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### European Multiculturalisms: Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges

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crisis of credibility for religions, both in the public square and in their contribution to personal spirituality, individual needs and family life. Religion in Europe is not yet necessarily in a terminal condition, but the socio-cultural terrain is far from conducive to desecularization." (115)

In the last two chapters, Warner focuses his attention to resilient forms of religion, such as fundamentalism, and global religious movements that have come to Europe with waves of migration and globalisation. In his view, Europe and especially European cities may become places of religious innovation, where an open religious market may evolve, similar to the American situation. Secularisation does not seem to be at odds with this religious innovation—on the contrary, "[Euro-secularity] appears to have weakened the monopolistic churches to the point where the religious market becomes more open and space is made for supply-side innovation in culturally apposite forms of religions." (180)

I found the last chapter the most innovative part of the book. For my own research I studied Christian immigrants in Amsterdam (see e.g. van der Meulen) and became intrigued by the religious vitality in that city. In my opinion, hyper-diverse European cities like Amsterdam, London, Berlin, and Paris are shaped by new religious movements that may not yet be a counter-trend to secularisation, but they definitively change the religious landscape and may quite possibly represent an important push towards an open religious market, as Warner notes. The last chapter moves *Secularization and its Discontent* beyond being just a teaching resource.

The only fault I could find with the book is that it focuses exclusively on the United Kingdom. Secularisation theories generally have an international scope; therefore, I think it would have been better to include other (European) data in this analysis. Nevertheless, *Secularization and its Discontents* is an excellent book and thus highly recommended.

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## REFERENCE

van der Meulen, Marten. "The Continuing Importance of the Local: African Churches and the Search for Worship Space in Amsterdam." *African Diaspora 2* (2009): 159–81.

## **European Multiculturalisms: Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges**

ANNA TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, TARIQ MODOOD & NASAR MEER, eds., 2012

Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press

xii + 241 pp., £70.00 (hb), £22.99 (pb)

ISBN 978-0-7486-4452-0 (hb), ISBN 978-0-7486-4451-3 (pb)

An outcome of a research project funded by the European Research Directorate, the contributions to this volume look at nine European countries and ask the

question: have attitudes and policies towards religious and cultural diversity changed in the decade following 9/11? The beginning assumption is that, against the backdrop of a series of horrific events and more recent economic challenges, European governments have reconsidered their openness to multicultural policies and retrenched behind attitudes that are far less accepting of diversity, especially concerning Muslims. The overall conclusion that the various chapters reach is that the most evident change is in the public rhetoric, that policies in many countries have become somewhat more restrictive, but that the need to respond to the actual diversity remains and requires concerted policies of minority integration.

Reflecting the strategy that the book adopts, the last term—integration—is the specific topic of the chapter by Frauke Miera, in which she analyses the chameleon-like character of this concept: its practical understanding can mean anything from a robust multiculturalism that seeks to valorise differences to straightforward assimilation; therefore, all countries seek integration but often have quite different comprehension of what that implies. The other chapters are analogous in that, rather than focusing on the overall situation in particular countries, they take specific themes and discuss how they manifest in a range of the nine countries. Editors Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer dedicate two chapters to theoretical questions. In one of them they analyse a number of dimensions and factors that are involved in orientations to diversity and they incorporate various typologies to arrive at what to many readers will appear to be relatively familiar models for political orientation, ranging from national cohesion that insists on significant uniformity to multicultural citizenship that accepts plural forms of belonging. In the second chapter, Modood and Meer apply their theoretical efforts to understand changes that have happened in different countries. Not surprisingly, they find that policies have shifted in many countries, such as Denmark, Germany, and Belgium, more towards the national cohesion than in the multicultural direction, but that the specific historical trajectories of these countries continue to have an influence to make them different. Moreover, all of them have come to (for example, Spain and Greece) or continue to (for example, France and the UK) accept that minority integration and not separation or rejection is the desired outcome, especially for more recently arrived migrant populations.

Two other chapters, one on post-national citizenship by Per Mouritsen and the other on gender by Nilüfer Göle and Julie Billaud, also explore more theoretical issues. Mouritsen notes the relative decline in the idea that Europe has been entering a 'post-national' phase where citizenship is no longer all that important and examines the corresponding rise of the idea that a robust notion of citizenship is not only important for the health of nations but also something that is earned rather than simply acquired or inherited. The different countries are then looked at in terms of how they define this 'earning'. Göle and Billaud centre on the critical role that gender questions play in debates about multiculturalism, especially with regard to Muslim women. They rehearse the perhaps familiar argument that there is an implicit universalist claim in Western feminist conceptions of gender equality that leaves little room for multicultural—here Islamic (feminist)—difference.

Further chapters address questions of educational policies, civic participation, and, interestingly, the statistical measurement of diversity. The first two of these

follow the pattern observed in the others. In a joint chapter, Ruby Gropas and Anna Triandafyllidou look at how different countries enact the need for multicultural—now increasingly styled as ‘intercultural’ because the older word has become tainted—education as part of the promotion of integration, but do so in quite different ways and above all with different degrees of seriousness or effectiveness. In parallel fashion, the joint chapter by Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Gropas notes that, while there is significant variation, most of the countries examined have not succeeded all that well in finding ways that allow minorities to participate effectively in the political life that affects them; when this happens, it is usually restricted to the municipal level. In the concluding chapter, Angéline Escafré-Dublet and Patrick Simon look at the peculiar fact—and its various reasons—that most countries do not have reliable statistics on the composition of their diversities, whether ethnic, religious, linguistic or otherwise. The only consistent distinctions measured are polar opposite pairs like citizen/non-citizen or native/immigrant. This, they say, does not contribute to the ability to formulate consistent and effective policies and programmes in this area.

This book mostly strives to update the reader on where multiculturalism in Europe has headed over the last decade or so. It does well in this task by noting continuities, changes, and especially the complexity of the issues, both on the theoretical–conceptual and the practical policy levels. For this combination it is a welcome addition to what is by now a substantial literature. That said, it will not take the reader long to realise that the book also has a normative component, namely that the authors largely treat or consider multiculturalism as something that is not dead or something that has failed, but rather the preferred direction that countries should be pursuing, albeit each in its own way.

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**Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities and Representation**

KNUT A. JACOBSEN & KRISTINA MYRVOLD, eds., 2012

Farnham, Surrey & Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited

346 pp., £60.00, US\$104.95 (hb)

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This ground-breaking volume is the first comprehensive ethnographic study of Sikhs in Europe. Kristina Myrvold has actively fostered scholarship on Sikhs in Europe through a workshop and, with Knut Jacobsen, a conference in Sweden in 2010. She is also responsible for the web site ‘Sikhs in Europe’, an academic network for scholars involved in research on European Sikhs. This volume brings together a diverse selection of many of these relative newcomers, each of whom has conducted sorely lacking ethnographic research in one of the eleven European countries covered.