 28 Dec. 2013.; See e.g. for further detail please refer to the Archives of New York Times. "Anders Behring Breivik". *The New York Times*. <<http://www.nytimes.com/topic/person/anders-behring-breivik>>. Accessed 29 Dec. 2013.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

One dimension of the aim of my research project is determining if and how the multicultural discourse in academic research changed in the recent years. In order to do that, first of all, I tried to define the concept of multiculturalism itself. This proved to be a difficult task, since the concept has been actively discussed in the research and its definition is constantly shifting. However, I decided to select the most comprehensive, to my view, definition and then analyzed the interest towards the concept in research articles in the past twenty years and discovered that it was constantly fluctuating, but increasing at the same time. Finally, I analyzed and compared three research articles on multiculturalism, published in 1992, 2002 and 2010. The analysis showed that there was a clear shift from the attitude towards multiculturalism as an "answer to all Europe's problems", to a view that multiculturalism should be reconsidered and replaced with a new cultural concept.

All in all, the general trends concerning multiculturalism within research are: first of all, multiculturalism seen as a positive concept and an example to Europe, taking into account the experience of Canada and Australia. Though it is argued that Australian or Canadian model of multiculturalism and immigration cannot be transferred or applicable on Europe with the same specifications due to different local dynamics and conditions. Particularly, Germany has long been a mono-ethnic society where German culture is always predominant. However, a few years later the attacks of 9/11 in 2001 took place and so the research on multiculturalism was directed towards Islam. Finally, in recent years politicians gave speeches about its supposed failure while some researchers started calling for a new era that is, according to them, post-multiculturalism. These different trends within research demonstrate the continuous changes of such a concept and nothing is there to prove that it will one day stagnate.

Secondly, through the analytical work upon each of the speeches, a clear image of the European leaders' negative view upon multiculturalism and foremost the stately encouraged forms of multicultural societies emerge. The general word used, first coined by Angela Merkel, is "failed". Multiculturalism has according to not only Merkel but also David Cameron and

Nicholas Sarkozy failed or is to be seen as failing. Examples of clear quotes includes “multiculturalism have utterly failed”,<sup>206</sup> “We’ve failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong”<sup>207</sup> and lastly Sarkozy when during a live interview on French television was asked the question of if multiculturalism is to be seen as a failure responded “I share the opinion of Mrs. Merkel and Mr. Cameron – we cannot have this”.

A question that comes to mind, after repeatedly reading and analyzing speeches and statements where multiculturalism is seen in a quite negative way, is the question of Fortress Europe. Is this alleged failure of multiculturalism pointing towards sharpened immigration policies, European exclusion, leaving an era of diversity and inclusion?

In the German society, the growing hostility towards immigrants has lately been quite evident. The xenophobic sentiments are rising and fuelling new anti-immigrants movements. This factor is interesting to reflect upon when considering how Chancellor Merkel steps forward to maintain and highlight the problems that Germany is facing with integration of immigrants and also with consideration to the aspect of how “we”/ “us” and “they”/ “them” is used in contrast to each other. A connection can be seen here with the historical aspect of how “German-ness” can only be pursued by the German language and by living in Germany for several generations.<sup>208</sup> The speech can, with consideration to the history of Germany marked by division, reunion and problems of identity building, be seen as a reflection of these previous events and problems, where Germany is still struggling with creating a national-, common identity of Germany. The question of a future fortress Europe can become accurate in this case, as the striving for creating a German identity and preserving the German culture might come in conflict with the need for labor force and the growing immigration.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> “Merkel says German multicultural society has failed.” *BBC News*. 17 Oct. 2010. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe11559451>>. Accessed 06 Sep. 2013.

<sup>207</sup> Cameron, David. 2011. “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron”. *BBC News*. [Last Updated] 05 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>>. Accessed 16 Oct. 2013. See e.g. *BBC News*. 2011. “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron.” 5 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>> Accessed 17 Oct. 2013.

<sup>208</sup> Persson, Hans-Åke. 2001. “Soweit die deutsche Zunge klingt”. *Europe: The Return of History*. Ed. Sven Tägil. Lund: Nordic Academic Press. p.288

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.* p. 301.

David Cameron mentions, in his Munich speech, the existence of both an inward and an outside element of threat both to national security but moreover to “our way of life”.<sup>210</sup> The entire speech puts much focus on the need of a strengthened national identity in order to aid Britain from the extremist ideology (mentioned throughout the speech in connection to Islam) threatening not only Britain but is to be seen as a global challenge. Cameron mentions in connection to Germany “As Chancellor Merkel’s government is showing right here in Germany, what matters is not bureaucracy, which frankly Europe needs a lot less of, but the political will to build military capability that we need as nations and allies, that we can deliver in the field”. The British Prime Minister is hence painting a picture of a “hard-headed” Britain, ready to act upon all threats, homebound as well as coming from the outside, a Britain with a sharpened foreign policy on its guard and less inclusive. On the national stage “a much more active, muscular liberalism” shall lead the way instead of recent years “passive tolerance” in order to build a stronger national (British) identity.

Cameron says, “We have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values.”<sup>211</sup> But in a multicultural society when there is also multi-racial and multi-ethnic groups live together, there is definitely the difference of values but the question arises that whether does it pose a threat to a common identity if different culture retain their own identity?

Nicolas Sarkozy agrees to the failure of multiculturalism and stresses that there are important issues that must be cleared out, but it does not have anything in common with closing borders or banning the immigration – which is connected to the historical background of France, namely their need for immigrants as part of the labor force. On the other hand, he demands from the immigrants a certain behavior, like adjusting to the culture and learning the language. France is considered to be a secular country, where personal freedom is an important part of the culture

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<sup>210</sup> “State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron.” 5 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>> Accessed 17 Oct. 2013.; “PM’s speech at Munich Security Conference.” Number10.gov.uk. 5 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.number10.gov.uk/news/speeches-and-transcripts/2011/02/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference-60293>>. Accessed 14 Oct. 2013.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

and that is why it requires from all its citizens to act in the same way, which does not include praying in ostentatious way in the street.<sup>212</sup> He points out that the religion is an issue of private matters and it should be respected by all the citizens, because everyone has the same rights and obligations. This brings us to the second speech given two years earlier in front of the Parliament and focuses upon the economic situation and the issue of wearing the integrated veil by Muslim women.<sup>213</sup>

After analyzing the speeches, I find that the future scenario of Fortress Europe can become accurate with consideration to the current situation portraying a negative view of multiculturalism and showing the common determination towards a defensive approach, where immigration is, in many cases, portrayed as an obstacle rather than a possibility.

It is also interesting to find that the leaders of three of Europe's most influential countries chose consensually and unanimously to target the subject of multiculturalism in such a short period of time. Is there in fact a trend to be seen, and if so which are the reasons behind the timing? Following the set model of critical discourse analysis set by Norman Fairclough, step three of the analysis includes a consideration of whether the network of practices or social order (in this case the European discourse on multiculturalism portrayed through the political speeches) in a sense "needs" the problem. Could the alleged failure of multicultural societies and state multiculturalism in fact be a created problem, constructed for political gain? I would like to connect step three with the fourth step of the Fairclough model, hence bringing in a counter discourse conflicting with the hegemonic discourse of Merkel, Cameron and Sarkozy.

An interesting angle responding both to the alleged failure of multiculturalism as well as to the aspect of "need of the problem" is the one of Madeleine Bunting, who offers a clear counter-discourse to the one chosen by Cameron, Merkel and Sarkozy on the alleged failing multiculturalism. Bunting argues in her article in the Guardian that if to blame one it is consumer capitalism and not multiculturalism. Bunting describes the speech in Munich as 'nostalgia for a

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<sup>212</sup> Sarkozy, Nicolas.2009. "Congrès de Versailles : l'intégralité du discours de Nicolas Sarkozy". *L'International Magazine*. 22 June 2009. <[http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x9npw1\\_discours-nicolas-sarkozy-devant-le\\_news](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x9npw1_discours-nicolas-sarkozy-devant-le_news)>. Accessed 22 Nov. 2013.

<sup>213</sup> "Nicolas Sarkozy says Islamic veils are not welcome in France". THE GUARDIAN (June 22, 2009), <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/22/islamic-veils-sarkozy-speech-france>> Accessed 28 Nov. 2013.

strong national collective identity” and continues “after a generation of individualism and globalization, all kinds of collective identities have been weakened or abandoned’ (Bunting 2011).<sup>214</sup> Building upon the writings of historian Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities* states and considerably also national identity is to be seen as a creation of the imagination and “the stories we choose to tell ourselves of our past and present”.<sup>215</sup> The much targeted multiculturalism could hence be portrayed as the creation of a scapegoat to the actual problems each of the three countries is facing with integration and immigration.

To conclude, I find this topic both interesting and of much importance. The general findings, through both the research and actual analytical work I have discovered, are that of how the negative comments and statements made upon multiculturalism is not favoring any side. As Bunting argues “it robs millions of some measure of dignity in their efforts to adapt and accommodate difference” and moreover “It deprives European urban multiculturalism of hope and makes it instead something to fear”.<sup>216</sup>

I acknowledge the problem each of the countries is faced with integration and immigration and cannot be ignored, but the solution does not lie in the blaming multiculturalism. As Modood suggests that solution to this ‘Multicultural crisis’ lies in a ‘multiculturalist concept of integration’ since integration is ‘not one way but interactive’ (Modood 2005: 67).<sup>217</sup> He argues that this pluralistic approach to integration should recognize the diversity and ‘a variety of identities’ rather than homologous approach to assimilationist one because ‘traditional model of assimilation is one-way’.<sup>218</sup> Europe should try to distinguish ‘diversity as a lived experience from multiculturalism as a political process’. The formal way to institutionalize such societal

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<sup>214</sup> Bunting, Madeleine. “Blame consumer capitalism, not multiculturalism”. *The Guardian online*. 6 Feb. 2011. <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2011/feb/06/capitalism-multiculturalism-america-flawed-analysis>>. Accessed 04 Jan. 2014.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Modood, Tariq. 2005. ‘A Defence of Multiculturalism’. *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 29: 62-7. <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/153854.pdf>>.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

diversity may not be fruitful. In fact, integration is a two way process based on harmonious relationship between diversely cultural groups and the tolerance and respect for diversity.<sup>219</sup>

The analysis of the debate demonstrates that this political discourse seems to compel the minorities to assimilate the European values and culture unquestionably and considers their diverse identities and culture as a potential threat for the national identity while portraying them as Other. In this context, Kymlicka also proposes the solution to this ongoing rather ever-growing problem by emphasizing upon the ‘dominant’ community to forge new ways to ‘re-evaluate their inherited identities, heroes, symbols and narratives’ (2003) to accommodate the cultural religious rights of immigrant groups, rather than adopting inflexible approach towards assimilation and social cohesion based on uncompromising forms of identity and the imposition of un-negotiable European core values upon already segregated immigrant communities.<sup>220</sup>

Indeed, in the current national discourse, the cultural diversity poses a serious potential threat for the European secular and liberal values and this is evidently reflected through the narrative of political leaders across Europe in their speeches; however, political discourse or consensus is not an intended attempt to exclude the immigrants rather aims at compelling the immigrants to be integrated well into culture, social and economic structure of receiving communities through the assimilation of a normative identity that is more appropriate to the European ethos.

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid. p. 64.

<sup>220</sup> Mavelli, Luca. 2012.

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## Appendix

### Cameron's Speech at Munich Security Conference

Munich, Saturday 5 February 2011

Today I want to focus my remarks on terrorism, but first let me address one point. Some have suggested that by holding a strategic defence and security review, Britain is somehow retreating from an activist role in the world. That is the opposite of the truth. Yes, we are dealing with our budget deficit, but we are also making sure our defences are strong. Britain will continue to meet the NATO 2% target for defence spending. We will still have the fourth largest military defence budget in the world. At the same time, we are putting that money to better use, focusing on conflict prevention and building a much more flexible army. That is not retreat; it is hard headed.

Every decision we take has three aims in mind. First, to continue to support the NATO mission in Afghanistan. Second, to reinforce our actual military capability. As Chancellor Merkel's government is showing right here in Germany, what matters is not bureaucracy, which frankly Europe needs a lot less of, but the political will to build military capability that we need as nations and allies, that we can deliver in the field. Third, we want to make sure that Britain is protected from the new and various threats that we face. That is why we are investing in a national cyber security programme that I know William Hague talked about yesterday, and we are sharpening our readiness to act on counter-proliferation.

But the biggest threat that we face comes from terrorist attacks, some of which are, sadly, carried out by our own citizens. It is important to stress that terrorism is not linked exclusively to any one religion or ethnic group. My country, the United Kingdom, still faces threats from dissident republicans in Northern Ireland. Anarchist attacks have occurred recently in Greece and in Italy, and of course, yourselves in Germany were long scarred by terrorism from the Red Army Faction. Nevertheless, we should acknowledge that this threat comes in Europe overwhelmingly from young men who follow a completely perverse, warped interpretation of

Islam, and who are prepared to blow themselves up and kill their fellow citizens. Last week at Davos I rang the alarm bell for the urgent need for Europe to recover its economic dynamism, and today, though the subject is complex, my message on security is equally stark. We will not defeat terrorism simply by the action we take outside our borders. Europe needs to wake up to what is happening in our own countries. Of course, that means strengthening, as Angela has said, the security aspects of our response, on tracing plots, on stopping them, on counter-surveillance and intelligence gathering.

But this is just part of the answer. We have got to get to the root of the problem, and we need to be absolutely clear on where the origins of where these terrorist attacks lie. That is the existence of an ideology, Islamist extremism. We should be equally clear what we mean by this term, and we must distinguish it from Islam. Islam is a religion observed peacefully and devoutly by over a billion people. Islamist extremism is a political ideology supported by a minority. At the furthest end are those who back terrorism to promote their ultimate goal: an entire Islamist realm, governed by an interpretation of Sharia. Move along the spectrum, and you find people who may reject violence, but who accept various parts of the extremist worldview, including real hostility towards Western democracy and liberal values. It is vital that we make this distinction between religion on the one hand, and political ideology on the other. Time and again, people equate the two. They think whether someone is an extremist is dependent on how much they observe their religion. So, they talk about moderate Muslims as if all devout Muslims must be extremist. This is profoundly wrong. Someone can be a devout Muslim and not be an extremist. We need to be clear: Islamist extremism and Islam are not the same thing.

This highlights, I think, a significant problem when discussing the terrorist threat that we face. There is so much muddled thinking about this whole issue. On the one hand, those on the hard right ignore this distinction between Islam and Islamist extremism, and just say that Islam and the West are irreconcilable – that there is a clash of civilizations. So, it follows: we should cut ourselves off from this religion, whether that is through forced repatriation, favoured by some fascists, or the banning of new mosques, as is suggested in some parts of Europe. These people fuel Islamophobia, and I completely reject their argument. If they want an example of how Western values and Islam can be entirely compatible, they should look at what's happened in the

past few weeks on the streets of Tunis and Cairo: hundreds of thousands of people demanding the universal right to free elections and democracy.

The point is this: the ideology of extremism is the problem; Islam emphatically is not. Picking a fight with the latter will do nothing to help us to confront the former. On the other hand, there are those on the soft left who also ignore this distinction. They lump all Muslims together, compiling a list of grievances, and argue that if only governments addressed these grievances, the terrorism would stop. So, they point to the poverty that so many Muslims live in and say, 'Get rid of this injustice and the terrorism will end.' But this ignores the fact that many of those found guilty of terrorist offences in the UK and elsewhere have been graduates and often middle class. They point to grievances about Western foreign policy and say, 'Stop riding roughshod over Muslim countries and the terrorism will end.' But there are many people, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, who are angry about Western foreign policy, but who don't resort to acts of terrorism. They also point to the profusion of unelected leaders across the Middle East and say, 'Stop propping these people up and you will stop creating the conditions for extremism to flourish.' But this raises the question: if it's the lack of democracy that is the problem, why are there so many extremists in free and open societies?

Now, I'm not saying that these issues of poverty and grievance about foreign policy are not important. Yes, of course we must tackle them. Of course we must tackle poverty. Yes, we must resolve the sources of tension, not least in Palestine, and yes, we should be on the side of openness and political reform in the Middle East. On Egypt, our position should be clear. We want to see the transition to a more broadly-based government, with the proper building blocks of a free and democratic society. I simply don't accept that there is somehow a dead end choice between a security state on the one hand, and an Islamist one on the other. But let us not fool ourselves. These are just contributory factors. Even if we sorted out all of the problems that I have mentioned, there would still be this terrorism. I believe the root lies in the existence of this extremist ideology. I would argue an important reason so many young Muslims are drawn to it comes down to a question of identity.

What I am about to say is drawn from the British experience, but I believe there are general lessons for us all. In the UK, some young men find it hard to identify with the traditional Islam practiced at home by their parents, whose customs can seem staid when transplanted to modern Western countries. But these young men also find it hard to identify with Britain too, because we have allowed the weakening of our collective identity. Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values.

So, when a white person holds objectionable views, racist views for instance, we rightly condemn them. But when equally unacceptable views or practices come from someone who isn't white, we've been too cautious frankly – frankly, even fearful – to stand up to them. The failure, for instance, of some to confront the horrors of forced marriage, the practice where some young girls are bullied and sometimes taken abroad to marry someone when they don't want to, is a case in point. This hands-off tolerance has only served to reinforce the sense that not enough is shared. And this all leaves some young Muslims feeling rootless. And the search for something to belong to and something to believe in can lead them to this extremist ideology. Now for sure, they don't turn into terrorists overnight, but what we see – and what we see in so many European countries – is a process of radicalization.

Internet chatrooms are virtual meeting places where attitudes are shared, strengthened and validated. In some mosques, preachers of hate can sow misinformation about the plight of Muslims elsewhere. In our communities, groups and organizations led by young, dynamic leaders promote separatism by encouraging Muslims to define themselves solely in terms of their religion. All these interactions can engender a sense of community, a substitute for what the wider society has failed to supply. Now, you might say, as long as they're not hurting anyone, what is the problem with all this?

Well, I'll tell you why. As evidence emerges about the backgrounds of those convicted of terrorist offences, it is clear that many of them were initially influenced by what some have

called ‘non-violent extremists’, and they then took those radical beliefs to the next level by embracing violence. And I say this is an indictment of our approach to these issues in the past. And if we are to defeat this threat, I believe it is time to turn the page on the failed policies of the past. So first, instead of ignoring this extremist ideology, we – as governments and as societies – have got to confront it, in all its forms. And second, instead of encouraging people to live apart, we need a clear sense of shared national identity that is open to everyone.

Let me briefly take each in turn. First, confronting and undermining this ideology. Whether they are violent in their means or not, we must make it impossible for the extremists to succeed. Now, for governments, there are some obvious ways we can do this. We must ban preachers of hate from coming to our countries. We must also proscribe organizations that incite terrorism against people at home and abroad. Governments must also be shrewder in dealing with those that, while not violent, are in some cases part of the problem. We need to think much harder about who it’s in the public interest to work with. Some organizations that seek to present themselves as a gateway to the Muslim community are showered with public money despite doing little to combat extremism. As others have observed, this is like turning to a right-wing fascist party to fight a violent white supremacist movement. So we should properly judge these organizations: do they believe in universal human rights – including for women and people of other faiths?

Do they believe in equality of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separation? These are the sorts of questions we need to ask. Fail these tests and the presumption should be not to engage with organizations – so, no public money, no sharing of platforms with ministers at home. At the same time, we must stop these groups from reaching people in publicly funded institutions like universities or even, in the British case, prisons. Now, some say, this is not compatible with free speech and intellectual inquiry. Well, I say, would you take the same view if these were right-wing extremists recruiting on our campuses? Would you advocate inaction if Christian fundamentalists who believed that Muslims are the enemy were leading prayer groups in our prisons? And to those who say these non-violent extremists are actually helping to keep young, vulnerable men away from violence, I say nonsense.

Would you allow the far right groups a share of public funds if they promise to help you lure young white men away from fascist terrorism? Of course not. But, at root, challenging this ideology means exposing its ideas for what they are, and that is completely unjustifiable. We need to argue that terrorism is wrong in all circumstances. We need to argue that prophecies of a global war of religion pitting Muslims against the rest of the world are nonsense.

Now, governments cannot do this alone. The extremism we face is a distortion of Islam, so these arguments, in part, must be made by those within Islam. So let us give voice to those followers of Islam in our own countries – the vast, often unheard majority – who despise the extremists and their worldview. Let us engage groups that share our aspirations.

Now, second, we must build stronger societies and stronger identities at home. Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism. A passively tolerant society says to its citizens; as long as you obey the law we will just leave you alone. It stands neutral between different values. But I believe a genuinely liberal country does much more; it believes in certain values and actively promotes them. Freedom of speech, freedom of worship, democracy, the rule of law, equal rights regardless of race, sex or sexuality. It says to its citizens, this is what defines us as a society: to belong here is to believe in these things. Now, each of us in our own countries, I believe, must be unambiguous and hard-nosed about this defence of our liberty.

There are practical things that we can do as well. That includes making sure that immigrants speak the language of their new home and ensuring that people are educated in the elements of a common culture and curriculum. Back home, we're introducing National Citizen Service: a two-month programme for sixteen-year-olds from different backgrounds to live and work together. I also believe we should encourage meaningful and active participation in society, by shifting the balance of power away from the state and towards the people. That way, common purpose can be formed as people come together and work together in their neighborhoods. It will also help build stronger pride in local identity, so people feel free to say, 'Yes, I am a Muslim, I

am a Hindu, I am Christian, but I am also a Londoner or a Berliner too'. It's that identity, that feeling of belonging in our countries, that I believe is the key to achieving true cohesion.

So, let me end with this. This terrorism is completely indiscriminate and has been thrust upon us. It cannot be ignored or contained; we have to confront it with confidence – confront the ideology that drives it by defeating the ideas that warp so many young minds at their root, and confront the issues of identity that sustain it by standing for a much broader and generous vision of citizenship in our countries. Now, none of this will be easy. We will need stamina, patience and endurance, and it won't happen at all if we act alone. This ideology crosses not just our continent but all continents, and we are all in this together. At stake are not just lives, it is our way of life. That is why this is a challenge we cannot avoid; it is one we must rise to and overcome. Thank you.

**Source:**

<<http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2011/02/terrorism-islam-ideology>>.

State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron

<<http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-12371994>>.

Video : David Cameron's Munich Speech on Multiculturalism. 5 February

2011.<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VsGQvOq8cEs>>

## **Appendix: Merkel's speech at the "Junge Union" Conference**

Potsdam, 16 October, 2010.

Then I say to begin with; we are members of CDU/CSU, or stand close to them. What characterizes/defines us? Before we start speaking about others, we will firstly speak about ourselves, and what has always characterized us. Since we call ourselves Christian Democrats, we are the Christian image of people. If we are completely honest, then we should maybe talk about what it means that many in this country no longer know what they evidently knew 50 or 60 years ago since many people might no longer talk about their faith, since many people might not have any faith at all and since many people only have a little faith and therefore only goes to church around Christmas. This implies that only he who is confident about his own identity, can, in the truest sense of the word, speak to others about theirs.

And it is not for nothing that it stands written in our constitutional law that "Man's dignity is inviolable". Every single person is important to us, every single person- and this is our task- gets an opportunity in our country. We speak in our constitutional law about opportunities. And from this experience we give every single person in our country the opportunity to develop in our country. Something that has moved us all, something that we all sat by the TV and followed, is the rescue of the workers in Chile, 33 Minors, where they still, after 17 days, said "No, we will continue searching".

And they found them, they saved them, and they did every thing possible for every human being so that he could return to daylight. This is an example of the human dignity, and it is this that us and every single person in our society have committed to, and this is our Christian view of society. Our president Christian Wulf has now said the right thing. He has said that our culture is strongly influenced by the Christian-Jewish heritage. Christianity is connected to us. Judaism is connected to us. But I would like to remind you that during 10 centuries we have been

influenced and received a lot of knowledge on algebra and astronomy from the Arab world, just as many blessings as from other parts of the world. But he (Christian Wulf) has also said/replied; Islam is also a part of Germany. This you can not least see when looking at the footballer Özil.

Dear friends, our concern is now about how to handle this question. The question about immigration is a central theme, since the number of young people with immigrant background will not drop but keep on increasing. In Frankfurt am Main, two out of three children under the age of five have an immigrant background. We are a country who incidentally in the beginning of 60s received foreign workers, and now they are living with us.

We have for a long time not did anything, we have said that they will not stay, they will return home at some point. This is not the reality. The intention was of course to live side by side in multiculturalism and enjoy each other, but this intention has failed. Utterly failed. With consideration to this, I decided that when I became Chancellor, I would bring up this question in the chancellery, since its one of the big questions in our society. There are many successful examples that I believe that we nowadays need to pay attention to, and we need to discuss what we have achieved, since the people we are trying to integrate needs role models.

Then there are also examples that haven't been as successful. It is left to be said; yes, these people should stay with us, they have contributed to our prosperity, they need their share. It is not acceptable that half of them cannot finish school and it is not acceptable that we today have twice as many that cannot get a professional degree. This makes us the social problem of the future, and it is therefore integration is so important, this foremost means that those who wants to take part of our society needs to not only live by our laws, not only to respect our constitutional law, but before everything else to learn our language.

To learn our language and to know our language. This is of first priority. This will cost a lot of effort. It is right that you in the countries ruled by the Union should do a language test. It is important that the students who comes to school at least understands their teachers, otherwise, how can it be expected that they understand the material? It is rightly and correctly of us to focus on the professional degree. It is absolutely right and correct to say that girls shall come along on field trips, take part of sports activities. We do not accept forced marriages at all; it is not

compatible with our laws. But it is on the other hand also important that we also show susceptibility. We have always been an open country that has been helping with the European integration.

We are known in the world as the champions of the world in export and we are still one of the leading nations in export. Of course we don't need any immigration that will burden our social systems, this is not what it is about. But we do need immigration of specialists. Too few young Germans or immigration children decides to get an education or job within scientific engineering, or even to achieve anything at all. This results in that we cannot be a country that gives the impression of that every person who does not speak German, or who did not grow up with German as their mother tongue, are not welcome here. That would hurt our country very much. If this were to happen, the companies would move somewhere else, since they would no longer be able to find any employees among us. This means that this is one of our most important tasks for the future. To say that this is country that provides people with opportunities, always has to be Germany's trademark.'

Source : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WaEg8aM4fcc>

## **President Nicolas Sarkozy's speeches:**

French president Sarkozy speaks to the press about his abandonment of Multiculturalism and Islam's role in France.

Another question forms the Internet. Amongst the cyber-community that by hundreds addressed the site of TF1 to discuss the themes we have raised tonight, we had one earlier another difficult one now. It is related to immigration. I ask you the question: Mr. President that multiculturalism is a defeat and is the origin of many problems in our society? And so says Angela Merkel, it's a defeat last week. And Great Britain. What do you think of that for France?

My answer is clearly yes, truthfully it's a defeat. It's within all our democracies we have preoccupied ourselves with the identity of the person that was arriving but not enough of the identity of the country that was receiving them. I will explain myself. Very well we have to respect everyone within their differences, but we don't want in any case, it is not France's project to make a society where communities coexist one beside the other. If we come to France, we accept to melt within one community that is the national community. And if we do not want to accept this, we cannot be welcomed in France. Countries like England or the United States that thought about developing this multiculturalism which means community by community has reinforced the extremists everyone forgetting they belonged to a national community to develop its defense against others. We do not want any of this. We do not want any of this. And these are perfectly clear things.

I share the opinion that Mrs. Merkel and Mr. Cameron, we cannot have this. It poses the question, obviously, that comes let's do not do the wooden tongue. The question of Islam and our Muslim compatriots, it is asked and refuses to evoke this with the pretext that extremists from all sides can take hold of the question by refusing to speak of it. There is clearly a problem. My position is the following: our compatriots- Muslim must be able to practice their religion like any other compatriot: Jews, Protestants, Catholic, but it can only be an Islam of France. It cannot be and Islam in France. This is not possible. This is what brought me to vote for the law that outlawed the Burka. We do not want in France women that wear the integrated veil. We do not want in France that we pray in an ostentatious way in the street. But we say in France that it is perfectly normal that there are places of cults and mosques so that our Muslim countrymen can

practice their faith. We are a Catholic country. There is a separation between religion and state the prayer offends no one, but we do not want on the territory of the French Republic the proliferation of aggressive religion.

Whichever one it is. Naturally whichever one it is. But Mr. Perneault, I think there is a formidable hypocrisy to refuse to see a certain number of realities in France. I say it, even though I have always been opposed to zero immigration. That makes no sense. Even though I think that declarations from such and such extremist leaders make me feel ashamed, I say as a chief of state, I am one of your compatriots. I am of your faith even if your faith is not faith. But if we come to France we bring its identity to the national community but we respect the national community. And the French national community does not want to change how it lives. Its lifestyle, the equality between people, liberty for women, we do not want to compromise on this. Little girls get to go to school. We do not want for example, that imams can preach violence. We do not want, we do not want. It does not exist. We do not want to modify our calendar, we consider religion imminently respectable, it is a part of private matters-not public.

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mP2l\\_NnCLsk](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mP2l_NnCLsk)>

Sarkozy ends multiculturalism. speaks on Islam.mp4

[http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2009/12/08/m-sarkozy-respecter-ceux-quiarrivent-respecter-ceux-qui-accueillent\\_1277422\\_3232.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2009/12/08/m-sarkozy-respecter-ceux-quiarrivent-respecter-ceux-qui-accueillent_1277422_3232.html)>.

22.06.2009

Mr. Senate President

President of the National Assembly,

Mr. Prime Minister,

Ladies and gentlemen,

Distinguished Ministers,

In addressing you today, I am aware of inaugurating a profound change in our republican tradition. Since 1875, the Head of State had no right to come and speak before the Parliament. He could contact them by text messages were read to him. This rule was established in a climate of mistrust when the Republic was feeling fragile and threatened. Those days are

gone for a long time. The Republic is strongly rooted in our country. The time had therefore come as established between the legislative and executive reports more consistent with the spirit a well established democracy.

A well established democracy is not a democracy where everyone agrees but everybody world listens and respects herself. If I wanted to express myself to you today is to show the importance I attach to Parliament, its role and its job.

This is an important moment. I approach it with seriousness and humility as the situation we are in is unprecedented. Nothing/ no one in these circumstances is assured of holding the truth.

I wanted to come tell you that I draw the consequences of the crisis. I had occasion to speak of European politics of France and what it wished to regulate globalization.

Today is about our country, the future that it can build for itself.

The crisis is not over. We do not know when it will end. We must do everything to end it as quickly as possible. Meanwhile we must continue to support the activity/ to continue being active. We must continue to ensure the stability of our banking system. We must protect our most vulnerable citizens, those who suffer the most. We must do everything to ensure that victims of the crisis from becoming excluded that we could more than reintegrated into the economy and society. The exclusion is the worst thing that may happen.

Where are we with secularism?

I do not re-use the term "positive secularism" not to feed a useless polemic. But I remain firm on the idea that secularism is not the rejection of all religions, not the rejection of religious sentiment/feelings. It is a principle of neutrality and a principle of respect. Secularism is the respect for all opinions and all beliefs. When Jules Ferry wrote to the teachers, he said: "When you show to the students a proposal, (theory, a mantra, maxima) any maxim, ask yourself if you an honest man who can be offended by what you say. (If you teach sth, think of it if someone could be offended by it). Ask yourself if a family father, and I really mean ONE, present in your class and listening to you, could in good faith refuse his agreement to what he might be hearing. If yes, do not you say it."

Who could forget that the separation of church and state has made in/through pain? But do we stand obligated to continue this war that has more reason to be? We are not threatened by clericalism. We are instead more threatened by a form of intolerance that stigmatizes any religious membership/departments. I say, thinking in particular of French Muslims. We shall

not deceive us in battle/have a wrong fight. In the Republic the Islamic religion should be respected as much as other religions.

The problem of the burka is not a religious problem. This is an issue of freedom/liberty and dignity of women. This is not a religious symbol is a sign of subservience/submission, it is a sign of lowering. I want to say solemnly, the burka is not welcome in France. We cannot accept in our country, women trapped behind bars, cut off from social life, deprived of any identity. This is not the idea that we have of the dignity of women. Parliament wished to address this issue. This is the best way to proceed. There has to be a debate and all viewpoints have to be expressed. Where else in the parliament could this be better expressed?