



The Gallup Coexist Index 2009: A Global Study of Interfaith Relations

With an in-depth analysis of Muslim integration in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom

GALLUP | *The Coexist Foundation*

Muslim West Facts Project

What the People Really Think

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Foreword

The role of religion in peace and war is one of the most hotly debated issues of our time. Policy-makers, pundits, and peacemakers alike have struggled to understand the complex relationships between people across faith lines. Political conflicts that divide different faith groups can grow into religious conflicts, while religious differences in one community can turn into political conflicts. And yet, in this turbulent atmosphere, there are also poignant examples of coexistence and goodwill among faith groups.

To understand and inform the public debate on the important dynamic of faith relations, Gallup partnered with the Coexist Foundation to disseminate its proprietary, independent global public opinion research.¹ *The Gallup Coexist Index 2009: A Global Study of Interfaith Relations* is the first annual report on the state of faith relations in countries around the world. To measure the state of the relationship among faith groups within nations, Gallup designed an index that gauges the segment of the public that both contributes to and stands in the way of better faith relations.

The Gallup Center for Muslim Studies draws its analysis from data collected through the Gallup World Poll, an ongoing research project that surveys residents in more than 140 countries and areas and represents the views of 95% of the world's population. This report also presents the latest findings about attitudes of European Muslims and their counterparts in the general population. This study is part of the Center's effort to provide non-partisan, data-driven research and advice on the diversity and complexity of Muslim views around the world.

Because the discussion about the relationship among faith groups is lively in Europe, especially with respect to religious and ethnic minorities, Gallup conducted deeper studies in three European nations — the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. This research helps inform the conversation on issues such as integration, identity, values, and radicalization.

We would like to thank our Coexist partners for their invaluable support in the dissemination of the results of Gallup's World Poll. In addition, we would like to acknowledge Gallup's world-class senior scientists, researchers, writers, editors, and designers for making this report possible.



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1 To find out more about the partnership between Gallup and Coexist, please visit www.MuslimWestFacts.com

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Executive Summary

The Gallup Coexist Index 2009: A Global Study of Interfaith Relations is Gallup's first report of public perceptions vis-à-vis people of different faiths. This analysis provides the reader with insight into the state of relations between people of different religions spanning four continents. The report also explores attitudes and perceptions among Muslims and the general public in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom about issues of coexistence, integration, values, identity, and radicalization.

Gallup Coexist Index

The Gallup Coexist Index is designed to measure global attitudes toward people from different faith traditions. The Index is based on respondents' level of agreement with five statements on a scale of "1" (strongly disagree) to "5" (strongly agree) concerning attitudes toward, and interactions with, people of other religions. Depending on their answers, Gallup classifies populations as isolated, tolerant, or integrated.

The United States and Canada top the European countries surveyed in the proportion of their general public classified as integrated. Within Europe, 35% of Britons and 38% of Germans are classified as isolated, compared with 15% of Americans and 20% Canadians.

Across African countries surveyed, Niger, Chad, and Djibouti have the highest proportions of respondents who can be classified as isolated. The highest proportions of integrated respondents are found in Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Mauritania. Among Asian countries polled, Afghanistan and Israel had the highest percentages of isolated residents.

In France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, Gallup Coexist Index data show some important trends. In each country, the general public is more likely than its respective Muslim population to be classified as isolated. Little variation is found in the percentage of tolerant individuals across the European general populations surveyed (45%

among the British public and 49% each among the French and German publics). But among European Muslims surveyed, the tolerant group spans a wider range, from 31% in France to 43% in Germany and 60% in the United Kingdom.

A detailed analysis of the items that make up the Gallup Coexist Index in these three countries reveals important information to help inform the integration debate. For instance, Muslims, regardless of the country surveyed, share similar positive attitudes regarding interfaith living. French, German, and British Muslims are more likely than the general publics in their respective countries to agree that most faiths make a positive contribution to society. Many of the poll findings highlight areas in which European Muslims and non-Muslim Europeans can engage one another in building communities based on mutual understanding and respect.

Public Perceptions Toward Integration

The racial, religious, and cultural landscape of Europe has never been so diverse. Such diversity is largely attributable to the immigration of individuals mainly from North and West Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Turkey. The poll findings underscore not only the divides but also the common ground that exists between European Muslims and their non-Muslim fellow Europeans in regard to the complex aspects of the integration debate.

One of the key issues of the ongoing integration conversation concerns the compatibility of religion and national identity. While British, French, and German Muslims are more likely than the general populations in those three countries to identify strongly with their faith, they are also as likely (if not more likely) than the general public to identify strongly with their countries of residence. Additionally, majorities in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom either do not think Muslims in their respective countries are loyal to their countries of residence or they are

unsure. However, strong majorities of European Muslims surveyed think Muslims are loyal to their respective countries of residence in Europe.

The poll findings also show that although European Muslims surveyed have a great sense of purpose, several barriers prevent them from realizing their full potential. Except for German Muslims, they are less likely than their respective general populations to say they have a job (either paid or unpaid). European Muslims surveyed are also less likely than the general populations surveyed to say they are satisfied with their standards of living.

Furthermore, some European Muslims rate their life satisfaction lower than those in the general population in their respective countries. Gallup asked European respondents to rate their current lives and their expectations of where they think they will stand in five years, using the Cantril ladder scale with steps numbered from 0 to 10. Step 0 represents the worst possible life and step 10 represents the best possible life. Gallup classifies respondents as “thriving” if they say they presently stand on step 7 or higher of the ladder and expect to stand on step 8 or higher in five years. “Suffering” respondents are those who say they presently stand on steps 0 to 4 of the ladder and expect to stand on steps 0 to 4 in five years. Respondents who fall neither in the “thriving” nor the “suffering” category are considered “struggling.” French Muslims are half as likely as the general public to be considered thriving, and in the United Kingdom, Muslims are eight times less likely than the British population as a whole to fall under the thriving category. Interestingly, German Muslims (46%) are more likely than the German public (36%) to be classified as thriving.

In the integration debate, observers often note that European Muslims and the general public have opposite moral compasses. Although the poll findings show that on many issues tested, European Muslims are more

conservative in their moral views than the general public, the latter group expresses a wide range of opinions on the moral acceptability of issues from homosexuality to abortion to extramarital affairs.

Further, the poll findings show the vast majority of European Muslims surveyed reject violence. For instance, while 1% of the German public said that violence in which civilians are the target was completely justified, less than 1% of Berlin Muslims said the same. Gallup also found that religiosity (defined as religion being an important part of daily life) is not a reliable indicator of radicalism. Respondents who say religion is important to them are just as likely as those who say religion is not important to report that attacks on civilians cannot be morally justified.

Section 1: The Gallup Coexist Index 2009

Rhetoric from religious and anti-religion fanatics alike might lead many observers to believe that religious conflict is inevitable. Yet, if the clamor of these vocal minorities is set aside, how do ordinary people feel about the state of religious coexistence in their own societies? Do people believe individuals of different faiths contribute to or take away from the good of society? How much do general populations around the world want to engage with people of different faiths? Do people feel respected by members of other faith traditions? Do they respect others who do not believe as they do?

Gallup's Global Practice Leader for Faith Communities, Dr. Albert L. Winseman,² developed the Religious Tolerance Index in 2002 with Gallup scientists Dr. Jim Harter and Julie Hawkins to measure Americans' attitudes toward religious faiths that are different from their own. In 2008, Gallup renamed the instrument the Gallup Coexist Index and asked these questions around the world. The Index is based on respondents' level of agreement with the following five statements on a scale of "1" (strongly disagree) to "5" (strongly agree):

- I always treat people of other religious faiths with respect.
- Most religious faiths make a positive contribution to society.
- I would not object to a person of a different religious faith moving next door.
- People of other religions always treat me with respect.
- In the past year, I have learned something from someone of another religious faith.

From the combination of their answers, Gallup classifies populations as:

Isolated: Isolated individuals tend not to be members of any particular faith group, but if they are, they tend to believe in the truth of their perspective above all others. They do not want to know about other religions. They also neither respect nor feel respected by those of other faiths.

Tolerant: Tolerant individuals have a "live-and-let-live" attitude toward people of other faiths, and they generally feel that they treat others of different faiths with respect. However, they are not likely to learn from or about other religions.

Integrated: Integrated individuals go beyond a "live-and-let-live" attitude and actively seek to know more about and learn from others of different religious traditions. They believe that most faiths make a positive contribution to society. Furthermore, integrated people not only feel they respect people from other faith traditions, but they also feel respected by them.

The results of a 27-country survey, spanning four continents, follow with detailed comparisons for each region.

2 Winseman leads Gallup's research and consulting services that assist faith communities in helping their members become more engaged. He authored *Growing an Engaged Church*, which was written to help congregation leaders identify and harness the power of engagement in their churches. Winseman coauthored *Living Your Strengths*, which was written to help members of faith communities discover and use their talents and strengths in their congregations. Before joining Gallup, he was a pastor in the United Methodist Church for 15 years.

1a. Gallup Coexist Index: Europe, the United States, and Canada

Overall, populations in the United States and Canada are more likely to be considered integrated than are those Gallup surveyed in Europe. One of the possible explanations for such differences is the historical importance of immigration in the development of Canada and the United States as modern nations. People from different cultures and religions have also migrated to European countries, but the role of immigrants in the establishment of modern European countries is far less pronounced. While immigrants to the United States and Canada are hard to pigeonhole into one religious tradition, in Europe, “immigrant” is virtually synonymous with “Muslim.” Finally, the percentage of residents who say religion is important in their lives is much higher in Canada and the United States, especially among Americans, than it is in many European countries surveyed. Such differences may explain the gap among Canadian, American, and European general populations in the Gallup Coexist Index classifications.

Figure 1. Religion’s Importance

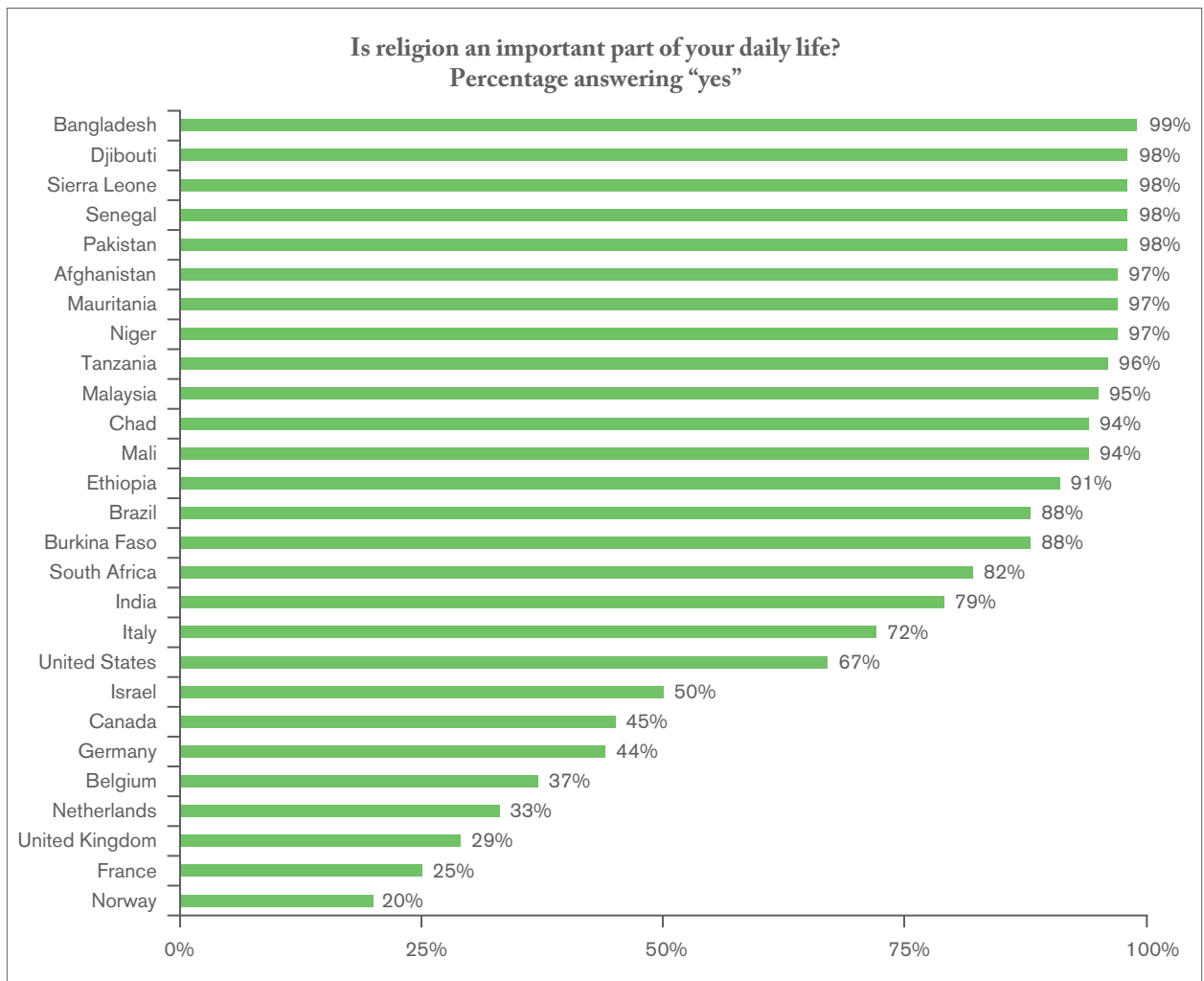
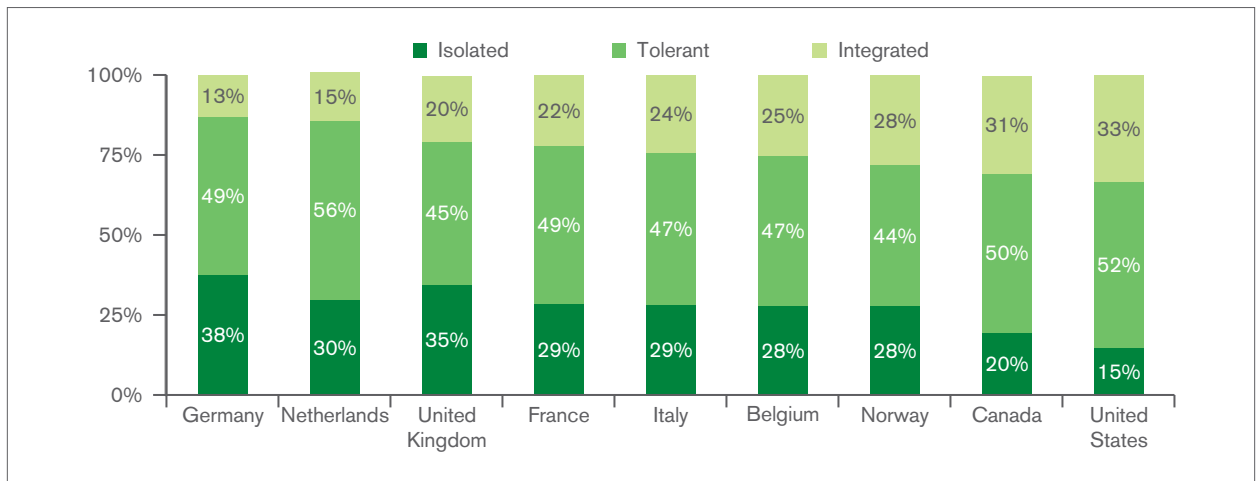


Figure 2. Gallup Coexist Index 2009 – Europe, the United States, and Canada



In the European countries surveyed, the Gallup Coexist Index shows that relatively high proportions of the British (35%) and German (38%) general populations are classified as isolated in contrast with populations in the United States (15%) and Canada (20%) that fall under the same category.

To better understand these classifications, it is useful to examine the mean scores of the individual items that make up the index. Of the European populations surveyed, the Dutch and the French are most likely to be open to having a neighbor of a different faith, but the Dutch are among the least likely to agree that most religions make a positive contribution to society. The Dutch and the French are among the most likely to agree that they always treat people of other faiths with respect. At the same time, the Dutch are among the least likely to agree that they have learned something from people of other faiths in the past year.

Figure 3. Gallup Coexist Index Individual Item Mean Scores – Europe, the United States, and Canada

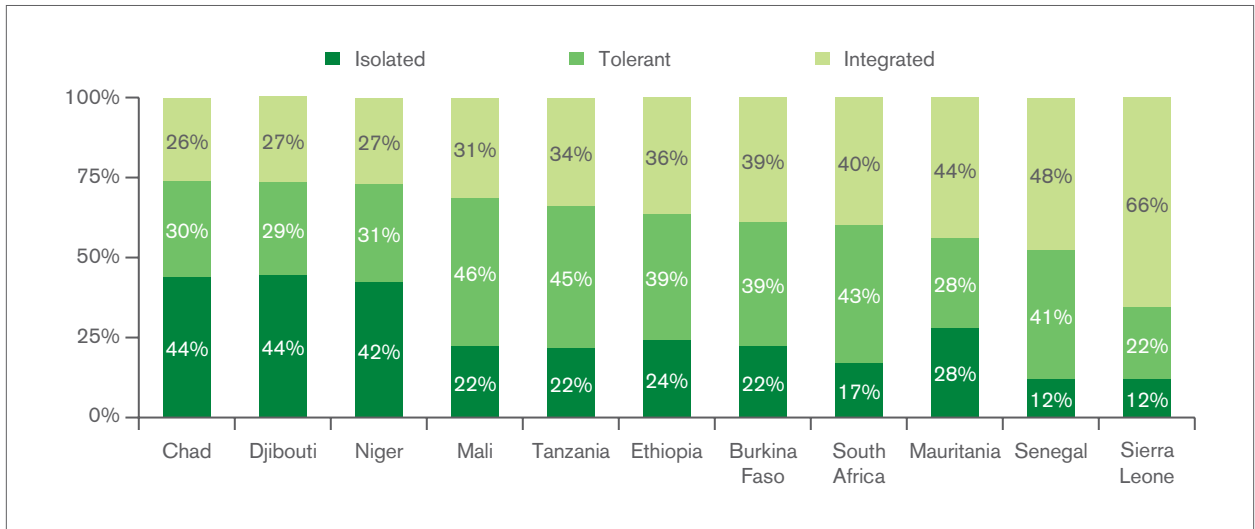
Using a 5-point scale, where “5” means strongly agree and “1” means strongly disagree, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? You may use any number between 1 and 5 to make your rating.

Country	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Germany	4.5	3.3	4.3	3.6	2.5
Netherlands	4.7	2.9	4.7	4.0	2.7
United Kingdom	4.5	3.5	4.2	3.7	3.0
France	4.7	3.3	4.5	4.0	3.0
Italy	4.6	3.6	4.2	4.3	2.8
Belgium	4.6	3.3	4.3	4.1	3.1
Norway	4.4	3.0	4.4	4.4	3.4
Canada	4.6	3.6	4.6	4.0	3.5
United States	4.7	3.9	4.7	3.9	3.6

1b. Gallup Coexist Index: Africa

Across African countries surveyed, Niger (42%), Chad (44%), and Djibouti (44%) have the highest proportions of respondents who can be classified as isolated. This is in sharp contrast to the low percentages in Senegal (12%), Sierra Leone (12%), and South Africa (17%). Sierra Leone may be the most surprising member of this group considering its civil war that raged for a decade, but the conflict was fought more over economics than religion. In South Africa, apartheid ended only in the early 1990s, but again, this national conflict fell along racial rather than religious lines. In many cases, national populations in which substantial percentages are considered integrated have governments that actively promote religious tolerance, recognize multiple religious traditions in official holidays and national celebrations, and enshrine religious freedom in the constitution, like in Senegal.

Figure 4. Gallup Coexist Index 2009 – Africa



Mauritania also presents an interesting case, as its population is overwhelmingly Muslim. However, such religious homogeneity does not mean that Mauritians reject dialogue and positive interactions with people from other faiths; many in Mauritania believe most faiths enrich society, with a mean score of 4.2 on the “most religious faiths make a positive contribution” item. However, it is interesting to note that while scoring relatively high on most measures that make up the index, Mauritians score relatively low on the item about learning something new about another faith. This makes sense because of the relative religious homogeneity of the country. Although a plurality (44%) of the country’s residents are classified as integrated, 28% of the general population is classified as isolated and an equal percentage falls under the tolerant category. Such findings suggest that although more Mauritians fall into the integrated category, a significant proportion of the population appears less open to people of different faiths.

Respondents in Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, and Burkina Faso are the most likely to agree with most of the items that make up the Gallup Coexist Index. At the other end of the spectrum, populations in Chad, Djibouti, and Niger are the least likely of the African populations surveyed to be positive about coexistence.

Figure 5. Gallup Coexist Index Individual Item Mean Scores – Africa

Using a 5-point scale, where “5” means strongly agree and “1” means strongly disagree, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? You may use any number between 1 and 5 to make your rating.

	I always treat people of other religious faiths with respect.	Most religious faiths make a positive contribution to society.	I would not object to a person of a different religious faith moving next door.	People of other religions always treat me with respect.	In the past year, I have learned something from someone of another religious faith.
Country	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Chad	4.3	3.9	3.4	3.7	3.7
Djibouti	4.4	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.4
Niger	4.4	3.7	3.8	3.7	2.7
Mali	4.5	4.2	4.2	4.1	3.6
Tanzania	4.5	4.1	4.2	3.8	3.7
Ethiopia	4.6	4.2	4.2	3.9	3.5
Burkina Faso	4.7	4.3	4.5	4.2	3.2
South Africa	4.7	4.3	4.2	4.0	4.0
Mauritania	4.6	4.2	4.2	4.0	3.0
Senegal	4.8	4.5	4.5	4.3	3.5
Sierra Leone	4.7	4.6	4.4	4.5	4.2

1c. Gallup Coexist Index: Asia

Majorities in Afghanistan (84%) and Israel (71%) are classified as isolated. Although Afghanistan is overwhelmingly Muslim, decades of civil war fought along ethnic and sectarian lines help to explain the large majority of Afghans considered isolated. This suggests that civil strife alone is not enough to create religious isolation, but that this conflict must be along religious or sectarian lines. Today, Afghans still endure multiple military and paramilitary conflicts that may restrict their ability to explore and engage with people from different backgrounds.

The ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which divides Jewish Israelis and Muslim and Christian Palestinians, is often framed in deep religious undertones. Within Israel, relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab Muslim and Christian Israeli minority have been tense. Relations have worsened in recent months because of Israel’s war on Gaza and a parliamentary election favoring anti-Arab right-wing parties, including Yisrael Beiteinu, which has called for revoking the citizenship of Arabs deemed disloyal to Israel.³ The popularity of these parties suggests a growing distrust of Arab Israelis by many of their Jewish counterparts. Israelis are the least likely of the populations surveyed in the region to report they always treat members of other faiths with respect and are among the least likely to feel they are respected by others. They are also the least likely to agree that most religious faiths make a positive contribution to society. With the exception of Arabs in Israel, the timing of the fieldwork did not make possible the polling of other Arab respondents. They will be polled during the next wave and the findings will be published in next year’s report.

3 Scheiner, S. (March 24, 2009). Jewish extremist march provokes clash with Arabs. Associated Press.

Somewhat surprisingly, Pakistan and India, with different religious compositions, have similar proportions of integrated respondents, 22% and 21%, respectively. However, more Pakistanis (34%) than Indians (17%) can be classified as isolated.

Among Asian populations surveyed, Malaysians are among the most likely to agree that most religions make positive contributions to society, while Indians are the most likely to agree that they always treat people of other faiths with respect and that people of other religions always treat them with respect.

Figure 6. Gallup Coexist Index 2009 – Asia

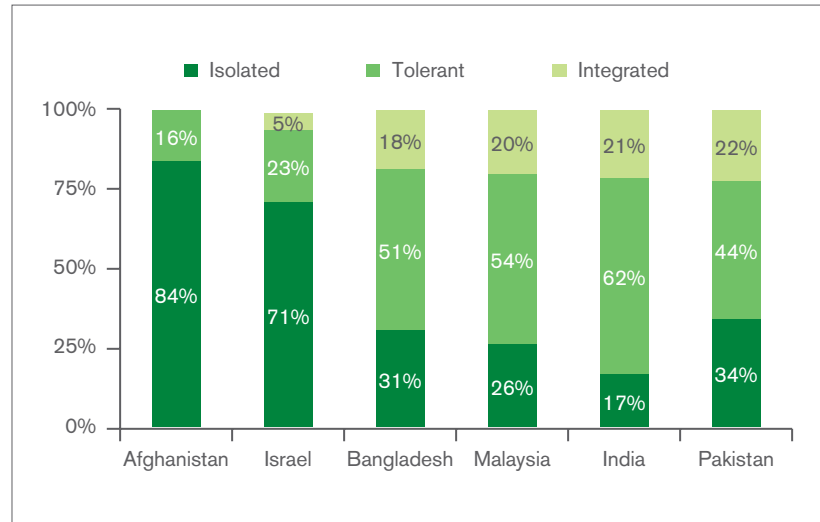


Figure 7. Gallup Coexist Index Individual Item Mean Scores – Asia

Using a 5-point scale, where “5” means strongly agree and “1” means strongly disagree, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? You may use any number between 1 and 5 to make your rating.

Country	Mean	Most religious faiths make a positive contribution to society.	Mean	I would not object to a person of a different religious faith moving next door.	Mean	People of other religions always treat me with respect.	Mean	In the past year, I have learned something from someone of another religious faith.	Mean
Afghanistan	3.4	3.1	2.3	2.8	1.5				
Israel	3.2	2.8	3.1	2.9	2.4				
Bangladesh	4.4	4.1	4.2	3.9	2.3				
Malaysia	4.2	4.2	3.8	4.0	3.1				
India	4.5	4.1	4.0	4.2	3.3				
Pakistan	4.1	3.6	3.9	3.8	3.0				

1d. Gallup Coexist Index: French, German, and British general publics, and respective Muslim populations

The comparative analysis of the Gallup Coexist Index between French, German, and British Muslims and their respective public populations is particularly relevant to the debate. In each country, the general public is more likely than its Muslim population to be considered isolated. This pattern ranges from relatively small differences in the United Kingdom (35% among the general public versus 30% among British Muslims) to more pronounced differences in Germany (38% among the general public versus 22% among German Muslims).

Similar percentages of the French, German, and British general populations can be classified tolerant. But there is more spread in the proportions of European Muslims surveyed that fall under the tolerant classification. French Muslims have the highest percentage of integrated respondents (46%), while British Muslims have the lowest (10%). German Muslims fall between these two extremes, with 35% considered integrated. The poll findings suggest that opportunities exist for these populations to engage each other productively, but the sizable proportions of the populations classified as isolated show that interfaith dialogue will require significant efforts from all concerned parties.

When analyzing data at the individual index item level, the most striking differences that exist between European Muslims and their respective general populations focus on the likely impact that faiths have on society. French, German, and British Muslims are more likely than the general public in the three countries surveyed to agree that most faiths make a positive contribution to society. As religion is less important for the French, German, and British general populations than it is for European Muslims surveyed, perhaps it explains why the general publics are less likely to view religion as making positive contributions.

Treating people of other faiths with respect elicits the highest ratings across all three general populations, reflecting European publics' self-perception as accepting. At the same time, the lowest two items across the board among the general populations are those having to do with religious groups making positive contributions and learning from another religious tradition. As is reflected by their relatively high segment classified as "tolerant," our data suggest the European publics surveyed generally adopt a "live-and-let-live" approach

Figure 8. Gallup Coexist Index: French, German, and British General Publics, Respective Muslim Populations

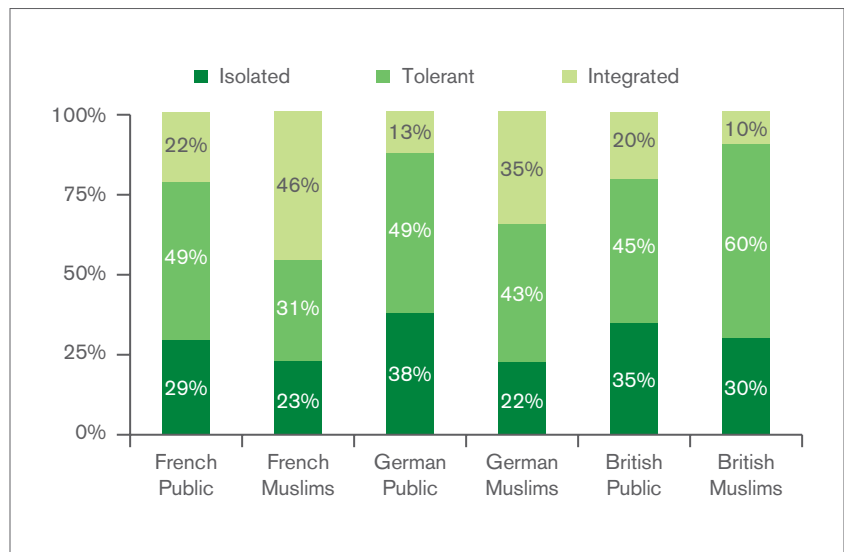
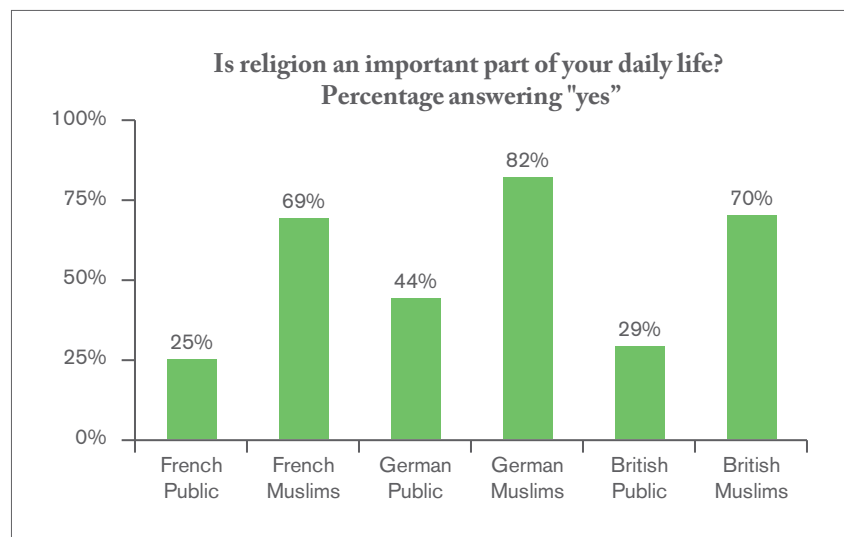


Figure 9. Religion's Importance Among the French, Germans, and Britons



to those of other faiths, seeing themselves as respectful of those different from them, but less likely to see religious diversity as an asset.

Among European Muslims surveyed, the picture is more varied. French Muslims, in contrast to the French public, are more likely to agree that most faiths make positive contributions to society than with any other item in the survey, while German Muslims are most likely to agree that they would not object to a neighbor of another faith. British Muslims are more likely to agree that they respect other faiths than with any other statement in the index, though they are slightly less likely than the British public to express this view.

Some observers have made great efforts to draw generalizations about European Muslims. But these voices have often glossed over historical, cultural, and socioeconomic differences among European nations and how such differences have affected the immigrant experience in each country.

Figure 10. Gallup Coexist Index 2009 Individual Item Mean Scores – France

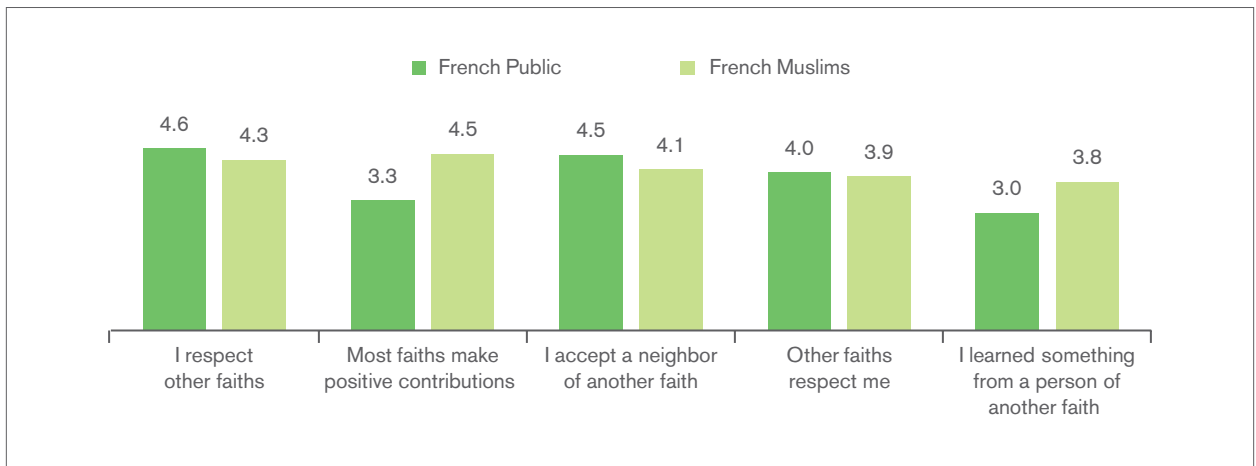


Figure 11. Gallup Coexist Index 2009 Individual Item Mean Scores – Germany

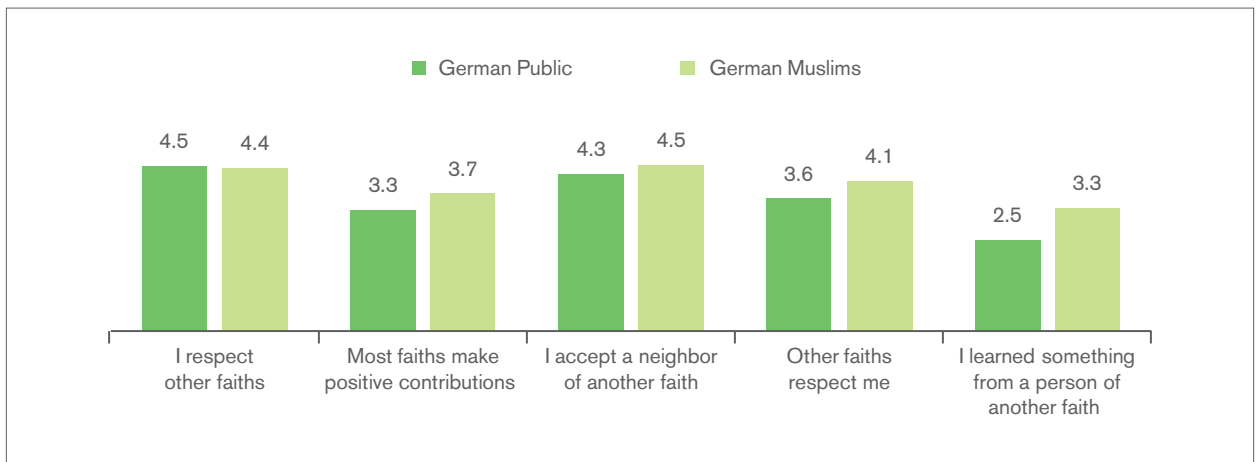
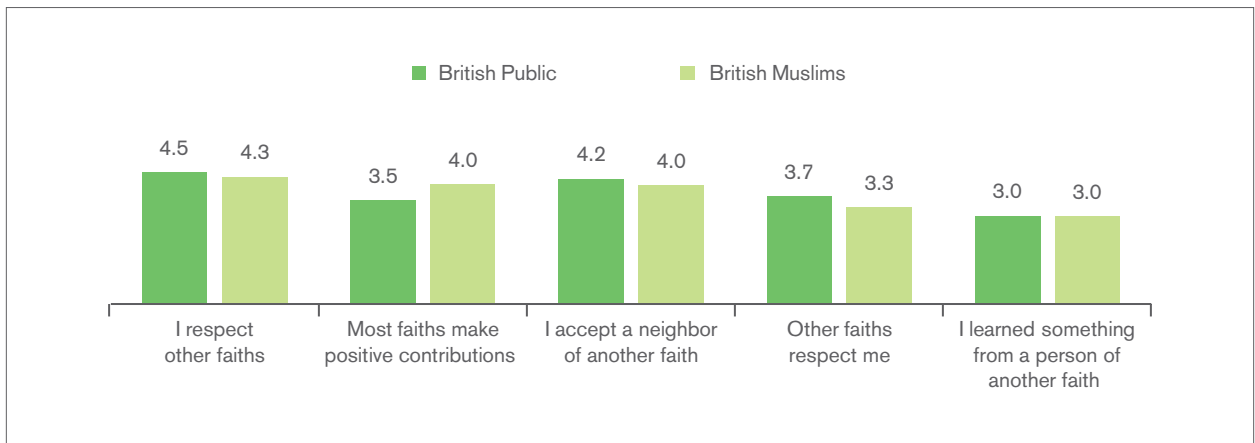


Figure 12. Gallup Coexist Index 2009 Individual Item Mean Scores – United Kingdom



Each European country has charted its own course in defining national pluralism and the extent to which immigrants can contribute to national identity. With policies as diverse as assimilation in France, multiculturalism in the United Kingdom, and segregation in Germany, one cannot and should not expect the social project of each nation to produce similar outcomes across the continent.

Each of these approaches has presented its own successes and failures, creating unique nation-specific attitudes and understandings on the part of their immigrant communities with regard to their role and degree of acceptance by their fellow countrymen and women. The following section of the report analyzes crucial aspects that are at the core of the Gallup Coexist Index to ascertain how interfaith dialogue and integration issues can be framed in productive ways.

Section 2: Public Perceptions Toward Integration

The cultural fabric of many European countries has never looked so diverse. For more than half a century, people from former European colonies have migrated to Europe, greatly contributing to the continent’s current racial, religious, and cultural diversity. But this migration phenomenon has also sparked an intense debate about the integration of Muslim populations in Europe.

It is also important to note that European Muslims are not a monolithic group. Much socioeconomic, ethnic, cultural, and even theological diversity exists across European Muslim populations. Gallup findings from polls conducted in 2008 underscore not only the divides but also the common denominators that exist between European Muslims and their non-Muslim fellow Europeans.

2a. Must national identity be monochromatic?

One of the key features of the integration debate revolves around the compatibility of religion and national identity. It is often assumed that in a modern, secular Europe, a strong religious identity is anachronistic and presents a daunting obstacle for the full integration of European Muslims. Gallup findings show that the perception that religious “otherness” represents a threat is a minority view across all populations surveyed. However, the general publics (especially in the United Kingdom) are at least slightly more likely than their Muslim counterparts to think that people with different religious practices from theirs threaten their way of life.

Further, British, French, and German Muslims are more likely than the general populations in those three countries to identify strongly with their faith, but Muslims surveyed are also as likely (if not more likely) than the general public to identify strongly with their countries of residence.

Figure 13. Different Religious Practices

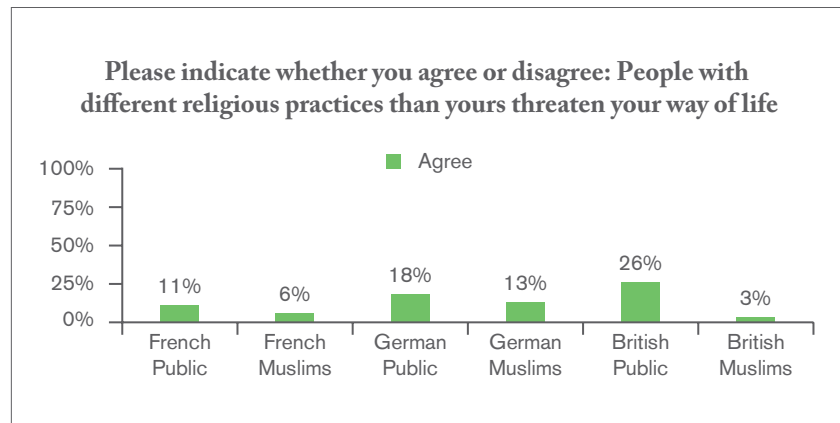
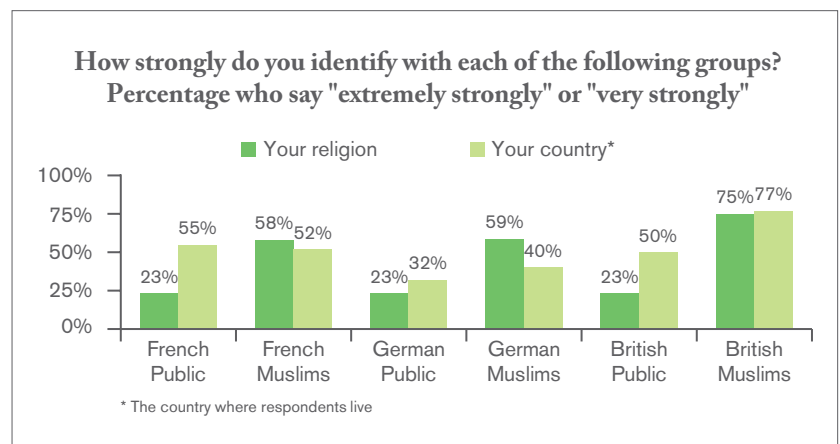
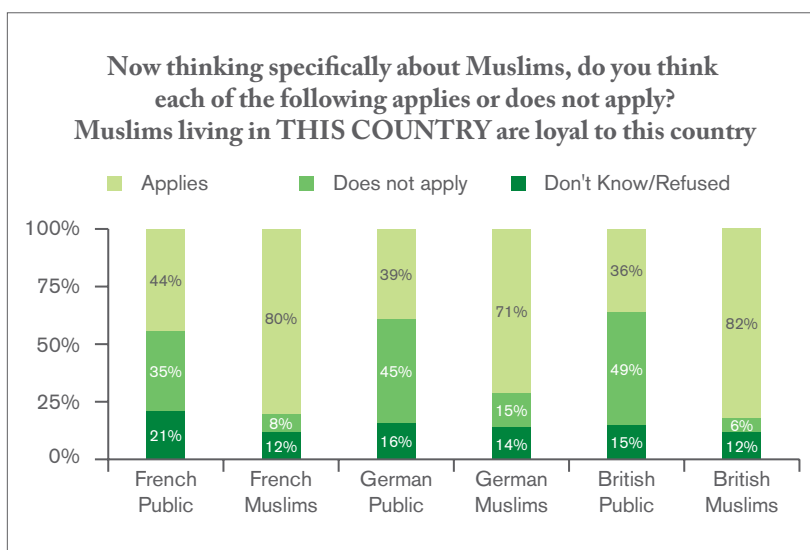


Figure 14. Identification With Country, Religion



Because religious identities are not personally relevant for many Europeans in these countries, it may be harder to understand this dimension in others. It is possible that for some Europeans, an identity that extends beyond citizenship may foster ambiguous allegiances. This interpretation may help explain why many among the general publics of France, Germany, and the United Kingdom either do not think Muslims are loyal to their countries of residence or are unsure about their loyalty.

Figure 15. Loyalty to Country



Thirty-five percent of French respondents do not think French Muslims are loyal to France and 21% say they don't know or refused to answer.

Among the German and British publics, the percentages who do not think Muslim residents in their respective countries are loyal is even higher. Nearly half of British (49%) and German (45%) respondents say Muslims in their countries are not loyal and roughly one in six respondents say they do not know or refused to answer.

This is in striking contrast to the strong majorities among French, German, and British Muslims who think that Muslims are loyal to their respective countries of residence.

2b. Common ground for integration

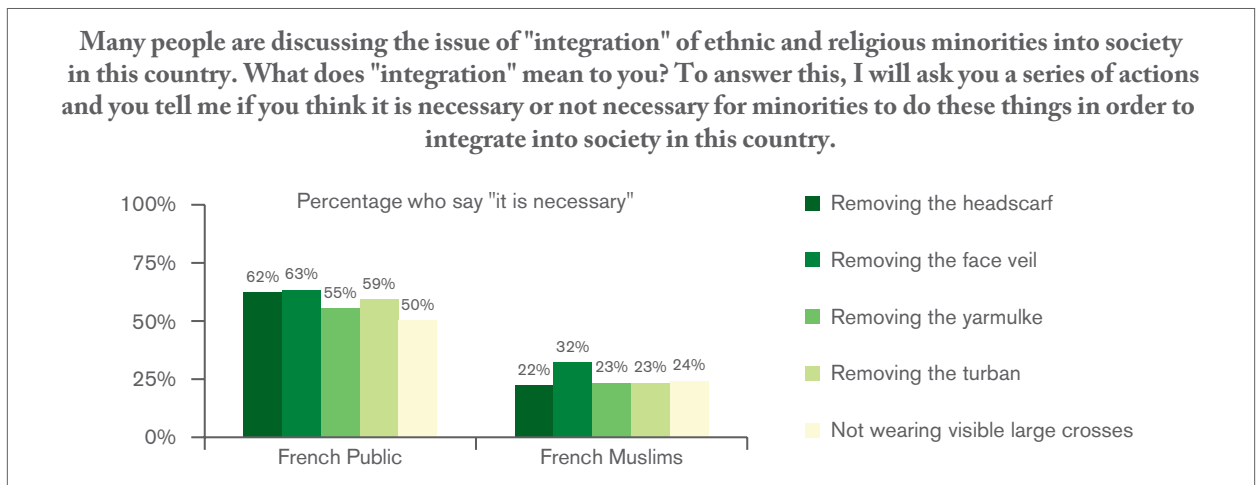
The integration of European Muslims is often framed as a secular-religious debate. In other words, some perceive it is Muslims' religiosity that prevents them from becoming fully integrated into European societies.⁴ Poll findings show European Muslims and the general public in the three countries surveyed have divergent views on the public display of one's religiosity.

When asked about the meaning of integration, the general public (especially in the United Kingdom) is far more likely than European Muslims surveyed to think it is necessary to tone down one's level of religious observance so that it does not stand out from the majority. Forty-two percent of British respondents versus 13% of British Muslims think that being less expressive about one's religion is necessary for integration. In France, 40% of the general public and 20% of French Muslims say the same, while in Germany, 30% of the general public and 18% of Muslims think toning down one's level of religious observance is necessary for integration.

4 Mogahed, D. and Nyiri, Z. (Summer 2007). Muslims in the West. *Harvard International Review*. Volume 29.

This perception gap over the display of religiosity extends to outward signs of piousness. It is particularly true in France, as the general public is far more likely than any other population surveyed to deem it necessary for minorities to not openly display religious symbols in order to integrate. This finding is not surprising, as the legal concept of *laïcité*, which delineates the separation of “church” and state in French government institutions, has evolved to apply to individuals in the public sphere.

Figure 16. Actions Necessary for Integration – France



In Germany and the United Kingdom, those in the general public are also more likely than Muslim populations surveyed to think that removing public signs of religiosity is necessary for integration, although the face veil elicits the highest levels of rejection among both the German (45%) and British (53%) public.

Figure 17. Actions Necessary for Integration – Germany

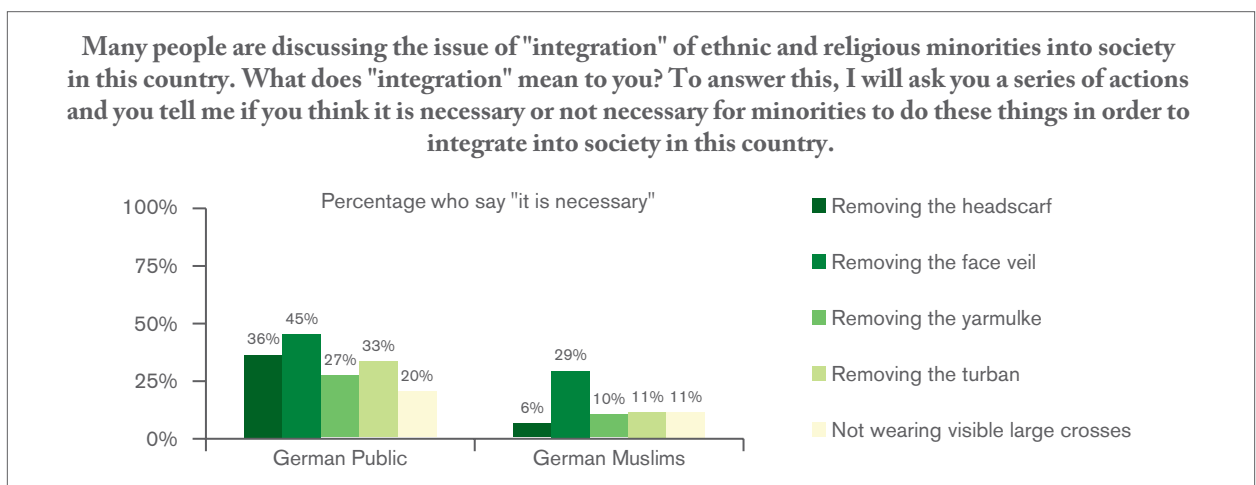
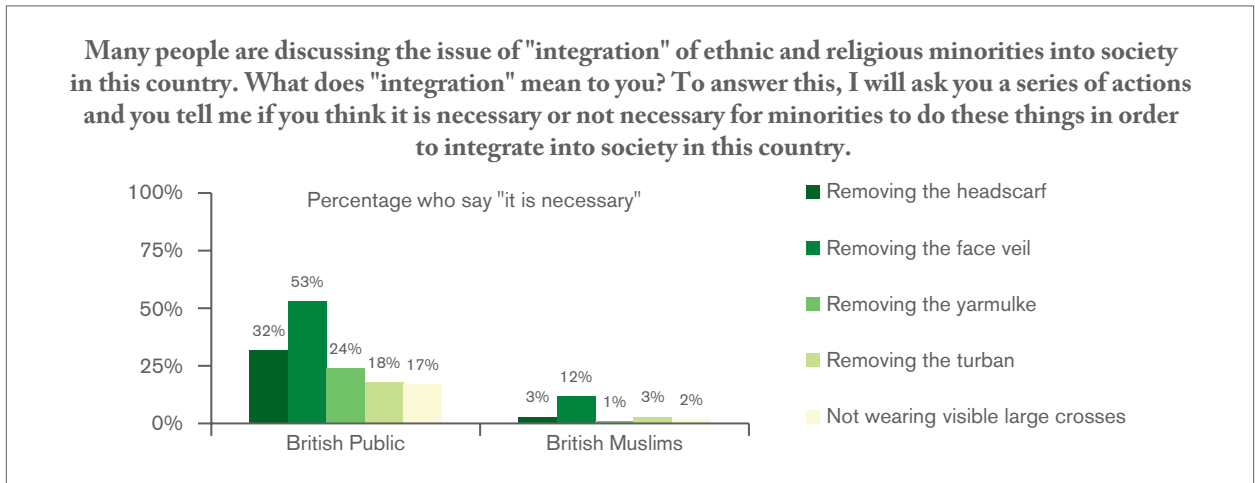


Figure 18. Actions Necessary for Integration – United Kingdom



And while religion plays a far more important role in the lives of European Muslims surveyed than in those of the general public, both populations agree on the most crucial aspects of integration. Strong majorities of British, French, and German Muslims and the general publics in their respective countries agree mastering the national language, having a job, and getting a better education are necessary aspects for the integration of ethnic and religious minorities in their societies.

Figure 19. Necessary for Integration – Nonreligious Actions

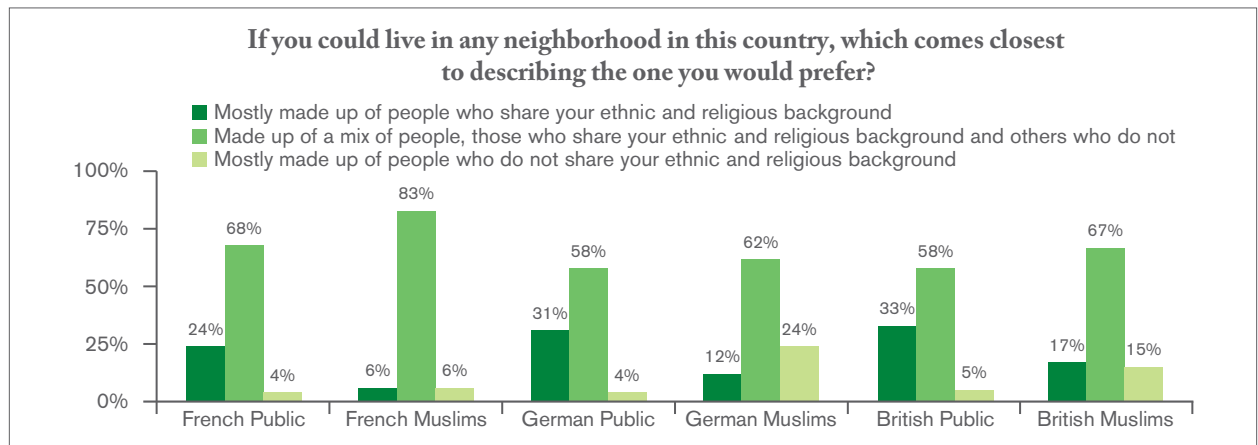
Many people are discussing the issue of "integration" of ethnic and religious minorities into society in this country. What does "integration" mean to you?

% who say it is necessary

	Mastering the national language	Finding a job	Getting a better education	Celebrating national holidays	Volunteering in organizations serving the public	Participating in politics
French Public	92%	91%	80%	57%	60%	66%
French Muslims	94	87	90	49	40	49
German Public	97	94	86	64	69	61
German Muslims	96	94	95	65	83	77
British Public	89	91	84	70	64	64
British Muslims	83	70	76	84	24	54

Celebrating national holidays and participating in politics elicit high levels of agreement from both groups, although attitudes of French Muslims on the necessity of these two issues are somewhat muted. Also, much lower percentages of French and British Muslims think volunteering in organizations that serve the public is necessary for integration, but a majority of German Muslims think it is.

Figure 20. Ideal Neighborhood



The poll findings also reveal that majorities of European Muslims surveyed (especially French Muslims) say they would prefer to live in mixed neighborhoods. Additionally, 6% of French Muslims, 12% of German Muslims, and 17% of British Muslims describe their ideal neighborhoods as mostly made up of people who share their ethnic and religious backgrounds. While some European Muslims say they would prefer to live in relatively homogeneous clusters, the poll findings debunk the myth that most Muslims, at least in the countries surveyed, want to live in isolation from the greater community. Further, when Muslims do live in ethnically or religiously homogenous neighborhoods, it may be more a function of economic realities than personal choice.

2c. European Muslims and democratic institutions

The compatibility of Islam and democracy, and more specifically, the ability of European Muslims to accept their countries' institutions, is another key point of the integration debate. Muslims, regardless of the European country surveyed, are far less likely than the general populations in their respective countries to say they have confidence in the military. However, German and British Muslims are more likely than the general public to say they have confidence in the judicial system, financial institutions, and the honesty of elections. Also, it is important to note that German Muslims (61%) are far more likely than the German public (36%) to say they have confidence in their national government.

Figure 21. Confidence in Institutions

<i>In your country, do you have confidence in each of the following or not? How about...?</i>						
% who say yes						
	The military	Judicial system and courts	National government	Financial institutions or banks	Quality and integrity of the media	Honesty of elections
French Public	81%	61%	45%	54%	40%	66%
French Muslims	65	52	41	45	39	58
German Public	67	49	36	54	34	42
German Muslims	55	73	61	69	28	62
British Public	86	55	32	56	38	57
British Muslims	52	76	40	62	53	83

German Muslims (28%) are the least likely of all populations surveyed to say they have confidence in the quality and integrity of the media. When asked about confidence in their local police force, German Muslims (79%) are as likely as the German public (80%) to say they trust them. But British Muslims (76%) are more likely than the British public (67%) as a whole to say they trust their police force.

A different picture emerges in France as Muslims are less likely than the general public to say they have confidence in the judicial system, banks, and the honesty of elections. However, the national government and the media elicit similar levels of trust from both French Muslims and the French public. And although a majority of French Muslims (62%) say they have confidence in their local police force, they are far less likely than the French public (78%) to report such confidence. Lower levels of trust in some national institutions among France’s Muslim population may stem from feeling marginalized from society.

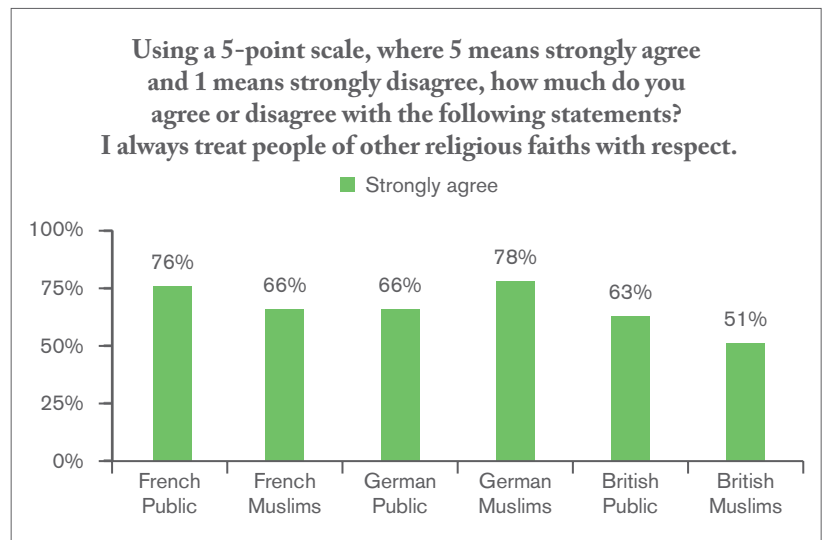
It is interesting to note the differences between British and French Muslims, as well as their respective nations’ approaches to Muslim minority integration. In general, the United Kingdom has approached community cohesion by making space for cultural diversity within the country. There are no laws in the United Kingdom that limit public religious expression as reflected in the British public’s acceptance of most religious symbols. France, in contrast, approaches integration in its tradition of separation of church and state, and its public generally rejects all public religious symbols, especially Muslim ones.

In the aftermath of the horrific London bombing, Britain’s “multiculturalism” approach to integration came under fire from right-leaning pundits in Europe and the United States, who saw it as appeasement of unreasonable minority demands and promoting disloyal parallel societies, while France’s emphasis on cultural conformity was celebrated. However, it appears British Muslims are more likely than all populations surveyed to identify strongly with their nation, and to express stronger confidence in its democratic institutions while maintaining a high degree of religious identity. This suggests that strong religious identities do not prevent strong national identities in Europe, nor do they correlate with a rejection of national institutions. Moreover, these findings challenge some prevailing assumptions regarding British versus French approaches to integration.

2d. The meaning of respect

The poll findings also show that the general publics in the three countries surveyed do not consider Muslims in their respective countries to be respectful of other faiths. Only 47% of the French public, 39% of the Germans, and 44% of the British public think Muslims in their countries are respectful of other religions. European Muslims surveyed, however, think Muslims are respectful (78% among French Muslims, 83% among German Muslims, and 84% among British Muslims).

Figure 22. Respect People of Other Faiths



Some observers also point to the specific requirements of practicing Muslims, such as women-only hours at public swimming pools or the availability of *halal*⁵ meals in schools, as barriers to integration into European societies. This may explain why many in the general public view Muslim populations in their countries to be disrespectful of other religious traditions.

Respect also means different things to different people. On one hand, majorities of the French (76%), German (66%), and British (63%)

publics strongly agree that they always treat people of other religious faiths with respect. On the other, 37% of the French and 31% of the German publics think that accepting public comments that minorities perceive as offensive about their faith or ethnicity is necessary for integration. This attitude is even more prevalent in the United Kingdom, as a plurality of the British public says accepting offensive public comments is necessary for integration. Such findings suggest there is a gap between how the general public projects itself and what it expects minorities must tolerate to integrate into their societies.

2e. Harnessing human potential

European Muslims often fall into either one of two stereotypes. In the best-case scenario, they are considered idle and lacking any impetus to integrate economically into European society as the welfare state hands out subsidies to them. At worst, some consider European Muslims to represent a fifth column of potential terrorists or at the very least, sympathizers of terrorism.

Gallup Poll findings show that European Muslims surveyed have a great sense of purpose. Almost 9 in 10 French Muslims (88%) and 84% of the

Figure 23. Integration – Accepting Offensive Comments

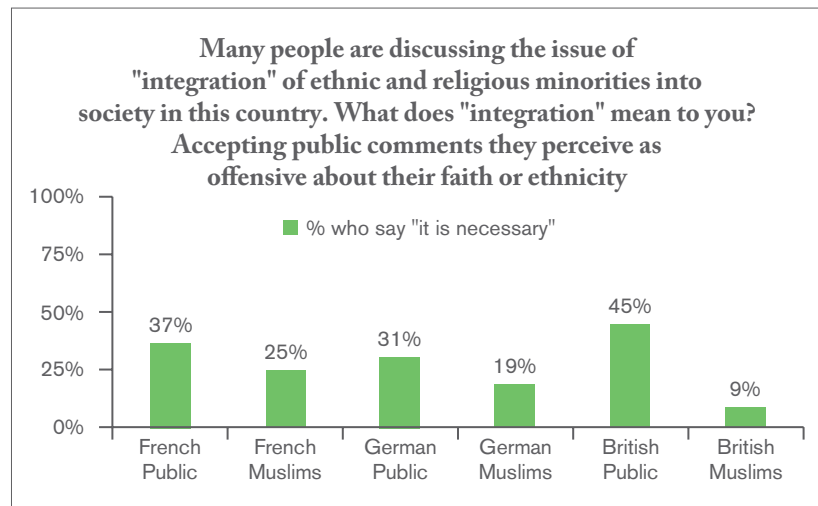
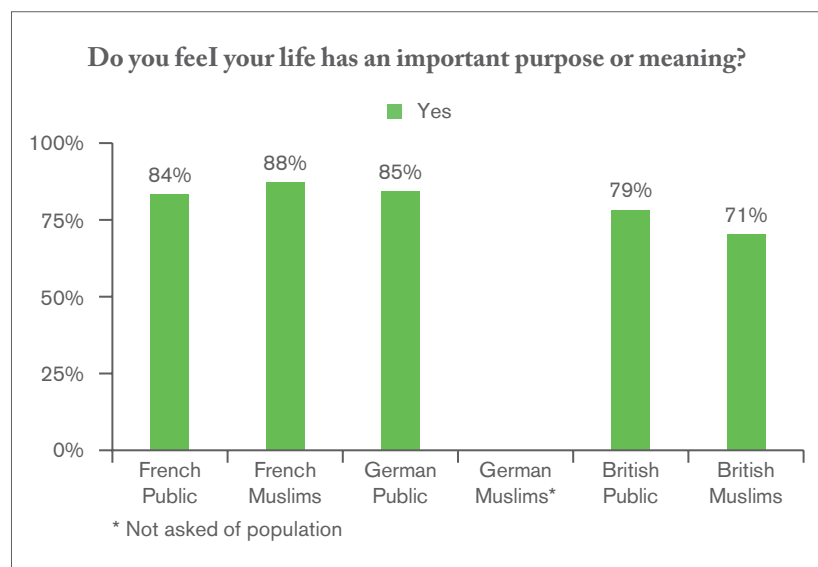


Figure 24. Purpose in Life



5 A term often used to refer to meat processed and prepared according to Islamic guidelines.

French public feel their lives have an important purpose or meaning. In the United Kingdom, 71% of Muslims and 79% of the British public say the same. The question was not asked of German Muslims.

These findings suggest that European Muslims surveyed are poised to contribute to society. But there appears to be some significant challenges to harnessing their full potential. Assessments of their lives do not measure up to widespread perceptions that their lives have an important meaning.

Using the Cantril ladder scale with steps numbered from 0 to 10, where 0 indicates the worst possible life and 10 indicates the best possible life, Gallup asked British, French, and German Muslims and the general populations in those three countries to evaluate their current lives and their expectations of where they think they will be in five years. Respondents who say they presently stand on step 7 or higher of the ladder and expect to stand on step 8 or higher in five years are classified as “thriving.” Those who say they currently stand on steps 0 to 4 and also expect to stand on steps 0 to 4 five years from now are classified as “suffering.” Respondents who fall neither in the “thriving” nor the “suffering” category are considered “struggling.”

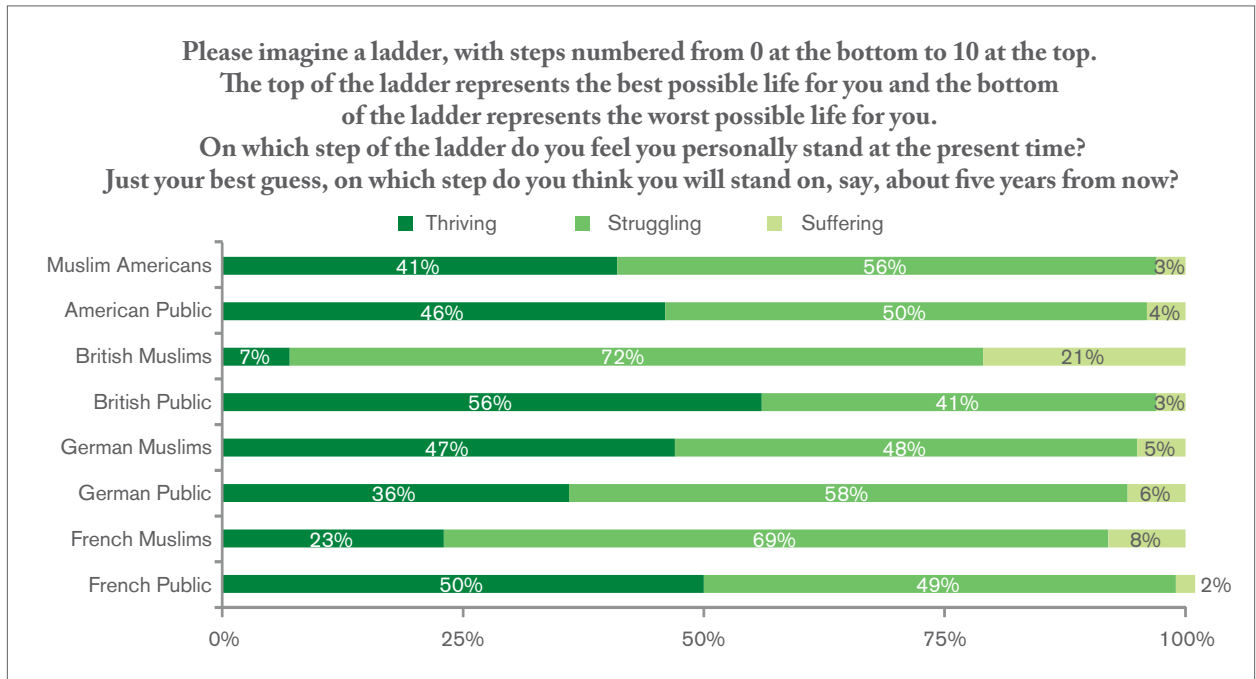
French Muslims are half as less likely as the French public to be classified as thriving, 23% and 50%, respectively. In the United Kingdom, Muslims are eight times less likely than the British population as a whole to be considered thriving, as just 7% of the former versus 56% of the latter are in this category. Interestingly, German Muslims (47%) are more likely than the German public (36%) to be considered thriving.

The poll findings also show that French (8%) and British Muslims (21%) are more likely than the general publics, 2% and 3%, respectively, to be classified as suffering. In Germany, Muslims and the general public are equally likely to be classified as suffering. As a result, European Muslims surveyed (except for German Muslims) are more likely to be considered struggling than their respective general populations.

Gallup’s extensive research on well-being issues has shown that individuals take into account their health, standard of living, job situation, and marriage when asked to evaluate their lives. Further research has shown that income and personal health are the best predictors of the “thriving,” “struggling,” and “suffering” indexes.

To put these evaluative well-being findings into perspective, Gallup also asked Muslims in the United States to assess their present and future lives, using the same ladder scale. Overall, Muslim Americans look more like the general public in the United States than they do their French and British counterparts (although their life evaluation is roughly similar to that of German Muslims). Forty-one percent of Muslim Americans versus 46% of the American public are classified as thriving.

Figure 25. Thriving, Struggling, and Suffering Populations



2f. Gauging physical and emotional health

To better understand European Muslims surveyed, Gallup also asked respondents (except for German Muslims) to assess their health and other aspects of their well-being. In France, Muslims and the general public are equally likely (19% in each group) to say they have health problems that prevent them from doing things that people their age normally do. However, British Muslims (11%) are less

Figure 26. Positive Experiences

Now, please think about yesterday, from the morning until the end of the day. Think about where you were, what you were doing, who you were with, and how you felt.

% who say yes

	Were you treated with respect all day yesterday?	Did you learn or do something interesting yesterday?	Did you feel well-rested yesterday?	Did you smile or laugh a lot yesterday?	Would you like to have more days just like yesterday?	Were you proud of something you did yesterday?
French Public	91%	58%	58%	76%	71%	50%
French Muslims	88	50	66	85	71	51
German Public	91	49	66	72	55	55
German Muslims*	--	--	--	--	--	--
British Public	90	56	62	77	65	58
British Muslims	89	25	64	57	37	19

*Not asked of population

likely than the general public in the United Kingdom (19%) to say the same. This may be attributable to the fact that British Muslims are much younger as a group than the general public in the United Kingdom.

Regarding positive and negative emotions, French and British Muslims, in comparison to their respective general populations, reveal different emotional profiles. In general, French Muslims and the French public report similar levels of positive experiences, but the former are less likely than the latter to say they learned or did something interesting the day before the survey.

French Muslims are, however, more likely than the French population as a whole to say they felt well-rested and that they smiled or laughed a lot the day before the survey. They are also less likely than the French public to say they felt a lot of anger the day before the survey, 33% and 19%, respectively, but they are roughly equally likely to report feeling a lot of enjoyment (74% among French Muslims versus 79% among the French public).

In striking contrast, British Muslims are far less likely than the general public in the United Kingdom to report certain positive emotions, especially in terms of having learned something interesting, smiled or laughed, and been proud of something they did the day before the survey. But they are equally likely to report feeling a lot of enjoyment (76% among British Muslims versus 82% among the British public).

British Muslims (37%) are also far less likely than the British public (65%) to say they would like to have more days like yesterday. Additionally, British Muslims are either as likely as or less likely than the British public to report experiencing a lot of negative emotions, including anger. British Muslims are half as likely as their counterparts in the British public to report experiencing anger the previous day.

Figure 27. Negative Experiences

<i>Did you experience the following feelings during A LOT OF THE DAY yesterday? How about...?</i>					
% who say yes					
	Physical pain	Sadness	Depression	Anger	Worry
French Public	34%	19%	8%	33%	32%
French Muslims	33	18	5	19	36
German Public	25	18	5	16	25
German Muslims*	--	--	--	--	--
British Public	25	21	11	18	27
British Muslims	10	20	8	9	29
*Not asked of population					

Overall, the poll findings show that French Muslims' emotional health compares favorably with that of the French public. For Muslims in the United Kingdom, it appears that lower prevalence of positive experiences, rather than higher prevalence of negative emotions, may be important obstacles to reaching their full potential.

2g. The role of economic marginalization

Active participation in the economy through employment is a crucial pillar of integration. Many factors, such as education, economic conditions, and also general attitudes toward the recruitment of minorities influence Muslims' economic integration or marginalization.

In terms of work activity, German Muslims are roughly as likely as the German public to say they have a job (either paid or unpaid). Nearly half of French Muslims say they work, compared with 54% among the French population as a whole. But British Muslims are far less likely than the British public to say they have a job, 38% versus 62%, respectively.

As European Muslims strive to become productive members of their societies, these findings suggest that at least for French and British Muslims, economic integration may become more precarious in light of the current financial and economic crisis affecting Europe.

Among those surveyed, European Muslims' perceptions of their standard of living are less positive than are those of the general populations. In both France and the United Kingdom, Muslim respondents are far less likely than the French and British publics to say they are satisfied with all the things they can buy and do.

Figure 28. Have a Job

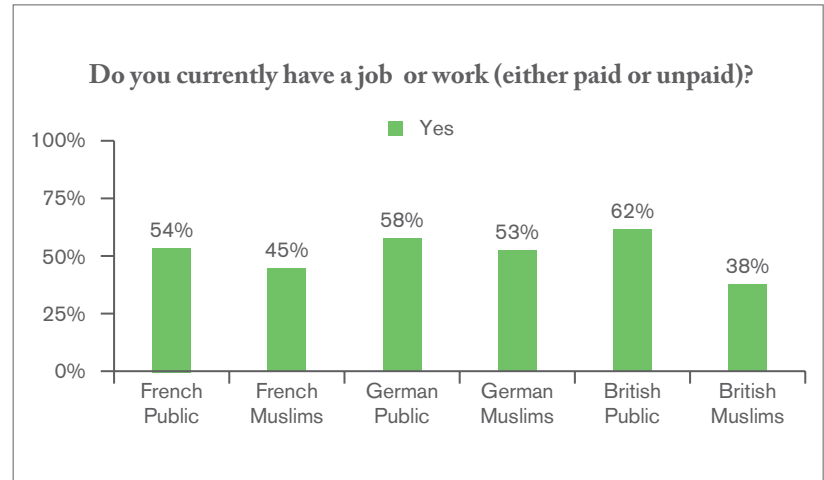
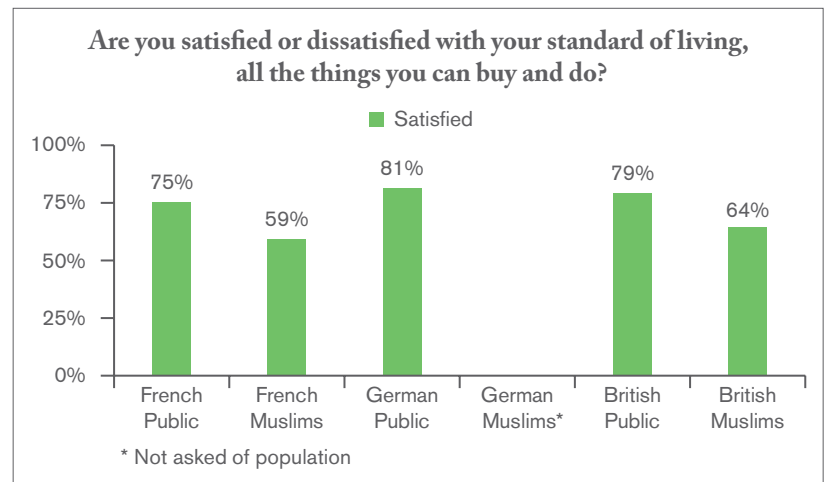


Figure 29. Satisfaction With Standard of Living



When asked about how their standard of living is changing, French Muslims and the French public are roughly equally likely to report it is getting worse, 43% and 48%, respectively.

French Muslims (29%) are also roughly as likely as the French public (24%) to say that their standard of living is staying the same.

In the United Kingdom, Muslims (69%) are far more likely than the general public (19%) to feel that their standard of living is staying the same. Further, all populations surveyed express pessimism about the direction of the economy in their respective countries, albeit at different levels.

In France, Muslims and the general public are equally likely to think economic conditions in their country are getting worse, but in Germany and the United Kingdom, Muslims are far less likely than the general publics to see their national economies as deteriorating.

As British and French Muslims report lower levels of work activity than their general populations, it is likely to affect their income. This may explain, at least in part, why some European Muslims surveyed are less likely to be thriving in life. Such findings underscore the need to incorporate access to jobs and economic issues into the integration debate.

2h. Eros as the price of admission

Although European Muslims not only accept but also welcome the freedoms, democratic institutions, justice, and human rights that characterize their societies, their perceived lack of integration is often explained by their rejection of liberal, sexual mores. Some researchers point out that the greatest differences between Muslims and Westerners lie more in *eros* than *demos*. In other words, the Muslim-West gap rests on differences in attitudes toward sexual liberalization and gender issues rather than democracy and governance.⁶ This theory implies that the West speaks with one voice on

Figure 30. Standards of Living Getting Better or Worse

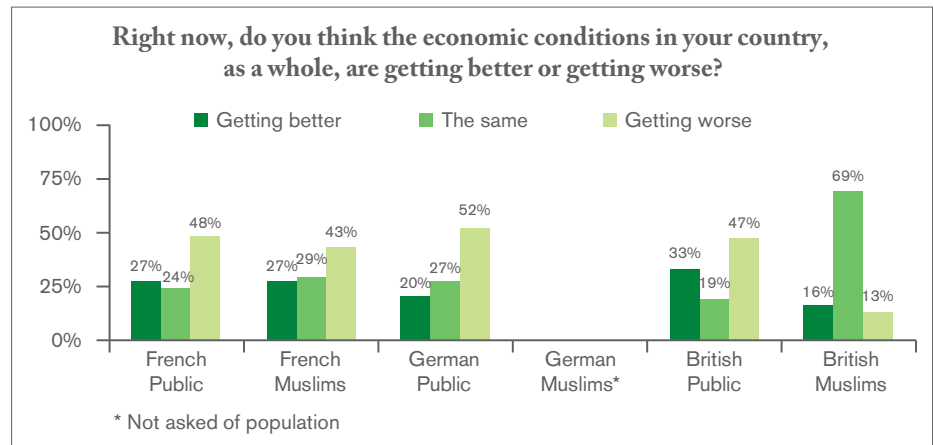
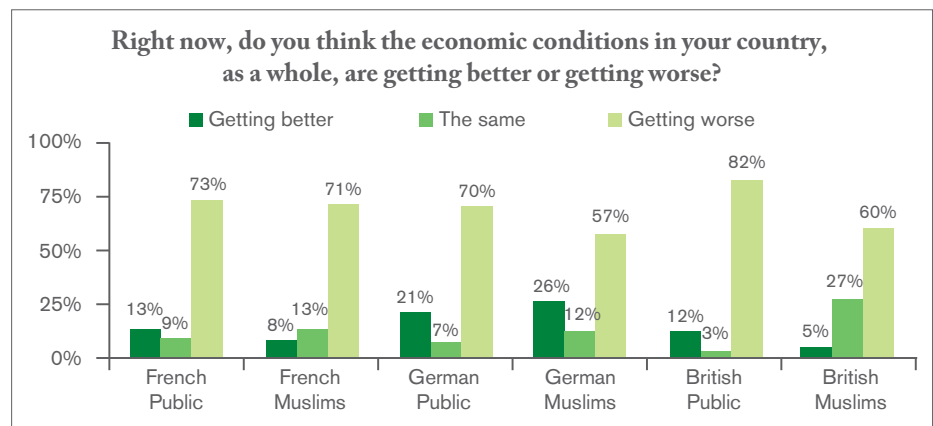


Figure 31. Economic Conditions Getting Better or Worse



6 Inglehart, R. F., and Pippa N. 2003. Islam and the West: a 'Clash of Civilizations'? *Foreign Policy*.

issues of morals, tolerance, and sexual freedom. Furthermore, this line of argument contends that this unified system of Western values represents the logical progression in all civilized, modern societies and Muslims are expected to embrace such liberal views, if they are to live in the West. In 2006, the state of Baden-Wurttemberg in Germany introduced a naturalization test to assess applicants' moral views. One of its questions asks, "What do you think about the fact that homosexual people hold official offices in Germany?"⁷

Gallup Poll findings show that although European Muslims surveyed tend to hold more conservative views on moral issues than those in the general populations in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, the general European public is far from monolithic on these issues.

European Muslims surveyed and the general populations in their respective countries differ most on the moral acceptability of homosexuality, abortion, pornography, sex outside of marriage, and suicide. But the data also show that attitudes toward these issues vary greatly across the Western countries studied. It is important to note that views of Christian Europeans in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom on these issues vary little compared with those of the general public in these three countries.

The French public is more likely than any other population polled to view homosexuality (78%) as morally acceptable. As points of comparison, 68% of Germans and 58% of Britons believe homosexuality is morally acceptable.

Among European Muslim populations surveyed, the acceptability of homosexuality is highest among French Muslims (35%) and lowest among British Muslims (0%).

On the issue of abortion, the French (78%) are also far more likely than Britons (55%) and Germans (47%) to say that it is morally acceptable. French Muslims (35%) are the most likely among the Muslim populations surveyed to believe abortion is morally acceptable.

Pornography also elicits different levels of moral acceptability across the three European countries surveyed. The German public is more likely than general populations in France and the

Figure 32. Morally Acceptable – Homosexual Acts

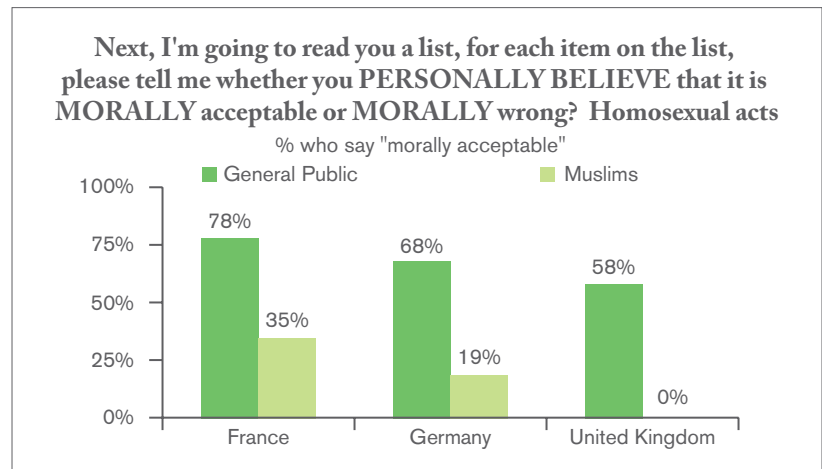


Figure 33. Morally Acceptable – Abortion



7 Euro-Islam Info. http://www.euro-islam.info/category/news_coverage/news_by_country/germany/

United Kingdom to believe viewing pornography is morally acceptable. While German and French Muslims are much more likely than British Muslims to believe viewing pornography is morally acceptable.

On the issue of sexual relations between unmarried men and women, general populations surveyed express similar views, while Muslim populations polled reflect great diversity on this issue. Large majorities of the French (90%), German (88%), and British (82%) public believe sex between an unmarried man and woman is morally acceptable.

This is in sharp contrast with attitudes of French (48%), German (27%), and British (3%) Muslims who believe sex outside of marriage is morally acceptable.

Furthermore, and contrary to the common assumption that sexual permissiveness pervades European societies, the polls reveal the moral acceptability of married men and women having an affair is far from common. The French public (46%) is the most likely population to believe that having an affair is morally acceptable, compared with 24% of the general public in Germany and 15% in the United Kingdom. European Muslims surveyed are far less likely than the general populations in their respective countries to view extramarital affairs as morally acceptable.

Figure 34. Morally Acceptable – Viewing Pornography

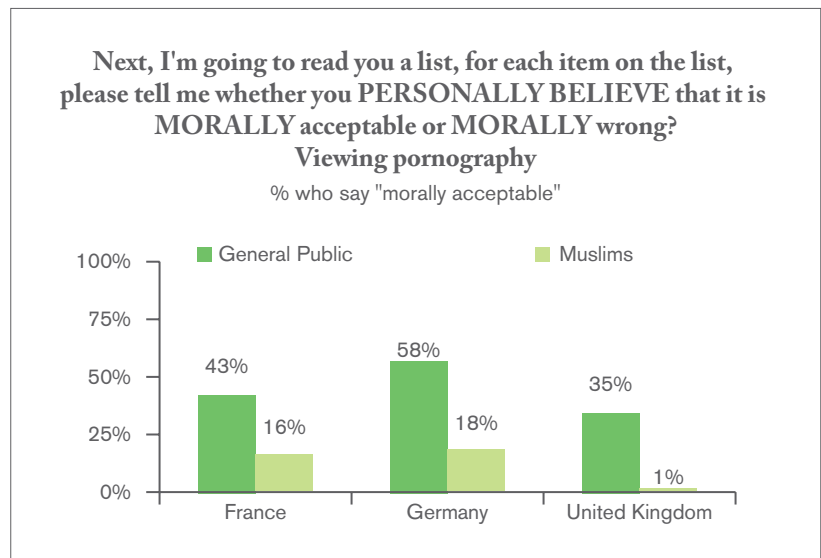
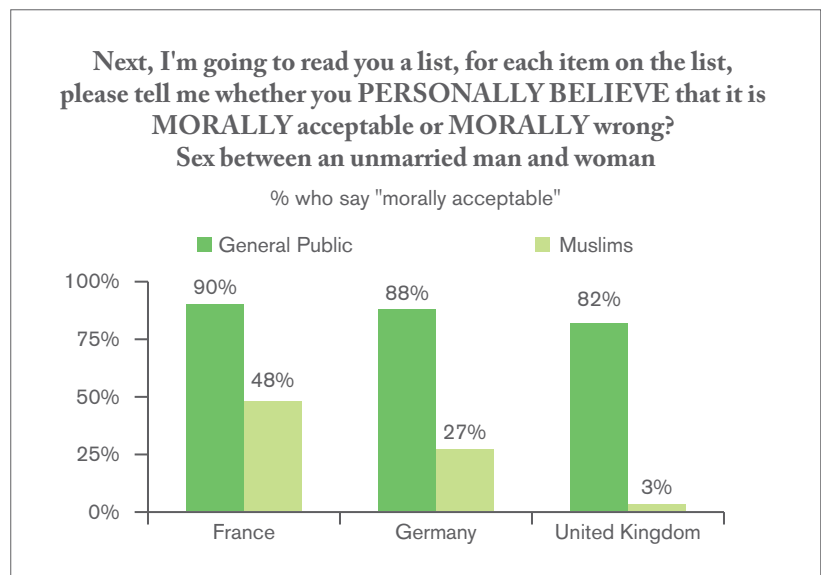


Figure 35. Morally Acceptable – Sex Between Unmarried People



However, homosexuality, pornography, and extramarital sex are not the only issues on which European Muslims and their non-Muslim fellow Europeans express different views. Attitudes toward suicide also elicit a wide spectrum of opinions.

The French general population is the most likely to believe suicide is morally acceptable (43%), compared with 29% of the German and 32% of the British publics. Muslims in those three countries are less likely to view suicide as morally acceptable (14% among French Muslims, 4% among German Muslims, and 2% among British Muslims).

On the issue of the death penalty, German Muslims and the German public are equally likely to believe it is morally acceptable. French Muslims are slightly less likely than the French public to say the same. But Muslims in the United Kingdom provide a strikingly different view: 63% of Muslims versus 50% among the British general population consider the death penalty to be morally acceptable.

Figure 36. Morally Acceptable – Affairs

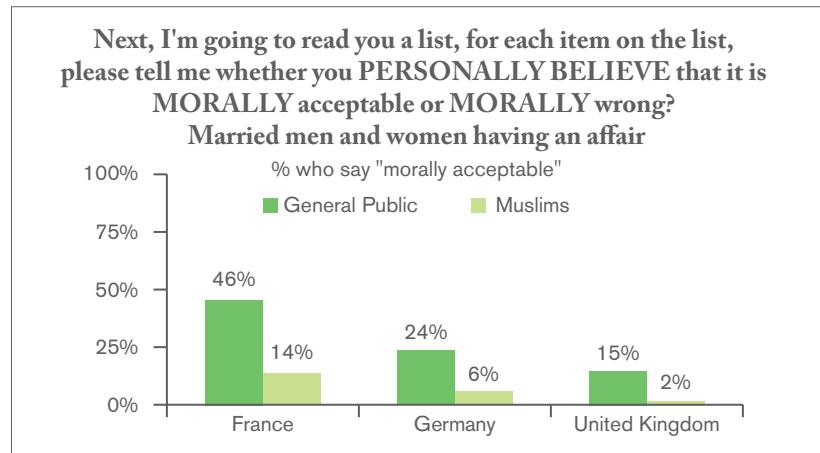


Figure 37. Morally Acceptable – Suicide

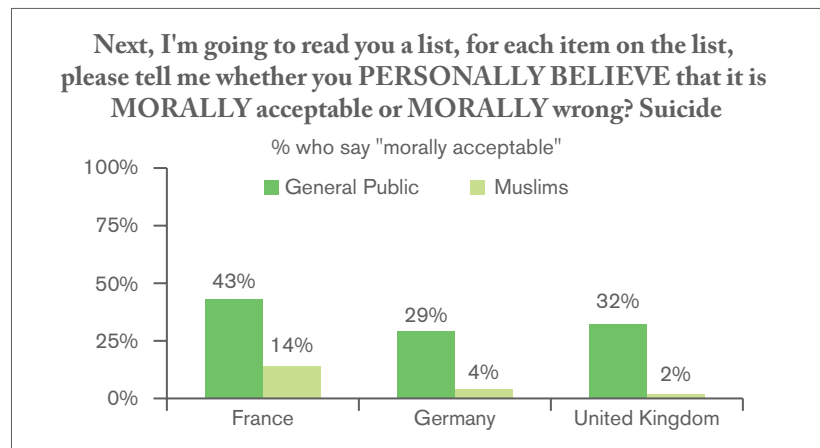
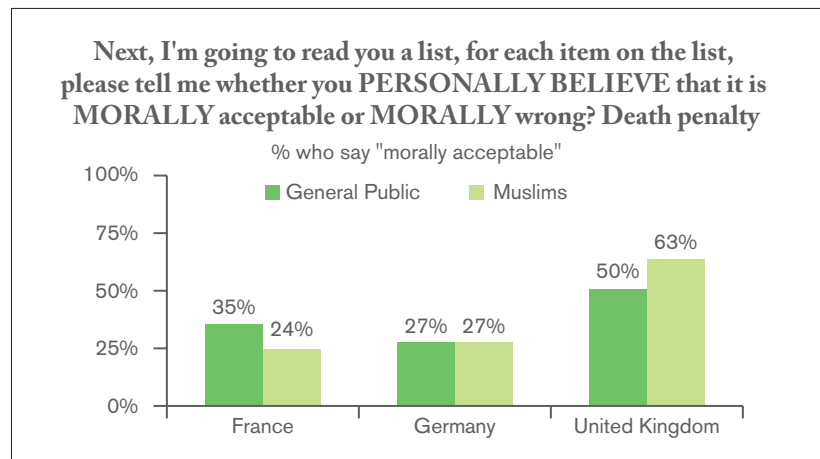


Figure 38. Morally Acceptable – Death Penalty



Muslims are often stereotypically portrayed as condoning honor killings, but the poll findings show British, French, and German Muslims and respondents in the general public have similar views on this issue. Just 1% of the German and British publics and 2% of the French public say honor killings (murders committed by a man against a female relative whom he perceives as having “dishonored” the family) are morally acceptable. As points of comparison, 3% of French and German Muslims and 2% of British Muslims say the same.

Crimes of passion (defined in the poll as “murder committed by a man against a wife or girlfriend he perceives to have been unfaithful”) also elicit low levels of perceived moral acceptability. Three percent among the British public and 1% among the German general population believe crimes of passion are morally acceptable.

Among European Muslims surveyed, equally low percentages believe such crimes to be morally acceptable. This question was not asked of British Muslims.

The French public, however, is slightly more likely (7%) than other general populations polled to say crimes of passion are morally acceptable. Until about 30 years ago, French law afforded a man who had killed his spouse or a close female relative, after catching her in the act of adultery or illegitimate sexual relations, a lighter sentence. Although the leniency provision was removed from the penal code in 1975, observers note that the French still tend to view such crimes (and their perpetrators) with indulgence.⁸

The poll findings show that far from speaking with one voice, residents of European nations polled express a wide spectrum of attitudes on moral issues, as do European Muslims surveyed. As the moral compass of many Europeans points to a different North on several issues, the use of moral values as the determining factor in the integration debate may be difficult to justify, as it appears that many among the general public would not pass a “values competency” test

Figure 39. Morally Acceptable – Honor Killings

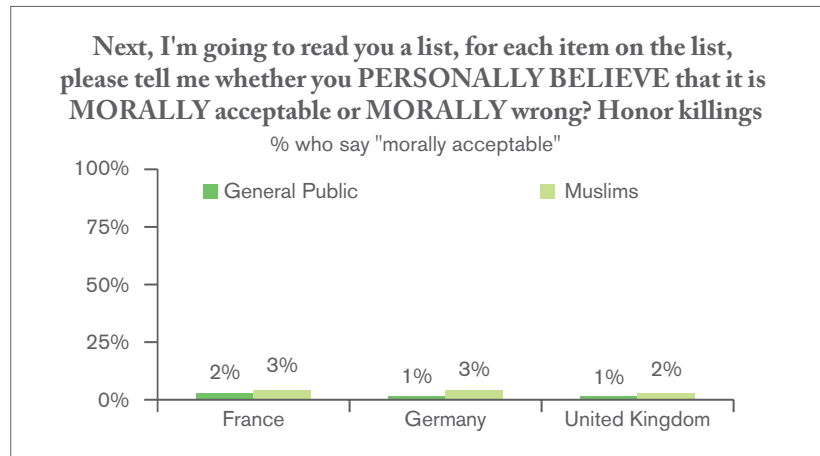
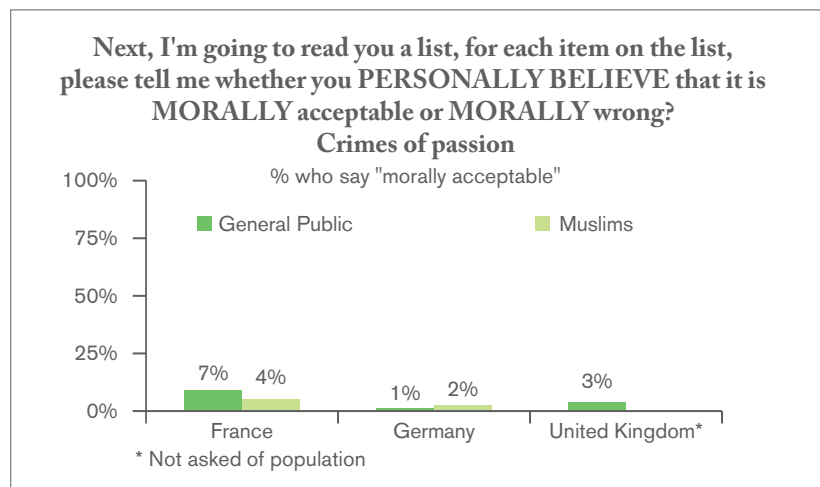


Figure 40. Morally Acceptable – Crimes of Passion



8 http://www.soas.ac.uk/honourcrimes/Mat_ArabLaws.htm Article 324 Penal Code 1810 repealed on July 11, 1975.

as designed by the German state of Baden-Wurttemberg, mentioned earlier.

2i. Perceptions of headscarves

For the past two decades⁹, Muslim women who wear a headscarf (*hijab*) in Europe have been at the epicenter of a cultural storm. Outward signs of piety, especially those of the headscarf and the face veil, have stirred public debate across Europe¹⁰ as some associate them with sectarianism, backwardness, and a rejection of post-modern values. In France, the controversy over the headscarf culminated in 2004 in its ban from public schools¹¹. In terms of what religious signs and symbols are necessary to remove for minorities to be integrated, Gallup Poll findings show that the headscarf and face veil strike the loudest chords among the general populations surveyed.

To ascertain attitudes not only among European Muslims, but also the public at large, Gallup asked all respondents what types of associations they make with the headscarf. On this issue, the poll findings reveal there is a wide range of opinions on *hijab*, not only between European Muslims and their non-Muslim fellow Europeans, but also within each group.

Two attributes, however, elicit similar levels of association among European Muslims and their respective general populations. Equal percentages in France (about 30% in each population) and in Germany (about 40% in each population) associate the headscarf with courage. In the United Kingdom, Muslims are slightly less likely than the British public to say the same (23% versus 32%, respectively).

Majorities across all populations surveyed also associate the headscarf with being religious. Three-quarters of French Muslims, compared with almost two-thirds of the French public make this association. In Germany, roughly equal numbers (about three in four) of Muslims the general public associate the headscarf with being religious. In the United

Figure 41. Associations With Headscarf – Courage

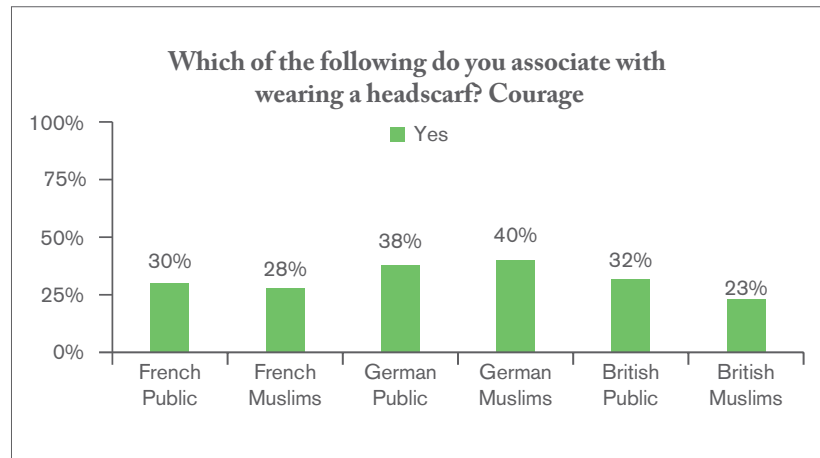
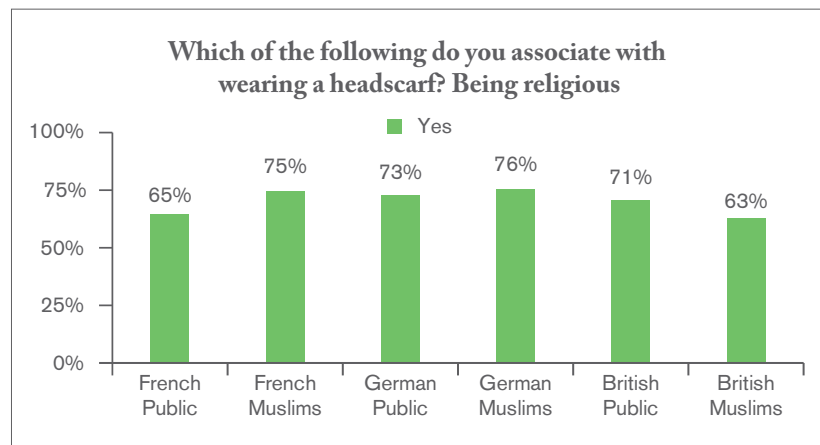


Figure 42. Associations With Headscarf – Being Religious



9 <http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/france/>

10 <http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/germany/> and <http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/france/>

11 <http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/france/>

Kingdom, the general population is slightly more likely than the Muslim population to associate *hijab* with being religious.

When respondents were asked about other positive and negative associations with wearing a headscarf, the poll findings reveal a wide spectrum of opinions about what it symbolizes. Common wisdom tends to conflate a religious duty with unbounded devotion that could potentially lead to radicalization and extremist views. The general publics, especially in France and Germany, are far more likely to associate *hijab* with fanaticism.

A plurality of the French (46%) and the German (44%) publics make this type of association, compared with 13% of both French and German Muslims. In the United Kingdom, views also diverge: About one-quarter of the British public (26%) and 11% of British Muslims associate the headscarf with fanaticism.

Key points of criticism in the headscarf debate revolve around gender equality. Critics often point out that *hijab* symbolizes a rejection of gender equality and that it oppresses women. Last year, a Moroccan woman, whose husband is a French national, was denied French citizenship. The French High Court (Conseil d'Etat) upheld the rejection of naturalization on the basis that as an observant Muslim (wearing a face veil, in this case, a full-body *niqab*), the woman had adopted a radical interpretation of her religion, which is incompatible with essential values of French society, most

Figure 43. Associations With Headscarf – Fanaticism

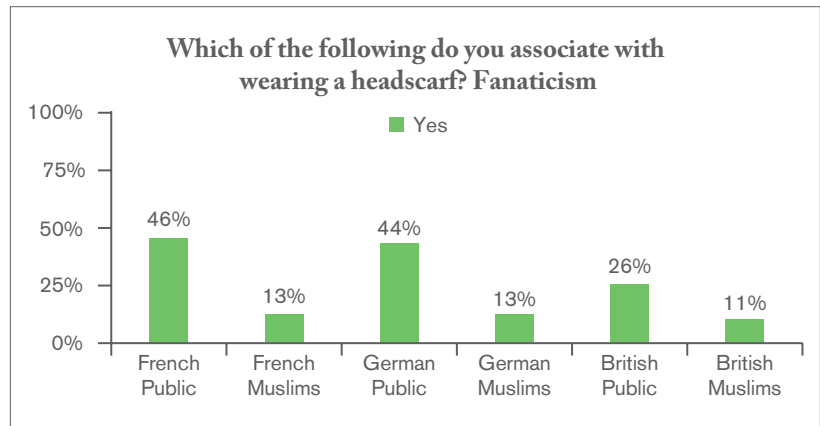


Figure 44. Associations With Headscarf – Oppression

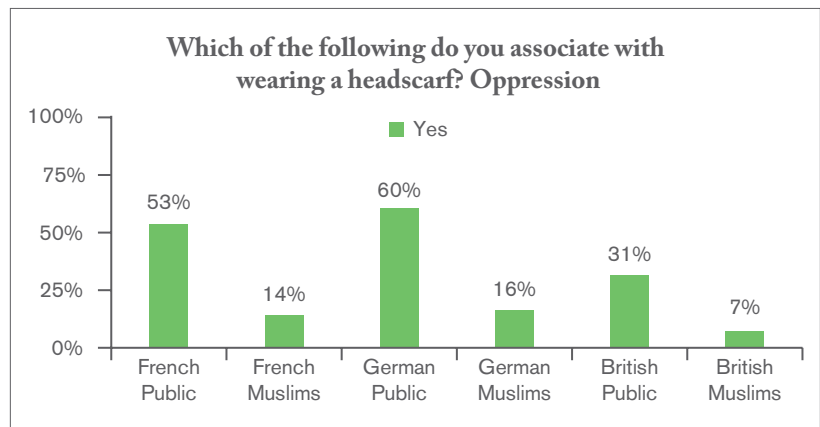
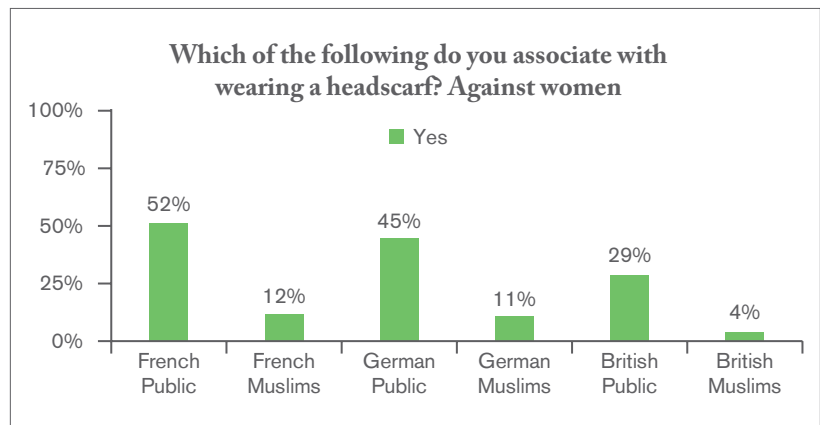


Figure 45. Associations With Headscarf – Against Women



notably, equality between the sexes. As a result, the Moroccan woman did not fulfill the conditions of assimilation under French law.¹²

Many among the French and German general publics also associate *hijab* with oppression and being against women. The British public, however, is less likely to make such associations with the headscarf. But among European Muslims surveyed, less than 20% associate the headscarf with either oppression or being against women.

European Muslims surveyed, especially in Germany, are also far more likely than the general publics in the three countries polled to associate the headscarf with confidence and freedom. But the poll findings show the general populations associate *hijab* with these two attributes at different levels. The British public (41%) is more likely than the general populations in France (29%) and Germany (24%) to associate the headscarf with confidence. The British public (41%) is also more likely than its counterparts in France (32%) and Germany (20%) to associate the headscarf with freedom.

Attitudes as to whether the headscarf represents a threat or is an enrichment to European culture also diverge. Although minorities among the general publics view the headscarf as a threat, less than 10% of European Muslims surveyed view the headscarf as a threat to European culture.

Figure 46. Associations With Headscarf – Confidence

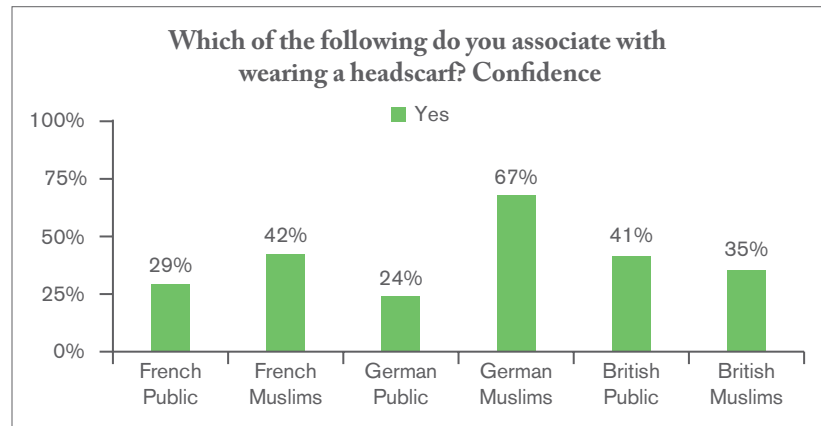


Figure 47. Associations With Headscarf – Freedom

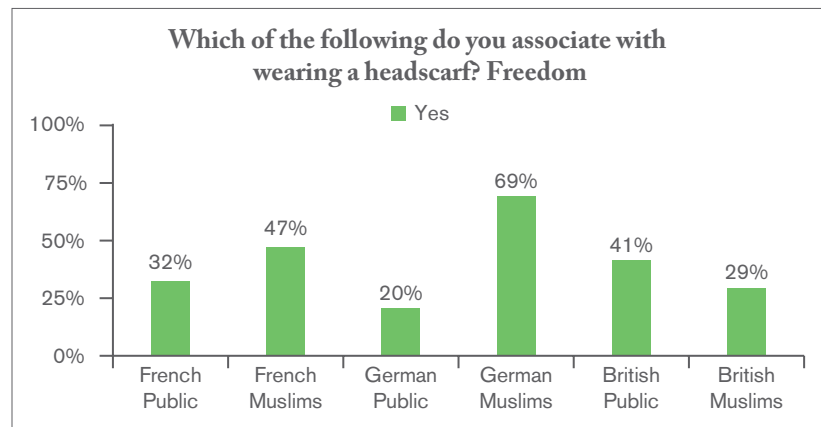
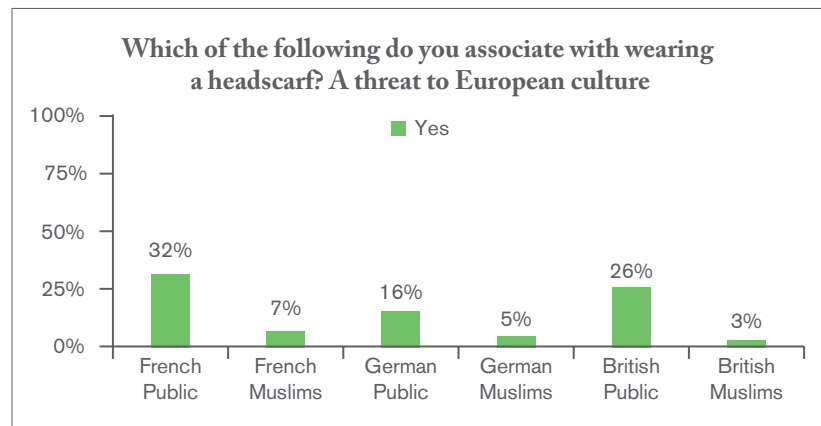


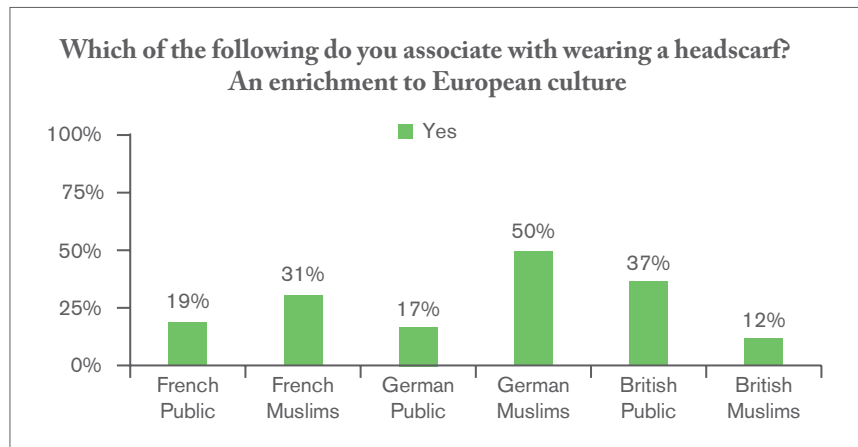
Figure 48. Associations With Headscarf – Threat to European Culture



12 Associated Press. (July 2008) Case of fully veiled woman roils France.

When asked about the headscarf as a positive contribution to European society, perceptions shift dramatically. Many French (31%) and half of German Muslims (50%) think the headscarf enriches European culture. But 19% of the French and 17% of the German public say the same. In the United Kingdom, however, Muslims (12%) are far less likely than the British general public (37%) to consider *hijab* as enriching to European culture.

Figure 49. Associations With Headscarf – Enrichment to European Culture



It is interesting to note that the general European populations surveyed are more likely to associate *hijab* with religiosity than fanaticism, oppression, or being against women. It is also worth noting the stark contrast between British, French, and German populations in their perceptions of veiling, where the British public is significantly less likely than the French or German publics to associate negative attributes of “oppression” and being “against women” with the *hijab*. The British general public is also more likely to associate *hijab* with confidence (41%) than oppression (31%) in contrast to the French and German general populations.

These findings suggest the European general populations surveyed, like their European Muslim counterparts, are not monolithic in their views, and that an integration debate that focuses on religious symbolism may overshadow the more complex socioeconomic and political issues that need to be addressed in European society.

2j. Radical rejection: isolation and religiosity

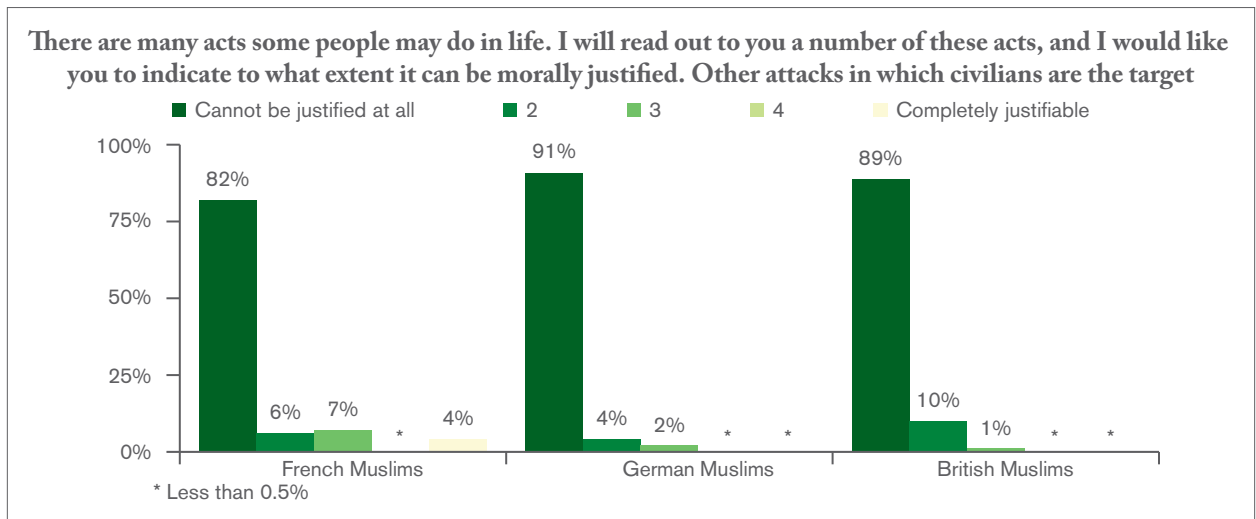
Radicalization within Muslim communities is one of the most fervently debated issues regarding Muslim life throughout Europe. Coupled with post-7/7 and Madrid bombing security concerns¹³, the issue of radicalization within Muslim communities in the West, and Europe in particular, has come to play a principal part in the social discourse surrounding Europe’s relationship with Islam and Muslims.

In studying the issue of radicalization among European Muslims, Gallup focused on two key questions about the use of violence, and compared the responses of Muslims across the three European nations studied. The analysis also examines the most recent data available (2007) from the general publics in each country on these same questions.

So what *are* the attitudes of European Muslims regarding the justification of the use of different types of violence? Strong majorities of Muslims (at least 82%) across all three nations surveyed in 2008 say attacks in which civilians are targeted could not be morally justified at all. Among the three Muslim populations surveyed, 4% of French Muslims and less than 0.5% of German Muslims and British Muslims say such attacks are completely justifiable. Conversely, roughly 9 in 10 German and British Muslims say that such attacks cannot be justified at all.

13 Report of the Official Account of the Bombings in London 7th July 2005. The House of Commons, HC 1087.

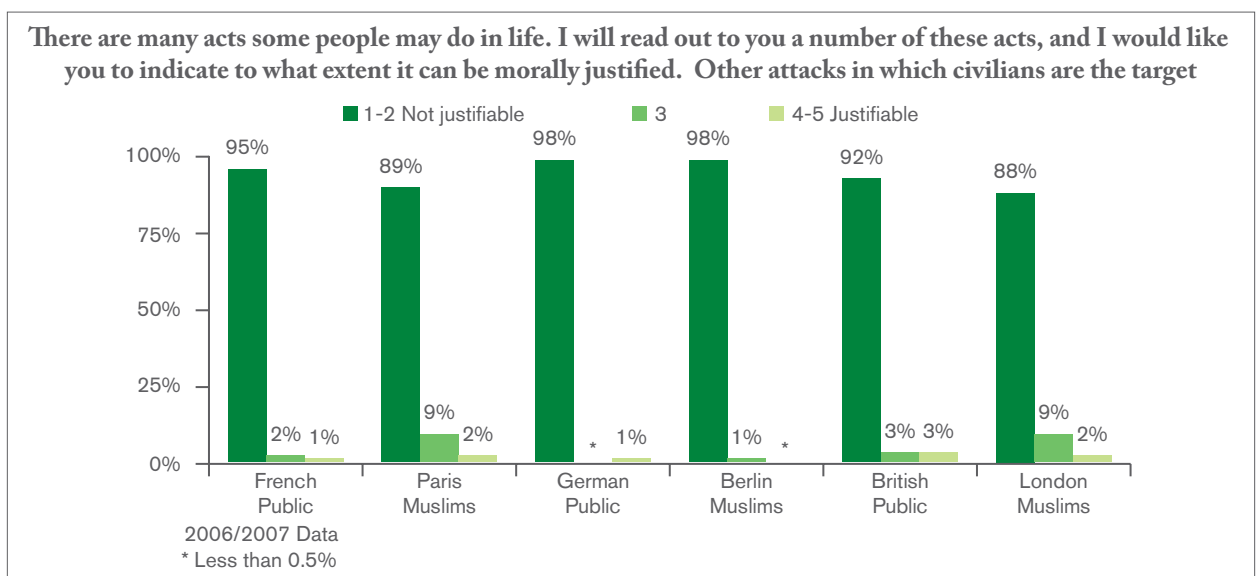
Figure 50. Morally Justified – Attacks on Civilian Targets



While the recent data Gallup collected about Muslims in these three counties cannot be directly compared with the 2006-2007 data because those surveys focused on urban Muslims, as a point of reference, 98% of Berlin Muslims surveyed said attacks in which civilians are the target could not be morally justified. One percent of the German public as well as less than 0.5% of Berlin Muslims said such violence was completely justified. Also, 89% of Paris Muslims told Gallup that such attacks could not be morally justified, and 95% among the French public said the same. Nine percent of Muslims in Paris responded with a “3” to this question.

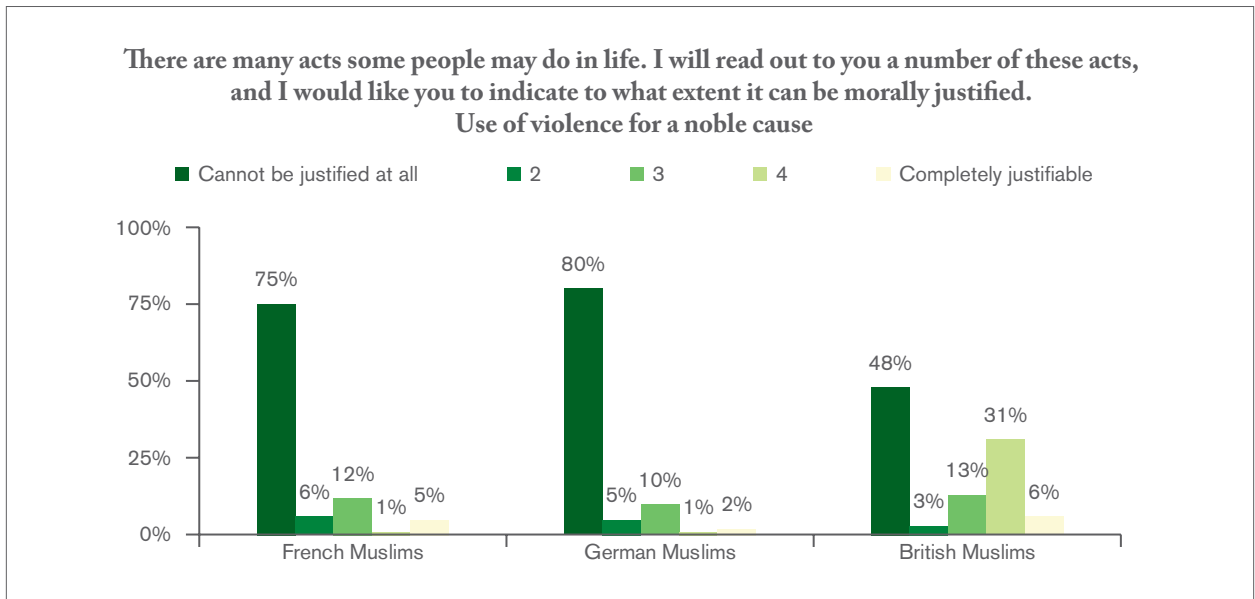
Further study is needed to determine whether their response of a “3” indicates a conditional approval or disapproval of such a tactic. For example, these respondents may have felt that such matters heavily depend on the particular situation at hand, and felt less comfortable taking a normative stance on the issue as a general principle. While 3% of the British public said that such attacks could be morally justified, only 2% of the French public and 1% of the German public said the same.

Figure 51. Morally Justified – Attacks on Civilian Targets 2006-2007



Regarding the use of violence for a noble cause, German Muslims (80%) and French Muslims (75%) are more likely than British Muslims (48%) to respond that it cannot be justified at all. Six percent of British Muslims say this is completely justifiable. While a sizable majority of French Muslims (75%) feel violence for a noble cause could not be justified at all, 5% say it is completely justifiable.

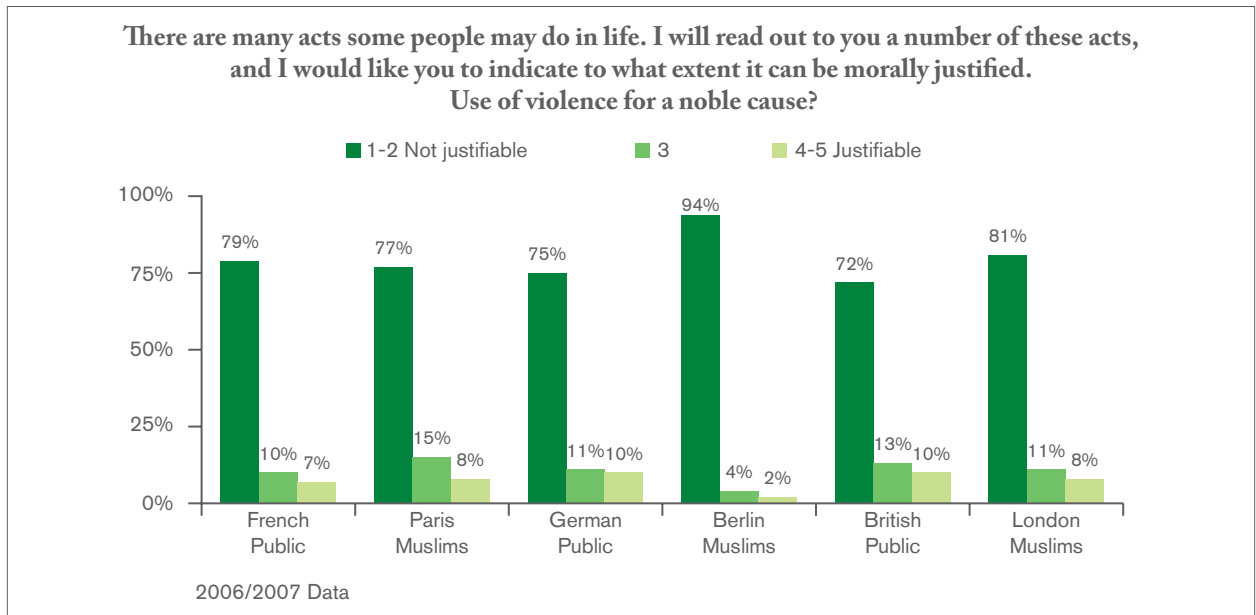
Figure 52. Morally Justified – Use of Violence for a Noble Cause



For context, Gallup 2007 data show that when compared with the general populations of each country, Muslims in each capital were at least as likely as the general public in their respective countries to say violence for a noble cause cannot be justified. In 2007, Berlin Muslims showed the greatest variance from their nation's general population. Berlin Muslims (94%) were significantly more likely to respond that such violence could not be justified, while (2%) found such violence to be morally justifiable.

When considering the general public across all three nations, the proportions of those who say acts of violence for a noble cause are morally justifiable are roughly on par with one another.

Figure 53. Morally Justified – Use of Violence for a Noble Cause 2006-2007

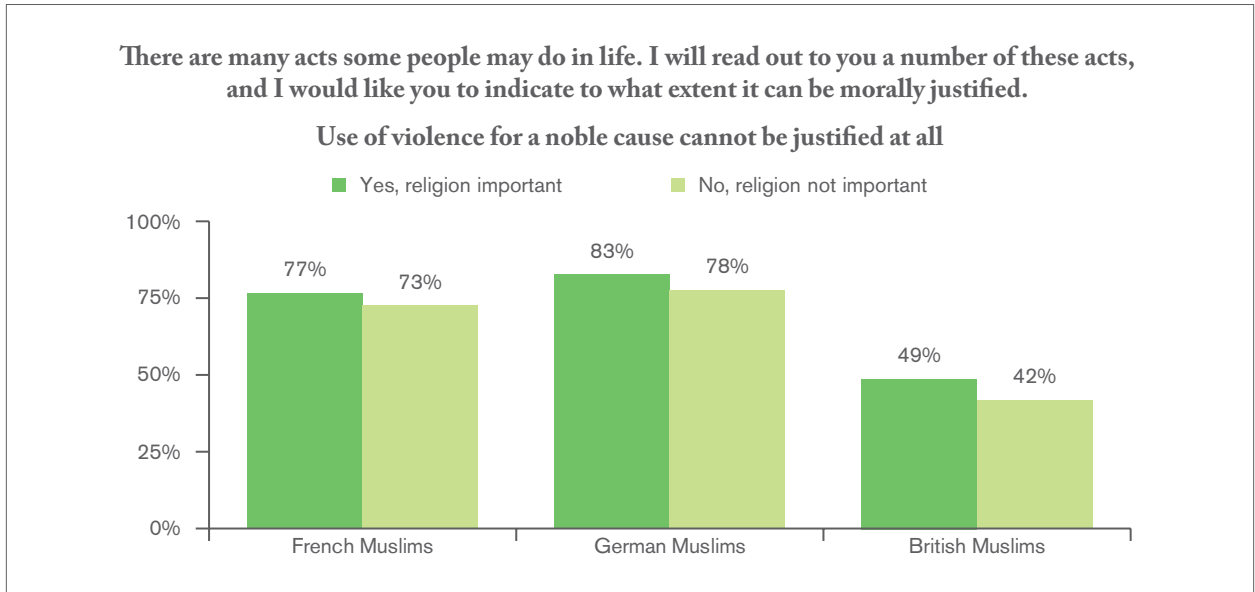


Many observers have conflated radicalization and religiosity, implying that to guard against the latter could stave off the former. Such voices sound the alarm when told that majorities of European Muslims say religion is an important part of their lives. The prevalence of *hijab*, *niqab* (face veil), and other dress habits associated with various regions of the Muslim world seldom go unnoticed in European cities. In turn, controversies about such issues have raised concerns regarding social tensions between European Muslims and European society at large.

Throughout various European circles of thought, the issue of radicalization has become a code word for religiosity. Such reasoning inherently assumes that a heightened degree of religious commitment on the part of Muslims necessarily increases the likelihood they would partake in some sort of terrorist activity. But does a heightened sense of religiosity on the part of a community necessarily mean that its members are radicalized?

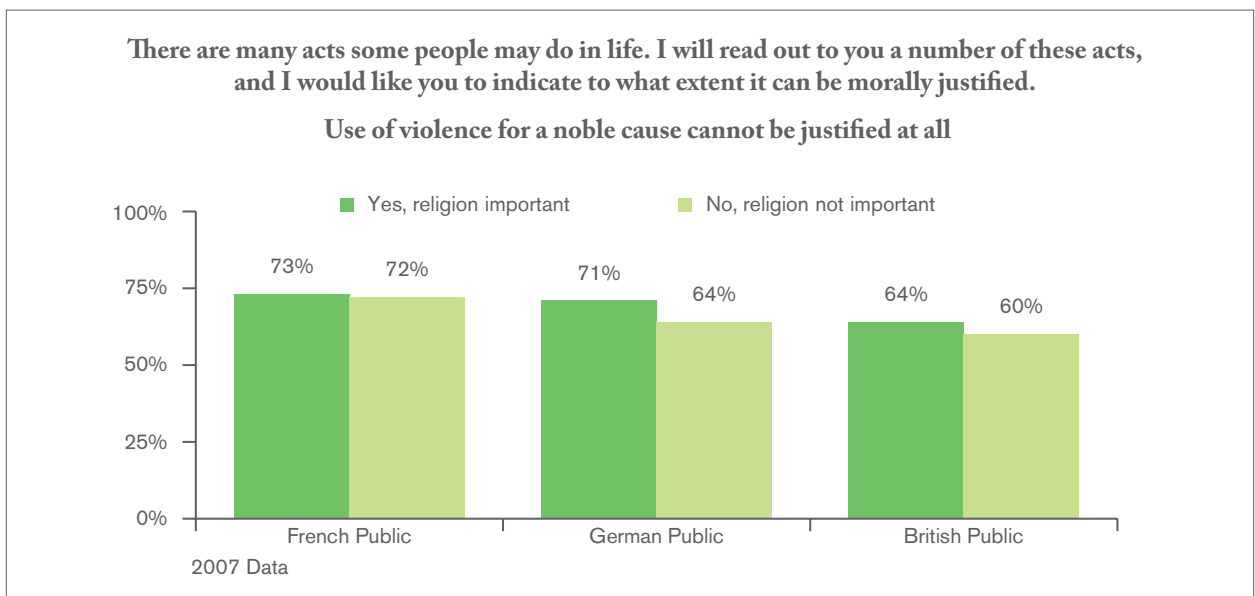
Among all groups surveyed in 2008, those who say religion is an important of their lives are at least as likely to say that the use of violence for a noble cause cannot be morally justified at all.

Figure 54. Morally Justified – Use of Violence for a Noble Cause, by Religious Importance



For context, Gallup data from 2007 show that among the general European public, roughly equal percentages of respondents for whom religion is an important part of their daily lives and those for whom religion is not important said that violence for a noble cause cannot be morally justified. For example, 72% of nonreligious French respondents said that such violent acts cannot be morally justified, on par with their religious compatriots (73%) who said the same.

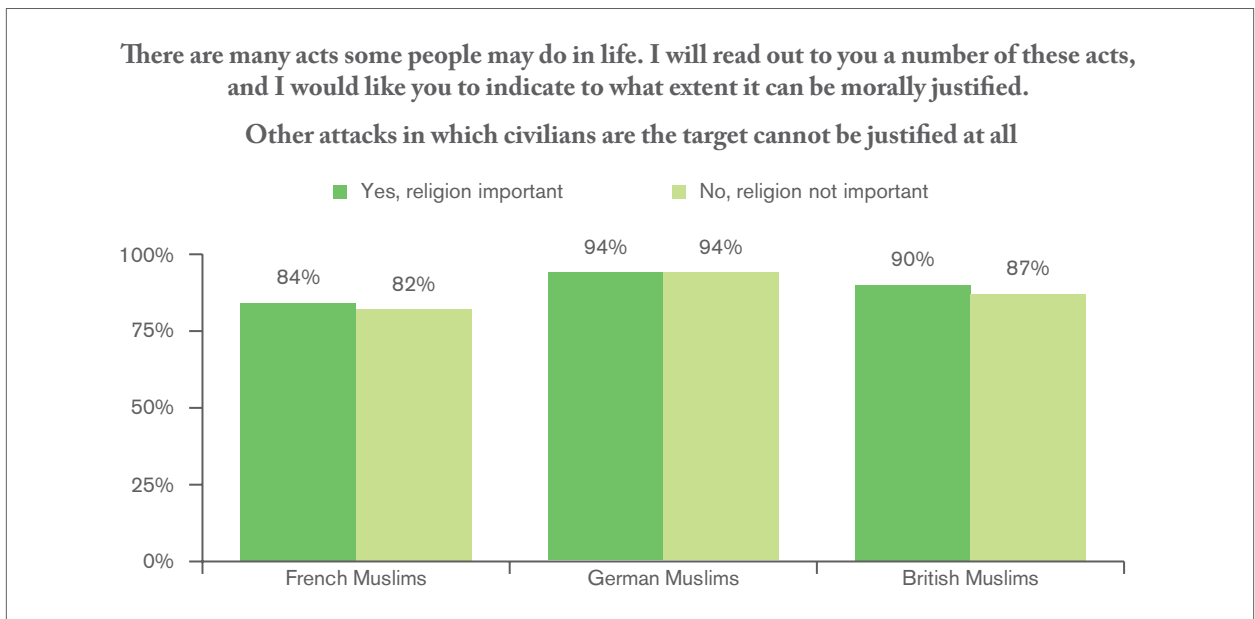
Figure 55. Morally Justified – Use of Violence for a Noble Cause, by Religious Importance 2007



Section 2: Public Perceptions Toward Integration

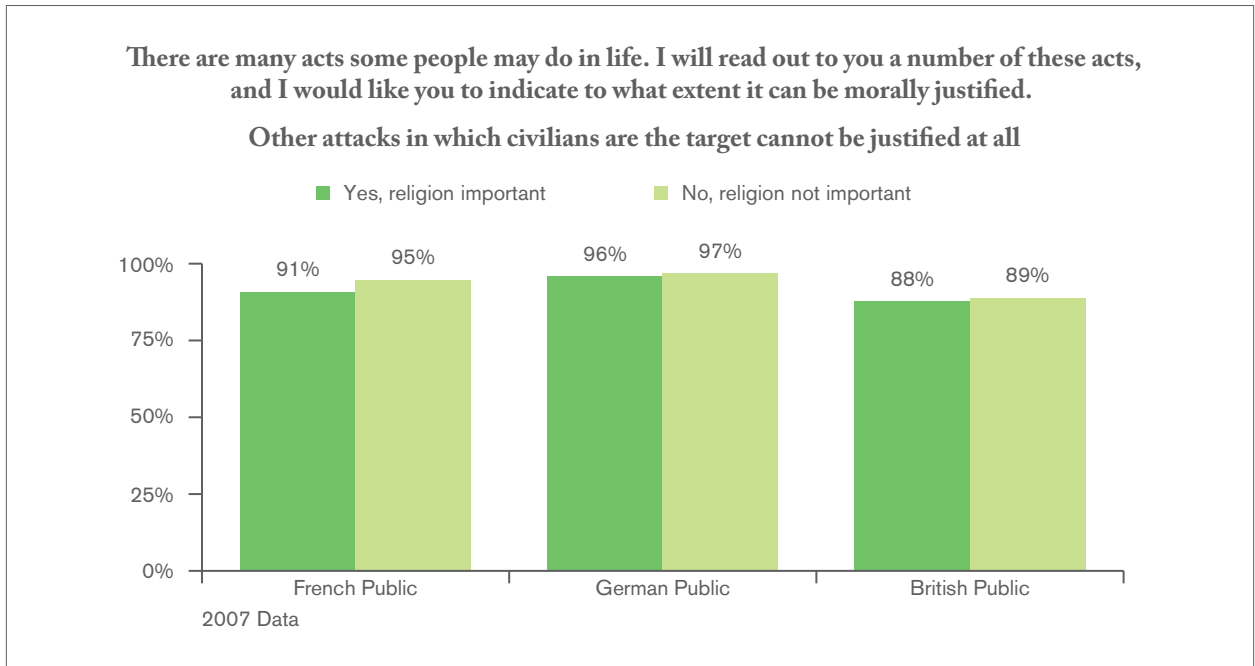
Likewise, respondents for whom religion is important are as likely as those for whom religion is not important to say attacks targeting civilians cannot be justified at all. Within the populations studied, the difference between those finding moral justification for such an attack, who self-identify as religious, and those who do not is within the margin of error. For example, the proportion of nonreligious German Muslims surveyed in 2008 who say attacks on civilians cannot be morally justified (94%) was identical to that of religious German Muslims (94%) who say the same. British Muslims for whom religion is not important (87%) are as likely as British Muslims for whom religion is important (90%) to say such attacks cannot be morally justified.

Figure 56. Morally Justified – Attacks on Civilian Targets, by Religious Importance



As a point of reference, Gallup data from 2007 indicated there was no statistically significant difference between religious and nonreligious respondents with regard to their moral justification of attacks targeting civilians. Within all three groups, the difference between religious and nonreligious respondents on this question is within the margin of error.

Figure 57. Morally Justified – Attacks on Civilian Targets, by Religious Importance 2007



Moving Forward

Since 9/11 and the terrorist attacks in Madrid and London, mistrust toward European Muslims has become palpable. Significant segments of European societies openly express doubt that Muslim fellow nationals are loyal citizens. The general construct of this premise rests on an oversimplified and erroneous understanding of Islam and terrorism. Muslims are often asked to demonstrate that they embrace the more liberal sexual values that exist in Europe to be considered full-fledged members of society, while overlooking that many other Europeans reject such values. Against this background, it is generally assumed that European Muslims cannot be trusted because of their perceived ambiguous allegiances and anachronistic values that reject the long-established tradition of the separation between the temporal and divine spheres. Findings from the Gallup Coexist Index indicate that what lies at the heart of coexistence is the issue of mutual respect. Successful community cohesion will require effort from all segments of society.

European Muslims are also here to stay. Large numbers were born in Europe and are second, if not third-generation British, French, or other nationalities. Gallup's study shows their national identity and religion are compatible. Public expression of religiosity should not, therefore, be understood as a lack of loyalty to one's country, nor should relinquishing one's religious or ethnic identity be a litmus test for patriotism.

Integration is a complex, multi-dimensional process that occurs at a different pace for each individual. In Europe, there is already much common ground on which to base serious conversations about the integration of ethnic and religious minorities. European Muslims accept democratic institutions, justice, and human rights as the building blocks of their societies. However, while concerns about finding a job, feeding one's family, and having access to good schools and good healthcare services are challenges that all European residents and citizens face, these issues are even more daunting for minorities. As the poll findings suggest, the economic marginalization of some European Muslims may have an impact on their well-being. This, in turn, creates psychological barriers that prevent them from becoming active members of their communities. As a result, the integration debate has to widen its frame, moving beyond the confines of security and religion, and focus more on the socioeconomic struggles of citizens of all faiths and no faith.

Appendix: Methodology

The data described in this report come from six different surveys. In the United Kingdom, phone interviews were conducted among the general population in June 2008 and included 1,001 interviews of individuals aged 15 years and older, whose households were contacted via Random Digital Dial (RDD). Within each household, the individual with the most recent birthday was selected to take the interview. Data were weighted based on gender, age, household size, and education to reflect the general population. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with British Muslims, aged 18 and older, during July 2008 in England, Wales, and Scotland in areas where the Muslim population was 5% or more based on the 2001 British census. Data collection resulted in 504 completed interviews. Face-to-face interviews followed random route protocols within assigned primary sampling units (PSUs) to ensure that a representative population of Muslims living in neighborhoods with at least 5% Muslim penetration was obtained. The Muslim data were weighted to gender, age, and selection probability within the household.

The French general population was surveyed in June 2008 and included 1,006 interviews of individuals aged 15 years and older following the same guidelines as detailed in the United Kingdom general sample. RDD was used to identify a random selection of households and post-data collection weighting based on gender, age, household size, and education was used. Face-to-face interviews were conducted

with French Muslims, aged 15 and older in June 2008. The total sample included 513 French Muslims in locations where the percentages of the population of immigrant background (first and second generation) are 10% or higher, using data provided by the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE). The French Muslim population data were weighted based on household size.

The German general population was polled four times in 2008. Interviews were conducted in June, July, October, and December and included 1,011, 1,003, 1,002, and 1,008 individuals, respectively. Data used in this report were compiled from multiple waves. When available, data from June or July were used as these were the closest field dates to the Muslim data available from the United Kingdom and France. When data were unavailable from June or July, October and then December data were incorporated. The same guidelines detailed in the British and French general samples were used in Germany for the general population. RDD was used to identify a random selection of households and post-data collection weighting based on gender, age, household size, and education was used to ensure a nationally representative sample of German households. The German Muslim population was interviewed via phone using RDD, focusing on high probability responses from a database of Muslim first names and family names (sourced in linguistic origin) to increase the likelihood of reaching Muslim families in Germany. The 506 German Muslims

were polled from mid-June to mid-July 2008, and the data were weighted based on gender, age, and household size.

The items included in each survey were similar across all three general populations. With respect to the Muslim populations, the British and French populations received a longer version of the questionnaire because of the structure of the face-to-face interviewing process. Phone interviews require shorter questionnaires and as a result, some items were not fielded to German Muslims.

The maximum margin of sampling error for all six populations is ± 5 percentage points. All Muslim populations were offered the survey in multiple languages. In France, the survey was available in French and Arabic. In the United Kingdom, it was available in English, Urdu, and Arabic. In Germany, the survey was available in Turkish and Arabic. All sample populations are aged 15 and older with the exception of British Muslims, whose interviews were conducted with individuals aged 18 and older. Also, this report makes a reference to the 2006-2007 study of European Muslims, which focused on Muslims in Berlin, Paris, and London and their corresponding general populations and analyzed a variety of the same items that were included in the present report. Caution should be noted in drawing any comparisons between the Muslim samples in the capital cities from the 2007 report and the nationwide Muslim samples described in the current report. Differences in methodology between these two populations do not allow for direct comparisons.

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