## Index

Boldface numbers refer to figures and tables.

affirmative action, 120 African Americans: Black Is Beautiful movement, 21, 47; citizenship, 35-36, 39-40; civil rights movement, 21, 47, 64, 70–71; discrimination perceptions, 92; educational attainment, 120; identity attachment, 91; inclusion and exclusion of, 116, 120-21; intermarriage, 12; mass incarceration, 116-17, 121, 132; obligations of citizenship, 100-101; population statistics, 13, 135; segregation, 12; trust in government, 95, 96; trust in law enforcement, 98; voting rights, 130 Alabama: anti-immigration laws, 72 Alba, Richard, 7, 50, 71, 115, 118–19 Alexander, Michele, 116 Algerian immigrants, 17 Alibhai-Brown, Yasmin, 181 alienation, 103–4 alien land laws, 41-42 allochtoon, 17, 23, 154, 157 American Civil Liberties Union, 72 An American Dilemma (Myrdal), 44 American identity, 83–114; concerns over immigrant's lack of, 83–84; data sources, 90; and engagement or withdrawal from politics, 103-5; ethno-racial diversity identity development after WWII, 59-82;

measurement of, 90–103; theoretical considerations, 87-90; trust and obligation role, 85–87 Americanism, 20, 44-45, 63 American national anthem, 83 American nationality, 33–58; civic nationalism, 34–36, 44–46, 50–52; contradictions in, 33; exclusion and inclusion (1870s-1990s), 43-48; racial nationalism, 39-44, 49; recent trends, 48-52; religious nationalism, 36-39, 46, 49-50 Amsterdam, 17, 158-60 anti-discrimination legislation, 35-36, 70-75, 128-29 anti-immigrant attitudes, 2, 4-13, 60, 127 - 28anti-miscegenation statutes, 41 Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) of 1996 (U.S.), 122 Arizona: anti-immigration laws, 72; welfare program for noncitizens, 128 Asian Americans: discrimination perceptions, 92; identity attachment, 91; obligations of citizenship, 100-101, 102; population statistics, 13, 135; trust in government, 95, 96; trust in law enforcement, 98 Associated Press, 11, 127

Brown, Hana, 128

baby boomers, 23 Buff, Rachel, 123 Baden-Württemberg, citizenship Bureau of Justice Statistics, 121 test, 201 Buruma, Ian, 150 Bakalian, Anny, 130 Bush, George W., 21, 83 Byrne, Liam, 176 Bangladeshi immigrants, 173, 176 Bean, Frank, 116 Bedolla, Lisa García, 104 Cağlayan, Zafer, 202 California: welfare program for belonging: of Dutch Muslim secondnoncitizens, 128 generation immigrants, 153-58; and national identity fears and anxieties, Cameron, David, 2, 60 Canada: anti-Muslim views, 9; 13 - 18biculturalism, 64–65 citizenship rules, 9-10, 19, 66-67; bilingual education, 71 economic migrants, 75; governors Bilingual Education Act (BEA) general, 59; immigrant equality poliof 1968 (U.S.), 71 cies, 73–74; immigrant population, 3, Billig, Michael, 171 62; immigration law, 63-64; multiculbirthright citizenship: in Canada, turalism in, 21, 59, 65, 68, 69, 74-75; 19, 67; in Germany, 19, 196, 198; in national identity anxieties, 3; national North America vs. Europe, 19; in identity framing, 19, 21; national identity public opinion, 59; political U.S., 19, 36, 39–40, 67, 129–30, 134 Black Is Beautiful movement, 21, 47 incorporation of immigrants, 66-69; racial divisions in, 12; religion in, 9; blacks: immigrants in Britain, 173; intermarriage, 12. See also African secularization in, 9; undocumented immigrants, 10, 75-76 Americans Bloemraad, Irene, 5, 13-14, 19-20, 21, 59 CAP (Criminal Alien Program), 123 Blunkett, David, 175-77, 182 Caribbean immigrants, 12 Boas, Franz, 42 caste system, 134 Boehm, Deborah, 126 Catholics, 8, 9, 20, 35, 36–39 CDFs (contract detention facilities), border security, 122 Bosniak, Linda, 129 124 - 25Bouffier, Volker, 200 Celler, Emanuel, 64 Cesari, Jocelyne, 7 boundaries, definition of, 190 Bourne, Randolph, 42 charitable donations, 99-102 Bowen, John, 6 Charlie Hebdo, 2, 8 Bozorgmehr, Mehdi, 130 Charter of Rights and Freedoms "brain drain," 199 (Canada), 73 The Break-Up of Britain (Nairn), 183n2 children: parental incarceration British identity, 169-88; decline of, effects, 132; rights of undocumented 169-70; within multinationalismchildren, 72; of undocumented civic integration of ethnic minoriimmigrants, 132-33 ties debate, 170-73; Muslims' views Chinese Exclusion Act (U.S.), 118 of, 173-74; news media's coverage, Chinese immigrants, 20, 36, 40, 50, 63 178-82; politicians' assessments of, Christian Democratic Union (CDU) 174 - 78(Germany), 7, 197–98 British National Party, 175 churches, 190 broad diversity, 63 citizenship: in Canada, 9-10, 19, 66-67; Brotherhood Week, 46 culturalization of, 148, 149, 151-53,

160-61; dual citizenship status, 191,

196-97, 203; emotionalization of, 84, 148, 152–53, 160–61; in France, 19; in Germany, 19, 191, 193-94, 196-97, 198, 201, 202-3; in Great Britain, 172; and immigrant inclusion and exclusion, 128–31; in Netherlands, 19, 148, 151-53; and race, 128-31; tests for, 172, 201; for undocumented immigrants, 51–52, 134–35; in U.S., 9–11, 19, 35–36, 39–40, 47, 51–52, 66–69, 128-31, 134-35. See also birthright citizenship; obligation of citizenship Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 74 city identity, in the Netherlands, 158–60 civic nationalism, 34-36, 44-46, 50-52 civic republican Americanism, 99 civil rights: Arab American organizations working for, 130–31; racial differences in, 135; U.S. legislation, 70–73, 115; U.S. movement, 21, 47, 64, 70, 120 Civil Rights Act of 1964 (U.S.), 70–71, 115 Civil War, 39 Clarkson, Adrienne, 59 Clinchy, Everett R., 45–46 Clinton, Bill, 21 CMEB (Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain), 170, 171, 172, 182 - 83Collaborative Research Center (CRC), 206n12 Collier, John, 42 Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (CMEB), 170, 171, 172, 182–83 communitarianism, 86 community-based organizations, 74 Conservative Party (Canada), 68–69 Conservative Party (Great Britain), 174–75, 177–78 Constitution, U.S., 34, 39 contract detention facilities (CDFs), 124 - 25Cowan, Edgar, 39–40 CRC (Collaborative Research Center), 206n12

Crick, Bernard, 183n2 Criminal Alien Program (CAP), 123 criminalization, 123, 131–33, 135 Cuban immigrants, 67 cultural categorizations, 192, 194–98 cultural change, 70–75 culturalization of citizenship, 148, 149, 151–53, 160–61 culture, static conception of, 147

Daily Mail, 179–80

Daily Telegraph, 180–81 Davis, Garrett, 39 Davis-DuBois, Rachel, 42 Declaration of Independence, 34 democracy, 34, 45, 86 Democratic Party (U.S.), 45, 105, 134 Denmark: Danish People's Party, 3 deportation, 42, 104, 122-25, 130, 131 desegregation, 47 detentions, 124-25, 131 Die Welt, 197 Die Zeit, 196 discrimination: against African Americans, 49, 86; in Germany, 200; against Latinos, 96; against Mexican immigrants, 12-13; and obligation of citizenship, 98–103; perceptions of, 91–93, 103–4; and trust in government, 94-96; and trust in law enforcement, 98; U.S. laws against, 35–36, 70–75, 128–29 discursive exclusion, 205 disenfranchisement, 116 diversity, 21, 59, 70–71, 105, 147. See also ethno-racial diversity development in U.S. and Canada after WWII Dourleijn, Edith, 156–57 DREAM Act, 72, 127–28 dual citizenship, 191, 196–97, 203 Dutch identity, 17, 152–53, 155–58, 159, 160–62. See also Netherlands Duyvendak, Jan Willem, 5, 6, 8, 17, 84, 147

Eagle, Angela, 175 economic categorizations in Germany, 198–200 economic distress, 50 economic migration, 75 The Economist, 199 education, 71, 116, 131, 133 educational attainment: of African Americans, 120; Dutch Muslim immigrants, 154 emotionalization of citizenship, 84, 148, 152–53, 160–61 England, 169, 170. See also Great English language, 71, 172 English Language Acquisition Act (ELAA) of 2001 (U.S.), 71 Entzinger, Han, 156–57 Equality Now! (1984), 68 Erdoğan, Tayyip, 202 ethno-racial diversity development in U.S. and Canada after WWII, 59-82; inclusion mechanisms,

62–66 eugenics, 41

Europe: illegal migration, 76; immigrant exclusion, 118–19; multiculturalism views, 59–60; racial division in, 118. See also specific countries

66-69; institutionalization of

change, 70-75; shocks facilitating,

European Union (EU): antidiscrimination legislation, 72–73; undocumented immigrants in, 10

Faist, Thomas, 6–7, 16, 19, 189
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 123–24
felon disenfranchisement, 116
Ferguson, Missouri, unrest in, 49
Fifteenth Amendment, 72
First Amendment, 37
first-generation immigrants:
 discrimination perceptions, 92; identity attachment, 91
Foner, Nancy, 1, 7, 59–60
food insecurity, 133
foreign born population, 3, 62, 64, 122
Fourteenth Amendment, 35–36, 39–40,

47, 72, 130

fourth-generation immigrants: discrimination perceptions, **92**; identity attachment, **91** 

France: Charlie Hebdo attack, 2, 8; citizenship rules, 19; hyphenated identities, 16–17; Muslim radicalization, 23; National Front, 2–3; national identity anxieties, 1–2; racial divisions in, 12; riots (2005), 1–2; secularism in, 8; undocumented immigrants, 10

Freedom of Information Act (U.S.), 124 Freedom Party (PVV) (Netherlands), 147

French Canadian nationalism, 9, 21, 64, 65, 68 Front National (France), 2–3

Galston, William, 85–86 Gamble, Andrew, 169 gender roles and issues, 8, 99, 150, 180, 193

General Survey in the Social Sciences (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften, ALLBUS), 193

Gentlemen's Agreement (U.S.), 40 Georgia: anti-immigration laws, 72 German identity, 189–212; anxieties over, 2; cultural categorizations, 194–98; economic categorizations, 198–200; history of, 62; hyphenated identities, 16; introduction, 189–94; social mechanisms underlying categorizations, 200–203; symbolic politics, 203–4; transnationality, 190, 192, 194–206

Germany: anti-Muslim views, 6–7; citizenship rules, 19, 193–94, 196–97, 198, 201, 202–3; immigrant population, 3; incorporation of religious entities, 8–9; Leitkultur, 7, 197–98, 204; multiculturalism in, 60, 195; MultiKulticreed, 2; PEGIDA movement, 2; racial nationalism during Nazi period, 44; second-generation immigrant integration, 23; undocumented immigrants, 10. See also German identity

Gerstle, Gary, 4, 20, 21, 33, 61, 63, 84 Geschiere, Peter, 153 Goffman, Alice, 116, 132 Goodman, Paul, 177 Gordon, Jennifer, 129 government, trust in, 85, 93-98 Great Britain: anti-Muslim views, 18; black immigrants in, 173; citizenship test, 172; definition of, 183n2; immigrant integration in, 172; immigrant population, 3; London bombings (2005), 1; multiculturalism, 2, 18, 172-73, 179-80; multinationalism in, 169-73; Muslim immigrants, 173–83; national identity anxieties, 1, 2; national identity extended to immigrants, 18; politicians' beliefs and debates over immigration, 2, 4–5; race-based discrimination in, 12; second-generation immigrant integration, 23; state support of religious schools, 8; undocumented immigrants, 10; United Kingdom Independence Party, 3. See also British identity green card initiative (Germany), 197-98, 199 Green Party (Germany), 196, 198

Green Party (Germany), 196, 198 Gregory, Trevor, 174 Grieve, Dominic, 177–78 Grosse, Ashley, **91, 92, 97, 101, 102** group consciousness theory, 87, 89–90 group identity theories, 87–90 guest workers, 148–49, 193, 194

gypsies, 36

Hagendoorn, Louk, 148
Hague, William, 177
Hampshire, James, 60, 76
Harper, Stephen, 69
health care access, 133
Heath, Anthony, 173
Higham, John, 4
Hitler, Adolf, 44
Homeland Security, U.S. Department of, 123
human rights, 135–36, 190–91, 204

Human Rights Watch, 131 hyphenated identities, 16–17, 20

ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement), 123–25 identity, national. See national identity identity attachment, 90-91, 96-98, 103 Ignatieff, Michael, 34 Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 (U.S.), 122 immigrant detention system, 124-25 immigrant inclusion and exclusion in the U.S., 115-43; and African American situation, 120–21; and citizenship, 128–31; and criminal justice system, 131–33; historical patterns, 118-20; history of (1870s-1990s), 43-48; introduction, 115–18; and Latino situation, 121–25; racial vs. legal frames, 117, 125–28, 133–35; in U.S. vs. Europe, 118–19; war on crime–war on immigrants intersection, 125 immigrants. See specific groups Immigration Act of 1965 (U.S.), 47, 115 Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), 123–25 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) of 1965 (U.S.), 63–64 Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) of 1996 (U.S.), 122 Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), 123 immigration enforcement, 123 immigration law in U.S.: history of, 121–25; racial influences, 40–41, 60–61, 63, 134; state laws, 41–42, 72, 104. See also specific laws immigration reform, 83, 104 Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (U.S.), 134 incarceration, 116-17, 121, 125, 132 The Independent, 181 Indiana: anti-immigration laws, 72 Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 (U.S.), 130 Indian immigrants, 173

inequality, 198, 199 INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service), 123 institutionalization, of national identity change, 70–75 integration: in Great Britain, 172; legal status as barrier to, 9-11; public opinion, 23; race as barrier to, 11-13; religion as barrier to, 5-9; of secondgeneration immigrants, 23 intermarriage, 12, 47 international relations, 70 interstate commerce, 72 Ireland, 169 Irish immigrants, 20, 37–38 Islam. See Muslims Islam Conference, 190

Italian immigrants, 20, 194

Japanese immigrants, 40, 42, 63 Japanese internment during WWII, 130 Jean, Michäelle, 59 Jenkins, Roy, 172 Jews and Judaism, 8, 9, 35 jihad, 6 Jim Crow, 40, 116, 132 Johnson, Lyndon: Immigration and Nationality Act, 64 Jones, Pauline Neville, 177, 178 Joppke, Christian, 148 Judeo-Christian tradition, 45–46 judicial review, 72 Justice, U.S. Department of, 123 Justice and Development Party (AKP) (Turkey), 202

Kallen, Horace, 42
Kanstroom, Daniel, 123
Kasinitz, Philip, 10, 11, 13, 71, 115
Kelly, Ruth, 176
Kennedy, John F.: anti-Catholic
hostility against, 38; election of, 67
King, Mackenzie, 63, 68
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 47
King, Ryan, 125
Know-Nothings, 37–38
Kohl, Helmut, 198

labor force participation, 75 Labour Party (Great Britain), 174-77 Lancashire Telegraph, 178–79 language access policies, 71 Latinos: American fears and anxieties over, 3; attitudes toward, 127–28; discrimination perceptions, 92, 104; identity attachment, 91; inclusion and exclusion of, 116, 121-28; obligations of citizenship, 100–101, 102; Operation Wetback, 130; population statistics, 122, 135; racial discrimination, 12-13; racialization of, 125; trust in government, 95, 96, 97; trust in law enforcement, 98; U.S. population, 13. See also undocumented immigrants

law enforcement: fear of, 131–32; immigration status screening, 122, 123–24, 125; indiscriminate force against black men, 49; "stop and frisk" policing, 137*n*37; trust in, 85, 93–94, 98

laws and legislation. *See* immigration law in U.S.; *specific laws*Lazarus, Emma, 34
legal exclusion, 117–18, 125–28

legal exclusion, 117–18, 125–28 legal status, as barrier to integration, 9–11 Leitkultur, 7, 197–98, 204

Lenhardt, Robin, 129 lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT), 150 liberal nationalism, 86

Liberal Party (Canada), 68 List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) (Netherlands), 147

Locke, Alain, 42

London: bombings (2005), 1; Muslims in, 173

Mactaggart, Fiona, 175 majority-minority nation, America as, 48–49, 135 Manifest Destiny, 38 Marshall, T. H., 77 Marshall, Thurgood, 44 Marxism, 193 Massey, Douglas, 135 mass incarceration, 116–17, 121, 132 media, 147, 174, 178–82, 199 Meer, Nasar, 4, 18, 169 "melting pot," 42 Merkel, Angela, 2, 60 Merz, Friedrich, 197 methodological nationalism, 172 Mexican–American War, 38 Mexican flag, presence at immigration rallies, 83-84 Mexican immigrants, 10, 12–13, 22, 50-52. See also Latinos middle class, 120 Migrant Integration Policy Index, 73 Migration Policy Institute, 10 military: desegregation of, 47; service in, 99, 100-101 mixed-race Americans, 13, 135 Modood, Tariq, 4, 169 monoculturalism, 8, 148-49 Moore, Charles, 180–81 Moroccan immigrants, 17, 23, 148–49, 151, 153–62 multiculturalism: backlash against, 2; in Canada, 21, 59, 65, 68, 69, 74–75; European views, 59–60; in Germany, 195; in Great Britain, 2, 18, 172–73, 179–80; in Netherlands, 148–49; in Scandinavia, 2; in U.S., 45, 47-48 MultiKulti creed, 2 multinationalism, in Britain, 169–73 Muslims: American fears and anxieties over, 3, 49-50; barriers to integration, 5–9; British fears and anxieties over, 173; British identity, 18, 173-83; Canadian fears and anxieties over, 3; Dutch fears and anxieties over, 147, 150; Dutch identity, 17, 152–53, 155–58, 159, 160–62; European fears and anxieties over, 1–3; exclusion in Europe, 23, 119; face veils, 178-82; German identity, 190–91, 194–206; prejudice in U.S. after 9/11 attacks, 130–31; radicalization of, 6, 23 Myrdal, Gunnar, 34, 44, 120

Nairn, Tom, 183n2 narratives, of diversity and migration, 76 - 77National Asian American Political Survey (Pilot, 2001), 108n61 National Basketball Association (NBA), 83 National Front (France), 2–3 national identity: and belonging, 13–18; extension to immigrants, 13-18; and fears about immigrants, 4-13; group boundaries around, 189; of Netherlands, 17, 152-53, 155-58, 159, 160-62; role in democracies, 86; transatlantic differences in formation of, 19–21. See also American identity; British identity; ethno-racial diversity development in U.S. and Canada after WWII; German identity nationality, American. See American nationality Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002 (Great Britain), 172 national-origin identity, 90, 91 Native Americans, 130 nativism, 4, 37–38, 48–49, 126–27, 151–52 naturalization, 35, 39, 47, 129-30, 134. See also citizenship Nazi Germany, 44 Nee, Victor, 71 Netherlands: allochtoon status, 17, 23, 154, 157; anti-immigrant populist parties, 5, 6, 60; anti-Muslim attitudes, 6, 147; citizenship rules, 19, 148, 151–53; city identity in, 158–60; cultural consensus in, 150; Dutch identity, 17, 152-53, 155-58, 159, 160–62; immigrant population, 3; monoculturalism in, 8, 148–49; Muslim second-generation immigrants' feelings of belonging, 153–58; national identity anxieties, 1; racial divisions in, 12; right-wing politics, 147; second-generation immigrant integration, 23; state support of religious schools, 8; tolerant immigration policy failure, 5; van Gogh murder, 1

New Deal, 45
The New Jim Crow (Alexander), 116
news media, 147, 174, 178–82
New York City: language access policies, 71; New Yorker identity, 18;
"stop and frisk" policing, 137n37
New York Times, 11, 131
niqab, 178–82
No Child Left Behind Act (U.S.), 71
Northern Ireland, 169

Obama, Barack: cultural diversity emphasis, 21; deportation increase under, 125; Muslim faith rumors, 49; undocumented immigrant policy, 22, 51–52

obligation of citizenship: definition

of, 85–86; group identity theories, 89–90; and identity attachment, 93–94, 98, 99, 103–4; measurement of, 99; national identity's role in shaping, 87; and perceptions of discrimination, 98–103
O'Brien, Mike, 175
Office for National Statistics (Great Britain), 173
Oldham riots (2001), 175, 177
Omlo, Jurriaan, 157, 159

Operation Wetback, 130

Pager, Devah, 116 Pakistani immigrants, 173, 175–76 panethnic identity, 90, 91, 96 Parekh, Bhikhu, 171 Paris: Charlie Hebdo attack, 2, 8 Parsons, Talcott, 205 Party for Freedom (Netherlands), 6 Patriot Act of 2001 (U.S.), 123 Pearson, Alison, 180 PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans against Islamization of the West), 2 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (U.S.), 72, 122, 128 pillarization, 149 Plyler v. Doe, 72 police. See law enforcement Polish immigrants, 23, 193

political inclusion, 66–69, 74. See also citizenship political institutions, trust in, 85, 93–98 political participation, 133 politicians, 2, 4, 11, 174–78, 182 politicized identity, 87–90, 104 populist parties, 2–3, 5 presidential election of 2012 (U.S.), 105 Preston, Julia, 131 prisons and prisoners, 116–17, 121, 125, 132 progressive values, 150, 157 Protestantism, 36–39 public opinion, 23, 59, 75–76 Purnell, Fred S., 41

Quebec, 9, 21, 64, 65, 74–75 quotas, 63

race: as barrier to integration, 11–13;

and citizenship, 128-31; and immi-

grant exclusion, 117, 119-20, 125-28, 133-35 race-neutral policies, 135 race relations acts (Great Britain), 172 racial classification, 43-44 racialization, 119, 126, 134 racial nationalism, 39-44, 49 racial profiling, 133 racism, 121, 126 ranking, culturalist, 200–202 reactive framing, 202–3 Reconstruction Era, 35, 39 Reform Party (Canada), 68, 69 religion, as integration barrier, 5–9 religious institutions, 8-9, 190 religious nationalism, 36–39, 46, 49–50 religious schools, 8 repatriation, 42 republicanism, 37, 38 Republicans and Republican Party, 11, 95–96, 105, 134–35 "restrictive turn," 2 return migration, 115 reverse migration, 199 right-wing politics, 147 Roberts, Jane, 173

Romney, Mitt, 69

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 45 Roosevelt, Theodore, 20, 40 Rotterdam, 17, 158-60 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 64 Runnymede Trust, 171

San Francisco: language access policies, 71 Sarkozy, Nicolas, 2, 60 Sarrazin, Thilo, 6, 195 Schildkraut, Deborah, 13, 83, 91, 92, 97, 101, 102 Schröder, Gerhard, 197, 199 Schuck, Peter, 125

scientists, 199 Scotland, 169. See also Great Britain Scottish Independence movement, 169 second-generation immigrants:

discrimination perceptions, 92; Dutch Muslim immigrants' feelings of belonging, 153–58; identity attachment, 91; integration status, 23; national identity extended to, 14 - 18

secularization, 8, 9 Secure Communities Program, 123 segregation, 12

September 11, 2001, 3, 7, 130, 176–77,

service processing centers (SPCs), 124 sharia, 74

Simon, Jonathan, 121

Simon, Patrick, 1, 59–60

slavery, 35, 39, 118

Slootman, Marieke, 5, 6, 8, 17, 84, 147

Smith, Al, 38, 43, 45

Smith, Robert, 134 Smith, Rogers, 63, 86

Sniderman, Paul, 148

social categorizations, 192, 194–203

Social Democrats (SPD) (Germany), 196, 197–98

social identity theory, 88–90

social mobility, 115

South Carolina: anti-immigration laws, 72

SPCs (service processing centers), 124

"The Star-Spangled Banner," 83 state laws, 41-42, 72, 104 stereotypes, 120-21, 127 "stop and frisk" policing, 137n37 Straw, Jack, 178-79, 181, 182 Sunday Telegraph, 181–82 Supreme Court, U.S., 104 Suro, Roberto, 11, 127 surveys, 90. See also specific surveys Sweden: anti-immigrant mobilizations, 2; parliamentary representation, 69 symbolic exclusion, 200-203

symbolic politics, in Germany, 203–4

Taylor, Charles, 86 Taylor, J. Will, 41 Tea Party movement, 135 terrorism, 194, 196, 201 third-generation immigrants: discrimination perceptions, 92; identity attachment, 91 threat, perceptions of and social identity theory, 88

Tibi, Bassam, 196 TIES (The Integration of the European Second Generation) project, 154–56 Title VI of Civil Rights Act of 1964, 71

trade unions, 45, 77 traditional values, 156-57

Transatlantic Trends, 23

transnationality, 190, 192, 194-206

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, 65

Truman, Harry, 47

Trumbull, Lyman, 36

trust: definition of, 85; group identity theories, 88–90; identity attachment and, 93-94, 103-4; in law enforcement, 85, 93-94, 98; national identity's role in shaping, 87; in political institutions, 85, 93–98

Turkish Community Berlin (Türkische Gemeinde Berlin, or TGB), 202

Turkish immigrants: in Germany, 16, 190, 191, 193, 194-95; in Netherlands, 17, 23, 148-49, 153-62

21st Century Americanism Survey (21-CAS), 90, 104

287(g) program, 123-24

Uberoi, Varun, 4, 169 Uhl, Frederick E., 46 Ulbricht, Christian, 6–7, 16, 19, 189 undocumented immigrants: attitudes toward, 127-28; children, 72; citizenship paths, 51–52, 134–35; criminalization of, 123-25; deportation, 42, 104, 122–25, 130, 131; exclusion of, 10–11; growth of, 122; impact on children, 116, 132–33; public opinion of, 75–76; racialization of, 125–28; situation in U.S., 115; U.S. situation, 10–11, 22, 50–52, 71, 72, 75, 76 unemployment, 75, 125 United Kingdom, 183n2. See also Great Britain United Kingdom Independence Party, 3 United States: American nationality contradictions, 33–58; anti-immigrant views, 11; anti-Muslim views, 7; citizenship rules, 9–11, 19, 35–36, 39–40, 47, 66–69, 128–31, 134–35; civil rights legislation, 70–73; foreign born population, 3, 62, 64; immigrant inclusion and exclusion in, 43-48, 115–43; immigration debates in, 7; immigration law, 40-42, 60-61, 63-64, 72, 104, 121–25, 134; multiculturalism in, 45, 47–48; national identity anxieties, 3; national identity extended to immigrants, 14–18; national identity framing, 19–21; political incorporation of immigrants, 66-69; racial divisions in, 11, 12–13, 118; religion in, 7-9; second-generation immigrant integration, 23; undocumented immigrants, 10–11, 22, 50–52, 71, 72, 75, 76. See also American identity United States Constitution, 34, 39 United States Department of Homeland Security, 123 United States Department of Justice, 123 United States Supreme Court, 104 Utah: anti-immigration laws, 72

Valls, Manuel, 8 Van der Veer, Peter, 150 Van der Welle, Inge, 155–57, 159 Van Gogh, Theo, 1 veiling, 178–82 Vietnamese immigrants, 67 visible minorities, 12, 69 volunteering, 99–102 voting, 105, 116, 130 Voting Rights Act of 1965 (U.S.), 71

Wakefield, Sara, 132 Wales, 169. See also Great Britain war on crime, 125 Warsi, Sayeeda, 177 Waters, Mary C., 10, 11, 13, 115 Wehler, Hans-Ulrich, 195 welfare reform, 72, 122, 128 welfare state, 5 Wellman, Christopher, 86 West Indian immigrants, 67 Wheatcroft, Patience, 181–82 When Ways of Life Collide (Sniderman and Hagendoorn), 148 whites: discrimination perceptions, 92; identity attachment, 91; immigration views, 105; obligations of citizenship, 100-101; population statistics, 13; trust in government, 95-96 Wildeman, Christopher, 132

Wilders, Geert, 6, 60, 147 Wind-Cowie, Max, 174 Winter, Elke, 65 Wong Kim Ark; United States v., 130 working class, 44–45 World War I, 45 World War II, 44 Wright, Tony, 169 Wulff, Christian, 200

Yuzyk, Paul, 68

Zangwill, Israel, 42