# Table of Contents

## Acknowledgements

### CHAPTER 1. The governance of Islam and the construction of mosques in Western Europe

1.1. Introduction

1.2. Islam and public policies in Western Europe: the state of research and theory

1.3. A historically sensitive, institutional approach to the study of public policy discussions on Islamic presence and mosque creation

   1.3.1. Policy-making and Islam: discourse and institutions

   1.3.2. Policy discussions and the role of institutions

   1.3.3. Institutionalised regimes of government, public policy and social situations

   1.3.4. Institutional logics and path dependencies

   1.3.5. Case-study approach and public discussions on mosque creation

1.4. Public policy responses and the creation of mosques in France and the Netherlands: a comparative case study

### CHAPTER 2. The governance of religion in France and the Netherlands. Institutional arrangements, traditions and principles

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Church-state relations in France: institutional repertoires and principles in their historical context

2.3. Legal regulations concerning the financing of houses of worship

2.4. Church-state relations in the Netherlands: institutional repertoires and principles in their historical context

2.5. Legal regulations concerning the financing of houses of worship

2.6. Conclusion

### CHAPTER 3. French colonialism, Islam and mosques

3.1. Introduction

3.2. French colonialism and Islam in Africa

   3.2.1. Governing Islam in Algeria (1830-1900): Cultes reconnus in a colonial context

   3.2.2. Governing Islam in West Africa: Islam as a source of cultural progress

   3.2.3. The early 20th century: La Politique Musulmane and an “Islam fabriquée par nous”

   3.2.4. Algeria: official Islam and priority of colonial imperatives over secularism
3.2.5 West Africa: A French Islam or shielding African Islam? .................................. 63
3.2.6 Governance of Islam in Africa in the closing decades of colonial rule ................. 65
3.2.7 Concluding observations on French colonial governance of Islam in Africa .......... 67

3.3 Muslims and Mosques in France and Marseilles in the first half of the 20th century .... 67
3.3.1 Colonial workers in France and in Marseilles 1900-1918 .................................. 68
3.3.2 Representations of Islam at the colonial exhibitions in Marseilles ....................... 72
3.3.3 France as a Great Muslim Power: A monumental mosque in Paris ..................... 75
3.3.4 Native management (encadrement) and Islam in interwar France ....................... 79
3.3.5 Projects for a newly built mosque in Marseilles 1937 ........................................ 80
3.3.6 The project of 1942-1949 ............................................................................. 82

3.4 Direct policy legacies of colonial rule for the government of Islam in France........... 85
3.4.1 The harkis .................................................................................................... 85
3.4.2 The Paris Mosque ....................................................................................... 86

3.5 Conclusion ........................................................................................................... 87

CHAPTER 4. Dutch colonialism, Islam and mosques .................................................. 91
4.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................... 91
4.2 The Dutch Indies and Islam .................................................................................. 92
4.2.1 Expansion of Dutch rule and encounters with Islam ......................................... 93
4.2.2 Liberal Policy and reformist Islam .................................................................... 93
4.2.3 Ethical Policy and association ......................................................................... 96
4.2.4 Ethical Policy deformed ................................................................................. 97

4.3 Dutch colonialism and Islam in Europe: architecture, peoples and exhibitions ....... 99
4.4 Direct legacies of colonialism and Islam in the Netherlands .................................. 100
4.5 Conclusion ........................................................................................................... 105

CHAPTER 5. Guest workers and Islam in France ....................................................... 107
5.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................... 107
5.2 Migrant workers in France and the emergence of a guest workers regime .............. 107
5.2.1 The post-World War II period ........................................................................ 110

5.3 Native management (encadrement) and the reproduction of colonial institutional arrangements: the foyers .......................................................................... 112

5.4 Public policies and final efforts to encourage return ............................................. 114
5.5 Muslim religious needs and policy responses in the late 1970s ............................. 115
5.6 Escaping from encadrement: Islam and the formation of ethnic communities ......... 118
5.7 Conclusion ........................................................................................................... 119
CHAPTER 6. Guest workers and Islam in the Netherlands ........................................ 121
6.1. Introduction .................................................................................................... 121
6.2. Immigrant workers and Islam in the Netherlands .............................................. 121
6.3. Policy responses to the presence of Islam in the 1970s ...................................... 125
   6.3.1. Religious needs, immigrant mobilisation and policy responses .................... 127
   6.3.2. National policy responses and subsidies for the creation of Islamic prayer spaces ... 129
6.4. The presence of Islam and local society: mosques in Rotterdam in the 1970s .......... 131
   6.4.1. A central Rotterdam mosque? ................................................................. 133
6.5. Conclusion ..................................................................................................... 135

CHAPTER 7. Citizenship, Islam and mosques in France ........................................ 137
7.1. Introduction .................................................................................................... 137
7.2. Cathedral Mosques ........................................................................................ 137
   7.2.1. Mosques as a public issue in France in the 1980s and the need for a Cathedral Mosque in Marseilles ....... 140
7.3. Algeria, the Paris Mosque and l’islam des jeunes .............................................. 150
7.4. Islam of France and the Islamic Religious and Cultural Centre of Marseilles .......... 154
   7.4.1. Mosque building on the political agenda in Marseilles: “Everybody agrees that there should be a mosque in Marseilles” ......... 156
   7.4.2. Everybody agrees… on what? ................................................................. 158
   7.4.3. Development of the project and leadership over the Muslim community ......... 162
   7.4.4 Disagreements about the character of the Islamic Cultural and Religious Centre of Marseilles: symbolical role and the functions of the cultural centre .......... 166
   7.4.5. The future of Islam in France and reframing divergences between Muslim factions in Marseilles .......... 172
7.5. Islam de proximité ......................................................................................... 176
   7.5.1. Reframing mosques ................................................................................. 178
   7.5.2. Building mosques and municipal policy practices ...................................... 180
   7.5.3. Financing mosque building .................................................................... 180
   7.5.4. Islam de proximité in Marseilles ............................................................ 183
   7.5.5. A Grand Mosque and a cultural centre after all ........................................ 185
7.6. Conclusion ..................................................................................................... 187

CHAPTER 8. Citizenship, Islam and mosques in the Netherlands ....................... 189
8.1. Introduction .................................................................................................... 189
8.2. Ethnic Minorities Policy and mosque creation in Rotterdam ......................... 191
   8.2.1. Integration policies and Islam in Rotterdam in the 1980s ............................ 193
   8.2.2. Mosque creation and Urban Renewal Policies in Rotterdam .................... 199
8.2.3. Towards a municipal policy on the housing of mosques .......................................................... 202

8.3. National discussions on subsidy schemes for mosques .......................................................... 206

8.4. Integration policy, multicultural architecture
   and executing the mosque policy in Rotterdam 1992-2002 ...................................................... 211
   8.4.1. Negotiating the location and functioning of larger mosques:
           discussions on the Kocatepe Mosque .................................................................................. 212
   8.4.2. Normalising and exceptionalising mosque creation:
           Urban planning, multicultural architecture and discussions on the Essalam Mosque ........ 213

8.5. The “multicultural tragedy”:
   populism, assimilation and new polemics on mosque architecture in Rotterdam ................. 228
   8.5.1. Public and political views of mosque architecture .......................................................... 231
   8.5.2. Proposals for a new mosque policy in Rotterdam ............................................................ 237

8.6. Conclusion .............................................................................................................................. 240

CHAPTER 9. Conclusion ................................................................................................................ 245

9.1. Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 245

9.2. A comparative perspective on colonial and guest workers regimes in France
   and the Netherlands: the governance Islam and the accommodation of mosques .................... 247
   9.2.1. Colonialism .................................................................................................................... 247
   9.2.2. Guest workers ............................................................................................................... 248

9.3. Citizenship, public policies and the construction of mosques
   in France and the Netherlands: patterns and explanations ....................................................... 250
   9.3.1. Comparative observations .............................................................................................. 251
   9.3.2. Level of structuration (1): internally plural, institutional regimes
           of government and the formation of public policies of accommodation of Islam ............ 252
   9.3.3. Level of structuration (2): strategies of governance and policy frames ......................... 257
   9.3.4. Level of structuration (3): interactions and public policy discussions ......................... 259

9.4. Suggestions for further research ............................................................................................ 261

References .................................................................................................................................... 263

List of Abreviations ....................................................................................................................... 283

Appendix I Overview of interviews ............................................................................................ 285

Appendix II Overview of hearings on the Grand Mosque of Marseilles (2001-2002) ............... 287

Summary in English ..................................................................................................................... 289

Summary in Dutch .......................................................................................................................... 291