A Conflict in Search of a Peace Process

Colin Irwin, Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool

Introduction

Since the tragedy of 9/11 the US and her closest allies have been waging a campaign to win the hearts and minds of their respective people's in support of their 'War on Terror'. All protracted wars, if they are to succeed, require the undying support of their citizens and the 'War on Terror' is no exception. In the United Kingdom the Great Wars of the last century presented few ambiguities in this regard. However, two very distinct and opposing theses lay at the heart of this new public relations battle that can be characterised, on the one hand, as the 'Foreign Policy' thesis and on the other hand as the 'Radical Islamist' thesis. The 'Foreign Policy' thesis suggests that the failure to bring a just settlement to the Israel/Palestine conflict, continuing US involvement in the Middle East and, with her allies, the subsequent military adventures in Afghanistan and Iraq are the primary cause of this ongoing conflict while the 'Radical Islamist' thesis explains the conflict in terms of such groups committed to wagging a war of terror against the US and her allies for largely ideological reasons associated with their belief that their vision and values are in some way superior to those of the west and should, at all costs, prevail to establish a new Islamic 'Golden Age' or Caliphate.

Historically those who support the 'Radical Islamist' thesis like to point to the origins of this movement with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, its development in the 1940s and 50s and the teachings of Sayyid Qutb. While those who support the 'Foreign Policy' thesis often look to the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the Balfour Declaration of 1917. These very distinct and highly selective perspectives seem to be a corollary of the 'we were here first' hypothesis so often used in rival claims for the same piece of territory, except, in the 'blame game' the objective is to establish the priority of the proposition that 'they were there first' and it is 'they' who started the conflict.

These two competing views of the 'War on Terror' have been the subject of unprecedented levels of public enquiry and debate since the events of 9/11 because these two competing views have profoundly different implications for the foreign policy of the US and her allies. Are their policies in the Middle East and through the 'War on Terror' fuelling that conflict or are they defeating it? That is the critical question that is being asked and a very great deal of public opinion research has quite rightly been undertaken in this context. Sometimes this is done in an effort to find an answer to this critical question, but, also, with apparent equal energy and effort this is sometimes done so as *not* to ask or answer this critical question and/or to support one thesis over the other.

This is particularly true in the UK since the events of the London bombings of 7/7. Another great tragedy that some have argued should have been foreseen and as a consequence have repeatedly asked for a full public enquiry (Editorial and Opinion, 2005). This paper critically examines the public opinion research undertaken in the UK since the events of 9/11 and suggests that the methods adopted in support of the successful Northern Ireland peace process should now be employed in an effort to help resolve the so called 'War on Terror'. The Northern Ireland conflict took more than a generation to solve. We are told that the 'War on Terror' may last as long. This protracted engagement, I would like to suggest, can be shortened by applying all the positive lessons from Northern Ireland including the lessons of objective public opinion research and its associated descriptive power as a tool for transparent independent conflict analysis and effective public diplomacy.

UK Government public opinion research after 9/11 [2001]

Of course the 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' hypotheses are only characterised as a true dichotomy in the propaganda war of governments and their partisan media. In reality they are not totally mutually exclusive. Many complex social, cultural, political, religious and psychological elements will necessarily contribute to the disaffection, alienation and radicalisation of young British Muslims leading some, on occasions, to acts of violence. Although the problems of discrimination and social integration, as they relate to the Muslim community in Britain, have been the subject of much well funded research[1] the public opinion polls undertaken as part of these researches after 9/11 in 2001 failed to ask the critical questions central to an understanding of the problems of alienation and radicalisation of these Muslims and the society in which they grew up, were educated, live and work.

The primary responsibility for monitoring such attitudes, values and relevant dependent and independent variables rests with the UK Home Office. They started their Citizenship Survey in 2001 with a national sample of 10,000 and minority ethnic booster sample of 5,000. These surveys are now carried out biannually.[2] Data from these surveys are fed into the Home Office Civil Renewal Unit, Active Community Unit, Race Equality Unit and Community Cohesion Unit. Unfortunately none of the questions in these surveys deal directly with support and/or justification for terrorist activity. In particular there are no questions on attitudes towards the foreign policy of the UK and her allies in the Middle East (Smith and Wands, 2003) so the survey can not be used to test the relative merits of the 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' hypotheses. Surprisingly the same omission occurs in the 2004 surveys undertaken by the Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC, 2004) and the Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR, 2004). FAIR reported their findings to the Home Affairs Committee's Inquiry into Terrorism and Social Cohesion and, perhaps in part due to these obvious biases in data collection, they drew no conclusions about either the extent of radicalisation amongst the British Muslim population or the full range of grievances that might lay at the heart of their alienation. In their Sixth Report published in April 2005 the Home Affairs Committee conclude:

> [paragraph] 13. We believe that the analysis in the Cantle report remains valid. Key issues in the report, such as the importance of leadership, especially at a local level, the

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[1] For a review see: Open Society Institute, 2005.
[2] For an overview see the Home Office web site. Retrieved August 6, 2006 from http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/citizensurvey.html

need to overcome segregation, the role of schools and the importance of opportunities for young people and the need for clarity over what it means to be British, are central to the problems discussed in this inquiry. The threat of international terrorism brings a new dimension to existing issues, and perhaps makes their resolution even more pressing - it does not change them.

(Home Affairs Committee, 2005)

This conclusion, in part, may have been drawn from a report on 'Young Muslims and Extremism' sent to the Cabinet Secretary, Sir Andrew Turnbull, from the Home Office Secretary, John Gieve, a year earlier on May 10, 2004. In this report analysts from the Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) struggle to draw some meaningful conclusions from their Citizenship Surveys. They were able to point out, for example that along with other minority faith groups (Hindu, Sikh, Jewish, Buddhist) Muslims place 'religion' second to 'family' in order of importance (Christians placed 'work' second) and that Muslim males complained less (33%) than Christians (35%), Hindus (35%) and Sikhs (41%) about their employers support for their religious customs and practices. Similarly 37% of young Muslims thought the government was doing too little to protect the rights of people belonging to religions compared with 39% for Christians, 39% for Hindus and 56% for Sikhs (Table 1) and although Muslims engaged less in informal volunteering than these other groups this proved to be a function of education, occupational status and age and *not* religion. As these government surveys clearly did not provide any useful insights into the relationship between 'Young Muslims and Extremism' the joint Home Office and FCO report then turned to post 9/11 press polls for further analysis.

Table 1. The amount the government is doing to protect the rights of people belonging to religions for the age group 16 to 24 (Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001)

	No Religious Affiliation	All Faith Communities	Christian	Muslim	Hindu	Sikh	All
Too little	36%	40%	39%	37%	39%	56%	38%
Right amount	50%	55%	55%	61%	57%	44%	53%
Too much	14%	6%	6%	3%	4%	-	8%
Respondents	294	1,146	526	435	93	65	1,440

UK press polls after 9/11 [2001]

The strength of the Home Office Citizenship Survey is its attention to methodological excellence, which includes extensive samples that facilitate comparisons between minority groups and the wider society. Its weakness is its lack of relevance of the questions being asked. Conversely in their survey of six public opinion polls run by Eastern Eye/MORI (2001), BBC/ICM (2001 and 2002), Telegraph YouGov (2002) and Guardian/ICM (2002 and 2004) between 9/11 2001 and March 2004 some far more relevant results are produced but with the caveat that:

'Firstly, the surveys vary in quality and reliability, so results must be interpreted with great caution. Secondly, due to methods used the data should be treated as *indicative* of British Muslims opinion, not *representative* of it. Thirdly, there is no comparative context to enable us to compare Muslim responses with those of other groups and

understand the findings in this wider context. Finally, since questions asked were different in each survey (even when covering the same topic) strict comparisons between the surveys is not possible.'

(Home Office and FCO, 2004)

With these points in mind the following summary observations were made.

- Between 7-15% thought the September 11 attacks were justified and 67-85% unjustified.
- Between 7-13% thought further attacks would be justifies and 67-85% unjustified.
- Between 57-70% thought the war on terror was a war against Islam while 20-34% disagreed.
- Between 64-80% opposed the war in Afghanistan while 12-20% supported it.
- About 80% opposed the war in Iraq while 10% supported it.
- Between 15-24% thought it was OK for British Muslims to fight with the Taliban while 62% disagreed.
- Between 48-66% thought relations between Muslims and non-Muslims had got worse since 9/11; 27-36% no change and 3-10% better.
- Between 30-35% had experienced hostility based on religion as a result of 9/11 while 65-70% had not.
- Between 33-34% thought Muslims needed to do more to integrate; 28-33% thought they had got it about right and 17-26% thought Muslims had integrated too much.
- Between 67-87% feel loyal/patriotic towards Britain while 8-26% did not.

And from these observations the Home Office and FCO analysts concluded that:

> 'Polls between November 2001 and December 2002 suggested that a relatively small, but not insignificant minority of British Muslims felt some sympathy for terrorist attacks on the USA, did not feel loyal to Britain, did not condemn British Muslims who fought against allies in Afghanistan or thought Muslims have gone too far in integrating into British society. The ICM poll published in the Guardian on 15 March 2004 recorded 13% of British Muslims as thinking that further terrorist attacks on the USA would be justified. In each case, substantial majorities took the opposite view but the existence of minorities disposed towards extremist positions cannot be ignored and needs to be better understood.'[3]

Regrettably that understanding was not forthcoming or if it was it did not find its way into the Home Affairs Committee report of April 2005, which was followed, three months later by the London bombings of 7/7 - 2005.

UK press and community polls after 7/7 [2005]

The 7/7 bombings precipitated a rash of press and other media polls including a lively debate over the relative merits of the 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' hypothesis. Political analysts started to suggest that British involvement in Iraq had increased Britain's

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[3] It should be stressed however that the same Home Office and FCO report noted that 'Intelligence indicates that the number of British Muslims actively engaged in terrorist activity, whether at home or abroad, or supporting such activity is extremely small and estimated at less than 1%'

vulnerability to terrorist attacks (Gregory, F. and Wilkinson, P., 2005) while Al-Quaeda attributed the cause of the London bombings directly to the UK's actions in the Middle East.

> Hasn't Sheik Osama bin Laden told you that you will not dream of security before there is security in Palestine and before all the infidel armies withdraw from the land of Muhammed.
>
> (Ayman al Zawahiri, 2005)

Not surprisingly then, following the London bombings, independent polls undertaken by YouGov for the *Daily Telegraph* (King, 2005) and by CommunicateResearch (2005) for *Sky News* addressed these politically sensitive issues directly (also see *The Sun*/MORI (2005a) poll). In the CommunicateResearch poll 2 per cent of 462 Muslims interviewed on July 20/21 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed' with what the suicide bombers did on July 7 and in the YouGov poll conducted between July 15 and 22, 6 per cent of 526 Muslims interviewed said the bombings were justified. These polls are undoubtedly not as accurate as the Home Office surveys but these percentages are dangerously high and could translate into potentially thousands of Muslims willing to become involved in terrorist activities if radicalized. With regards to motives only 1 per cent of respondents in the YouGov poll agreed with the statement that 'Western society is decadent and immoral, and Muslims should seek to bring it to an end, if necessary by violence' while in the CommunicateResearch poll 61 per cent 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' with the statement that 'Britain's role in the Iraq war was largely to blame for the London bombings'.

Perhaps what was being sampled here, in some *indicative* way, was a relatively large pool of disaffected, angry or alienated individual Muslims and, on the other hand, a very small percentage of that pool that might, for ideological reasons, be accessible to radicalization with a view to committing acts of violence that would include the suicide of the perpetrator/bomber. But what is the cause and effect? No clear answer to this question was forthcoming and so, in the public mind the debate still raged between the competing 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' hypothesis.

Influenced, perhaps, by the results of these various polls, Dominic Grieve, the opposition Conservative Party shadow Attorney General, expressed the view that the London suicide attacks were 'totally explicable' because of the deep anger felt by British Muslims over Iraq. Hazel Blears, the Home Office minister, much to the annoyance of many leaders in the Muslim community, strongly rejected this analysis (Morris and Brown, 2005) although the extensive polling research commissioned by her department could add very little to this debate on either side of the argument. Why this should be the case, when there clearly was no lack of opportunity, resources and relevant expertise can probably best be explained and understood from a sociology of science perspective as an example of Campbell's *adversarial stakeholder[s]* not being allowed or encouraged to explore 'measures of feared undesirable outcomes' in terms of alienation and radicalisation in the context of British foreign policy in the Middle East (Irwin, 2005a; Campbell, 1984). In other words Government officials knew such research and reports would be leaked so they did not go down that road.

Others, however, now started to explore the subtleties of these issues with a little more sophistication. For example the BBC/MORI poll of 8/9 August 2005 investigated some useful ideas around the issues of identity and multiculturalism (MORI, 2005b; BBC, 2005)

while the Muslim Voice poll of 27 July /14 August 2005 examined the authority and influence of the current Muslim establishment and religious leaders (MVUK, 2005).

Table 2A lists 10 polls undertaken on these topics in the UK since 9/11 along with the samples, their size and collection methods. Table 2B covers another 19 surveys completed post 7/7.[4] The polls are very mixed and although most of them tested the 'Foreign Policy' thesis only 5 explored the 'Radical Islamist' hypothesis and of these only 4 tested them together in the same survey instrument. These questions and results are listed in Table 3.

Table 2A. Post 9/11 UK polls with samples, methods and tests for the 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' hypotheses.

Poll	Date	General Sample	Minority Sample	Method	'Foreign Policy' Hypothesis	'Radical Islamist' Hypothesis
Citizenship Survey	2001	10,015	5,460 Booster	Face to Face	None	None
Eastern Eye MORI	Nov 2001	Two questions in other polls	116 Hindu 319 Muslim 100 Sikh	Face to Face	Yes	None
BBC ICM	Nov 2001	None	500 Muslim	Telephone 'Snowball'	Yes	None
Guardian ICM	June 2002	None	500 Muslim	Telephone 'Snowball'	Yes	None
BBC ICM	Dec 2002	None	500 Muslim	Telephone 'Snowball'	Yes	Yes
Telegraph YouGov	Dec 2002	None	310 Muslim	Online	Yes	None
Citizenship Survey	2003	9,486	4,571 Booster	Face to Face	None	None
Guardian ICM	March 2004	None	500 Muslim	Telephone 'Snowball'	Yes	None
IHRC	July 2004	None	1125 Muslim	Form	None	None
FAIR	Sept 2004	None	200 Muslim	Form	None	None

Additionally, only 12 of the 29 polls listed here tested various issues for the UK population as a whole and comparisons were only drawn against results for the Muslim sample in 10 of these. However, even when this was done the questions asked in the two samples were nearly always selective subsets of these questions and/or different questions. Generally speaking I am sure this was done with the best of intentions but the *Times/Populus* poll deserves special attention for 'cherry picking' the questions before they were asked by, for example, only testing the 'Foreign Policy' thesis against their Muslim sample (see Table 3). In this case the 'feared undesirable outcome' to be avoided would appear to be the fact that the general public, 53% in the *Sun/MORI* poll, also believed the principal cause of the London bomb attacks was the war in Iraq, which was not significantly different to the *Times/Populus* result for their Muslim sample at 50%.

Further, only 4 of these polls test other subgroups, the two Home Office Citizenship polls, the Eastern Eye/MORI poll and my own GMI/PeacePoll. The Home Office polls have been reviewed earlier and the other subgroup in the GMI/PeacePoll was limited to the Jewish

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[4] The list of polls reviewed here is not exhaustive. I have not included polls undertaken by Muslim organisations representing, for example, university students or prisoners, as their results are not always accessible.

community,[5] which leaves the Eastern Eye/MORI poll as worthy of special attention as the results for each of these minorities were very similar. Namely 6% of Hindus, 7% of Muslims and 9% of Sikhs felt 'the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the United States on September 11th were justified'.

Table 2B. Post 7/7 UK polls with samples, methods and tests for the 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' hypotheses.

Poll	Date	General Sample	Minority Sample	Method	'Foreign Policy' Hypothesis	'Radical Islamist' Hypothesis
Pew	2005	Approx. 1000 per State	None	Telephone & Face to Face	Yes	None
Telegraph YouGov	July 2005	1914 Weighted	None	Online	Yes	None
Telegraph YouGov	July 2005	None	526 Muslim	Online	Yes	Yes
SkyNews Communicate Research	July 2005	None	462 Muslim	Online	Yes	None
Sun MORI	July 2005	None	282 Muslim	Face to Face	Yes	Yes
BBC MORI	August 2005	1004	229 with Booster	Face to Face	None	None
Times-Jewish Groups -Populus	Dec 2005	None	500 Muslim	Online	Yes	None
Pew	2006	Approx. 1000 per State	Approx. 400 Over-sample GB, Spain France, Germany	Telephone & Face to Face	Yes	None
Times YouGov	Feb 2006	1600		Online	None	None
Channel 4 NOP	March 2006		856 Muslim	Telephone	Yes	None
Channel 4 NOP	April 2006		500 Muslim	Telephone	None	None
GMI PeacePoll[6]	April 2006	1002 Weighted	256 Muslim 100 Jewish	Online	Yes	Yes
Times Populus	June 2006	1005 Non-Muslim	1131 Muslim	Telephone & Online	Yes (Muslim)	None
Guardian ICM	June/August 2006	1007 August	500 Muslim June	Telephone	Yes	None
YouGov	August 2006	1696		Online	None	None
1990 Trust	Sept 2006		1213 Muslim	Online	Yes	Yes
Populus	Oct 2006	1033			None	None
Gallup	Dec 2006	1200	500 London Muslim	Telephone & Face to Face	None	None
Policy Exchange Populus	Jan 2007	Some Omnibus 1025	1003 Muslin	Telephone & Online	Yes	None

Table 3. Some 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' questions and results.

Poll	'Foreign Policy' Hypothesis	'Radical Islamist' Hypothesis
Eastern Eye MORI	Looking at this card, to what extent, if any, do you feel the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon in the United States on September 11th were justified? 'A great deal/fair amount' – All 7%; Hindu 6%; Muslim 7%; Sikh 9%	
BBC ICM 500 Muslim	Some people have said that the attacks by Al Qaeda and associated organisations are justified on the grounds that Muslims are being killed by America and its allies using American weapons. Do you agree or disagree? Agree 44%; Disagree 46%; Refused 6%; DK 8%	Some people have said that the attacks by Al Qaeda and associated organisations are "a reaction undertaken by the sons of Islam who are zealous in the defence of their religion and in response to the order of their God and Prophet", Do you agree or disagree? Agree 17%; Disagree 72%; Refused 1%; DK 11%
Telegraph YouGov 1914 UK sample	Do you think Britain's role in Iraq has made the country more vulnerable or less vulnerable to attack by Islamic terrorists? More vulnerable 75%; Less vulnerable 1%; Made no difference 22%; DK 2%	
Telegraph YouGov 526 Muslim	Do you think the bombing attacks in London on July 7 were justified or not? On balance justified 6%; On balance not justified 11%; Not justified at all 77%; DK 6%	Which of these views comes closest to your own? Western society is decadent and immoral and Muslims should seek to bring it to an end, if necessary by violence – 1%
Sun MORI 282 Muslim	On this card are some statements about the recent bombings in London. Please tell me which one comes closest to your personal view? The war in Iraq is the main reason why London was bombed – 53%	The bombings in London would have happened even if Britain was not involved in Iraq – 10%; The war in Iraq had nothing to do with why London was bombed – 14%; None of them – 3%; DK – 20%; Refused -.
Times Populus 1131 Muslim	The British invasion of Iraq was the principal reason for the London bomb attacks – Agree 50%; Disagree 28%	
Times Populus 1005 Non-Musilm	Not asked	
1990 Trust 1213 Muslim	Has the "War on Terror" increased the threat of terrorism in the West? Yes 90%; No 5%; DK 5%	Is there a contradiction in being loyal to the "Ummah" and being a good citizen who can get on with others in society? Yes there is a contradiction 7%; No contradiction 93%

A number of conclusions can be drawn from these observations:

Firstly, as noted by the Home Office analyst, it is difficult to draw conclusions from any of these results and make meaningful statements about attitudes in the Muslim community unless those same issues are tested in the wider population at large and, for comparative purposes against other minority groups as well. This, for example, would be particularly true for questions relating to matters of discrimination and treatment by the police.

Secondly, although the size and quality of the samples have increased and improved over the past several years this progress is of little significance when compared with the gaps in both the communities and groups to whom the questions are asked and the gaps in those questions themselves. In some cases this seems to include the selective targeting of questions to particular groups in order to bias the results for political effect. For example, following the publication of the *Times/Populus* poll the *Times* reported on 5 July 2006 that:

'Muslim leaders in Britain announced a national task force to fight extremism yesterday, and called for efforts to end false justifications for acts of violence. The move was announced after the publication of a Times/ITV News poll, which suggested that a significant minority of British Muslims believe they are at war with the rest of society, with 13 per cent saying that they regarded the July 7 bombers as martyrs. Tony Blair said yesterday that the poll showed that the overwhelming majority of Muslims were decent, law-abiding people who wanted to put an end to extremism. People within the Muslim community needed every help in mobilising to combat the extremists' ideology and methods. "That is the only way we will defeat it in the end. That means showing how these extremists' attitudes towards the West and towards our own way of life are wrong and misguided," he told *The Times*.'

(Binyon and Webster, 2006)

In addition to the problems associated with selective sampling and the targeting of questions to specific groups there is also the problem of the context in which they are asked and framed. In my view one of the very best reports written on the growth of the Muslim terrorist insurgency in the UK is the 2006 Democratic Audit report 'The Rules of the Game' by Blick, Choudhury and Weir. Along with other valuable social and legal analysis of this problem they undertake an examination of many of the public opinion polls reviewed here. With regards to context their critique of questions used to ascertain the 'loyalty' of respondents is seminal and well worth reading in full:

'Opinion polls constantly ask Muslims whether they consider themselves Muslims or British first. Ignoring for a moment the problematic nature of this question, the answer received can depend on the options available. For example, in the Pew 2006 poll 81 per cent of Muslims in the UK said they consider themselves as Muslim first, 7 per cent British first. By contrast, in a Sky News poll in 2005 46 per cent said British first and Muslim second, 12 per cent Muslim first and British second and 42 per cent said they did not differentiate. This latter option was not available to the respondents to the Pew Poll. In the 2006 NOP/Channel 4 Poll, 38 per cent said they felt strongly that they belonged to both Britain and to Islam. Three quarters of Muslims said that their sense of belonging to Britain has not changed as a result of 7/7; for 14 per cent that their sense of attachment has increased and for 10 per cent that it has decreased.[7]
    The question of whether Muslims feel loyal towards Britain is also shaped by the way in which the question is posed. Muslims asked directly about their own sense of loyalty to the UK indicated high levels of loyalty to Britain. In a YouGov poll in July 2005 and in the ICM poll in 2006, nearly half of Muslims said they felt 'very loyal' to the UK and between a third and 42 per cent 'fairly loyal' to the UK. Only 6 and 5 per cent said they 'did not feel very loyal' and those reporting 'not feeling loyal at all' numbered 10 per cent in the YouGov 2005 poll and 2 per cent in the ICM poll. However the figures for those feeling loyal are significantly lower if the question is framed so that Muslims are asked to consider how loyal they think 'Muslims' feel towards the UK. Given the diversity of the Muslim community in the UK the failure of Muslims to get this question right is hardly surprising.
    The extent to which framing can affect outcome is best seen in a question posed in the 2006 NOP/Channel 4 poll. The headline report was that 24 per cent of Muslims see the UK as 'their country'. However, the actual question posed, 'When you see the British

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[7] ICM Poll, June 2006.

flag do you feel "that's my country" or "that's their country"?' Thus the replies reflected ambivalence toward the union flag rather than the UK. By contrast, 88 per cent of Muslims agreed with the statement, 'when a British team does well in international competitions, such as sporting events, I feel proud'. The figure for all people in the UK was 90 per cent; and as many non-Muslims and Muslims respondents, 7 per cent of each group, disagreed.[8]'

(Blick, Choudhury and Weir, 2006)

A solution to this problem is perhaps offered by the Home Office Citizenship Surveys. As much as I admire the critical analysis of Blick, Choudhury and Weir I have one small bone to pick with them. On page 19 of their otherwise excellent report they note that 'Levels of dissatisfaction were higher among young Muslims (16-24 year olds), of whom 37 per cent felt that the government was doing 'too little'.' This result has been 'cherry picked' from the Home Office Citizenship Survey which, as noted earlier, goes on to point out that this level of dissatisfaction is lower than the overall level of dissatisfaction for all respondents in this age group[9] at 38% and also lower than other faith groups at 39% for Christians and Hindus and 56% for Sikhs (Table 1). Clearly a workable solution to this kind of problem, in both analytical and presentational terms is to place the results for minorities, Muslim or otherwise, in both a general 'all' sample context and a comparative 'other' minority context. The Government analyst made this point in their 2004 Home Office/FCO report and they were quite right to do so and although the Eastern Eye/MORI poll is very limited in its sample it elegantly makes this same point for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

But the questions asked in the Citizenship Survey were of little practical value in analysing the critical issues under examination here. What then is the best workable solution to this problem between the 'sublime' certainties of the biannual 15,000 Citizenship Survey sample on the one hand and the sometimes 'ridiculous' headline grabbing sound bite no context questions often found in the popular press? I think the Eastern Eye/MORI poll points the way. More comparisons, more context and do not be overly concerned about producing expensive *representative* samples when small *indicative* samples can provide such comparisons and context at a fraction of the cost.

2006 UK online 'peace poll'

By now many will be familiar with the polling methods used in Northern Ireland in support of their peace process (Irwin 2006a, 2002a, 2001). This work was subsequently internationalized with a poll in Macedonia and feasibility studies in Cyprus, Israel and Palestine in 2002 (Irwin, 2002b, 2004); a poll in Bosnia in 2004 (Irwin, 2005b) and also in Kosovo and Serbia in 2005 (Irwin, 2005c). The three most important characteristics of these 'peace polls' are:

1. All the parties to a conflict should draft and agree all the questions.
2. All the communities and peoples to the conflict should be asked all the questions.
3. All the results should be made public.

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[8] BBC Multiculturalism Poll, August 2005.

[9] To be fair Blick, Choudhury and Weir do make this point in footnote number 26 at the end of the chapter on page 26, but without giving the details of the statistics.

These 'Golden Rules' are of course ideals but if followed go a long way to dealing with many of the problems with the polling done in the UK following 9/11 and 7/7 by covering a wide range of issues from across the social and political spectrum in a comprehensive comparative context. Following the presentation of a paper on this topic at the WAPOR annual conference in Cannes in 2005 GMI agreed to sponsor a UK 'peace poll' using these methods in combination with their UK panel and associated internet polling software.[10]

When the interviews for this poll were started it seemed quite natural to focus on 'problems' from, on the one hand, a distinctly domestic perspective and then, on the other hand, from an international perspective. But the problems put forward from the Muslim community did not neatly fit into these two apparently clear classifications. After several weeks of interviews the broad categories listed below emerged as the major issues to be dealt with:

• Islamophobia and the 'clash of civilizations'
• Discrimination and integration
• The Muslim community
• Relations between the West and Muslim states
• Extremism and the 'War on Terror'

Islamophobia and the 'clash of civilisations' is distinctly both a domestic and international problem, while, for example, discrimination and integration is more domestic and relations between the West and Muslim states, is more international. The point to be made here is that this conflict has gone global. Northern Ireland and the 'Troubles' were, by comparison, a local conflict and the wars in Bosnia, Serbia and Kosovo engulfed the region known as the Balkans.

The international complexity of the conflict between the 'West and the Muslim World' makes it very difficult to solve as so many parties to the conflict are involved. Fortunately this clear and obvious point of difficulty is compensated for by the fact that there is a great deal of consensus about the solutions to this problem and how this conflict can be resolved, at least in the UK. Hopefully that consensus will be found to extend to other states so that an international consensus can be built around the essential elements of what must necessarily become a peace process (Irwin, 2006b).

I will not go into the details of this poll and its findings here. They can be read in the reports available on both the peacepolls and GMI websites. What I want to do here is compare the results from this poll with the others reviewed earlier to see what can be added to and said about these different analyses with respect to the 'Foreign Policy' and 'Radical Islamist' perspectives of the conflict.

Critically the style of questions used in a 'peace poll' facilitates comparisons across all cultural, social and political issues addressed and between all the sections of society engaged. The emphasis is on description with a view to stimulating discussion rather than discrete hypothesis testing. For example, Table 4 lists the top three 'problems' from this poll for the

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[10] I wish to thank Ken Pick, Michaela Corning, Dietmar Walter and Tina Louise at Global Market Insite, Inc. They most generously placed the resources of their company at my disposal and collected all the data for this poll at entirely their own cost. The survey was conducted online within the United Kingdom between April 13 and May 2, 2006 to produce a weighted sample of 1002 adults over 18 and additional booster samples of 256 Muslims and 100 Jews also over 18.

UK public in general, Jewish community, Muslim community and 'alienated' Muslims who, for the purposes of this poll, 'strongly agreed' with the statement that: 'Much of the violence that is labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes'.

Table 4. Top three 'problems' from a list of ninety-nine cultural, social and political issues concerning relations between the West and the Muslim World

	All UK per cent 'Very Significant'		Jewish per cent 'Very Significant'		Muslim per cent 'Very Significant'		'Alienated' Muslim per cent 'Very Significant'	
1st	Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	50 %	Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	82 %	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	74 %	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	86 %
2nd	Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	47 %	Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	62 %	Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name'	70 %	Western desire to control Middle East oil	84 %
3rd	Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	46 %	Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	62 %	The invasion of Iraq	70 %	US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	84 %

From a list of ninety-nine different issues the top three 'problems' for the British public were suicide bombers that kill Israeli civilians first at 50% 'very significant' followed by Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians 2nd at 47% 'very significant' and 3rd, misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence, at 46% 'very significant'. Understandably the Jewish community also place the killing of Israeli civilians 1st on their list but at a higher rating of 82% 'very significant' followed by the misrepresentation of Islam… to justify violence at 62% and then Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel 3rd also at 62% 'very significant'. The point to be made here is that both the general public and the Jewish community place Middle East foreign policy issues at the top of their respective 'problems' lists.

The Muslim community as a whole place the negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists at the top of their list at 74% 'very significant' and at 86% for 'alienated' Muslims. This is followed by Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name' and the war in Iraq both at 70% 'very significant' for the Muslim community as a whole and Western desire to control Middle East oil and US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world both at 84% 'very significant' for 'alienated' Muslims. Again foreign policy issues feature at the top of these lists but this time with a more US/Western Middle East perspective.

So foreign policy seems to be a common denominator for almost everyone in the UK but the elements of that policy are somewhat different for different sections of British society. For example 'alienated' Muslims place 'British foreign policy' pure and simple almost half way down their full list of concerns at number 43 with a rating of only 56% 'very significant' (Table 5). Like the 'curates egg' perhaps some aspects of British foreign policy are 'good in parts'. Bosnia, for example, did not even get raised as a problem in the interviews undertaken for the drafting of these questions.

The aspects of foreign policy that are a problem relate to, for example, Middle East oil and US foreign policy 2nd and 3rd at 84% 'very significant', Iraq 5th at 82%, Western threats to Muslim states 7th at 81%, Afghanistan 9th at 79%, the failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims 10th also at 79% and Israel and US policy with respect to Israel 11th and 12th at 77% 'very significant', and so on, and so on.

For 'alienated' Muslims these are the policies that seem to matter most. Unfortunately the British Governments primary focus is on those polices that are lower down or even at the very bottom of this list of priorities. Misrepresentation of Islam…to justify violence is 52nd at 49% 'very significant', Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims is 64th at 37% 'very significant' and then, at the very bottom, at 97th is Muslims not being proud to be British at 18% 'very significant', at 98th is multiculturalism is preventing integration at 16% 'very significant' and last, at 99th is Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society at only 11% 'very significant'.

Everyone agrees that these are real problems and the Muslim community are cooperating with the British Government to address them. Indeed the *Times/Populus* poll was used to help secure that cooperation. But that poll is biased, as is its related Government policy. To think, for a moment, that such 'bottom up' approaches can bring an end to young Muslims turning to violence in the absence of the British Government not also taking a 'top down' approach with respect to the most critical areas of foreign policy is, at best, a dangerous self deception. It simply will not work. It is like asking the church leaders and moderate politicians in Northern Ireland to bring an end to Republican violence without addressing the major concerns of the Catholic community which, in Northern Ireland, were discrimination and police reform. Contrary to popular belief it was not a united Ireland.

For very obvious reasons I have not, as yet, had an opportunity to discuss with any British Muslims actually engaged in terrorist activity why they have turned to violence but I have often had such discussions with members of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) and Irish Republican Army (IRA). Without exception the reasons given are the violent injustices the other community has visited on their own. The polling evidence seems to suggest that the motives that drive young Muslims born and educated in the UK are not substantially different except that they have grown up in a global village in which the violent injustices done to their community are not limited to those shores alone.

The significant success of the Northern Ireland peace process in recent years can be attributed to bringing an end to violence in the context of addressing the root causes of injustice with the full cooperation of the Republic of Ireland and support of Britain's strongest allies in Europe and America. In the broader context of the global village in which we all now live the remedy for Muslims in Britain, and around the world, may not be so very different. The international community have readily accepted the proposition that the 'War on Terror' is a global endeavour. They have yet to come to terms with the fact that both the causes and effective solutions to this so-called war likewise require a global response (see Table 6).[11]

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[11] Table 6 provides a list of remedies from a UK Muslim perspective. Many of the items on this list have wide popular support (for a detailed analysis see: Irwin, 2006b).

Table 5. The 'significance' of 'problems' for 'alienated' Muslims in the UK

	'Alienated' Muslim per cent 'Very Significant'	
1	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	86 %
2	Western desire to control Middle East oil	84 %
3	US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	84 %
4	Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name'	82 %
5	The invasion of Iraq	82 %
6	The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	81 %
7	Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	81 %
8	Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	79 %
9	The invasion of Afghanistan	79 %
10	The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	79 %
11	Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	77 %
12	Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	77 %
13	Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	77 %
14	Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	77 %
15	US support for the state of Israel	75 %
16	Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	75 %
17	The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	75 %
18	Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	75 %
19	The use of evidence gained through torture	75 %
20	Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	75 %
21	The war on terror is a war on Islam	75 %
22	The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	75 %
23	Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	74 %
24	Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	74 %
25	Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	74 %
26	Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	72 %
27	US having military bases in the Middle East	72 %
28	Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	70 %
29	Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	70 %
30	Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	70 %
31	Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	68 %
32	Double standards in condoning free speech	67 %
33	Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	67 %
34	The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	67 %
35	The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	67 %
36	Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	65 %
37	The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	63 %
38	Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	63 %
39	Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	61 %
40	The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	60 %
41	The creation of the state of Israel	60 %
42	Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	58 %
43	British foreign policy	56 %
44	Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	56 %
45	Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	54 %
46	The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	54 %
47	Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	54 %
48	Islam is being defined by the extremists	53 %
49	Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	51 %
50	Discrimination against Muslims by the police	51 %
51	Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	49 %
52	Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	49 %
53	Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	49 %

54	The rise of the extreme right in European politics	47 %
55	Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	44 %
56	Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	44 %
57	Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	44 %
58	The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	42 %
59	Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	42 %
60	Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	42 %
61	Discrimination against Muslims by employers	40 %
62	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	39 %
63	Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	39 %
64	Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	37 %
65	Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	37 %
66	The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	37 %
67	Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	35 %
68	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	35 %
69	Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	35 %
70	The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	33 %
71	Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	32 %
72	People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	32 %
73	The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	32 %
74	Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	32 %
75	Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	30 %
76	Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	30 %
77	Lack of integration in schools	28 %
78	Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc)	28 %
79	Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	28 %
80	Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	28 %
81	Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	28 %
82	The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	28 %
83	Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	26 %
84	Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	26 %
85	Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	26 %
86	The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	25 %
87	Sharia Law	25 %
88	Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	25 %
89	Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	25 %
90	Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	25 %
91	Islamic dress code	23 %
92	The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	21 %
93	Lack of self criticism by Muslims	21 %
94	Discrimination against homosexuals	21 %
95	Failure to reform Islam	19 %
96	The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	18 %
97	Muslims not being proud to be British	18 %
98	Multiculturalism is preventing integration	16 %
99	Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	11 %

Conclusion

The issues being dealt with here are some of the most serious that our modern world have to address and as with 'Global Warming' there is a fierce debate over the relative merits of the scientific evidence. Is the 'Greenhouse Effect' real or is the Earth caught up in a natural cycle of warming following a periodic Ice Age? Why are young Muslims in Britain and elsewhere turning to violence and does the 'Foreign Policy' or 'Radical Islamist' thesis provide the best explanation upon which to base our policies?

Unfortunately the public opinion research undertaken by the authorities, in this case the British Home Office is not up to the task of providing an answer to this question although they have all the intellectual and financial resources necessary to do so. They, like the rest of us, have often relied on polling research undertaken by a partisan press and/or interest groups such that their conclusions and polices have been largely shaped by those interests. Or, more seriously, they have courted and worked with such groups to produce the polling results that suited their policies and/or have discouraged research that might prove fatal to such policies.

Table 2 lists the polls reviewed here along with their date and samples. In terms of useful analysis and peace making there is not a simple relationship between the quality of these samples, their associated expense and the insights they generate. The usefulness of the analysis is a function of both the appropriateness of the sample and the relevance, timeliness and comprehensiveness of the questions asked. Looking back now over these polls I should have included more minority groups such as Hindus and Sikhs in my sampling, as was done in the Citizenship Survey and Eastern Eye/MORI poll. Getting such samples online is not always easy but as *indicative* observations were adequate for my purposes this could have been done and should be done in any future 'peace poll' of the UK population.

Others are now looking at all these issues in a more systematic way. I look forward, for example, to reading "Who Speaks for Islam? Listening to the Voices of a Billion Muslims" from the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies. In a recent pre-publication review they conclude:

> 'Moreover, after analyzing survey data representing more than 90% of the global Muslim population, Gallup found that there was no correlation between one's level of religiosity and sympathy for terrorist acts. The real difference between those who condone terrorism and the vast majority who condemn them stems from political, rather than religious or cultural, distinctions'
>
> (Mogahed, 2007)

But this is all frankly too little too late. Such research should have been rigorously pursued six years ago after 9/11. We all should have done better. In future we must do better.

Table 6. The 'significance' of 'solutions' for 'alienated' Muslims in the UK

		'Alienated' Muslim per cent 'Essential'
1	Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	86 %
2	Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	86 %
3	All religions should be treated the same under British law	84 %
4	Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	81 %
5	Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	81 %
6	Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	81 %
7	Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	79 %
8	Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	77 %
9	Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	75 %
10	Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	75 %
11	Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	75 %
12	Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	75 %
13	Employ more Muslims in the UK media	74 %
14	Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	74 %
15	Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	74 %
16	Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	74 %
17	The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	72 %
18	Anti-discrimination campaign	72 %
19	Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	72 %
20	Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	72 %
21	Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	72 %
22	Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	72 %
23	Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	72 %
24	Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	70 %
25	Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	70 %
26	Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK Mosques	70 %
27	A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	70 %
28	EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	70 %
29	Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	70 %
30	The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	70 %
31	Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	68 %
32	Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	68 %
33	Do business with people from the 'other' community	68 %
34	Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	68 %
35	Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	68 %
36	Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	68 %
37	Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	68 %
38	The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	67 %
39	Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	67 %
40	More police from ethnic minorities	67 %
41	Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	67 %
42	Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	67 %
43	Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	67 %
44	End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	67 %
45	Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	65 %
46	Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	63 %
47	Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	63 %
48	Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	63 %
49	Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	61 %
50	Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	61 %
51	More Muslim youth workers in the UK	61 %

52	Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	61 %
53	The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	61 %
54	Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	60 %
55	Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	60 %
56	Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	60 %
57	Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	58 %
58	Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK Mosques	56 %
59	The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	56 %
60	International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	54 %
61	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	54 %
62	The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	54 %
63	Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	54 %
64	Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	53 %
65	Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	51 %
66	Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	51 %
67	British born Imams trained in the UK	51 %
68	Interfaith conferences for Imams	51 %
69	Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	49 %
70	Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	49 %
71	Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	49 %
72	Comparative religion studies for Imams	47 %
73	Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	46 %
74	Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	46 %
75	Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	42 %
76	Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	37 %
77	Introduce UK National Identity cards	30 %
78	Women only colleges at universities in the UK	28 %
79	Reform Islam	26 %
80	End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	21 %
81	Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	21 %
82	Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	19 %
83	Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	18 %
84	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	18 %
85	The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	16 %
86	Fight terrorism using military means	14 %
87	Support all US policies in the war on terror	14 %
88	End government support for Muslim faith schools only	12 %
89	Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	11 %

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