MUSLIM YOUTH AND WOMEN IN THE WEST:

SOURCE OF CONCERN OR SOURCE OF HOPE?

Center for dialogues
Islamic World - U.S. - The West

ABOUT THE CENTER FOR DIALOGUES

New York University Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West was established in the aftermath of the tragic events of September 11, 2001, which highlighted the urgent need for greater communication among and about the Islamic World, the United States, and the West. With the attacks focusing the world's attention on extremist movements in the Middle East and Islamic Asia, political commentators have been seeking, and often failing, to explain the political and social roots of these movements and their accompanying grievances against the West and the United States in particular.

The Center was launched as a structured forum for sustained dialogue involving voices from the various religious, intellectual, economic, and political sectors of Islamic and American/Western societies, including those non-elite Islamic figures with proven credibility in their communities who are too often unheard in the West.

Based on this sustained dialogue, the Center is committed to a number of academic, policy, and outreach activities, including conferences on a variety of critically important topics today—the clash of perceptions, elections, the nature of authority in the Islamic world and in the West, Muslims in the West, the role of the media, and education, among others.

The Center is unique among comparable institutions at American universities for combining public outreach and international conferences, academic study, and policy review and recommendations. Government leaders and other relevant authorities and organizations, including media decision-makers, attend the meetings in order to help effect policy change and alter public perceptions. Findings from the Center are also published as policy papers, as well as in book form, and are disseminated to educational institutions worldwide for use by students, faculty, and researchers.

Moreover, the Center for Dialogues is creating a network of leaders who will continue to communicate with and consult one another for years to come—a valuable network for negotiating peace in times of crisis.

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Report of the conference organized by
New York University Center for Dialogues:
Islamic World-U.S.-The West
at the Salzburg Global Seminar

Salzburg, Austria, May 15-17, 2007

Funded by the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs; The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Qatar Foundation; and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund

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DIRECTOR'S PREFACE

No rational mind can readily accept how a person could turn against a country that offered him or her residency or citizenship, when he or she was a refugee, a political exile, or simply a human being seeking a second chance in life.

The Madrid and London terrorist attacks of 2004 and 2005, respectively, put the issue of Muslim immigrants' loyalty to their host countries in dramatic focus and highlighted the link between security and what is commonly called "integration." Regrettably, the debate sparked by these tragedies was not always nourished by informed arguments, falling more often than not into simplification, if not sheer ignorance.

True to our mission to "knock down the walls of misunderstanding and replace them with bridges of knowledge and reason," the NYU Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West thought the time was right to convene a major conference on the basis of solid scholarship and with the participation of all concerned—youth and women activists and community leaders, religious leaders, policy makers, policy analysts, scholars, government officials, and media representatives—to address the issues surrounding the presence of large Muslim communities in the West.

With a substantial financial commitment from the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs and

with additional funding from the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs; The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Qatar Foundation; and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, we began the preparations for the conference by bringing together a group of experts from both the United States and Europe. The group met a number of times throughout 2006-2007 to chart a course for the conference that included the development of a background paper (see page 98), an agenda (see page 68), and a list of participants (see page 72). I want to thank the following people for their magnificent contributions: LaRue Allen, Raymond and Rosalee Weiss Professor of Applied Psychology, Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development, New York University; Sophie Body-Gendrot, director, Center for Urban Studies, the Sorbonne; Hassan Bousetta, research associate, Center for Ethnic and Migration Studies, University of Liège; Jocelyne Césari, director, Islam in the West Program, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University; Romain Garbaye, maître de conférences, the Sorbonne; Nadia Hashmi, member, External Relations Team—EU Enlargement International Directorate, Home Office, United Kingdom; Jytte Klausen, professor of comparative politics, Brandeis University; Martin Schain, professor of politics, New York University; Vincent Tiberj, senior research fellow, Center for Political Research at Paris Institut des Sciences Politiques; and Catherine Wihtol de Wenden, director of research, Centre d'Études et de Recherches Internationales, Center for Political Research at Paris Institut des Sciences Politiques.

I also seize the opportunity to reiterate my thanks to Dr. Ursula Plassnik, Austrian Federal Minister for European and International Affairs; Rikke Hvilshøj, Danish Minister of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs; Stephen Heinz, president of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Her Highness Sheikha Mozah Bint Nasser Al-Missned, chairperson, Qatar Foundation for education, science and community development; and to their colleagues, as well as to all the governments that supported the conference.

Because the focus of the conference was to be on Muslim communities in Europe, it was natural that we would seek a European venue. The Salzburg Global Seminar welcomed us, and we could not have made a better decision than in forging a cooperative relationship with the Seminar and its leadership. My thanks go to my colleague from my United Nations days, Edward Mortimer,

former director of communications and head of the Speechwriting Unit for the secretary-general at the United Nations, who now serves as senior vice president and chief program officer at the Salzburg Global Seminar, and to his staff, who spared no effort at making the conference's logistical organization a full success.

The Center for Dialogues staff, particularly Shaanti Kapila, until recently assistant director, as well as Nyasa Hickey, program assistant, and Salimah Hadi, NYU intern, showed the utmost devotion, skills, and energy that earned them due admiration from the participants and other organizers. I am proud to have them as colleagues and I regret that after three years with the Center, Ms. Kapila has embarked on a new phase of her intellectual development. My staff and I wish her all the best.

As was the case during the Center for Dialogues' previous international conferences, we sought to formulate implementable policy objectives that would contribute to lessening tensions and increasing chances for better understanding. The Salzburg conference followed the same course, thanks to the seriousness of purpose displayed by all participants without exception. Over the course of the three-day meeting—whether in the plenary or the working groups, over dinner and drinks, or at receptions hosted by Dr. Plassnik or Heinz Schaden, the mayor of Salzburg—participants debated, argued, and finally came up with a plan of action that is offered at the end of this report. Claudia Rivera-Bohn and Andrea Stanton, the Center for Dialogues' editorial consultants, worked tirelessly to reflect the debate in their notes and initial draft of the report, and they also deserve our thanks.

In closing the conference, I thanked the participants for putting their minds to such difficult questions, which have a critical impact on both governments and civil society. I also stressed that a number of countries had been represented at the conference, including Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. I said that given the level of tension and uncertainties surrounding the Muslim world, I imagined that the recommendations issued by the diverse group of participants, in the form of a "plan of action," would be taken quite seriously, and that the success of integration for Muslims in the West is everyone's concern and everyone's responsibility.

It is my hope that governments—particularly European governments—as well as philanthropic foundations and concerned generous individuals would consider the plan of action developed by the Salzburg conference and would lend their support to help the Center for Dialogues achieve its implementation.

Mustapha Tlili
Founder and Director
Center for Dialogues:
Islamic World-U.S.-The West
New York University

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

How can tensions produced by the presence of Muslims in the West best be overcome? From what sources do these tensions arise—from economic and social factors or from cultural and value differences? What role does public policy play in addressing these tensions for the benefit of all citizens? What does the current landscape of Muslim communities in the West look like? What visions might be offered for the future? What tools can be used to build community resilience, prevent extremism, promote successful integration, and enhance security? In what ways can Muslim youth and women help infuse new vitality into Europe? What practices, if any, have been proven successful in addressing security and integration issues? Should the practice of Islam itself be adapted in any way to the realities of life in the West?

These questions and more were addressed and answered during presentations, debates, and working group sessions over the course of the conference "Muslim Youth and Women in the West: Source of Concern or Source of Hope?" The conference was held May 15-17, 2007, in Salzburg, Austria, and was convened by New York University Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West at the Salzburg Global Seminar.

The Center for Dialogues' founder and director Mustapha Tlili opened the

conference by noting the complexities surrounding issues of Muslims in the West: the weight of historical memory, the distortions of globalization, the media's simplistic reductions and politicians' instrumentalizations. Mr. Tlili proposed the consideration of a new "citizenship pact" that would take into account today's diverse societies in defining the terms under which the integration of Muslim communities in the West should occur. Such a rethinking of the reciprocal obligations of state and citizens could offer hope for the future rather than further alienation.

The mayor of Salzburg, Heinz Schaden, welcomed the conference participants and noted that Salzburg is a particularly appropriate site, as the city has the largest number of residents of non-European origin in the European Union and Islam is the second most popular religion in the city's schools. Salzburg Global Seminar senior vice president and chief program officer, Edward Mortimer, added that conference participants had an important contribution to make in forging new relations of trust and mutual respect among people of different religions and cultures.

Austrian Federal Minister for European and International Affairs, Dr. Ursula Plassnik addressed the issue of building confidence among people of different social, cultural, and economic backgrounds, so all can live harmoniously together. While Europe is already pluralistic in many ways, it is time for Europeans to ask some self-critical questions regarding whether current policies support rather than stifle cultural differences. She mentioned the need to develop tools that prevent young Muslims from becoming stuck in a spiral of hopelessness. As for Muslim women, she noted that this group comprises women with a vast range of education levels, backgrounds, family situations, countries of origin, and personal orientations toward Islam. The challenges they face, including employment issues and battering husbands, are certainly not limited to the Muslim population. She closed by cautioning participants about the danger of indifference, which is frequently camouflaged as tolerance in Europe's dealings with its Muslims citizens. Instead, she suggested we emulate the image of two extended hands: one extended toward Muslim communities in Europe and the other extended toward the Muslim world beyond Europe's borders.

The conference brought together 60 policy makers, community leaders, scholars, media professionals, and activists from Europe, North America, and the Arab world, including Muslims

and non-Muslims. Among the attendees were Rabin Baldewsingh, deputy mayor of the Hague; Sophie Body-Gendrot, director of the Center for Urban Studies at the Sorbonne; Ambassador Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, secretary general of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE); Abdelmajid Charfi, professor emeritus of humanities and Islamic studies at the University of Tunis; Roger Hardy, Middle East and Islamic affairs analyst for the BBC World Service; Karen Brooks Hopkins, president of the Brooklyn Academy of Music; Shireen Hunter, visiting scholar at Georgetown University's Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding; Kamel Kabtane, rector of the Grand Mosque of Lyon; filmmaker Zarqa Nawaz; Farhan Nizami, director of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies; Farah Pandith, senior adviser on Muslim engagement at the State Department; Tariq Ramadan, professor of Islamic studies at St Antony's College, Oxford University; Iqbal Riza, special adviser to the UN Secretary-General on the Alliance of Civilizations; Martin Schain, professor of politics at New York University; and Susan Scholefield, director general for Equalities in the United Kingdom's Department for Communities and Local Government. Participants heard presentations on the statistical makeup of Europe's Muslim communities, arguments in favor of viewing Muslims' integration in the context of general immigration issues, and case studies relating to the United Kingdom and United States, official approaches to integration, and security. Participants also engaged in vigorous debate over such critical issues as the role of the state vis-à-vis Muslim communities, the relationship between integration and security, and whether religious identity or socioeconomic position is the better lens through which to examine integration. The conference concluded with a session focused on providing concrete policy recommendations—as well as means of accountability to determine the effectiveness of the recommendations in fostering Western acceptance of diversity in general and particularly of Muslims as welcome and equal citizens.

The conference reached the following conclusions, which are expressed as an "action plan" to facilitate their implementation:

Western media frequently depict Muslim communities (both in the West and the wider Muslim world) in terms of negative stereotypes. The result is widespread misconceptions that damage relations between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. In response to this are the following proposals:

1. National media associations should train media professionals to be more conscientious regarding how they portray Muslim communities.

a. Nongovernmental organizations in each country should organize training workshops, thereby avoiding concerns about official interference with freedom of the press.

b. Although they should neither organize nor run these workshops, the European Union and Western national governments should support them in principle.

2. "Media guides" should be developed to provide journalists and other interested parties with basic information and statistics on Muslim communities around the world. Whether these take the form of simple fact sheets or more substantive academic papers, these guides should also be made available to school teachers, public figures, and authorities.

The exchange of "best practices"—sharing case studies of successful approaches to integration, security, and religious practice—was generally seen as a useful exercise, despite some participants' reservations that the context of Muslim experiences differs significantly from country to country. The following can help to promote this exchange:

1. The Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West should facilitate contact between European and North American governments, nongovernmental organizations, and community groups.

a. The Center for Dialogues should compile a catalog of best practices that focuses particularly on experiences at the grassroots level, including examples of particular difficulties local Muslim communities have faced and the actions they have taken to overcome these difficulties.

b. The Center for Dialogues should set meetings between Muslim youth and older Muslim role models whose stories demonstrate that Muslims in Europe and North America *can* integrate and achieve success while maintaining their Muslim identities.

c. Because the work of this conference will be ongoing, the Center for Dialogues should organize a follow-up meeting for conference participants to reconvene in order to chart progress in general and on a state-by-state basis.

2. With the support of high-level authorities, government and community organizations should encourage

dialogue between Muslim and non-Muslim residents.

a. Many participants felt that local authorities were far better equipped than national ones to develop and engage in meaningful community-building initiatives. However, governments should expand incentives, financial or otherwise, to encourage intercultural dialogue.

b. Local Muslim associations should organize events that engage with the general public—for instance, community *iftars* and Ramadan festivals—as well as establish partnerships with other community-wide organizations that deal with issues of common concern such as equal opportunity employment.

3. Muslim associations, NGOs, and government organizations should call on Muslims and non-Muslim celebrities and successful individuals from the world of sports, politics, finance, and entertainment to actively promote a positive image of Muslim communities.

Integration is relevant not only in relation to security issues, but requires a careful rethinking of the rights and responsibilities of citizens as well as a willingness to expand the traditional ethnic and religious profile of the "standard" citizen.

1. National governments and the European Union should define objective indicators for evaluating the success (or failure) of particular groups' integration into the national body. These indicators should take caution not to conflate cultural and religious integration.

2. Governments should work with other organizations to meet the urgent need for statistical information on Muslim communities in each country by creating hospitable conditions for the conducting of voluntary censuses. National governments and the European Union's ability to create and implement effective public policy measures would be greatly enhanced by access to dependable statistical information.

SESSION I—TENSIONS PRODUCED BY ISLAM IN THE WEST: HOW CAN THEY BE OVERCOME?

Part 1: Opening

Mustapha Tlili, founder and director of the Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West at New York University, opened the conference by welcoming participants to a gathering sparked by what he described as a call for creative thinking regarding the inclusion of Islam in the West, a call made more pressing by the clashes of recent years. Today, the 15 to 20 million Muslims in Europe and the four to six million in North America contribute to their communities and their fellow citizens' welfare, but rarely feel as appreciated as their contributions should make them—or worse, have become objects of suspicion due to prejudice and security concerns. Their fate should be of interest not only to those in the West, but those in the larger Muslim world as well. This conference is intended to help provide policy recommendations to further the integration of Western citizens of Muslim faith in the economic, social, cultural, and political fabric of their respective countries—and the conference's success will be judged, in part, on the implementation of these recommendations.

Mr. Tlili thanked the government of Austria, the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs, and the mayor of Salzburg for their support and for hosting the event. He noted that Austria was a particularly appropriate setting for a conference on

Muslims in the West, as Austria has recognized Islam as one of several national faiths since 1912. He also thanked the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs; The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Qatar Foundation; the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; as well as the *Kronen Zeitung* and its publisher, Herr Hans Dichand, for their financial and other types of support.

Given the misunderstandings and tensions that in recent years have structured the issue of Muslim communities in the West, particularly issues surrounding Muslim youth and Muslim women, Mr. Tlili stressed the need to consider the Muslim-Western relationship as a diverse and varied one. He highlighted that the Center for Dialogues has been committed to this focus and the fostering of reasoned and respectful communication since the program's creation and will pursue the same approach now that it has become an NYU Center.

Mr. Tlili noted that the issues of Muslims in the West are complex and are weighed down by the heavy burden of historical memory, exacerbated by the distortions of globalization, frequently reduced to their most simplistic dimensions by the media, and often instrumentalized for short-term political gains during election season. These reasons make the conference's debates challenging but important as a basis for a fact-based, reasonable dialogue in wider society, which hopefully will lead to common ground. The goal for conference participants, Mr. Tlili suggested, is to propose recommendations that could help policy makers and others working to enable citizens of Muslim faith to attain full and equal citizenship in the West—the proof of which would be that they would no longer be described first by faith and second by nationality.

Mr. Tlili acknowledged that recent events have made it less easy to determine the right terms under which the integration of Muslim communities in the West, and particularly in Europe, should occur. In addition to intra-European social, economic, and cultural tensions, strained relations between the Muslim and Western worlds have reverberated within Muslim communities in the West. While the path toward full inclusion of Muslim and other minorities is a challenging one, Mr. Tlili noted that both the United States and Europe have successfully addressed similar challenges regarding the integration of other minority groups in the past. Moreover, the challenge cannot be ignored. After decades in Europe, many of the immigrants of the 1950s and 1960s and

their descendants have become citizens. The idea that their settlement in Europe is temporary has become an illusion held only by the extreme right-wing. Ethnic and religious pluralism is Europe's new social reality, and it requires governments and other social actors to lead the way in rethinking the obligations that connect citizens to the state and to one another.

A new "citizenship pact" allowing for pluralism and diversity must be constructed, Mr. Tlili argued. Europe's traditional pacts of reciprocal obligation must be rewritten to include Muslims and other immigrants who do not seamlessly blend into the historical "national body," whether ethnically or religiously. This pact must address the issue of integration, whether in the private sphere, which concerns an individual's faith and moral values, and in the public, which concerns civic culture as well as education, employment, and political participation.

This new citizenship pact would provide a set of principles regarding the obligations of Muslim citizens, as of all citizens, as well as the rights they enjoy in return; it would also outline the state's obligations to its citizens. Defining these principles will take some work, as there are difficult issues to work through, such as Muslim women's right to choose whether to wear a headscarf, to work outside the home, and to observe the practices of their faith as they interpret them. In Mr. Tlili's view, the principle of full gender equality, which has been enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other internationally binding instruments, should be upheld without question.

When developing this new citizenship pact, Europe may look to the United States as a model, Mr. Tlili suggested, since American Muslims are at least economically and socially far more integrated than European Muslims. Creating the new pact might most fruitfully be considered as a European Union initiative, since EU capacities exceed those of individual states. The process might involve holding open meetings with Muslim populations around Europe to identify grievances and propose remedies; an open "constitutional convention" to incorporate findings from studies and surveys of the contemporary situation; and an "eminent persons" committee to draft policy recommendations and the pact itself.

In conclusion, Mr. Tlili noted that while the challenges are many, the effort required to address them is necessary in order to offer hope for a bright, peaceful future rather than one of alienation and violence. He restated his call for a new

citizenship pact as the instrument best suited to bring about the future that the conference's background paper envisioned:

> As citizens, reassured in the integrity of their private values but in full agreement with the encompassing legal system of their adopted countries and its civic culture, Western Muslims could become an inspiration for the larger Muslim world as it struggles to strike a balance between faith, tradition, and modernity. The harmonious integration of Muslim communities in the West could also lead to a more peaceful and productive relationship between the West and the Muslim world.

Heinz Schaden, mayor of Salzburg, spoke next. The mayor began by noting that Salzburg is a particularly appropriate place for a conference like this, because the city has, within Austria, the largest number of non-European-born residents. Today, Islam is the second most well-represented religion in Salzburg schools. Hence dialogue is important to Salzburg because of its population as well as its position as a European city.

Edward Mortimer, senior vice president and chief program officer, Salzburg Global Seminar, noted that relations between Muslims and non-Muslims around the world are a key issue at this moment in history. He added that this conference can make an important contribution to resolving misunderstandings by proposing new relations of trust and mutual respect among people of different religions and cultures. This conference should be seen not as an end but as a beginning of a major effort by Muslims and non-Muslims, the beginning of a rethinking of what people coming from different cultures are entitled to expect from one another.

Ursula Plassnik, Austrian Federal Minister for European and International Affairs opened her address by noting that the issue of how people of different social, cultural, and economic backgrounds can build mutual confidence in order to live with one another is often seen as a "soft" issue—but for her it is far from being a soft issue. Instead, it is an issue that has direct implications for security, for the well-being of our societies. The image she suggested is the image of two extended hands, one hand extended to those within our society, particularly those from the Muslim world, and the other hand extended to people elsewhere in world, and particularly in the Muslim world, who are seeking dialogue and seeking to learn more about one another through our common interests.

Today, women and youth are often in the spotlight when it comes to questions of integration and relations between Islam and the West. They are often perceived as victims and as those who suffer the most discrimination. However, gender roles are shifting, including among Muslims. Furthermore, integration begs the topic of identity—national, cultural, religious, and so forth—which is an especially challenging issue for women and youth.

Dr. Plassnik urged her fellow participants to look beyond complaints and stereotypes in order to identify the real problems and solutions associated with Muslims in the West. For example, she noted, citizens with immigrant backgrounds often lack education and job prospects, which gives them few possibilities for professional and social promotion and therefore leaves them with a feeling of nonbelonging. Looking at statistics, this is particularly true for male adolescents, even more than for female adolescents. The lack of future prospects and the feelings of exclusion that they face can lead to radicalization.

However, the question of nonintegration has been posed for years and particularly in relation to Muslim women. Is traditional Muslim women's dress a sign of nonintegration, for example? While the European Court of Human Rights has looked into this issue, Muslim women are also increasingly successful in campaigning for equal education and the same rights of access to the European job market.

Pluralism is a force in Europe today and is, at heart, a very European concept, Dr. Plassnik said. Estimates of the number of Muslims in the EU range from 20 to 30 million to more than 50 million. They come from a variety of origins, from the autochthonous to those who have come during the past century as immigrants. European policies favor diversity and support the idea that each individual should feel at home in Europe. The EU has established solid foundations regarding the division between state and religion, equal opportunities for men and women, and individual liberal rights. The new European core model is to communicate and "live" pluralism. A quote from the 2003 conference of Islamic clerics in Europe illustrates this: "European Muslims are aware of their religious identities as Muslims and their social identities as Europeans." This sentence illustrates the core objective of European Islam. Europe's core values as well as its legal system promote equal opportunity and combat discrimination.

Nevertheless, integration presents challenges, demanding a new framework be put in place that acknowledges the reciprocal rights and obligations of Muslims living in Europe, Dr. Plassnik

underlined. The goal of integration is not the loss of one's religious identity; rather, success lies in finding solutions together. The challenge is also for a widespread internal Muslim dialogue, in which religious authorities and organizations play a strong role, but which is not limited to religious acceptance.

One very important task is to avoid a situation where young people feel frustrated and get lost in a sea of blurred perspectives. We must encourage young people by providing role models, i.e., getting those who have succeeded in Western societies to speak publicly about their experiences.

Language skills, confidence, and education are cornerstones for young people—they are the "door openers" for social, cultural, and political participation and for being integrated rather than excluded. Dr. Plassnik reported that Austria encourages language skills on several levels: courses are offered for young people who come to Austria before or after entering school here, and there are courses for mothers of school-age children as well.

Unemployment particularly affects immigrants, including the young, Dr. Plassnik observed. In Austria, the Federation of Industrialists, which has approximately 500 members and is an important part of the business community, published a position paper on the future of integration in Austria, with the aim of improving conditions for people already in Austria, including language skills to help with jobs and social promotion for this generation and the next.

We must also invest in promoting a European identity, Dr. Plassnik argued. We live in an age of multiple or patchwork identities, and identity as we know it is dynamic and keeps growing, changing, and expanding throughout life. European identity is no exception. Dr. Plassnik suggested that the schools, from the first grade on, teach children what "Europe" is in a concrete manner that breaks down fears of the unfamiliar.

With regard to Muslim youth, religious instruction should correspond to European standards, in terms of the training of teachers and the pedagogy. Austria has put in place a study for mastering the pedagogy of Islam and the creation of a center for Islamic theology, but needs social support for Muslim initiatives that counteract ideas that conflict with European values. Both the state and Muslim associations should be aware of electronic media that threaten to radicalize rather than further understanding and debate.

Muslim women are exposed to social tensions, both within Western societies and within their own religious communities. A conference of imams convened in Austria in 2006 took a clear position on women's rights: Muslim women and men are equal partners in Islam, with equal responsibilities, equal dignity, the same right to work, to education, and to participation in social discourse.

Through strengthening the position of women, we can influence young people. A modern educated mother will give confidence to her children so that they can succeed in life, Dr. Plassnik argued. But we must recognize that Muslim women are anything but a homogeneous group in European society. They vary in terms of countries of origin, education level, family situations, backgrounds, and personal orientations and lifestyles. We often speak about Muslim women and not to them, Dr. Plassnik continued, stating that she did not want to speak this way.

Muslim women's challenges are only partly due to religion. Although Islamic authorities have spoken in defense of women's rights and equality, the historical experience has not been as positive. However, this is the case for women in general. After all, battering husbands are not only Muslim.

In closing, Dr. Plassnik pointed out the danger of indifference, which is often camouflaged as tolerance with regard to Muslim citizens. She recalled the image of two extended hands as a model for active outreach toward understanding and integration.

Part 2: Roundtable

Mr. Tlili opened the roundtable portion of the session by noting that for Muslims around the world, Islam is more than just a private matter of faith. It is also an external reference, and Muslims are concerned about issues affecting their fellow Muslims over the world. Thus in order to respond to concerns of Muslim constituents, local authorities in the West must understand global issues. In addition, he noted, in the last few years many European countries have come to the conclusion that their approaches to integrating their Muslim communities have failed. One new proposal is to develop and define a "citizenship pact" that would not be a binding agreement, but rather a clear understanding of what is expected from Muslim citizens in the West. He remarked that the present session explored these issues from two perspectives: the *geopolitical* angle, which ties together the domestic and global, and the *local* angle, focusing on the interaction between Muslim communities—in

Europe, in particular—and their adopted countries.

He then asked Ambassador Ralph Scheide, deputy director general for political affairs and director of the Near and Middle East Department and Africa, Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs of Austria, how, in his view, Austria's recognition of Islam has furthered the integration of Austrian Muslims.

Ambassador Scheide started by discussing Austria's history, which differs in certain respects from other European countries. Islam was recognized as an official religion in 1912, after the Austro-Hungarian Empire's absorption of Serbia-Herzegovina. In the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, Austria absorbed a large number of Muslims from different countries (beginning with Turkey), many of whom now have Austrian nationality. These people came as guest workers, as did people from the former Yugoslavia. In the 1990s, Austria absorbed refugees from the Balkan wars, first from Bosnia and then Kosovo, many of whom have remained and become Austrian.

Ambassador Scheide next pointed out that European states deal differently in their relations with Islam as a religion. In Austria, "churches" have an official status, whether Christian, Jewish, or Muslim. From the Austrian state's point of view, he added, it is an advantage to have a direct interlocutor for the Muslim community with whom all relevant issues—education, building mosques, etc.—can be discussed.

Mr. Tlili next asked Ambassador Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, secretary general of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the following questions:

> Although Muslim majority states of the OSCE are at the margins of Muslim world, they are key for European security, especially since the fall of the USSR. These states have undergone profound changes—among them a reawakening of Islam. How do you assess these changes and relate them to Muslims in Europe? Do you see similarities, lessons to be learned, or best practices when you compare the situation of Muslim communities in Russia and other states of the former Soviet Union? How do you assess the variable "Islam" in the security equation created by the situation that I have just described, particularly as regard repercussions on Muslim minorities in Western Europe?

Ambassador Perrin de Brichambaut began by noting that some might wonder why someone who deals with security was present at a conference on Muslim youth and women in the West. He explained

that since 1975, the OSCE has defined "security" broadly because political agreement among states does not mean real peace if the human, economic, and social dimensions are not satisfied.

He noted that the OSCE had remarkable success encouraging the fast transformation of post-USSR societies. Having a common framework of values has proved very successful for these countries. However, the OSCE has had less success with countries where democratic conditions are less favorable for cultural and economic reasons. Hence today most of the OSCE's attention is dedicated to easing the democratic transition in parts of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, where the rule of law has not yet been as successfully consolidated.

The question we share, Ambassador Perrin de Brichambaut noted, is whether such a value-based, collective, "peer pressure" approach can be effective in terms of the integration of new groups and new minorities in OSCE states. So far the OSCE track record has been less brilliant in this new field. For the past five years, the OSCE has been addressing the issue by promoting tolerance. This has been achieved through a series of meetings in Córdoba, Spain, which stressed that all communities and all religions shared equal responsibility for promoting dialogue, nondiscrimination, mutual respect, and understanding. The meetings found that national minorities want to participate actively in normal, mainstream society but need support. At the same time, they want rights protecting their full identity: their language, culture, and religion. It is easy to assert rights, Ambassador Perrin de Brichambaut noted, but translating them into practical implementation is crucial—and more difficult. He added that two other meetings are to be held, one in the fall on Islamophobia and another on issues regarding youth.

The OSCE has also been trying to combine the principles of security and respect—the need to fight terrorist groups and to respect human rights and the rule of law (for example, the need to balance freedom of speech with protection for the symbols of religious life). He added that the question of standards on this issue is still being debated among the OSCE states. Today, the OSCE is in dialogue with its Mediterranean partners on issues of tolerance. In discussing the Danish cartoon incident, Mediterranean states like Egypt and Algeria were the most vocal in demanding investment in the issues of respect and dialogue. The OSCE is actively involved in seeking a more permanent and solid exchange with these partners for the future.

Mr. Tlili then asked Iqbal Riza, special adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on the Alliance of Civilizations, to give his opinion on the role of the High Representative and describe what the Alliance of Civilizations can do to facilitate the integration of Muslims in the West.

Mr. Riza said that the Alliance of Civilizations' responsibility is to follow the recommendations on two levels: the political and the operational. On the political level, the source of tensions between the Muslim and the Western world arises from the internal state of the Muslim societies that are trying to keep up with the rapidly changing world and Western interventions in the Muslim world post-1945. Possible ways to alleviate these tensions may include the Irish model: bringing extremists into the debate.

Mr. Riza noted that today, religion is playing a role in politics all around the world and not just in the Muslim world. In Europe, for example, over 70 percent identify themselves as being Christians, while in the United States, the president ran on a platform that he frequently identified as "Christian."

Mr. Riza also noted that the complaints of Muslims regarding Islamophobia in the West need to be matched by a recognition of the "Westophobia" common in the Muslim world. The media on both sides are exacerbating the problem by presenting a negative view of "the other."

Finally, Mr. Riza suggested that the "Jewish question" of the 1930s might have relevance as a comparison to today. In the 1930s, Europeans asked whether Jewish communities were fully integrated or whether they were separate communities within Europe. This question led to problems and ultimately the Holocaust. Is there a "Muslim question" developing in Europe today?

Mr. Tlili asked Ambassador Hans Gnodtke, commissioner for dialogue with the Islamic world and dialogue among civilizations, German Federal Foreign Office, whether he believes that the time has come for Western European countries to seriously consider developing a citizenship pact as described earlier. Ambassador Gnodtke said that replacing integration with a social contract would change labels but not the problem. It is a challenge to define what Muslims can expect from their chosen nations and what these receiving countries can expect of the immigrants. One may call the outcome either integration or a contract, but the core issue is coming to terms with the stress that this population shift puts on both the migrants' communities and the receiving countries.

Ambassador Gnodtke added that it was not appropriate to deal with this issue at the European level because of the differences between the states in terms of the respective legal and constitutional bases of citizenship and the composition of the migrant population. He also noted his involvement with the German Islam Conference's Working Group One, dealing with "German society and the consensus on basic values." It is one of three working groups of the German Islam Conference, a program of negotiation and communication between the government and the German Muslim community. Working groups two and three deal, respectively, with "religion and the constitution" and "the bridging role of media and economy." He went on to say that there was a consensus among Muslim participants that they were happy to be in their chosen countries and generally able to practice their religion more freely than in some of their countries of origin. However, things were not ideal; they had aspirations and hopes that they had expected to realize in their country of choice that they had not be able to fulfill.

Despite this consensus, Ambassador Gnodtke asked why receiving countries looked at Muslim populations as a problem. In answer to his own question, he stated that the problem was related to the access of migrants to the labor market, in particular the Muslim youth in Germany who have higher unemployment rates than non-Muslims due to their lack of language skills. This barrier is usually overcome by the third generation, while the original immigrants remain insulated in homogeneous communities with access to satellite TV in their native tongue. He noted that education is the key to fighting this problem, which has no specific relation to Islam but is just a general migration issue.

Ambassador Gnodtke continued by stating the necessity for Muslims in the West to come to terms with the majority society. Issues of gender equality, adequate opportunities for young girls, and the right of young people to choose their own education are not specifically religious issues, but are complicated by the traditions of patriarchal societies of origin. For example, Turkish officials visiting Germany claimed that the Turkish immigrant population in Germany was more "backward" than society in the big Turkish cities; this group would be under the same pressure to assimilate if they moved back to urban Turkey.

Ambassador Gnodtke suggested that classic integration issues should be addressed differently than in the past, by establishing a dialogue with the people directly affected as well as with Muslim community leaders. This should be

promoted at the national level. He added the impossibility of the German state to recognize any religion, due to its national legal system, but that five main Muslim congregations in Germany agreed to form a coordinating council and would apply for public status so as to obtain financing.

He also raised the need to keep in mind that only 20 percent of Muslims in Germany are organized in religious communities, and that within the Muslim communities, there is a lot of diversity (Shia, Ismailis, etc.). To do justice to them all, a social pact cannot be attached while treating Muslims as one homogeneous group.

Next, Mr. Tlili asked Farah Pandith, senior adviser on Muslim engagement, U.S. Department of State, to discuss if any lessons from the American experience of integrating minority groups would be valuable for Europe, and to what extent a solution to these issues would undercut support for extremist trends.

Ms. Pandith said there were no lessons to be given. The United States is a country of immigrants with no integration policy for Muslims or any other ethnic group. Estimates indicate that 3 to 12 million Muslims from more than 80 different ethnic backgrounds live in the United States today. She then explained that the United States took a long time getting to the point of nonprejudice and laws for equality. Muslims have benefited from other groups who came to the United States beforehand and fought these battles.

In addition, Ms. Pandith argued that there are some interesting points that make it possible for American Muslims to feel part of the community. First, there is an understanding that everyone has the same civil rights and is equal under law. Second, Muslims and other groups tend to quickly blend their American identity and their cultural traditions. For example, at Thanksgiving, Italians eat pasta with turkey and Pakistanis eat biryiani with turkey. Third, in the workplace, Muslim Americans cannot be discriminated against because of their religion. They enjoy the hard-won legal freedom to wear ethnic dress and to pray. Fourth, many Muslim Americans learned English and learned to empower themselves within the community by watching their neighbors. Imams have found it essential to speak English to be able to communicate, in particular with youth seeking religious guidance. Ms. Pandith commented that the American narrative of being American "first" is insinuated early on (for instance, in school). It takes priority but leaves space for ethnic and religious identity. While immigrants often came to the United States with the thought of returning "home" to their country of origin, the

next generation tends to identify the United States as home and where they are going to stay. Feeling at home is a key part of keeping away the feeling of being a victim.

In regard to European Muslim communities, Ms. Pandith remarked that the youths she encountered were raising a number of questions: Why do we feel like victims? Why do we have to choose between being a European national and a Muslim? Why are imams teaching us in Turkish rather than in German? Why don't our parents encourage us to feel like Europeans? Why are our parents not more intent on education? In the United States, immigrant parents have generally pushed their kids to learn. Education is seen as a ticket to equal access. By contrast, she noted that in Europe there is no similar push and that it is easy to feel like a victim if you cannot find a job and thus a place in the community.

Wael Mousfar, president of the Arab Muslim American Federation in New York, responded to Ms. Pandith's comments by suggesting that American Muslim and Arab immigrants may integrate and thrive because they become citizens. In Germany, he said, he had heard that Muslims are not allowed to become citizens as easily as in the United States, leaving them excluded from the system—from having a say in government or running for office.

Ambassador Gnodtke responded by saying that German law has been changed to give immigrants easier access to citizenship. Even under the old law, it was possible to become German—more difficult, but the myth of Germany simply not granting nationality is just a myth. But Germany does require those who want citizenship to give up their nationality of origin. In the Turkish community, many have opted against citizenship, perhaps in the hope that Turkey will join the EU.

Sophie Body-Gendrot, director of the Center for Urban Studies, the Sorbonne, noted that these comments made no distinction between generations of immigrants, from those who just arrived to the third generation. There is a huge difference, particularly with respect to women and youth. She mentioned an example taken from a conference in Berlin, in which a young French man of Arab origin and a young German man of Turkish origin shared the same frustrations—of employment and also of resenting their fathers, who kept links to countries of origin and sent money there, out of the pockets of their families in Europe. There is common ground among people of the same immigrant generation across countries—hence the need to delineate generations.

Martin Schain, professor of politics, New York University, responded to Ms. Pandith's comments by cautioning against too much optimism when comparing American and European Muslim communities. The American Muslim community is better educated and better employed than the overall U.S. population, making the comparison with Europe potentially misplaced, since the European Muslim community is less educated and employed in fewer numbers, as clearly demonstrated by the background paper that the Center for Dialogues disseminated to the conference participants.[1] Also, he noted, at least a third of the American Muslim community is African American and native to the United States. In the United States, there is confusion between the Arab community and Muslim community. These considerations raise the question of conceptualizations. In Europe, many community issues are questions of class as much as religion: Muslim Europeans are largely working and middle class, while in the United States, they are middle and upper-middle class. Ms. Pandith agreed with Mr. Schain's comments: salary, education, and context make a huge difference in the immigrant experience. She cautioned against using the expression "lessons learned" saying that the whole world is learning together.

Hassan Qazwini, an imam from Detroit, responded to Mr. Riza's positing the development of a "Muslim question" along the lines of the "Jewish question" and its terrible result. Imam Qazwini doubted that a holocaust was a realistic possibility today, for Muslims or any other group. However, he noted that there are voices in the United States speaking of an expulsion of Muslims from the country and asked whether Mr. Riza saw this as a possibility. Mr. Riza noted that he had asked participants to keep in mind what happened in the 1930s and had not stated that history would repeat itself. However, in terms of the negative effects of suspicion being placed on a certain community, and that community's exclusion from society, a holocaust is only the most extreme example. If a certain atmosphere is created to make life in the host country uncomfortable for a minority group, the group might start leaving of its own accord. Extremists say, well if they do not like it here, they can go back. But this attitude ignores the very reason why the first generation chose to emigrate: because conditions were bad in the country of origin.

Mr. Riza noted that immigration has been a fact for millennia, and integration has meant different things in different times and places. In the United States, for example, there is both a fully

integrated Chinese community as well as Chinese people in "Chinatowns" who still do not speak English. However, these immigrants are not seen as foreign plants or a threat to society. Muslim communities have been susceptible to violence and radicalism because of problems in the source communities as well as the lack of opportunities in receiving communities, particularly for working-class citizens of immigrant background. It is an unfortunate fact, Mr. Riza claimed, that the upper classes in minority communities do not identify with the working class.

Abdul Wahid Pedersen, foreign relations manager of the Muslim Council of Denmark, said that he lives in the heartland of the Muslim "ghetto" of Copenhagen. He worries because he sees Danish converts like himself feeling that they are being pushed out of mainstream Danish society from the moment they take up Islam. They may eventually feel compelled toward some kind of clash or confrontation with the majority society. This problem must be addressed so that alienation and anger do not result. He added that the media are an important part of this process.

Ahmed Turkstani, professor, Imam Muhammad bin Saud Islamic University, asked about the role of the Muslim world in the issue of integration, since events in the Muslim world have a direct effect on Muslim minorities in the West. Mr. Turkstani also asked whether the recent call for integration is a response to radicalization. He questioned the difference between integration and assimilation, whether one is more "complete" or absolute than the other.

Ambassador Gnodtke responded to Mr. Turkstani's question about integration by asking participants to bear in mind what young Muslims complain about: lack of social recognition, which cannot be ordained from above but comes only from merit. It can only be achieved by integrating into society, which involves making society aware that one is contributing to the common wealth. For this to happen, one must speak the language and engage with and participate in society. If minorities choose to remain out of the mainstream, they cannot gain recognition. The state needs to support integration; it cannot make it happen, but it can facilitate it. Mr. Riza responded to the question of why people migrate by saying that migrants move for better economic and social prospects, which are often realized by the second and third generations. To integrate and assimilate, migrants have to know the language and know and respect the rules of their new country. He noted that there are various models for this process, including the "melting pot" in the United States and Canada.

He also noted that Chinese communities that have not fully integrated are nevertheless not violent. What has happened with Muslim communities in Europe cannot be disconnected from acts of violence, for which one cannot simply blame differences in clothing or not learning the language. When it comes to harming host societies as happened in London, responsibility is with homegrown British Muslims.[2] Host communities' fear and suspicion arise from these acts of violence. However, he noted, host communities also need to be tolerant—of what women wear, for example, whether a headscarf or a miniskirt.

Shireen Hunter, visiting scholar at the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, observed that the problem of Muslim communities in the West today cannot be divorced from the broader strategic context of the Western world's relation with the Islamic world. Why does the West feel so much more threatened by Muslims than by, for example, the Hare Krishnas, she asked. Is religion the issue? The Middle East has also seen secular extremism. Ms. Hunter noted that the colonial context changes European relationships with Muslim communities. While she felt that Ms. Pandith's description of the United States was too rosy, Muslims in the United States are not in the situation of coming to live in a former colonial power. She noted that in the 1960s, the United States was willing to accept a large number of South Asian immigrants because the United States is a multiracial community. Also, the United States is larger than European states, which are smaller and more homogeneous, making race a greater issue there.

Ms. Hunter reiterated the point raised earlier that integration is a two-way street, with immigrants in a stage of "probation" that they must adapt to the mainstream before having the legitimacy to contest it. She pointed out that in recent years, reporters calling her to ask about Muslims in the United States have been asking about her religion, to which she responds by asking why her religion is pertinent.

Imam Qazwini said that Muslims consider the fate of Muslim minorities in non-Muslim states seriously. They have taken concrete steps by working with the OSCE and other organizations on training courses for immigrants, with additional courses for countries with the most immigrants. He noted that the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) is also working with nonmember states and NGOs, with joint programs planned.

Mr. Pedersen mentioned a debate sparked by a Danish member of parliament who compared the headscarf with

the Nazi swastika. The debate developed into one on the *niqab*, he said, which very few women in Denmark wear.[3] However, a Danish convert who worked as a day care provider was caught up in the debate. Although parents were very satisfied with her work, the local government took her off the job, and said, according to Mr. Pedersen, that "you girls wearing this sort of veil are not ready to participate in the labor market." Mr. Pedersen also cited the example of forced marriages, agreeing that while there is no compulsion to marriage in Islam, there is a need for tolerance from the other side. Ideally, a Danish girl who wants to marry a Muslim, for example, should not be pressured by her family to call off the marriage.

Rabin Baldewsingh, deputy mayor, The Hague, said that the most striking aspect of the session was the degree of hope expressed by the participants. The greatest challenge today is getting people in urban, multicultural areas to commit to one another and to the local community. The Netherlands prefers the term "citizenship," with its connotations of belonging, caring, and sharing, instead of "integration." He asked Ms. Pandith to elaborate on how to create the mindset she discussed, of people feeling a kind of ownership in their city. How, he asked, can we in The Netherlands, a humanistic Catholic society, make a welcome home for Hindu and Muslim immigrants? Ms. Pandith responded by saying that in The Netherlands, there are Muslim-elected officials at all levels, including high offices. This example offers hope, and those elected officials are role models. She added that community involvement is needed on the business level, including programs to bring young people from minority communities into local businesses, helping motivate them to turn their hopes into something real. Governments can contribute by using the Internet to further empower and establish connectivity between Danish, French, British, and other youth.

Karen Hopkins, president of the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Regent of the Department of Education in New York City, responded by saying that she wanted to return to the issue of language. In New York, the largest percentage of high school dropouts is ESL (English as a second language) students. Why is there not a universal commitment to solving this problem? Israel, for instance, uses intensive immersion to teach the national language so newcomers can participate and join in society. In-depth language teaching is not the center of school policy in the United States and the European Union—why not? Ambassador Gnodtke agreed with Ms. Hopkins that language is the key to joining society; for people who do not speak the language, everything else is locked. In Germany,

he noted, there is a concentration on language training, but universal fluency cannot be accomplished by government offices alone. It also requires commitment from parents and pupils.

Farhan Nizami, director of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, also asked participants to consider what the host countries' responsibilities are to reinvent their historical narratives to accommodate those who come in. Furthermore, regarding the issue of violent extremism, he asked whether it should be addressed in terms of law and order or in terms of cultural and social polity. In response, Ambassador Perrin de Brichambaut noted that the nation-state model has historically been and continues to be the model for Europe. Change requires time, as well as specific efforts to put things into perspective. This is a republican project, as in the case of France, which offers the nation as a place for shared values rather than a shared historical background. Progress is happening gradually, with new textbooks coming out that reflect France's new multicultural reality. But the teachers themselves have to be trained to teach the new narrative. As for cultural violence, he stated that immigrants must recognize the rule of law, even when it is not fair or effective, since deeper societal change takes time. This is what the OSCE is trying to encourage; governments, media, NGOs, educators, private and public enterprise, and civil society all have a role to play in this process.

Naheed Qureshi, board member, Muslim Advocates USA, noted that there had been job discrimination against American Muslims even before September 11, and new targeting and scrutiny since then, including an increase in hate crimes, discrimination at work, housing, and so on. These actions contribute to the feelings of marginalization and exclusion among the Muslim community. It is not only a question of learning the language or getting an education and a job, but also about being welcomed and accepted. We need to think about how Muslim communities are treated and how lives are affected in the post-September 11 world.

She illustrated her point with a personal anecdote, noting that while working as an attorney for the federal government in the field of human rights and hate crimes, she was traveling on business with her boss, the assistant attorney general, to attend a community forum. She was detained in the airport for two hours despite having been born and raised in the United States, never having lived anywhere else, and being a native speaker of English. She is in a position to work with the government to build relationships with the Muslim community, and yet she was treated as a foreigner.

The session closed with Salah Al-Wahibi, secretary general of the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, Saudi Arabia, stating that youth all over the world have problems, and unemployment exists even in the wealthy Gulf Cooperation Council countries. He also noted that there have been Muslim minorities all over the world, including in Europe, who have been present for more than 12 centuries and who have frequently had positive experiences. Some communities have sophisticated links with the local government, the federal government, and society at large. Muslim minorities are not something new, and there are many positive experiences out there. At the same time, Muslim communities in the West today are having problems, while in Mecca, there are Burmese and other non-Saudi communities that have been there for more than 40 years and yet still speak their own languages and are unable to cope with the Arabic environment. They are illegally immigrating to other areas of the kingdom, like Riyadh. This is becoming a concern because these communities are poor, and crime rates are rising in Mecca and Jeddah.

Regarding Ms. Pandith's presentation, he suggested that she drew too rosy a picture of the situation before September 11 and that after September 11, the image of Muslims is no longer a positive one, in particular, from the perspective of security agencies. Even white American Muslims have been interrogated for hours in U.S. airports. They go to Mecca, he explained, but while they are there performing their religious duties, they remain concerned about the problems they will face at immigration upon their return to the United States.

SESSION II— MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN THE WEST

Panel 1: A Survey of the Current Economic, Social, Cultural, and Political Landscape

Martin Schain, professor of politics, New York University, opened the first panel, "A Survey of the Current Economic, Social, Cultural, and Political Landscape," by providing a general survey that drew on the conference's background paper.

Muslim communities in the West are today the largest source of Western European population growth and a growing minority in the United States as well. The Muslim population in the European Union is expected to more than double in next several years. Europe has both a short- and a long-term need for more immigrants to meet its labor needs and face its demographic challenges.

Europe's Muslim immigrants are arriving from the Mediterranean basin but also increasingly from sub-Saharan Africa. European Muslims tend increasingly to be citizens rather than merely immigrants or guest workers and are on average younger than Europe's population as a whole. They provide a much-needed economic contribution to Europe's welfare states, but also place demands on these states in terms of the welfare services they consume.

Mr. Schain identified three problems that Europe's Muslims face—problems of which conference participants are already

aware: failures of integration, issues of security, and questions of national and European identity.

He suggested that the first thing to note about the problem of integration is the disagreement over the meaning of the term itself. This relates to the question of how immigrants have negotiated the boundaries they find in Europe: first, the boundaries between "the ins" and "the outs," between those already in Europe and those arriving, and second, the relative permeability or rigidity of those boundaries. These differ from place to place. In France, the boundaries are fairly firm; in The Netherlands and the United States, conditions permit overlapping memberships that make inclusion easier. However, this also allows them to opt out and not integrate if they so choose. Debates over women's dress codes are offered as evidence of the failure of integration masking immigrant women's strides in education and the workplace, which often surpass those of men. As for violence, if we take the November 2005 French rioters as an example, most were French-born, but most were also unemployed youth faced with poor job prospects. In Europe, unemployment rates among Muslims are twice as high or higher than in the general population.

Integration failures play into the second problem—security issues—particularly in terms of the threat of radicalized Islam. The struggle against radicalism must be aided by governments' cooperation with Muslim minority communities. Policy makers often draw links between domestic security and external threats. Today, they link "militant Islam," and the growing number of alienated young men in the Muslim world, to unrest in Britain, France, and Germany—Britain and France, because of periodic urban unrest in areas of high concentration of populations of Muslim origin; Germany, because of the role of the Hamburg group in the attacks of September 11, 2001.[4] Also troubling are the links between those who are born and raised in Europe (or at least Western-educated men) and the terrorist attacks of recent years.[5]

Regarding the third problem—Muslims and a national or European "identity crisis"—the reaction to Europe's Muslim presence has been politicized. Europe's extreme right-wing parties have shifted from their anti-immigrant stance of previous years to a specifically anti-Muslim stance. This new strategy has already proven successful for extreme right-wing groups in Austria, Belgium, and The Netherlands.

In closing, Mr. Schain restated the need to focus on youth because of their sheer

number and the fact that the success or failure of integration will hinge on the resolution of challenges that these young people face, i.e., in terms of employment and education. Likewise, the success or failure of security programs, and their ability to isolate radicals, may well depend on policy makers' ability to deal with Muslim youth.

Zsolt Nyiri, regional research director for Europe, the Gallup Organization, followed with a discussion of the findings of six Gallup surveys: three conducted in Berlin, London, and Paris and three general surveys. He noted that the three cities were chosen because they represent Muslims from different backgrounds: many of Berlin's Muslims are of Turkish origin; many British Muslims came from the Indian continent; and many French Muslims are of North African origin. Furthermore, there are notable differences between these host countries in terms of their policies toward immigrants.

The first part of the survey dealt with identity, or identities. Identities are often seen as if they are mutually exclusive, and questions about identity are often phrased in ways that force respondents to choose a primary identity either religion or nationality. Gallup considers identities to be complementary, Mr. Nyiri explained, and measures them independently. Its surveys found that Muslims in these three cities closely associate with their religion, their country, *and* their ethnic background. There needs to be greater recognition that Muslim identity in Europe is a mixture of these three subidentities. Interestingly, Muslims answered that "European" is an identity with which they are least likely to identify. Non-Muslim citizens' perceptions of Muslims' loyalty to their country, however, are very different. The dangerous gap between what the public thinks Muslims think and what Muslims actually think must be addressed.

The next section of the survey tackled integration, asking respondents what they consider necessary for integration into society. Results suggested that both the general and the Muslim populations have similar priorities in terms of the specifics of integration. The most important task, everyone agreed, is mastering the national language. Finding a job was listed next, followed by general agreement among respondents that getting a better education aided integration. Celebrating national holidays was also considered a necessary task for national integration. The majority of respondents also agreed that participating in politics is necessary. Only a minority thought that toning down religious observances was necessary for integration.

The results showed a wider difference between Muslims and non-Muslims when it came to religiously observant clothing for Muslim women. Only a small percentage of Muslims thought that removing the headscarf and the *niqab* was necessary for integration—but a high percentage of the general public thought so. To be precise, only 14 percent of the Muslims in Paris thought that removing the headscarf was necessary for integration, but 61 percent of the general public that was surveyed believed it was necessary.

In an effort to gauge feelings of Islamophobia among the general public, Gallup measured whether Muslim religious symbols were considered more damaging to integration than those of other religions. The survey asked respondents about five religious indicators—headscarf, *niqab*, Sikh turban, kippe, and the cross—and whether it was necessary to remove them for integration. The results were surprising; in France, 61 percent of the general public thought that removing the headscarf is necessary, but 54 percent thought the same of the cross. Similar trends were apparent in the United Kingdom and Germany. Generally speaking, the French public was more opposed to any religious symbol than the United Kingdom, with Germany in between. Furthermore, Muslims in all three cities were not opposed to the public display of other faiths' religious symbols. There is a stereotype that Muslims are intolerant of other faiths, but Gallup's evidence suggests otherwise.

The next part of the survey addressed religion, starting with the question, is religion part of your daily life? There was a significant difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in all three cities. Muslims were much more likely to say that religion is a very important part of their daily life and were also more likely to say that they practice a religion and/or have attended a religious service or gone to a religious place of worship in the past seven days. There was a less pronounced gap in Germany, however. In all cases, the number of people that attended religious services is lower than the number of those who said that religion is important to them. In response to a question asking whether respondents consider religious practices other than theirs a threat, the overwhelming majority of Muslims and non-Muslims in all three cities said no. However, one in five Muslims in the United Kingdom and Germany did identify other religions as a threat.

The survey next probed respondents' confidence in democratic institutions, asking whether religion is a substitute for democracy and whether the two conflict. Muslim respondents in all three cities had a high level of confidence in

democratic institutions, including elections, the judicial system, the national government, and the media. In the United Kingdom, Muslims had more confidence in British democratic institutions than non-Muslims. In related questions, 65 percent of Muslims expressed confidence in the police, a percentage similar to that of non-Muslims. The majority of Muslims agreed that it is important for Muslims to be involved in politics, as did the majority of non-Muslims—except in Germany. The overwhelming majority of respondents, Muslim and non-Muslim, did not think that it is morally justifiable to use violence, even for a noble cause.

From these results, Gallup concluded that Muslims have higher levels of religiosity than the general population, but that this does not seem to contradict their high levels of national identity, loyalty, and confidence in national institutions. The difference lies in how the general public perceives Muslims' views—particularly with respect to the finding that strong Muslim majorities in all three cities condemned violence.

Mr. Nyiri concluded by noting that the consensus that religious and national identity do not conflict is encouraging for better understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslims should recognize that in Western society, religious symbols are sometimes singled out because they are religious, not because they are Muslim. Regarding integration, European populations need to recognize the common ground identified by Muslims and non-Muslims alike, including learning the national language and increasing educational opportunities.

Ceri Peach, professor of social geography, Oxford University, followed with a presentation on "The Social Geography of Exclusion." He began by noting that exclusion occurs on multiple levels rather than one side keeping another out. There is a lack of homogeneity within Muslim populations, with respect to ethnicity, class, and sect. Since 1950, the ethno-religious map of Europe has undergone significant changes. The post-World War II demand for labor in Europe brought in a great number of "guest workers," a large percentage of which were Muslims. Today, 10 percent of Western Europe's population was born outside its borders. These minorities are now more accurately described as settled populations than immigrant populations. Mr. Peach stated that the data on Muslims in Europe—in terms of total numbers as well as specific breakdowns—are imprecise and disputed. Roughly speaking, there were 200,000 European Muslims in 1950, and there are 13 to 14 million today. The Muslim population of

Western Europe has nearly doubled from the early 1990s to the mid-2000s.

There are three main geographic areas feeding Europe's Muslim populations: Turkey, the Maghreb, and South Asia. There are also three main corresponding areas of settlement: Germany, France, and Britain. However, there is considerable blurring of these categories; for instance, there are now many Turks in France and Pakistanis have moved into Norway. More recently, refugee populations like the Somalis have been added to the mix.

As for the total population of Muslims in Europe, estimated at roughly 22 million, approximately eight million of those are "old Muslims," from the former Ottoman and/or Balkan areas of Eastern Europe. The 13 to 14 million mentioned above are "New Muslims," most of whom arrived between 1950 and 1973, and their children. (Since 1973, growth of immigration has been mostly due to family reunification.) France now has the largest Muslim population in Western Europe, but also the least certain data. Due to insufficient research, estimates of the French Muslim community range from 3.7 million to 6 million. France is home to approximately 30 percent of the "New Muslim" population, while Germany has roughly 25 percent. Regardless of their ethnicity or countries of origin, "New Muslims" around the region share the same average working-class position.

Mr. Peach noted that different European countries have handled the question of citizenship differently. In Britain, a 1948 law gave citizenship to everyone in the former British empire, although few people used it initially. It was probably a shock to British immigration officials when people started arriving from former colonies. In 1962, the British clamped down on their immigration laws, but there was a huge influx just before the new laws took effect. The rush of people trying to get in before it was too late is one of the many examples of the unintended effects of immigration laws. Since then, the United Kingdom has been restricting citizenship, while its European neighbors are expanding it. In the United Kingdom, as in France, being born there entitles one to citizenship. Until 2000, being born in Germany was not sufficient grounds for citizenship. Still today, to become a German citizen, one must renounce other nationalities.

In Mr. Peach's view, the British policy of encouraging groups to have their own cultural practices and celebrations is a good idea. However, this multiculturalism has come under attack since the events of September 11. The result has been a backpedaling on multiculturalism

and more talk of social cohesion, with a subtext of xenophobia. The French model is likewise strongly conformist. In Germany, the school system splits students into tracks. The result has been a strong channeling of the Turkish population into vocational sectors, from which it is quite difficult to break into higher academic streams.

Taking Britain as a case study, Mr. Peach asked whether Islam is being judged on the actions of particular groups versus the religion itself. In the United Kingdom, there is a substantial Muslim population but also a substantial Indian population, including Sikhs and Hindus, which provides a way to compare groups of different religious but similar cultural backgrounds. As for Sikhs and Pakistani Muslims, these communities tend to see individuals as connected to larger family and social groupings, and marry accordingly. In Pakistani Muslim communities, marriages tend to be between people from the same village of origin. In England, prior to marriage, Pakistani Muslim girls are going to school with British boys, facing exposure to different morality codes and behaviors such as drinking alcohol. These cultural differences explain in part why little encouragement is being given to British Pakistani women to pursue higher education or enter the labor market. Because they are being pressured to marry younger, British Pakistanis are also having larger families. Conversely, Sikh communities in England are encouraging girls to pursue higher education and good jobs.

The result is that 40 percent of Muslim women in Britain have no educational qualifications, and, consequently, no access to good jobs. Muslim women in Britain are much more likely than non-Muslim women to be employed in the home, leaving the families with only one breadwinner. A strong cultural preference for keeping one's family close further translates into finding nearby homes for grown children when they marry. Pakistani Muslim men exhibit a high percentage of marriage within their culture, unlike Caribbean men and Indian men, who are more likely to marry outside their ethnicity. Finally, an examination of British demographics shows that Muslims comprise 35 percent of the households living in the worst 10 percent of British housing and 22 percent of those living in the next worst 10 percent. These are far higher numbers than for any other group.

In conclusion, Mr. Peach noted that the second and third generations of Muslim Europeans are better educated than the first generation, but not as well-educated as the rest of the population or as other minority groups. Today, the political tide

in Western Europe is moving against the permissiveness of multicultural policies, which makes it difficult to be optimistic in the short term.

Panel 2: A Vision for the Future

Mustapha Tlili introduced the second panel, "A Vision for the Future," by noting that Europe is facing demographic and labor problems. The influx of Muslim immigrants will have certain consequences.

Susan Scholefield, director general for equalities, Department of Communities and Local Government in the United Kingdom, opened with a presentation on "Building Resilience and Preventing Violent Extremism." Ms. Scholefield began by noting that historically, research on this subject in the United Kingdom has not brought together socioeconomic and citizenship data. This new approach attempts to diagnose problems and identify the factors that improve or harm the situation.

Muslims are the second largest religious group in Britain and the most ethnically diverse group. We can no longer talk about "the Muslim community," but rather about Muslim communi*ties*, of which the largest group is ethnically Asian, comprising 74 percent of British Muslims—43 percent of them Pakistani. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that 52 percent of British Muslims are male, as opposed to a slight female majority in the general population. Fifty-two percent of British Muslims are under 25, versus 31 percent of the population for England and Wales as a whole. These demographics have made the government increasingly aware of the need for a flexible and targeted approach, as one size does not fit all.

Ms. Scholefield stated that education and employment are key foci for her organization. In 2004, studies found that 33 percent of the Muslims of working age in Britain had no work-related qualifications—the highest percentage for any religious group. They are also the group least likely to have degrees. The employment rate among British Muslims is much lower than for the general population, and it's even lower for Muslim women. However, there are differences between British Muslims of different ethnic groups, with Indian men having the highest employment rates and black Africans having the lowest. Sixty-eight percent of British Muslim women are not working, as compared with only 26 percent of all women in the United Kingdom—a striking gap. Muslim young people have the highest unemployment rates in Britain. However, self-employment levels among British Muslims are high. Given that the workplace can be a

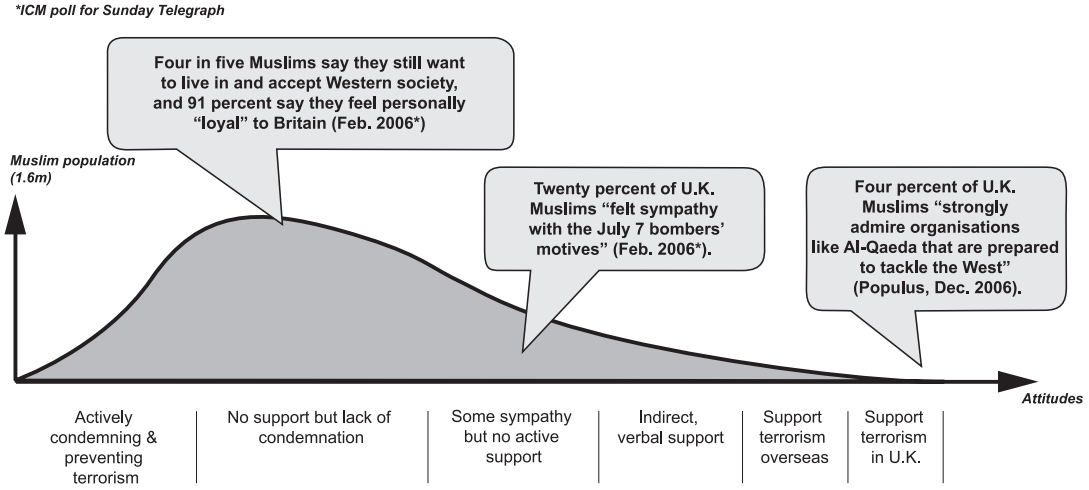
space where people of different backgrounds and faiths meet, this means that people are not mixing as much as they might.

Surveys of geographical and housing patterns show that Muslims in Britain are clustered in certain areas of the country and tend to have larger households than other religious groups. Since the Department of Communities and Local Government is also the United Kingdom's housing department, Ms. Scholefield stated that there is ample room for change through housing policies.

A newspaper-sponsored survey of British Muslims indicated that one in five felt "sympathy" with the motives of the July 7 bombers (see diagram below).[6] Fifty-one percent of young British Muslims believed that September 11 was a conspiracy between the United States and Israel. At the same time, 79 percent of British Muslims feel that hostility toward Muslim communities in the United Kingdom is increasing. The 2007 Gallup World Poll contradicted these results, finding that Muslims are as likely as the general public to condemn terrorist attacks on civilians. Moreover, only a small minority of those polled sympathized with the September 11 attackers. Similarly, the poll found no correlation between religiosity, in terms of a strong personal commitment to Islam, and violent extremism.

People often try to determine causation—"cause and effect"—what Ms. Scholefield's department sees as simply the difficult socioeconomic circumstances facing the Muslim population in Britain. She added that what her department wants to achieve

An Illustrative Picture of British Muslim Attitudes Toward Extremism



is a British Muslim community resilient to pressure from those who want to radicalize young people—a community that actively condemns and prevents terrorism, as opposed to one that does not support terrorism but does not actively condemn it, either. Furthermore, the condemnation of terrorism should not be in response to fear of retribution.

The department's Action Plan was launched in April 2007 to prevent violent extremism and, in Tony Blair's words, "to enable local communities to challenge robustly the ideas of those extremists who seek to undermine our way of life."[7] The plan mandates a four-part approach: promoting shared values, supporting local solutions, building civic capacity and leadership, and strengthening the role of faith institutions and leaders. To the department, "shared values" means respect for rule of law, freedom of speech, equality of opportunity, respect for others, and responsibility toward others. The department is also working to ensure the most effective use of the education system, including universities, in promoting these ideals. For the past year, a committee on integration and cohesion has been identifying what works in practical terms. Findings support the effectiveness of local solutions, including targeted research and cooperation with grassroots organizations. Strategies include mentoring for young people in sports and other activities. The department also supports the development of strong faith-based institutions and leaders; it is working to raise the standards of governance in mosques and to establish a framework of minimum requirements for all imams and Muslim chaplains.

Regarding women, the department believes that greater participation by Muslim women is critical for British Muslims' social integration and economic well-being. Women must be empowered to become active community members in Britain and throughout the world.

Shaarik Zafar, senior policy adviser from the Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, followed with a presentation on "Successful Integration—Is It the Key to Enhanced Security?" He began by noting that the Department of Homeland Security's mission is to prevent and deter terrorist attacks and other threats, secure the nation's borders, and welcome visitors and immigrants. The Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties works to ensure that the department maintains fundamental rights and liberties while carrying out its tasks. It also serves as a liaison between the department and the American public.

The Department of Homeland Security, Mr. Zafar added, has sponsored dialogues with various American sub-communities, such as people with disabilities, regarding emergency preparedness. It has also met with groups of immigrants to discuss issues like border security and naturalization. In addition, it meets on an ongoing basis with Arab, Muslim, and South Asian Americans to discuss civil rights in the context of homeland security.

For the United States and for the Department of Homeland Security, Mr. Zafar stressed, integration is understood in light of the national motto: "E Pluribus Unum," or "Out of many, one." While this definition is certainly open to interpretation, when talking about Muslim integration, we must note, he said, that we are talking about three groups: immigrants, the descendants of immigrants, and well-established communities, particularly African Americans with roots in the country for hundreds of years.

The United States has welcomed over four million new citizens and almost seven million legal permanent residents since 2000. The consistently high volume of immigration, coupled with new patterns of settlement, enriches American society even while it creates significant challenges for the smooth integration of immigrants. In the past, the United States dealt with these challenges by emphasizing a national identity grounded in shared civic values, rather than ethnicity, race or religion, which allowed the country to flourish as a nation of immigrants for over two centuries.

Muslims have been a part of the fabric of the American nation for generations, and their experience in the United States has been largely positive. The *National Journal* recently stated that "Muslims come to the United States and flourish" and are at average or above average levels in terms of prosperity.[8]

For example, among the four individuals the Department of Homeland Security recently recognized as "Outstanding Americans by Choice" were two Muslim Americans: Farooq Kathwari, the CEO of Ethan Allen Interiors, and Masrur Khan, a Houston, Texas, council member.[9]

However, with respect to political integration, there are European nations with noticeably greater success in electing Muslim members of parliament, remarked Mr. Zafar. The recent Congressional elections in the United States were historic partly because of the election of Keith Ellison, the first Muslim representative. Despite this and other encouraging signs, the United States today faces challenges regarding immigration, integration, and security. While

these challenges are not exclusive to the Muslim community, Muslim Americans have become increasingly concerned about civil rights violations and negative views about Islam. Like other Americans, they are also concerned about issues of national and homeland security. The issue of "radicalization," which, as Timothy McVeigh showed, is not exclusively a religious phenomenon, is one that all Americans need to take seriously.

To help prevent and counter ideological radicalization, Mr. Zafar said, the country needs to better understand and engage with Muslim communities, both in the United States and globally. By engaging with these communities and promoting integration and civic participation, the United States can hopefully minimize the isolation and alienation that can lead to radicalization. But does integration bring greater security? This is a difficult question to answer, observed Mr. Zafar. The Department of Homeland Security believes that improved security is one of many benefits of successful integration. And regardless of the high level of integration that Muslim Americans have achieved, there are still security issues.

Integration is not only the responsibility of immigrants and their descendants. Clearly, the state has a role to play by creating "spaces" for integration. With this in mind, according to Mr. Zafar, the Department of Homeland Security is taking five steps to further the already high level of Muslim integration, as follows:

1. Meeting with community members and responding to their concerns—all Americans deserve an accountable and responsive government. Federal officials from various agencies have begun to hold regular meetings with Muslim Americans and other communities to discuss policies, respond to complaints, and disseminate information. In Houston last year, one set of community meetings resulted in better communication to Hajj pilgrims and FAA officials regarding the safe transport of Zamzam water in ways that adhered to the FAA's ban on liquids.[10]

2. Developing cultural competency among federal and other security officials regarding things like common Muslim head coverings, which the department has worked to promote through educational posters and DVDs.

3. Upholding liberties and protecting civil rights, which the Department of Justice has been doing by investigating incidents of violence and hate crimes against Muslims, Arabs, and others. Integration cannot happen in situa-

tions where certain communities are treated as second-class citizens, and these investigations not only reinforce the law but also communicate several key messages: that Arab or Muslim Americans are *Americans* and hence entitled to the same rights and liberties as everyone else; that hate crimes and discrimination will not be tolerated; that the United States has a legal process for addressing discrimination; and that all Americans have the right to expect justice from the legal system.

4. Promoting civil service, encouraging people of Muslim, Arab, and South Asian descent to join government service, as the department believes that this is a key aspect of integration, and that engagement in public service is a key way to influence public policy.

5. Promoting civic engagement and civic participation, as these provide more chances for non-Muslim Americans to meet Muslim Americans and learn about Islam, which polls show promotes mutually positive perceptions. This step is one in which communities must lead, and they are doing so; the best action for government to take in this case is simply to stay out of the way. In situations where it is appropriate for the government to get involved, officials have the responsibility to encourage citizens to participate in public life and engage with public policy and to decrease tendencies toward isolation and alienation.

The session continued with Tariq Ramadan, professor of Islamic studies at St Antony's College, Oxford University, and visiting professor at Erasmus University in Rotterdam, and Abdelmajid Charfi, professor emeritus of Arab civilization and Islamic thought, University of Tunis, discussing whether Muslim youth and women infuse new vitality into "old Europe" and on what terms. Mr. Ramadan began by noting that people at the highest levels of government in the West identify three main areas in which they are dealing with perceived and/or real problems: integration, demographics (i.e., the reported need for 20 million workers in the EU), and terrorism. Mr. Ramadan noted that in 90 percent of the talks he is invited to give, he is asked to address immigration and terrorism to related violence. For the past 20 years, he continued, talk about immigration has focused on the necessity for integration. "We start by speaking about religious integration and end up talking about social and political integration as if they are the same. In fact, it may be that there are different problems to consider, which may not necessarily be

due to being Muslim. In other words, we are confusing the issue by Islamizing a social problem," he said. In Mr. Ramadan's opinion, religious and cultural integration is largely complete among Muslims in Europe. "What is the real issue we mean to address?" he asked. Mr. Ramadan continued, "Young Muslims in the West are pushing our societies to reconcile themselves with their own stated values and politics. We know that we have shared values. The problem is consistency: we are not living up to these values by implementing equal citizenship, for example. The issue of values arises not because of any religious conflict but because of social inequalities and other policy problems."

For example, the 2005 riots in the Paris suburbs had nothing to do with integration. On the contrary, the protests themselves were a very French form of venting frustrations. The rioters were asking for *consistency* in social, economic, and political policies. It is time to stop conflating religious and social problems—the Paris rioters did not riot because they were Muslim. Similarly, the men who carried out the July 7 bombing (as elsewhere) were very highly integrated, both socially and educationally. They had no intellectual religious problem with integration per se. It is therefore false to collapse security problems and social problems, Mr. Ramadan explained. He added, "Although social problems are not directly to blame for violence, we do need to work together to overcome social problems and achieve the application of equal rights. It is salient to note that African Americans have been in the United States for generations and do not experience integration problems or religious problems—they experience social problems of inner cities. Instead of playing on religious fears, we need to develop social policies that address the frustrations of young people and strive to provide equal opportunity."

Mr. Ramadan stated that his main concern is not with the far-right parties in Europe but with the normalization of their discourse; in general, what was said yesterday by the far right is tomorrow said by the center. The very discussion of Islam and integration presupposes old white Europe as the norm. He said the following: "We all know that our European societies have changed; we need to acknowledge this reality and stop talking about immigration as if it is a new phenomenon, and integration the problem.

"It is time for European governments to use Muslims who have been in Europe for some time, and are now citizens, as a resource to teach new immigrants about the democratic process and Western way of life. Young Muslims, especially,

deserve to be heard as citizens, not spoken to in terms of immigration that happened a generation or generations earlier. As for the headscarf issue, let us embrace and live up to our shared values: it is against Islam to make someone wear a headscarf, and it is against human rights to make someone take it off.

"Regarding security, while there are marginal groups that pose a real danger, some governments have used the danger posed by the few as an excuse to monitor the whole community. The result is an upsurge of mutual distrust. If we want to be serious about confronting the threat of radicalism, we need a strong antiviolence discourse among Muslims—but we also need to provide a foundation for Muslims to trust their governments."

Mr. Ramadan stated his belief that the question of cultural identity is not as complicated as some participants have suggested. Most European Muslims have a European identity—they are British by culture, for example—and this identity poses no problems for them. This is especially true for youth and women. In fact, there is a strong leadership of educated Muslim women in European society and in the West, challenging literalist or cultural readings of religious texts. This helps European countries understand that there is not only one way to be a Western woman. European Muslim women are now wearing headscarves *and* demanding equal pay (with men) for their work. Equal pay and freedom from domestic violence are universal right held by all women, not just Muslims.

Mr. Ramadan also noted that Muslims in the West are able to be completely integrated politically, socially, and culturally—and at the same time practice their religion. However, the emphasis on integration from the Western perspective implies that even third- and fourth-generation citizens "with immigrant backgrounds" are not considered truly European. This situation is regrettable but should also be taken advantage of by the Muslim community as an opportunity to come to a new understanding of their traditions and faiths in a new cultural context.

Mr. Charfi spoke next. He began by noting that second and third generations of Muslims who are more "integrated" are not yet sufficiently educated—they lack the means and the training they need to truly succeed in mainstream European society. Mr. Charfi announced that he would focus on the Muslim communities of Arab origin, since the Turkish Muslim communities are different and more complicated. (Turkish Muslims are believing Muslims but are also in favor of *laïcité*, which is particularly true of

communities in Germany.) The Arab Muslim communities' reliance on "imported" interpretations of the faith has lead to a fundamentalist Islamic path, in his view. The renewal of Islam should come from Muslims who live their religion in the West, because living there provides a new situation for believers. While the veil for women or the beard for men is an exterior sign of adherence to ritual practice, one must consider the simultaneous potential for spiritual depth in a secularized society. Today, most Muslims in the Western world know about Islam only through what they are taught in the mosques—and what is taught there are values of traditional societies, which are often inapplicable to today's complex realities. Islam is used to defend an outmoded social hierarchy, in which men are at the top, as are rich people and military leaders, with women and children at the bottom. Muslim Europeans can choose to remain marginalized, but if they want to succeed, they must radically change their attitudes. To this end, European imams must be fluent in modern, local cultures and must be given direct access to the sources and to the debates that open Islamic scripture to new interpretations.

Mr. Charfi renewed his call for Muslims, particularly those in the West, to return to the spirit of the message of the Prophet and reexamine the Qu'ran and hadith in a new light. One of the key postulates in Islam today is that every action taken by men should be scrutinized from a juridical point of view, to determine whether it is recommended, permitted, forbidden, or imposed. However, this postulate is the product of historical interpretation—not dictated by the Qu'ran itself. There are many such postulates that need revising. Like the Coptic Christians who find it difficult to integrate into Western society because they still adhere to doctrines in a traditional manner, Muslims in Western world will continue to have difficulties integrating until they take up this prerequisite critical reflection.

The floor was opened for general debate on the issues raised by the afternoon's presentation. Aziz Huq, director of the Liberty and National Security Project, Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, noted that Mr. Ramadan has put forth a notion of "consistency" that focused on tolerance and equality in terms of the treatment of others. However, without defining contestable terms like equality and tolerance, very little can be achieved.

Reefat Drabu, chair of the Muslim Council of Britain's Social and Family Affairs Committee, asked for proof of Ms. Scholefield's assertion that integrations is a means of tackling extremism.

After the July 7, 2005, bombings in London, the British Muslim community issued a statement that British foreign policy contributed to extremism. Asking Muslim communities to help tackle extremism promotes the assumption that ordinary Muslims in Britain have ties to extremism and are able to help find and deal with extremists, i.e., that "we are all guilty by association."

Vincent Tiberj, senior research fellow, Center for Political Research at Paris Institut des Sciences Politiques, agreed with Mr. Ramadan on several points, noting that people coming from immigrant backgrounds are enjoying relative success in education but suffering ethnic and religious inequalities and discrimination in the workplace. Not only are language courses needed but also effective policies that would change the lives of people who are already somewhat integrated and believe in the promise of the Western way of life. Mr. Ramadan responded to this group of remarks. First, he acknowledged that defining consistency is important, but stated that he wants to avoid philosophical discussions. He disagrees with attempts at comparative approaches in Europe—one will never find a French solution to British problems, for example. This is interesting as an intellectual exercise but not helpful in the real world. Next, he stressed practicality—striving for equal opportunity at the level of job markets, just as the women's movement accomplished in the 1960s. If one has the skills, one should get the job. The best solution is to punish negative discrimination. Policy should rely on three things: the legal framework of the country, the country's heritage, and the collective psychology. Finally, while he himself is not a proponent of self-segregation, Mr. Ramadan supports efforts like those in France in which Muslim communities have taken responsibility for failing schools that had effectively become Muslim public schools.

Ms. Scholefield seconded Mr. Ramadan's call for a practical approach. Neither she nor the British government make a connection between communities' cohesion and the equal opportunity issues that affect all who are underserved; it is possible for very deprived communities to be very cohesive. What is needed is to act on the deprivation issue. Regarding foreign policy, Iraq is a concern in terms of radicalization—but is certainly not the cause of extremism. As for the issue of Muslims being guilty by association, the position of the British government is that everyone is in this together. It is the young people who are under attack from outside, and the British government tries to work with that perspective, continually taking stock of how it is doing.

Mr. Schain noted that the great integration problem for Europe has historically been centered on the working class. If we look at Muslims in Europe as a primarily working-class group, and compare their integration with that of other working-class populations, we see that Muslims' integration has been at least a comparative success. In terms of education, there are of course Muslims in both Britain and France who have been successful in terms of getting into and graduating from top universities. The failure occurs in terms of the percentage of the Muslim population that has no certifiable qualifications.

Shamit Saggar, professor of political science, University of Sussex, and former senior policy adviser to the prime minister, asked Ms. Scholefield how comparing the description given by Mr. Zafar with the socioeconomic picture of British Pakistani Muslims that Mr. Peach presented might change the distribution curve she presented.[11] In the United States, Mr. Saggar suggested, Muslims and immigrants in general enjoy better economic and social prospects: "the American dream." He believes that the reason why jobs, education, and housing are constantly raised in connection with extremism is because these conditions seem more controllable than something as amorphous as global Islam. In conclusion, Mr. Saggar asked Mr. Ramadan what could be done on a security level and on a community level about the small but significant Muslim minority committed to violence or willing to provide tacit support. Even if these people are only 5 or 10 percent of the Muslim population, this means that in the United Kingdom alone there are tens of thousands of them. Mr. Ramadan responded that "in order to rely on Muslim leaders and organizations, we first need the institutionalization of the Muslim presence in Europe, so that imams and religious scholars can be trained in Europe or America. Unfortunately, today, the only Islamic institutions are in the Middle East. Islam is not only one culture, i.e., Arab culture, even if Arabic is the language of the Qu'ran. Muslims in the West need to recognize that we share the same religion, but that ours has a culturally European or American dimension. Western Islamic institutions will require financial and political independence in order to speak freely without relying on funding from one wealthy country with a particular view on Islam."

"In Europe today," Mr. Ramadan continued, "the economic need for labor is in conflict with cultural resistance against more new immigration. There is a need for strong policy to deal with integrating working classes into mainstream society despite fears of social change. European governments, opinion makers, and other

civil society leaders also need to communicate to people in Muslim communities that they have civil rights and civic duties, which include the duty to be engaged in and contribute culturally to the community at large. Part of integrating is also Muslim communities agreeing to address their political frustrations through voting and the exercise of free speech, even when the discourse strikes some as 'scary.' Within Muslim communities, we need to challenge extremists using strong Islamic arguments that we believe not just in our minds, but with our hearts."

Mr. Charfi noted that Muslims may seem to speak with great bitterness and not only about the role they play in the West. In the Muslim world, the population has suffered not only on the material and economic levels, but also from the absence of liberty.

Mr. Tlili closed the session by noting that participants have offered valuable insights into the issues surrounding integration in Europe and in America, both from the perspective of Muslim communities as well as the "host" countries. The critical issue, especially in election times, is to build common ground and for Muslim communities in Europe and North America to gain full citizenship—without qualifications or other references.

SESSION III—
WORKING GROUP REPORTS

1. Security

Randy Beardsworth, vice president, human capital and corporate communication strategies, Analytic Services Inc.; former assistant secretary, policy, planning, and international affairs directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security; and moderator of the working group on security, enumerated the questions raised by the panel. First, the group asked the meaning of "security"—is it the prevention of terrorist activity, is it civil security, or does it include criminology? Second, what is the context in which security should be talked about? Does security mean being safe from individual acts of violence, or does it imply building trusting relationships with Muslim communities so that they not only reject terrorism but do not allow extremist ideology to flourish?

Context and Delimitation of the Discussions

There was consensus that the focus should be on terrorist activities that occur within or around the Muslim community. The group also acknowledged that the root causes leading to individual acts of terrorism are difficult to define, and therefore, combat. It seemed more important to identify the context within which such violence takes place or is permitted. Thus the discussion centered on ways to mitigate a violence-permissive environment and ways to increase engagement on these issues within the commu-

nity, particularly among women and youth. There was also an understanding by the group that there are no long-term experts in this field; hence much of the group's progress consisted of participants learning from each other's diverse expertise in a variety of disciplines.

The panel decided to adopt the model of "attitudes toward extremism" presented by Susan Scholefield in the previous day's session. The diagram she offered distinguishes between those who are willing to come to authorities with news of radical activities—and thereby help to prevent such acts—and those who are indifferent or supportive of terrorist activities.[12] Discussions centered on how to reduce the latter group. There were three areas of focus: how to deprive extremists of the "moral oxygen" that sustains their cause, how to build sustained trust, and how the community could be incentivized to actively condemn and prevent terrorist activities.

Suggestions on Security

Sophie Body-Gendrot, director of the Center for Urban Studies at the Sorbonne, France, presented the suggestions drawn from the discussions of the security workshop. Presupposing an environment of mutual respect, security policy should strive to (1) give a voice to Muslim women and youth, (2) access the Muslim community beyond existing leadership, while considering self-appointed leaders with caution, (3) train interlocutors in cross-cultural communication, and (4) promote sound, scholarly Islamic teaching to counter extremist views.

Ms. Body-Gendrot emphasized that the first point—direct communication with youth and women—is fundamental. Women should be taught, empowered, and encouraged to speak publicly. City hall forums could provide an opportunity to women who would want to express themselves against terrorism. Inviting celebrities and other interesting individuals who have credibility with youth could also attract more participants. Another suggestion was to maximize self-help by developing organic capabilities such as the use of local mediators.

Other relevant suggestions by the group were as follows: (1) calling on the community to identify root causes (in appropriate forums) rather than assuming root causes; (2) involving the community in crisis management to defuse misunderstandings and escalation of tensions (as, for example, in the case of the Danish cartoons); (3) recognizing and discussing international issues; (4) encouraging debate even when it is uncomfortable; (5) working assertively to dispel the notion and language of a bipolar conflict; (6) identifying terms that are offensive to particular communities and cultures;

(7) using the media, city hall meetings, and the Internet to combat fear; and (8) establishing transparent contact with imams.

The group also expressed the need to diversify partnerships beyond traditional government programs by making use of NGOs and private firms, for instance, by offering incentives for the private sector to establish intern programs that might lead to jobs. Conclusions favored the replication of the Dutch model, which integrates public and private neighborhood programs to bring together youth, women, and local fathers. This builds trust between the community and the government, while giving authorities more accurate insight into the concerns of the community.

Furthermore, the group urged (1) connecting counterterrorism authorities with the community and private sector, in addition to local authorities; (2) developing exchange programs between police departments so that officers can educate each other about their experiences; (3) encouraging greater mobilization of political power within the Western Muslim communities; and (4) creating hotlines for community grievances, provided they are followed up on.

2. Integration—Best Practices

Shireen Hunter, visiting scholar, Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, began by outlining that the meaning of integration was continuously raised as an issue by the participants. There was ultimately no agreed-upon definition, which seemed to differ by country.

Integration

Participants agreed that integration needed to be defined according to each state, and that religiosity should not be considered a barrier to integration or a sign of nonintegration. States' definitions should also recognize multiple identities—and not force Muslims to choose between their religion and their country as a primary identity.

In judging the success or failure of integration, responsibility should fall equally on states and immigrant communities, and problematic issues should be addressed mutually. Civic engagement was indicated as one sign of integration with the caveat that Muslims should not be held to a higher standard of civic engagement than the population at large. Citizenship tests, for instance, should not include questions that the general public would be unable to answer.

Lastly, Ms. Hunter reported the working group's call for census taking, as has been carried out in the United Kingdom and Canada. These censuses should be

conducted on a voluntary basis. Adequate information regarding total numbers, ethnic breakdowns, and socioeconomic conditions of Muslim communities was considered necessary for developing informed public policy vis-à-vis these populations.

Stereotyping

In the general discussion, participants concurred that overall, Western media engages in stereotyping of Muslim communities, influencing political discourse and popular opinion. The group asserted the need for national and local governments to facilitate Muslim institutional and cultural outreach to counteract widespread misconceptions about the community. The mayor of Amsterdam, who helped with the organization of the Ramadan festival there, and the mayor of London, who likewise helped organize cultural activities, were held up as examples to follow. The group also suggested that local Muslim communities involve the general public in festivals and also set up alliances between organizations with common interests.

Ms. Hunter listed the following additional conclusions about stereotyping: (1) the need to distinguish between immigration and citizenship; (2) to recognize that Muslim citizens have the right to fully exercise their civil and political rights; and (3) to teach the principles of Islam and Islamic civilization in schools either as part of comparative religious studies or under other disciplines such as history or philosophy.

Muslim Youth

On the issues surrounding Muslim youth, Ms. Hunter noted that there were four main concerns shared by the panel: (1) poor scholastic performance; (2) low self-esteem; (3) feelings of uprootedness, loss of identity, and alienation; and (4) high unemployment. The working group recognized that these problems impede full integration and make Muslim youth potential targets of radical indoctrination. Improving the education level of Muslim youth was seen as a key to overcoming these problems. Responsibility for remedying the situation should be shared both by educational authorities and parents.

The group also proposed engaging in public debate in order to demonstrate that civic values are also basic Islamic values. According to the group, it is also through discourse, in particular through theological arguments, that the fallacy of radical discourses can be proven. In addition to schools, a sense of pride in the Islamic legacy should be promoted within the community at large, for instance, by publicizing and introducing real-life Muslim success stories as role models for Muslim youth.

Empowerment of Muslim Communities

Another major concern for the panel was empowering Muslim communities. Muslims should assert their rights and demand that governments take a consistent and nondiscriminatory approach in enforcing these rights. Nongovernmental and secular Muslim organizations could help achieve this goal. Creating such institutions would also provide a forum for internal debate within the Muslim community.

Ms. Hunter outlined the main recommendations of the panel for empowering the communities: (1) creating new organizations and intensifying interaction with existing institutions; (2) making proposals to national and local governments to institutionalize Muslims' cultural outreach; and (3) encouraging government institutions and law enforcement authorities, such as the police, to treat Muslims with respect and be sensitive to their cultural differences, and to recruit Muslims into the civil service.

Best Practices

Ms. Hunter reported the working group's recommendation to develop a list of "best practices" that have proved effective in achieving the goals outlined above. Muslim organizations and institutions could be asked to provide the conference secretariat with their own proven techniques. She added that some successful examples had already been presented during the workshop, including the following:

(1) Zarqa Nawaz's sitcom *Little Mosque on the Prairie*, which has been airing in Canada. This particular program has been very successful and is an excellent example of diffusion of information about Muslim communities through entertainment. A number of films, including *East Is East* and the upcoming *Kite Runner,* brings Muslim characters to a wide audience.

(2) The public Ramadan festival that takes place annually in The Netherlands (http://www.ramadanfestival.nl/). Similar activities take place at Trafalgar Square, and some mosques in Germany are open for visitors after Friday prayers.

(3) The "footsteps" project in the United Kingdom (http://www.mcb .org.uk/). This program identifies role models and has them speak at different schools to encourage Muslim youth to achieve more in terms of education, to become socially active, and to aspire success.

(4) The American Learning Institute for Muslims in the United States, which organizes a four-week program during the summer for academics to teach youth (recent high school graduates and college students) about Muslim experience and thinking. One of the aims of the project is to build a new American Muslim identity.

(5) The Radical Middle Way project in the United Kingdom (http://www .radicalmiddleway.co.uk/). This program brings widely respected speakers with expertise in Islamic theology and sociology

to speak with young people about the fallacy of radical discourses. Youth are encouraged to adopt the "middle ground," which is more in line with the Islamic spirit.

Other Points

While there was no consensus on this issue, Ms. Hunter noted that some participants recognized the need for further discussion of the link debated between foreign policy and local radicalism in the West.

Vincent Tiberj, senior research fellow, Center for Political Research at Paris Institut des Sciences Politiques, added that participants also noted that many issues concerning Muslims are also a source of concern to the general public. Therefore, Muslim communities should also establish broader coalitions with organizations that deal with general common interests and problems of society.

3. Religious Practice—
A Western Islam?

The rapporteur, Roger Hardy, Middle East and Islamic affairs analyst of the BBC World Service, began by noting that the idea that Islam can adapt to different settings is not new, as Islam has flourished in a variety of different settings.

The Context of Discussions—Belief and Belonging

The theme the panel was intended to elaborate on was the interaction between the universal message of Islam and the specific context of the present-day West. The discussions and case studies focused largely on Europe.

Mr. Hardy noted that there was a wide range of opinions on the relationship between "belief and belonging." One member of the group stated that belief could underpin belonging. Overall, the group felt that the states should keep out of the realm of belief. However, when it came to belonging, both the state and society had an important role to play in helping Muslims feel welcome. In fact, the panel categorized four distinct "actors"—the state, the broader society, Muslim communities, and individual Muslims—although their roles in belief and belonging could not be firmly established. The views varied among the members of the panel with regard to country and, in particular, in relation to education.

State Intervention in Religion

The panelists agreed that the organization of essential social and religious tasks for the Muslim community is a Muslim responsibility. The members of the group disagreed on whether the govern-

ment should play a major role, especially since states differ in their cultural, legal, and political traditions. Even within the context of a particular nation, panelists had different takes on the danger of government meddling in religious discourse. Some believed that society could arguably achieve more to foster belonging than the heavy hand of the state, while others felt that the state is a crucial actor in important areas such as the training of imams.

Imams

The group concurred that imams in Western society must be aware of their specific social context and know enough about local culture so they can work effectively within it. Mr. Hardy noted, however, that there was disagreement as to how imams should be trained, organized, and paid. Some participants felt that the state should organize and pay the imams; others were against this idea and considered it "top-down" social engineering.

Conclusions

The rapporteur reviewed the conclusions that emerged from the discussions about the responsibilities of the governments, communities, and individuals with regard to Muslims in the West. First, Muslims must enhance what one member called "cultural competencies"—including command of the local language and a clear understanding of the rights and duties of citizenship. Second, Muslims must continue engaging in dialogue with non-Muslims in order to dispel prevailing ignorance about themselves, their religion, and their values.

In conclusion, Mr. Hardy restated the crucial relationship between belief and belonging. While belief can underpin belonging, the articulation of belief is a Muslim responsibility, with the state and wider society playing a role in fostering Muslims' sense of belonging.

Mustapha Tlili thanked the rapporteurs and opened the floor for debate. He stated that the group discussions would be divided into two parts. The first part would be a general discussion about the ideas that had been presented in the reports. He urged participants not to revisit discussions of the previous days, but to emphasize ideas that could "fill in" remaining blanks. The second half of the debate would be about implementation—a plan of action.

SESSION IV— DEBATE ON SECURITY, INTEGRATION, AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE— A WESTERN ISLAM?

Security and Western Foreign Policy and Politics

In the general discussion that ensued, some participants concurred on the importance of including in the debate the issue of Western foreign policy in the Middle East. Haroon Siddiqui, editorial page editor emeritus, *Toronto Star,* launched this part of the discussion by referring to Ms. Scholefield's diagram (see page 29). In his view, we should not shy away from discussing international conflicts that also give "oxygen" to extremism. There has been more terrorism since the war on terror was launched—it is not possible to overlook the centrality of this issue. It is widely recognized that terrorism has, in fact, increased manyfold since the United States and its allies launched the war on terror, a fact acknowledged by the U.S. National Intelligence Estimate, a précis of the best judgments of all intelligence services.[13]

Along the same lines, Martin Schain, professor of politics, New York University, observed that more drugs, terrorism, and illegal crossings have been taking place since the war on terrorism and the fortification of the frontiers. Randy Beardsworth, vice president for human capital and corporate communication strategies of Analytic Services Inc. and former assistant secretary, policy, planning, and international affairs directorate, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, agreed that it was

impossible to pretend that Western foreign policy in the Middle East is not an issue, even if the conference had no capacity to directly change these foreign policies.

Edward Mortimer, senior vice president and chief program officer, Salzburg Global Seminar, spoke next, pointing out that although the conference was not authorized to make foreign policy decisions, it was certainly competent to discuss surrounding issues. Foreign policy, he stated, is a very important dividing factor in at least a few Western societies, as Ms. Scholefield's presentation indicated. In Britain, he added, there is remarkably little debate about how foreign policy gets made, even though a lot of people feel strongly about foreign policy. He expressed his regret that there was not a separate working group on foreign policy and integration.

Abdul-Rehman Malik, contributing editor, *Q-News* (United Kingdom), agreed that the conference should address the prevailing feeling at ground level. He noted that while some say that young people are concerned with foreign issues as an escape, as a distraction from socioeconomic problems, that does not change the fact that people feel that they have been poorly served by the foreign policy of the United Kingdom and United Sates. The Muslim generation of 16 to 35 year olds feels deeply committed to their community; they are frustrated about the 600,000 dead in Iraq and about the continued situation in Palestine.

Mustapha Tlili remarked that foreign policy is always the "elephant in the room" in these debates, but he expressed the need to move on and be practical. He remarked that the Alliance of Civilizations' High Level Group came to the conclusion that while foreign policy is important, a compromise is necessary. He affirmed the need to be practical—to focus on what can be done on the social policy level.

Aziz Huq, director of the Liberty and National Security Project, Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, noted that American Muslims found themselves in a small antiwar minority, while in the United Kingdom, there was a relatively broad movement against the war in Iraq. The challenge in the United States lies in developing means by which Muslim minorities can participate in foreign policy debates, even though they are a relatively small constituency. Other national and ethnic minorities in the United States have been effective in finding a voice in foreign policy decisions, he added.

Integration as Part of the Security Agenda

The discussion again acknowledged that integration has become part of the security policy for many governments worldwide. Mr. Malik remarked that there is a feeling that the Muslim community only became important in terms of social policy once this community became a threat to others, just as race relations became a subject of interest after the 1981 riots in Brixton. Mr. Malik added that religious practice is not a discretionary issue, but a security issue that is driving the whole agenda. The vast majority of initiatives aimed at Muslim communities today fall within security and counterterrorism measures; even the U.K. project called the "Radical Middle Way" belongs to this category.

Sophie Body-Gendrot, director, Center for Urban Studies, the Sorbonne (France), noted that it was unfair to mention only the riots in Brixton and not mention what had happened after 2001, when British nationalist parties started inciting trouble.

Roger Hardy, Middle East and Islamic affairs analyst of the BBC World Service (United Kingdom), cautioned against associating security and integration, even though he recognized that there is a link between them. Merging them leads to the politics of fear, he warned. Furthermore, like the cold war, the war on terror threatens to become a distorting lens through which we view the world.

Difficulties Faced by Religious Leaders Cooperating with Governments

Abdul Wahid Pedersen, foreign relations manager, Muslim Council of Denmark, raised the issue that religious leaders might face difficulties with their communities if they choose to cooperate with government security services. He noted that the imams in Denmark, who for several years met with the security services, and with good results, were put in a vulnerable position. They have been accused by their own people of being traitors. It is a very delicate balance to strike between cooperation and loyalty to one's community of believers. Mr. Beardsworth agreed and noted that transparency of the interaction between religious leaders and the government could help alleviate fears.

Definition of "Common Values"

The subsequent discussion focused on how to define common values. Mr. Siddiqui pointed out that nobody asks for definitions of Western common values. What are "British values"? For instance, "national belonging" should be defined by living within the geographical boundaries of the country and obeying

the laws of the land; to demand adherence to any set of beliefs places unfair demands on minorities. The best definitions of a country's values are its constitution and bill of rights, he concluded.

Mr. Huq commented that the issue of Muslim minorities and mainstream Western values had been raised in the discussions of the religious practice group, but not at length. In his view, however, there were both positive and negative aspects to this sort of integration. On the downside, the appeal to "liberal values" can covertly exclude Muslim groups from shared consensus without being overtly racist. During the Danish cartoon crisis, for instance, there was much talk of differences in the way "freedom of speech" is valued across cultures. On the upside, the appeal to shared values can provide a stronger bond than simply following the rule of law. The law itself is an inadequate reference for a nation's value system since it does not include the processes of debate. Instead, shared values are influenced by the media, the citizens, and the government in the creation of new policy. One way of thinking of shared values is to debate those same values within a given community

Abdelmajid Charfi, professor emeritus of Arab civilization and Islamic thought, University of Tunis, reminded the group to distinguish between values and religious practices. Human rights are considered universal values but have been jeopardized since September 11 by Western governments' actions outside of their borders, Mr. Charfi claimed.

Shireen Hunter, visiting scholar, Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University (United States), noted that indeed there is no consensus in the West on issues such as abortion, euthanasia, or homosexual marriage. These topics and the value judgments they imply should be subject to ongoing debate in Muslim communities and society at large.

Lastly, Mr. Huq remarked that in regard to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the difficulty resides in specifying how universal values should be applied in the local sphere.

Muslims and Political Participation

Discussion turned to the poor representation of Muslims in politics. Mr. Schain mentioned that Muslim communities in Europe and the United States are among the most undeveloped in terms of political capacities—political mobilization and engagement in politics—and stressed the need to focus on the development of these capacities. Mr. Hardy noted that there are only 32 Muslim parliamentarians in the

European Union and that the figures are also low in the national parliaments.

Ms. Body-Gendrot agreed with Mr. Schain and noted that political parties should indeed make efforts to include minorities. However, she acknowledged the danger that extreme right-wing parties can pose to minority candidates. The Western Indies communities in France, for example, had played it very "softly," choosing in various elections not to emphasize cultural difference.

Defining Integration

Once again there were concerns raised over defining integration. Mr. Schain suggested that instead of asking what integration is, the question should be, how does one know when integration is successful? In his view, the conference should be looking to conceptualizing measures and public policy recommendations that focus on the recognition of integration.

Ms. Hunter disagreed with Mr. Schain's comments that fixed reference points must be established for measuring integration change, particularly in times of crisis. The integration panel had recommended some kind of definition based on statistical data, she recalled. In the case of Canadians, they take adherence to their constitution as the only benchmark.

Vincent Tiberj, senior research fellow, Center for Political Research at Paris Institut des Sciences Politiques, seconded the call for an empirical definition of integration. Statistical instruments, he agreed, are needed to identify the problem areas and evaluate the integration of subgroups, such as women. They are also important to judge public policy and identify discrimination.

Ambassador Hans Gnodtke, commissioner for dialogue with the Islamic world and dialogue among civilizations, Federal Foreign Office (Germany), expressed his concern that the reports take an unnecessarily defensive approach. In Ambassador Gnodtke's view, the project of integrating Muslim minorities in the West has been, for the most part, already accomplished. The focus at this point should be to establish where integration has failed. He restated the notion that one country's model could not easily be applied to the rest of the world.

Mr. Hardy said that integration will have succeeded when Islam and Muslims have become "normalized," in other words, when Muslims will no longer seem to be exotic strangers but fellow citizens. Mina Al-Oraibi, current affairs journalist, *Asharq Al-Awsat* (United Kingdom), agreed with Mr. Hardy's point, but noted that Muslims need to address their problems and at the same time do not want to be

treated differently. Mr. Tiberj suggested that this problem could be mitigated by creating and joining associations that are concerned with general community problems.

Rudolph Chimelli, journalist, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Germany), pointed out that disenfranchised communities are not necessarily the product of failed integration. In some slums in Algeria, for instance, there is no drinking water, 75 percent of young men are unemployed, and there are poor education, housing, and social services. Yet, these men are not children of immigrants; they are at home. In other words, integration is not exclusively a national or religious problem; it is a problem of social conditions—it is everywhere. In addition, he noted that it should not be assumed that integration, at least in terms of accepting Western norms, is an automatically desirable outcome. Among both immigrants and native Westerners, there are those who resist supposedly mainstream values.

Karen Hopkins, president of the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and member, Board of Regents of the Department of Education in New York City (United States), urged participants to look for solutions in the realms of education, language, employment, and culture, while promoting constant dialogue through various forums. She resumed the theme of role models and the need for true leadership either based on authority or on a sense of belonging.

Mr. Malik referred to a piece written by Professor John Grey, which appeared in the *Spectator* (February 17, 2007), about promoting the "habit of tolerance" as a baseline for living in a diverse society.[14] Mr. Malik also advocated identifying Muslim grassroots organizations, which are largely led by women and youth, and evaluating how their work is impacting the community. Across the Western world, leadership at the national level has failed in representing the diversity that is present at the ground level.

Echoing Mr. Malik's remarks, Michael Rolince, senior associate, Booz Allen Hamilton, and former special agent in charge of the Washington Field Office's Counterterrorism Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), agreed that efforts should be focused at the grassroots level. However, his own experience in the United States was that the FBI and the American public resisted this approach. The process of integration, he admitted, is like a marathon rather than a sprint.

Mr. Pedersen then returned to the importance of public debate in fostering a feeling of belonging. He cited the strong

example provided by the Islamic-Christian Study Centre in Denmark, founded jointly by Muslims and Christians, which focuses on dialogue and the study of religion. It has been running for 11 years with great success and impact.[15]

Muslim Women

Farah Pandith, senior adviser on Muslim engagement, U.S. Department of State, inquired whether there was more to be said on the role of women. Adeela Shabazz, trustee, Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR-United Kingdom), expressed her concerns with the report on religious practice, which only made reference to the training of imams, excluding women. While women do not want to be imams, she stated, they do want the same kind of skills and have an important role to play in educating their families and communities. Ms. Shabazz gave the example of a Muslim institute in Leicester, England, that trains imams while acknowledging the way of life in the United Kingdom. Muslim women have been asked to do a presentation to each class and are thereby participating in the training of imams. For purposes of the report, she suggested that a broader term than "imam" is used in order to include women.

Mr. Hardy recognized that people are used to talking about men when talking about Muslim leadership. For the first generation of Muslim immigrants in Europe, there was no choice but to have male leadership. Now that these populations have reached the third and fourth generations, more effort should be made to involve women in the governance of their own communities and wider society.

Ms. Hopkins asked whether Muslim women in the West have the same concerns as other women (e.g., equal compensation for the same jobs) or their own particular set of concerns. Ms. Al-Oraibi noted the conference had not established why Muslim women and youth should be singled out from the community at large.

State Intervention in Religion

Discussion returned to the question of state intervention in religion. Mr. Schain insisted that the role of the state is impossible to ignore. The state can only be religiously neutral by granting the same freedoms and privileges to all religious groups. The New York City parking authority, for instance, honors a variety of religious holidays as well as the building of mosques and halal butcher shops. Thus, he noted, the state plays a role, even if it is just by standing aside to facilitate religious practice. Mr. Hardy agreed that the state cannot be kept out of religion. In the United Kingdom, he

noted, the state is in fact intervening more in these matters. For example, controversy was sparked in October 2006 by the British Labour MP and former Foreign Secretary Jack Straw in describing the full-face veil as "a visible statement of separation and difference."[16] Since Mr. Straw was the leader of the House of Commons and a former senior minister, and his remarks were endorsed by then-Prime Minister Tony Blair, many Muslims perceived the incident as state interference in their private affairs.

Media

Ms. Al-Oraibi urged people to write to journalists and editors each time the media provide distorted or incorrect information about Muslims or Islam. For the last five years, she added, the discourse on Islam and on the "clash of civilizations" has cast current events in biased terms. People need to rethink the vocabulary of the media to improve religious and cultural sensitivity. Mr. Rolince agreed that while the majority of the media are on the whole responsible, it is important for those with access to information to contact the media when there are mistakes.

Ms. Hunter noted that the main problem lies with editorial policies. Because the print market has shrunk, the media do not publish the kind of nuanced pieces that could have a positive impact on the Muslim-Western relationship. Furthermore, when it comes to electronic media and television, she stated, there is less likelihood of letters to the editor being published or noticed.

Mustapha Tlili closed the session to allow the group to focus on policy recommendations.

SESSION V— CONSIDERATION OF POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The floor was opened for a general discussion of policy recommendations that could be drawn from the previous sessions. Haroon Siddiqui noted that in the United Kingdom, a media guide had been published the year before.[17] Roger Hardy mentioned that follow-up efforts are under way to produce similar guides in Germany, Spain, and France under the auspices of the OSCE. Mr. Siddiqui also urged the convocation of workshops to train media professionals about minority issues. Although the topic was different, one could look to the series of workshops organized by the media association and advertising standards body in Canada in the 1990s as a general model. Such workshops could take place on a national or European level, but Mr. Siddiqui considered the national level preferable since conditions vary between countries. Furthermore, the workshops should be sponsored by nongovernmental media organizations to preserve their apolitical authenticity and prevent accusations of government interference with freedom of the press.

In support of the notion of NGO-sponsored workshops, Sophie Body-Gendrot described a recent event in Washington, DC, addressing the media's neglect of issues surrounding discrimination and racism. Journalists from TV channels, many of whom were themselves minorities, argued that their viewers had no interest in these topics. However, at the end of the meeting, the journalists agreed

to encourage editorial attention to discrimination and racism and to get more involved in these issues in their own lives.

Mr. Hardy pointed out that despite their best efforts, journalists have a difficult time obtaining reliable information when investigating, for example, how many Muslims are in Italy, where they come from, what issues plague them, and how they compare to other communities around Europe. A media guide with basic statistical information would benefit not only the media and journalists, but could also be made available to school teachers, public figures, local councils, and so forth.

Shireen Hunter noted that there are already some good resources, including a book of essays that she herself had edited based on a conference held in 2000.[18] The challenge lies in dissemination. Abdelmajid Charfi suggested that the documents drafted as a result of the current conference be given to program producers of stations like the French-German TV channel Arte, which once broadcasted a segment on Muslim women.

Mustapha Tlili summarized that, so far, two recommendations had been put forward: (1) convening workshops to exchange "best practices" and success stories and (2) the publication of a media guide with basic information on Muslim populations in the West. As an example of the former, he recalled that the Center for Dialogues hosted an event in February 2007 in honor of Farooq Kathwari, a Muslim American who came to the country as a student and today is the chief executive officer of Ethan Allen Interiors, a major American furniture company.

Ambassador Gnodtke noted that while an exchange of experiences already exists within Europe (as mentioned in the Danish minister's speech), the Center for Dialogues approach adds a transcontinental perspective. Naheed Qureshi, agreed but proposed that the exchange of best practices also include the communities' perspective on their difficulties. Karen Hopkins recalled the earlier suggestion of having celebrity spokespeople from various fields take up the cause of Muslim integration. The group agreed that these celebrities should be culled from both the Muslim communities and non-Muslim communities, as they both have legitimacy. Participants also recommended that efforts be made at the grassroots level to reach out to people who harbor anti-Muslim sentiments and are therefore often excluded from the debate.

Mr. Charfi noted while these practical measures are important, it is also necessary to establish a theoretical basis for integration that can be reconciled with

religious thought. Several members agreed that only after a distinction is drawn between cultural and religious integration, will it be possible to collect accurate data and conduct meaningful discussions of the issue in the media.

Mustapha Tlili closed the session by thanking the participants for tackling these difficult issues, which have a critical impact not only on governments but civil society as well. He stressed that a number of countries had been represented at the conference, including Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Given the continued level of tension and uncertainty surrounding the Muslim world, he imagined that the recommendations issued by this diverse group of participants would be taken quite seriously. He seconded the call for a follow-up conference to evaluate progress and further expand the dialogue. He also urged participants to make personal efforts to brief the media and to distribute the conference report to actors on every level of society. Successful integration of Muslims in the West is everyone's concern—and everyone's responsibility.

SESSION VI— PLAN OF ACTION

The recommendations listed below represent the key points of the conference action plan regarding the media, the exchange of best practices, and integration.

Media

The following steps are recommended to overcome the tendency of Western media to stereotype Muslim communities, thereby generating widespread misconceptions:

1. National media associations should promote workshops that train media professionals to be more conscientious about Muslim communities.

a. The workshops should be organized at the national level to allow for political and cultural differences in the Muslim immigrant experience, as well as differences in the origin of the population itself.

b. The European Union and national governments should support these workshops in principle, but they must be organized outside the government system in order to guarantee freedom of the press.

2. Media guides should be developed with basic information on Muslim communities in the West.

Whether simple fact sheets or full papers, these guides should also be made available to school teachers, public figures, and local authorities.

Exchange of Best Practices

1. NYU Center for Dialogues: Islamic World–U.S.–The West should act as a conduit for the transatlantic exchange of Muslim experiences and success stories.

a. It should compile a catalog of best practices, focusing on grassroots efforts, including examples of particular difficulties local Muslim communities have faced and the actions they have taken to overcome these difficulties. The catalog should acknowledge national differences, as not all examples are applicable elsewhere.

b. It should promote meetings between Muslim youth and Muslims identified as "success stories," who can serve as role models for the younger generation.

c. It should convene a follow-up meeting to chart progress on the action plan and to evaluate ongoing issues.

2. Local authorities and local communities should encourage cross-cultural dialogue with the support of higher-level authorities.

a. Government authorities at all levels should expand incentives for the promotion of events that improve understanding and overcome misconceptions through intercultural dialogue.

b. Local Muslim associations should organize events that engage with the general public and set up partnerships with other organizations that deal with issues of common concern.

3. Entertainers, sports stars, and successful individuals, both Muslim and non-Muslim, should be called upon to help promote a positive image of Muslim communities.

Academics and other "experts" should not be the only voices speaking about Muslim communities in the West.

Integration

National governments and the European Union should define objective indicators for evaluating integration, clearly distinguishing between cultural and religious integration.

They should work with NGOs to meet the urgent need for statistical information on Muslim communities by conducting voluntary participation censuses to inform policy.

NOTES TO SESSIONS

1. See Appendix VI of this report.
2. See http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/05_06_06_london_bombing.pdf.
3. Niqab: a face veil covering the lower part of the face (up to the eyes) worn by observant Muslim women.
4. See Kevin Sullivan and Joshua Partlow, "Young Muslim Rage Takes Root in Britain," *Washington Post*, August 13, 2006; Laurent Bonelli, "The Control of the Enemy Within? Police Intelligence in the French Suburbs and Its Relevance for Globalization," in Didier Bigo and Elspeth Guild, eds., *Controlling Frontiers* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), pp. 103-205; Robert S. Leiken, "Europe's Angry Muslims," *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2005; "Minority Report: The Trouble with Integration," *Economist*, October 26, 2006.
5. See Jytte Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 45-47. Also, see Oliver Roy, "Euro-Muslims in Context," *NYU Review of Law and Security*, Summer 2005, p. 20.
6. See ICM/Telegraph Poll: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2006/02/19/nsharia19.xml.
7. See http://www.communities.gov.uk/index.asp?id=1165650.
8. See Shane Harris, "Successes: Assimilation Our Weapon Against Homegrown Terrorism," *National Journal*, January, 20, 2007.
9. See Outstanding American by Choice Awards: http://www.uscis.gov/.
10. Zamzam is the name of the well that provides the water to billions of people, especially during the Hajj pilgrimage because the Zamzam well is located in Makkah, which is the heart of the Hajj pilgrimage.
11. See page 29 for distribution curve.
12. Ibid.
13. See Haroon Siddiqui, "A Mountain of Made-in-America Post-9/11 Disasters," *Toronto Star*, July 29, 2007; "Spy Agencies Say Iraq War Hurting U.S. Terror Fight," *Washington Post*, September 24, 2006; and http://www.dni.gov.
14. See http://www.spectator.co.uk/archive/features/27962/the-best-we-can-hope-for-is-tolerance.thtml.
15. See http://www.ikstudiecenter.dk/english_generalinformation.htm.
16. For an account of the episode and its wider context, see the *Economist*, October 12, 2006: http://www.economist.com/world/britain/displaystory.cfm?story_id=8035904.

17. See Ehsan Masood, *British Muslims: Media Guide* (Counterpoint: 2006). Counterpoint is the British Council's think tank on cultural relations: http://www.britishcouncil.org/brussels-europe-british-muslims-launch.htm.
18. See Shireen T. Hunter, ed., *Islam, Europe's Second Religion: The New Social, Cultural, and Political Landscape* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002).

APPENDIX I: CONFERENCE PROGRAM

MAY 15, 2007

Session I–Tensions produced by Islam in the West: How can they be Overcome?

Part 1: Opening

10:00-10:10 a.m.

Opening Statement by

Mustapha Tlili, Founder and Director, Center for Dialogues: Islamic World–U.S.–The West, New York University, and Conference Chairman

10:10-10:15 a.m.

Welcome Remarks by

Edward Mortimer, Senior Vice President and Chief Program Officer, Salzburg Global Seminar

10:15-10:35 a.m.

Address by

Ursula Plassnik, Austrian Federal Minister for European and International Affairs

10:35-10:40 a.m.

Remarks by

Heinz Schaden, Mayor of Salzburg

10:40-10:50 a.m.

Break

Part 2: Roundtable

10:50 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

Moderator

Mustapha Tlili

Speakers

Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Secretary General, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

Iqbal Riza, Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on the Alliance of Civilizations

Ralph Scheide, Deputy Director General for Political Affairs and Director of the Near and Middle East Department and Africa, Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs (Austria)

Hans Gnodtke, Commissioner for Dialogue with the Islamic World and Dialogue Among Civilizations, Federal Foreign Office (Germany)

Farah Pandith, Senior Adviser on Muslim Engagement, Department of State (United States)

12:30-2:00 p.m.

Lunch with keynote address by Rikke Hvilshøj, Minister of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs (Denmark)

Session II—Muslim Communities in the West

Panel 1: A Survey of the Current Economic, Social, Cultural, and Political Landscape

2:00-2:20 p.m.
A General Survey
Martin Schain, Professor of Politics, New York University (United States)

2:20-2:40 p.m.
The European Story, in Numbers
Zsolt Nyiri, Regional Research Director for Europe, the Gallup Organization (United States)

2:40-3:00 p.m.
The Social Geography of Exclusion
Ceri Peach, Professor of Social Geography, Oxford University (United Kingdom)

Panel 2: A Vision for the Future

3:00-3:20 p.m.
Building Resilience and Preventing Violent Extremism
Susan Scholefield, Director General for Equalities, Department of Communities and Local Government (United Kingdom)

3:20-3:40 p.m.
Successful Integration—Is It the Key to Enhanced Security?
Shaarik Zafar, Senior Policy Adviser, Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, Department of Homeland Security (United States)

3:40-4:20 p.m.
Can Muslim Youth and Women Infuse New Vitality Into "Old Europe" and On What Terms?
Tariq Ramadan, Professor of Islamic Studies, St Antony's College, Oxford University (United Kingdom), and Visiting Professor, Erasmus University, Rotterdam (The Netherlands)
Abdelmajid Charfi, Professor Emeritus of Arab Civilization and Islamic Thought, University of Tunis (Tunisia)

4:20-4:40 p.m.
Break

4:40-6:30 p.m.
General debate

8:00 p.m.
Dinner hosted by the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs at the Salzburg Residence

MAY 16, 2007

Working Group Sessions: Security, Integration—Best Practices, and Religious Practice—a Western Islam?

9:00-10:30 a.m.
Working Groups Deliberate

1. Security
Moderator
Randy Beardsworth, Vice President, Human Capital and Corporate Communication Strategies, Analytic Services Inc., and former Assistant Secretary, Policy, Planning, and International Affairs Directorate, Department of Homeland Security (United States)

Rapporteurs
Sophie Body-Gendrot, Director, Center for Urban Studies, the Sorbonne (France)
Shamit Saggar, Professor of Political Science, University of Sussex, and former Senior Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister (United Kingdom)

2. Integration—Best Practices
Moderator
Haroon Siddiqui, Editorial Page Editor Emeritus, *Toronto Star* (Canada)

Rapporteurs
Vincent Tiberj, Senior Research Fellow, Center for Political Research at Paris Institut des Sciences Politiques (France)
Shireen Hunter, Visiting Scholar, Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University (United States)

3. Religious Practice—A Western Islam?
Moderator
Farhan Nizami, Director, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (United Kingdom)

Rapporteurs
Aziz Huq, Director, Liberty and National Security Project, Brennan Center for Justice, New York University School of Law (United States)
Roger Hardy, Middle East and Islamic Affairs Analyst, BBC World Service (United Kingdom)

10:30-11:00 a.m.
Break

11:00 a.m.-12:00 noon
Working groups resume deliberation

12:30-2:00 p.m.
Lunch

2:00–2:30 P.M.
Working group rapporteurs prepare reports and submit them to conference secretariat

2:30 P.M.
Guided walking tour of Salzburg

7:00 P.M.
Reception and dinner hosted by the county and city of Salzburg at Hellbrunn Castle

MAY 17, 2007

9:00–11:00 A.M.
SESSIONS III AND IV: WORKING GROUP REPORTS AND DEBATE ON SECURITY, INTEGRATION, AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE—A WESTERN ISLAM?

11:00–11:20 A.M.
Break

11:20 A.M.–1:00 P.M.
SESSION V: CONSIDERATION OF POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1:00–1:30 P.M.
SESSION VI: PLAN OF ACTION AND CLOSING

1:30 P.M.
Lunch

APPENDIX II: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Lina Abduljawad, student representative, Qatar Foundation (United States)

Fareena Alam, Editor, *Q-News* (United Kingdom)

Mina Al-Oraibi, Current Affairs Journalist, *Asharq Al-Awsat* (United Kingdom)

Andreas Alsøe, Head of Section, Integration Policy Division, Ministry of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs (Denmark)

Salah Al-Wahibi, Secretary General, World Assembly of Muslim Youth (Saudi Arabia)

Mojtaba Amiri Vahid, Minister Counselor and Deputy Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations in Geneva

Elena Arigita, Research Coordinator, Casa Árabe and the International Institute of Arab and Muslim World Studies (Spain)

Mohamed Baba, Cofounder and Managing Partner, MEX-IT Intercultural Management (The Netherlands)

Rabin Baldewsingh, Deputy Mayor, the Hague (The Netherlands)

Randy Beardsworth, Vice President, Human Capital and Corporate Communication Strategies, Analytic Services Inc., former Assistant Secretary, Policy, Planning, and International Affairs Directorate, Department of Homeland Security (United States)

Coskun Beyazgül, President, Belgian Muslim Executive Office

Sophie Body-Gendrot, Director, Center for Urban Studies, the Sorbonne (France)

Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Secretary General, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

Abdelmajid Charfi, Professor Emeritus of Arab Civilization and Islamic Thought, University of Tunis (Tunisia)

Rudolph Chimelli, Journalist, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Germany)

Reefat Drabu, Chair, Muslim Council of Britain's Social and Family Affairs Committee (United Kingdom)

José María Ferré de la Peña, Special Ambassador for Relations with Muslim Communities and Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Spain)

Hans G. Gnodtke, Commissioner for Dialogue with the Islamic World and Dialogue Among Civilizations, Federal Foreign Office (Germany)

Farid Hafez, Muslim Youth of Austria

Roger Hardy, Middle East and Islamic Affairs Analyst, BBC World Service (United Kingdom)

Bas Heijne, Journalist, *NRC Handelsblad* (The Netherlands)

Karen Hopkins, President of the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and member, Board of Regents of the Department of Education in New York City (United States)

Shireen Hunter, Visiting Scholar, Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University (United States)

Aziz Huq, Director, Liberty and National Security Project, Brennan Center for Justice, New York University School of Law (United States)

Rikke Hvilshøj, Minister of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs (Denmark)

Kamel Kabtane, Rector, Grand Mosque of Lyon (France)

Haci Karacaer, Managing Director, Foundation Marhaba, Centre for Islam, Culture, and Encounter (The Netherlands)

Humera Khan, Trustee, An-Nisa Society (United Kingdom)

Birol Kilic, Publisher, *Yeni Vatan* (Austria)

Henriette Korf, Analyst, Security Intelligence Service, Center for Terrorism Analysis (Denmark)

Edward Mortimer, Senior Vice President and Chief Program Officer, Salzburg Global Seminar (Austria)

Mathias Mossberg, Ambassador, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Sweden)

Wael Mousfar, President, Arab Muslim American Federation (United States)

Hadia Mubarak, Senior Researcher, Georgetown University and the Gallup Organization (United States)

Zarqa Nawaz, Filmmaker, FUNdamentalist Films (Canada)

Farhan Nizami, Director, Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (United Kingdom)

Zsolt Nyiri, Regional Research Director for Europe, the Gallup Organization (United States)

Farah Pandith, Senior Adviser on Muslim Engagement, Department of State (United States)

Ceri Peach, Professor of Social Geography, Oxford University (United Kingdom)

Abdul Wahid Pedersen, Foreign Relations Manager, Muslim Council of Denmark

Jane Perlez, Correspondent, *New York Times* (United States)

Ursula Plassnik, Federal Minister for European and International Affairs (Austria)

Hassan Qazwini, Imam and head of the Islamic Center of America (United States)

Naheed Qureshi, Board Member, Muslim Advocates (United States)

Tariq Ramadan, Professor of Islamic Studies, St Antony's College, Oxford University (United Kingdom), and Visiting Professor, Erasmus University in Rotterdam (The Netherlands)

Iqbal Riza, Special Adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on the Alliance of Civilizations

Michael Rolince, Senior Associate, Booz Allen Hamilton, and former Special Agent in Charge of the Washington Field Office's Counterterrorism Division, FBI (United States)

Shamit Saggar, Professor of Political Science, University of Sussex, and former Senior Policy Adviser to the Prime Minister (United Kingdom)

Martin Schain, Professor of Politics, New York University (United States)

Heinz Schaden, Mayor, Salzburg (Austria)

Ralph Scheide, Deputy Director General for Political Affairs and Director of the Near and Middle East Department and Africa, Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs (Austria)

Susan Scholefield, Director General for Equalities, Department of Communities and Local Government (United Kingdom)

Kurt Seinitz, Foreign Editor, *Kronen Zeitung* (Austria)

Adeela Shabazz, Trustee, Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (United Kingdom)

Haroon Siddiqui, Editorial Page Editor Emeritus, *Toronto Star* (Canada)

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Shaarik Zafar, Senior Policy Adviser, Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, Department of Homeland Security (United States)

Observers

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Abduljaleel Lahmanate, Consultant to Her Highness Sheikha Mozah Bint Nasser Al-Missned (Qatar)

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Staff

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Salimah Hadi, Intern, New York University Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West (United States)

Claudia Rivera Bohn, Consultant (Brazil)

Andrea Stanton, Consultant (United States)

APPENDIX III: MUSTAPHA TLILI'S OPENING STATEMENT

Madam Federal Minister for European and International Affairs, Dr. Ursula Plassnik; Excellencies; Ladies and Gentlemen; Dear Colleagues and Friends:

What brings us here together today is a **call** for imaginative ideas, a **call** made urgent by events over the last few years, a **call** that would hasten the peaceful, harmonious, and more productive inclusion of Islam in the West, where communities of citizens ranging from 15 to 20 million in Europe and 4 to 6 million in the United States and Canada contribute daily to the welfare of their fellow citizens, but who regretfully often do not feel as appreciated as they should be—worse, they have become the object of increasing suspicion because of the misguided and most reprehensible activities of a few.

Let us not forget that the larger Muslim world is concerned about the fate of these communities.

Austria, where we gather today, has been, throughout its modern history, a link between the Muslim world and the West. It is a land in which the faith of citizens of Muslim origin is—by a law adopted in 1912—established as equal to Christianity and Judaism in the eyes of the state and, consequently, entitled to the same privileges.

No wonder then, Madam Minister, that from the first day I was honored to meet with you to seek your support and the support of the Austrian government for this conference, you immediately came through. Since then, you and your colleagues in the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs have spared no effort to make this event, we hope, a successful undertaking.

Our success will be measured by the kind of policy recommendations that, if implemented by concerned actors, would further the integration of Western citizens of Muslim faith in the economic, social, cultural, and political fabric of their respective countries.

My thanks go also to the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs; The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Qatar Foundation; and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, as well as to *Kronen Zeitung* and its publisher, Herr Hans Dichand, for their financial and moral support. Nor should I forget our hosts, the staff of the Salzburg Global Seminar, for their marvelous facilities and services, and my staff who work tirelessly to make this conference possible.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, no one can ignore the truth of continuing

misunderstandings and tensions that over the last few years have colored and framed the issue of Muslim communities in the West.

We at New York University Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West, since the inception of the program in the aftermath of the tragic events of September 11, have focused on the Muslim-Western relationship in all its variations and diverse manifestations. The issue of Muslim communities in the West is part of the equation. Now, more than ever, as we have become, by a very recent decision of the leadership of NYU, a full-fledged center of the University under the name of the NYU Center for Dialogues: Islamic World-U.S.-The West, we recommit ourselves to the same focus. Our constant aim is to knock down the walls of misunderstanding and construct in their place bridges of communication based on reason and mutual respect. Our ultimate goal is to promote fruitful cooperation between civilizations and peace and security for all.

As we seek to provide the center with the necessary financial means to accomplish its task, we call on all governments, institutions, and individuals, Westerners and Muslims alike, who share our concerns and philosophy to lend us their support to help us accomplish our shared goals.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, the issues we are dealing with are complex issues weighed down by the heavy burden of historical memory, exacerbated by the distortions of globalization, often reduced to their most simplistic dimensions by the media and, unfortunately, often also instrumentalized for short-sighted gains by politicians heeding, sometimes cynically, the calls of electoral cycles. For these reasons, we have unfailingly sought to anchor our contribution to this challenging yet necessary conversation in the most current scholarship. We do so to provide a basis on which reasonable men and women can engage in the give-and-take of true dialogue based on facts. They can then agree or disagree on the interpretation of the facts and, in the end, maybe arrive at common ground that could lead to a better future for all.

Let me here express my gratitude to the group of very fine scholars, both American and European, who, over the last two years, assisted me in the preparations for this conference on "Muslim Youth and Women in the West: Source of Concern or Source of Hope?" All of them have been credited in the background paper that you have received.

We hope that you will find in the background material precisely the kind of springboard from which, in your diversity of backgrounds, professional expertise, faiths, and nationalities, you will, in the two days before us, come up with visionary policy recommendations. The goal of such recommendations should be to help all those concerned about these challenging questions—governments, parliaments, community leaders, faith leaders, security officials—to maximize the chances of citizens of Muslim faith to attain full and equal citizenship so that one would no longer be referred to first by faith and then by nationality, but rather would be seen, like all his or her fellow citizens of other faiths or without faith, simply as an Austrian citizen, a French citizen, a German citizen, or an American citizen—full stop.

As we state in the conclusions of the background paper, these are not easy times to determine the right terms for the integration of Muslim communities in the West, and in Europe, in particular. Tensions between the Muslim and Western worlds are reverberating within Muslim communities in the West. The search for identity as far as Europe is concerned (among individuals, states, and Europe as a whole) is exacerbated by internal factors, such as economic and social problems, and cultural clashes, as well as external factors, such as international conflicts and the struggle against transnational terrorism.

Clearly the path of full inclusion is a challenging path, but both the United States and Europe in their modern history have successfully taken up similar challenges. Until the 1960s, most European states were countries of temporary migration, and governments and the public were ill-prepared for the challenges of long-term immigration. After decades of uninterrupted residence, immigrants and their descendants became citizens and the idea that settlement is temporary became an illusion. Ethnic and religious pluralism is a new social fact. It compels governments and social partners to take the lead in rethinking the obligations that tie citizens to the state and citizens to each other.

A new social pact—indeed, a new "citizenship pact"—must be formed that allows for pluralism and diversity. Social equality became possible after World War II because reciprocity subsumed the class divide. The pact of reciprocal obligation must now be rewritten to include Muslims and other groups of immigrants who do not seamlessly blend into the national community as it was defined in the past.

Indeed, throughout Europe, large and growing Muslim communities are experiencing a set of challenges that are similar between these communities and among their adopted countries. Generally referred to as problems of integration, these challenges can be broadly divided into two categories: those concerning the private sphere, which includes personal faith and moral values, and those concerning the public sphere, which includes education, employment, political participation, and what might be called the civic culture—i.e., the ideological and cultural norms generally accepted by most citizens.

As the conference's background paper clearly indicates, American Muslims are far better integrated, at least economically and socially, than European Muslims. Concerning Europe, the time has come, we believe, for all stakeholders—governments, ethnic associations, employers, educational institutions, faith leaders, and others—to develop and define what might become a "citizenship pact." This might best be initiated at the European Union level. As a set of institutions with binding decision-making powers, the EU is capable of providing guidance and leadership beyond the limitations of sovereign states.

As I envision it, this citizenship pact would be an understanding—a set of principles—of what is expected from Muslim citizens as well as from all citizens, spelling out obligations and rights in a clear way. Obligations incumbent upon both citizens *and* the state should include adherence to the law; respect for faith and private beliefs—belief (religious or moral) should not be a litmus test for citizenship; acceptance of the duties required of citizens (military service, for example), even if these might put one in conflict with personal faith; and sole allegiance to the country of citizenship, its interests, and above all, its security. Rights should include freedom from state interference in private belief, as well as a recommitment to social citizenship by the state in the fields of education, employment, and security for citizens; economic and social opportunity; legal justice without discrimination; and a commitment by the state to combat discrimination in employment, housing, and education. Such a mutual commitment, particularly as it concerns youth, would mirror the social citizenship understandings of the period after the Second World War—the so-called "postwar settlement"—that served to bridge the class gap that had deeply divided Europe since the 19th century.

Muslim women's right to choose for themselves if they want to wear the headscarf or not, as well as to work and have careers or to observe their interpretation of what Islam requires of them, is a particularly difficult issue. Full gender equality, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other internationally binding instruments, should, in all circumstances, supersede any other consideration.

The process of defining and developing a citizenship pact at the European level might include (1) parliamentary hearings in European countries with significant Muslim populations in order for employers, educators, experts, associational representatives, and others to gather information on grievances and suggested remedies; (2) an open process at the EU level, modeled after the European "Constitutional Convention," that would include studies and surveys to provide factual background on the current situation; and (3) an eminent persons committee to make policy recommendations and draft a fair, objective, and forward-looking citizenship pact that would undercut the basis of support for extremism.

What I am proposing is undoubtedly an ambitious program that might take years to articulate and carry out. We will explore together these challenges, including in the roundtable this morning, in the general debate of this afternoon, and tomorrow in the three working groups on security, integration best practices, and religious practice.

In conclusion—are the challenges worth our effort? As Bob Dylan would say, times are changin'. But, unfortunately, we have to admit that they are not on the whole changing for the best. In order to prevent rejection and alienation, which surveys have shown to lead to radicalization and sometimes violence, all those concerned—and I repeat: governments, ethnic associations, employers, educational institutions, faith leaders, and others—would need to exert a concerted effort to develop the new citizenship pact that I am proposing. Times will still be changing, but for the best, one might hope. As we conclude in the background paper, "As citizens, reassured in the integrity of their private values but in full agreement with the encompassing legal system of their adopted countries and their civic cultures, Western Muslims could become an inspiration for the larger Muslim world as it struggles to strike a balance between faith, tradition, and modernity. The harmonious integration of Muslim communities in the

West could also lead to a more peaceful and productive relationship between the West and the Muslim world."

You, Madam Minister, have worked tirelessly to bridge the gap between the two worlds. I am honored to give you the floor.

APPENDIX IV: ADDRESS OF DR. URSULA PLASSNIK, AUSTRIAN FEDERAL MINISTER FOR EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Secretary General of the OSCE Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, UN Special Envoy Iqbal Riza, Director Mustapha Tlili, Senior Vice President of the Salzburg Global Seminar Edward Mortimer, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I cordially welcome you to Salzburg.

Muslim youth and women in particular are often in the forefront of discussion over integration and the relationship between Islam and the West.

Often they become the "yardsticks" for successful or failed integration policy, and often they are styled as "victims" and see themselves as "discriminated against." At the same time, however, young Muslim men and women partly change the old hierarchies in gender relationships and are thus agents of change in the transformation of Muslim families and communities.

Quite apart from the religious background aspect of the debate, it is generally accepted that in today's world the great theme "identity and integration" poses many new and sophisticated challenges particularly for women and young people.

This is reason enough to look into their basic situation, concerns, threats, problems, expectations, and opportunities and to devote due attention to them.

Often we lack—and I say this with self-criticism—a differentiating approach, and we must look behind reproaches and stereotypes if we want to develop concrete solutions to current problems.

After all, we want to talk frankly about problem areas and approaches to solutions at this event.

Too many young people with immigrant backgrounds have no education, no job, little or no prospects for economic independence and social ascendancy, or to put it concisely—for a life as they would like to envision it. And—if you believe in statistical data—this applies to a greater extent to male youths than to female youths.

We know that a lack of future prospects and a feeling of exclusion or of being deliberately excluded leads to a propensity for religious and political radicalization.

In the diversity "of forming an Islamic identity," there are many young people and women who consciously and actively develop a European-Islamic identity.

Muslim women and the way they dress, the question of whether this is a visual sign

of nonintegration and nonacceptance of European values, have been discussed for years. The fact that even clothing is a delicate subject, and one which is not strictly private but involves aspects of legal and social policy, has already been appreciated prior to the *Sahin vs. Turkey* case and the respective judgment set down in 2005 by the European Court of Human Rights, which dealt with the subject in a very careful and conscientious manner.

At the same time, Muslim women are increasingly successful in their striving for equal education and professional training, as well as equal opportunities in the labor market.

Ladies and Gentlemen, a few words on Europe.

In modern Europe, diversity is a reality that had been ferociously pursued and contested at the same time until it was finally achieved. Meanwhile, it has become the recognized—even the energizing—core of our European self-conception. The daily application of pluralism is the truly successful "management concept" of our specific European life model. Europeans are turning out to be masters in the management of diversity.

The European Union is home to over 15 million Muslims. Estimates reveal astonishing numerical differences: sometimes the figure is set at 20 to 30 million. This number includes both fellow citizens who represent Europe's autochthonous Islam, or they are people who have come to us as refugees or migrants since the second half of the last century.

Europe, its politics, and decision makers are committed to diversity. This holds true for both the people and their countries: each single state, each community should recognize itself in this new European amalgam. And the final goal is that each individual man and woman, each human being, contributes their roots, head and heart, and that they recognize themselves in this new Europe.

In this endeavor, the European Union stands—and this is the very starting point for me—on the firm foundations of the Enlightenment: reason, the separation of church and state, individual and political rights and freedoms, self-determination of the person, and equal rights for men and women. The core of this life model is to impart pluralism, to live pluralism. By the way, Article I of the European Union's constitutional draft contains a good summary of this objective.[1]

To this quotation on the foundation of values, I should like to add another remarkable quotation from the final

declaration of the Conference of Leaders of Islamic Centres and Imams in Europe held in Graz in 2003: "European Muslims are equally aware of their religious identity as Muslims as they are of their social identity as Europeans."[2]

Diversity is based on a firm foundation of values. Europe has a carefully formulated *acquis communautaire* for the protection and promotion of this diversity, for the furthering of equal opportunities and as a foil against discrimination.

But have we also known how to make the best of diversity in our actual daily lives? Looking more closely, do we detect cracks and gaps? Are there vague areas? If yes, what are we doing about them?

Ladies and Gentlemen, integration is an ever-new challenge.

Integration is a sophisticated social policy management task requiring a great deal of creativity. The new home country provides the framework conditions, although—and this is something I should like to emphasize—a lot remains to be done on all sides.

Integration is not a one-way street laid out by a majority society. On the contrary, integration means not being a guest in a society but rather living in this society to the full, leading a life where everything revolves around participating in and coshaping this society, having rights and obligations, and—in emotional terms—sharing in its happiness and sorrows. And finally, finding a home.

Integration is not a process that aims to endanger or make people lose their religious or cultural identity. A precondition for successful integration is also to deal honestly with the lives of Muslim women and youth—their life in our society, their concerns and objectives, and also their problems—in order to find solutions together.

Many themes raised at the Conference—including Muslim identity and European Islam—relate to Muslim communities themselves, constituting a challenge for the internal dialogue among Muslims. In this effort, Muslim organizations and religious authorities have an important orientation function to fulfill.

At the same time, we must aim for precision at the political level: not every issue relevant to integration is related to religious identity. The situation of, for example, Muslim women and youth is considerably more multifaceted, and we should beware of discussing problems in the limited context of religious affiliation.

The concrete task is to make European values attractive for young people and to win them over without calling their religious identity into question. This also includes avoiding a situation in which groups of young people lose themselves to frustration and a lack of future prospects, so that in their circle of friends and families they fall into an ever-deeper and more rapid downward spiral in which everything appears hopeless. No young person must end up on the dead-end street of self-denial or defamation of others.

It is our common task to convince our youth that there is no such thing as an inescapable situation. We have to encourage young people in this belief. Let's get personalities who have asserted themselves in society, and let them talk in public about how they have "made it." Successful examples may provide confidence.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we know that the youth of today will determine the Europe of tomorrow.

Language proficiency and education are crucial to the participation of young people in our society and shall open the doors to their contribution in the social, cultural, economic, and political milieus. Young people are key to coshaping our common future—being inside, rather than having to remain outside.

Austria promotes language courses at many levels. Let me mention but a few examples:

- There are courses for young "newcomers," male and female, who arrive in Austria shortly before compulsory education starts or after it has ended to assist them in becoming integrated.

- There are language integration vouchers for immigrants, male and female, who come to Vienna within the framework of family reunification.

- And there is the "Mom Is Learning German" Program—language courses for mothers of school-age children.

The problematic lack of future prospects for young Muslims can be most clearly observed in the labor market. If unemployment of young people constitutes a challenge in general, it is young people from immigrant backgrounds who are especially affected. We need targeted measures that deal with this problem.

Let me give you an example. On May 9, a position paper formulated by the Federation of Austrian Industry—which, with some 3,500 members encompasses a weighty part of Austria's entrepreneurial world—was presented in Vienna. Under the title "Creating Common Spaces for Life—The Future of Migration and Integration in Austria," the paper is designed to optimize conditions for

people with immigrant backgrounds who are already living in the country. Their future prospects, it suggests, could be improved by acquiring a good knowledge of the language, by becoming increasingly better qualified, and by supporting children at an early stage, as well as through measures on the part of local and regional authorities.

There is a "Muslim elite" developing in Europe—men and women who participate in society and who have "made it" both economically and socially. They can and should be credible role models, especially for young people.

But we also want to invest more in education about Europe and the formation of a European identity. After all, we live in the age of multiple identities or patchwork identity—I think this is an appropriate term, since identity is nothing that is carved in stone but rather something that develops and shifts.

Participation requires being informed and having the necessary tools. I have therefore called for a new subject—"Europe"—to be introduced into Austrian schools from the first grade onward. The objective should be to allow recognition of that which is unfamiliar and instill confidence. Perhaps this will help children recognize what Arthur Rimbaud articulated in saying "Je est un autre" (I is another)—words that express the root pluralism of being European.

To me, it is secondary what children discuss under the label "Europe"—whether they talk about the Chinese wall or Turkish fellow citizens. The important thing is to recognize the Europeanness of that which is different.

Integration may be promoted successfully through cooperation with Muslim educational facilities. Let me mention a few examples from the Austrian perspective:

- Providing of Islamic religious instruction that meets European standards with regard to the basic and further training of teachers, the quality of teaching aids, as well as educational concepts for children and adolescents.

- Introduction of a European curriculum for religious instruction. With the introduction of the "Islamic religious education" university study programs, Austria has taken an important step. This is where Austria's secondary school teachers of Islamic religion should be trained.

- Establishment of Muslim theological faculties and educational programs for imams at European universities and teacher training colleges.

- Support by society for Muslim initiatives that resolutely reject doctrines and traditions that contra-

dict European basic values and that are also not rooted in Islam.

• Increased awareness in dealing with questions of media globalization. The Internet entails the danger of radicalization. On the other hand, it offers the opportunity to lead an open debate across borders. State and Muslim organizations should face the challenges of this medium by engaging in cooperation and providing orientation. They should also clearly warn against content that could endanger coexistence in Europe.

"The opportunity to find a home" best describes the ultimate goal toward which we should all be working.

Ladies and Gentlemen, no matter which individual course Muslim women follow in their lives and no matter whether or not they wear the headscarf, they are facing specific challenges and are exposed to specific tensions in Western society, as well as in their own religious communities.

Our legally guaranteed social and political freedoms offer protection and encouragement. At the same time, they may increase the pressures shaping Muslim female identity.

The Conference of European Imams and Ministers in Vienna in 2006 clearly addressed the question of what remains to be done: the responsible religious authorities have to take clear positions on such issues as the defense of women's rights and promoting the image of the Muslim woman having a full and equal role in all spheres of society.

The same Vienna imam conference formulated the following groundbreaking statements with regard to gender participation: "Men and women are equal partners in Islam; they carry mutual responsibility and are equal in human dignity. The right to study and teach, the right to work, to financial independence, to vote and be eligible for political office, and to participate in the social discourse are pillars which are to guarantee this status."[3]

In my opinion, the active participation of women in decision-making processes—at an equal level with men and not only with regard to so-called women's issues, but in relation to any subject—in internal dialogue and in the dialogue between cultures, is at the core of the debate on these issues. I am convinced that no society can do without the strength, experience, and expertise of women.

The training and education of young people is also affected by the position of women. A modern, open-minded mother will strive to give her children confidence, create opportunities for them, and do everything to ensure their successful future.

Muslim women in our societies—I have already addressed this point and we are all aware of it—are by no means a homogeneous group. They are characterized by diversity—not only by different countries of origin, different kinds of education, different situations in society and in their families, but also by their personal life patterns.

Carla Amina Baghajati, the media spokeswoman of the Islamic Faith Community in Austria, is getting to the point when she says that Muslim women—particularly if they wear headscarves—are the subject of more or less any discussion related to the theme of "Islam in Europe" ranging from the issue of integration to questions of security. She says that "this is usually done without asking them and by talking about them rather than with them."

Regarding the wishes Muslim women voice with regard to politics, Ms. Baghajati sees two levels of what remains to be done:
1. Necessary action on the Muslim side: responsible religious authorities should take a clear stand on the defense of women's rights and women's image based on equal rights:

- Cases in which women are wronged should be openly reviewed on a self-critical basis. There should be no rejection through the claim that "this is not Islam." This is the only way of achieving positive awareness within the Muslim community.
- Networking between civil society facilities and other organizations supporting women's rights and human rights should be increased. Dialogue should point out that which concerns us all, such as violence against women, "as if there were no other abusive husbands in Austria."

2. Necessary action in society and politics in general:

- Topics should be dealt with honestly, without simplification, or complacency.
- Effective antidiscrimination measures should be taken, including the creation of opportunities for greater participation by Muslim women.
- Awareness should be raised with regard to contradictions and dependencies. Where women cannot go to work to become financially independent from their husbands, this is caused in part by the difficulties involved in getting foreign degrees acknowledged, by problems concerning access to the labor market, and also on account of the legislation governing the rights of foreigners—not "by Islam," as is often generalized. When wives do not end a marriage although it is "on the rocks," this attitude may be due to fears of losing their residence permit, which is controlled by the husband.

Ladies and Gentlemen, terror caused by people who pretend to act in the name of Islam, as well as anger and radicalization of marginalized groups, gives rise to negative generalizations of Muslims in our country.

The dangerous thing about stereotypes is that they paralyze. They threaten to take hostage the positive potential of entire societies—both in the Muslim world and in the Western world. We should—and must—identify, unmask, and dismantle stereotypes.

Two current European initiatives addressing this challenge are the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All (2007) and the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008).

One principle of the European life model is committed dialogue—based on mutual curiosity and interest, not merely tolerance, for "tolerating means offending" as Goethe said, and certainly not on indifference disguised as tolerance.

It is particularly the Austrian model of dealing with our Muslim fellow citizens that has proven successful. The "Memorandum by the Islamic Faith Community in Austria on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of European Unity" describes it as "a well-balanced relationship between the state and recognized religious communities," including Islam, which has been recognized in Austria since 1912. We have a political climate in which issues are dealt with constructively among equals and in which solutions can be found.

We are trying to keep both hands outstretched, one hand toward our Muslim fellow citizens and the other hand toward our Muslim partners in the wider world. In this, we are aware of the crucial role of European Muslims, men and women alike.

I wish the Conference, its initiator Director Mustapha Tlili, and his Center for Dialogues team a most successful event.

Thank you.

APPENDIX V: KEYNOTE ADDRESS OF RIKKE HVILSHØJ, DANISH MINISTER OF REFUGEE, IMMIGRATION, AND INTEGRATION AFFAIRS

Introduction

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very pleased to be here today among you at this highly interesting conference. I am also very pleased to be able to share some of my thoughts on current integration issues with an audience of such diverse backgrounds and experiences.

I would like to thank Mr. Tlili and the Center for Dialogues for making this impressive event possible and Dr. Plassnik and Mr. Schaden for having Austria and the beautiful city of Salzburg host this conference.

Conference Themes and Focus

Integration policy is high on the political agenda in most of our countries. Challenges, experiences, and policies differ from country to country, and we can all learn from each other. There is currently a growing interest in and need for exchange of information, ideas, and best practices, which is why I find this conference very relevant and useful.

The aim of the conference is to put the focus upon Islam in the West. It aims, in particular, to look at Muslim youth and women in the West, and it raises the basic question of whether Muslim youth and women are a source of concern or a source of hope. This is an interesting and important question. I would like to stress generally that we are facing fundamental and urgent problems in the integration area.

On the other hand, these problems *can* be solved. But it requires that we acknowledge the challenges and do not ignore the problems as was the tendency some years ago. It also requires that we be—politicians and other authorities, civil society, immigrant organizations, religious leaders, and so on—ready to debate even the most controversial issues and contribute to finding solutions. For example, the practice of forced marriages among some immigrant groups is a controversial and complicated question. We should not avoid debating this issue because of cultural sensitivity, and we should not accept it as part of some immigrant group's traditional culture. The right of young people to freely decide whom they want to marry is fundamental and nonnegotiable. There is no excuse for forced marriages. We need to make this very clear. Fortunately, I think we are already seeing signs of positive developments—developments that we can build on. But still, there are many unsolved challenges ahead of us. We do still need to intensify our efforts.

I would like to address two issues today. Firstly, I would like to say a few words on Danish integration policy. What are the main challenges and what are the main aims? As this conference pays special attention to the position of Muslim youth and women, I would like today to give you a more detailed picture of how Denmark seeks to promote integration and participation—in particular of immigrant youth and women. Secondly, I would like to say a few words on how Denmark aims to accommodate cultural and religious diversity. In recent decades, Denmark—like many other Western European societies—has seen a growing number of immigrants with cultural traditions and religions that differ from the mainstream. I would like to say a few words on how we seek to respond to this diversity.

Danish Integration Policy

Danish immigration history has in many ways followed the same path as the immigration histories of many other Western European countries. Although Denmark has a long history of immigration, larger scale immigration and the influx of immigrants with Muslim backgrounds is a relatively new phenomenon dating back to the 1960s. In the 1960s and early 1970s, immigration was promoted as a valuable source of labor. The immigrants were seen as guest workers, and they were expected to return to their home countries if they were no longer employed. However, many stayed in Denmark even though the need for labor diminished. Many lost their jobs. And in the following decades, Denmark additionally experienced a rise in refugees and family-related immigration with no affiliation to the labor market. In Denmark today, it is generally acknowledged that we made a mistake in the past by not realizing that immigration requires an active immigration and integration policy. Some of the conflicts and challenges we are facing today could have been avoided or minimized if we had given them our attention at the appropriate time.

Thus, we learned two lessons. Firstly, we need to manage and control immigration. This will in general ensure that we have the necessary resources to promote the integration of both newcomers and long-term immigrants. In Denmark, we recognize that there is a close link between immigration and integration policy. Secondly, we learned that we must actively promote the integration of immigrants in Denmark. We must provide immigrants with opportunities and incentives in order to ensure a successful process of integration.

So, what are the main challenges that we face today? Although many immigrants and refugees have been successfully integrated, the unemployment level among immigrants and their descendants is too high when compared to the rest of the population. Too many immigrants do not enroll in school or do not complete the education in which they enrolled. Moreover, many immigrants, even immigrants who have been in Denmark for many years, lack sufficient knowledge of the Danish language.

Introduction to Program, Labor Market, and Educational System

These challenges have necessitated that language teaching and integration into the labor market and the educational system have become main aims of Danish integration policy.

In 1999, a three-year introduction program aimed at newly arrived refugees and their families was introduced. The program is offered for free and includes Danish language courses, labor market training, and classes on Danish society. Immigrants coming to Denmark for work or study are also entitled to Danish language courses for three years. The Danish government has also introduced initiatives aimed at promoting labor market integration. Thus, a step-by-step approach to active participation on the labor market has been introduced. The immigrant or refugee is, firstly, offered short-term education, then on-the-job training, and finally recruitment with a wage subsidy before moving into the ordinary labor market. We have launched several additional initiatives aimed at drawing immigrants into the labor market and educational system, including mentoring schemes and diversity management programs.

Youth and Women

Immigrant youth and women are special focus groups in Danish integration policy. Immigrant youth in Denmark—many of whom were born or have grown up in Denmark—in many cases seem to inherit their parents' problems: high unemployment, little or no education, and an insufficient knowledge of the Danish language. Young immigrants need support. They need role models and positive goals for their future. We have therefore established the campaign "We need all youngsters." The campaign is aimed at raising awareness among immigrants about the educational system and awareness among employers about the qualifications and potential of immigrant youth. The campaign makes use of role models—young immigrants who have had success professionally or in their educational choices. Of special importance is the involvement of their

parents. Immigrant parents are in some cases not familiar with the active parenting role that is required in our society and educational system today. Furthermore, many immigrant parents are fighting their own social or integration battles and may not have the resources to support their children. It is therefore important that we motivate the parents—with both sticks and carrots, so to say—to assume responsibility for bringing up their children and supporting their educations. It is the duty of the parents to make an effort to integrate and learn the language so they can better fulfill this role.

Immigrant youth was also the focus of a European conference held last year by The Netherlands and Denmark. We learned a lot from that conference, including that it is important to involve the group in question, that it is very important to discuss even sensitive issues like the risk of radicalization and of course the usefulness of exchange of ideas and best practices.

Turning to immigrant women, the challenge is that very often they are even more isolated from the labor market and society than immigrants in general. Due to their subservient position in many traditional immigrant cultures, it is also harder for women to become fully integrated. At the same time, we do see women breaking out of their traditional roles and moving into society. This calls for admiration and support, and the women who do successfully break from their traditional roles could become role models for others. Integration of immigrant women is therefore a top political priority in 2007 and onward. We will launch initiatives on dialogue, support to networks, upgrading of qualifications, etc. Generally, it is all about supporting immigrant women's efforts to get out of their homes and into society.

Common Values and Accommodation of Cultural Diversity

Immigrants bring with them cultural traditions and religions that often differ from the traditions in the host society. Immigration has in many ways enriched our societies. Western societies today are culturally diverse societies, and we should value this diversity.

But immigration and cultural diversity have also raised questions as to how our societies and public policies should respond. How can our societies accommodate this diversity? To what extent should the host society adapt to immigration? And to what extent must immigrants adapt to their new society? These are difficult and often controversial questions, but I see this conference as an opportunity to discuss these issues. We

have all taken different approaches reflecting differences in our national policies, histories of immigration, and our different traditions. In Denmark, we value diversity, and as a host society, we must strive to respect immigrants' cultural and religious traditions.

We recognize that immigrants should be free to maintain their customs with regard to food, dress, religion, and recreation, for example. But we also emphasize that this freedom and diversity exist *within* the basic values and laws of Danish society. Democracy, equality between men and women, nondiscrimination, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion are some of these basic values. We also emphasize the right of the individual citizen to decide freely how he or she wants to live his or her life.

Some have argued that we need to put emphasis on the recognition of different cultures. These policies of multiculturalism have been criticized—rightly I believe—for eroding social solidarity and cohesion and for fragmenting our societies. Placing too much emphasis on ethnic identities at the expense of what we have in common may threaten social solidarity. In Denmark we emphasize social cohesion, inclusion, and the need to provide all citizens with equal opportunities for participation in all aspects of society.

Sharing and accepting the same common set of values is fundamental to social cohesion in our society, and we should combat the trend toward parallel societies. An important element in fostering social cohesion is dialogue and involvement. The so-called cartoon crisis of last year showed us the importance of supporting a positive dialogue with immigrant groups, in this case primarily immigrants of Muslim origin.

The Danish government holds a series of meetings with ethnic and religious groups, and we support NGOs and other organizations that sponsor local dialogue initiatives in schools, youth clubs, etc. In 2006, I launched a competition for young people encouraging them to write their own speeches for the Danish Constitution Day. Many speeches were submitted, and many youngsters with ethnic backgrounds chose to participate.

Each of the winners accompanied a minister to a Constitution Day celebration somewhere in the country and presented his or her own speech on democracy, dialogue, and integration. The contest generated a lot of media attention and provided an opportunity for more focus on integration and dialogue. Positive images of youngsters caring about and reflecting on society were widely disseminated. It was truly a very rewarding day. It is important to

keep in mind that dialogue is with everybody, not just religious groups. Immigrants and their descendants in the West should be seen as individuals and not as one monolithic block. What is important is that the individuals and organizations that engage in dialogue actually do represent the groups and views they claim to represent.

Active participation and involvement creates a sense of responsibility among our citizens. Basically, participation in democratic life is open to everybody. Immigrants are entitled to participate in local elections and of course, if they become Danish citizens, they can participate in national elections. Many municipalities have set up special institutions for local representation of ethnic minorities—institutions which are then consulted about questions relating to integration, etc. We have established a national Council for Ethnic Minorities. The Council plays an advisory role and is an important dialogue partner for me as minister of integration.

International Aspects and Closing Remarks

Integration policy is still primarily a national issue and each country has its own concept of integration, but in an open society like the EU, which has abolished internal borders, immigration and integration does not stop at one's doorstep. Integration policy should therefore also be important on the international agenda as the exchange of information, ideas, and best practices becomes more and more important, and as we realize that we face common challenges and can learn from each other. In the context of the EU, several initiatives have already been launched since the setup of National Contact Points on Integration in 2002—during the Danish presidency. The Dutch presidency held the first conference for European ministers for integration in 2004. Last week, my colleague, the German minister of the interior, Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble, convened a conference in Potsdam as a follow-up. The conference was a success, offering a chance for a good and open debate on possible future directions for European policy on integration. The focus was on sharing national experiences of best practices and intercultural dialogue. In a related context, Denmark and The Netherlands held the European conference on Integration of Immigrant Youth in 2006, which I also mentioned above.

The present conference is of a different kind and has broader focus and broader range of experiences among the participants. This allows for debates of cross-cutting issues and a free and informal dialogue and exchange of ideas between individuals, organizations, and profes-

sionals who do not come together regularly to discuss integration. I see a lot of potential in this conference, and I really hope that the outcome will be a set of concrete suggestions taking the best experiences and practices from the involved countries, organizations, etc. And in the longer run, I also hope this conference will provide the basis for networks for future dialogue.

APPENDIX VI: BACKGROUND PAPER

Introduction

The year 2005-2006 has been a particularly difficult period for the Muslim world and for Muslims in the West as well. The period began in October 2005 with three weeks of violence in predominantly immigrant urban areas of France and ended with the trial in London of seven young British Muslim men accused of conspiracy to commit murder.[1] These were some of the worst moments in an ongoing crisis. In between was a series of events in Europe that included clashes and lawsuits in reaction to cartoons mocking the Prophet Muhammad. First published in a Danish newspaper and then reproduced in other publications, the cartoons raised sensitive issues of religious offense and free speech.[2] This was followed by a bitter debate across Europe that began when a teacher's assistant was suspended from a British school for wearing a *niqab,* or face veil, which former British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw publicly declared to be off-putting because it was "such a visible symbol of separation."[3] Then there was the airline crisis in August 2006, and the detention of 19 young Muslim men—all with deep British roots—accused of plotting to blow up transatlantic airliners; the speech by Pope Benedict XVI quoting a 14th-century Byzantine emperor who characterized Islam as "evil and inhuman"; and the threats against a French high school teacher who had been critical of the Prophet Muhammad in a newspaper column.[4] Finally, there was the national election campaign in The Netherlands, in which a consensus developed among political elites and the electorate that definitively put an end to the multicultural approach to the integration of Muslim populations, and local elections in Belgium, where the anti-immigrant Vlaams Belang party increased its share of the vote by 5 percent to more than 20 percent.[5]

The year 2006 appears to have marked a turning point in the crisis. During the year the focus of anti-immigrant sentiment, particularly in Europe, seemed to move sharply toward a focus on Islam. Perhaps more important, doubts and questions about Muslim integration have, for the first time, been expressed by a broad spectrum of political leaders—Tony Blair, Angela Merkel, and Romano Prodi, for example.[6] In this context, naturalization requirements in many countries in the West have become more demanding.[7]

As new generations of Muslim immigrants are being incorporated into Western societies, questions related to the presence of Islam in the West have clearly become salient. Figures on the Muslim population in the West vary, but it is believed that there are as many as 15

million Muslims presently living in the European Union[8] and as many as six million in the United States.[9] Moreover, the Muslim presence in the West is growing. The U.S.-based National Intelligence Council predicts that the Muslim populations in the EU will more than double during the next 20 years.[10]

With policy makers increasingly preoccupied with issues of identity, integration, and security, there has recently been much discussion about the failure of Western countries—and those of Western Europe in particular—to integrate their Muslim populations. Cycles of urban riots in France and Britain, for example, and the debate on the integration of women are often cited as a measure of the failures of socioeconomic integration in Europe.[11] Assertions of Muslim religious and cultural traditions have clashed with established norms of Western culture. In France, the 15-year struggle over the right of young Muslim girls to wear headscarves in public schools has focused on French secularism versus religious expression. Well-publicized cases of forced marriages and "honor killings" among the Turkish population in Germany have led to outspoken criticism of the role of women in Muslim culture, and similar human rights violations in France have resulted in the formation of an organized movement among French Muslim women.[12]

Questions involving the integration of Muslim populations are also related to a heightened sense of internal and external security threats. Militant Islam and the growing alienation of young men of Muslim origin have been linked by the press to urban unrest in Britain, France, and Germany.[13] More troubling, however, have been the links between young Muslim men born and raised in Europe to terrorist attacks in the West since September 11, 2001. Most of the young men who participated in the attacks in the United States, Spain, and Britain were either born or educated in the West.

The rise of extreme right political parties throughout Europe is an indication of political resistance to Muslim communities. What unites such electorally successful political parties as the National Front in France, the Freedom Party of Austria, the Vlaams Belang in Belgium, and the List Pim Fortuyn in The Netherlands, as well as other parties of the populist right in Denmark (the FP) and Switzerland (the SVP), is their ability to mobilize voters around anti-immigrant and especially anti-Muslim issues. In recent years, these parties have shifted from an overall anti-immigrant focus to an emphasis on Islam and the perceived challenges to identity from large, settled Muslim populations.[14] For instance, only a few years ago the question of Islam was of relatively little

importance for the Austrian FPO. When the party split, Jörg Haider, the leader of the main branch, decided to shift to anti-Islamic nativism. Against all expectations, the party made significant gains of more than 10 percent in the 2006 national elections, attributed by some analysts to this new emphasis. A similar strategy has also been successful in Belgium, Denmark, and The Netherlands in elections in 2005 and 2006.[15]

The integration of Muslim populations in the West has implications for the relationship between the Western and Islamic worlds. As the number of Muslims living and settling outside the Islamic world continues to grow, Muslim-majority countries are taking a heightened interest in the experiences of Muslim communities in the West.[16] For more than three generations, Muslim populations in the West have made important contributions to the postwar development and sustenance of Western societies while maintaining their links with their home countries. Such Western Muslims could be an example for those in the Islamic world who seek to reconcile their religious identity with the modern world.

The experience of modernity, manifested in schools of thought, systems of knowledge, and political models whose origins lie in the West, has left its mark on the Muslim world, as have the processes of globalization, which, through commerce and migration, have forged unprecedented ties between the Islamic and Western worlds. Similarly, Islam has become a strong and growing force within the West and another identity to which many "Westerners" ascribe through conversion.[17] But the relationship between the Islamic and Western worlds is dynamic, and neither has perfect knowledge or understanding of the other. Flare-ups like the Danish cartoon affair are likely to continue.[18]

These kinds of tensions often derive from the general perception that Muslims in the West are immigrants or temporary residents, rather than citizens and integral members of civil society. Thus, the questions with which Western governments and scholars are most concerned relate to incorporation and integration. The focus of these integration issues tends to be on the younger generations, in particular young women. In this paper, we will explore the challenges of and to Muslim communities in the West through the lens of youth and women, who have emerged from traditional roles and are forging new identities for themselves, and, in some instances, are becoming leading agents of change.

First, we will look at the question of the presence of Muslims in the West—where

they came from, who they are, and what they are becoming—and examine some of the problems of simply knowing how many of them there are. The diversity of Islam in the world is impressive, and it's not surprising that there is great diversity among Muslims in the West as well.

Second, we will look at issues related to the presence of Islam as a religion in the West and the relationship between religion and Muslim communities, focusing on two dimensions. We will start by investigating the level and type of religious practice among Muslims in different Western countries, among different age groups, and between men and women. Then we will examine the evolution of practice in the West and the organization of practices within different Western states in which Islam is a minority religion.

Third, we will turn to the complex question of integration and the process through which Western societies are evolving as settled Muslim communities move from the second to the third generation.

We will focus on three aspects of this process, starting with the meaning of integration and how this is changing; proceeding to the question of whether there is a "crisis" of integration of Muslim communities in the West; and concluding with a look at the role of Muslim communities in political life, or, more precisely, the role of political life in the integration of Muslim communities in the West.

Fourth, we will consider how the presence of large Muslim communities throughout Europe has been related to questions of security on two levels.[19] First, we will raise the question of security in urban environments, as well as the issue of the relationship between security and integration. Second, we will examine the threat of "homegrown" terrorism among youth of Muslim origin with ties to transnational terrorist networks. Thus, in one of their regular meetings, European ministers of the interior and home affairs noted in October 2006 that alienation among Muslims was at the top of their agenda, and they would work together "to persuade young Muslims to reject radical ideologies and embrace democratic values."[20]

Fifth, we will examine the question of whether in each of the above areas there are "best practices" that have been demonstrably effective in promoting integration and acceptance and that are most likely to have an impact on policies and practices in other countries.

The Western countries we will focus on in this review are quite different in terms of

their experience with immigration and also their relationship with their Muslim communities. The United States and Canada are settlement societies that have a long heritage of dealing with successive waves of immigration. Immigration has been rooted both in labor-market needs and in the need for populations to fill a vast territorial expanse. Muslim populations that emigrated to France, Britain, and Germany, however, came from within the colonial community (France and Britain) or from countries with which there was a traditional relationship (Germany). These populations were accepted only reluctantly, with the hope or intention that they would eventually go home. This reluctance has contributed to patterns of discrimination that have made integration more difficult.

Chapter I: The Presence of Muslims in the West

The expansion of Muslim communities in Europe and the United States dates from the 1960s, but the origins and dynamics of this expansion have differed from country to country. In Europe, the Muslim population began to grow with the labor immigration in the 1960s and is closely linked with the history of empire in the major European countries. Labor immigration was encouraged and facilitated by employers and sanctioned by bilateral agreements during the 30 years of rapid economic expansion after 1948.

Because of this imperial history, many of the first-generation Muslim families, who are now often thought of as immigrants, originally came to Europe as citizens of the countries in which they now reside. Immigration of North Africans to France and Pakistanis to Britain was vital to postwar economic recovery. In some countries that did not have a well-established imperial connection, recruitment was based either on a deep historical relationship (Germany and Turkey) or on business networks (Switzerland). By contrast, while there were small numbers of Muslims in the United States in the 19th century (and earlier, if we include the importation of slaves), the postwar growth of Muslim communities in the United States dates directly from the new immigration system that was created by the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 and had little to do with labor migration.[21]

As the need for labor diminished in the late 1960s, European countries either suspended legal immigration through administrative fiat, as in France and Germany, or passed legislation that would exclude immigrants who had been arriving in large numbers, as in Britain.[22] By 1975, no country in Europe permitted easy immigration from

countries outside of the European community. However, mostly because family unification could not be terminated under law, Muslim communities continued to grow and to evolve. Communities of workers became communities of families; migrant workers, who tended to move back and forth before labor immigration was terminated, became settled families. With some variation by country, immigrant families gradually became citizens, and immigrant communities became ethnic groups. In countries where the rule of *jus soli* applied (those born on national soil have a right to citizenship), such as the United States, Britain, and France, the evolution toward citizenship was much more rapid than in countries with a *jus sanguinis* tradition (nationality is determined by that of a child's parents), such as Germany and all of Scandinavia. During the past 15 years in Europe, however, there has been a movement toward convergence, as some *jus sanguinis* countries have adopted elements of *jus soli,* while *jus soli* countries have moved toward a more conditional right to automatic citizenship.[23]

While immigration is certainly not a long-term solution, Europe has a short-term need for immigrants to manage the demographic challenge posed by pressures on the welfare state.[24] Reports by the United Nations and the European Commission have emphasized that European needs for immigrant labor will increase over the next 25 years.[25] Several European countries have been developing policies that favor at least the short-term immigration of high-skilled immigrants[26] but there is also a demand for those with lower skills, and they continue to arrive, increasingly from parts of sub-Saharan Africa.[27]

While European countries were attempting to limit immigration from Muslim countries, the United States was doing the opposite. The Immigration Act of 1924 (known as the Johnson-Reed Act) virtually excluded immigrants from most countries with substantial Muslim populations, but even before 1924, fewer than 5 percent of immigrants from these countries were actually Muslim.[28] The 1965 Hart-Cellar Act reopened the door to immigration based on family unification and skills, resulting in far more Muslim immigrants than ever before. Recent data show that, among countries with large Muslim populations, the most immigrants have come from Iran, followed by Pakistan, Iraq, Bangladesh, Turkey, and Egypt. In contrast to Europe, the rate of immigration to the United States from majority Muslim countries grew, at least until 2000.[29]

How Many Muslims Are There in the West?

1. "The Numbers Debate"[30]

Estimating the number of Muslims in Western countries is problematic for several reasons, the most fundamental of which is that all estimates depend primarily on what we mean by "Muslim." One way of counting is to determine the number of people who come from majority Muslim countries or people who are born into families that are ethnically Muslim. A second is to count only people who identify as Muslims. Yet a third is to count people (and perhaps their families) who are affiliated with mosques. Each of these methods yields radically different numbers, and each is also fraught with methodological difficulties.

Estimates based on country of origin include people who may not be of the Muslim faith, may no longer identify as Muslim, or may have intermarried. Estimates based on identity, while they generally tend to focus on ethnic identity and religious commitment, sometimes include those who do not come from Muslim countries or even Muslim families (such as African American converts to Islam). Identity estimates, moreover, often change rapidly, depending on the political and social climate. In a survey in France in 2001, twice as many people declared themselves to be Muslim compared with the same survey in 1998.[31] Clearly, this cannot be understood as a vast increase of the ethnic Muslim population, but it should not be understood as a reaffirmation of religious identity either.[32]

In a highly charged political climate, there are also problems of sources, which vary from more scholarly estimates based on census and survey data to estimates by government agencies, political parties, and interested associations, often based on noncited sources. These numbers tell us very little about either religious practice or the bonds of religious identity.

Even more reliable sources have serious limitations. The last British census in 2001 did include questions about religious affiliation; however, this information cannot be asked in the census of many other countries including the United States and France, where estimates are based on surveys or are extrapolated from national origin. In countries such as the United States, where the proportion of Muslims is small, the results of surveys are necessarily unreliable because of the small subsamples.[33] Even in countries where there are large Muslim populations—France, for example—surveys yield variable results, in part because of the

reluctance of Muslims to declare themselves.[34] In the case of Germany, religious affiliation can be checked off on tax forms, but since Islam is not an official religion, it is not an option on the forms. Consequently, the number of Muslims in Germany is estimated from the number of Turks.

2. The Numbers

The current estimate is that there are about 15 million people of Muslim heritage in the original countries of the European Union, and that they account for about 3.2 percent of the total population in those 15 countries.[35] However, this percentage varies considerably from country to country and, in general, it is increasing. "Six countries stand out in particular for the high number of Muslims who call them home: France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, The Netherlands, and Greece. In each of these countries, anywhere from 4 to 7 percent of the current population is Muslim."[36] Other European countries have proportionately far fewer Muslims—Britain, for example. But Italy and Spain, which also have relatively few, are the countries in which the Muslim population is growing the most rapidly.[37]

In absolute terms, the largest Muslim ethnic group in Europe is North African (Moroccan, above all). Within most European countries, the Muslim population has tended to come predominantly from one area, even one country. Most (though certainly not all) Muslims in France are from North Africa, while most in Britain are from Pakistan, in Germany from Turkey, and in The Netherlands from Turkey and Morocco. There are also large Turkish populations in Austria, Switzerland, and the Nordic countries.[38]

Muslims in the United States, by comparison, are proportionately fewer and much more diverse—they have come from more than a dozen countries and settled nationwide. Estimates of this Muslim population vary considerably between those based on ethnicity and those based on identity. In the United States, there is often a conflation of Arabs and Muslims. The most recent U.S. census of 2000 indicates a population of Arab ancestry of over a million people,[39] but the Arab American Institute has estimated that only 24 percent of this population is Muslim, while 35 percent are Catholic (Roman, Maronite, and Melkite).[40]

The total number of Muslims in the United States has been estimated as anywhere between 1.1 million (in a 2001 survey based on identity conducted by the City University of New York) to as many as 7.5 million (sources imprecise).[41]

Arabs comprise only a small minority of American Muslims (12.45 percent) and are far outnumbered by groups from the Indian subcontinent (24.4 percent).[42] A 2004 survey conducted for the Muslims in the American Public Square project estimated that 20 percent of the Muslims in the United States are converts, most of whom are African American.[43]

Finally, the proportion of youth among Muslim populations in Europe is generally far higher than the proportion among the population as a whole.[44] Their levels of unemployment tend to increase the unemployment rate among Muslim populations in general, in part because youth unemployment is always higher than the mean. Indeed, what is sometimes referred to as the "youth bulge" has been understood in both positive and negative ways. Second- and third-generation Muslim youth help to alleviate the demographic deficit now endemic in Europe, bolster programs of the welfare state that are increasingly

Table 1
The Muslim Population in Various Countries (in thousands)

Country	Number of People from Muslim Countries or Estimated as Muslim	Year	Percentage of Population
France	4,150	1998	7%
Netherlands	945	2004	5.8%
United Kingdom	1,600	2001	2.8%
Germany	3,000	2004	3.6%
Italy	825	2003	1.4%
Belgium	355	2003	3.4%
Sweden	351	2003	3.9%
Denmark	250	2005	5.0%
Norway	73	2003	1.6%
Spain	485	2003	1.1%
Greece	370	1990s	3.7%
Europe 15	12,000-15,000	1990s	3-3.2%
United States	1,100-6,000	2000	+/-1.0%-2%

Sources: *American Religious Identification Survey (ARIS), 2001*, Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY), 2001; Césari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 9-11, p. 221, pp. 181-182; U.K. Muslim population—*Office for National Statistics*, 2001 figures; *German Federal Statistical Office*, 2004 figures; Muslim population—Federal Ministry of the Interior estimate; Muslim population—*Statistics Netherlands*, 2004 figures; BBC News, *Muslims in Europe: A Country Guide*, December 2005.

dependent on the contributions of youth to support an aging population, and contribute to sectors of the labor market for which there are new demands. But they also place new demands on education and other state services and suffer disproportionately from patterns of discrimination. They have also contributed to a rising sense of insecurity among European populations.[45]

What Are the Sources of Muslim Immigration?

By the 1980s, labor migration of Muslims had become far less important than family unification in accounting for immigration in all Western countries. Then, as all Western countries began to tighten their entry requirements after 1989, illegal immigration began to increase. This new surge not only served to increase the number of immigrants in the West, since many who arrived without papers were able to establish residency through successive amnesties, but it also altered the structure of resident immigrant communities. In the United States illegal immigration did not contribute much to the increase in the Muslim population, but in Western Europe it did, notably from Muslim countries south of the Sahara.[46]

To reiterate, the core source of Islamic immigration into France has always been from the former French colonies and protectorates in Africa and the Middle East: Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, and to a lesser extent, West Africa, Syria, and Lebanon. During the years immediately following the Second World War, Muslims in Algeria were granted French citizenship and began to move to the metropolis in larger numbers. By 1954, there were over 200,000 Algerians residing in France, and this number increased after the Algerian war for independence began that year.

As economic growth spread in the 1950s, France and other European countries became increasingly dependent on immigrant labor, first from labor-exporting countries within Europe, such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal, then from countries within their former empires or countries with which they had had quasi-colonial relationships. Ultimately, colonial migration became a foreign migration as decolonization progressed; and "the free movement of peoples" within Western Europe became linked to the process of European unification and therefore internal migration within the European Union.

In France, immigration from North Africa continued to grow relative to that from within Europe. At first Italians were replaced by Spanish, then Spanish by Portuguese, and finally Portuguese by North Africans. By the time the French

government ended large-scale immigration from North Africa in 1974, the foreign population from Muslim countries had increased to a bit less than 40 percent of the total foreign population, about 1.5 million, three-quarters of whom were men.

The suspension of immigration in France in 1974 was in some ways a logical consequence of the economic crisis, the oil crisis, and the decline of smokestack industry.[47] Yet the government's efforts to limit immigration were hindered by a decision by the French administrative high court (Conseil d'Etat) in 1978 that consecrated the right to family unification for immigrants legally residing in France. This decision, which would be echoed by courts throughout Europe, encouraged continued immigration through settlement rather than labor migration. Within a decade the proportion of women doubled, and the number of settled families with children also increased.[48]

The pattern of Muslim immigration into Germany was similar, but the unintended consequences were even more profound. Unlike France, Germany was never a country of immigration. Nevertheless, during the 40 years after birth of the German Federal Republic in 1949, net immigration amounted to more than 12 million and accounted for more than 80 percent of the population growth.[49] Workers arrived in Germany from Muslim countries on the basis of bilateral agreements signed with Turkey in 1961 and Tunisia and Morocco in 1965. These "guest workers" were meant to replace the flow of Germans from the East, who were blocked by the wall, as well as Italians, Greeks, and Portuguese, who were also recruited on the basis of bilateral agreements and whose numbers diminished as the economies in their home countries grew. The German Federal Employment Office set up field offices in Istanbul, Casablanca, and Tunis, where they recruited workers who were supplied with permits as well as transportation.[50]

Unlike France, in which there were no formal arrangements for the return of workers from Muslim countries, in Germany it was universally assumed that these workers would return home. Indeed, until immigration recruitment was ended in 1973, the system worked more or less as planned, but by the end of the decade, an activist German judiciary had made it difficult, if not impossible, to deport guest workers, and required that the state provide material support for family unification. By 1981, the Turkish community of 1.4 million had become the largest minority in the Federal Republic of Germany and had grown by 30 percent in three years, primarily due to family unification. The

transformation of guest workers into permanent residents began with the passage of the Foreigner Law of 1990 and was continued by legislation over the next decade.[51]

The British case is quite different, although Britain, like Germany, has not been a traditional country of immigration; in fact, the United Kingdom was a country of emigration until well after the Second World War. Between 1871 and 1931, there was a net outflow of more than three million people, mostly to the colonies. Nevertheless successive waves of migrants have come to Britain, even as others were leaving.

While until the 1960s, the overwhelming proportion of immigrants into France and the United States was from foreign countries (generally European), in Britain, two-thirds of those born abroad came from former colonies. Since the 1960s, the mix of immigrants from former colonies has changed significantly. The proportion of entries from Ireland (and the Old Commonwealth—Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) has declined, while those from the New Commonwealth (NCW—primarily India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) has increased. Even after 1962, when citizenship rules were changed to make it more difficult for citizens of NCW countries to enter the United Kingdom, the proportion of immigrants from these countries continued to increase.[52] In marked contrast to German and French recruitment of labor from Islamic countries, the British did not actively recruit in the NCW countries after the Second World War.[53] But men from Pakistan and Bangladesh often immigrated without their families to find work. British courts and the European Court of Justice constrained their subsequent attempts to send for family members, but over time this Muslim community of men evolved into a community of families.[54]

The Muslim population of Britain is smaller in absolute and relative terms than that of either France or Germany, but its political weight is greater because immigrants can vote even before they are naturalized as citizens. So despite the change in the open-entry policy for NCW citizens and the fact that they remained citizens of their own countries, those who did gain entry to the United Kingdom were eligible to vote in all British elections, including those for deputies to the European Parliament. Consequently, both Britain and France have almost the same number of Muslim voters, although the Muslim population of the former is far smaller than that of the latter.

Unlike in Europe, the expansion of populations from Muslim countries in

the United States was a by-product of new access established by legislation in 1965. Before 1965 most immigrants who came to the United States from Islamic countries in the Middle East and South Asia were Christian rather than Muslim. It has been estimated that in 1970 only 15 percent of immigrants from the region were Muslim; the majority were Christians from Lebanon or Christian ethnic minorities such as Armenians. By 2000, almost three-quarters of Middle Eastern/South Asian immigrants in the United States were Muslim.[55]

Most Muslim immigrants have come to the United States for the same reasons as the non-Muslims who came before them, namely, to escape ethnic conflict and war. The ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict has led to a large exodus of Palestinians, not all of them Muslim, and some with Israeli citizenship. Expulsion of South Asians from Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya led to the arrival of about 6,000 Muslims in North America in the 1960s and 1970s. Saddam Hussein's campaign against the Kurds resulted in mass exoduses in 1989, 1991, and 1996. Other Muslims sought refuge in the United States after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, and still others fled civil wars in Pakistan, Lebanon, Somalia, and the former Yugoslavia. Indeed, the United States comes closest to representing the broad range of Islam in the world.

What is most striking about the Muslim immigrant population from the Middle East and South Asia is that, as a group, they are far better educated than the immigrant population in the United States as a whole, and better educated than the overall American population as well. One analysis concludes as follows:

> At the higher end of the education distribution, almost 49 percent of Middle Eastern immigrants have at least a bachelor's degree compared to only 28 percent of natives; and at the highest end, 21 percent have a graduate or professional degree, more than twice the percentage of natives. Overall, the figure shows that immigrants from the Middle East are better educated than other immigrants and natives.[56]

While the above analysis applies to immigrants from the Middle East, it can be extended to the Muslim population as a whole. According to a recent study of Muslim voters, two-thirds have obtained a B.A. degree or higher, and half are professionals—far higher than the general voter population. It therefore follows that their incomes are higher than average and their poverty rates much lower.[57]

In short, the Muslim population of the United States is very different from comparable populations in Europe as well as from other immigrant groups in

the United States. American Muslims are, the evidence suggests, much more integrated, successful, and prosperous than their coreligionists in Europe, as was recently asserted by Daniel Sutherland, officer for civil rights and civil liberties at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security, in his testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.[58] They are far more diverse in terms of national origin than Muslim populations in Europe; they are far better educated, too, and—on the whole—have enjoyed socioeconomic success.

Muslim immigrants are also widely distributed throughout the United States. About a third of the Muslim population has settled in California and New York, with the other two-thirds spread across the country, including a large concentration in the Detroit area.[59] The largest growth of Muslims during the past decade has been in Virginia.[60]

Although it is difficult to obtain accurate statistics on the number of Muslims in Europe and the United States, it seems clear that this number is growing.

Chapter II: Islam in the West

With Muslim communities in Europe and the United States now extending beyond three generations and practicing Muslims having to negotiate modern life in the West, there has been much discussion of whether a unique version of Islam, different from that practiced in majority Muslim countries, is emerging out of the immigrant experience. This is particularly relevant in the context of women and youth.

In Europe, Muslim women are usually depicted either as symbols of tradition or as symbols of change, but North African women in France, for example, are proving that religious observance and progress need not be mutually exclusive:

> Public opinion is preoccupied by the question of the veil and of forced marriage, while these girls are light-years away from all of that. . . . These Frenchwomen from the Maghreb are everywhere . . . in the universities, the civil service—as teachers in primary and secondary schools above all—in the administration, and even in the army, even without considering the private sector.[61]

This emergent "European Islam" also raises questions about new forms of religious observance. Can a new interpretation of Islam, rooted in the West, lead to more effective integration of

Western Muslims in their adopted societies?[62] Are there useful comparisons with the incorporation of other religious groups—for example, Jews in Europe or Catholics in the United States—in terms of institutions and practice?

For decades after the arrival of large numbers of Muslims in such countries as France, Britain, Germany, and The Netherlands, the governments of these countries were either indifferent to or actively engaged in supporting their religious practice. Received wisdom among Western policy makers was that supporting religious practice would discourage radical politics and labor unrest and also possibly encourage immigrant workers to return home.[63]

Then, as it became clear that Muslims were becoming permanent settlers and citizens in the West, policy makers began to struggle with ways to accommodate Islamic practice. The most publicized conflicts have been those over dress codes for women in France, Germany, and most recently, Britain. However, other issues around Islamic practice have emerged in almost every Western country, from conflicts over ritual slaughter and burial grounds throughout Europe, to adjustments of the New York City parking calendar for Muslim holidays.

For some countries that had already adjusted to other minority religions—to Jews and Catholics in Britain and the United States, and to Catholics in Germany—this struggle has been easier. For others, such as France, that have had more robust public policies of secularism (*laïcité*), closely held doctrines have come under question. Then-Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy has suggested revising the basic law of separation of church and state in France in order to integrate Muslim communities more effectively and give them a greater stake in society.[64]

Efforts to manage Islam in Europe have taken on a new urgency as radical Islam raises new concerns. Because many of the recent terrorist attacks in Europe have been perpetrated by young men born, raised, or working in the West, governmental authorities have recognized that the struggle against radicalism is also a struggle within Western Islam. For this reason, they have given increased attention to developing cooperative relations with Muslim community organizations.

Across Europe, new Islamic councils have been formed, modeled in many cases on institutions that were developed for other minority religions. Although these councils have focused on managing religious practice, they have also been important interlocutors in such crises as riots and terrorist attacks. This, for

example, was precisely what the French government had in mind when it established the French Council for the Muslim Religion (CFCM). During the widespread urban riots in November 2005, the CFCM did indeed play a useful (if somewhat marginal) role in helping to calm the tense environment.[65] In this context, we will further examine two questions in detail. First, in what ways has Islam become a recognized religion in the West, and how has its relationship with European states developed? Second, how has Islamic practice adapted to the West?

Islam as a Minority Religion in the West

As Muslim populations in the West have become larger and more settled during the past four decades, the practice of Islam has simultaneously been influenced by secular forces in the West and has also become better established, as measured by the number of mosques.

A few mosques have existed in some Western countries for many years. The first significant mosque in Britain was built in Cardiff in 1860, and the Grand Mosque of Paris was opened in 1926. Officially, the Paris mosque was built as a gesture of thanks by the government to those Muslims who had fought and died for France in the First World War, but it was meant to serve the much broader purpose of building a strong French presence in the Muslim community. As a result, the French government subsidized the construction and maintenance of the mosque and combined it with a cultural center to conform with the 1905 law on the separation of church and state.[66]

The Paris mosque notwithstanding, Muslim houses of worship were rare in Western countries until 25 years ago. Even now, there are proportionately far fewer houses of worship for Muslims than for Catholics, Protestants, or Jews.[67] The number of mosques, though growing, remains relatively small in France, and is roughly mirrored in the United States (see Table 2).

Most of this growth has been within factories and housing projects that have small rooms not identifiable as mosques. Of the 1,685 Islamic prayer spaces in France, there are only 20 that can hold 1,000 or more worshipers, with another 54 that can accommodate between 500 and 1,000. In contrast, there are about 20,000 churches for a Catholic population of about 25 million.[68]

There is approximately the same number of prayer spaces in Britain as in France,[69] and though they serve a much smaller community, they are larger and better established. The number of mosques in Germany is far greater than anywhere

else in Europe, and in proportion to the size of its community, Muslims are far better served here than in either the United States or France. In the United States, however, the number of mosques is growing, as more affluent Muslim immigrants move from cities into the suburbs. In this way, Muslim immigrants are following the pattern of other immigrant groups in the United States.[70]

The way Islam is organized in Western countries has generally followed the national models of previously integrated religious groups. Two factors have been important for understanding how this organization has varied from country to country: the historic relationship between church and state and the institutions that have been created for interaction between the state and organized religions. Thus, the organization of Islam in countries such as France, Sweden, and the United States, in which there is a separation of church and state, is different than in countries with established churches—Denmark, Norway, Britain, Greece, Italy, and Portugal, where official religion is linked to either the monarchy or to constitutional arrangements with a single church—and those with recognized, but not officially established churches, such as Germany and Belgium, where official recognition (and subsidies) are generally given to numerous churches that fulfill certain conditions.[71] However, even where there is a separation of church and state, the very nature of that separation may create privilege for some religions over others. For example, the French law of 1905 separating church and state gave the French state ownership of church buildings. As a consequence, the state maintains these older buildings, but cannot pay for the construction of new religious buildings.

Table 2
Mosques and Prayer Spaces

Country	Estimated Number of Mosques/Prayer Spaces	Ratio of Muslim Population to Mosques/Prayer Spaces
United States	1,250	2,400
France	1,685	2,463
United Kingdom	1,669	959
Germany	2,300	1,304

Sources: Estimates from Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France,* p. 83; and from the Salaam Network, United Kingdom.

Countries in the West have also varied with regard to the kinds of regulatory and consultative organizations they have created to mediate between church and state. Unlike Europe, wherein most countries have at least recognized if not sponsored religious organizations as intermediaries, in the United States, there has been no state sponsorship of religious organizations, Islamic or otherwise.

The lack of official sponsorship in the United States should not be confused with the political role played by organized religion there, particularly at the local level. There are well-known affiliations between the Catholic hierarchy and local political machines, especially those of the Democratic Party in the 19th and 20thh centuries. More recently the alliance between the Christian Coalition (which includes conservative Protestant groups as well as Catholic) and the Republican Party was a key factor in energizing that party and in the realignment of the party system in the 1990s.[72]

Moreover, the absence of state sponsorship in the United States does not mean that religious organizations are not accorded privileges.[73] Under specific conditions, they are granted a special tax-exempt status. Local governments also implicitly recognize religions by allowing absenteeism from schools and suspending parking regulations on their holidays. At the initiative of African American Muslims and in accordance with similar arrangements made for Jews after the Second World War, American schools and workplaces have increasingly been recognizing Muslim dress codes, dietary restrictions, and holidays since the 1970s.[74]

Officially there are no U.S. public funds available to construct mosques, but there have been documented instances of the use of local government power to help in this endeavor in Massachusetts and California. In Boston, the office of the mayor subsidized land acquisition for the construction of the mosque in West Roxbury.[75] In Fremont, California, the mayor and planning board helped a Methodist congregation and a Muslim *masjid* overcome homeowner opposition to find houses of worship.[76]

Likewise the separation of church and state in France has not prevented public financing of religious buildings or religious education, or the establishment of a representative Muslim council. However, the growing Muslim community has not benefited from the effective subsidization granted to established religions by the 1905 law, which transferred all churches and synagogues to state control, permitting their use free of charge.[77]

Since 1957, the state has also paid the salaries of teachers in religious schools

under contract with the state. About 20 percent of French students attend Catholic schools, a percentage that has been stable for some time although the number of practicing Catholics has been declining rapidly. In contrast, the only Muslim school that now has a contract with the French government is on the Indian Ocean island of Réunion. In metropolitan France, a small private girls' *lycée* was founded in 1994 in response to the first wave of the *foulard* problem, after several Muslim girls had been suspended from state *lycées* for wearing headscarves a few years before. It now has 46 students. In total, there are now about 200 students in Muslim schools in France, far fewer Muslims than attend Catholic schools. By comparison, a quarter of Jewish students—about 30,000—attended Jewish schools in 2002.[78] Most Muslim students in France attend public schools, where they comprise a large percentage of the student body in the "immigrant" suburbs of Paris, Lyon, and Marseille. Although the number of Muslim schools under contract with the state is expected to grow in the near future, the vast majority of Muslim students are likely to remain in public schools.

The 1905 separation of church and state had no impact on existing representative arrangements that were already in place with the Protestant and Jewish religious communities. These were used as a model when the government decided to reduce the foreign influence on the French Muslim population and create an Islam *of* France. The state-led effort began in 1997 and reached fruition in 2003, with the creation of the CFCM, the French Council for the Muslim Religion. The general problem for the French state was to bring together three diverse groups—the Grand Mosque of Paris, dominated by Algerians; the National Federation of French Muslims (FNMF), dominated by Moroccans; and the Union of Islamic Organizations of France (UOIF), dominated by Tunisians and close to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, but financed by the Gulf Emirates. The government's strategy was to attempt to isolate the UOIF, but when this proved to be impossible, then-Interior Minister Sarkozy negotiated a complicated arrangement that would assure the representation of the broad variety of interests that comprised the Muslim religious community in France, with the UOIF emerging as the dominant force.[79] The council played a useful role in the massive riots in October-November 2005.[80]

While relations between the French government and Muslim religious leaders seem to have been improving, the comparatively easy relationship between Islam and the state in the United States declined after 2001. In reaction, Muslim organizations have increased their role in

defending civil rights, much as Catholics and Jews had done in earlier periods.[81]

Processes of incorporation in other parts of Europe have been more complicated, not only because of more stringent regulations, but also because Islam is last in line and is seeking incorporation in secularized countries that are less inclined to be sympathetic to religious practice in general, although Christian identity is still strong.[82] To a much greater degree than in the United States, however, official recognition is a precondition for numerous rights and benefits in Europe.

In Germany, for example, recognized religions have a right to government assistance through tax money. In addition, they have the right to run hospitals, nursing homes, and day care centers, as well as assistance programs of various kinds. They are also represented on government boards and are permitted to conduct religious education in public schools. The Coordination Council of Muslims in Germany (KRM), an umbrella association of Muslim groups formed in April 2007, aims to achieve official recognition of Islam so that Muslims in Germany can claim these legal advantages.[83]

Unlike Germany, Britain has an officially established religion—Christianity—and in that sense, the state is not neutral. Nevertheless, the barriers to recognizing Islam in Britain appear to have been easily overcome, although positive state aid plays less of a role than in Germany. Planning permission for mosques has not been a problem, and sites for ritual slaughter and cemeteries have been routinely granted.[84] By the mid-1990s, 15 to 30 Islamic schools were established with private funds, and in 1998, the Labour government approved funding for two state-supported Islamic schools.[85] By 2006, the number had grown to seven.[86] Nevertheless, in the context of ongoing security concerns in Britain, it has become clear that any future growth of public funding for this purpose is likely to be highly scrutinized.

Religious Practice

It is useful to compare Islam in the West with other religions, both in terms of belief and identity, as well as observance. Identification with Christian faiths in Western Europe has been waning over the past several decades, but remains somewhat higher than actual religious practice. In major European countries, no more than 10 percent of the adult population attends church regularly, although a much larger percentage (60-70 percent in Britain and France) identify as Christian. Two decades ago, large numbers of nonpracticing Christians regularly attended church on major holidays; today, church attendance

is limited to life-cycle events, but here, too, attendance is declining.[87]

As in Europe, Christian identification in the United States has been declining. In 2001, 76.5 percent of American adults over 18 (159 million people) identified themselves as Christian, a decline from 86.2 percent a decade earlier; this decline is identical to that observed in Canada between 1981 and 2001.[88] The level of Christian identity in the United States is somewhat higher than in France or Germany (65-68 percent) and about the same as in the United Kingdom (72 percent).

As for observance, it has been estimated that about 40 percent of Americans attend church at least once a week, although some studies have argued that this is exaggerated and the real figure is half of that.[89] Whatever the real figures, church attendance among Christians in the United States is significantly higher than in countries in Western Europe and the decline has been far slower.

Muslim populations in the West clearly differ in both identity and practice from Christians, but many of their religious characteristics are similar. In France, 59 percent of the population who originated in the Muslim countries of Africa and Turkey self-identify as Muslim (66 percent of North Africans), while 20 percent say they have no religion. This compares with about 65 percent of the French population that identifies as Catholic and 28 percent as of "no religion."[90] The basic pattern of regular mosque attendance is also similar to that of Catholics in France. A survey showed that 22 percent of those from Muslim countries in Africa and Turkey attended mosque at least once a month, compared with 18 percent of their Catholic counterparts.[91] Government services estimate that the figures for Muslims are considerably lower than that, even as low as 5 percent.[92]

However, recent data also indicate that, by various measures, commitment to Islam has been growing among younger generations born in France. Compared to a decade ago, more Muslims in the 20-29 age cohort agree that religion is "more important" in their lives, and far fewer declare the "no religion" option. In addition, as they have aged, formerly less observant young people declare themselves to be more observant. Finally, these patterns of religious commitment have been more pronounced among young women. This has not meant, however, that the French Muslim community is now more insular. There is little opposition to mixed marriage, for instance, particularly for men.[93]

It is difficult to know to what extent this French pattern is typical of other countries in Europe. Data on mosque attendance are difficult to obtain and are often

unreliable,[94] but comparative estimates of church/mosque affiliation rates from country to country (where they exist) are often the same or about the same for mosques and Christian churches in Europe and in the United States.[95] In the United States, mosque attendance appears to be lower among Muslim voters than the American average for church attendance, and the rate of nonattendance appears to be higher.[96] Interestingly, though, more than two-thirds of Muslims in the United States claim to pray daily.[97] This percentage is higher among women and increases substantially among young people.[98] Levels of mosque involvement indicated by a 2006 survey are considerably lower than those indicated in 2001.[99]

Studies of various aspects of piety—from belief in God to prayer—show that expressions of piety are surprisingly high among European Christians and higher among Americans, and that this kind of piety is typically somewhat higher among Muslims. However, what seems to differentiate Muslim and Christian religious commitment most clearly in the West is the behavior of the younger generation.

Many studies have focused on the question of the re-Islamization of younger generations of Muslims born in Europe, and there seems to be little doubt that this process has taken root throughout Western Europe,[100] as well as in the United States.[101] There was considerable discussion about this subject at the time that France passed its law banning the *hijab* in public schools in 2003, and much of it centered on the need for young girls to resist familial pressure to dress in traditional ways. There is now considerable evidence of pressure and even violence against young women within Muslim communities in France and other Western countries,[102] but anecdotal evidence suggests that this movement toward conservative dress also represents a generational rebellion against the West by young Muslim girls. It is unclear if this tendency represents a religious revival or an assertion of identity,[103] particularly since it has been occurring outside the confines of the mosque.

To reiterate, there have been clear indications that patterns of religious practice among Muslims in Europe have generally paralleled those of the larger societies in the countries where these communities have taken root. However, new patterns of observance among a younger generation of Muslims, often related to assertions of identity, have raised new issues in the process of integration.

Chapter III: Incorporation and Integration

Scholars and policy makers agree that there have been important failures in

integrating successive generations of Muslims in the West. Yet there is disagreement over the meaning of integration itself, which has varied between countries and changed over time in response to historical processes of immigration. Discussions have focused on the degree to which conformity to a national community model is expected from and/or imposed on immigrants.

Two dimensions are important in understanding how immigrants have negotiated communal boundaries within different countries: the rigidity of boundaries between the "ins" and the "outs" and the permeability of these boundaries. In highly defined "Jacobin" models, typified by France, the boundaries are firm, but may be crossed without either insiders or outsiders having to change their basic identities. In multicultural models, typified by the United States (and formerly The Netherlands), overlapping memberships and collective identities blur these boundaries, often leading to greater inclusion or exclusion.[104]

The integration of immigrant religions has always been difficult in the West, and Islam is the latest in a line of successive challenges to the existing order. Catholicism called into question the dominant Protestantism of the United States and proved to be very difficult to integrate, both because of the large numbers of immigrants—mostly Irish and German—who started arriving in the early 19th century and because of the hierarchical nature of the religion. Full integration, marked by the election of a Catholic president, was not achieved until the mid-20th century. Likewise, Judaism was problematic for the United States and for countries in Western Europe, where Eastern European immigrants started arriving in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Jews had to contend with a deep history of anti-Semitism in Europe and found that their practice challenged not only religious values on both sides of the Atlantic, but also emerging secular values in Europe.

As questions of religious expression have been confounded with those of class and race, there is a growing awareness that a high proportion of young Muslims, men in particular, have been economically and educationally marginalized. Except in the United States, a third generation of Western-born Muslims has experienced high levels of rejection, one often-cited measure of which is discrimination in employment and housing.[105] Limited studies on the subject are inconclusive about whether discrimination is related to ethnicity or religious background, or both. But despite two directives enacted by the European Union in 2003 and requiring all member states to implement rules for equal treatment on a

variety of grounds including race and religion,[106] there is still a widespread belief among Muslim youth that they continue to be targets of discrimination.

A high level of unemployment persists among European Islamic communities and among youth in particular. In France, follow-up reports on the 2005 riots indicated that 95 percent of the rioters were French citizens, two-thirds of whom were of immigrant origin. What all the rioters had in common was youth, a high level of unemployment, and limited future prospects for socio-economic advancement.[107] Muslim youth unemployment rates are generally double those of the national average in countries of high unemployment, such as France,[108] and sometimes more than twice as high, as in Britain.[109] One study from 1999 ranked three countries with relatively low overall unemployment—Denmark, The Netherlands, and Sweden—as the OECD countries with the worst record for employing immigrants.[110] It is not surprising, then, that the unrest of Muslim youth has been seen as a manifestation of a new class politics and is not well understood by traditional interlocutors such as trade unions and political parties of the left.

Models of Integration

Countries in the West appear to be committed to very different approaches to integrating their immigrant populations, with variance seen in the use of state institutions to promote integration, the kinds of policies pursued, and the assumptions that inform these policies.

The most explicit process seems to be the French Jacobin model, which is often misunderstood as a coherent government program for integration. In fact, it has been more of an orientation—what one scholar has called a "public philosophy"[111]—toward how public policy should be used. The details of this orientation have become clearer as its assumptions have been challenged by the most recent waves of immigration. In principle, the French state only recognizes collective ethnic and religious identities for very limited purposes (the aforementioned religious council, for example) and instead provides "color-blind" public support—and recognition—for individual advancement. In other words, the French State does not engage in "positive discrimination" to remedy past discrimination or permit the census to count those who are defined as "minorities" in the British context. The census differentiates only between French citizens and immigrants—those people born abroad, legally resident in

France but without French citizenship—but does not differentiate people in terms of race and religious affiliation. The expectation is that immigrants will conform to French cultural and legal norms and accept that common public spaces are not venues for religious expression.[112]

In contrast, the American multicultural model recognizes collective identities as a basis for public policy, leading to widespread ethnic lobbying. The United States emerged from the civil rights movement of the 1960s with far-reaching legislation in support of a variety of ethnic, religious, and language expressions. This was markedly different from the more assimilationist "Americanization" approach it had adopted in the early part of the 20th century, which had left far less room for expressions of diversity.[113]

The British approach to integration, while also multicultural, is different from the American model in that it is based on race:

> [T]he central dynamic of British elite reaction to Third World migration has been an attempt to structure the politics of race to take race out of conventional politics. Seen in these terms, the attempt to produce a coherent politics (or non-politics) of race has passed through three . . . distinct stages: (i) pre-political consensus (1948-61). . . . (ii) Fundamental debate (1958-63). . . . (iii) political consensus (1965 to the present), when the front benches of the two major parties developed a new consensus, politically arrived at, to depoliticize race once again.[114]

The British Race Relations Act of 1965 was a consensus approach to immigration, race, and multiculturalism. The act made written or spoken expressions of hatred on the grounds of color, race, or ethnic/national origins ("expressive racism") subject to prosecution. It also made discrimination in public places unlawful ("access racism") and established a Race Relations Board to receive and manage complaints.

Subsequent extensions in 1968 and 1976 to include housing and employment widened the scope of this act, as did the strengthened powers of the Race Relations Board (now the Commission for Racial Equality), which enabled it to investigate discrimination even without complaints.[115]

From the 1950s onward, British political debates about immigration applied the distinction of "race" to New Common-wealth immigrants, primarily those from Pakistan and India (as opposed to those from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). This view of "colored" immigrants was essentially similar to those in France or Germany; the difference was in the formal policy

framework that was developed to incorporate them:

> The emphasis on assimilation was . . . rapidly abandoned in favour of "good race relations," namely peaceful coexistence through tolerance, diversity and pluralism. There is an obvious contradiction between the belief in stringent immigration control and in diversity as contributing ipso facto to social order, but the compromise was driven by party-political necessity.[116]

In France, this kind of pluralism, often called "insertion" (for example, by the Commission de la nationalité, *Etre français aujourd'hui et demain,* cited above), was seen as a substitute for full participation in society and rejected.

In The Netherlands, legislation in 1983 established a network of multicultural programs to integrate Muslims while encouraging them to retain their cultural identities. The goal was to create a multicultural society "in which immigrants, individually and as a group, would enjoy equal rights and opportunities with the native population."[117] Thus, immigrants would be accepted as separate groups that would retain their cultural identities and would be supported by publicly financed communal institutions.

This "minorities policy" was derived from the long tradition of "pillarization" through which Dutch society had been organized hierarchically and power shared through the political party system.[118] Pillarization has been described as

> . . . a differentiation within society whereby the population is divided into ideologically based social segments each with its own schools, political parties, broadcasting organizations, newspapers, hospitals etc. It is a vertical differentiation running through all of the social classes . . . During the first half of the 20th century, Dutch society was divided into a Roman Catholic "pillar," a Protestant "pillar," which was further divided internally, and a neutral "pillar."[119]

Although the minorities policy was inspired by this heritage, the key objective was integration into the dominant norms and values. Recent research argues that while the heritage of pillarization facilitated the establishment of religious schools and mosques, pillarization had little to do with the minorities policy itself, which was oriented toward integration.[120]

By the early 1990s it became clear that there was a growing gap between the policy and the objective, as the minorities policy was seen as having marginalized Muslims instead of bringing them into the economic mainstream.[121] A decade before Pim Fortuyn exploded on the scene, Dutch governments had begun to move sharply away from the multicultural

model.[122] In much the same way as the Dutch minorities policy had appeared to be the leading edge of a European movement toward integration in the 1980s, the breakdown of that policy served as a powerful symbol of its failure.

Nevertheless, the minorities policy was arguably more successful in promoting integration than is generally acknowledged. What finally appeared to undermine it was less socioeconomic failure than the value gap between a majority population that agreed on certain progressive values and a minority Muslim population that challenged the consensus. These days, far from encouraging pluralist concepts of citizenship, "the Dutch have become less willing to make room for cultural differences."[123]

These various understandings of how immigrants are incorporated into host societies are based on what Theodore Lowi has called a "public philosophy," a model that colors, shapes, and justifies state formation of public policy.[124] There is often a wide gap, however, between stated public philosophies and policy on the ground. Belgian political sociologist Marco Martiniello notes that deviation from any public philosophy is inevitable, and that both integrationist and multiculturalist policies can and have been applied in ways that are quite different from their intended goals.[125] France, for example, has dealt with and supported immigrants as groups,[126] while Britain and The Netherlands have increasingly limited their acceptance of multiculturalism.[127]

Understandings of integration models often ignore the evolution of public philosophy and policy over time. Philosophies are finally altered when they are challenged by empirical data and by the contradictions of the very policies they are supposed to describe.[128] Moreover, such models often fail to appreciate how the process of integration itself has altered what it means to be a native of the host country, resulting in what one scholar has called "negotiated identities."[129]

A Crisis of Integration?

Each of the aforementioned models is perceived to have failed in particular ways. The British model has made it more difficult to handle questions of discrimination against religion as opposed to race,[130] although it has been far more effective than others in dealing with discrimination in general.[131]

In contrast, the French model has failed to adequately manage problems of employment, discrimination, and urban alienation, which are widely understood to have been at the root of the 2005 riots. A year later, the French govern-

ment had yet to develop an acceptable plan to address discrimination against "suburban" youth applying for jobs and had only just begun to formulate policy approaches to a host of other problems such as educational attainment and the inflexibility of the job market.[132] Local governments and private employers, however, have been particularly active in developing initiatives to deal with employment and discrimination in the "sensitive" suburbs since then.[133]

Integrating Muslim youth has been far less problematic in the United States. In part, this is related to the class structure of Muslims who have immigrated there during the past few decades[134] and in part to the relative openness of the economy and society. Things began to change after the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993, however, and worsened after the second attack in 2001. There have been widespread detentions of young people thought to be Muslim, largely based on questionable ethnic profiling.[135] Not surprisingly, more than 40 percent of Muslim respondents in 2006 answered affirmatively to the question, "Have you ever felt discriminated against or profiled?"[136] By other measures—voting, associational memberships, and manifestations of patriotism—however, American Muslims appear to be even more committed to core U.S. values than most Americans.[137]

Whether or not integration has succeeded in the West may be less important than a growing *perception* that it has failed.[138] After all, it is such perceptions that have fed the support for extreme right parties in France, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, and Italy. Perhaps more telling, by the fall of 2006, leftist Prime Minister Tony Blair had joined a growing wave of criticism of British integration policy. In the guise of questioning whether the full-face veil is a "mark of separation," he said, "People want to know that the Muslim community in particular, but actually all minority communities, have got the balance right between integration and multiculturalism."[139] The minicrisis in Britain has provoked similar reactions in other European countries, including Italy and The Netherlands.[140]

The success of integration in the West has varied considerably and unexpectedly. For example, two measures of integration—attitudes toward intermarriage and political commitment—indicate that French policy has been more effective than is generally acknowledged.[141] Only 15 percent of French Muslim immigrants would disapprove of the marriage of a son and 32 percent that of a daughter to a non-Muslim; about the same percentage of a general sample would oppose the marriage of a child to a Muslim. Among French citizens of immigrant origin,

higher percentages than among a general sample think that democracy is working well and that it would be terrible to suppress political parties or the National Assembly. A far larger percentage, though still a minority, express confidence that they can change things in the country—although the percentage not registered to vote (23 percent) is more than three times the national average.[142]

Among immigrant groups in Europe, French people who identify as Muslim appear to be the most "European" in terms of their identity and compatibility with national customs. As a minority community, they have the most positive views of their Christian and Jewish compatriots and are among the least sympathetic to radical Islam.[143] They are also by far the most supportive of the idea that there is no conflict between Islam and modern society.

Jytte Klausen's study of Muslim elites in Europe indicates a similar pattern. She has developed a typology of four preferences as modes of integration for Muslim populations:

> *Secular Integrationist*: respondents believe that Islam is compatible with Western value and that the organization of Islamic practice should be integrated into existing frameworks of church-state relations.
>
> *Neo-Orthodox*: respondents believe that Islam is not compatible and should not be integrated into existing frameworks.
>
> *Voluntarist*: respondents believe that Islam is compatible in terms of values, but should not be integrated into existing frameworks.
>
> *Anticlerical*: respondents believe that Islam is not compatible in terms of values, but should be integrated into existing church-state relations.[144]

Table 3
Muslims in Europe: Attitudes Toward Identity, Fellow Citizens, and Modernity

	Positive views of Christians	Positive views of Jews	No conflict between being a devout Muslim and living in modern society	Consider yourself first: a citizen of *your country*/ Muslim	Muslims in your country want to adopt national customs
French Muslims	91%	71%	72%	42%/46%	78%
British Muslims	71	32	49	7/81	41
Spanish Muslims	82	28	71	3/89	53
German Muslims	69	38	57	13/66	38

Sources: Pew Research Center, "The Great Divide: How Westerners and Muslims View Each Other" (Washington, DC: Pew Global Attitude Project, June 22, 2006), pp. 3, 11-12; and "Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries Top Concerns About Religious and Cultural Identity" (Washington, DC: Pew Global Attitude Project, July 6, 2006).

The responses of Muslim elites by country are indicated in Table 4. The two most strikingly different patterns are those of the French and the British subsamples, each of which overwhelmingly fits into a single category. While the support of French Muslims for "secular integration" largely conforms to French norms on church-state relations, their strong support for "voluntarist" policies indicates a distrust of the state but an acceptance of the compatibility of French and Islamic values. It is also worth noting that the French sample has the lowest "neo-orthodox" response of all the European groups.

In contrast, the support of British Muslims for the "neo-orthodox" pattern indicates their strong sense of isolation from British norms and makes the United Kingdom different from every other country in the study.

These survey results reiterate that among immigrants of Islamic origin in Europe, those in France have the strongest national identity and are most inclined toward integration. It is likely, therefore, that the sense of alienation manifested in the 2005 riots was less a rejection of French society than a demand for greater integration. One reaction among youth in riot-affected suburbs was a surge in voter registration.[145] Intellectuals and the government also reacted with a practical move away from Jacobin integration and toward a focus on questions of discrimination and employment that is more typical of multiculturalism.

Perhaps the greatest challenge posed by failures to integrate Muslims in the West is the immediate threat of radicalized Islam. Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, government distrust of Islamic

Table 4
Policy Choice for Integration of Muslim Elites, by Country of Residence

	Denmark %	Sweden %	France %	Germany %	The Netherlands %	U.K. %	Total %
Secular Integrationist	20.8	37.5	60.0	25.0	13.6	10.7	23.5
Voluntarist	33.3	37.5	30.0	30.6	59.1	17.9	33.8
Anticlericals	33.3	12.5	0.0	22.2	9.1	0.0	14.7
Neo-Orthodox	12.5	12.5	10.0	22.2	18.2	71.4	27.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Jytte Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 95.

communities in the West has been tempered by the realization that the struggle against radicalism must be aided by cooperation with these same communities. Thus, efforts to develop programs against discrimination were given a new impetus and were directly connected with domestic security. These programs will be discussed in greater detail in chapters 4 and 5 of this paper.

Politics and Integration

One of the most significant failures of integration in Europe has been the relegation of Muslim populations to the edge of the political process. Understanding immigrant populations as potential voters—and candidates—has policy implications as well as organizational consequences for political parties. Yet European political parties have barely attempted to address issues that immigrants consider to be important, nor have they integrated new ethnic populations into their organizational structures and their processes for selecting candidates.[146]

As Richard Alba and Nancy Foner have noted, election of immigrant candidates to political office is a measure of their integration "in the same sense that entry by minority individuals into high-status occupations is. It is an indication of a diminishment, however modest, in differentials in life chances that exist between majority and minority."[147] Representation also gives immigrants a voice in the distribution of public goods and clout within the communities in which they live. Finally, by achieving elective office, immigrant groups gain access to patronage from civil servants and influence over the decisions they make. Irish Americans offer a compelling historical example of successful political integration; they used their leadership of the reigning Democratic Party to bring about massive municipal employment of their coethnics a century ago.[148]

Studies indicate the failure of both the French left and the right to make much effort to mobilize immigrant voters and potential voters. In 2004, there were barely 1,000 municipal councillors of non-European origin (less than 1 percent) in France, a drop from 3 percent in larger towns between 1995 and 2001; this percentage did not rise in Marseille and Paris, cities with a greater concentration of immigrants. There was better representation among regional councillors (2.6 percent) and among deputies in the European Parliament (almost 4 percent), but both of these institutions are relatively marginal in terms of their decision making.[149] On the national level, there were no ethnic minority representatives in the French National Assembly, the directly elected

lower house of parliament, although in September 2004 two French women of Muslim origin, Alima Boumediene-Thiery and Bariza Khiari, were elected to the Sénat, the indirectly elected and less prominent upper house of parliament.

Research by Romain Garbaye suggests that the reluctance to name minority candidates in France has been related to pressure from the National Front,[150] but another study by the same author attributes the relative success of the northern town of Roubaix in electing an unusually high percentage of minority candidates to party weakness and the strength of community organizations.[151] The French Socialist Party, in comparison with the British Labour Party, for example, has been less inclined to see immigrant voters as a political resource, in part because decisions on candidates are made beyond the neighborhood level and are often dictated by national priorities.

In contrast to France and the United States, immigrants from the NCW in Britain are part of the electorate as soon as they establish residency in the United Kingdom, as was noted earlier. At about 6.6 percent of the electorate, over 80 percent of immigrant minorities are in the electorate, compared to only about half in France (2.7 percent of the electorate—based on census data).[152] Alba and Foner have observed that the overall representation of immigrant groups on local councils has been considerably lower in Britain than in France, relative to the size of the voting population. Where there are concentrations of immigrant groups, however, British Muslims have been far more successful in winning local office than their French counterparts. In the London boroughs, 10.6 percent of the local councillors in 2001 were ethnic minorities. In all of the British towns where ethnic minorities exceeded 10 percent, the community from the Indian subcontinent achieved a position close to parity and exceeded parity in more than a quarter of these towns.[153]

Representation at the national parliamentary level, however, has been far less impressive. In 2004, 15 minority members of Parliament were elected to the House of Commons (2.4 percent). This is about a third of what we might expect in proportion to the population, but it is significant. Since no minority candidate was elected in France in 2002, the comparison is relatively favorable, but it is about half that of the United States, where Hispanics comprise 23 members of the House of Representatives (5.3 percent) and three members of the Senate (3 percent).

Unlike France—where, as we have seen, local level recruitment is an exception and has been attributed to party decentraliza-

tion and weakness—the relative success of immigrant candidates in the United Kingdom is related to the ward-based system of candidate designation in the Labour Party. This system simultaneously empowers local ethnic politicians and accentuates the advantage of concentrated ethnic votes in a single member district.

While the local political influence of immigrant voters in the United Kingdom can be transferred to national candidates through the Labour Party, there is no evidence that minority representation has influenced Labour or Conservative policies that are important to immigrants.[154]

To the extent immigrants are understood as a political resource rather than a challenge to identity, representation is a reasonable index of how much they are mobilized for electoral purposes, generally by political parties, but also by community organizations. Self-identified Muslims, cross-nationally, tend to vote overwhelmingly for the left, but the level of voter registration of Muslims in Europe tends to be far lower than the remainder of the population.[155] French data indicates that the left cannot take the Muslim vote for granted, however. Sylvain Brouard and Vincent Tiberj's study notes that, while there is immense support for the left among first-generation immigrants, this support is considerably smaller among the second generation. Young Muslims, in particular, tend to support smaller parties and the right.[156]

There are no studies of Muslim representation (as opposed to overall minority representation) in the United States, but there are other significant indications of Muslim political integration. Unlike their European counterparts, a slightly higher than average proportion of Muslim voters in the United States claims to vote regularly. In addition, reported associational membership among Muslims is far higher than average.[157] Both tendencies may be related to the higher educational attainment among American Muslims. Like comparable voters in Europe, most American Muslim voters also show strong support for the leftist Democratic Party. Several support no party at all, however, and in this regard they mirror the "independent" tendency of the rest of the American electorate.

Chapter IV: The Question of Security

During the past 25 years, Muslims in the West—and young Muslims in particular—have been carefully scrutinized in matters of domestic and transnational security. In Europe, the tendency to view Muslim populations through the lens of security can be traced to the outbreaks of urban unrest by some first-generation Muslim immigrants in several cities in Britain

and France in the early 1980s. These riots were a factor in the action by a number of European countries to establish an institutional framework to address issues of integration.

Urban riots in the Lyon region during the summer of 1981 impelled the creation of the French Inter-ministerial Commission on the Social Development of Neighborhoods and the Commission of Mayors on Security. The Neighborhoods Commission recommended more long-term national support for efforts to address security problems at the local level. As periodic urban riots have continued over more than two decades, French authorities have sought intermediaries among the second generation of Muslim immigrants[158] and have supported ethnic associations they felt could maintain social order. A Senate report on the Lyon region in 1993 noted as follows:

> Certain mayors are, alas!, ready to provide everything to prevent cars from burning in their towns. The public powers give in to the blackmail of the fundamentalists, who present themselves as the social actors who are best able to preserve order in difficult neighborhoods where no policeman dares to venture.[159]

After the early 1980s, the central government became increasingly involved in local efforts to manage security in part because localities, particularly those controlled by the left, were no longer able to deal with the very real problems of ethnic incorporation and education or to handle the outbreak of riots. Urban violence stigmatized those areas in which young Muslims were concentrated as "sensitive suburbs," which, in turn, reinforced the impression of Islamic populations as outsiders, even though by the 1990s they were no longer just immigrants but also third-generation settlers in France.[160]

The first manifestation of civil unrest in Britain after World War II was in 1948-49 in Liverpool, Deptford, and then Birmingham. But the first serious riots were in 1958 in Nottingham and Notting Hill in London. Subsequently, riots have erupted in major British cities with high concentrations of immigrant populations at roughly the same intervals as in France—1981, 1991-92, and 2001. British riots have had many of the same characteristics as those in France, except that they have been more violent. The political consequences in the two countries, however, have been quite different. The reaction of French authorities to the first urban riots in Lyon in 1981 was to frame the problem in terms of social control and education; the British saw the 1958 riots in terms of race relations, the solution for which they thought was to limit immigration and prevent a "British Little Rock."[161]

Both the French and British approaches were rooted in a need to maintain public order: "For [then-British Home Secretary Sir Frank] Soskice, race relations legislation was in large part related to concerns of public order, a lesson first learned by the [Labour] party in 1958."[162] By 1965, Labour was able to get the Tory opposition to agree to this strategic formulation. Race relations became the core of the British policy on integration that was ultimately applied to Muslim communities. Indeed, this approach endured and was strengthened even after three additional rounds of serious riots between 1981 and 2001, as well as the attacks on the London underground in July 2005. Although quite different from that of the French, the British approach also set apart Muslim communities as "racial minorities," subject to special scrutiny. The meaning of this segregation became more evident in both countries as the issue of internal security began to merge with that of terrorism and external security.

For France and Britain, the fight against international terrorism goes back to the 1970s and '80s. In each case, it was conceived and eventually institutionalized as a domestic problem, and this understanding seriously affected relations with the domestic Muslim communities. On the one hand, young men of Islamic origin were regularly targeted for special surveillance. On the other, security services needed the cooperation of Muslim communities to effectively anticipate and investigate possible terrorist incidents.

Robert Leiken, in an article in *Foreign Affairs,* characterizes the European approach to terrorism as soft (and is particularly critical of the British):

> With a few exceptions, European authorities shrink from the relatively stout legislative and security measures adopted in the United States. They prefer criminal surveillance and traditional prosecutions to launching a U.S.-style "war on terrorism" and mobilizing the military, establishing detention centers, enhancing border security, requiring machine-readable passports, expelling hate preachers, and lengthening notoriously light sentences for convicted terrorists.[163]

Yet as we will see, British and French antiterrorist strategies have been robust for some time, perhaps more so than those of the United States.

France

France developed its present approach to terrorism after a series of attacks in the early 1980s indicated that the earlier policy—dubbed the "sanctuary doctrine" by the French government—was producing more violence than security. Until then,

French authorities had concentrated their considerable efforts on combating homegrown terrorism of the anarchist left, as well as regional separatist groups in Brittany, the Basque area, and, above all, Corsica. The French counterespionage service (the SDECE) and the agency for internal surveillance (the DST) had extensive experience in dealing with domestic terrorism—from the Algerian revolt of 1954-62 that was played out on the streets of Paris, to assassinations in the 1980s by the anarchist group Action Directe, to separatist violence in Corsica—but no organizational means for dealing with international terrorism.

The sanctuary doctrine—which presumed that international terrorism was a foreign policy problem, rather than a law enforcement one—created an exchange of sanctuary for an understanding that acts of terrorism would not be perpetrated in France or against French interests.[164] The presumption was that, at its core, the prevention of terrorism depended on diplomacy. A change in policy finally came after 14 attacks in 1986 by a variety of groups based in the Middle East, 12 of them by one previously unknown group, provoked the French government to rethink its approach to terrorism.

The 1986 Law Relative to the Struggle against Terrorism refocused efforts away from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and increased the administrative capabilities of the Ministries of the Interior and Justice, which effectively coordinated the various intelligence and police agencies.[165] Under the new legislation, the fight against terrorism was centralized in a core group of *juges d'instruction* (investigating magistrates) in Paris, who took both the judicial and investigative lead in the French struggle with terrorism for the next 20 years.

Under subsequent legislation passed in 1986, 1995, and 1996, these investigating magistrates gained tools that are similar to, if less draconian than, those developed at the same time in Britain: permission to stop and frisk in routine investigations and to detain suspects without charge for up to four days in terror-related cases. The 1996 legislation recognized "conspiracy to commit terrorism" as a crime, giving investigating magistrates considerable power to prevent acts from ever occurring. In addition, *juges d'instruction* could order preventive detention for long periods once suspects were under judicial investigation—some defendants spent up to four years in prison before their trial after a 1994 roundup.[166] During the worst of the Algerian civil war, which again reached Paris, there were major roundups of Algerians in France in 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1998. In each case, the

roundups far exceeded the number finally held over for trial.[167]

The oft-cited virtues of this system are its specialization, centralization, flexibility, coordination, and political independence. Its virtues, however, are also its problems, since there is no political and little judicial oversight. Decisions by key magistrates, such as the preeminent antiterror judge Jean-Louis Bruguière, are difficult to question, as is police action.[168] Moreover, there is no discernible boundary between external and internal security. The effect of the merging of the two has been to subject young French Muslims to endless surveillance. Laurent Bonelli documents a full range of legal police activity that targets young people in the working-class suburbs, Muslims in particular.[169]

Britain

In Britain, the campaign against terrorism has always been domestic. The primary heritage of the troubles in Northern Ireland is an accumulation of broad powers of arrest and detention that apply to all residents of the United Kingdom. In 1974, reacting to a wave of Irish Republican Army (IRA) violence throughout the year, the Labour government rushed the Prevention of Terrorism Act through Parliament soon after the October elections. The new act gave the home secretary the power to issue a list of proscribed organizations and to penalize anyone belonging to them, supporting them with financial and other means, or even wearing clothes and symbols that could be linked to these organizations. It also gave police the power to detain people judged to be threatening for up to seven days without an arrest warrant and without any charge being brought against them. Finally, it allowed authorities to exclude people from entering Britain, including citizens and residents who lived abroad.

The IRA was the only proscribed organization named under the act at first, but the list was expanded to include other militant organizations engaged in violent struggles, including those on the loyalist side in the conflict over Northern Ireland. Initially viewed as a temporary measure, the Prevention of Terrorism Act was renewed each year and modified in 1978, 1984, and 1989. Most of its major provisions were finally incorporated into the Terrorism Act 2000, although some of the exclusion and internment-without-trial provisions were dropped, at least until 2001.

Home Office reports indicate that several hundred people are stopped and examined each year, very few of whom are formally charged. Although the number of actual detainees fell each year during the 1990s, the number of those examined for

suspected involvement with international terrorism grew each year, indicating a shift away from the Irish problem.[170]

The Terrorism Act 2000 extended police stop-and-frisk powers and elaborated a list of 14 organizations involved in the struggle for Ireland. In February 2001, however, Home Secretary Jack Straw requested that 21 "international groups" be added to the list, which grew to 25 by September; 18 of these proscribed organizations were Islamic.[171]

A year before the attack on the World Trade Center, British policy had already been reoriented toward transnational terrorism in ways that heightened police powers and restricted civil liberties; perhaps more important, this legislation was no longer deemed temporary. A report on its operation indicated that between January and the end of August 2001, only 12 of the 30 arrests under the act were related to Irish terrorism.[172] More frequent targets were immigrant residents and British Muslim citizens. The measures in place by 2000 were so extensive that in a variety of reports issued by European and international organizations, Britain ranked as one of the most repressive countries in Europe.[173]

The Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Emergency Act 2001, passed in reaction to the attacks in the United States, was not a sharp break with the previous legislation, but its changes were important because of their impact on immigrants and immigration. A key consequence of the legislation was to further separate citizens from foreign residents; indeed the focus was on foreign residents. Continuing the pattern begun in 1974, foreign residents who were dubbed "suspected terrorists" could be detained without trial or appeal. They could even be deported, unless the Home Office decided they were likely to be victims of human rights violations by their "home" governments. If deportation was not possible, foreign residents could now be jailed indefinitely. This necessitated that Britain opt out of Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights, which prohibits imprisonment without trial. It was the only signatory to opt out and did so by declaring a "state of emergency," permitted by the treaty in case of public emergency or war. In the long run, the derogation of Article 5 proved to be a crucial obstacle to the enforcement of the 2001 legislation. In December 2004, the British High Court—the Law Lords—found that the antiterrorism law was a breach of fundamental human rights, essentially rejecting the opt-out that had been written into the law.

The solution to the court's challenge, however, created additional problems

for Muslim communities in Britain. The government proposed new legislation that finally replaced indefinite detention with limited but renewable judicially controlled detention under "control orders"—a form of house arrest—for citizens and foreigners alike. As a result, the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005 sought to correct the act of 2001 by making what was unacceptable against foreigners applicable to all suspects.

The most recent British legislation, the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2006, was passed in the aftermath of the July 2005 attacks in London. It granted the home secretary power to proscribe new groups, including those thought to glorify terrorism, and expanded the number of criminal offenses to include participation in acts deemed as preparatory to terrorism, incitement or encouragement of terrorism, dissemination of terrorist publications, and presence at terrorist training locations. It also extended the powers of the police to search property and detain suspects for up to 28 days, though detentions of more than two days had to be sanctioned by judicial authority.

While it is not yet clear how these extensive powers will be used, they tend to further antagonize relations between alienated Muslim youth and the police. In July 2006, the British Security Service (MI5) disclosed that it had about 1,200 "Islamic militants" under surveillance, that they were engaged in an "unprecedented" 70 separate terrorism investigations, and that the number was accelerating.[174] As the focus of the fight against terrorism shifted from the IRA to homegrown Islamic terrorism, police powers increased, and the boundaries between issues of domestic security and terrorism became less clear.

The United States

How can we compare what has happened in Britain and France with what has happened in the United States? On the one hand, because urban violence in the United States has not involved Muslim communities as it has in Europe, the issue of terrorism has not been merged with that of domestic security, although there have been security issues involving the black Muslim community, which has come under frequent surveillance and detention. On the other hand, after 2001, the civil liberties of all Muslims in the United States have become less secure and arguably far less secure than those of other American citizens or residents.[175]

Prior to the passage of the Patriot Act in 2001, the U.S. approach to domestic terrorism was defined by the reaction to the 1993 bombing of the World Trade

Center in New York, which in turn extended changes that had taken place a decade before as a result of investigations into the Watergate scandal. Both the FBI and the CIA were reorganized in ways that made their separate missions less distinct, but domestic terrorism never became a priority for either. Although the counterterrorism budget of the FBI tripled in the mid-1990s, spending remained constant between 1998 and 2001. As the report of the 9/11 Commission indicated, "in 2000, there were still twice as many agents devoted to drug enforcement as to counterterrorism."[176] For the CIA, counterterrorism appears to have become a priority in 1997, with the appointment of George Tenet, an expert in the field, as director. In 2004, however, the agency head testified before the 9/11 Commission that its clandestine service was still five years away from being able to play a significant role in counterterrorism.[177]

Before 2001, U.S. law did not allow the kind of preventive detention permitted under British and French law, except in cases where bail could not be posted, nor did it sanction most of the intrusive police powers permitted under French law. At that time, terrorist activity within the United States was treated as criminal activity.[178] The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 had forbidden the outlawing of certain organizations so the FBI had instead been infiltrating those that were considered "subversive." The *9/11 Commission Report* argues, however, that by the 1990s, these governmental activities had been curtailed by legislation as well as by court decisions and had no impact on Muslim organizational life in the United States. All of this changed in 2001.

The primary changes in the United States after the attacks of September 11 have been legislative and organizational, but the application of executive powers to the war on terrorism has constructed a far-reaching system that is largely outside of the legislative purview. One result has been the activation of judicial oversight in areas only rarely touched before—the military tribunals at Guantánamo Bay, for example—and judicial fine-tuning of the rights of U.S. citizens accused of terrorist activities.

Certainly, the Patriot Act, first passed on October 26, 2001, and renewed in 2006, is the most visible change since September 11. The act incorporates into American law many of the anti-civil libertarian principles that have existed in European law for some time. Enhanced surveillance powers not only provide the FBI and other government agents the ability to issue more search warrants, seize records, and scrutinize bank, telephone, and Internet records (through so-called National Security

Letters), but also to operate without transparency or accountability.[179]

The act is not directed against "aliens" or immigrants; nevertheless, it specifically provides for noncitizens to be detained for up to seven days. If the government states its intention to deport, detention can be extended up to six months and is renewable. The seven-day limit can also be extended if the attorney general certifies every six months that there is a national security concern. A year after the attacks of September 11, 2001, 400 people (of the 1,200 or so who were detained in the weeks after September 11) were still being held on a variety of charges, with 175 of them awaiting deportation.[180] In March 2003, then-Attorney General John Ashcroft claimed that 478 people had been deported and 211 criminal charges had been legally brought since October 2001.[181] In contrast, a report by the NYU Center on Law and Security (CLS) indicates that sweeping surveillance under the Patriot Act has produced very few arrests and fewer convictions.[182] Among the 211 criminal charges claimed by Ashcroft, the NYU/CLS study documents 120 cases. Of the 84 people arrested for terrorism between September 2001 and October 2004, 54 have been indicted for terrorism and/or support of terrorism, of which 11 have been convicted and 16 have accepted a plea. Only 18 of the charges brought before the courts were for direct acts of terrorism, and only one person, the "shoe bomber" Richard Reid, was convicted of a direct act of terrorism during that period. One widely reported case was that of two 16-year-old girls of Muslim origin, Tashnuba Hayder and Adama Bah, the first terrorist investigation known to involve minors in the United States. Although the details of the allegations against them were sealed by the government, the two girls were believed to have been detained by the FBI for their activity on an Internet chat room frequented by a radical Islamic cleric in London who has encouraged suicide bombing. Both girls were eventually held on immigration charges (the immigration papers of the parents of one girl had not been renewed), yet neither was ever charged with a crime. In May 2005, Adama Bah was released to her home in New York, while Tashnuba Hayder accepted an order of "voluntary departure" to Bangladesh.[183]

The alternative—perhaps more serious—effort of the government to combat terrorism has been an extralegal, ad hoc campaign, the results of which have been dubious. The Patriot Act authorizes neither the incarceration of "enemy combatants" incommunicado, nor the detention of illegal immigrants without charges, nor secret immigration hearings.[184] Although citizens, in

principle, have greater claims on the legal system than noncitizens, there has been no consistency in the treatment of either. Thus, an American citizen, John Walker Lindh, who was captured in Afghanistan as an enemy combatant, was charged in a federal court and given a plea bargain, while two other citizens, Yaser Esam Hamdi and Jose Padilla, were detained without charges as enemy combatants.[185] Meanwhile Richard Reid, a British citizen, and Zacarias Moussaoui, a French citizen, were both sentenced to life in prison, after pleading guilty in federal court on terrorism charges. David Hicks, an Australian citizen, who was captured in Afghanistan and detained for more than five years at the American military base at Guantánamo Bay, pleaded guilty in March 2007 to charges of supporting terrorism and was sentenced to serve just nine months in an Australian prison by an American military tribunal.

The new American legislation does not appear to be harsher than laws already in place in France and Britain, but it makes life more difficult for immigrants and aliens, not only because of new rules, but also because of the new means of administering them that gave considerable discretion to federal authorities to detain suspects for long periods of time. Thus the follow-up Intelligence Reform Act of 2004

> . . . is principally concerned with the reorganization of the intelligence community and the creation of a new "czar," the director of national intelligence, to oversee the intelligence operations of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Pentagon, and other agencies. In addition, however, it modifies many of the laws and regulations identified with the Patriot Act. It expands the scope of foreign intelligence surveillance, and strengthens the power to detain suspected terrorists prior to trial. It sets minimum federal standards for personal identity documents and attempts to bolster their security.[186]

As in Britain and France, all of these additional powers and administrative personnel have created hardships for the Muslim community. It is clear from the arrest pattern detailed in the NYU/CLS study that the focus of attention has been on immigrants and that there has been increased detention and deportation of undocumented aliens. Legal residents have also had a hard time as new and existing rules are enforced with more vigor.[187] Immigrants from Arab and other Islamic countries were required to register with the INS after September 11, 2001. Failure to register carried with it the danger of deportation. In the immediate aftermath of the World Trade Center attacks, 60 percent of Arab Americans surveyed were concerned about long-term discrimination, and 45 percent claimed to know someone who

had suffered ethnic discrimination. Twenty percent claimed to have "personally" suffered discrimination.[188]

Pursuant to law, the antiterrorism actions of the United States have touched relatively few people, as is also the case in Europe. However, actions that have been enacted under the cover of executive power have touched many thousands of people. Consider the scope of the warrantless phone taps that have been reported by the *New York Times* and others since December 2005; thousands, "perhaps millions," of phone lines were involved.[189]

The targeting of Muslims has been tempered in both Europe and the United States by government attempts to enlist Muslim individuals and community organizations in their efforts to enhance security.[190] These efforts have been most explicit in Britain in the announced programs of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the Department of Communities and Local Government and are mainly aimed at engaging with Muslim communities to prevent radicalization and promote voices of mainstream Islam among Muslim youth.[191]

The effort in France has been more complicated and has largely focused on the establishment of the French Council for the Muslim Religion (CFCM), discussed in chapter 2. In the United States, these efforts are being coordinated by the Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties of the Department of Homeland Security, which has organized an interagency Incident Management Team (IMT). The IMT is meant to bring key bureaucrats who deal with both security issues and public relations together with two dozen Muslim scholars and community leaders in the United States.[192] We will come back to these efforts in the next section.

This discussion of security is not intended to be exhaustive. It is meant to illuminate how three large Western countries with significant Muslim populations—Britain, France, and the United States—have adjusted (sometimes dramatically) their security policies in response to transnational terrorism and incidents involving their own Muslim communities. But this discussion does not encompass countries such as Denmark, The Netherlands, and Spain, which have also had to address problems of radicalization and/or terrorism; their approaches to security likewise bear further examination.

Chapter V: Best Practices

In this section, we will analyze the success of various attempts—often experimental or pilot programs—by public authorities

and nongovernmental organizations to integrate Muslim communities into Western societies. Studies of these "best practices" have focused primarily on education, community development, and discrimination,[193] with some attention to political participation. In recent years, government authorities in many Western countries have also collaborated with Muslim representatives on programs to enhance security and integrate Muslim communities.

Any understanding of best practices implies both comparison with other countries and some evaluation of the goals that are being pursued. The implied goals are usually higher levels of integration and acceptance. With the exception of recent projects by Aristide Zolberg and Allison Joy Clarkin,[194] however, most existing scholarly studies have avoided transatlantic comparisons, instead focusing either on a particular country[195] or on the European Union.[196] The resulting lack of a comparative framework makes an examination of best practices somewhat less effective.

Education

There has been considerable discussion on both sides of the Atlantic of the failures and difficulties in integrating Muslim immigrants through established educational systems, especially in Europe. But there have been interesting experiments, both in private and public education, which could be useful tools of integration, if expanded and geared toward Muslim communities. In the United States, for example, some New York City public high schools that recruit students through special examinations—Stuyvesant High School, Townsend Harris High School, and the Bronx High School of Science, in particular—have been recruiting immigrant children since before World War I. Together with the universities that now comprise the City University of New York, these schools have become instruments of social and economic mobility for generations of immigrants. In more recent years, affirmative action programs have also succeeded in educating new generations of minority students and in placing them in positions of influence and power. Such programs have not affected the success of most members of those communities, but they have produced a more visibly integrated network of minority elites. In Britain, some faith-based Muslim schools have made an important contribution to the improvement of student performance.[197] And in France, public education programs have been developed to promote "positive discrimination" and "equality of chances" (the French equivalents of American affirmative action). In the case of the latter, however, there has not been much discussion of their

successes and failures so it is difficult to judge to what extent, if any, they have fostered integration.

Education can be a highly effective means of integration, especially in Europe, where there are large numbers of Muslim students within the school system despite the fact that Islamic populations are minorities within most countries. In Amsterdam and Rotterdam, immigrant children (the vast majority of whom are of Muslim origin) are a majority; in Brussels, they comprise more than 40 percent of the student body; and in London, "English is a second language for a third of the children in school."[198] Education policies vis-à-vis accommodating religious practices vary with patterns of church-state relations, but schools have made considerable efforts to advance integration, both of students as well as their families.

In Germany, Austria, and The Netherlands, for example, schools have provided language courses for immigrant mothers that both facilitate adult learning of local languages and encourage mothers to support their children academically. Perhaps more importantly, they have given parents a place to meet and talk about common challenges. According to a report of the Migration Policy Institute:

> The most recent studies that have been conducted on these projects in different countries show clearly that the level of parental participation is higher when the activities are organized in cooperation with the schools and their children, and take place in the schools. Such an approach also has the secondary impact of facilitating contact between teachers and parents.[199]

Mentoring projects have also been successful, particularly in Britain, The Netherlands, Sweden, and Belgium.[200] During the past 10 years, immigrant students in these countries who have succeeded at the university level have been brought back into the school system to work as mentors within their communities. This method of linking successive immigrant generations has its roots in similar programs in the United States, Israel, and Canada. In Europe, such efforts are more recent and involve much smaller numbers of students. They have also been organized, for the most part, at the local level, and are therefore more widespread where the educational system encourages local initiatives.

Colleges and universities are also increasingly recruiting students from impoverished ethnic areas. The elite Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris (also known as Sciences Po) has created a program to seek out and provide aid to talented students from neglected Zones of Educational Priority (ZEP). These

ZEPs, created partly on the basis of the percentage of school-age immigrant children in different areas, were established in the early 1970s. Although the scale of the Sciences Po program is small—it recruits fewer than 20 students each year—it is a good model for other elite universities and colleges. Sciences Po is also working to provide tutoring and financial aid to secondary schools in a select number of places.

Antidiscrimination

As discussed in chapter 3, there has been a growing body of antidiscrimination legislation throughout the West, as Muslim populations establish a permanent and growing presence there. In Britain, additional legislation during the past decade has extended the coverage of the Race Relations Act to the police and other public officials who had been previously exempt from laws against discrimination. In The Netherlands, many aspects of the minorities policy have been toned down and more emphasis has been placed on combating expressive racism by considering it as criminal activity. In France, the High Authority for the Struggle Against Discrimination and for Equality (HALDE), established in 2005, has created a mechanism for receiving and publicizing complaints.[201] How well conceived and useful are these new approaches?[202]

A report on Islamophobia published in 2006 by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia revealed a growing perception of discrimination among young Muslims.[203] Patrick Simon has pointed out that there is a paradoxical aspect to the question of discrimination:

> Discrimination becomes more widespread when young people of immigrant origin have succeeded in school and have solid credentials on the job market. They then look to gain more competitive jobs while employers perceive their origins as a "negative sign" in the course of selection.[204]

In addition to governmental schemes that are being instituted under EU antidiscrimination directives, there are other, more informal programs, such as efforts by employer associations, to hire minority employees. The French experience since the 2005 riots indicates that the combined efforts of local government and industry can have an impact on unemployment. In Yvelines, a locality in the suburbs of Paris, a collaboration between Renault and the local government reduced unemployment by 15 percent in one year by combining education with training and jobs. This program has proved to be quite successful as a pilot project for how government and industry can work together to overcome the effects of discrimination.[205]

In the United States, there has been plenty of research into the tradition of ethnic associations helping new arrivals to bypass discriminatory barriers and create a niche in the American economy. One study reported that approximately 12 percent of the labor force in the 216 metropolitan areas studied was employed in ethnic niches.[206] The development of such niche employment has also been studied in Europe, but the importance of ethnic associations has perhaps been underestimated.[207]

Political Integration

Methods of political integration vary considerably across Europe and between Europe and North America. Canada and the United States have been integrating immigrant populations through the political system since the 19th century. In fact, many early settlers found it easier to rise through politics than through business, and ethnic political organizations in Boston, New York, and Chicago became legendary as instruments of mobility. Immigrants in Europe, however, and particularly Muslim immigrants, have been relatively unsuccessful, both at getting their collective voices heard and in gaining political office.

In France, which has the largest Islamic community in Europe, there are currently no Muslim deputies in the National Assembly and relatively few in local councils. There are indications that growing social mobility has resulted in increased immigrant activity in French politics and associational life, but this has generally occurred at the local level.[208] In contrast, there have been some successful Muslim candidates in the national legislatures of Britain and Germany, but only in areas of high immigrant concentration. Studies have shown that political parties have played a more positive role in recruiting minority candidates in Britain than in France, where community organizations are largely responsible for political mobilization.[209]

Despite being far weaker, local branches of political parties in the United States have been much more open to the political recruitment of immigrants than their European counterparts, and this has resulted in stronger ethnic representation nationally. However, this can vary considerably from one locality to another. Roger Waldinger notes important differences between the more open political system in New York and the more elitist system in Los Angeles,[210] and Richard Alba and Nancy Foner point out that very little is known about cross-national practices of political integration:

> . . . there is another problem that comes from putting so much emphasis on convergence, as many cross-national immigration studies do.

> Because convergence theorists (and indeed many other comparative analysts) focus so heavily on official government policies, or the representations of these policies in political discourse, they tend to tell a story of increasing immigrant inclusion; and they risk missing, or at least seriously underplaying, the way historically rooted and durable social, political, and economic structures and arrangements create varying levels of barrier to immigrants and their descendants in different societies. [W]e take as our focus an aspect of the political arena that has to do with actual political practices: the ability of immigrant-origin politicians to be elected to office. Surprisingly, this topic has received little attention in the literature on cross-national comparisons although it is clearly critical for the integration of immigrants and their children—and indeed for their ability to influence the policies that shape their lives in such important ways.[211]

With the exception of a few community-based studies,[212] there is little information and less analysis of best practices with regard to political integration in the West. Thus one cannot conclusively state that the North American experience indicates the importance of the political system in fostering and leveraging integration in society and the economy, nor can one accurately gauge the significance of lower levels of political integration in Britain and the virtual absence of political integration in France.

Security and Islamic Communities

As we have already noted, Western governmental attempts to enhance security by working with Muslim individuals and community organizations are increasingly widespread. The success of these measures, however, is not yet clear. The decadelong French effort to create the French Council for the Muslim Religion (CFCM) has successfully provided a meeting point for religious representatives and government officials, and played a useful role in winding down the suburban riots in the fall of 2005.[213] However, it has proved less useful for integrating urban youth, whose primary grievances are unemployment and lack of access to French society rather than issues related to Islam.[214]

In Britain, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the Department of Communities and Local Government have led government efforts to institutionalize consultation with Muslim community and faith leaders. But the stated objectives of these programs suggest that they have been undertaken to mobilize support for British policy rather than to reflect the priorities of that population.[215]

Recent reports suggest the limitations of the British approach. Even Muslim community leaders who have been most

cooperative with government efforts have been reluctant to get involved in developing programs for the operation of mosques,[216] for example, or to set standards for the recruitment of Muslim prison chaplains. A series of measures proposed by the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government Ruth Kelly to give civic training to imams and to encourage "a message about being proud to be British, proud to be Muslim" has received little support among Muslim leaders.[217]

For British government leaders, there appears to be some sentiment that, from the point of view of "best practices," the emphasis of the French system on the use of intelligence gathering and investigating judges is worth emulating. After the attacks on the London underground, then-British Home Secretary Charles Clarke stated a number of times that a French-style system in Britain could be more effective in detaining suspects while a case is being constructed against them.[218]

In the United States, the Department of Homeland Security has an Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties that "has worked to help the Department establish and cement positive relationships with a variety of ethnic and religious communities, and the organizations that represent them."[219] As mentioned in the previous section, its interagency Incident Management Team was formed to bring key bureaucrats who deal with both security issues and public relations together with two dozen Muslim scholars and community leaders in the United States.[220] For Homeland Security officials, this is the beginning of a larger effort to focus on the diversity of the United States, "to connect with young people from these communities," and to bring more minority youth into public service.[221] However, the American federal system is such that it necessitates the coordination both of various national agencies as well as local and national security programs, which can be problematic.[222] New Department of Homeland Security initiatives to deal with Muslim communities are part of an attempt to bridge this "federal gap."

These recent programs appear to be far less ambitious than the parallel efforts in Britain and France. There is, however, one similarity. They all tend to work directly with Muslim organizations and Muslim community leaders, rather than through local officials, or even local authorities responsible for security. This centralization is probably easier in France, with a long tradition of centralized control through the Ministry of the Interior, than it is in the United States, or even Britain, where security and community relations have been far more decentralized.

Generally speaking, the "best practices" used by French, British, and American authorities to simultaneously integrate their Muslim populations and enhance security measures include a combination of gathering intelligence, defusing tensions, and enlisting community leaders in the struggle against terrorist networks. As noted at the start of this section, however, insufficient evaluation and comparison of the impact of these programs makes it hard to assess which deserve to be elevated to the status of best practices.

Conclusions

We began this analysis by noting that 2005-2006 has been a particularly difficult period for Muslims in the West. Many of the trends that we have examined herein—not the least of which is continued immigration from the Islamic world into Europe and the United States—have indicated that tensions are likely to persist into the future as well.

Most Muslims currently living in the West are no longer immigrants, however. The majority are either citizens or on the way to becoming citizens. They are also disproportionately young and thus an important part of the future of the West. Beyond providing manpower for economic expansion and contributing to the European welfare state, they have made a significant impact on popular culture, cuisine, and the arts. For all of these reasons, reports of the European Commission have called for more, not less, immigration over the next half century.[223]

So on the one hand, young Muslims are at the core of problems of integration, both economic and social; on the other, they are also the key to the growth of European economies and the stability of European society. Young women, in particular, embody this inherent contradiction. The recent focus on dress codes and the demands by and for Muslim women seem to indicate a growing gap between European secularism and Islam. Our report supports this conclusion in part, but has also found that young Muslim women are more successful and politically active than their male counterparts. As much as their patterns of dress and religious observance indicate traditional behavior, they also point toward growing activism and independence.

Some of the agents of Muslim integration are the same as they were for previous waves of immigrants. The economy, for example, continues to be of overriding importance. Employment and antidiscrimination programs are crucial to reducing the sense of alienation among Muslim youth. The American experience has demonstrated that such programs are

most effective in creating new ethnic elites who can serve as a bridge for broader economic and social mobility.[224] Despite increasing visibility at various levels of the economy, though, the unemployment rates of young Muslims are significantly higher than those of other young people throughout Europe (but not America). This is related in part to their lower levels of education. But, as we have noted, and as confirmed by several European studies,[225] it is also caused by slow economic growth and discriminatory labor practices. Nevertheless, a large proportion of Muslim youth have excelled within the educational system and in the labor market despite these barriers.[226]

The American experience, though relatively recent, also indicates that politics is an effective instrument for creating a sense of civic identity among immigrants.[227] Yet this traditional agent of integration is not as important as it was in the past. While previous generations of immigrants were integrated through the trade union movement and through active participation in political life, these mechanisms have not been as effective for Muslims in this generation. Trade unions are less powerful than they used to be, and political parties have made little effort to mobilize and integrate Muslim citizens. Instead, state authorities in Europe and the United States have attempted to use mosques and religious authorities as intermediaries with the Muslim population.

In contrast, legal institutions have played an increasingly significant role in integration by establishing minority rights that in most cases support multiculturalism. They have kept the doors of immigration open in Europe and have constrained the most questionable behavior of the federal government in the United States since 2001. Although the courts are not comparable to the economy, religious institutions, and the political system in assimilating immigrants, they have been crucial negotiators of evolving identity.[228] In France, for instance, many young Muslims are legally changing their names to more European sounding ones to facilitate their integration, particularly in the job market, and they seem to enjoy the sympathy of the judicial system. A recent *Le Monde* article relays the experience of the judge Anne-Marie Lemarinier who has presided over many of these requests in the last two years:

> Mme Lemarinier knows them well, these files of French men and women of more or less remote foreign ancestry for whom a Muslim first name is an impediment to integration. Many tens of times per year, she hears the same tales of refusal for jobs or for renting an apartment when

> one is named Mohammed, Abdel or Tarek, and the obstacles that are removed as soon as they become Fred or Paul.[229]

The role of ethnic associations is also important to integration. Although their number increased over the past decade, with various degrees of legitimacy, until now they played only a relatively minor role in developing and representing the interests of Muslim communities in the West. Now, as Western governments are increasingly seeking out intermediaries to deal with their Muslim communities, such associations could play a more significant role as arbiters of both identity and integration.[230] Growing considerations of domestic and transnational security have intensified the search for intermediaries and have also created a greater sense of urgency among leaders of Muslim communities to fill this role.

Ethnic associations must play a role in developing such instruments as citizenship examinations and citizenship training programs, for example, that Britain and France, respectively, are using to assess the integration of immigrants. It is crucial that Muslim minorities not become the objects of such programs, but act in concert with governmental authorities in defining emerging national identities.

Integration is clearly a very complex issue, and one that is difficult, if not impossible, to define in universally accepted terms. Context matters in terms of both time and space. Western countries are struggling, with varying degrees of success, to develop policies that will improve the process. It would be inaccurate to say that integration is failing, either in Europe or the United States. Rather, we seem to be at a crossroads, where governments and their Muslims populations are beginning to articulate a new kind of citizenship pact in the West.

As the report of the High-Level Group for the Alliance of Civilizations rightly states the following:

> Establishing coherent integration strategies requires regular dialogue among representatives of government and immigrant communities, civil society representatives, religious organizations and employers, engaging at local, regional, national and international levels. While informal and ad hoc engagement is valuable, institutional structures that support dialogue on a regular ongoing basis can ensure the efficacy of such approaches in promoting greater integration. Such efforts help achieve a balance between the demands of integration and the need to maintain one's cultural and religious identity.[231]

The report goes on to say that

> political, civil society, and religious leadership in the West can help set the tone within which debates regarding immigration take place by speaking forcefully and publicly in defense of the rights of immigrants wherever they are endangered and by acknowledging the contributions that immigrants make to the life and livelihood of their communities.[232]

These are not easy times to determine the right terms for the integration of Muslim communities in the West, and in Europe, in particular. Tensions between the Muslim and Western worlds are reverberating within Muslim communities in the West. The search for identity (among individuals, states, and Europe as a whole) is exacerbated by internal factors, such as economic and social problems and cultural clashes, as well as external factors, such as international conflicts and the struggle against transnational terrorism. Thus, all involved—governments, ethnic associations, employers, educational institutions, and religious voices—must exert a concerted effort to develop and define what might become a citizenship pact. Such a pact would spell out obligations and rights in a clear way; the question would no longer be whether integration is achieved, but whether citizenship is fully enjoyed and mutual obligations honored. As citizens, reassured in the integrity of their private values but in full agreement with the encompassing legal system of their adopted countries and its political culture, Western Muslims could become an inspiration for the larger Muslim world as it struggles to strike a balance between faith, tradition, and modernity. Furthermore, the resolution of current tensions in which Muslim communities are embroiled in the West—tensions that are of concern to the rest of the Muslim world—might lead to a more harmonious relationship between the West and the Muslim world.

NOTES TO APPENDIXES

Notes to Appendix IV

1. See http://europa.eu/institutional_reform/index_en.htm.
2. See "Islam in Europe—Towards an Independent Self Image," Islamische Glaubensgemeinschaft in Österreich, Wien, 2006.
3. Ibid.

Notes to Appendix VI

1. Elaine Sciolino and Stephen Grey, "British Terror Trial Traces a Path to Militant Islam," *New York Times*, November 26, 2006.
2. Ian Fisher, "Pope Meets Envoys from Muslim Nations," *International Herald Tribune*, September 26, 2006.
3. Alan Cowell, "A Glimpse of Limits to Tolerance," *International Herald Tribune*, October 23, 2006.
4. See, inter alia, H. D. S. Greenway, "Once Again, Britain Looks at Reasons Why," *International Herald Tribune*, August 12, 2006; Fisher, "Pope Meets Envoys from Muslim Nations"; and Elaine Sciolino, "French Critic of Islam Flees Threats," *International Herald Tribune*, October 1, 2006.
5. John Vinocur, "Nudging to Consensus Over Dutch Muslims," *International Herald Tribune*, November 21, 2006.
6. Dan Bilefsky and Ian Fisher, "Doubts on Muslim Integration Rise in Europe," *International Herald Tribune*, October 12, 2006.
7. In May 2006, the interior ministers of Germany's 16 federal states agreed to common standards governing language and citizenship courses for immigrants seeking naturalization. This was followed by the introduction in November 2006 of a new citizenship examination in the United States intended to inculcate civic values and encourage democratic participation. More stringent citizenship requirements adopted by Britain in October 2005 include a language proficiency test and an exam meant to test a prospective citizen's knowledge about life in Britain. For further reading, see Judy Dempsey, "Germany Recognizes Its Face Is Changing," *International Herald Tribune*, May 6, 2006; Holli Chmella, "New Citizens Will Need Deeper Knowledge," *New York Times*, December 1, 2006; and Alan Travis, "Testing Passport to UK Citizenship," *Guardian*, November 1, 2005.
8. Jytte Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 6.

9. The number of Muslims in the United States has been estimated as high as 6 to 7.5 million in Qamar-ul Huda, *The Diversity of Muslims in the United States,* United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Special Report No. 159, February 2006, p. 1, online at http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr159.html, and as low as 1.1 million in Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY), *American Religious Identification Survey 2001,* online at http://www.gc.cuny.edu/faculty/research_briefs/aris/aris_index.htm. The various estimates, together with sources, are summarized in B. A. Robinson, "How Many Muslims Are in the U.S. and the Rest of the World," Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance, September 2002, pp. 2-3, online at http://www.religioustolerance.org/isl_numb.html. In general, the higher estimates are based on ethnicity and the lower estimates on identity indexes. See Table 1.

10. Robert S. Leiken, "Europe's Angry Muslims," *Foreign Affairs,* July-August 2005.

11. "Minority Report: The Trouble with Integration," *Economist,* October 28, 2006.

12. Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe,* pp. 188-190; Nacira Guenif-Souilamas, *Des "beurettes" aux descendantes d'immigrants nord-africains* (Paris: Grasset/Le Monde, 2003), presents a particularly interesting analysis of activism among young Muslim women in France.

13. "Minority Report: The Trouble with Integration," *Economist.*

14. European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia, *Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia,* 2006, pp. 60-62, online at http://eumc.europa.eu/eumc/material/pub/muslim/Manifestations_EN.pdf; and Jocelyne Césari, ed., *Securitization and Religious Divides in Europe: Muslims in Western Europe After 9/11,* submission to the Changing Landscape of Citizenship and Security 6th PCRD of European Commission, June 1, 2006, pp. 5-8, online at http://www.euro-islam.info/PDFs/ChallengeProjectReport.pdf%20-4.pdf.

15. Hans-Georg Betz, "Against the 'Green Totalitarianism': Anti-Islamic Nativism in Contemporary Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe," a paper delivered at the Radical Right and Its Impact on Migration Politics and Policies, a

conference held by New York University in Paris and Center for Political Research at Sciences PO (CEVIPOF), November 7-18, 2006.

16. Klausen, *The Islamic Challenge: Politics and Religion in Western Europe,* pp. 36-37 and 43; and Randall Hansen, "The Danish Cartoon Controversy: A Defense of Liberal Freedom," *EUSA Review*, vol. 19, no. 2, Spring 2006.
17. Jocelyne Césari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), p. 11.
18. What might have remained an internal Danish problem became an international affair when, in early 2006, a delegation of Danish imams went on a tour of Muslim countries to emphasize their anger and frustration. This was followed by official statements of protest from Arab governments, attacks on Danish embassies in Muslim countries, and widespread debate in the press and among intellectuals worldwide. Reactions among Muslims in the West were varied, but were generally limited to formal declarations (France) or controlled demonstrations (Britain). See Hansen, "The Danish Cartoon Controversy: A Defense of Liberal Freedom."
19. Oliver Roy, *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Umma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), ch. 1; Gilles Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), ch. 1.
20. "Joint Effort Pledged on Extremism," *International Herald Tribune,* October 27, 2006.
21. The Immigration and Nationality Act (popularly known as the Hart-Cellar Act) was passed in 1965 and fundamentally altered the U.S. system of immigration control. It abolished the national origins system, together with all race restrictions to immigration; set an annual limit of 170,000 visas for immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere with a limit of 20,000 per country (and was amended in 1968 to include a limit of 120,000 visas for immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, with no country limits); and created preference systems for visas, emphasizing preferences for those with family connections and work. For immigrants from Muslim countries, the act effectively increased the limit of a few hundred places per year to the possibility of thousands of places.
22. See Martin A. Schain, "The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States: A Transatlantic Comparison," in Tim

Smeeding and Craig Parsons, eds., *Immigration and the Transformation of Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

23. Christian Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), introduction.
24. For elaboration, see Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on a Community Immigration Policy;* Rainer Muenz, "Europe: Population and Migration in 2005," *Migration Information Source,* June 2006; Phillip Longman, "The Global Baby Bust," *Foreign Affairs,* May/June 2004.
25. Commission of the European Communities, *Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on a Community Immigration Policy,* COM (2000) 757 final (Brussels: Commission of the European Communities, November 22, 2000), online at http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/2000/com2000_0757en01.pdf and United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, "World Population Prospects," February 2005.
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27. Renwick McLean, "Spanish Look for Decisive EU Action," *International Herald Tribune,* May 25, 2006.
28. Rim Latrache, "La Communauté arabe aux Etats-Unis: histoire d'immigration et enjeux de la visibilité et de l'invisibilité," doctoral thesis, University of Paris IV–Sorbonne, Civilisation Américaine, December 9, 2006.
29. U.S. Census Bureau, online at http://www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/censusr-21.pdf. Also see Geneive Abdo, *Mecca and Main Street: Muslim Life in America after 9/11* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
30. This is the title of the first chapter of Césari's book, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States,* pp. 9-18. What follows is based on her analysis.
31. Jonathan Laurence and Justin Vaisse, *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2006), p. 21.

32. There is often a conflation of religion and ethnicity for purposes of establishing numbers, and there is considerable disagreement about just how many Muslims there are from country to country. Thus, the estimates of the number of Muslims in the United States vary from a low of about 1.1 million to a high of 7.5 million (see footnote 9), and for France between 2.5 and 5 million. (Laurence and Vaisse, p. 19).
33. Surveys rely on national samples of no more than a few thousand people. Where the Muslim population is 1 percent or less of the population, the subsample of Muslims would be less than 20, a number that is statistically unreliable, especially if there is variation of opinion within it.
34. Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France,* p. 20.
35. All of these estimates are from Césari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States,* appendix I.
36. Ibid., p. 9.
37. Shireen T. Hunter, ed., *Islam, Europe's Second Religion: The New Social, Cultural, and Political Landscape* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), chs. 4 and 8.
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39. U.S. Census Bureau, online at http://www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/censusr-21.pdf.
40. Arab American Institute, 2002, www.aaiusa.org; and Latrache, *La Communauté arabe aux Etats-Unis: histoire d'immigration et enjeux de la visibilité et de l'invisibilité,* pp. 293-295.
41. See Césari, *When Islam and Democracy Meet: Muslims in Europe and in the United States,* p. 221, footnote 10, for an evaluation of sources.
42. See Ibid., p. 11, and Rim Latrache, *La Communauté arabe aux Etats-Unis: histoire d'immigration et enjeux de la visibilité et de l'invisibilité,* p. 6.
43. American Muslim Poll 2004 conducted by Zogby International for Muslims in the American Public Square (Project MAPS), pp. 47-48, online at http://www.projectmaps.com/ AMP2004report.pdf.
44. See Migration Policy Institute, 2004, *Changer les principes en actions*.
45. Shireen T. Hunter, *La Radicalisation et les jeunes des minorités ethniques en Europe* for the Migration Policy Institute, 2004, pp. 36-44.
46. Estimates for illegal immigration are usually issued without explanation by government ministries. Nevertheless, recent reports in several countries indicate an important increase of undocumented immigrants arriving in Europe from Africa south of the

Sahara. In France, immigrants (legal and illegal) represent the largest increase of any single group. Source: Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques (INSEE), *Les Immigrés en France,* 2005 ed. (Paris: INSEE, 2005), pp. 28, 244.

47. Patrick Weil, *La France et ses étrangers* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991), pp. 77-84.
48. Martin A. Schain, "Ordinary Politics: Immigrants, Direct Action and the Political Process in France," *French Politics and Society,* vol. 12, nos. 2-3, Spring-Summer 1994.
49. Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain,* p. 64.
50. Ibid., p. 65.
51. Ibid., pp. 69-99.
52. "Trends in International Migration: SOPEMI—2004 Edition," *OECD Social Issues/Migration/Health,* vol. 2005, no. 4, April 2006, p. 350.
53. Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain,* pp. 104-108; Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ch. 1.
54. Joppke, *Immigration and the Nation-State: The United States, Germany and Great Britain,* pp. 114-134.
55. Steven A. Camarota, "Immigrants from the Middle East: A Profile of the Foreign-Born Population from Pakistan to Morocco," Center for Immigration Studies, August 2002, online at http://www.cis.org/articles/2002/back902.pdf.
56. Ibid., p. 11. For a picture of the success of Muslims in the United States, see Paul Barrett, *American Islam: The Struggle for the Soul of a Religion* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006).
57. Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), *American Muslim Voters: A Demographic Profile and Survey of Attitudes,* October 24, 2006, pp. 4-6, online at http://www.cair.com/pdf/American_Muslim_Voter_Survey_2006.pdf.
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60. Camarota, "Immigrants from the Middle East: A Profile of the Foreign-Born Population from Pakistan to Morocco," p. 2.

61. Nadia Khouri-Dagher, "Française du Maghreb: la Réussite Silencieuse," *Le Monde* magazine, March 4-10, 2006.
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64. Pascal Ceaux, "M. Sarkozy defend l'Islam et relance le débat sur la laïcité," *Le Monde*, October 27, 2004.
65. Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France,* pp. 157-159.
66. John Bowen, "Does French Islam Have Borders? Dilemmas of Domestication in a Global Religious Field," *American Anthropologist,* vol. 106, no. 4, 2004.
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68. Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France,* p. 83.
69. This estimate by the U.K.-based Islamic charitable organization, Salaam Network, is online at http://www.salaam.co.uk/mosques/index.php.
70. See Andrea Elliott, "Between Black and Immigrant Muslims, an Uneasy Alliance," *New York Times,* March 11, 2007.
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79. See Zolberg, "The Democratic Management of Cultural Differences: Building Inclusive Societies in Western Europe and North America," p. 47; and Laurence and Vaisse, *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France,* pp. 138-139.

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91. Sylvain Brouard and Vincent Tiberj, *Francais comme les autres? Enquete sur les citoyens d'origine maghrebine, africaine et turque* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2005), pp. 30-35.
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93. Brouard and Tiberj, *Francais comme les autres? Enquete sur les citoyens d'origine maghrebine, africaine et turque,* pp. 30-35.
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97. MAPS, p. 46.
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99. *American Religious Identification Survey 2001;* CAIR, *American Muslim Voters: A Demographic Profile and Survey of Attitudes.*
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102. Guenif-Souilamas, *Des "beurettes" aux descendantes d'immigrants nord-africains,* introduction.
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