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0521828309 - Muslims and the State in Britain, France, and Germany

Joel S. Fetzer and J. Christopher Soper

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MUSLIMS AND THE STATE IN BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND GERMANY

More than ten million Muslims live in Western Europe. Since the early 1990s and especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, vexing policy questions have emerged about the religious rights of native-born and immigrant Muslims. Britain has struggled over whether to give state funding to private Islamic schools. France has been convulsed over Muslim teenagers wearing the *hijāb* in public schools. Germany has debated whether to grant “public-corporation” status to Muslims. And each state is searching for policies to ensure the successful incorporation of practicing Muslims into liberal democratic society. This book analyzes state accommodation of Muslims’ religious practices in Britain, France, and Germany, first examining three major theories: resource mobilization, political-opportunity structure, and ideology. It then proposes an additional explanation, arguing that each nation’s approach to Muslims follows from its historically based church–state institutions.

Professor Joel S. Fetzer teaches European and immigration politics at Pepperdine University. His research has been funded by the German Marshall Foundation of the United States, the MacArthur Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, and the Yale Center for International and Area Studies. He is the author of numerous articles and book chapters on comparative immigration politics and on religion and political behavior. His most recent book is *Public Attitudes toward Immigration in the United States, France, and Germany* (Cambridge University Press 2000).

J. Christopher Soper is Endowed Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Social Science Division at Pepperdine University. A graduate of both Yale Divinity School and Yale’s Ph.D. program in political science, Professor Soper has written extensively on church–state relations and religion and politics in Europe and the United States. Recipient of grants from the American Political Science Association and the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, he is author of *Evangelical Christianity in the United States and Great Britain* (1994) and coauthor of *The Challenge of Pluralism: Church and State in Five Democracies* (1997).

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PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
 The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
 Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa
<http://www.cambridge.org>

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First published 2005

Printed in the United States of America

Typefaces Janson Text 10/13 pt. and ITC Slimbach *System* L^AT_EX 2_ε [TB]

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Fetzer, Joel S.
 Muslims and the state in Britain, France, and Germany / Joel S. Fetzer, J. Christopher Soper.
 p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in social theory, religion, and politics)
 Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
 ISBN 0-521-82830-9 – ISBN 0-521-53539-5 (pb.)
 1. Muslims – Europe, Western. 2. Islam and state – Europe, Western. 3. Great Britain –
 Politics and government – 1945– 4. France – Politics and government – 1958–
 5. Germany – Politics and government – 1990– I. Soper, J. Christopher.
 II. Title. III. Series.
 D1056.2.M87F48 2004
 322'.1'088297–dc22 2004045667

ISBN 0 521 82830 9 hardback
 ISBN 0 521 53539 5 paperback

Cambridge University Press

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*Dedicated to Christina 瓊華, 親愛的太太和基督徒的姐妹,
and Ansar Fayyazuddin, dear friend and ally in the quest
for justice*

– JSF

*Dedicated to my wife, Jane Woodwell, and children, Katharine
and David*

– JCS

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Preface

This book began while we were working on separate projects in European immigration politics and church–state relations. Throughout this previous research, we continued to encounter the somewhat anomalous phenomenon of religiously practicing Muslims settling in largely secular Western Europe. Much of the xenophobic rhetoric of extreme right-wing parties in the region also seemed increasingly anti-Islamic rather than simply anti-immigrant. The way in which states responded to the religious needs of Muslims, moreover, seemed linked to the particular church–state institutions of that country. Ted Jelen of the University of Nevada provided the first impetus to present our ideas on this topic at an American Political Science Association panel in 1999. After publishing this paper, we then decided to pursue a book-length study of the issue.

In the interest of full disclosure, we should probably document our own religious commitments, which were the subject of much curiosity during our field work. The first author is an active Mennonite with likely Jewish ancestors. The second author is an ordained minister in the United Churches of Christ, currently belongs to an Episcopal congregation, and holds fairly orthodox Christian beliefs. At any rate, both writers are strongly committed to religious liberty for all, not just for those believers whose faith is shared by a national majority or is popular.

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As coauthors, we each have our individual specializations and so divided the work on this book accordingly. Fetzer focuses on quantitative studies of immigration politics in France and Germany, while Soper concentrates on institutional, church–state analysis of Britain and Germany. During the actual drafting of the text, Soper was primarily responsible for the British chapter, Fetzer for the French one, and the remaining narrative was written jointly.

The extensive field work needed for this project would never have been possible without substantial financial help from several sources. Pepperdine University provided release time for writing and financial support for travel, data collection, and translation of German-language interviews via the Dean's Summer Research Fund and the Endowed Fellowship and Endowed Professorship programs. We particularly wish to thank Dean David Baird and Assistant Dean Lee Kats for generously supporting faculty scholarship at Pepperdine. Central Michigan University funded a summer of Arabic study and preliminary writing. The German Marshall Fund of the United States made possible seven months of field work in the three countries. Grants from the American Political Science Association and the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion helped pay for the addition of several questions to two waves of Roper Europe's crossnational surveys. Responsibility for the analysis and interpretations in this book, however, rests solely with the authors.

Several institutes provided office space, research support, and collegiality during our stays abroad. Klaus J. Bade's Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) at the Universität Osnabrück hosted Fetzer during the winter semester of 2001. Catherine Wihtol de Wenden similarly accommodated the first author at Sciences Po's Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) in Paris. North of the English Channel, Pepperdine University's London Center housed both authors in the spring and summer of 2001. Finally, the Institut de Recherches et d'Études sur le Monde Arabe et Musulman (IREMAM) of the Université de Provence was the first writer's semi-official home during his month of interviewing in Aix-en-Provence and Marseille.

A number of data archivists and survey researchers greatly aided this project. Horst Weinen of the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung at the Universität zu Köln generously provided us many helpful German citations and relevant data sources. Danielle Hermitan of the Banque de Données Socio-Politiques at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Grenoble likewise furnished us with the equivalent French data. London's Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) allowed us to

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analyze its 2001 poll on faith-based schools. Finally, Dagmar Morton and Alex Lund of Roper ASW in London conducted two waves of a three-nation poll on Islam in Europe for us. As usual, neither the producers nor providers of these data are responsible for our analyses and interpretations in this book.

We would also like to thank the many European and American scholars and activists who counseled us on their particular specialties: Mohammed Salim Abdullah, Klaus J. Bade, Laurie Brand, Jocelyne Cesari, Franck Fregosi, Vincent Geisser, Thomas Lemmen, Rémy Leveau, Francis Messner, Fuad Nahdi, Simone Nasse, Jørgen Nielsen, Jean-Claude Santucci, Ataullah Siddiqui, and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden. Thanks also to David Leege, Jørgen Nielsen, Kenneth Wald, and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden for their careful and gracious comments on all or part of our manuscript. We are similarly grateful to Klaus J. Bade, David R. Cameron, Rogers M. Smith, and Ted G. Jelen for writing letters in support of our German Marshall Fund application. All previously mentioned individuals are nonetheless relieved of any responsibility for our errors of fact or judgment.

Others provided more technical assistance. Paul Heere helped transcribe our German-language interviews. Mahmoud El-Sakkary translated some relevant works from Arabic. Malía Rivera patiently faxed countless letters all over Europe for us. And Tammy Ditmore composed our extensive index.

This book owes its existence to the approximately one hundred interviewees in Europe who graciously gave of their time to help two inquiring Americans even though our informants had no reason to trust us or our motives. Often our hosts also served us delicious South Asian, North African, or Turkish meals, fringe benefits of our jobs in comparative political science. Though we are equally grateful to them, a number of the people we interviewed do not appear in the bibliography for various reasons. Some preferred to remain anonymous, others provided information confirming the accounts of cited interviewees, and others did not grant us formal permission to use their interviews in this book. To all a sincere thank you, *merci*, or *Danke*. Sadly, international understanding has deteriorated to such an extent since September 11, 2001, that we probably would not be able to conduct such interviews now. We should also note that unless otherwise indicated, the affiliations and positions of interviewees as listed in the bibliography are current as of the first half of 2001. Since we ended our field work, some of our informants have switched titles or organizations in the rapidly changing world of European Muslims.

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Lewis Bateman of Cambridge University Press deserves special gratitude for guiding us through the production process and approving this manuscript in the first place. We are also thankful to his assistant, Lauren Levin, for helping out with various publication-related details, to Cambridge University Press's two anonymous reviewers for very useful suggestions for revision, and to Andy Saff for exemplary copy-editing.

Portions of this book have appeared elsewhere previously and are used with permission. A previous version of Chapter 1 formed the basis for the article "Explaining the Accommodation of Muslim Religious Practices in France, Britain, and Germany" in *French Politics* (© 2003 by Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.). Most of Chapter 5 likewise appeared as "The Roots of Public Attitudes toward State Accommodation of European Muslims' Religious Practices before and after September 11" in the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (© 2003 by JSSR).

Over the seven years of work on this book, both authors have enjoyed immense support from their families and close friends. Joel is especially grateful to Christina Chiung-Hua Wu, who entered his life almost immediately upon his return to the United States. Her love, toleration, and confidence in him make their life together a joy. Fetzer similarly wishes to thank Ansar Fayyazuddin of Stockholms universitet for two decades of warm friendship, intellectual exchange, interreligious dialogue, and political solidarity as well as for serving as best man when Joel and Christina married. Fetzer's ever-adventurous parents once again found time in their busy schedules to keep him company during arduous stretches of field work on the French Riviera. Isaak I-li Fetzer, who was born six hours after Joel completed the penultimate draft of this book, has tolerated his daddy's occasional bouts of proofreading-induced absent-mindedness. The Baptiste Gemeinde Osnabrück hosted Joel during the winter of 2001. And Óscar A. Chávez, Eliseo Franco, Daniel González, and the rest of Iglesia Evangélica Bethel have prayed for and nurtured Fetzer since the mid-1990s.

Chris would like to thank Jane Woodwell, his wife and his best friend. With good humor, grace, and patience, Jane has supported his efforts while forging a career of her own. Chris would also like to thank his children, Katharine and David, who patiently endured their father's extended absences for research trips to Western Europe and sometimes long hours at the office. It is always a joy to return home to such an understanding and energetic family, and to consider with them the substance of daily living, including play schedules, sports matches, youth outings, homework

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assignments, and chores. Soper's parents, Ralph and Rosemary, instilled in him a love of learning and an intellectual curiosity without which such a project could never have been imagined. Finally, Chris wishes to thank his "third floor" friends Mike, Steve, Jeff, and Greg, who have provided grist for his intellectual and spiritual mill for more than a decade.