

**The West and the Muslim World:
A Conflict in Search of a Peace Process**

UK Study

A GMI sample based report

By

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The West and the Muslim World: A Conflict in Search of a Peace Process

Summary

Those involved in the Northern Ireland peace process have often looked on with a sense of déjà vu, disbelief or perhaps, sometimes, even horror at many of the errors made by Government in the management of Muslim affairs in the UK and conflicts with Muslim states around the world. Internment and forces of liberation soon becoming forces of occupation come to mind. Critically a failure to identify and deal with the problems at the heart of such conflicts can lead to increased violence rather than a successful peace process. In this context the public opinion research commissioned by governments in the UK and elsewhere have not been used as an effective tool of conflict analysis and public diplomacy. Employing methods developed in Northern Ireland this 'peace poll' identifies both problems and solutions central to relations between the West and the Muslim World. Topics covered include: 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'; and Muslim alienation. The international complexity of this conflict makes it very difficult to solve. 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, 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.

The West and the Muslim World: A Conflict in Search of a Peace Process

About the poll

This public opinion poll was undertaken to explore and better understand the underlying causes of increasingly poor relations between the West and the Muslim World and to find out what needs to be done to effectively deal with this problem.

The first, in what will hopefully become a series of studies was carried out in the UK by Dr. Colin Irwin of Queen's University Belfast, Muslim Voice UK (MVUK - Birmingham) and Global Market Insite, Inc. (GMI - Seattle and London).

The questions were collected from all sections of British society, both Muslim and non-Muslim.

This survey was conducted online within the United Kingdom between April 13 and May 2, 2006 among a nationwide cross section of 1,360 adults (aged 18 and over). Figures for age, sex, race, education, region and religion were weighted where necessary to bring them into line with their actual proportions in the population. For more information regarding GMI online methodology, please contact Kenneth Pick at kpick@gmi-mr.com

The results of the survey are being made available for public access on the inter-net, in the national newspapers and in reports given to all the UK political parties as well as all the major national and international organisations working on these issues.

Topics covered included problems relating to:

- 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'

This set of questions was followed by a range of solutions to deal with these problems as well as some questions relating to the background of the person responding to the questionnaire.

For further information about the organisations conducting this survey please visit their web sites at:

<http://www.peacepolls.org>
<http://www.mvuk.co.uk>
<http://www.gmi-mr.com>

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I wish to thank all those members of the UK Muslim community and those members of the wider British society who gave up some of their valuable time to suggest, critique and explain why this or that question was the right question to ask. If this research is of any value at all it will be because they helped to write the questions. Not me.

Without the help of Shaista Gohir of Muslim Voice UK, who shares my vision for the possibilities for this kind of research, I would not have been able to make all the necessary contacts in the UK Muslim community to complete this project. She must be thanked for her tireless efforts in this regard.

Finally I must 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 presented in this report at entirely their own cost. This young dynamic company deserves every possible success.

Without the support of all these people and organisations this project could not have been undertaken. If any good comes of it they must rightly take much of the credit. But in the end I managed the project and I alone must take responsibility for any failings in expectations or outcomes.

Colin Irwin
Liverpool
May 2006

Applying lessons from the Northern Ireland peace process

Social and political conflicts are a major source of instability in the post-Cold War world. They affect not just the countries in which they occur, but very often engulf their neighbors and have a potential to throw entire regions into turmoil. Even if settlements are reached they often remain unstable resulting in a return to violence or necessitating ongoing intervention by the international community. But the potential for the success of peace processes can be greatly increased when all sections of society are provided with opportunities to become active partners in their own peace process. Imposed solutions and deals done 'behind closed doors' and backed up with international pressure and force may bring temporary relief to apparently intractable problems. But 'home grown' solutions that have the widest possible support amongst the various elements that make up a society are essential for progress towards long-term stability and peace.

In the modern political world of international norms, globalization, mass media and an increasingly well-informed electorate, solutions to political, economic and social problems require a discourse and decision-making process that engages with the leadership, civil society and population at large. Achieving such a process in divided societies is problematic and requires every possible assistance and support. However, by taking advantage of some features that characterize and shape contemporary societies, it is possible to initiate a process of 'top-down/bottom-up' communication and 'centre-out/polarities-in' decision-making that can bring divided communities closer to a consensus as to how they can best manage their affairs. By pro-actively testing public opinion as part of the search for compromise and common ground, it is possible for negotiators to build consensus and strengthen the potential for political stability, economic prosperity and the degree of social cohesion necessary to sustain them.

To this end, nine surveys of public opinion were conducted in support of the Northern Ireland peace process between April 1996 and February 2003.¹ Critically the questions for eight of these polls were drafted and agreed with the co-operation of party negotiators to enhance the peace process by increasing party inclusiveness, developing issues and language, testing party policies, helping to set deadlines and increase the overall transparency of negotiations through the publication of technical analysis and media reports.

In so far as it was possible the parties were given 'ownership' of the research so that they would take the results seriously. Each party to the negotiations nominated a member of their team to work with the facilitator on the polls. Questions were designed to test party policies as a series of options or preferences from across the social and political spectrum. The moderating voice of 'the silent majority' was thus given expression while extremist positions were demonstrated to be marginal with little cross community support. All questions, options and preferences had to be agreed as not being partisan or misleading. From the drafting of these questions to sample design, ethics, timing and publication, the program of research was decided by all the parties and they were encouraged to take the work in any direction that they believed would be helpful to the peace process.

The focus of the research was on problems, solutions and policies for conflict resolution and questions were 'pitched' at what most people could understand most of the time NOT at the lowest common denominator. All relevant issues were covered

and NO irrelevant issues. All the results were also made publicly available in the local press and on the project web site effectively giving the wider community a 'seat at the negotiating table' and exposing the research to the highest standards of peer review and public scrutiny. There was no 'cherry picking' of the results. Everyone had to deal with all the issues that were raised as part of what became a 'pre-negotiation problem solving exercise'.

This activity, that extended across the political spectrum to all the major parties, civil society and the public at large helped to build support for the Belfast Agreement that led to a 71 per cent 'yes' vote in the 1998 referendum and a subsequent period of increasing stability and peace. In an effort to internationalise this work a book 'The People's Peace Process in Northern Ireland' has been published by Palgrave/MacMillan;² numerous papers and reports have been made available on the project web-site at peacepolls.org; a poll was completed in Macedonia³ and feasibility studies undertaken in Cyprus, Israel and Palestine⁴ in 2002, the EC funded a poll in Bosnia in 2004⁵ and a consortium of agencies have most recently supported a poll undertaken as a prelude to negotiations between Kosovo and Serbia.⁶ Clearly the Northern Ireland methods can be applied elsewhere but regrettably this was done too late to have a positive impact on the recent UN led Cyprus negotiations⁷ and a series of polls undertaken in support of the Sri-Lankan peace process has not, as yet, achieved the desired political outcome because of the inadequacies of the associated program of public diplomacy.⁸

Although the main thrust of the Northern Ireland work was to resolve problems and find agreement between parties engaged in a conflict it should be noted that the first in this series of polls dealt with all the key aspects of Catholic and Protestant community relations and policies for peace building.⁹ Similarly the poll completed in Macedonia dealt with the recent conflict there and relationships between the Muslim Albanian community and the Orthodox Christian Serb community. In Bosnia all aspects of their peace process were dealt with in an effort to move the country along the path to membership of the European Union and the Serbia/Kosovo polls examined all aspects of a potential settlement of the final status of Kosovo.

Necessarily these polls included exploring community relations with regard to Muslim Bosniaks and Muslim Albanians, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Christian Serbs. When it came to the design of these polls all manner of persons were involved in drafting the questions. Not just politicians but also civil servants, university lecturers, community leaders etc. The same approach has been taken here through a programme of in-depth interviews undertaken in the United Kingdom between January and April 2006.

Alienation and radicalisation of British Muslims

These same research methods and techniques can also be used to explore the demographic profile of alienated Muslims, their extent, attitudes and values, the social and political problems associated with alienation and the remedies that can be put in place to mitigate such problems. In this way ‘pools of alienation’ can be identified and steps taken to reverse the process that leads to the creation of groups willing to tolerate, acquiesce, support, encourage or perhaps even actively participate in terrorist activity.

It should be noted that following the events of ‘9/11’ the British Home Office initiated a programme of public opinion research to explore some of these issues. However, this government sponsored research failed to meet the objectives identified in this research because many of the most important issues that needed to be addressed, from a British Muslim community perspective, were not dealt with.¹⁰ By actively engaging with the Muslim community in the UK and making them part of this research project this critical failing can be avoided and hopefully this project has taken some significant steps in this most essential direction.

In Northern Ireland it is possible to identify alienated groups simply by asking them which political party they support. For Republicans it is or was Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, and for Loyalists it is or was the Progressive Unionist or Ulster Democratic Parties, the political representatives of the Ulster Volunteer Force and Ulster Freedom Fighters. But alienated Muslims in the UK do not have a political party that represents their views in such a clear way. With this point in mind everyone who filled out the questionnaire was invited to comment on their views of the London Bombings in question 11.5. Specifically those Muslims who 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’ have been recognised as a special interest group in this poll and report, as it is only by dealing with their ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ that the process of Muslim alienation can be adequately addressed.

But this poll is first and foremost a ‘peace poll’. So the most important objective is not only to find ‘solutions’ to ‘problems’ identified by alienated Muslims or even the wider UK Muslim community. The primary objective here is to find ‘solutions’ to ‘problems’ that everyone can ‘sign up’ to. With this point in mind comparisons are made between the general UK public, the Muslim community, those in the Muslim community who strongly agreed with the statement in question 11.5 and finally the UK Jewish community as an additional point of reference. When all these communities can agree on the way ahead then government policy can follow. On the most important issues to be dealt within this poll such agreement exists.

Part 1 – The Problems

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:

1. Islamophobia and the ‘clash of civilizations’
2. Discrimination and integration
3. The Muslim community
4. Relations between the West and Muslim states
5. 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.

1. Islamophobia and the ‘clash of civilisations’

The Question

First, with regards to Islamophobia and the ‘clash of civilizations’ please indicate which possible problems you consider to be ‘Very Significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of Some Significance’, ‘Of Little or No Significance’ or ‘Not Even True’.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

From a list of twenty two items suggested as problems in relation to Islamophobia and the ‘clash of civilizations’, the top five items recorded as ‘very significant’ for the UK as a whole and the Jewish and Muslim communities is given in the table below. For both the UK and Jewish community increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 and 7/7 London bombings is listed at number one and number two (40% and 37% very significant for the UK and 61% and 59% for UK Jews). These same items are 3rd and 5th on the Muslim list at 64% and 53% very significant preceded by the negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists first at 74% very significant and then Muslims collectively being blamed for acts ‘done in their name’ at 64%. Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other is 4th on the UK list at 34% very significant, 5th on the Jewish list at 43% and 7th on the Muslim list at 42%. Clearly there is a great deal of mutual understanding about the problems that have to be addressed here right across the full spectrum of British society and this is a very good foundation upon which to build a peace process.

	All UK per cent	Very Significant	Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Muslim per cent	Very Significant
1st	Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	40 %	Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	61 %	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	74 %
2nd	Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	37 %	Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	59 %	Muslims collectively being blamed for acts ‘done in their name’	70 %
3rd	Double standards in condoning free speech	35 %	The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	46 %	Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	64 %
4th	Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	34 %	Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	45 %	The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	63 %
5th	Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	33 %	Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	43 %	Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	53 %
6th	The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	30 %	Muslims collectively being blamed for acts ‘done in their name’	41 %	Double standards in condoning free speech	51 %
7th	Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	30 %	Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	38 %	Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	42 %
8th	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	29 %	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	38 %	The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	41 %
9th	The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	29 %	Double standards in condoning free speech	38 %	Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	41 %
10th	Muslims collectively being blamed for acts ‘done in their name’	28 %	The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	38 %	The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	36 %

11th	The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	26 %	The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	35 %	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	35 %
12th	Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	23 %	The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	34 %	Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	35 %
13th	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	23 %	Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	31 %	People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	27 %
14th	People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	22 %	Sharia Law	25 %	The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	24 %
15th	The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	21 %	Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	23 %	The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	22 %
16th	Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	16 %	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	22 %	Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	21 %
17th	The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	15 %	The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	20 %	Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	21 %
18th	The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	14 %	People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	20 %	Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	21 %
19th	Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	14 %	The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	17 %	Sharia Law	18 %
20th	Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	14 %	Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	16 %	Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	16 %
21st	Sharia Law	13 %	Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	14 %	The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	12 %
22nd	The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	12 %	The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	12 %	The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	12 %

But there are also some major points of disagreement or misunderstanding that will have to be addressed. For example 8th on the Muslim list is the suggestion that the West views the Muslim World as the enemy at 41% very significant while 12% of the UK population and 9% of UK Jews do not even believe this to be true. The top five 'Not Even True' items, for each community polled, is listed below. Both the general UK population and Jewish community put the West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims at the top of their lists at 13% and 29% not even true while 63% of Muslims believe this is a very significant problem. It is 4th on their problems list. Similarly 51% of Muslims do not believe the growth of Islam is a threat to the peace and security of the world while only 11% of the wider UK community share this view. But this kind of mistrust or lack of understanding is something many of those polled can appreciate. For example although 16% of Muslims do not believe Sharia law is even a problem 41% of the general UK population were honest enough to admit that they simply did not know. This, at least, is a starting point for dialogue.

	All UK per cent	Not Even True	Jewish per cent	Not Even True	Muslim per cent	Not Even True
1st	The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	13 %	The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	29 %	The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	51 %
2nd	The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	12 %	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	19 %	The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	32 %
3rd	The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	11 %	Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	16 %	The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	26 %
4th	The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	10 %	The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	9 %	Sharia Law	16 %
5th	The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	9 %	Double standards in condoning free speech	9 %	Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	11 %

Alienated Muslims

So almost everyone can agree about the major problems as they relate to Islamophobia and the 'clash of civilisations' and when it comes to misrepresentations, or just plain 'not knowing', most people seem to have the capacity to understand that too. But what about that section of the UK Muslim community that 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.' Are their views on all these points radically different? In general the answer is no. For the most part the top items on their problems list are the same as for the rest of the Muslim community except that they tend to feel more strongly about all of these issues. Their number one item was the negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists at 86% very significant. The same item was first at 74% very significant for the wider Muslim community but down to 13th and 16th on the UK and Jewish lists at only 23% and 22% very significant. Similarly the suggestion that the West views the Muslim World as the enemy was up from 41% to 60% very significant for this section of the Muslim community and the West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims was up from 63% 'very significant' to 81%. Clearly these misrepresentations, or misunderstandings, or what some would classify as conspiracy theories, need to be addressed through, perhaps some sort of public inquiry or discourse that can transparently get at the truth of all these matters in a way that can generate maximum public confidence in the Muslim community.

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree		Very Significant
1.	The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	86 %
2.	Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name'	82 %
3.	The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	81 %
4.	Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	79 %
5.	Double standards in condoning free speech	67 %

UK per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	40 %	32 %	14 %	3 %	1 %	9 %
2. Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	37 %	32 %	16 %	4 %	1 %	9 %
3. Double standards in condoning free speech	35 %	26 %	18 %	7 %	3 %	11 %
4. Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	34 %	31 %	19 %	7 %	1 %	8 %
5. Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	33 %	23 %	18 %	10 %	3 %	13 %
6. The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	30 %	28 %	22 %	5 %	5 %	10 %
7. Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	30 %	29 %	21 %	8 %	4 %	9 %
8. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	29 %	33 %	19 %	8 %	2 %	10 %
9. The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	29 %	29 %	21 %	7 %	3 %	11 %
10. Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name'	28 %	36 %	19 %	6 %	3 %	8 %
11. The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	26 %	22 %	20 %	12 %	11 %	10 %
12. Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	23 %	33 %	25 %	8 %	2 %	10 %
13. The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	23 %	21 %	27 %	11 %	8 %	10 %
14. People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	22 %	25 %	23 %	10 %	4 %	16 %
15. The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	21 %	22 %	23 %	16 %	10 %	9 %
16. Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	16 %	25 %	29 %	10 %	4 %	16 %
17. The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	15 %	21 %	31 %	12 %	12 %	10 %
18. The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	14 %	25 %	24 %	13 %	9 %	15 %
19. Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	14 %	23 %	26 %	15 %	6 %	17 %
20. Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	14 %	24 %	27 %	13 %	5 %	17 %
21. Sharia Law	13 %	16 %	20 %	10 %	1 %	41 %
22. The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	12 %	17 %	24 %	21 %	13 %	14 %

Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	61 %	19 %	14 %	3 %	3 %	0 %
2. Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	59 %	19 %	13 %	6 %	2 %	1 %
3. The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	46 %	38 %	13 %	3 %	0 %	0 %
4. Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	45 %	26 %	12 %	11 %	2 %	4 %
5. Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	43 %	30 %	16 %	9 %	1 %	1 %
6. Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name'	41 %	33 %	10 %	11 %	4 %	1 %
7. Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	38 %	32 %	23 %	6 %	0 %	1 %
8. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	38 %	27 %	22 %	10 %	2 %	1 %
9. Double standards in condoning free speech	38 %	27 %	17 %	7 %	9 %	2 %
10. The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	38 %	23 %	22 %	9 %	6 %	2 %
11. The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	35 %	21 %	21 %	14 %	8 %	1 %
12. The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	34 %	34 %	20 %	7 %	4 %	1 %
13. Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	31 %	30 %	19 %	13 %	6 %	1 %
14. Sharia Law	25 %	20 %	19 %	12 %	1 %	23 %
15. Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	23 %	36 %	23 %	8 %	6 %	4 %
16. The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	22 %	18 %	26 %	14 %	19 %	1 %
17. The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	20 %	24 %	29 %	13 %	8 %	6 %
18. People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	20 %	32 %	16 %	16 %	5 %	11 %
19. The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	17 %	33 %	29 %	11 %	9 %	1 %
20. Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	16 %	23 %	22 %	19 %	16 %	4 %
21. Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	14 %	25 %	25 %	21 %	7 %	8 %
22. The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	12 %	17 %	13 %	26 %	29 %	3 %

Muslim per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	74 %	16 %	6 %	1 %	2 %	2 %
2. Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name'	70 %	16 %	7 %	3 %	2 %	2 %
3. Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	64 %	18 %	11 %	1 %	3 %	2 %
4. The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	63 %	20 %	11 %	3 %	1 %	2 %
5. Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	53 %	25 %	13 %	4 %	3 %	3 %
6. Double standards in condoning free speech	51 %	22 %	15 %	4 %	3 %	5 %
7. Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	42 %	30 %	18 %	5 %	5 %	0 %
8. The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	41 %	23 %	19 %	7 %	8 %	2 %
9. Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	41 %	19 %	18 %	6 %	11 %	5 %
10. The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	36 %	31 %	23 %	4 %	4 %	2 %
11. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	35 %	31 %	23 %	6 %	4 %	1 %
12. Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	35 %	36 %	18 %	7 %	3 %	2 %
13. People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	27 %	29 %	20 %	9 %	5 %	11 %
14. The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	24 %	16 %	19 %	11 %	26 %	4 %
15. The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	22 %	19 %	20 %	15 %	10 %	14 %
16. Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	21 %	29 %	29 %	12 %	5 %	3 %
17. Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	21 %	21 %	21 %	15 %	7 %	14 %
18. Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	21 %	21 %	22 %	14 %	7 %	14 %
19. Sharia Law	18 %	18 %	18 %	20 %	16 %	11 %
20. Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	16 %	27 %	25 %	16 %	7 %	9 %
21. The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	12 %	16 %	27 %	11 %	32 %	1 %
22. The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	12 %	11 %	9 %	14 %	51 %	2 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. The negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists	86 %	4 %	9 %	0 %	2 %	0 %
2. Muslims collectively being blamed for acts 'done in their name'	82 %	11 %	4 %	0 %	4 %	0 %
3. The West using the Danish cartoons of the Prophet to agitate Muslims	81 %	7 %	12 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
4. Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	79 %	12 %	7 %	0 %	2 %	0 %
5. Double standards in condoning free speech	67 %	12 %	14 %	0 %	4 %	4 %
6. Increased Islamophobia after the 7/7 London bombings	67 %	18 %	11 %	2 %	2 %	2 %
7. The West views the Muslim World as the enemy	60 %	21 %	12 %	2 %	4 %	2 %
8. Muslims and non-Muslims not knowing and understanding each other	51 %	18 %	21 %	5 %	5 %	0 %
9. Radical Muslims using the Danish cartoons to agitate Muslims	49 %	9 %	19 %	5 %	14 %	4 %
10. The voice of all moderates rarely being heard	42 %	23 %	28 %	2 %	5 %	0 %
11. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to see similarities in each other	39 %	23 %	23 %	9 %	7 %	0 %
12. Lack of courage and vision of all religious leaders to build bridges	39 %	32 %	18 %	7 %	4 %	2 %
13. Fundamental differences in Muslim and Western culture and values	35 %	23 %	26 %	9 %	5 %	2 %
14. The growth of Islam being a threat to Western culture	33 %	16 %	7 %	5 %	35 %	4 %
15. Problems with Fundamentalist Judaism ignored by both Western and Jewish leaders	32 %	23 %	11 %	5 %	16 %	14 %
16. People promoting 'the clash of civilisations'	32 %	32 %	12 %	7 %	5 %	12 %
17. Problems with Fundamentalist Christianity ignored by both Western and Christian leaders	30 %	23 %	16 %	11 %	11 %	11 %
18. Problems with Fundamentalist Islam ignored by both Western and Islamic leaders	26 %	26 %	16 %	11 %	14 %	7 %
19. The 'clash of civilisations' being created to replace the war with Communism	25 %	19 %	12 %	12 %	16 %	16 %
20. Sharia Law	25 %	23 %	12 %	11 %	21 %	9 %
21. The growth of Islam being a threat to the peace and security of the world	21 %	9 %	0 %	12 %	58 %	0 %
22. The Muslim World views the West as the enemy	18 %	18 %	35 %	7 %	23 %	0 %

2. Discrimination and integration

The Question

Second, with regards to discrimination and integration in the UK please indicate which possible problems you consider to be 'Very Significant', 'Significant', 'Of Some Significance', 'Of Little or No Significance' or 'Not Even True'.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

With regards to the domestic UK problems of discrimination and integration there seems to be a very real gulf in understanding between the UK population and Jewish community, on the one hand, and the Muslim community on the other. The top ten items for both the UK population and Jewish community are almost identical with Muslims not being proud to be British at the top of both of their problems lists at 30% and 35% very significant respectively followed by Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society at 23% and 25%. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions is 3rd on these lists but fortunately Muslims agree on this point with this item 5th on their list at 35% very significant. But the Muslim list is preceded by detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh 1st on their list at 52% very significant followed by the failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims at 43%, then Muslims not being accepted as entirely British at 40% and failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization at 38% very significant.

	All UK per cent	Very Significant	Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Muslim per cent	Very Significant
1st	Muslims not being proud to be British	30 %	Muslims not being proud to be British	35 %	Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	52 %
2nd	Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	23 %	Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	25 %	Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	43 %
3rd	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	19 %	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	24 %	Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	40 %
4th	Islamic dress code	18 %	Islamic dress code	21 %	Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	38 %
5th	Multiculturalism is preventing integration	14 %	Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	15 %	Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	35 %
6th	Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	14 %	Multiculturalism is preventing integration	13 %	Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	31 %
7th	Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	14 %	Lack of integration in schools	12 %	Discrimination against Muslims by the police	29 %
8th	Lack of integration in schools	13 %	Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	12 %	Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	29 %
9th	Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	13 %	Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	12 %	Discrimination against Muslims by employers	25 %

10th	Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	10 %	Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	10 %	Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	21 %
11th	Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	9 %	Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	8 %	Lack of integration in schools	18 %
12th	Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	9 %	Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	8 %	Islamic dress code	16 %
13th	Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	9 %	Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	8 %	Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	15 %
14th	Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	7 %	Discrimination against Muslims by the police	6 %	Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	13 %
15th	Discrimination against Muslims by the police	6 %	Discrimination against Muslims by employers	5 %	Muslims not being proud to be British	11 %
16th	Discrimination against Muslims by employers	5 %	Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	4 %	Multiculturalism is preventing integration	10 %
17th	Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	4 %	Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	2 %	Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	8 %

These very different sets of perceived and real problems of the Muslim community and wider UK society with regards to integration and discrimination are reflected in their very different list of problems that they do not believe to be true. At the top of this UK list is discrimination against Muslims by the health service at 42% not even true. On this particular point 23% of Muslims agree. Then comes discrimination against Muslims by employers with 30% of the UK population saying this was not even true. This time only 11% of Muslims agree and then with regards to discrimination by the police 29% of the UK population do not think this is true while only 8% of Muslims agree. But a significant 31% of Muslims also do not think that it is even true that they are not proud to be British while both the UK population and Jewish community put this problem at the top of their respective problem lists. Fortunately, and perhaps this is slightly 'grasping at straws' everyone shares the view that they do not engage in meaningful discussions. These discussions clearly need to start as a matter of some urgency.

	All UK per cent	Not Even True	Jewish per cent	Not Even True	Muslim per cent	Not Even True
1st	Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	42 %	Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	50 %	Muslims not being proud to be British	31 %
2nd	Discrimination against Muslims by the police	30 %	Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	40 %	Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	28 %
3rd	Discrimination against Muslims by employers	29 %	Discrimination against Muslims by employers	36 %	Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	26 %
4th	Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	28 %	Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	28 %	Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	23 %
5th	Lack of integration in schools	21 %	Discrimination against Muslims by the police	27 %	Multiculturalism is preventing integration	22 %

Alienated Muslims

Again the views of that group of Muslims being clustered together here as ‘alienated’ are not very different to the views of the wider Muslim community. They just feel more strongly about all the problems they have been asked to give their opinions on. 74% place the failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims and detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh at the top of their problems list (43% and 52% for Muslims in general). This is followed by, Muslims not being accepted as entirely British, at 61% very significant and at 4th on their list is too narrow a definition of ‘Britishness’ at 54% very significant. Some Muslims I had an opportunity to discuss this problem with told me they were sometimes accused of not being British simply because they are Muslim. This problem is perhaps more serious than it may at first appear to be and needs to be addressed.

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Very Significant
1. Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	74 %
2. Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	74 %
3. Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	61 %
4. Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	58 %
5. Too narrow a definition of ‘Britishness’	54 %

There are also some significant differences of opinion across all groups on some of the issues raised in this question. 13% of the UK population, 12% of Jews and 18% of Muslims believe the lack of integration in school is a very significant problem while 21% of the UK population, 22% of Jews and 10% of Muslims do not think this is even true. As with several other items on this list of mostly domestic issues perhaps the experience of people is significantly different in different parts of the country. If this is true then policies need to be put in place to make sure everyone has the best possible opportunity to experience the best possible social outcome.

UK per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Muslims not being proud to be British	30 %	22 %	17 %	10 %	7 %	13 %
2. Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	23 %	27 %	25 %	7 %	7 %	11 %
3. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	19 %	27 %	26 %	10 %	6 %	11 %
4. Islamic dress code	18 %	18 %	24 %	24 %	6 %	11 %
5. Multiculturalism is preventing integration	14 %	20 %	21 %	16 %	14 %	14 %
6. Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	14 %	23 %	29 %	12 %	11 %	11 %
7. Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	14 %	13 %	25 %	20 %	8 %	19 %
8. Lack of integration in schools	13 %	16 %	21 %	17 %	21 %	13 %
9. Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	13 %	20 %	20 %	19 %	13 %	14 %
10. Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	10 %	13 %	20 %	14 %	21 %	22 %
11. Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	9 %	21 %	29 %	14 %	15 %	12 %
12. Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	9 %	20 %	30 %	17 %	10 %	14 %
13. Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	9 %	21 %	26 %	15 %	12 %	17 %
14. Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	7 %	12 %	21 %	16 %	28 %	16 %
15. Discrimination against Muslims by the police	6 %	10 %	20 %	20 %	30 %	14 %
16. Discrimination against Muslims by employers	5 %	9 %	18 %	23 %	29 %	16 %
17. Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	4 %	6 %	13 %	20 %	42 %	15 %

Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Muslims not being proud to be British	35 %	30 %	17 %	5 %	10 %	3 %
2. Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	25 %	34 %	25 %	9 %	5 %	2 %
3. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	24 %	27 %	34 %	3 %	8 %	4 %
4. Islamic dress code	21 %	18 %	28 %	28 %	4 %	1 %
5. Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	15 %	31 %	25 %	13 %	14 %	2 %
6. Multiculturalism is preventing integration	13 %	15 %	27 %	19 %	22 %	4 %
7. Lack of integration in schools	12 %	20 %	28 %	14 %	22 %	4 %
8. Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	12 %	26 %	16 %	23 %	18 %	5 %
9. Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	12 %	15 %	33 %	20 %	14 %	6 %
10. Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	10 %	14 %	14 %	15 %	28 %	19 %
11. Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	8 %	25 %	24 %	16 %	25 %	2 %
12. Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	8 %	16 %	36 %	19 %	16 %	5 %
13. Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	8 %	28 %	27 %	14 %	17 %	6 %
14. Discrimination against Muslims by the police	6 %	14 %	27 %	21 %	27 %	5 %
15. Discrimination against Muslims by employers	5 %	6 %	22 %	22 %	36 %	9 %
16. Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	4 %	13 %	23 %	16 %	40 %	4 %
17. Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	2 %	6 %	13 %	19 %	50 %	10 %

Muslim per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	52 %	22 %	10 %	4 %	4 %	7 %
2. Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	43 %	26 %	15 %	7 %	7 %	3 %
3. Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	40 %	25 %	18 %	5 %	9 %	3 %
4. Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	38 %	30 %	18 %	6 %	4 %	5 %
5. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	35 %	35 %	16 %	6 %	3 %	5 %
6. Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	31 %	25 %	20 %	10 %	6 %	8 %
7. Discrimination against Muslims by the police	29 %	27 %	20 %	12 %	8 %	5 %
8. Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	29 %	29 %	21 %	7 %	7 %	7 %
9. Discrimination against Muslims by employers	25 %	20 %	23 %	16 %	11 %	5 %
10. Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	21 %	30 %	25 %	12 %	9 %	4 %
11. Lack of integration in schools	18 %	23 %	26 %	18 %	10 %	6 %
12. Islamic dress code	16 %	18 %	19 %	26 %	19 %	4 %
13. Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	15 %	16 %	18 %	17 %	26 %	8 %
14. Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	13 %	13 %	22 %	22 %	23 %	7 %
15. Muslims not being proud to be British	11 %	18 %	21 %	14 %	31 %	5 %
16. Multiculturalism is preventing integration	10 %	14 %	23 %	25 %	22 %	7 %
17. Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	8 %	20 %	27 %	14 %	28 %	4 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree

	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Failure of government to protect the human rights of Muslims	74 %	11 %	7 %	4 %	5 %	0 %
2. Detaining Muslims without charge and trial under the Terrorism Act in Bellmarsh	74 %	11 %	7 %	0 %	5 %	4 %
3. Muslims not being accepted as entirely British	61 %	12 %	9 %	5 %	11 %	2 %
4. Failure of non-Muslims to appreciate the contribution Muslims have made to civilization	58 %	19 %	9 %	4 %	5 %	5 %
5. Too narrow a definition of 'Britishness'	54 %	9 %	19 %	12 %	2 %	4 %
6. Discrimination against Muslims by the police	51 %	16 %	14 %	9 %	9 %	2 %
7. Failure of government to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' especially youth and women	44 %	21 %	16 %	7 %	5 %	7 %
8. Discrimination against Muslims by employers	40 %	18 %	16 %	16 %	5 %	5 %
9. Failure of Muslims and non-Muslims to engage in meaningful discussions	35 %	35 %	18 %	0 %	5 %	7 %
10. Lack of integration in schools	28 %	18 %	19 %	18 %	14 %	4 %
11. Non-Muslims are excluding Muslims from mainstream society	26 %	26 %	30 %	11 %	7 %	0 %
12. Discrimination against Muslims by the Health Service	25 %	7 %	18 %	23 %	19 %	9 %
13. Low school achievement of Muslim pupils due to lack of parental involvement	25 %	14 %	14 %	14 %	32 %	2 %
14. Islamic dress code	23 %	18 %	11 %	18 %	32 %	0 %
15. Muslims not being proud to be British	18 %	18 %	12 %	18 %	35 %	0 %
16. Multiculturalism is preventing integration	16 %	11 %	26 %	14 %	32 %	2 %
17. Muslims are excluding themselves from mainstream society	11 %	14 %	26 %	12 %	37 %	0 %

3. The Muslim community

The Question

Third, with regards to the Muslim community please indicate which possible problems you consider to be 'Very Significant', 'Significant', 'Of Some Significance', 'Of Little or No Significance' or 'Not Even True'

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

Fortunately the lack of understanding across the communities on matters of integration and discrimination is largely reversed when it comes to problems relating to the Muslim community itself. Here there is complete agreement on the most critical issues. At the very top of the UK, Jewish and Muslim lists of problems comes misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence at 46%, 62% and 47% very significant respectively. This is followed by Islam is being defined by extremists at 39%, 56% and 47% very significant for the UK, Jewish and Muslim communities.

	All UK per cent	Very Significant	Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Muslim per cent	Very Significant
1st	Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	46 %	Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	62 %	Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	47 %
2nd	Islam is being defined by the extremists	39 %	Islam is being defined by the extremists	56 %	Islam is being defined by the extremists	46 %
3rd	Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	32 %	Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	46 %	Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	30 %
4th	Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	32 %	Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	41 %	Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	30 %
5th	Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	31 %	Lack of self criticism by Muslims	36 %	Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	29 %
6th	Lack of self criticism by Muslims	26 %	Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc.)	36 %	Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	26 %
7th	Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	25 %	Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	34 %	Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	23 %
8th	Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	25 %	Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	34 %	Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc.)	21 %
9th	Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc.)	24 %	Discrimination against homosexuals	34 %	The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	19 %
10th	Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	23 %	Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	33 %	Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	19 %

11th	Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	22 %	Failure to reform Islam	32 %	Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	18 %
12th	The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	21 %	The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	29 %	Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	18 %
13th	Failure to reform Islam	20 %	Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	27 %	Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	16 %
14th	Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	19 %	Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	26 %	Lack of self criticism by Muslims	15 %
15th	Discrimination against homosexuals	18 %	Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	25 %	Discrimination against homosexuals	14 %
16th	Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	18 %	Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	23 %	Failure to reform Islam	11 %

In general the UK population and Jewish community do not consider many of the points raised in this question not to be true. More generally they do express their lack of knowledge on some of these points. For example 28% of the UK population say they do not know if the Koran being taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques is a problem. However, the answers given to these questions in the Muslim community often illustrate real divisions of opinion on a number of the issues raised here. For example 19% of Muslims considered it to be a very serious problem that the Koran is taught in Arabic without its' meaning in UK mosques while 29% did not think this was even true. Similarly 18% of Muslims thought discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society was a very significant problem while 32% thought this was not even true.

	All UK per cent	Not Even True	Jewish per cent	Not Even True	Muslim per cent	Not Even True
1st	Lack of self criticism by Muslims	6 %	Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	6 %	Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	45 %
2nd	Discrimination against homosexuals	6 %	Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	5 %	Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	32 %
3rd	Failure to reform Islam	5 %	Failure to reform Islam	4 %	Failure to reform Islam	30 %
4th	Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	5 %	Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	4 %	The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	29 %
5th	Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	5 %	Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	4 %	Discrimination against homosexuals	16 %

Alienated Muslims

Again there is no significant difference of opinion between the wider UK Muslim community and that group of Muslims identified as ‘alienated’ here. They place Islam is being defined by the extremists at the top of their problems list at 53% very significant followed by misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence, 2nd, conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities, 3rd, alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK, 4th and Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims 5th in the top five list of problems.

Muslim per cent	11.5 Strongly Agree	Very Significant
1.	Islam is being defined by the extremists	53 %
2.	Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	49 %
3.	Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	44 %
4.	Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	42 %
5.	Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	37 %

This consensus about the nature and significance of the most important problems listed in this question is a very necessary first step to finding an agreed solution. However, the answers given do not only suggest that there is an urgent need for a meaningful discussion on many issues of mutual concern between Muslims and non-Muslims in UK society but that divisions within the Muslim community also need to be addressed on many issues of particular concern to them.

UK per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	46 %	21 %	13 %	6 %	1 %	13 %
2. Islam is being defined by the extremists	39 %	25 %	14 %	4 %	4 %	14 %
3. Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	32 %	21 %	20 %	8 %	5 %	14 %
4. Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	32 %	22 %	18 %	9 %	4 %	14 %
5. Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	31 %	24 %	18 %	8 %	2 %	17 %
6. Lack of self criticism by Muslims	26 %	24 %	19 %	8 %	6 %	16 %
7. Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	25 %	23 %	24 %	7 %	3 %	18 %
8. Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	25 %	24 %	22 %	6 %	5 %	18 %
9. Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc.)	24 %	25 %	20 %	8 %	2 %	21 %
10. Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	23 %	24 %	24 %	8 %	2 %	19 %
11. Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	22 %	27 %	20 %	8 %	2 %	21 %
12. The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	21 %	20 %	19 %	9 %	3 %	28 %
13. Failure to reform Islam	20 %	21 %	20 %	13 %	5 %	22 %
14. Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	19 %	28 %	25 %	7 %	5 %	16 %
15. Discrimination against homosexuals	18 %	19 %	21 %	17 %	6 %	19 %
16. Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	18 %	17 %	22 %	14 %	3 %	26 %

Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	62 %	21 %	7 %	4 %	3 %	3 %
2. Islam is being defined by the extremists	56 %	25 %	10 %	2 %	2 %	5 %
3. Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	46 %	26 %	15 %	4 %	5 %	4 %
4. Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	41 %	27 %	17 %	8 %	1 %	6 %
5. Lack of self criticism by Muslims	36 %	30 %	22 %	5 %	3 %	4 %
6. Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc.)	36 %	27 %	18 %	9 %	0 %	10 %
7. Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	34 %	28 %	17 %	13 %	4 %	4 %
8. Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	34 %	30 %	17 %	12 %	3 %	4 %
9. Discrimination against homosexuals	34 %	18 %	23 %	15 %	2 %	8 %
10. Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	33 %	34 %	15 %	12 %	0 %	6 %
11. Failure to reform Islam	32 %	21 %	24 %	11 %	4 %	8 %
12. The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	29 %	21 %	14 %	15 %	2 %	19 %
13. Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	27 %	28 %	24 %	10 %	2 %	9 %
14. Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	26 %	11 %	24 %	13 %	6 %	20 %
15. Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	25 %	38 %	18 %	5 %	2 %	12 %
16. Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	23 %	39 %	24 %	4 %	4 %	6 %

Muslim per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	47 %	23 %	15 %	6 %	3 %	5 %
2. Islam is being defined by the extremists	46 %	20 %	12 %	5 %	11 %	6 %
3. Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	30 %	25 %	20 %	12 %	7 %	5 %
4. Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	30 %	25 %	16 %	11 %	7 %	10 %
5. Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	29 %	22 %	19 %	14 %	8 %	8 %
6. Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	26 %	29 %	21 %	11 %	9 %	5 %
7. Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	23 %	24 %	24 %	12 %	10 %	7 %
8. Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc.)	21 %	26 %	22 %	12 %	11 %	8 %
9. The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	19 %	20 %	18 %	8 %	29 %	7 %
10. Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	19 %	21 %	27 %	16 %	11 %	6 %
11. Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	18 %	15 %	21 %	10 %	32 %	4 %
12. Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	18 %	21 %	22 %	14 %	12 %	13 %
13. Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	16 %	14 %	13 %	8 %	45 %	5 %
14. Lack of self criticism by Muslims	15 %	22 %	27 %	14 %	14 %	7 %
15. Discrimination against homosexuals	14 %	11 %	14 %	27 %	16 %	18 %
16. Failure to reform Islam	11 %	14 %	17 %	17 %	30 %	10 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Islam is being defined by the extremists	53 %	14 %	14 %	4 %	14 %	2 %
2. Misrepresentation of Islam by minority Muslim groups to justify violence	49 %	26 %	19 %	4 %	2 %	0 %
3. Conflict and lack of unity between different Muslim sects and nationalities	44 %	9 %	18 %	12 %	14 %	4 %
4. Alienation and radicalization of young Muslims in the UK	42 %	14 %	12 %	11 %	18 %	4 %
5. Imams from overseas not understanding the social and cultural problems of young British Muslims	37 %	25 %	23 %	5 %	11 %	0 %
6. Failure to educate young Muslims to be active representatives of their community in the UK	35 %	28 %	21 %	4 %	9 %	4 %
7. The Koran is taught in Arabic without its meaning in UK mosques	32 %	12 %	14 %	4 %	32 %	7 %
8. Discrimination against women in Muslim culture and society	32 %	7 %	23 %	4 %	32 %	4 %
9. Failure of UK Mosques to allow open debate on controversial issues (drugs, politics, etc.)	28 %	28 %	21 %	7 %	14 %	2 %
10. Failure of Muslim leadership to engage with Muslim 'grass roots' in the UK - especially youth and women	28 %	21 %	19 %	18 %	12 %	2 %
11. Failure of 1st generation and 2nd and 3rd generation UK Muslims to understand each other	28 %	18 %	19 %	18 %	16 %	2 %
12. Drug taking and dealing in UK Muslim communities	26 %	14 %	25 %	11 %	12 %	12 %
13. Discrimination against women in the Islamic faith	25 %	11 %	9 %	2 %	51 %	4 %
14. Lack of self criticism by Muslims	21 %	18 %	23 %	21 %	12 %	5 %
15. Discrimination against homosexuals	21 %	11 %	9 %	33 %	12 %	14 %
16. Failure to reform Islam	19 %	12 %	16 %	16 %	33 %	4 %

4. Relations between the West and Muslim states

The Question

Fourth, with regards to relations between the West and Muslim states please indicate which possible problems you consider to be 'Very Significant', 'Significant', 'Of Some Significance', 'Of Little or No Significance' or 'Not Even True'

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

Out of a list of 24 items that deal with relations between the West and Muslim states it will come as no surprise that the top item in the problem list for the UK Jewish community is suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians at 82% very significant. This item is also at the top of the general UK list at 50% very significant but it is followed by Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians at 47%. This item is 6th on the Muslim communities list at 57% very significant. The top item for them is the invasion of Iraq at 70% very significant followed by the Western desire to control Middle East oil at 67% and US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world at 66%. The Invasion of Iraq is 3rd on the UK list at 38% very significant and 6th on the Jewish list at 34% while the Western desire to control Middle East oil is 4th on the UK list at 33% and 8th on the Jewish list at 25% very significant. Although Jewish and Muslim priorities are, as would be expected, a little different, all sections of UK society do recognise the same set of international problems as problems that must be addressed.

	All UK per cent	Very Significant	Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Muslim per cent	Very Significant
1st	Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	50 %	Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	82 %	The invasion of Iraq	70 %
2nd	Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	47 %	Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	62 %	Western desire to control Middle East oil	67 %
3rd	The invasion of Iraq	38 %	Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	45 %	US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	66 %
4th	Western desire to control Middle East oil	33 %	Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	42 %	The invasion of Afghanistan	64 %
5th	US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	33 %	Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	41 %	Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	60 %
6th	The invasion of Afghanistan	31 %	The invasion of Iraq	34 %	Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	59 %
7th	Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	30 %	US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	26 %	Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	59 %
8th	Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	30 %	Western desire to control Middle East oil	25 %	Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	57 %
9th	Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	30 %	The invasion of Afghanistan	25 %	Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	57 %
10th	Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	29 %	US support for the state of Israel	24 %	US support for the state of Israel	55 %
11th	Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	27 %	Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	22 %	Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	55 %

12th	Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	26 %	Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	22 %	US having military bases in the Middle East	54 %
13th	Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	25 %	Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	21 %	Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	53 %
14th	Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	25 %	The creation of the state of Israel	21 %	Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	50 %
15th	US having military bases in the Middle East	24 %	Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	19 %	Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	50 %
16th	Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	23 %	Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	19 %	Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	48 %
17th	Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	22 %	Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	19 %	The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	48 %
18th	US support for the state of Israel	22 %	Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	18 %	Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	45 %
19th	The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	21 %	Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	17 %	The creation of the state of Israel	41 %
20th	The creation of the state of Israel	18 %	British foreign policy	16 %	Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	38 %
21st	Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	18 %	Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	15 %	British foreign policy	38 %
22nd	Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	16 %	US having military bases in the Middle East	14 %	Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	21 %
23rd	Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	15 %	The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	8 %	Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	20 %
24th	British foreign policy	14 %	Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	8 %	Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	18 %

There are however also some differences of opinion on some of these issues in the general UK, Jewish and Muslim communities. For example 25% and 8% of the Jewish and wider UK community do not think it is even true that the only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel (perhaps there has been some confusion here between nuclear power and nuclear weapons power?). Also 22%, 21% and 20% of the Jewish community do not think it is even true that the UK, US and EU lack commitment to create an independent Palestinian state while 17%, 19% and 18% of the Jewish community also believe that this is a very significant problem. In the Muslim community 20% thought a lack of democracy in Muslim countries was a significant problem while 12% did not think this was even true. 13% also thought it was not even true that Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel was a problem while 21% considered this problem to be very significant. Perhaps, in these matters, it is largely a question of which Muslim states are being referred to and these particular questions need to be more carefully refined in future polls.

	All UK per cent	Not Even True	Jewish per cent	Not Even True	Muslim per cent	Not Even True
1st	The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	8 %	The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	25 %	Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	16 %
2nd	Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	6 %	Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	22 %	Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	13 %
3rd	US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	6 %	Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	21 %	Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	12 %
4th	Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	6 %	Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	20 %	The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	6 %
5th	Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	5 %	Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	19 %	Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	5 %

Alienated Muslims

As has been the case with other questions asked in this poll ‘alienated Muslims’ identify the same set of problems as the wider UK Muslim community as very significant but feel more strongly about them. This group place the Western desire to control Middle east oil at the top of their list at 84% very significant followed by the US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world at 84% and the invasion of Iraq at 82% and then 4th Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims at 81% very significant. Although the wider UK population clearly understand this point, 25% of them agree that this problem is very significant, they do not perhaps understand the full intensity of Muslim feeling when other Muslims are, or appear to be, threatened.

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree		Very Significant
1.	Western desire to control Middle East oil	84 %
2.	US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	84 %
3.	The invasion of Iraq	82 %
4.	Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	81 %
5.	The invasion of Afghanistan	79 %

There is perhaps no significant statistical difference between the views of the UK public that killing Israeli civilians (50%) or Palestinian civilians (47%) is a very significant problem. Clearly if either Israel or Palestine want to carry significant influence with the British public in all matters of concern to them then stopping the killing of civilians would go a very long way in this regard.

UK per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	50 %	18 %	11 %	4 %	1 %	15 %
2. Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	47 %	22 %	12 %	4 %	1 %	15 %
3. The invasion of Iraq	38 %	22 %	18 %	7 %	2 %	13 %
4. Western desire to control Middle East oil	33 %	25 %	14 %	9 %	5 %	14 %
5. US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	33 %	20 %	17 %	9 %	6 %	16 %
6. The invasion of Afghanistan	31 %	25 %	19 %	9 %	2 %	14 %
7. Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	30 %	30 %	18 %	5 %	1 %	16 %
8. Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	30 %	27 %	19 %	6 %	1 %	16 %
9. Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	30 %	28 %	15 %	8 %	1 %	19 %
10. Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	29 %	19 %	20 %	12 %	6 %	14 %
11. Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	27 %	23 %	19 %	8 %	2 %	21 %
12. Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	26 %	25 %	19 %	9 %	2 %	19 %
13. Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	25 %	22 %	19 %	9 %	3 %	22 %
14. Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	25 %	23 %	21 %	8 %	6 %	16 %
15. US having military bases in the Middle East	24 %	22 %	21 %	15 %	2 %	15 %
16. Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	23 %	21 %	19 %	11 %	3 %	22 %
17. Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	22 %	24 %	19 %	8 %	4 %	23 %
18. US support for the state of Israel	22 %	23 %	19 %	12 %	3 %	22 %
19. The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	21 %	19 %	16 %	12 %	8 %	24 %
20. The creation of the state of Israel	18 %	21 %	20 %	14 %	3 %	24 %
21. Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	18 %	18 %	20 %	20 %	5 %	20 %
22. Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	16 %	20 %	21 %	14 %	3 %	26 %
23. Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	15 %	20 %	22 %	15 %	3 %	25 %
24. British foreign policy	14 %	24 %	25 %	15 %	3 %	19 %

Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	82 %	9 %	3 %	5 %	0 %	1 %
2. Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	62 %	22 %	10 %	5 %	0 %	1 %
3. Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	45 %	28 %	16 %	7 %	0 %	4 %
4. Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	42 %	32 %	18 %	5 %	1 %	2 %
5. Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	41 %	17 %	22 %	12 %	7 %	1 %
6. The invasion of Iraq	34 %	31 %	18 %	11 %	4 %	2 %
7. US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	26 %	15 %	17 %	22 %	15 %	5 %
8. Western desire to control Middle East oil	25 %	21 %	24 %	13 %	14 %	3 %
9. The invasion of Afghanistan	25 %	32 %	20 %	17 %	4 %	2 %
10. US support for the state of Israel	24 %	20 %	22 %	24 %	8 %	2 %
11. Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	22 %	20 %	22 %	25 %	9 %	2 %
12. Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	22 %	26 %	18 %	19 %	12 %	3 %
13. Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	21 %	29 %	21 %	11 %	12 %	6 %
14. The creation of the state of Israel	21 %	19 %	20 %	25 %	11 %	4 %
15. Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	19 %	20 %	17 %	22 %	19 %	3 %
16. Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	19 %	18 %	23 %	14 %	21 %	5 %
17. Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	19 %	21 %	14 %	30 %	5 %	11 %
18. Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	18 %	18 %	24 %	15 %	20 %	5 %
19. Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	17 %	18 %	24 %	14 %	22 %	5 %
20. British foreign policy	16 %	17 %	28 %	30 %	6 %	3 %
21. Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	15 %	23 %	18 %	29 %	5 %	10 %
22. US having military bases in the Middle East	14 %	19 %	25 %	31 %	7 %	4 %
23. The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	8 %	14 %	20 %	27 %	25 %	6 %
24. Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	8 %	18 %	22 %	28 %	16 %	8 %

Muslim per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. The invasion of Iraq	70 %	12 %	9 %	2 %	2 %	5 %
2. Western desire to control Middle East oil	67 %	15 %	9 %	2 %	2 %	6 %
3. US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	66 %	16 %	8 %	2 %	1 %	7 %
4. The invasion of Afghanistan	64 %	15 %	12 %	2 %	2 %	5 %
5. Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	60 %	20 %	9 %	3 %	1 %	7 %
6. Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	59 %	19 %	10 %	3 %	2 %	7 %
7. Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	59 %	16 %	11 %	4 %	2 %	8 %
8. Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	57 %	17 %	12 %	5 %	2 %	7 %
9. Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	57 %	22 %	7 %	4 %	3 %	7 %
10. US support for the state of Israel	55 %	17 %	13 %	4 %	2 %	8 %
11. Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	55 %	17 %	11 %	6 %	2 %	9 %
12. US having military bases in the Middle East	54 %	20 %	12 %	5 %	2 %	7 %
13. Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	53 %	18 %	11 %	6 %	2 %	10 %
14. Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	50 %	20 %	14 %	5 %	1 %	10 %
15. Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	50 %	19 %	16 %	4 %	2 %	10 %
16. Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	48 %	23 %	13 %	4 %	2 %	10 %
17. The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	48 %	16 %	12 %	8 %	6 %	11 %
18. Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	45 %	21 %	14 %	6 %	3 %	12 %
19. The creation of the state of Israel	41 %	20 %	16 %	10 %	3 %	11 %
20. Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	38 %	21 %	17 %	10 %	5 %	9 %
21. British foreign policy	38 %	26 %	18 %	5 %	3 %	10 %
22. Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	21 %	18 %	21 %	14 %	13 %	13 %
23. Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	20 %	24 %	23 %	13 %	12 %	8 %
24. Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	18 %	24 %	25 %	11 %	16 %	7 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Western desire to control Middle East oil	84 %	9 %	2 %	2 %	2 %	2 %
2. US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world	84 %	7 %	2 %	4 %	2 %	2 %
3. The invasion of Iraq	82 %	4 %	5 %	2 %	2 %	5 %
4. Western threats to Muslim states being felt as a threat to all Muslims	81 %	11 %	0 %	2 %	4 %	4 %
5. The invasion of Afghanistan	79 %	7 %	5 %	2 %	2 %	5 %
6. Israel failing to have good relations with Muslim states	77 %	4 %	9 %	4 %	2 %	5 %
7. Lack of commitment by US to create independent Palestinian state	77 %	5 %	7 %	4 %	2 %	5 %
8. Indifference of the West to resolve the Chechnya dispute	77 %	7 %	5 %	4 %	2 %	5 %
9. Protests against the war in Iraq were ignored by the British government	77 %	16 %	2 %	2 %	2 %	2 %
10. US support for the state of Israel	75 %	11 %	5 %	5 %	2 %	2 %
11. Israeli military actions that kill Palestinian civilians	75 %	4 %	9 %	2 %	4 %	7 %
12. Indifference of the West to resolve the Kashmir dispute	72 %	5 %	5 %	9 %	2 %	7 %
13. US having military bases in the Middle East	72 %	11 %	5 %	5 %	4 %	4 %
14. Lack of commitment by EU to create independent Palestinian state	70 %	9 %	5 %	9 %	2 %	5 %
15. Lack of commitment by UK to create independent Palestinian state	70 %	9 %	5 %	7 %	2 %	7 %
16. Double standards in the application of UN resolutions on Muslim and non-Muslim states	68 %	14 %	11 %	0 %	0 %	7 %
17. The only nuclear power in the Middle East is Israel	63 %	11 %	11 %	5 %	5 %	5 %
18. Iran and other Middle Eastern Muslim states not being permitted to have nuclear weapons	63 %	16 %	11 %	4 %	4 %	4 %
19. The creation of the state of Israel	60 %	18 %	12 %	5 %	0 %	5 %
20. British foreign policy	56 %	21 %	11 %	4 %	4 %	5 %
21. Suicide bombings that kill Israeli civilians	44 %	14 %	11 %	7 %	11 %	14 %
22. Muslim states that do not recognise the state of Israel	37 %	9 %	16 %	18 %	11 %	11 %
23. Lack of democracy in Muslim countries	30 %	19 %	23 %	14 %	9 %	5 %
24. Muslim states failing to have good relations with non-Muslim states	28 %	12 %	23 %	9 %	21 %	7 %

5. Extremism and the ‘War on Terror’

The question

Fifth, with regards to extremism and the ‘War on Terror’ please indicate which possible problems you consider to be ‘Very Significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of Some Significance’, ‘Of Little or No Significance’ or ‘Not Even True’

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

Although the intensity of feelings about issues relating to extremism and the ‘war on terror’ are different across the different communities polled there is a considerable amount of general agreement about what the problems are. For example, first on the UK list is religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain at 43% very significant. From a list of 20 this same item is 3rd on the Jewish list at 49% very significant and 4th on the Muslim list at 63% very significant. At the top of the Jewish list is a lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK at 60% very significant. The same item is 2nd on the UK list at 39% very significant and 14th on the Muslim list but also at 39% very significant. Only 10% of UK Muslims do not believe this is even true. Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion is at the top of the Muslim list at 65% very significant. This item is 4th on both the UK and Jewish lists at 31% and 36% respectively. Similarly the rise of political extremists and human rights abuses at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib etc. etc. are all seen as problems that need to be dealt with by all groups to varying degrees. As is often the case with this kind of research the people seem to be ahead of many of their elected politicians in their understanding of the issues that must be addressed.

	All UK per cent	Very Significant	Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Muslim per cent	Very Significant
1st	Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	43 %	Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	60 %	Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	65 %
2nd	Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	39 %	The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	55 %	The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	63 %
3rd	The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	33 %	Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	49 %	Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	63 %
4th	Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	31 %	Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	36 %	Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	63 %
5th	Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	29 %	The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	36 %	Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	62 %
6th	The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	28 %	Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	30 %	The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	62 %
7th	The use of evidence gained through torture	28 %	Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	28 %	The use of evidence gained through torture	60 %
8th	Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	27 %	Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	27 %	The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	59 %

9th	The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	27 %	The rise of the extreme right in European politics	27 %	The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	58 %
10th	Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	26 %	The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	25 %	The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	54 %
11th	The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	25 %	Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	25 %	The war on terror is a war on Islam	51 %
12th	The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	23 %	The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	24 %	Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	43 %
13th	Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	23 %	The use of evidence gained through torture	23 %	Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	40 %
14th	The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	23 %	The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	22 %	Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	39 %
15th	Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	22 %	The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	22 %	Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	36 %
16th	The rise of the extreme right in European politics	18 %	The war on terror is a war on Islam	21 %	The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	36 %
17th	Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	15 %	Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	16 %	Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	36 %
18th	The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	14 %	Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	14 %	The rise of the extreme right in European politics	35 %
19th	The war on terror is a war on Islam	14 %	The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	12 %	The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	31 %
20th	The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	13 %	Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	60 %	The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	30 %

There are some significant differences, however, between the Muslim and other communities when it comes to problems often characterised, rightly or wrongly, as 'conspiracy theories'. Although 23% of the UK population believe the war on terror is a war on Islam 30% believe this is not even true while only 10% of Muslims share this view. Similarly 23% of the UK population do not believe the war on terror has been created to replace the war with Communism while only 5% of Muslims would agree. But views are clearly more divided on the idea that the war on terror is a war to control the world's oil. 23% of the UK population believe this is a very significant problem (17% not even true) while 22% of the Jewish community think this is a very significant problem and 22% of them think it is not even true. Needless to say the Muslim community have few doubts on this point at 58% very significant and only 3% not even true. The point to be made here is that the credibility of Western intentions in the Middle East is not limited to the Muslim community alone.

	All UK per cent	Not Even True	Jewish per cent	Not Even True	Muslim per cent	Not Even True
1st	The war on terror is a war on Islam	30 %	The war on terror is a war on Islam	39 %	The war on terror is a war on Islam	11 %
2nd	The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	23 %	The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	37 %	Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	10 %
3rd	The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	17 %	The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	26 %	The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	5 %
4th	The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	13 %	The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	25 %	The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	5 %
5th	Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	9 %	Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	14 %	Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	4 %

Alienated Muslims

Human rights issues top the list of problems for 'alienated Muslims' at 79% very significant for the failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims followed by the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay, abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison and then the use of evidence gained through torture all at 75% very significant. Clearly, as a matter of some urgency, the international community must cooperate to bring an end to these violations.

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree		Very Significant
1.	The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	79 %
2.	The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	75 %
3.	Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	75 %
4.	The use of evidence gained through torture	75 %
5.	Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	75 %

The ‘Top Ten’ problems for ‘alienated Muslims’

However, when all the problems reviewed in the first part of this poll are put together the failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims only comes in at number eight. At the top of this list is the negative portrayal of Islam in the media by irresponsible journalists at 86% very significant followed by a Western desire to control Middle East oil and US foreign policy being a threat to peace and security of the world both at 84% and then the invasion of Iraq and Muslims collectively being blamed for acts ‘done in their name’ both at 82% very significant. There is much for the international community, British Government and Muslim community to do in all of this, but, perhaps surprisingly, there appears to also be much for the media to do by way of their contribution to a peace process.

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	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. The invasion of Iraq	82 %
5. Muslims collectively being blamed for acts ‘done in their name’	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. The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	79 %
9. Increased Islamophobia after the 9/11 bombings	79 %
10. The invasion of Afghanistan	79 %

The British press are to be congratulated on not publishing the Danish cartoons. Their publication led to many deaths around the world. But the British press could do very much better and in this regard there is much that they could learn from their colleagues in Northern Ireland. Editors there have long been aware that careless reporting can, at best, make a bad situation worse, and, as with the Danish cartoons lead to deaths. It is important that while objectively reporting events journalists must realise they are in a position to add to a peace process through their reporting or fan the flames of hatred and violence. The latter, regrettably, has commercial benefits. To be more specific it is well worth noting that the *Belfast Telegraph* published 9 ‘peace polls’, like this one, as part of the Northern Ireland peace process. Critically all these polls asked both communities for their views on all the issues raised and dealt with not just attitudes and values but problems and solutions that could be translated into constructive policy. Most of the polls published since 9/11 and 7/7 have failed to do this. Hopefully this poll sets a higher standard that all British newspapers will now follow.

UK per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	43 %	19 %	17 %	5 %	2 %	14 %
2. Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	39 %	23 %	14 %	5 %	3 %	16 %
3. The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	33 %	26 %	16 %	5 %	2 %	18 %
4. Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	31 %	23 %	17 %	11 %	3 %	16 %
5. Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	29 %	20 %	19 %	8 %	3 %	21 %
6. The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	28 %	21 %	21 %	11 %	2 %	16 %
7. The use of evidence gained through torture	28 %	24 %	19 %	10 %	4 %	16 %
8. Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	27 %	25 %	17 %	7 %	5 %	19 %
9. The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	27 %	23 %	17 %	9 %	5 %	17 %
10. Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	26 %	19 %	18 %	9 %	4 %	24 %
11. The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	25 %	28 %	20 %	7 %	5 %	15 %
12. The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	23 %	23 %	21 %	12 %	4 %	16 %
13. Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	23 %	25 %	18 %	8 %	4 %	22 %
14. The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	23 %	19 %	18 %	9 %	17 %	15 %
15. Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	22 %	22 %	16 %	12 %	8 %	21 %
16. The rise of the extreme right in European politics	18 %	24 %	21 %	12 %	3 %	22 %
17. Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	15 %	23 %	24 %	10 %	9 %	20 %
18. The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	14 %	23 %	24 %	8 %	13 %	17 %
19. The war on terror is a war on Islam	14 %	17 %	14 %	9 %	30 %	15 %
20. The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	13 %	15 %	17 %	12 %	23 %	20 %

Jewish per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	60 %	18 %	12 %	5 %	2 %	3 %
2. The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	55 %	27 %	9 %	4 %	0 %	5 %
3. Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	49 %	22 %	17 %	5 %	4 %	3 %
4. Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	36 %	25 %	17 %	14 %	4 %	4 %
5. The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	36 %	22 %	22 %	11 %	3 %	6 %
6. Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	30 %	28 %	16 %	8 %	8 %	10 %
7. Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	28 %	21 %	22 %	15 %	5 %	9 %
8. Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	27 %	20 %	23 %	13 %	9 %	8 %
9. The rise of the extreme right in European politics	27 %	33 %	19 %	13 %	4 %	4 %
10. The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	25 %	23 %	18 %	16 %	13 %	5 %
11. Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	25 %	18 %	18 %	22 %	5 %	12 %
12. The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	24 %	22 %	26 %	19 %	4 %	5 %
13. The use of evidence gained through torture	23 %	21 %	20 %	22 %	5 %	9 %
14. The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	22 %	21 %	22 %	18 %	5 %	12 %
15. The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	22 %	17 %	12 %	19 %	26 %	4 %
16. The war on terror is a war on Islam	21 %	9 %	16 %	13 %	39 %	2 %
17. Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	16 %	12 %	26 %	23 %	14 %	9 %
18. Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	14 %	28 %	29 %	14 %	10 %	5 %
19. The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	12 %	21 %	19 %	20 %	25 %	3 %
20. The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	12 %	9 %	15 %	16 %	37 %	11 %

Muslim per cent	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	65 %	13 %	11 %	2 %	4 %	7 %
2. The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	63 %	18 %	7 %	2 %	1 %	9 %
3. Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	63 %	17 %	7 %	1 %	1 %	10 %
4. Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	63 %	18 %	9 %	2 %	2 %	6 %
5. Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	62 %	18 %	9 %	3 %	1 %	8 %
6. The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	62 %	19 %	7 %	2 %	1 %	9 %
7. The use of evidence gained through torture	60 %	21 %	10 %	2 %	1 %	7 %
8. The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	59 %	23 %	7 %	3 %	1 %	7 %
9. The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	58 %	19 %	11 %	4 %	3 %	5 %
10. The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	54 %	24 %	11 %	3 %	1 %	7 %
11. The war on terror is a war on Islam	51 %	17 %	11 %	4 %	11 %	7 %
12. Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	43 %	21 %	12 %	5 %	4 %	15 %
13. Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	40 %	28 %	14 %	4 %	2 %	12 %
14. Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	39 %	18 %	16 %	7 %	10 %	10 %
15. Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	36 %	25 %	18 %	5 %	3 %	14 %
16. The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	36 %	20 %	15 %	7 %	5 %	17 %
17. Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	36 %	25 %	13 %	6 %	3 %	17 %
18. The rise of the extreme right in European politics	35 %	27 %	16 %	4 %	3 %	15 %
19. The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	31 %	28 %	17 %	7 %	5 %	12 %
20. The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	30 %	27 %	21 %	5 %	4 %	13 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little or No Significance	Not Even True	Don't Know
1. The failure of the international community to protect the human rights of Muslims	79 %	11 %	2 %	2 %	0 %	7 %
2. The prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	75 %	12 %	4 %	0 %	2 %	7 %
3. Abuses at Abu Ghraib Prison	75 %	9 %	4 %	2 %	2 %	9 %
4. The use of evidence gained through torture	75 %	9 %	9 %	2 %	0 %	5 %
5. Powerful states deliberately misrepresenting terrorism, state terrorism and wars of liberation	75 %	11 %	2 %	4 %	0 %	9 %
6. The war on terror is a war on Islam	75 %	7 %	4 %	4 %	7 %	4 %
7. The war on terror is a war to control the world's oil	75 %	18 %	4 %	0 %	2 %	2 %
8. Religion being deliberately manipulated for political and economic gain	74 %	9 %	9 %	2 %	2 %	5 %
9. Muslim terrorists being identified by their religion	70 %	11 %	5 %	4 %	5 %	5 %
10. The international transport of prisoners for interrogation and torture	67 %	16 %	7 %	4 %	0 %	7 %
11. The events of 9/11 being used to advance Western policy in the Middle East	67 %	23 %	2 %	2 %	0 %	7 %
12. Failure by the British government to acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	65 %	18 %	4 %	2 %	2 %	11 %
13. Al Qaida learning their military training from the CIA at camps established by the US in Afghanistan	56 %	14 %	7 %	4 %	7 %	12 %
14. The war on terror being created to replace the war with Communism	54 %	21 %	4 %	4 %	2 %	16 %
15. Absence of a public enquiry into the London Bombings is fuelling conspiracy theories	54 %	16 %	11 %	4 %	4 %	12 %
16. Western politicians and Muslim extremists having a common interest in polarizing their people	49 %	21 %	12 %	4 %	4 %	11 %
17. The rise of the extreme right in European politics	47 %	18 %	14 %	4 %	4 %	14 %
18. Lack of condemnation of extremist groups and terrorists by Muslim leaders in the UK	42 %	14 %	16 %	4 %	16 %	9 %
19. The mistrust of the British police by Muslims	37 %	23 %	16 %	5 %	11 %	9 %
20. The rise of extremist political groups in Muslim states	28 %	28 %	21 %	9 %	5 %	9 %

Part 2 – The Solutions

At this point in the questionnaire the panellist was provided with the following statement:

Choosing your options for peace, security and understanding

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what some people believe could be done to improve the prospects for peace, security and understanding between the West and the Muslim World.

For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

For the purposes of this poll ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ and ‘Unacceptable’ mean:

‘Essential’ – You believe this option is necessary for peace, security and understanding between the West and the Muslim World.

‘Desirable’ – This option is not what you would consider to be ‘Essential’, but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.

‘Acceptable’ – This option is not what you would consider to be ‘Desirable’, if you were given a choice, but you could certainly ‘live with it’.

‘Tolerable’ – This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, peaceful and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.

‘Unacceptable’ – This option is completely unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, peaceful and better future for the West and the Muslim World.

6. Islamophobia and the ‘clash of civilisations’

The Question

With regards to what could be done to deal with the problem of Islamophobia and to improve understanding between Western and Islamic civilization please indicate which possible solutions you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

For both the UK population as a whole and the UK Muslim community the top priority is that the civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them at 52% essential and 71% essential respectively. This item is joint first on the Jewish list at 47% essential along with effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups, which is second on the UK and Muslim lists at 46% and 66% essential respectively. This is followed by balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement 3rd on the UK list at 38% essential, 4th on the Jewish list at 33% essential and 3rd again on the Muslim list at 59% essential and so on.

	All UK per cent	Essential	Jewish per cent	Essential	Muslim per cent	Essential
1st	The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	52 %	Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	47 %	The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	71 %
2nd	Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	46 %	The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	47 %	Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	66 %
3rd	Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	38 %	Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	33 %	Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	59 %
4th	Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	30 %	Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	33 %	Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	55 %
5th	The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	20 %	The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	21 %	The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	52 %
6th	Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	15 %	Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	14 %	Employ more Muslims in the UK media	51 %
7th	Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	15 %	Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	13 %	Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	51 %
8th	Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	14 %	Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	13 %	Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	50 %
9th	Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	13 %	Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	9 %	Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	48 %
10th	International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	9 %	International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	8 %	Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	46 %

11th	Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	8 %	Employ more Muslims in the UK media	7 %	International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	43 %
12th	Employ more Muslims in the UK media	8 %	Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	3 %	Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	37 %
13th	Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	4 %	Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	3 %	Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	31 %

The critical question to be asked here is not so much what policies can the different communities in British society agree on, because there is little difficulty about this. But rather where are there some points of resistance to any of the proposed policies that might potentially make their introduction difficult for government. The table below lists all the proposed policies in order of UK preference with levels of ‘unacceptable’ next to them for the UK as a whole, the Jewish community and the Muslim community.

UK policy priorities	UK Essential	UK Unacceptable	Jewish Unacceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1. The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	52 %	2 %	1%	0%
2. Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	46 %	5 %	5%	1%
3. Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	38 %	4 %	5%	0%
4. Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	30 %	5 %	8%	0%
5. The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	20 %	6 %	5%	1%
6. Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	15 %	7 %	8%	0%
7. Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	15 %	15 %	25%	4%
8. Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	14 %	15 %	16%	3%
9. Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	13 %	17 %	17%	9%
10. International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	9 %	8 %	11%	1%
11. Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	8 %	9 %	12%	0%
12. Employ more Muslims in the UK media	8 %	11 %	17%	0%
13. Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	4 %	20 %	29%	2%

It should be pointed out that levels of ‘unacceptable’ would often go above 50% in Northern Ireland and in these circumstances such items in one community would have to be ‘horse traded’ with different items in the other community. These kinds of difficulties do not arise here, so, thankfully, the British UK/Muslim society does not have to be classified as ‘deeply divided’ at this time. The opportunities for peace making, with a little generosity of spirit, are wide open. However, while bearing this point in mind it should be pointed out that 15% of the UK population and 25% of the Jewish community find it unacceptable to bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards. There are also similar reservations with regards to the introduction of scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media. It would seem to be the case that almost everyone wants the media to be more responsible than they have been but are concerned about interfering with the freedoms of the media in any pro-active way. Clearly the media need to be seen to regulate themselves with greater firmness and rigour.

UK per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
14. The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	52 %	16 %	16 %	5 %	2 %	9 %
15. Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	46 %	17 %	15 %	6 %	5 %	10 %
16. Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	38 %	22 %	19 %	8 %	4 %	10 %
17. Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	30 %	23 %	21 %	11 %	5 %	10 %
18. The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	20 %	28 %	23 %	12 %	6 %	11 %
19. Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	15 %	26 %	27 %	15 %	7 %	10 %
20. Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	15 %	22 %	25 %	11 %	15 %	12 %
21. Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	14 %	21 %	22 %	15 %	15 %	14 %
22. Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	13 %	21 %	20 %	15 %	17 %	15 %
23. International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	9 %	27 %	32 %	13 %	8 %	12 %
24. Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	8 %	29 %	30 %	13 %	9 %	11 %
25. Employ more Muslims in the UK media	8 %	23 %	34 %	15 %	11 %	10 %
26. Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	4 %	15 %	33 %	17 %	20 %	11 %

Jewish per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	47 %	25 %	12 %	6 %	5 %	5 %
2. The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	47 %	31 %	13 %	5 %	1 %	3 %
3. Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	33 %	23 %	20 %	13 %	8 %	3 %
4. Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	33 %	28 %	22 %	8 %	5 %	4 %
5. The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	21 %	31 %	27 %	13 %	5 %	3 %
6. Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	14 %	32 %	23 %	17 %	8 %	6 %
7. Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	13 %	20 %	20 %	16 %	25 %	6 %
8. Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	13 %	22 %	21 %	20 %	17 %	7 %
9. Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	9 %	16 %	28 %	27 %	16 %	4 %
10. International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	8 %	31 %	25 %	19 %	11 %	6 %
11. Employ more Muslims in the UK media	7 %	23 %	33 %	17 %	17 %	3 %
12. Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	3 %	38 %	23 %	18 %	12 %	6 %
13. Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	3 %	11 %	31 %	22 %	29 %	4 %

Muslim per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	71 %	16 %	7 %	1 %	0 %	5 %
2. Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	66 %	18 %	9 %	1 %	1 %	5 %
3. Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	59 %	24 %	10 %	2 %	0 %	5 %
4. Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	55 %	17 %	12 %	4 %	3 %	9 %
5. The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	52 %	22 %	11 %	5 %	1 %	9 %
6. Employ more Muslims in the UK media	51 %	25 %	14 %	3 %	0 %	7 %
7. Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	51 %	27 %	14 %	1 %	0 %	6 %
8. Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	50 %	28 %	13 %	3 %	0 %	6 %
9. Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	48 %	20 %	11 %	4 %	9 %	8 %
10. Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	46 %	21 %	15 %	3 %	4 %	11 %
11. International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	43 %	28 %	20 %	2 %	1 %	6 %
12. Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	37 %	29 %	21 %	5 %	2 %	7 %
13. Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	31 %	32 %	25 %	5 %	0 %	7 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Statutory body to monitor and report on Islamophobia in the UK media	75 %	9 %	7 %	2 %	4 %	4 %
2. Effective laws to prevent incitement to hatred for all religious groups	75 %	18 %	4 %	2 %	2 %	0 %
3. Employ more Muslims in the UK media	74 %	7 %	11 %	4 %	2 %	4 %
4. The civilizations of the West and Muslim World should appreciate each others differences and learn from them	72 %	21 %	2 %	4 %	2 %	0 %
5. Teach the Muslim contribution to civilisation in schools (maths, science, etc.)	70 %	16 %	7 %	4 %	2 %	2 %
6. Bring regulations for UK print journalism in line with stricter TV and radio standards	70 %	12 %	7 %	2 %	2 %	7 %
7. Open up dialogue with all groups including those with radically different views	68 %	16 %	12 %	0 %	2 %	2 %
8. Balance freedom of speech with responsibility and judgement	68 %	19 %	5 %	4 %	2 %	2 %
9. The Muslim community should pro-actively engage in British politics	67 %	9 %	14 %	4 %	4 %	4 %
10. Anti-Islamophobia campaign in the UK	65 %	16 %	7 %	2 %	11 %	0 %
11. International exchange programme for scholars from centres of Islamic learning	54 %	26 %	14 %	4 %	2 %	0 %
12. Scholarships for Muslims entering the UK media	49 %	26 %	16 %	4 %	2 %	4 %
13. Extend student exchange programmes to the Muslim World	42 %	33 %	16 %	7 %	2 %	0 %

7. Discrimination and integration

The Question

With regards to what could be done to improve relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the UK please indicate which of the following possible solutions you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

With regard to discrimination and integration there is complete agreement across UK society about what needs to be done. First on this list of policy options is the proposal that all religions should be treated the same under British law at 50% essential for the UK as a whole, 65% essential for the Jewish community and 71% essential for Muslims. This is followed by an anti-discrimination campaign at 32%, 43% and 59% essential for the UK, Jews and Muslims respectively. Third on the Muslim list is legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services at 55% essential. But if all religions are treated the same under British law then this problem should be solved.

	All UK per cent	Essential	Jewish per cent	Essential	Muslim per cent	Essential
1st	All religions should be treated the same under British law	50 %	All religions should be treated the same under British law	65 %	All religions should be treated the same under British law	71 %
2nd	Anti-discrimination campaign	32 %	Anti-discrimination campaign	43 %	Anti-discrimination campaign	59 %
3rd	Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	30 %	Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	33 %	Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	55 %
4th	Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	28 %	Do business with people from the 'other' community	33 %	Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	54 %
5th	Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	27 %	More police from ethnic minorities	32 %	Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	53 %
6th	Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	27 %	Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	31 %	More police from ethnic minorities	52 %
7th	Do business with people from the 'other' community	26 %	Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	26 %	Do business with people from the 'other' community	48 %
8th	More police from ethnic minorities	23 %	Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	22 %	Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	43 %
9th	Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	23 %	Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	22 %	Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	43 %
10th	Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	19 %	Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	21 %	Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	43 %
11th	Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	17 %	Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	19 %	Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	42 %

12th	Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	16 %	Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	18 %	Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	41 %
13th	Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	16 %	Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	18 %	Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	39 %
14th	Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	16 %	Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	16 %	Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	36 %
15th	End government support for Muslim faith schools only	16 %	Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	16 %	Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	35 %
16th	Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	15 %	Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	16 %	Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	34 %
17th	Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	15 %	Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	13 %	Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	28 %
18th	Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	15 %	Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	12 %	End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	13 %
19th	Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	14 %	End government support for Muslim faith schools only	11 %	Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	11 %
20th	End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	13 %	End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	9 %	Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	8 %
21st	Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	5 %	Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	7 %	End government support for Muslim faith schools only	7 %

Wider UK society want Muslims to be part of the mainstream. Third on their list is create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas at 30% essential followed by define 'Britishness' more inclusively 4th at 28% essential. The Jewish community have do business with people from the other community 3rd on their list at 33% essential followed by more police from ethnic minorities at 32% essential. There is general agreement on all these points so where, again, might the government meet some resistance with the introduction of such policies. What, if anything, is unacceptable and for whome? As has already been noted in the 'problems' questions there seems to be a basic misunderstanding about British identity and the Muslim community. With regards to the suggestion that there should be a day to celebrate 'Britishness' 11% of the general UK sample find this unacceptable, 15% of the Jewish community share this view but only 9% of Muslims are similarly concerned. Muslims, it would seem, want to be 'more British than the British'.

UK policy priorities	UK Essential	UK Unacceptable	Jewish Unacceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1. All religions should be treated the same under British law	50 %	5 %	1%	1%
2. Anti-discrimination campaign	32 %	4 %	3%	0%
3. Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	30 %	7 %	7%	3%
4. Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	28 %	7 %	11%	5%
5. Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	27 %	7 %	7%	1%
6. Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	27 %	11 %	15%	9%
7. Do business with people from the 'other' community	26 %	2 %	2%	0%
8. More police from ethnic minorities	23 %	5 %	7%	0%
9. Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	23 %	2 %	5%	0%
10. Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	19 %	24 %	39%	51%
11. Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	17 %	16 %	19%	1%
12. Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	16 %	5 %	4%	2%
13. Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	16 %	6 %	7%	1%
14. Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	16 %	29 %	52%	67%
15. End government support for Muslim faith schools only	16 %	36 %	57%	63%
16. Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	15 %	18 %	17%	5%
17. Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	15 %	12 %	19%	5%
18. Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	15 %	7 %	9%	0%
19. Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	14 %	10 %	12%	7%
20. End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	13 %	28 %	48%	47%
21. Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	5 %	25 %	28%	3%

However, there are strong differences of opinion on issues relating to faith schools and traditional Muslim dress. While a significant percent of UK society believe government should end support for faith schools of all religious groups at 13% essential and another 13% desirable, 28% find this suggestion unacceptable. But, 48% of the Jewish community and 47% of the Muslim community also find such a policy unacceptable. Similarly significant percentages of UK society (29%), the Jewish community (52%) and Muslim community (67%) find restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) unacceptable while small but significant percentages in all these communities consider such restrictions essential or desirable. These minor points aside the list of policy options reviewed here provide government with numerous opportunities to deal with problems of integration and discrimination in both the Muslim and all other faith communities under the guiding principle of equality of treatment.

UK per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. All religions should be treated the same under British law	50 %	14 %	14 %	6 %	5 %	11 %
2. Anti-discrimination campaign	32 %	25 %	19 %	8 %	4 %	13 %
3. Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	30 %	26 %	18 %	6 %	7 %	13 %
4. Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	28 %	19 %	19 %	10 %	7 %	17 %
5. Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	27 %	24 %	19 %	8 %	7 %	15 %
6. Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	27 %	16 %	19 %	11 %	11 %	16 %
7. Do business with people from the 'other' community	26 %	32 %	21 %	6 %	2 %	13 %
8. More police from ethnic minorities	23 %	27 %	22 %	11 %	5 %	12 %
9. Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	23 %	28 %	24 %	7 %	2 %	15 %
10. Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	19 %	16 %	15 %	12 %	24 %	14 %
11. Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	17 %	19 %	21 %	13 %	16 %	14 %
12. Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	16 %	28 %	24 %	11 %	5 %	15 %
13. Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	16 %	24 %	28 %	13 %	6 %	13 %
14. Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	16 %	15 %	15 %	11 %	29 %	14 %
15. End government support for Muslim faith schools only	16 %	10 %	12 %	9 %	36 %	18 %
16. Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	15 %	17 %	20 %	14 %	18 %	16 %
17. Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	15 %	24 %	24 %	11 %	12 %	14 %
18. Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	15 %	26 %	26 %	13 %	7 %	14 %
19. Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	14 %	22 %	24 %	15 %	10 %	13 %
20. End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	13 %	13 %	16 %	11 %	28 %	19 %
21. Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	5 %	13 %	22 %	18 %	25 %	16 %

Jewish per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. All religions should be treated the same under British law	65 %	19 %	6 %	6 %	1 %	3 %
2. Anti-discrimination campaign	43 %	28 %	11 %	11 %	3 %	4 %
3. Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	33 %	28 %	17 %	11 %	7 %	4 %
4. Do business with people from the 'other' community	33 %	38 %	14 %	7 %	2 %	6 %
5. More police from ethnic minorities	32 %	31 %	14 %	12 %	7 %	4 %
6. Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	31 %	26 %	19 %	14 %	7 %	3 %
7. Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	26 %	33 %	16 %	13 %	5 %	7 %
8. Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	22 %	25 %	28 %	17 %	4 %	4 %
9. Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	22 %	18 %	21 %	16 %	11 %	12 %
10. Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	21 %	10 %	11 %	15 %	39 %	4 %
11. Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	19 %	21 %	18 %	19 %	17 %	6 %
12. Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	18 %	36 %	18 %	16 %	7 %	5 %
13. Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	18 %	19 %	25 %	20 %	12 %	6 %
14. Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	16 %	31 %	11 %	18 %	19 %	5 %
15. Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	16 %	31 %	26 %	13 %	9 %	5 %
16. Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	16 %	14 %	21 %	23 %	15 %	11 %
17. Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	13 %	22 %	25 %	15 %	19 %	6 %
18. Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	12 %	9 %	10 %	12 %	52 %	5 %
19. End government support for Muslim faith schools only	11 %	4 %	10 %	10 %	57 %	8 %
20. End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	9 %	9 %	12 %	14 %	48 %	8 %
21. Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	7 %	12 %	24 %	22 %	28 %	7 %

Muslim per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. All religions should be treated the same under British law	71 %	12 %	8 %	2 %	1 %	5 %
2. Anti-discrimination campaign	59 %	21 %	11 %	3 %	0 %	6 %
3. Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	55 %	21 %	11 %	3 %	1 %	9 %
4. Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	54 %	24 %	10 %	3 %	0 %	8 %
5. Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	53 %	25 %	12 %	2 %	0 %	9 %
6. More police from ethnic minorities	52 %	25 %	11 %	4 %	0 %	7 %
7. Do business with people from the 'other' community	48 %	29 %	13 %	2 %	0 %	8 %
8. Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	43 %	24 %	13 %	5 %	5 %	10 %
9. Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	43 %	27 %	13 %	6 %	3 %	8 %
10. Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	43 %	25 %	17 %	5 %	1 %	9 %
11. Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	42 %	32 %	12 %	5 %	1 %	8 %
12. Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	41 %	23 %	12 %	7 %	7 %	9 %
13. Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	39 %	32 %	15 %	3 %	2 %	9 %
14. Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	36 %	25 %	16 %	7 %	5 %	11 %
15. Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	35 %	25 %	17 %	8 %	3 %	12 %
16. Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	34 %	32 %	15 %	6 %	5 %	8 %
17. Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	28 %	17 %	21 %	13 %	9 %	12 %
18. End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	13 %	9 %	13 %	6 %	47 %	13 %
19. Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	11 %	9 %	11 %	10 %	51 %	8 %
20. Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	8 %	6 %	6 %	5 %	67 %	7 %
21. End government support for Muslim faith schools only	7 %	7 %	8 %	5 %	63 %	11 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. All religions should be treated the same under British law	84 %	7 %	4 %	0 %	4 %	2 %
2. Promote Muslim role models representing success amongst the young	81 %	12 %	4 %	2 %	0 %	2 %
3. Anti-discrimination campaign	72 %	16 %	12 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
4. Legislation to protect Muslims against discrimination in housing, education and public services	72 %	12 %	7 %	4 %	0 %	5 %
5. Do business with people from the 'other' community	68 %	19 %	9 %	0 %	0 %	4 %
6. Provide government support for inter-faith school activities	67 %	14 %	11 %	0 %	2 %	7 %
7. More police from ethnic minorities	67 %	25 %	7 %	2 %	0 %	0 %
8. Introduce best practice for community and human rights policing	67 %	18 %	11 %	0 %	0 %	5 %
9. Create integrated schools for children living in Muslim and non-Muslim areas	63 %	21 %	5 %	4 %	2 %	5 %
10. Cultural and religious sensitivity training for service providers	61 %	25 %	9 %	2 %	4 %	0 %
11. Provide religious education in state schools in accordance with parents wishes	61 %	25 %	5 %	2 %	5 %	2 %
12. Provide government support for faith schools of all religious groups including Muslims	58 %	23 %	4 %	2 %	9 %	5 %
13. Policies to promote 'social inclusion' of Muslims in mainstream society	51 %	26 %	12 %	4 %	5 %	2 %
14. Non-denominational prayer facilities for all faith groups in schools, universities and work place	51 %	21 %	11 %	4 %	14 %	0 %
15. Apprenticeship fund for Muslim school leavers/unemployed	49 %	18 %	18 %	5 %	2 %	9 %
16. Define 'Britishness' more inclusively	46 %	23 %	11 %	7 %	7 %	7 %
17. Have a day to celebrate 'Britishness'	37 %	11 %	21 %	9 %	14 %	9 %
18. End government support for faith schools of all religious groups	21 %	4 %	7 %	4 %	54 %	11 %
19. Introduce restrictions on wearing the face veil (Niqab) in schools, universities and work place	19 %	9 %	5 %	11 %	53 %	4 %
20. Introduce restrictions on wearing the head scarf (Hijab) in schools, universities and work place	18 %	5 %	0 %	2 %	72 %	4 %
21. End government support for Muslim faith schools only	12 %	7 %	5 %	2 %	67 %	7 %

8. The Muslim community

The Question

And with regards to what could be done by the Muslim community to improve relations please indicate which possible solutions you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

Although the Muslim community policy question is dominated by actions that can only be initiated by the Muslim community it should be noted that the only policy, out of a list of 20 items, that the Muslim community have strong reservations about is the reform of Islam at 43% unacceptable (13% essential, 13% desirable, 9% acceptable and 6% tolerable). There is also some resistance to the idea of women only colleges at universities in the UK at 16% unacceptable. On all other points of action there is a strong positive consensus starting with teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK at 63% essential followed by protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order at 59% essential. This item is 2nd on the UK list at 36% essential and 4th on the Jewish list at 41% essential.

	All UK per cent	Essential	Jewish per cent	Essential	Muslim per cent	Essential
1st	Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	43 %	Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	55 %	Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	63 %
2nd	Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	36 %	Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	43 %	Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	61 %
3rd	Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	35 %	Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	42 %	Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	59 %
4th	Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	32 %	Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	41 %	Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	52 %
5th	Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	32 %	Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	38 %	Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	51 %
6th	Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	26 %	Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	37 %	A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	49 %
7th	Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	25 %	Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	32 %	Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	48 %
8th	Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	24 %	Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	30 %	Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	48 %
9th	Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	19 %	Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	24 %	Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	46 %

10th	A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	18 %	Reform Islam	24 %	More Muslim youth workers in the UK	46 %
11th	Reform Islam	18 %	Interfaith conferences for Imams	23 %	Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	45 %
12th	Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	17 %	A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	23 %	Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	43 %
13th	Interfaith conferences for Imams	14 %	Comparative religion studies for Imams	20 %	Interfaith conferences for Imams	40 %
14th	Comparative religion studies for Imams	14 %	More Muslim youth workers in the UK	15 %	Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	40 %
15th	More Muslim youth workers in the UK	13 %	Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	15 %	Comparative religion studies for Imams	36 %
16th	British born Imams trained in the UK	11 %	British born Imams trained in the UK	12 %	Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	36 %
17th	Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	10 %	Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	12 %	Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	36 %
18th	Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	8 %	Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	9 %	British born Imams trained in the UK	34 %
19th	Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	7 %	Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	7 %	Women only colleges at universities in the UK	20 %
20th	Women only colleges at universities in the UK	2 %	Women only colleges at universities in the UK	2 %	Reform Islam	13 %

Significantly the suggestion that Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy is 1st on both the UK and Jewish lists at 43% and 55% essential. 43% of the Muslim community also consider this proposal to be essential (23% desirable, 16% acceptable, 5% tolerable and 4% unacceptable). Everyone also shares a common understanding with regards to providing young Muslims with a good education. Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards is 5th on the UK and Jewish lists at 32% and 38% essential and 3rd on the Muslim list at 59% essential. No one wants the Muslim community to fail.

UK policy priorities	UK Essential	UK Unacceptable	Jewish Unacceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1. Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	43 %	2 %	1%	4%
2. Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	36 %	2 %	5%	1%
3. Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	35 %	2 %	3%	0%
4. Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	32 %	3 %	4%	2%
5. Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	32 %	3 %	2%	0%
6. Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	26 %	6 %	5%	0%
7. Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	25 %	3 %	4%	0%
8. Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	24 %	6 %	5%	0%
9. Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	19 %	9 %	12%	0%
10. A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	18 %	6 %	7%	1%
11. Reform Islam	18 %	11 %	15%	43%
12. Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	17 %	4 %	5%	5%
13. Interfaith conferences for Imams	14 %	5 %	7%	1%
14. Comparative religion studies for Imams	14 %	6 %	6%	2%
15. More Muslim youth workers in the UK	13 %	7 %	8%	0%
16. British born Imams trained in the UK	11 %	5 %	8%	3%
17. Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	10 %	14 %	13%	1%
18. Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	8 %	14 %	17%	1%
19. Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	7 %	25 %	24%	4%
20. Women only colleges at universities in the UK	2 %	47 %	58%	16%

There are, however, a few points of resistance in the wider UK society for some of the Muslim community policy suggestions listed here. 47% of UK society and 58% of the Jewish community are opposed to women only colleges at universities in the UK as unacceptable, but, as previously noted 16% of Muslims share this view. Also 25% of the UK and 24% of Jews are opposed to allowing Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law. There is also some resistance to offering a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools at 14% unacceptable for the UK as a whole and 17% for the Jewish community. All of this seems to underline a strong consensus in British society that all faith groups should be treated the same and have the same opportunities but that special treatment, of one kind or another, can be problematic.

UK per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	43 %	25 %	14 %	3 %	2 %	13 %
2. Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	36 %	26 %	17 %	6 %	2 %	14 %
3. Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	35 %	25 %	16 %	7 %	2 %	14 %
4. Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	32 %	28 %	18 %	6 %	3 %	13 %
5. Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	32 %	30 %	16 %	5 %	3 %	15 %
6. Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	26 %	25 %	19 %	6 %	6 %	18 %
7. Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	25 %	28 %	21 %	5 %	3 %	18 %
8. Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	24 %	24 %	19 %	9 %	6 %	18 %
9. Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	19 %	23 %	23 %	11 %	9 %	15 %
10. A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	18 %	26 %	21 %	8 %	6 %	21 %
11. Reform Islam	18 %	16 %	18 %	9 %	11 %	28 %
12. Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	17 %	30 %	24 %	8 %	4 %	18 %
13. Interfaith conferences for Imams	14 %	22 %	26 %	11 %	5 %	22 %
14. Comparative religion studies for Imams	14 %	22 %	26 %	11 %	6 %	22 %
15. More Muslim youth workers in the UK	13 %	28 %	26 %	13 %	7 %	14 %
16. British born Imams trained in the UK	11 %	23 %	28 %	11 %	5 %	22 %
17. Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	10 %	17 %	27 %	15 %	14 %	17 %
18. Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	8 %	21 %	29 %	12 %	14 %	15 %
19. Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	7 %	11 %	23 %	13 %	25 %	21 %
20. Women only colleges at universities in the UK	2 %	6 %	15 %	15 %	47 %	14 %

Jewish per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	55 %	25 %	10 %	5 %	1 %	4 %
2. Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	43 %	28 %	16 %	5 %	4 %	4 %
3. Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	42 %	29 %	11 %	7 %	3 %	8 %
4. Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	41 %	29 %	14 %	4 %	5 %	7 %
5. Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	38 %	25 %	12 %	10 %	5 %	10 %
6. Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	37 %	30 %	17 %	8 %	2 %	6 %
7. Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	32 %	25 %	19 %	9 %	5 %	10 %
8. Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	30 %	34 %	17 %	7 %	4 %	8 %
9. Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	24 %	21 %	29 %	12 %	5 %	9 %
10. Reform Islam	24 %	13 %	21 %	6 %	15 %	21 %
11. Interfaith conferences for Imams	23 %	19 %	25 %	13 %	7 %	13 %
12. A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	23 %	24 %	20 %	11 %	7 %	15 %
13. Comparative religion studies for Imams	20 %	26 %	25 %	12 %	6 %	11 %
14. More Muslim youth workers in the UK	15 %	27 %	28 %	16 %	8 %	6 %
15. Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	15 %	26 %	25 %	14 %	12 %	8 %
16. British born Imams trained in the UK	12 %	28 %	23 %	13 %	8 %	16 %
17. Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	12 %	24 %	26 %	15 %	17 %	6 %
18. Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	9 %	15 %	24 %	20 %	24 %	8 %
19. Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	7 %	20 %	27 %	22 %	13 %	11 %
20. Women only colleges at universities in the UK	2 %	3 %	14 %	18 %	58 %	5 %

Muslim per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	63 %	22 %	7 %	1 %	0 %	7 %
2. Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	61 %	19 %	9 %	1 %	1 %	9 %
3. Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	59 %	23 %	9 %	1 %	0 %	7 %
4. Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	52 %	24 %	13 %	1 %	0 %	9 %
5. Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	51 %	26 %	13 %	3 %	1 %	6 %
6. A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	49 %	25 %	13 %	2 %	1 %	11 %
7. Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	48 %	23 %	15 %	4 %	0 %	11 %
8. Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	48 %	24 %	16 %	2 %	0 %	10 %
9. Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	46 %	24 %	16 %	4 %	2 %	7 %
10. More Muslim youth workers in the UK	46 %	32 %	11 %	3 %	0 %	7 %
11. Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	45 %	27 %	12 %	5 %	0 %	11 %
12. Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	43 %	23 %	16 %	4 %	4 %	10 %
13. Interfaith conferences for Imams	40 %	30 %	16 %	5 %	1 %	9 %
14. Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	40 %	25 %	14 %	6 %	4 %	12 %
15. Comparative religion studies for Imams	36 %	34 %	18 %	2 %	2 %	9 %
16. Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	36 %	30 %	16 %	5 %	5 %	8 %
17. Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	36 %	38 %	17 %	2 %	1 %	7 %
18. British born Imams trained in the UK	34 %	23 %	25 %	5 %	3 %	10 %
19. Women only colleges at universities in the UK	20 %	18 %	23 %	13 %	16 %	10 %
20. Reform Islam	13 %	13 %	9 %	6 %	43 %	16 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Teach the meaning of the Koran in English in the UK	86 %	9 %	2 %	0 %	2 %	2 %
2. Protest and explain insults peacefully without doing harm to the social order	81 %	11 %	4 %	0 %	2 %	4 %
3. Muslim parents should engage with children and schools to improve standards	75 %	16 %	7 %	0 %	0 %	2 %
4. Establish a Muslim Commission to examine all of the problems reviewed in this poll	75 %	16 %	5 %	2 %	0 %	2 %
5. Teach Arabic as a language so that students can understand the Koran in UK mosques	70 %	18 %	9 %	0 %	2 %	2 %
6. A conference of Muslim scholars to establish a common Islamic position on Sharia law, freedom of speech, blasphemy, etc.	70 %	16 %	11 %	0 %	0 %	4 %
7. Education for Muslims on difference between religious and cultural beliefs	68 %	21 %	4 %	4 %	2 %	2 %
8. Muslims should support, protect and defend human rights activists	67 %	12 %	16 %	0 %	0 %	5 %
9. Engage politically, socially and economically with the British mainstream community	63 %	18 %	12 %	4 %	0 %	4 %
10. More Muslim youth workers in the UK	61 %	25 %	9 %	4 %	0 %	2 %
11. Wealthy Muslim states should donate more to charitable causes around the world	61 %	11 %	14 %	7 %	0 %	7 %
12. Allow Muslim communities to use Sharia family law when it does not conflict with UK and international law	60 %	25 %	7 %	4 %	2 %	4 %
13. Involve young Muslims and women in the running of UK mosques	56 %	19 %	14 %	4 %	5 %	2 %
14. Offer a GCSE in Arabic and Islamic studies at UK schools	53 %	37 %	9 %	0 %	0 %	2 %
15. British born Imams trained in the UK	51 %	14 %	19 %	5 %	9 %	2 %
16. Interfaith conferences for Imams	51 %	23 %	16 %	5 %	2 %	4 %
17. Muslims should not condemn difference but accept it with courtesy	49 %	28 %	9 %	5 %	5 %	4 %
18. Comparative religion studies for Imams	47 %	28 %	16 %	4 %	4 %	2 %
19. Women only colleges at universities in the UK	28 %	25 %	19 %	7 %	16 %	5 %
20. Reform Islam	26 %	12 %	4 %	4 %	47 %	7 %

9. Relations between the West and Muslim states

The Question

And with regards to what could be done to improve relations between the West and Muslim states please indicate which possible solutions you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

Both UK society and the Jewish community place only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war 1st on their list of policies to improve relations between the West and the Muslim World at 40% and 39% essential respectively. The Muslim community place this item 14th on their list also at 39% essential but 1st on their list is Western states should stop threatening Muslim states at 75% essential. Clearly rhetoric from some Western leaders may be doing more harm than may be thought and the perceived benefits of such rhetoric needs to be carefully assessed.

	All UK per cent	Essential	Jewish per cent	Essential	Muslim per cent	Essential
1st	Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	40 %	Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	39 %	Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	75 %
2nd	Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	38 %	Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	38 %	Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	64 %
3rd	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	38 %	Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	30 %	Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	63 %
4th	Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	35 %	EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	28 %	Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	60 %
5th	Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	34 %	Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	28 %	Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	58 %
6th	Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	30 %	Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	27 %	EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	57 %
7th	Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	30 %	Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	27 %	Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	57 %
8th	Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	27 %	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	26 %	The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	49 %
9th	Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	25 %	Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	22 %	Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	48 %
10th	EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	24 %	Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	22 %	Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	46 %
11th	The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	24 %	Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	20 %	The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	45 %

12th	Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	21 %	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	16 %	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	42 %
13th	The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	19 %	The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	16 %	Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	41 %
14th	The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	18 %	The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	14 %	Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	39 %
15th	Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	7 %	The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	12 %	The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	38 %
16th	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	6 %	The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	9 %	Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	12 %
17th	The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	6 %	Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	3 %	The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	10 %
18th	Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	2 %	Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	0 %	Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	9 %

Beyond these slightly different emphasises on matters of war making and war mongering there is a general consensus about the need for Israel to treat ‘others’ as Jews should be treated around the world which is 2nd on the Jewish community list at 38% essential, 4th on the UK list at 35% essential and 7th on the Muslim list at 57% essential. Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination is 2nd on the UK list at 38% essential and 3rd on both the Jewish and Muslim lists at 30% and 63% essential respectively. Similarly do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state is 5th on the UK list and 4th on the Muslim list but only 10th on the Jewish list who are split on this point at 22% essential but 16% unacceptable. In general the Muslim community and wider UK public agree on most matters of international relations and justice while the Jewish community tends to be split on specific issues that might relate to the safety and security of Israel such as an EU policy to resolve the Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy at 28% essential and 23% unacceptable.

UK policy priorities	UK Essential	UK Unacceptable	Jewish Unacceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1. Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	40 %	7 %	7%	12%
2. Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	38 %	2 %	11%	0%
3. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	38 %	9 %	36%	8%
4. Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	35 %	4 %	11%	1%
5. Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	34 %	4 %	16%	2%
6. Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	30 %	3 %	5%	0%
7. Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	30 %	4 %	18%	0%
8. Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	27 %	2 %	12%	0%
9. Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	25 %	3 %	4%	0%
10. EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	24 %	4 %	23%	1%
11. The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	24 %	4 %	6%	1%
12. Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	21 %	3 %	7%	0%
13. The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	19 %	5 %	6%	3%
14. The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	18 %	5 %	11%	5%
15. Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	7 %	10 %	28%	2%
16. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	6 %	48 %	18%	59%
17. The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	6 %	20 %	16%	37%
18. Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	2 %	59 %	77%	23%

Some suggested policies have high levels of resistance in all communities. For example 48% of the UK, 18% of the Jewish community and 59% of Muslims consider making all the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel (the status quo) to be unacceptable. Also 59% of the UK, 77% of Jews and 23% of the Muslim community consider it unacceptable to allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons. But only 4% of the Jewish community consider a regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making unacceptable and only 7% consider accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan to be unacceptable. Clearly, on matters of justice in the Middle East the UK Jewish community speak as one voice with the rest of UK society including most of the Muslim community. However, on matters that may have implications for Israel's security the UK Jewish community are divided on questions of policy and the way ahead. Therefore, in the context of security guarantees there is everything to play for. This is how peace was made in Northern Ireland, through social justice and security. It is how peace is being made in the Balkans and how peace can be achieved for Israel and Palestine.

UK per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	40 %	20 %	11 %	3 %	7 %	18 %
2. Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	38 %	23 %	14 %	5 %	2 %	18 %
3. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	38 %	19 %	9 %	6 %	9 %	19 %
4. Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	35 %	22 %	14 %	4 %	4 %	21 %
5. Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	34 %	23 %	13 %	5 %	4 %	21 %
6. Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	30 %	29 %	17 %	7 %	3 %	14 %
7. Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	30 %	24 %	15 %	7 %	4 %	19 %
8. Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	27 %	28 %	19 %	6 %	2 %	18 %
9. Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	25 %	29 %	18 %	5 %	3 %	19 %
10. EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	24 %	27 %	18 %	6 %	4 %	20 %
11. The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	24 %	28 %	19 %	9 %	4 %	17 %
12. Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	21 %	27 %	21 %	7 %	3 %	21 %
13. The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	19 %	26 %	23 %	7 %	5 %	20 %
14. The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	18 %	26 %	20 %	8 %	5 %	23 %
15. Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	7 %	15 %	22 %	12 %	10 %	35 %
16. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	6 %	6 %	9 %	8 %	48 %	22 %
17. The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	6 %	13 %	18 %	17 %	20 %	26 %
18. Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	2 %	3 %	7 %	9 %	59 %	20 %

Jewish per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	39 %	21 %	15 %	8 %	7 %	10 %
2. Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	38 %	22 %	15 %	6 %	11 %	8 %
3. Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	30 %	23 %	18 %	8 %	11 %	10 %
4. EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	28 %	14 %	16 %	8 %	23 %	11 %
5. Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	28 %	24 %	20 %	12 %	4 %	12 %
6. Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	27 %	28 %	17 %	13 %	7 %	8 %
7. Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	27 %	24 %	19 %	15 %	5 %	10 %
8. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	26 %	8 %	14 %	13 %	18 %	21 %
9. Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	22 %	20 %	22 %	16 %	12 %	8 %
10. Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	22 %	24 %	14 %	9 %	16 %	15 %
11. Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	20 %	20 %	10 %	17 %	18 %	15 %
12. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	16 %	12 %	14 %	10 %	36 %	12 %
13. The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	16 %	31 %	23 %	12 %	6 %	12 %
14. The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	14 %	24 %	25 %	9 %	11 %	17 %
15. The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	12 %	27 %	27 %	12 %	8 %	14 %
16. The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	9 %	15 %	22 %	23 %	16 %	15 %
17. Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	3 %	11 %	12 %	21 %	28 %	25 %
18. Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	0 %	2 %	2 %	4 %	77 %	15 %

Muslim per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	75 %	12 %	5 %	2 %	0 %	7 %
2. Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	64 %	15 %	9 %	1 %	0 %	11 %
3. Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	63 %	12 %	7 %	2 %	0 %	15 %
4. Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	60 %	15 %	6 %	1 %	2 %	16 %
5. Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	58 %	23 %	9 %	2 %	0 %	9 %
6. EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	57 %	18 %	8 %	2 %	1 %	15 %
7. Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	57 %	16 %	8 %	2 %	1 %	16 %
8. The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	49 %	19 %	11 %	5 %	3 %	13 %
9. Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	48 %	22 %	13 %	3 %	0 %	13 %
10. Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	46 %	22 %	12 %	3 %	0 %	17 %
11. The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	45 %	21 %	14 %	6 %	1 %	13 %
12. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	42 %	21 %	9 %	6 %	8 %	14 %
13. Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	41 %	21 %	16 %	5 %	2 %	14 %
14. Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	39 %	16 %	10 %	3 %	12 %	20 %
15. The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	38 %	24 %	14 %	2 %	5 %	16 %
16. Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	12 %	12 %	20 %	12 %	23 %	21 %
17. The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	10 %	7 %	16 %	16 %	37 %	15 %
18. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	9 %	7 %	7 %	3 %	59 %	15 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Western states should stop threatening Muslim states	86 %	9 %	2 %	0 %	0 %	4 %
2. Israel should treat 'others' as Jews should be treated around the world	72 %	12 %	7 %	0 %	0 %	9 %
3. Greater awareness of the problems and history of the Palestinian people	72 %	14 %	7 %	0 %	0 %	7 %
4. Fair trade with poor and developing Muslim states	72 %	18 %	4 %	2 %	0 %	5 %
5. EU policy to resolve Palestine/Israel conflict independent of US and UK policy	70 %	16 %	4 %	0 %	0 %	11 %
6. Do not allow UN resolutions to be vetoed by one state	70 %	11 %	5 %	0 %	2 %	12 %
7. Enforce all UN resolutions without favour or discrimination	68 %	16 %	5 %	2 %	0 %	9 %
8. Accurate independent body counts of all persons killed in Israel, Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan	68 %	12 %	7 %	2 %	0 %	11 %
9. The West should help the people of Kashmir to determine their own future	61 %	16 %	5 %	5 %	5 %	7 %
10. Regional emphasis and negotiations on Middle East peace making	60 %	19 %	5 %	2 %	0 %	14 %
11. Establish Muslim states with political systems in accordance with Islamic law (Caliphates)	60 %	21 %	7 %	0 %	2 %	11 %
12. The West should support stability before democracy in Muslim states	56 %	18 %	9 %	0 %	5 %	12 %
13. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone including Israel	54 %	12 %	7 %	4 %	12 %	11 %
14. The West should allow Muslim states to develop their own democratic accountable governments	54 %	21 %	7 %	2 %	4 %	12 %
15. Only the UK Parliament should be able to take Britain to war	46 %	11 %	4 %	2 %	23 %	16 %
16. Allow Iran to develop nuclear weapons	21 %	16 %	14 %	12 %	21 %	16 %
17. Make all of the Middle East a nuclear weapons free zone except for Israel	18 %	9 %	5 %	0 %	60 %	9 %
18. The West should introduce Western style democracy to Muslim states	16 %	4 %	12 %	9 %	53 %	7 %

10. Extremism and the ‘War on Terror’

The Question

And with regards to what could be done to deal with the problems of extremism and the ‘War on Terror’ please indicate which possible solutions you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

With regard to extremism and the ‘war on terror’ the Muslim community place a ban on all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK at the top of their list of 17 policy items at 65% essential. The same item is joint 2nd on the Jewish list at 71% essential and 3rd on the UK list at 61% essential. At the top of the UK and Jewish lists is deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK at 64% and 76% essential respectively. Although this item is 8th on the Muslim list it comes in at 54% essential with only 2% considering this policy to be unacceptable. 4th on the UK and Jewish list is the policy that there should be Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence at 60% and 69% essential respectively. This item is 10th on the Muslim list at 53% essential and only 2% unacceptable. Clearly, although priorities are a little different the needs of all communities can be satisfied with these policies as there is very little opposition to most of them from any one community until the matter of identity cards is reached which is 9th on the UK list.

	All UK per cent	Essential	Jewish per cent	Essential	Muslim per cent	Essential
1st	Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	64 %	Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	76 %	Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	65 %
2nd	Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	62 %	Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	71 %	Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	65 %
3rd	Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	61 %	Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	71 %	Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	60 %
4th	Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	60 %	Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	69 %	Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	57 %
5th	Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	57 %	Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	66 %	Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	56 %
6th	Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	37 %	Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	46 %	Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	56 %
7th	Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	35 %	Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	43 %	Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	54 %
8th	Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	29 %	Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	31 %	Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	54 %
9th	Introduce UK National Identity cards	26 %	Fight terrorism using military means	30 %	End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	54 %
10th	Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	25 %	Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	25 %	Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	53 %
11th	Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	25 %	The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	20 %	The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	51 %

12th	End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	21 %	Introduce UK National Identity cards	20 %	Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	51 %
13th	Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	20 %	Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	19 %	Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	49 %
14th	Fight terrorism using military means	20 %	Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	18 %	Introduce UK National Identity cards	19 %
15th	Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	19 %	End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	18 %	Fight terrorism using military means	10 %
16th	The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	18 %	Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	14 %	Support all US policies in the war on terror	7 %
17th	Support all US policies in the war on terror	5 %	Support all US policies in the war on terror	9 %	Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	5 %

UK opinion on the introduction of identity cards is mixed with 26% of the population suggesting it is essential while 20% say it is unacceptable. Similarly 27% of the Jewish community and 24% of the Muslim community find this policy unacceptable. After this the pattern observed for the previous question takes over with the UK and Muslim community largely in agreement and the Jewish community split on matters of security with, for example, opening up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists at 18% unacceptable and close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay at 19% unacceptable.

UK policy priorities	UK Essential	UK Unacceptable	Jewish Unacceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1. Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	64 %	1 %	1%	2%
2. Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	62 %	1 %	3%	1%
3. Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	61 %	1 %	2%	0%
4. Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	60 %	2 %	3%	2%
5. Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	57 %	2 %	4%	0%
6. Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	37 %	3 %	2%	0%
7. Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	35 %	4 %	3%	1%
8. Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	29 %	3 %	4%	0%
9. Introduce UK National Identity cards	26 %	20 %	27%	24%
10. Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	25 %	10 %	18%	2%
11. Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	25 %	11 %	19%	0%
12. End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	21 %	10 %	24%	1%
13. Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	20 %	14 %	25%	5%
14. Fight terrorism using military means	20 %	8 %	6%	31%
15. Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	19 %	28 %	44%	61%
16. The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	18 %	13 %	23%	1%
17. Support all US policies in the war on terror	5 %	42 %	39%	62%

There is strong opposition to the suggestion that all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK should be stopped at 28% unacceptable for the UK population, 44% unacceptable for the Jewish community and 61% unacceptable for Muslims. Opposition to the idea that all US policies in the war on terror should be supported is equally robust at 42% unacceptable for the UK, 39% for Jews and 62% for Muslims. In this context it is not surprising to find support for fighting terrorism with military means, at 20% essential for the UK, is lower than support for fighting terrorism using opinions and ideas through education at 35% essential. Perhaps the conclusion to be drawn from all of this is that the British public do not consider the war on terror can be won through military means alone or even that military means are the best way to deal with this problem. Above all else everyone wants policies that can bring an end to hatred and violence and they have strong misgivings about policies that might have quite the opposite effect.

UK per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	64 %	12 %	8 %	3 %	1 %	12 %
2. Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	62 %	12 %	9 %	2 %	1 %	12 %
3. Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	61 %	13 %	8 %	3 %	1 %	13 %
4. Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	60 %	13 %	8 %	3 %	2 %	15 %
5. Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	57 %	14 %	10 %	4 %	2 %	14 %
6. Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	37 %	26 %	15 %	6 %	3 %	14 %
7. Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	35 %	27 %	14 %	6 %	4 %	13 %
8. Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	29 %	28 %	17 %	6 %	3 %	17 %
9. Introduce UK National Identity cards	26 %	14 %	15 %	12 %	20 %	13 %
10. Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	25 %	19 %	21 %	10 %	10 %	15 %
11. Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	25 %	19 %	16 %	7 %	11 %	23 %
12. End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	21 %	21 %	20 %	9 %	10 %	20 %
13. Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	20 %	20 %	19 %	12 %	14 %	15 %
14. Fight terrorism using military means	20 %	12 %	26 %	16 %	8 %	18 %
15. Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	19 %	10 %	13 %	10 %	28 %	20 %
16. The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	18 %	20 %	18 %	8 %	13 %	23 %
17. Support all US policies in the war on terror	5 %	5 %	12 %	16 %	42 %	20 %

Jewish per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	76 %	7 %	5 %	4 %	1 %	7 %
2. Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	71 %	9 %	6 %	4 %	3 %	7 %
3. Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	71 %	10 %	6 %	5 %	2 %	6 %
4. Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	69 %	10 %	6 %	2 %	3 %	10 %
5. Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	66 %	12 %	5 %	6 %	4 %	7 %
6. Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	46 %	30 %	11 %	3 %	3 %	7 %
7. Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	43 %	17 %	18 %	11 %	2 %	9 %
8. Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	31 %	29 %	13 %	13 %	4 %	10 %
9. Fight terrorism using military means	30 %	11 %	19 %	22 %	6 %	12 %
10. Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	25 %	20 %	17 %	12 %	18 %	8 %
11. The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	20 %	18 %	12 %	14 %	23 %	13 %
12. Introduce UK National Identity cards	20 %	11 %	17 %	17 %	27 %	8 %
13. Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	19 %	15 %	14 %	15 %	19 %	18 %
14. Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	18 %	20 %	16 %	10 %	25 %	11 %
15. End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	18 %	24 %	12 %	11 %	24 %	11 %
16. Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	14 %	10 %	9 %	11 %	44 %	12 %
17. Support all US policies in the war on terror	9 %	6 %	18 %	18 %	39 %	10 %

Muslim per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	65 %	17 %	7 %	2 %	0 %	8 %
2. Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	65 %	13 %	8 %	1 %	0 %	12 %
3. Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	60 %	20 %	9 %	2 %	0 %	9 %
4. Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	57 %	19 %	13 %	2 %	1 %	8 %
5. Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	56 %	20 %	11 %	2 %	0 %	11 %
6. Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	56 %	19 %	11 %	5 %	1 %	9 %
7. Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	54 %	23 %	12 %	2 %	0 %	9 %
8. Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	54 %	18 %	11 %	5 %	2 %	10 %
9. End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	54 %	16 %	13 %	2 %	1 %	13 %
10. Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	53 %	21 %	7 %	4 %	2 %	14 %
11. The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	51 %	21 %	12 %	2 %	1 %	14 %
12. Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	51 %	20 %	14 %	3 %	2 %	10 %
13. Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	49 %	22 %	10 %	4 %	5 %	10 %
14. Introduce UK National Identity cards	19 %	14 %	17 %	14 %	24 %	12 %
15. Fight terrorism using military means	10 %	13 %	17 %	14 %	31 %	14 %
16. Support all US policies in the war on terror	7 %	5 %	8 %	7 %	62 %	11 %
17. Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	5 %	7 %	8 %	4 %	61 %	15 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
1. Public enquiry into 7/7 London bombings	81 %	5 %	12 %	0 %	0 %	2 %
2. Close down the prison camp in Guantanamo Bay	79 %	9 %	7 %	0 %	0 %	5 %
3. Monitor and correct biases in the application of UK anti-terror legislation	77 %	11 %	9 %	0 %	0 %	4 %
4. Ban groups that incite hatred and violence against Muslims in the UK	74 %	14 %	7 %	2 %	0 %	4 %
5. Ban all groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	74 %	12 %	7 %	2 %	0 %	5 %
6. Open up dialogue with all groups including those deemed terrorists	74 %	11 %	9 %	0 %	2 %	5 %
7. Fight terrorism using opinions and ideas through education	72 %	11 %	9 %	2 %	4 %	4 %
8. The British government should acknowledge their Security and Foreign Policy is alienating and radicalising young Muslims	70 %	11 %	11 %	2 %	2 %	5 %
9. Muslim condemnation and isolation of those who preach and practice violence	68 %	19 %	4 %	4 %	0 %	5 %
10. Record the faith and reasons for all arrests made in the UK	67 %	14 %	12 %	4 %	2 %	2 %
11. End extradition to the US and try terrorist suspects in UK courts	67 %	18 %	7 %	0 %	2 %	7 %
12. Ban Muslim groups that incite hatred and violence in the UK	63 %	18 %	7 %	4 %	4 %	5 %
13. Deport foreign nationals who incite hatred and violence from the UK	54 %	16 %	11 %	9 %	2 %	9 %
14. Introduce UK National Identity cards	30 %	9 %	12 %	12 %	32 %	5 %
15. Fight terrorism using military means	14 %	11 %	9 %	12 %	42 %	12 %
16. Support all US policies in the war on terror	14 %	4 %	5 %	4 %	68 %	5 %
17. Stop all immigration from Muslim countries into the UK	11 %	9 %	4 %	0 %	67 %	11 %

11. The London Bombings

The Question

Here are five statements that have been made about the London bombings. Please indicate which ones you 'Strongly Agree' with, 'Agree' with, 'Neither Agree or Disagree' with, 'Disagree' with, 'Strongly Disagree' with or 'Don't Know/Would Prefer Not to Answer this Question'.

The UK population, Muslim and Jewish communities

Although the primary intention of this question was to identify that set of Muslims who might be thought to be 'alienated' in some way it should be pointed out that although 22% of the Muslim community 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, 4% of the general UK population shared this view as did 1% of the Jewish community. As has happened with most of the other questions asked in this poll this group of 'alienated' Muslims share much of the same views as other UK Muslims but simply feel more strongly about the issues in question. For example 72% of this group believe the British Government bares some responsibility for the London bombings due to its foreign policy while only 38% of UK Muslims share this view compared with 11% of the wider UK population and only 9% of the UK Jewish community. 36% of the Jewish community strongly disagree with this statement while only 16% of the UK population and 2% of the Muslim community are of this opinion.

'Strongly Agree' per cent

	All UK	Jewish	Muslim	Muslim 11.5 Strongly Agree
1. The people who carried out the London bombings were not representative of any group in British society	25%	23%	49%	70%
2. The people who carried out the London bombings were representative of an extremist group within the Muslim community	37%	49%	23%	28%
3. British Muslims as a whole have been unfairly blamed for the London bombings	23%	26%	68%	88%
4. The British Government bares some responsibility for the London bombings due to its foreign policy	11%	9%	38%	72%
5. Much of the violence that is labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes	4%	1%	22%	100%

Although, in nearly all violent conflicts, it is young men that get involved in violent actions, is it the case that these 'alienated' Muslims are significantly more male than female, younger rather than older and perhaps, in general, less well educated? The answer is that there is not a great deal of difference between them (see demographics for this group and Muslims in general). Although young Muslim men may be more willing to become directly involved in reckless and dangerous acts the views that they may hold on matters of injustice or perceived injustices appear to be shared by others in all sections of their community and even by some members of the non-Muslim UK society in general.

UK per cent

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know or Not Answered
1. The people who carried out the London bombings were not representative of any group in British society	25 %	20 %	19 %	16 %	6 %	14 %
2. The people who carried out the London bombings were representative of an extremist group within the Muslim community	37 %	30 %	13 %	3 %	1 %	16 %
3. British Muslims as a whole have been unfairly blamed for the London bombings	23 %	32 %	19 %	11 %	5 %	10 %
4. The British Government bares some responsibility for the London bombings due to its foreign policy	11 %	20 %	22 %	16 %	16 %	14 %
5. Much of the violence that is labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes	4 %	13 %	18 %	23 %	28 %	15 %

Jewish per cent

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know or Not Answered
1. The people who carried out the London bombings were not representative of any group in British society	23 %	12 %	10 %	22 %	19 %	14 %
2. The people who carried out the London bombings were representative of an extremist group within the Muslim community	49 %	33 %	6 %	1 %	1 %	10 %
3. British Muslims as a whole have been unfairly blamed for the London bombings	26 %	31 %	17 %	7 %	11 %	8 %
4. The British Government bares some responsibility for the London bombings due to its foreign policy	9 %	16 %	16 %	15 %	36 %	8 %
5. Much of the violence that is labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes	1 %	8 %	16 %	11 %	53 %	11 %

Muslim per cent

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know or Not Answered
1. The people who carried out the London bombings were not representative of any group in British society	49 %	16 %	14 %	6 %	2 %	13 %
2. The people who carried out the London bombings were representative of an extremist group within the Muslim community	23 %	19 %	14 %	8 %	21 %	15 %
3. British Muslims as a whole have been unfairly blamed for the London bombings	68 %	16 %	7 %	0 %	2 %	7 %
4. The British Government bares some responsibility for the London bombings due to its foreign policy	38 %	25 %	21 %	5 %	2 %	9 %
5. Much of the violence that is labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes	22 %	23 %	26 %	10 %	8 %	12 %

Muslim per cent 11.5 Strongly Agree

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know or Not Answered
1. The people who carried out the London bombings were not representative of any group in British society	70 %	9 %	7 %	5 %	0 %	9 %
2. The people who carried out the London bombings were representative of an extremist group within the Muslim community	28 %	18 %	9 %	4 %	30 %	12 %
3. British Muslims as a whole have been unfairly blamed for the London bombings	88 %	7 %	4 %	0 %	0 %	2 %
4. The British Government bares some responsibility for the London bombings due to its foreign policy	72 %	16 %	9 %	2 %	2 %	0 %
5. Much of the violence that is labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes	100 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %

12. Plan of action

The Question

And finally do you want the international community, Muslim states, the British government and Muslim community in the UK to cooperate and implement a programme of policies that will deal with all the problems reviewed in this poll?

Recommendations and conclusion

80% of the UK population want the international community, Muslim states, the British government and Muslim community in the UK to cooperate and implement a programme of policies that will deal with all the problems reviewed in this poll. 4% said 'no' and 16% did not know. The 'yes vote' for this policy rose to 87% for the Jewish community, 92% for the Muslim community and, most importantly, 98% for those Muslims who have been classified here as 'alienated'.

	Yes	No	Don't Know
UK per cent	80	4	16
Jewish per cent	87	6	7
Muslim per cent	92	0	8
Muslim per cent 11.5 'Strongly Agree'	98	0	2

So there is every opportunity for discussion that can lead to policy, action and where required international negotiation. Although there are some serious points of disagreement on some issues covered in this poll between communities, and sometimes within communities, there is much more to agree about than to disagree about.

The analysis and comments made here on the results of this poll have only picked up on some of the major points of interest. But the principal results are to be found in the accompanying tables. They can provide the reader with all the basic information required for an engaged discussion of all the issues at hand. This is how the results of similar peace polls run in Northern Ireland and the Balkans have been used there.

But the scope of subjects dealt with in this poll was very broad. Now that the first peace poll has been completed on this topic then more should be undertaken to explore some of the subtleties and anomalies around the most critical and more controversial issues as may be required until peace is achieved. This inevitably is an ongoing process.

But the conflict between the West and the Muslim World is not limited to the UK alone. All states with a Muslim population need to become involved across Europe, in America the Middle East and around the world as may be required. Such efforts should be coordinated wherever possible to allow for some common questions to be used that can facilitate comparisons.

In the past such programmes of public opinion research would have been considered prohibitively expensive. But this poll demonstrates the economic effectiveness of using internet polling methods to undertake such a programme of research. Since the events of 9/11 the British government has spent millions of pounds on UK polls that

try to explore some of the issues dealt with here. Although these polls are very accurate they are limited in their intellectual scope and do not engage with the relevant sections of the British public in the same way as a peace poll. The effectiveness of internet polling changes both the economics and interactive capacities of such applied undertakings and the British government should now reassess their priorities and methodologies in these regards. This poll clearly demonstrates that they can greatly improve the value of their research for the same amount of resources allocated to such work.

But governments alone cannot always be relied upon to commission independent polling research when they have a vested interest in the issues at hand. This is particularly true where matters of war and peace are concerned. In the past NGOs would have been reluctant to take on extensive programmes of polling research. The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust's support for the Northern Ireland peace polls was a notable exception. But the cost effectiveness of internet polling changes all of this. Both private and public organisations with an interest in peace making and peace building can now get involved in this area of activity that was previously limited to governments with extensive resources at their disposal.

There is a conflict between the West and the Muslim World. In its domestic, international and global complexity it is a conflict perhaps like no other that the world has had to deal with before. It is a conflict in search of a peace process. The capacity of the internet to provide extremists with a vehicle for their propaganda of hate and violence is well known. This poll clearly demonstrates the power of the internet to be used as a voice of moderation, reason and accommodation and it is increasingly available to all those who would wish to use it in this way. Peace polls are most effective when they are undertaken by and belong to the people and internet polling makes that ideal a reality today.

Demographics

In addition to panel registration the persons filling out the questionnaire were asked a number of demographic questions to:

1. Assist with the analysis of the results
2. Compare the samples with each other
3. Weight the UK sample

In this context panellists were told:

‘In order to make the most of all your answers to the questions covered in this poll we want to be able to relate them to the community to which you belong so that the ‘problems’ of your community can be properly addressed by the ‘solutions’ you identify. To do this we need to ask you a few demographic questions.’

The samples used in this report were collected on the inter-net between April 13th and May 2nd 2006 and their demographic profiles are given below.

Sample: UK N=1002 weighted

Age group

18-29	25 %
30-44	37 %
45+	39 %

Gender

Male	49 %
Female	51 %

Region

London	12 %
Rest of South	32 %
Midlands	16 %
North	24 %
Scotland	9 %
Wales	5 %
Northern Ireland	3 %

Ethnic affiliation

White	92 %
Mixed	1 %
Asian or Asian British	4 %
Black or Black British	2 %
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	1 %

White

British	92 %
Irish	2 %
Other	7 %

Mixed

White and Black Caribbean	33 %
White and Black African	0 %
White and Asian	48 %
Other	19 %

Asian or Asian British

Indian	36 %
Pakistani	44 %
Bangladeshi	0 %
Other	20%

Black or Black British

Caribbean	24 %
African	47 %
Other	29%

Chinese or Other Ethnic Group

Chinese	58%
Other	42%

National affiliation

I was born in Britain	90%
I immigrated to Britain	10%

Political affiliation

Labour Party	22 %
Conservative Party	18 %
Liberal Democrats	14 %
Scottish National Party	2 %
Plaid Cymru	0 %
Green Party	3 %
British National Party	2 %
UK Independence Party	1 %
Respect Party	0 %
Other	1 %
No Political Affiliation	28 %
Prefer Not to Answer	9 %

Religious affiliation

Christian (Church of England, Catholic, Protestant and all other denominations)	72 %
Buddhism	0 %
Hinduism	1 %
Judaism (Jewish)	0 %
Islam (Muslim)	3 %
Sikhism	1 %
Other Religion	0 %
I Have No Religion	16 %
Prefer Not to Answer	7 %

Occupation

Non-Manual Work	47 %
Professional	15 %
Technical	4 %
Management	9 %
Clerical/Admin	11 %
Scientist	1 %
Sales	4 %
Business Executive	1 %
Non-Manual Other	3 %
Manual Work	18 %
Skilled Worker (e.g. Plumber, Electrician, Hairdresser, etc.)	9 %
Semi-skilled Worker (e.g. Laboratory Assistant, Shop Assistant, etc.)	6 %
Unskilled Worker (e.g. Labourer, Waitress, Cleaner, etc.)	3 %
Manual Other	1 %
Other Work	35 %
Retired/Pensioner	8 %
Student	7 %
Unemployed	5 %
Housewife	12 %
Other	3 %

Education

GCSE or equivalent	46 %
A level/A level equivalent	23 %
Undergraduate	24 %
Postgraduate	6 %
PhD	1 %

Sample: Jewish N=100 not weighted

Age group

18-29	23 %
30-44	46 %
45+	31 %

Gender

Male	36 %
Female	64 %

Region

London	54 %
Rest of South	21 %
Midlands	2 %
North	18 %
Scotland	3 %
Wales	1 %
Northern Ireland	1 %

Ethnic affiliation

White	95 %
Mixed	1 %
Asian or Asian British	0 %
Black or Black British	0 %
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	4 %

White

British	82 %
Irish	0 %
Other	18%

Mixed

White and Black Caribbean	0 %
White and Black African	0 %
White and Asian	0 %
Other	0%

Asian or Asian British

Indian	0%
Pakistani	0%
Bangladeshi	0%
Other	0%

Black or Black British

Caribbean	0%
African	0%
Other	0%

Chinese or Other Ethnic Group

Chinese	0%
Other	0%

National affiliation

I was born in Britain	89 %
I immigrated to Britain	11 %

Political affiliation

Labour Party	20 %
Conservative Party	40 %
Liberal Democrats	14 %
Scottish National Party	0 %
Plaid Cymru	0 %
Green Party	4 %
British National Party	0 %
UK Independence Party	0 %
Respect Party	0 %
Other	0 %
No Political Affiliation	20 %
Prefer Not to Answer	2 %

Religious affiliation

Christian (Church of England, Catholic, Protestant and all other denominations)	0 %
Buddhism	0 %
Hinduism	0 %
Judaism (Jewish)	100 %
Islam (Muslim)	0 %
Sikhism	0 %
Other Religion	0 %
I Have No Religion	0 %
Prefer Not to Answer	0 %

Occupation

Non-Manual Work	67 %
Professional	22 %
Technical	5 %
Management	12 %
Clerical/Admin	16 %
Scientist	2 %
Sales	6 %
Business Executive	2 %
Non-Manual Other	2 %
Manual Work	6 %
Skilled Worker (e.g. Plumber, Electrician, Hairdresser, etc.)	3 %
Semi-skilled Worker (e.g. Laboratory Assistant, Shop Assistant, etc.)	2 %
Unskilled Worker (e.g. Labourer, Waitress, Cleaner, etc.)	1 %
Manual Other	0 %
Other Work	27 %
Retired/Pensioner	6 %
Student	1 %
Unemployed	2 %
Housewife	15 %
Other	3 %

Education

GCSE or equivalent	19 %
A level/A level equivalent	23 %
Undergraduate	30 %
Postgraduate	27 %
PhD	1 %

Sample: Muslim N=256 not weighted**Age group**

18-29	55 %
30-44	41 %
45+	4 %

Gender

Male	43 %
Female	57 %

Region

London	37 %
Rest of South	14 %
Midlands	21 %
North	21 %
Scotland	4 %
Wales	2 %
Northern Ireland	0 %

Ethnic affiliation

White	12 %
Mixed	6 %
Asian or Asian British	71 %
Black or Black British	4 %
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	7 %

White

British	48 %
Irish	3 %
Other	84%

Mixed

White and Black Caribbean	0 %
White and Black African	0 %
White and Asian	40 %
Other	60%

Asian or Asian British

Indian	20 %
Pakistani	51 %
Bangladeshi	13 %
Other	16%

Black or Black British

Caribbean	22 %
African	78 %
Other	0%

Chinese or Other Ethnic Group

Chinese	5%
Other	95%

National affiliation

I was born in Britain	51 %
I immigrated to Britain	49 %

Political affiliation

Labour Party	26 %
Conservative Party	7 %
Liberal Democrats	12 %
Scottish National Party	0 %
Plaid Cymru	0 %
Green Party	3 %
British National Party	0 %
UK Independence Party	1 %
Respect Party	8 %
Other	0 %
No Political Affiliation	35 %
Prefer Not to Answer	8 %

Religious affiliation

Christian (Church of England, Catholic, Protestant and all other denominations)	
Buddhism	0 %
Hinduism	0 %
Judaism (Jewish)	0 %
Islam (Muslim)	0 %
Sikhism	100 %
Other Religion	0 %
I Have No Religion	0 %
Prefer Not to Answer	0 %

Occupation

Non-Manual Work	58 %
Professional	24 %
Technical	5 %
Management	8 %
Clerical/Admin	11 %
Scientist	2 %
Sales	3 %
Business Executive	2 %
Non-Manual Other	3 %
Manual Work	8 %
Skilled Worker (e.g. Plumber, Electrician, Hairdresser, etc.)	3 %
Semi-skilled Worker (e.g. Laboratory Assistant, Shop Assistant, etc.)	4 %
Unskilled Worker (e.g. Labourer, Waitress, Cleaner, etc.)	0 %
Manual Other	0 %
Other Work	34 %
Retired/Pensioner	0 %
Student	10 %
Unemployed	4 %
Housewife	18 %
Other	3 %

Education

GCSE or equivalent	11 %
A level/A level equivalent	24 %
Undergraduate	30 %
Postgraduate	32 %
PhD	4 %

Sample: Muslim question 11.5 'Strongly Agree' N=57 not weighted

Age group

18-29	56 %
30-44	42 %
45+	2 %

Gender

Male	47 %
Female	53 %

Region

London	33 %
Rest of South	16 %
Midlands	23 %
North	25 %
Scotland	2 %
Wales	2 %
Northern Ireland	0 %

Ethnic affiliation

White	18 %
Mixed	9 %
Asian or Asian British	58 %
Black or Black British	4 %
Chinese or Other Ethnic Group	12 %

White

British	60 %
Irish	10 %
Other	30%

Mixed

White and Black Caribbean	0 %
White and Black African	0 %
White and Asian	40 %
Other	60%

Asian or Asian British

Indian	15 %
Pakistani	58 %
Bangladeshi	6 %
Other	21%

Black or Black British

Caribbean	0%
African	100%
Other	0%

Chinese or Other Ethnic Group

Chinese	14%
Other	86%

National affiliation

I was born in Britain	56 %
I immigrated to Britain	44 %

Political affiliation

Labour Party	23 %
Conservative Party	9 %
Liberal Democrats	12 %
Scottish National Party	0 %
Plaid Cymru	0 %
Green Party	5 %
British National Party	2 %
UK Independence Party	2 %
Respect Party	16 %
Other	0 %
No Political Affiliation	26 %
Prefer Not to Answer	5 %

Religious affiliation

Christian (Church of England, Catholic, Protestant and all other denominations)	
Buddhism	0 %
Hinduism	0 %
Judaism (Jewish)	0 %
Islam (Muslim)	0 %
Sikhism	100 %
Other Religion	0 %
I Have No Religion	0 %
Prefer Not to Answer	0 %

Occupation

Non-Manual Work	56 %
Professional	21 %
Technical	12 %
Management	7 %
Clerical/Admin	5 %
Scientist	4 %
Sales	2 %
Business Executive	2 %
Non-Manual Other	4 %
Manual Work	7 %
Skilled Worker (e.g. Plumber, Electrician, Hairdresser, etc.)	4 %
Semi-skilled Worker (e.g. Laboratory Assistant, Shop Assistant, etc.)	4 %
Unskilled Worker (e.g. Labourer, Waitress, Cleaner, etc.)	0 %
Manual Other	0 %
Other Work	37 %
Retired/Pensioner	0 %
Student	12 %
Unemployed	4 %
Housewife	18 %
Other	4 %

Education

GCSE or equivalent	12 %
A level/A level equivalent	26 %
Undergraduate	39 %
Postgraduate	16 %
PhD	7 %

Post Script: ‘The first casualty of war is the truth’

August 2006

All my previous ‘peace polls’ have been conducted using conventional samples with face-to-face interviews. This was the first time that I have used inter-net polling and, perhaps inevitably, some parties who have wanted to disagree with some of my analysis and conclusions have suggested that they are flawed because the research methods are flawed. I take the view that the project was a great success in research/value for money terms so these points need to be addressed. I do not believe any conclusions have been drawn that are not validated by the data. However, as an exercise in public diplomacy directed at influencing government policy, both domestically and internationally, the project has not been as successful as I would have hoped. Mistakes were made in the management of the media aspects of this project and these need to be understood and lessons learnt. This Post Script is written to address these various points.

Methodological issues

My analysis of the ‘alienated’ Muslims turned out to be controversial for a number of reasons. If my analysis was in any doubt and/or if the conclusions were not, in my view, of considerable importance for the development of policy then I would have simply dropped this analysis from the report. But I consider the analysis sound and conclusions drawn significant so, in spite of the controversy surrounding them, I chose to keep them in.

The importance of the analysis, and the reason why it was made, goes back to my experience with the Northern Ireland conflict. It was not difficult to list and prioritise ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ that could be actioned for both the Catholic and Protestant communities there as part of a peace process. However, such action would have had little practical impact if the most important ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ of the more radical Republican and Loyalist sections of Northern Ireland society were not also dealt with. In research terms this meant analysing not only what Catholics and Protestants required but also what, for example, Sinn Féin voters wanted out of negotiations and an agreement. Fortunately both Sinn Féin voters and the wider Catholic community shared the same set of priorities. Equality issues and police reform always came out on top of their respective ‘to do’ lists. Consequently, by addressing these issues in the development of government policy and the Belfast Agreement peace could be achieved. If, for example, a united Ireland had been at the top of the Sinn Féin ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ lists then it seems very likely that the Belfast Agreement would have failed. Fortunately this was not the case.

For these reasons, in this poll, I felt it necessary to take out a subset of the Muslim sample who felt most strongly about the issues that were troubling their community. As this could not be done by simply asking them their political affiliation a question had to be devised that would have a similar effect. After much discussion this was done with the following question:

Question 11: ‘Here are five statements that have been made about the London bombings. Please indicate which ones you ‘Strongly Agree’ with, ‘Agree’ with, ‘Neither Agree or Disagree’ with, ‘Disagree’ with, ‘Strongly Disagree’ with or ‘Don’t Know/Would Prefer Not to Answer this Question’... (5) ‘Much of the violence that is

labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes’

Now, I wish to stress, this question makes no value judgements about the rightness or wrongness of such acts, nor was any value judgement intended. As someone who has worked with ‘so called terrorists’ in Northern Ireland, the Balkans and Middle East I would never make such judgements. Frankly I would not get far in my work if I did and if I was ever asked about my views on such matters, as often happened, I would simply take the position that I was opposed to all violence and that I was in the ‘business’ of peace making. All the ‘so called terrorists’ I have dealt with were satisfied with this response. However, it seems to be the case that some respondents to the MVUK sample were confused by this question as to which groups were being identified.¹¹ None were identified, that was deliberately left open, but perhaps, in future polls, it would be worthwhile extending this question to also include different identified groups as a series of additional questions. As with all such research, improvements and refinements can be made and I stress this point in the conclusion of my report.

In practice this question went through many drafts because it was considered so sensitive. As with all my previous work drafts of questionnaires were made at each stage of the qualitative work with notes on every change proposed. This questionnaire went through 17 drafts and the most detailed discussion of this particular issue is to be found at the end of draft 13 in question D6 below. Hopefully this extract from this draft will provide the reader with some insight into the care and thinking that went into these questions before they were agreed by MVUK and myself.

Extract from draft 16 of questionnaire - including footnotes

D6. The London Bombings¹

Example 1

This example is taken from the *Sunday Telegraph* of February 19th. Similar questions have been asked in previous polls since 7/7. According to the *Sunday Telegraph* this particular question appeared to produce a 20 per cent ‘Yes’. However, we do not think that we can use this question, as we know some individuals did not complete this questionnaire at all because this question was included in it! So the ‘Don’t Know’ and ‘Refused’ rates for this question, given by the *Daily Telegraph*, are not reliable and we do not want to get into this situation ourselves. Here is the question they used:

Finally, irrespective of whether you think the London bombings were justified or not, do you personally have any sympathy with the feelings and motives of those who carried out the attacks?

¹ This question is to be treated, for all intents and purposes, as a demographic question rather than an attitudinal question. The reason for asking this question is to provide an important key with which to analyse all the other questions in this poll. This will be done for the Muslim community as a whole, the non-Muslim community as a whole and how people respond to one of the questions below. In this way we will be able to quantify the levels of acceptance in all communities including those sections of the Muslim community who must be part of this peace process if it is to be a success. We have to identify this section of the Muslim community, some how, if we are to understand them and address their concerns.

Yes/No

Example 2

This example is a rewrite of the *Sunday Telegraph* question but in such a way as to make it not quite so offensive and intrusive:

Finally, irrespective of whether you think the London bombings were justified or not, the London bombings were an act of desperation.

Agree/Disagree

We could also possibly add the following qualification:

We understand that this may be the most sensitive question that we have had to ask you but it is important that we do so. With the answer to this question we will be able to identify the ‘problems’ of this section of the community as well as the ‘solutions’ that they believe to be most important.

Example 3

This example is an elaboration of Example 2 to include other views that might be held by some non-Muslims as well as Muslims. It is also written in the general style of the other questions in this questionnaire:

Finally here are five statements that have been made about the London bombings. Please indicate which ones you ‘Strongly Agree’ with, ‘Agree’ with, ‘Neither Agree or Disagree’ with, ‘Disagree’ with or ‘Strongly Disagree’ with.²

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. The people who carried out the London bombings were not representative of any group in British society but simply criminal individuals					
2. The people who carried out the London bombings were representative of an extremist group within the Muslim community					
3. British Muslims as a whole have been unfairly blamed for the London bombings					
4. The Government bares some responsibility for creating the political circumstances in which the London bombings occurred through the nature of its foreign policy					
5. Much of the violence that is labelled by the West as terrorism is simply the Muslims fighting back for legitimate causes					

End of extract from draft questionnaire

² Most people thought this was a good question and understood the reason to run it.

A couple more misconceptions need to be cleared up before explaining the significance of the results generated by this question, which, as hoped, produced the analysis required of it.

Firstly, in my report, I use the term ‘alienated’ for the group of Muslims identified by this question. Of course, as has been pointed out by others ‘alienation’ is a complex phenomena so I am only using this term here as a ‘label’ and that is why ‘alienated’ is placed in parentheses in the report. The government have also used the term ‘anger’.¹² I am quite happy for the reader to use a different label if they are more comfortable with it.

Secondly, I suggest in my discussion of these issues that public opinion polls can be used:

‘to explore the demographic profile of alienated Muslims, their extent, attitudes and values, the social and political problems associated with alienation and the remedies that can be put in place to mitigate such problems. In this way ‘pools of alienation’ can be identified and steps taken to reverse the process that leads to the creation of groups willing to tolerate, acquiesce, support, encourage or perhaps even actively participate in terrorist activity.’

Of course the extent to which this can be done in this poll depends very much on the extent of the sample (which was very limited) and the questions asked (which were very broad). At no time do I draw conclusions that cannot be drawn. For example both MVUK¹³ and the Greater London Authority¹⁴ have suggested I have greatly exaggerated the number of potential terrorist supporters within the British Muslim community. But I make no estimates in this regard because this sample cannot possibly allow me to do so. It is interesting to note that if one were to use the results of this question to wrongfully attempt such an exercise then 24% of the Muslim community who ‘strongly agreed’ with question 11.5 would translate into about 500,000 such individuals. However, 4% of the UK sample also ‘strongly agreed’ with this statement. After the Muslims are removed from this sample that leaves about 2 million non-Muslim ‘potential terrorist supporters’! Clearly playing the numbers game with such statistics is a reckless and dangerous pursuit. So why have I kept the analysis of this question in my report and why is it so important?

Well, what could be done with this very broad set of social and political questions is to try and discover what social and political issues, in terms of ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ were of importance to what are labelled here as ‘alienated’ Muslims. Two results are of considerable significance:

Firstly, the rank order of the ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ for this group of Muslims is strikingly similar to the rank order of these same issues for the Muslim community as a whole. This pattern is to be found throughout the data and that is why I felt it so important to present the results as I have repeating them in each section of the report. The significance of this result, as with Northern Ireland, is that by addressing the problems identified by the wider Muslim community then one is also going to be able to address the problems of that section of the community identified here as ‘alienated’. Conversely, if these problems are not addressed then increased ‘alienation’ or ‘anger’ can be expected. Critically, for the Muslim community in the UK the predominant issues identified here are centred on the media, human rights and foreign policy.

Secondly, the intensity of feeling on these issues, for this ‘alienated’ section of the Muslim community, is stronger across all of these issues. Again these results are presented throughout the relevant sections of the report to illustrate this point.

From a methodological point of view, if these results had not been so consistent across so many questions then I would have been reluctant to draw the conclusions I have made without much larger samples having been taken. But this is not the case. The results are consistent and therefore should be taken seriously, particularly as they have significant implications for government policy. Namely, if the problems associated with the media, human rights and foreign policy are properly addressed then positive social and political progress can be made. However, if these problems are not addressed, or if they are aggravated, then the social and political ‘alienation’ of the UK Muslim community can be expected to become worse than is presently the case.

Now it is important to point out here that I have not used the term ‘radicalise’ as this term is generally reserved for that very small section of the Muslim community that may become persuaded to undertake illegal and/or violent acts against persons and/or the state due to their ‘alienation’ or ‘anger’. The government estimate this group to be less than 1% of the UK Muslim community¹⁵ so clearly public opinion polls are seriously limited as an instrument of inquiry in this regard. How Muslims might be radicalised, or, for that matter, why certain persons might join the IRA or UVF in Northern Ireland, is not something I have ever attempted to do using public opinion polls.

But a relationship exists between what I have called here ‘pools of alienation’ and ‘radicalised’ individuals. The latter take their life from and are sustained by the former. Identifying radicalised individuals is very difficult; frequently this will not be possible, even for a vigilant intelligence service. However, addressing the ‘problems’ at the heart of ‘alienated’ groups to create a successful ‘peace process’ as has been done in Northern Ireland is possible and should be done in the UK and elsewhere with respect to the ‘Muslim World’. Particularly, as is the case here, when the wider society support the policies that need to be pursued in this regard. Conversely, a failure not to do this is negligence as such omissions put innocent people and the state at risk of harm. In good conscience I could not leave this analysis out and I trust that the UK government and other states will now pursue programmes of similar research with vigour. Indeed I believe they are duty bound to do so.

Public diplomacy issues

Given the importance of this analysis and conclusion and the general success of this research project it is a matter of deep personal regret that the associated programme of public diplomacy has been handled badly and, thus far, has had little positive impact. Governments are not rushing to see if they can replicate this research. Regrettably quite the opposite seems to be the case.

The report was written with a view to publishing it in an edited version as a newspaper feature story over two days with ‘Problems’ on the first day and ‘Solutions’ on the second. The article was completed prior to my giving a paper in Jerusalem on May 23 at a conference on *Public Opinion, Democracy and Peace Making*, jointly organised by the Palestinian Centre for Policy and Survey Research

and the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace.¹⁶ The conference would have provided a good opportunity for both publication in the UK and international press coverage. But my partners in this project decided to wait until after the anniversary of the 7/7 London Bombings to give MVUK the opportunity to complete their own report with a view to jointly publishing our reports on July 18. This delay gave our competitors the time they needed to undertake their own polling projects on these issues and set the public agenda at the time of the 7/7 anniversary on July 7.

Subsequently the London *Times* published a two-day feature/poll on Tuesday July 4 and Wednesday July 5 undertaken by Populus in partnership with ITV News. Now, in addition to getting their story out earlier there are two other ways in which a polling/media organisation can out manoeuvre a competitor in public diplomacy terms. Firstly they can complete a larger sample and claim their poll is therefore more accurate/better. Secondly they can bias the results by only asking certain questions of one section of the community or the other thus preventing comparisons. Although all the polls on the UK Muslim community published in the press prior to this poll were undertaken with relatively small samples the London Times/ITV News/Populus poll unusually went to the expense of getting a weighted sample of 1,131 Muslims. So if they had wanted to they could have used the 'bigger is better' argument. But sample size becomes irrelevant when comparisons can't be made between different sections of the community because critical questions are only directed at one section of the community or the other.

This is what the London Times/ITV News/Populus poll frequently did with disastrous implications for the UK Muslim community. By using the results to questions only asked of Muslims or non-Muslims journalists and commentators were able to spin the story to arrive at the conclusion that dealing with the problem of Muslim extremism in the UK was largely a matter for the Muslim community with the role of the media, human rights and foreign policy hardly getting a mention.¹⁷ Of course the Muslim community should do everything they can in this regard but asking their community leaders and Imams to effectively deal with this issue while not addressing problems associated with the media, human rights and foreign policy is as pointless and as potentially ineffective as asking the Catholic Church and Social Democratic and Labour Party in Northern Ireland to stop the IRA without also having a peace process in place that addresses their most deep felt concerns.

This seemingly obvious fact, that analysts in the Northern Ireland Office, Home Office and Foreign and Commonwealth Office must know very well, begs the question as to why so much responsibility has unreasonably been placed on the Muslim community? Although I had not realised it at the time I had probably been confronted with the answer to this question when I was in Jerusalem in May. While there I invited the major Palestinian and Israeli polling/research institutions if they would like to undertake a 'peace poll' that would engage with the political parties elected to the Knesset and Palestinian Authority on all issues presently frustrating their peace process. The Palestinian organisations expressed enthusiasm with one of them offering to pay for the poll in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. The Israeli organisations declined. Negotiations, of any kind, it would seem, were not part of their agenda. In June Israel invaded Gaza and in July they invaded Lebanon.

Critically the two states that supported Israel's military adventures were the US and UK and this poll had been undertaken in the UK. The poll, it would seem, was a

casualty of war and its effective subversion by person or persons unknown and/or the Times/Rupert Murdoch media interests was something I had not anticipated. I had not known, when I started this project that the state where the poll was to be carried out was about to embark on a foreign policy to reshape the Middle East. But, perhaps, someone knew and that is why the Metropolitan Commissioner of Police expects more attacks on London, the security services are being expanded and the Muslim community are being required to deal with the problem of extremism. If all else fails then they may be required to take much of the blame. In part the UK Muslim community have walked into this trap by denying they have a problem.¹⁸ But then, perhaps, they are taking their lead from the UK Government who wish to deny the impact their policies are having on Muslims, particularly the youth. Following the release of this report in the House of Lords on July 18 one member of the audience, who was working amongst young Muslim offenders, privately told me he had undertaken a poll on similar issues with such young men and had got worse results than mine. His candour was refreshing. This conflict, in search of a peace process, has clearly got quite some way to go.

Notes and references

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¹⁰ For a critical review of this research see Irwin, C. J., *Public Opinion and the Politics of Peace Research: Northern Ireland, Balkans, Israel, Palestine, Cyprus, Muslim World and the 'War on Terror'*, WAPOR 58th Annual Conference: Search for a New World Order – the Role of Public Opinion, Cannes, France, September 15-17 (2005) available at <http://www.peacepolls.org>.

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