## Contents

Acknowledgements List of Abbreviations		vii viii
1	Introduction	1
1.1	General introduction	1 3
1.2	Integration into the research context	.9
1.3	Chapter guide	,
•	Methods of research	12
2 2.1	Attitude surveys and opinion polls	12
	Discourse analysis	13
2.2 2.3	The interviews	13
2.3	'Racial matching' - an obstacle to validity?	17
		21
3	The European context	
3.1	General Community policies on immigration -	21
	Fortress Europe? The Treaty on European Union (Maastricht Treaty)	25
3.2	The Treaty on European Onion (Massacratic	27
3.3	The European Parliament EU-provisions for third country nationals-	
3.4	a summarizing commentary	28
	a Juliuma 123.75	33
4	Racism	
4.1	History and modernity - general remarks on the	33
	roots of racism Historical and theoretical groundings of terminology	36
4.2		43
4.3	State, national identity and citizenship - a brief	
4.4	contextualization	48
		52
5	National identity and exclusion	
5.1	Some theoretical remarks on the formation of	52
	nation-states and national identity	
5.2	Identity as 'nation' and as race. the mention	55
	Britain and Germany	62
5.3	The context of the post-war period  The context of conventional identity	68
5.4	Post-national and post-conventional	71
55	Concluding remarks	

6	Citizenship	75
6.1	Nationality and citizenship - brief definitional remarks	75
6.2	Relevant theories on citizenship	76
6.3	Citizenship as a legal device - a historical perspective	80
6.4	Formal citizenship in the context of post-war	
<b>.</b> .	labour migration	85
6.5	Substantive citizenship in the context of post-war	
	labour migration	90
6.6	European citizenship	99
6.7	Concluding remarks	107
7	Mass discourse	114
7.1	Social attitudes surveys and polls in the British	
	context	115
7.2	German opinion surveys	119
7.3	Commentary	125
7.4	Surveys on national identity	127
7.5	Concluding remarks	128
8	Parliamentary debates on ethnic or 'racial' issues	134
8.1	Some general remarks on the debates	135
8.2	The German debates	136
8.3	The British debates	144
8.4	The European level	151
8.5	Concluding remarks	153
9	The Interviews	156
9.1	Racism	157
9.2.	National identity and nationalism	175
9.3	Citizenship	198
9.4	Citizenship as a mechanism for inclusion -	
	the nature of the interviewed organizations and	
	their demands: concluding remarks	220
10	Conclusion	226
10.1	Citizenship in Germany and Britain: a comparison	227
10.2	European identity and citizenship	229
10.3	Future prospects of citizenship	229
Appe	ndices	
I	Statistics on foreign residents by nationality	233
II	EU-drafted documents	234
Ш	The interviewed organizations: their	
	functions and objectives	236
IV	The interview questions	243
Bibliography		251