

```
Abid, Samih, 138
                                                       United States, 24-25, 51
abortion, 53, 56-57, 66
                                                    association and integration, 172-173
                                                    Association of Female Lawyers, 54
academic performance of Muslim students,
                                                    associational freedom, 43
    115-116
Afghanistan, 18, 19f, 156
                                                    asylum-claim centers, hypothetical, 180-181
                                                    asylum seekers
Africa
  income distribution, 21f
                                                      into Europe, 47-48
  mass border movement, 39-40
                                                      hypothetical plan of action, 202
  population increases, 17-22, 19f
                                                      increases in, 7-8
  poverty in, 32
                                                      increasing rates of, 84, 100
  slave trade impact on, 36
                                                      rejected claims of, 34, 40
Africa Renewal magazine, 21
                                                    atheism, 10
Afro-Caribbean migration, 119
                                                    authoritarian right, 7
Al Qaeda, 91, 101
                                                    authoritative norms, 42
Algerian nationalism, 129, 131
                                                    authoritative patriarchy, 59
alienation concerns, 162
American identity, 25
                                                    Baldwin, James, 131-132
American Revolution, 24
                                                    Barry, Brian, 64-69
anarchic violence, 20
                                                    Bastille Day truck massacre, 133, 138
Anderson, Benedict, 41
                                                    Bekri, Boubakeur, 138-139
anti-blasphemy law, 62
                                                    Bellaigue, Christopher de, 143
anti-discrimination laws, 42-43, 51, 65, 109, 126
                                                    Bender, Thomas, 183-184
anti-feminism, 83
                                                    Benhabib, Seyla, 51, 68
                                                    Bergsjon public housing project, 81
anti-immigrant sentiment, 163
                                                    Betts, Alexander, 45
anti-Semitism, 73, 94, 204
apportioning goods, 44
                                                    Bieler, Paula, 28
Appiah, Kwame Anthony, 64
                                                    bilingual programming in schools, 75
Arab Spring, 35, 77
                                                    bin Laden, Osama, 91, 207
arranged marriage, 107
                                                    birth rates, 17
Asia, 18
                                                    black and minority ethnic (BME) groups, 116
assimilation
                                                    Blair, Tony, 103, 110
  economic integration and, 85
                                                    blood-and-soil nationalists, 27-28
  France, 124
                                                    Blum, Leon, 129
  government-fostered assimilation, 58-60
                                                    border control, 161-162, 177-182
  hostility toward, 50
                                                    border-crossing violence, 33-34
  United Kingdom, 99, 103
                                                    Bowen, John, 117
```



254

Index

counter-terrorism project, 109-115 Bradford Council of Mosques, 61 Breivik, Anders, 91-92 Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 35 Brexit, 117-118 Brick, Lotfi, 139 cradle-to-grave welfare states, 81-82 British Nationality Act, 97 crime, hypothetical plan of action, 196-200 Brown, Gordon, 103, 110 critical thinking, 2-3 Butler, Rab, 97 cultural archipelago, 183 cultural diversity, 56, 69-75, 78, 90, 96, 99, 102, Caldwell, Christopher, 81, 117 108-109 Cameron, David, 23, 49, 102-105, 114, 118, 126 cultural pessimism, 174 Camus, Renaud, 157-158, 184 cultural relativism, 64, 67 capitalism Culture and Equality (Barry), 64 Christianity and, 76 laissez-faire capitalism, 9 Dahl, Robert, 171-172 open borders and, 24 Dancygier, Rafaela, 168-169 per capita income measures, 81 dangerous classes, 194 Carens, Joseph, 35 Dean, Laura, 1 "cash-for-care" subsidy, 89 Debating the Ethics of Integration (Wellman), 39 Catholic Church, 53, 66, 126, 128, 130, 148-149 decolonization, 11, 38 chain migration, 29 Delgado, Anne, 25 Channel project, 109-115 democracy, liberal, 7, 28, 142, 157 Charlie-Hebdo massacre, 133 Democracy in America (de Toqueville), 132 Chilean immigrants, 82 Democratic Republic of the Congo, 17-18, 18f Chin, Rita, 159 demographic wave China, 18 Europe, 159 Middle East, 11, 17–22, 18f, 19f Christianity anti-blasphemy law, 62 in thought experiment, 174-175, 203 capitalism and, 76 denationalization, 39, 164 evolution vs. creationism teachings, 74 Denmark fundamentalist Protestants, 148 Muslim immigration to, 92-95, 161 gay marriage opposition, 149 as welfare state, 30 deportation, hypothetical plan of action, 177-179 homophobia and, 13 tolerance of, 10 diversity discourse, 25, 105. See also cultural civic orientation, 86 diversity Civil War (US), 2 divorce, in Muslim culture, 54 Doctors Without Borders, 6 civil wars, 20 collective prayer by Muslims, 75-77 dress-code issues, 126 collective rights, 44 Dreyfuss, Alfred, 129 collective self-consciousness, 38 Collier, David, 45 Eakin, Hugh, 93 Collier, Paul, 24, 29-30 economic growth, 11 Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic economic integration. See also integration Britain, 63 projects/strategies common moral standpoint, 56-58 concerns over, 84 communication and integration, 168-173 cultural assimilation and, 85 communitarians, 43, 56, 135 discrimination and, 83 community patrolling, 195 failure of, 6, 83-84 compassion, 2, 13 multiculturalism and, 72 compulsory schooling, 72 Norway, 89 congenital alienation, 113 obstacles to, 202-203 Sweden, 86 conservatism, 4, 135, 149, 175, 184 Conservative-Liberal Democratic Coalition, 119 United Kingdom, 117 Convention on the Rights of the Child, 72 The Economist magazine, 21, 24, 103-104, 121 Counter-Terrorism Act (2015), 112 education, hypothetical plan of action, 191-192



egalitarian liberalism, 68	Muslim immigration to, 123–151
electorate support and integration, 162-168	psychological sources of Islamic terrorism,
The Emancipation of Europe's Muslims	143–151
(Laurence), 139	response to immigration, 123–125
employment concerns	terrorism concerns, 140-143
industrial wages, 86	United Kingdom vs., 125-139
Sweden, 86	freedom of association, 31, 40
unemployment, 20–22, 196	freedom of expression, 55
workforce immigration, 82	freedom of movement, 44
working poor, 20	freedom of speech, 52-53, 68-69, 74
equal-opportunity norms, 42	French Council of the Muslim Faith, 148
equality and fraternity, 4	French Islamophobia, 138
Equality and Human Rights Commission, 104	French Revolution, 4, 50, 128–129
ethic of rescue, 45	Fukuyama, Francis, 206
ethnic ghettos, 117	fundamentalists/fundamentalism
Euro-populism, 159	appeal of, 60
Europe. See also names of specific countries	dangers of, 108, 184
asylum seekers in, 47–48	defined, 52
demographic wave, 159	family model of, 55
economic migration, 22–23	Islamic, 14, 56, 110, 113, 146, 150
fascism, 34	private schools for, 54–55
focus on liberalism, 9–11	Protestants, 148
immigration concerns, 10–11	Wahhabi doctrine, 74–75
9	Walliabl docume, /4-/5
populist movements in, 11	Caulle Charles de 128 120
European Alt-Right circles, 157–158	Gaulle, Charles de, 128–130
European Champions League, 121	gay marriage
European Convention on Human Rights, 5	opposition to, 65, 149, 185
European economies and migration, 22–23	support of, 53, 60
European Islam, 149	Western views on, 56–57, 155
European Right, 166	gender equality, 13, 52–53
evolution vs. creationism, 74	Germany
Exodus (Collier), 29–30	economic growth, 22
Expulsions (Sassen), 12	Greek debt crisis, 30
extremist Muslim groups, 82–83, 108	guest workers, 166
_	ghettoization, 132, 163
fair criticism, 68	global migration crisis, 1–2
family reunification, 23, 87, 161–162	global population increases, 17–22
fascism	globalization, 30, 90
Europe, 34	Goldsmith, Zac, 118
France, 127	Good Samaritan exception of non-intervention,
Italian, 27	39
neo-fascism, 130–131, 135, 150, 196, 206	government-fostered assimilation, 58–60
Norway, 91	grand strategy of integration, 155–161
proto-fascism, 129–130, 142	Greece, 30
fatwa, 60-69	gross national product (GNP), 22, 160
female genital mutilation, 71, 170	group identity, 167, 182
feminism, 5, 28, 83, 132, 185	group libel, 68
Finkielkraut, Alain, 135-138, 143	group rage, 91
foreign assistance programs, 37	The Guardian, 112, 124–125
France. See also French Revolution	guest workers, 82, 166
assimilation, 124	gun violence, 86–87
economic growth, 22	, ,
fascism, 127	Hadith, 110
multiculturalism, 50–51	al-Hajj, Mouhamad, 188–189
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·



256 Index

Harry, Prince, 119 individual autonomy, 67, 102 Heath, Christopher, 37 individual harmony, 66 individual rights, 43-44, 70-71, 189, 199 helping professions, 194 industrial wages, 86 Heraclitus (Greek philosopher), 155 Hitler, Adolf, 27, 31, 37 infant mortality, 17 Hollande, Francois, 49, 124 institutionalization of human rights, 39 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 73 integration projects/strategies. See also economic Holocaust, 12 Holocaust denial, 204 association and, 172-173 homosexuality, 104-105, 110, 115, 185 border control and, 161-162 Houellebecq, Michel, 134, 142 communication and, 168-173 housing immigrants, 164 electorate support and, 162-168 human rights grand strategy, 155–161 discretion to exclude, 43-44 hypothetical plan of action, 182-194 in Norway, 88-89 hypothetical discourse on, 183-188 limits of, 31-33 social integration, 11, 49, 72, 75, 166-167, 186, limits to, 70-71 194 minority rights as, 54-55 in Sweden, 85-87 moral case for open borders, 31 United Kingdom, 106-109 national identity and, 27-31 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, 7 normative premises behind, 33-37 intercommunal rage, 91 presumptive right to enter, 37-43 inter-ethnic marriages, 122 purpose of, 59-60 interracial marriage/relationships, 53, 155 refugees and, 45-48 interest groups, 23, 171 humanitarian emergency defense, hypothetical, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), 31-32, 41-42, 54-55, 163 humanitarian relief camps, 46 international human rights movement, 24 humanitarianism, 7, 12 International Labor Organization, 20 Huntington, Samuel, 57-64 International Refugee Convention, 165 hyphenated Americans, 24 internationalism, 13, 24 Introduction Program, Norway, 88-89 identity cards, hypothetical plan of action, 177-179 Iraq, invasion of, 156 ISIS, 91, 101–102, 112–113, 133, 141, 199 identity divide, 90 Ighobor, Kingsley, 21 Islam illiberal cultures, 13 fundamentalists, 14, 56, 110, 113, 146, 150 illiberal democracy, 5, 170 immigrant communities, 14 Nautch artists and, 54 illiberal minorities, 52-53, 65, 166 immigrants/immigration radical Islamists, 76, 82-83 to Denmark, 92-95, 161 radicalism/violence, 76, 82-83 radicalization of, 143-151 Europe vs. United States, 10-11 to France, 123-151 Sunni Islam, 148, 170 Islamic law (sharia), 53, 170 limits to, 85 offshore immigration centers, hypothetical, Islamic-majority states, 13 180-181 Islamic terrorism, 143-151 patriarchal cultures, 53, 55-56 Islamization, 140, 144 Islamophobia, 144, 174 presumptive right to enter, 37–43 to Sweden, 81-85 Ismael, Alkai Laouali, 54 undocumented persons, 7-8, 34, 119-120, 175, Israeli bombardment of Gaza, 111 179, 202 to the United Kingdom, 96-122 Javid, Sajid, 121 workforce immigration, 82 Jenkin, Roy, 102 imperialism, 36, 38 Jewish immigrants, 7

jihadism

in France, 143-151

India, 36

indigenous population, 2



recruitment to, 110	mass-casualty terrorism, 8, 29
Rushdie affair, 94	mass migration, 3-4
threat of, 14, 29, 55, 76, 174	May, Theresa, 110, 112, 121, 207
Turkish generation of, 146–147	McIntyre, Alasdair, 58
Jyllands-Posten, 94–95	McVeigh, Timothy, 141
	medical costs, 23
Kelly, Paul, 50	mentoring, hypothetical plan of action, 188-189
Kepel, Giles, 143–151	Merah, Mohammed, 133
Khan, Sadiq, 118	Merkel, Angela, 5, 49
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 60-61	Meyer v. Nebraska, 73
El-Khomri, Myriam, 124	micro-aggressions, 68
Koopmans, Ruud, 116–117	Middle East, demographic wave, 11, 17–22, 18f, 19f
Kukathas, Chandran, 55, 64–65, 183	migration. See also Netherfranc hypothetical case
Kurdish immigrants, 82–83	study
Kymlicka, Will, 56	chain migration, 29
	control of, 23–26
labor costs, 86	European economies and, 22–23
labor market migration, 20	global population increases, 17–22
Lahouaiej-Bouhlel, Mohamed, 141	from Global South, 1–2, 5, 8, 23
laissez-faire policy, 9, 50–51, 96	mass migration, 3–4
language training, 85–86	multigenerational migrant communities, 50
latent radicalization, 111	open borders, 24, 31, 37, 40, 186
Le Pen, Marine, 158	Miller, David, 50
legacy culture, 51, 90	minority-community claims, 70
liberal democracy, 7, 28, 142, 157	Mohamed, Feiza Ben, 138
liberal egalitarianism, 64	moral-equality narrative, 183–188
liberal nationalism, 5, 31	Mounk, Yascha, 159
Liberal Party, 93	M'seddi, Mahmoud, 151
liberalism	multiculturalism
challenges to, 1–2	cultural diversity and, 69–75
egalitarian liberalism, 68	defined, 49–51
European focus on, 9–11	economic integration and, 72
government-fostered assimilation, 58–60	France, 50–51
human rights and, 43	government-fostered assimilation, 58–60
liberals vs. liberals, 60–69	as government policy, 99
multiculturalism and, 51–54, 66–69	history of the word, 159
past influencers, 11–14	introduction to, 25, 49
perspectives on, 3–9	liberalism and, 51–54, 66–69
problematic means to, 174–175	minority assistance from governments, 75–78
purpose of, 59–60	minority rights as human rights, 54–55
Libertarian views, 34–35	rejection of, 103, 126, 158
liberty-equality-fraternity, 50	Rushdie affair, 60–69
liberty of movement, 44	tolerance and, 55–58
Lilla, Mark, 133–134	multiethnic coexistence, 159
Locke, John, 4	multigenerational migrant communities, 50
low-skilled labor demands, 10	Murray, Douglas, 12
ion stated labor demands, 10	Muslim Brotherhood, 52
Macron, Emanuel, 157–158	Muslim Council of Britain, 105
male circumcision, 71	Muslims
Manchester bombing (2017), 101, 112–113	collective prayer by, 75–77
marijuana legalization, hypothetical plan of	extremist groups, 82–83, 108
action, 196	immigration to Denmark, 92–95, 161
marital rape, 52, 102	immigration to Definialk, 92–95, 101
Markle, Meghan, 119	immigration to Norway, 87–92



Muslims (cont.)

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-48571-5 — Migration and Integration Tom Farer Index More Information

258 Index

immigration to Sweden, 81-85 immigration to United Kingdom, 96-122 integration project in Sweden, 85-87 minority assistance from governments, 75-78 Rushdie affair, 60-69, 101 The Nation, 24 National Front Party, 130 National Health Service, 122 national identity (nationalism) Algeria, 129, 131 blood-and-soil nationalists, 27-28 denationalization, 39, 164 in France, 147-149 group identity, 167, 182 human rights and, 27-31 liberal nationalism, 5, 31 violent nationalism, 27-28 National Institute of Demographic Studies, 137 National Police Chief Council, 112 national security concerns, 91 national service, hypothetical plan of action, 192-194 Nautch artists, 54 Nemmouche, Mehdi, 133 neo-fascism, 130-131, 135, 150, 196, 206 Netherfranc hypothetical case study border control, 177-182 crime, punishment, terrorism, 196-200 education and, 191-192 identity cards and deportation, 177-179 integration, 182-194 introduction to, 175-177 mutually respectful environment, 200-207 national service, 192-194 point system, 181-182 policing, 194-196 problematic means for liberal ends, 174-175 processing centers, 180-181 progressive narrative, 183-188 Provisional Settlement, 189-190 short-term steps, 194 sponsorship and mentoring, 188-189 Nichols, Terry, 141 Niger, 53-54 Nigeria, 17, 18f, 21–22 9/11. See September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), 25 North African Muslim immigrants, 131 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 77 Norway

integration projects, 88-89 Muslim immigration to, 87–92 Nossiter, Adam, 135-136, 151 Obama, Barack, 57 obligation to rescue, 45 offshore immigration centers, hypothetical, oligarchy, 4 O'Neill, Brendan, 120 open borders, 24, 31, 37, 40, 186 Open Society Justice, 111, 113 Orban, Viktor, 5, 158 pacifism, 33-34 Pakistan, 18, 19f Parekh, Bhikhu, 50, 61-69 patriarchal immigrant cultures, 53, 55-56 people-smuggling operations, 47 People's Party, 93 per capita income measures, 81 period of settlement, 42 persecution, 20 Petain, Philippe, 129 Pew Foundation, 87, 100 Pew Research Center, 53, 57, 140 Philips, Trevor, 104-105, 115 point system, hypothetical migration plan of action, 181-182 policing, hypothetical plan of action, 194-196 political community, 3 political-military involvement, 14 political racism, 98-99 Politics and Passion (Walzer), 59 Politiken, 95 populist identity politics, 90 populist movements in Western Europe, 11 poverty, 32, 35-36 Powell, Enoch, 98, 122 presumptive right to enter, 37-43 Prevent strategy, 111-112, 114 proto-fascism, 129-130, 142 provisionally vs. permanently admitted status, 29 public affairs, 41-42 public incorporation, 173 punishment, hypothetical plan of action, 196-200 Putin, Vladimir, 5 Putnam, Robert, 44 Quddus, Sayed Abdul, 61

Qur'an, 78, 110, 170

race-based discrimination, 58

race-based feudalism, 58

economic integration, 89

fascism, 91



Race Relations Act, 62	September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 101
racial profiling, 143	sexual freedom, 52-53
racism	Shatz, Adam, 132, 138
integration concerns in UK, 101-106	Singh, Amrit, 113
migration and, 6	single-ethnic clusters, 105
by police forces, 97, 101	slave trade, 36
in politics, 98–99	Smith, Eleanor, 122
school segregation, 91	Social Democrats, 5, 88, 93
threat of, 174	social harmony, 66-67
radical Islamists, 76, 82-83	social integration, 11, 49, 72, 75, 166–167, 186, 194
radicalization danger, 109, 197	social media, 167
radicalization of Islam, 143-151	social support as giveaways, 2
Ramadan, Tariq, 149	Socialist Internationalism, 24
Rand, Ayn, 4	societal bonds, loosening of, 174
Rawls, John, 4	Somali immigrants, 82, 88
rebelliousness of youth, 145–146	Southern Baptists, 52
Refuge (Collier, Betts), 45	sovereignty notions, 38
religious cultures. See also Christianity;	Soviet Union, 11
fundamentalists; Islam; Salafism; Southern	The Spectator, 12, 120
Baptists	sponsorship, hypothetical plan of action, 188–189
conflict over identities, 108–109, 123	state assistance for minorities, 75–78
integration concerns in UK, 101–106	"stop-and-identify" policing, 178
justifications for killing, 66	sub-Saharan Africa, 20–22
offense and, 62	Submission (Houellebecq), 134
terrorism and, 101	superdiversity, 105
	Supreme Court of India, 32
tolerance among, 56	Sweden Sweden
wars and, 37–38	
Renan, Ernest, 41	economic integration, 86
reproductive freedom, 52–53	employment concerns, 86
Responsibility to Protect (R <sub>2</sub> P) doctrine, 39	integration projects, 85–87
reverse migration, 96–101	Muslim immigration to, 81–85
Right Populism, 34	Swedish Democrats, 28
right-wing activists, 28	Swedish Integration Board, 85–86
right-wing populism, 9	Syria/Syrian conflict, 20, 40, 46, 93
Rose, Flemming, 95	T 1 I 0
Roy, Oliver, 143–151	Taub, James, 28
Rubin, Alissa, 138–139	territorial-integrity principle, 38
Rushdie, Salman (Rushdie affair), 60–69, 101	terrorists/terrorism
Rutter, Jill, 99, 106, 122, 160	Al Qaeda, 91, 101
C 1 A 1.	in France, 140–143
Sacher, Ayalet, 35	hypothetical plan of action, 196–200
Salafism, 150–151	ISIS, 91, 101–102, 112–113, 133, 141, 199
Salvini, Mario, 158	mass-casualty terrorism, 8, 29
Sarkozy, Nicholas, 25, 123–125	psychological sources of Islamic terrorism,
Sassen, Saskia, 12	143-151
The Satanic Verses (Rushdie), 60-69	religiously motivated, 101
Saudi Arabia, 60	war on terrorism, 93
Schwarzer, Alice, 28	Thatcher, Margaret, 107, 182
Searcy, Dionne, 53-54	tolerance, 10, 52, 55–58
sectarian bigotry, 13	Toqueville, Alexis de, 132
self-deportation, 34	total Islam, 150
self-determination, 40-42	transnational obligation, 37
Sen, Amartya, 4	Traub, James, 84–85
Senegal, 54	Truman, Harry, 115



260

Index

Trump, Donald, 158 urban sprawl, 9-10 Tunisian Muslims, 77 Turkey, 166 Valls, Manual, 25 Tyson, Mike, 155 Vietnam, 156 Vietnamese refugees, 107 UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), violence anarchic violence, 20 45, 47-48, 85, 180 undocumented persons, 7-8, 34, 119-120, 175, 179, at border crossings, 33-34 gun violence, 86-87 by Islamists, 76, 82-83 unemployment, 20-22, 196 United Kingdom as nationalism, 27-28 against women, 52 assimilation, 99, 103 counter-terrorism project, 109-115 voting patterns on Brexit, 117 economic growth, 22 Wahhabi doctrine, 74-75 economic integration, 117 France vs., 125-139 Wall Street Journal, 24 integration strategy of, 106-109 Walzer, Michael, 43, 56, introduction to, 96 58-59 Muslim immigration to, 96-122 war on terrorism, 93 racial and religious integration concerns, 101-Warsi, Sayeeda, 114, 118 wealth inequality, 3 Web 2.0 Revolution, 150 reverse migration, 96-101 summary of integration, 115-122 welfare states, 127 Windrush Affair, 119–120 Wellman, Christopher, 39 United Nations Charter, 37-38 Windrush Affair, 119-120 United States women's rights, 28, 90 American identity, 25 workforce immigration, 82 assimilation, 24-25, 51 working poor, 20 Civil War, 2 hyphenated Americans, 24 xenophobia, 6, 8, 25, 184 immigration concerns, 10-11 medical costs, 23 youth unemployment, 22 political and economic culture, 9-10 Zemmour, Eric, 134-138 travel safety, 30