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EUROPEAN UNION AGENCY FOR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence:

A comparative study of Muslim and non-Muslim youth in three EU Member States

This report addresses matters related to the principle of non-discrimination (Article 21), cultural, religious and linguistic diversity (Article 22) and the rights of the child (Article 24) falling under Chapter III 'Equality' of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

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Foreword

Social marginalisation has drastic negative consequences for any society. Marginalisation of children has even more dire effects – both for the present and in the future. Stereotypical presumptions about people, coupled with prejudiced views concerning specific religions and their followers, are dangerous with respect to the impact that these negative stereotypes can have on progress towards community cohesion and social integration. While many people in the EU have concerns about certain religions and their followers' possible support for, or engagement in, violence, it is essential that these stereotypes are confronted with evidence looking at the attitudes and experiences of these groups through the lens of social marginalisation and negative stereotyping.

This report is about young people – those from the majority population and those who have identified themselves as Muslims. It sets out to establish facts as to their attitudes on a range of issues and experiences of everyday life in three Member States. The data reported here can be read as proxy indicators that are useful in the development of specific policies relating to non-discrimination and social integration of young people in general – both Muslims and non-Muslims.

By researching and analysing experiences of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence in three European Union Member States – France, Spain and the United Kingdom – the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights has been able to show that children between the ages of 12 and 18 (young people) who have experienced social marginalisation and discrimination are highly likely to be more disposed to physical or emotional violence in comparison with those not experiencing marginalisation. Moreover, when aspects other than social marginalisation and discrimination have been accounted for, there are no indications that Muslim youth are either more or less likely to resort to violence than non-Muslims. This strongly suggests that social marginalisation and discrimination needs to be addressed, as a priority, with respect to its impact on young people's support for violence.

The research – even though limited in scope – shows that the overwhelming majority of Muslim youth have a very similar world view to that of their non-Muslim peers: that is, their concerns include the state of the world and major social issues. At the same time, given their exposure to discrimination, Muslim youth are more sensitive to issues of religious (in)tolerance and cultural identity, which resonate more with their personal experiences. Successful integration between people of different ethnicity or religions hinges upon a clear understanding and application of fundamental rights; such as the right to non-discrimination. Such an approach is crucial in, for example, school policies, through to local and national educational and social strategies.

There is also a clear need to ensure that the EU-legislation in place aimed at countering discrimination is implemented in Member States. This includes required mechanisms such as Equality Bodies that must be truly effective in addressing the underlying problems.

The European Union is stepping up to the challenges of having to embed fundamental rights within programmes and responses to terrorism that both directly and indirectly impact on minority communities in the EU; in particular Muslim communities. The Stockholm Programme and its implementing Action Plan (COM (2010) 171), for instance, set out priorities for the Union in the area of freedom, security and justice; the Plan underscores the need to regard security, justice and fundamental rights as part of the same entity rather than as isolated parts. Moreover, the Plan includes a "robust response" to areas such as discrimination, racism and xenophobia, through deploying all available policy instruments.

For the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, looking at the links between social marginalisation and attitudes to violence is essential for development of optimal and well-adapted policy measures at both EU and national level. Stereotypical perceptions, in particular about young members of Muslim communities in the EU, have long lasting and far-reaching negative consequences that should be addressed. It is, therefore, crucial to balance security concerns with concerns about non-discrimination and social integration that are developed within a fundamental rights framework. In sum, preventing marginalisation and violations of fundamental rights is part of the very solution to security problems.

Morten Kjærum
Director

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Executive summary

Links between social marginalisation, violence and fundamental rights

This report presents the findings of a research study conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) during 2008/09 in France, Spain and the United Kingdom, which surveyed 1,000 children between the ages of 12 and 18 (young people) in each of the three Member States – 3,000 took part in the research survey in total. The survey set out to explore possible relationships between young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation, including experiences of racism, and their attitudes towards and actual engagement in violent behaviours.

> **This report is based on a survey of 3,000 children (between the ages of 12-18 years) in three different EU Member States: France, Spain and the United Kingdom.**

'Youth' is often 'problematised' because of some young people's associations with anti-social behaviour and/or crime. Moreover, there is an on-going negative stereotyping of Muslim communities, and particularly Muslim youth, in many parts of Europe – in the aftermath of 9/11 (2001), the Madrid and London bombings, and rioting in Paris and other European cities. With this in mind, the Agency undertook to directly ask those between 12-18 years of age about their lives to identify and explain some of the possible differences and similarities in their attitudes towards and experiences of violence in relation to discrimination and social marginalisation. In order to explore these themes in the light of contemporary concerns about and potential discrimination against Muslim communities, the research specifically looked at young people who identify themselves as Muslim or non-Muslim.

The political and policy responses to '9/11' have in many instances across the Union been reduced to oversimplifications that can easily lead to stereotypical perspectives; this research seeks to nuance these perspectives.

> **Contributing to policies that are variously concerned with integration, violence and terrorism, this research brings fundamental rights aspects, in particular discrimination, into the equation by exploring the relationship between young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation, and their attitudes towards and actual use of violence.**
>
> **Acts of injustice or exclusion towards Muslim youth, in particular, may cause alienation from wider society, and this may lead some young people to develop sympathy or support for the use of violence.**

> **The data reported here can be used as proxy indicators that are useful in the development of specific policies relating to non-discrimination and social integration of young people in general – both Muslims and non-Muslims.**

The Stockholm Programme and its implementing Action Plan (COM (2010) 171) offers an opportunity to appropriately balance security concerns with fundamental rights. The Commission states in its Action Plan that "[a] European area of freedom, security and justice must be an area where all people … benefit from the effective respect of the fundamental rights enshrined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union." The Commission therefore concludes that "[t]he Union must resist tendencies to treat security, justice and fundamental rights in isolation from one another. They go hand in hand in a coherent approach to meet the challenges of today and the years to come."

The main finding of the study suggests a strong relationship between experiences of violence and discrimination; namely those who reported in the questionnaire survey (Appendix II) that they were discriminated against were significantly more likely to have also experienced emotional (this could be teasing, bullying, or the like) and physical violence, both as a victim and as a perpetrator. In addition, those who had experienced these forms of violence were significantly more likely to feel alienated or socially marginalised. This was equally the case for young people from a Muslim and non-Muslim background. This indicates that the experience of discrimination or violence is not necessarily related to religious background. This conclusion is supported by the analysis of results from the research.

> **The main findings show a strong connection between violence, discrimination and social marginalisation.**

The rights of the child and child-centred evidence

The FRA has a particular interest in examining the perspectives and experiences of children as one of its nine thematic areas of work, for the period 2007-2012, is 'the rights of the child, including the protection of children'. In the context of this study, this thematic area cross-cuts with two others; namely: 'racism, xenophobia and related intolerance', and 'discrimination based on sex, race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation and against persons belonging to minorities and any combination of these grounds (multiple discrimination)'.

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Young people's views and accounts of their experiences are often not incorporated into work that seeks to formulate policy responses and action plans for children and/or ethnic minority groups; particularly in fields covered by areas in the Stockholm Programme. The results of the FRA research serves to fill a gap in current knowledge about how young people from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds experience their lives, by directly asking them about their opinions and experiences.

Building on the need for child-centred research (which is reflected in the Agency's on-going work on the rights of the child, see for example *Developing indicators for the protection, respect and promotion of the rights of the child in the European Union*, p. 15, and in Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child), the fieldwork was conducted with children in schools in three Member States – France, Spain and the United Kingdom (England and Scotland) – and specifically in cities with significant Muslim populations. Children between the ages of 12-18 years self-completed a questionnaire. Every effort was made to include equal numbers of girls and boys, and, as far as possible, students from both a Muslim and non-Muslim religious background. The subsequent analysis of the results is based on weighted data to correct for any deficiencies in the age, sex and religious background of the achieved samples. A number of schools took part in the research in each Member State and the sampling approach served to ensure that the results are as representative as possible of the different populations living in the areas surveyed. Children voluntarily took part in the research and were assured that their responses to the questionnaire were anonymous so that no single child could be traced from the survey findings.

The results provide valuable first-hand evidence about how children from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds perceive and experience their everyday lives; the results of which offer new insights for policy development and action in the inter-related fields of social marginalisation, violence and fundamental rights.

> **Reference to 'Muslim' youth in this report is proxy for young people with a stated religious affiliation with the Muslim faith.**

Building on existing research on discrimination

The FRA, including its predecessor, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), has engaged in research on discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity or religion in relation to several research projects and publications; with a number of reports having focused on Muslim communities in the European Union; these include (all reports available at www.fra. europa.eu under 'Publications'):

- *Data in Focus 2:* 'Muslims' (2009)
- *Community Cohesion at the local level: Addressing the needs of Muslim Communities* (2008)
- *Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia* (2006)
- *The impact of 7 July 2005 London bomb attacks on Muslim Communities in the EU* (2005)
- *Reports on Anti-Islamic reactions within the European Union after the acts of terror against the USA* (2002)
- *Situation of Islamic Communities in five European Cities – Examples of local initiatives* (2001).

A number of other projects by the FRA address racial and religious discrimination more generally, rather than focusing on Muslim communities specifically; for example, legal and social research projects that explore the impact of the Racial Equality Directive, as well as community outreach projects targeting children, such as the Agency's 'Diversity Day' that is aimed at school-aged children in different European cities with messages about diversity and non-discrimination.

FRA studies have highlighted the need for more comprehensive and reliable data on the extent and forms of discrimination experienced by Muslims in the European Union. The absence of comprehensive and robust data on Muslim communities presents a major gap for the development of policies that can address the particular discrimination experienced by, and the resultant needs of, Muslim communities. In response to the absence of data on ethnic minority and immigrant groups in most EU Member States, the Agency launched a major EU-wide survey on selected ethnic minorities and immigrants' experiences of discrimination and criminal victimisation – the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (EU-MIDIS). The EU-MIDIS survey interviewed 23,500 people face-to-face about the extent and nature of their experiences of discrimination in diverse settings; among which 9,500 respondents identified themselves as having a Muslim religious background (all EU-MIDIS reports available at www.fra. europa.eu/eu-midis).

The EU-MIDIS results show the extent of discrimination experienced by various groups across Europe – including experiences of racist discrimination in nine areas of everyday life; experiences of racist criminal victimisation and policing; and rights awareness.

One in a series of special *Data in Focus Reports* from the FRA EU-MIDIS survey (*Data in Focus Report 2*: Muslims) presents the survey's results with respect to the attitudes and experiences of 9,500 Muslim respondents.

For example, the EU-MIDIS survey showed that half of Muslims, but only 20% of non-Muslims, believed that discrimination on the basis of religion or belief was widespread ("very" or "fairly").

The results from the three country study reported here could be employed alongside results from the Agency's other research to inform policy and action at the Community, national and regional level – and particularly in those three countries where the survey was conducted with respect to policy and action addressing social marginalisation and issues related to integration. However, the general findings are also applicable at a more general level, across national borders and in similar situations. For example, polices aimed at addressing youth violence and radicalisation should consider discrimination and social marginalisation rather than simply focusing on prevention among groups with a particular religious affiliation.

Main findings

This report presents important findings about the experiences of young people, from both Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds, that can be used by policy makers to address some of the key issues facing young people in terms of experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation, and how this relates to their attitudes towards and their use of violence.

General observations from the research

Muslim and non-Muslims share the experiences of 'youth'
The main findings of this study centre on the many similarities in experiences among youth, irrespective of religious affiliation. There was no indication that Muslim youths were more likely than non-Muslims to be emotionally or physically violent towards others, once other aspects of discrimination and social marginalisation had been taken into account. Experiences of discrimination or social marginalisation are detrimental factors associated with stronger tendencies towards violence; regardless of religious affiliation or non-affiliation. Consequently, policies aimed at countering threats to society, ranging from terrorism to youth criminality (for example), should also be addressing everyday matters of exclusion and discrimination that can affect all young people.

Religion and culture are important attributes of Muslim youth identity that need supporting
Religious and cultural background are important aspects of young people's lives, particularly among those whose families have migrated from other countries. Young people are sensitive to cultural and religious differences, and individual identity must be understood in the context of such differences. Policies aimed at integrating young migrants into the dominant national culture need to be sensitive to these young people's perception of cultural identity and belonging.

Muslim youths have greater levels of concern about tolerance towards cultural identities, both at a personal and a global level, which is likely to impact on their understanding of the way in which such issues are dealt with politically. With this in mind, the results indicated that young Muslims appeared to feel more powerless to participate in legitimate forms of protest or active citizenship than young non-Muslims.

> **Muslim youths are more concerned about issues of tolerance and cultural identity than non-Muslims, which is linked to their experience of discrimination and victimisation on these grounds.**
>
> *Joint conclusion by members of FRA stakeholder meeting, 26-27 January 2010*

Muslim youths experience discrimination differently in Member States
According to the findings of this study, experience of discrimination and a personal sense of unhappiness or isolation are relatively rare. Nevertheless, young people from certain groups and Member States are at higher risk of having more negative experiences; for example, young Muslim respondents in Spain indicated in the study that they were the most 'unfairly picked on' group, while Muslims in the United Kingdom were the least 'unfairly picked on' Muslim group.

Discrimination is experienced by young people on diverse grounds
While religious discrimination was higher among Muslim than non-Muslim youths, there were many other reasons why young people felt discriminated against which were symptomatic of widespread intolerance of differences between individuals. It could be the case that experience of discrimination, on a range of grounds, may have an impact on subjective feelings of unhappiness and social marginalisation.

> **Young people from ethnically diverse backgrounds experience discrimination on a wide range of grounds, of which religious affiliation is only one.**
>
> *Joint conclusion by members of FRA stakeholder meeting, 26-27 January 2010*

Most young people – regardless of religious background – do not support 'mindless' violence
Young people tend not to be supportive of violence that is carried out without a good reason; however, they do justify this in particular circumstances, such as for self-defence or protection of others. Support for global war and/or terrorism is very low, although attention needs to be paid to those young people who have stronger attitudes towards violence, regardless of religious background.

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Patterns in experience of violence as victims and/or perpetrators vary considerably across Member States and there was no evidence of a Muslim bias in favour of violent behaviour in this study.

> **Young people – regardless of religious affiliation – are concerned about the state of the world and about major social issues, but lack trust in figures of authority, especially politicians.**
>
> *– Joint conclusions by members of FRA stakeholder meeting, 26-27 January 2010*

Members of delinquent groups that have experienced discrimination are at greater risk of supporting violence

Analysis revealed that young males and those who are involved in delinquent youth groups are at higher risk of having attitudes that are supportive of violence and of being involved in violent behaviour. This risk is even greater among these individuals when they have experienced some form of discrimination or feel that they are socially marginalised.

Attitudes supporting violence do not equate to actual use of violence among youth

The relationship between attitudes that are supportive of violence and actual experience of violence is not symmetrical, especially for Muslim youths who display more verbal support than actual engagement in violence (although the French Muslim youths were more violent overall, when asked to report on the extent to which they themselves engaged in emotional or physical violence). However, addressing attitudes that are supportive of violence may go some way towards tackling involvement in both emotional and physical violence.

Discrimination and marginalisation are not restricted to Muslim youths, and religious affiliation is less important in determining young people's involvement in violence than their peer group characteristics and their broader experiences and attitudes.

> **Many young people experience violence (ranging from bullying and other forms of emotional violence to more physical forms of aggression), and there is a strong link between being a victim and an offender.**
>
> **The main factors that lead to violence are being male, being part of a delinquent youth group / gang, being discriminated against and being socially marginalised – when these things are taken into consideration, religious background / affiliation plays no part in explaining violent behaviour.**
>
> *– Joint conclusions by members of FRA stakeholder meeting, 26-27 January 2010*

Policy responses have to be adapted to different contexts

Different factors are significant in explaining attitudes and behaviours across the three EU Member States. Policy responses to young people who are at risk of social marginalisation and discrimination are best adapted to the local, regional, or national setting. Violence – experienced as either a victim or a perpetrator – requires responses that are targeted with respect to the local context; responses that can take into account cultural diversity and local settings.

Key research findings

- At least half of all Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in France, Spain and the United Kingdom said they associated themselves with more than one cultural background, which shows the ethnic diversity of the samples.
- French youths do not receive religious education in schools, unlike in Spain and the United Kingdom, and therefore most of their religious teaching comes from home. Muslim youths in Spain also indicated that they learn about religion at home. A greater proportion of United Kingdom Muslims receive teaching from religious leaders than in Spain or France.
- Around one in four young people in each Member State reported they had (ever) been unfairly treated or picked on. Muslim youths were significantly more likely than non-Muslims to say that this had happened to them in France and Spain; although, there was no difference between them in the United Kingdom.
- Generally in all Member States, experience of discrimination was significantly related to feelings of happiness and alienation among young people. Respondents who had experienced discrimination were less likely to feel 'very happy' than those who had not. Similarly, mean scores on a scale of social alienation were significantly higher for those who had experienced discrimination.
- Generally in all Member States, young people rarely thought it was justifiable to use violence 'just for fun'; however, most felt it was acceptable to use violence either all or some of the time to defend themselves or prevent someone else from being physically hurt. Around one in five thought it was always acceptable for someone to use violence if their religion had been insulted, although Muslim youths in all three Member States were more likely than non-Muslims to agree that this was the case.
- The majority of young people disagreed that using war and, especially, terrorism to solve the world's problems was justifiable. French respondents were most likely to agree that war or terrorism were justified, while Spanish respondents were least likely; however, the proportion of young people who agreed with these statements was very small, and there were marginal differences between Muslims and non-Muslims.

- The relationship between victimisation and offending was strong, for both physical and emotional violence (the latter could be teasing or bullying, for example). For emotional violence, it was far more common for perpetrators to be also victims than it was for victims to be also perpetrators. However, this was not so much the case for physical violence. The findings suggested that the relationship between victimisation and offending was complex and was not uniform across cultural group or Member State.
- Despite showing little interest in national politics, the majority of respondents did report feeling very or fairly worried about the state of the world today. Concern about global issues was highest in France. Muslims youths in the United Kingdom and, particularly, in Spain were more concerned about the state of the world than non-Muslims; however, there was little difference in the level of concern between Muslim and non-Muslim youths in France.
- The global issues that young people reported being most concerned about were poverty, global warming and climate change, as well as racism and conflict between different cultures. Muslims were more likely than non-Muslims in all three Member States to identify racism as an issue that concerned them; and Muslims in France and the United Kingdom also more readily identified conflict between different cultures as a concern compared to non-Muslims; although the reverse was true among the Spanish sample. In contrast, non-Muslims in all Member States were more likely than Muslims to express concern about global warming and climate change.
- In the United Kingdom and Spain, while not in France, Muslim respondents were more likely to say that their group of friends was a 'gang' than non-Muslims, but Muslims who did consider themselves to be in a gang were less likely to say that their group accepts, or participates in, illegal activities than non-Muslims who called their group a gang, which may indicate a different understanding of the term 'gang'.
- Being more supportive than average in their attitudes towards using violence at an individual level (for example, for self-defence or because they were insulted) was at least partially explained in all three Member States by being male, being part of a group that the individual defined as a 'gang' and being involved in illegal activities with that group.
- In all Member States, young people who felt socially marginalised and those who had been a victim of violence because of their cultural or religious background, skin colour or language were more likely to use emotional violence (such as teasing or bullying) towards others. In France and the United Kingdom, young people who had experienced general discrimination were also likely to be emotionally violent towards others.

- In France, Spain and the United Kingdom, the use of emotional and physical violence by young people was strongly related to their likelihood of associating with a delinquent peer group and engaging in illegal activities with that group.
- Emotional violence was as likely to be inflicted by females as males in France and Spain, and being male was only weakly predictive of involvement in emotional violence among the United Kingdom respondents. However, being male was strongly indicative of involvement in physical violence across the three Member States.

Links between this project and rights of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Non-discrimination:

"Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited."

– Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000/C 364/01), Article 21(1)

Cultural, religious and linguistic diversity:

"The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity."

– Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000/C 364/01), Article 22

The rights of the child:

"1. Children shall have the right to such protection and care as is necessary for their well-being. They may express their views freely. Such views shall be taken into consideration on matters which concern them in accordance with their age and maturity."

"2. In all actions relating to children, whether taken by public authorities or private institutions, the child's best interests must be a primary consideration."

– Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2000/C 364/01), Article 24, excerpts

"Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall *promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups***, and ... the maintenance of peace."**

– Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 26(2), emphasis added

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- In France and Spain, young people who had experienced discrimination were far more likely to engage in physical violence than those who were not discriminated against. Furthermore, youths in Spain and the United Kingdom who reported feeling alienated and marginalised within their communities and youths in the United Kingdom who were victimised on the basis of their cultural or religious origins, were highly likely to be physically violent towards others.

- There is no evidence from this study that the religious background of the respondents is an indicator for engagement in physical violence once other aspects of discrimination and marginalisation and other features of the young people's lives had been accounted for.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background to the research

Political and policy considerations: youth-centred initiatives

There is increasing concern across the EU about intolerance towards Muslims which manifests in various ways as discrimination and social marginalisation, and presents major challenges to integration and community cohesion across Member States. A variety of integrationist policies exist throughout the EU, underpinned by the notion that in order to avoid conflict – ethnic, religious and cultural diversity should be integrated within a nation's common culture and identity.

The European Union has emphasised the prevention of violent radicalisation as part of efforts to combat terrorism. Contributing to that process is a series of reports commissioned by the Commission, on various aspects, including factors contributing to radical violence.[1] The Commission has stated that such factors often originate in "a combination of perceived or real injustice or exclusions." "Not feeling accepted in society, feeling discriminated against and the resulting unwillingness... to identify with the values of the society in which one is living" are contributing factors.[2] Furthermore, the Commission held that a combination of feelings of exclusion and desires to be part of a group working towards change can lead some young people to get involved in more extreme, or radical, forms of violence.[3]

The 2010-2014 plan of the EU for the area of freedom, security and justice (the Stockholm Programme) stresses that fundamental rights must be respected while combating terrorism: "Measures in the fight against terrorism must be undertaken within the framework of full respect for fundamental rights... [and] stigmatising any particular group of people [must be replaced with] intercultural dialogue in order to promote mutual awareness and understanding."[4] The Stockholm Programme also underscores the importance of prevention. The findings of this FRA report may contribute to this by explaining underlying causes for attitudes towards violence.[5]

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1   See ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/fsj_terrorism_prevention_prevent_en.htm (23.07.2010).
2   COM(2005) 313 Final, 21 September 2005, p. 11.
3   COM(2005) 313 Final, 21 September 2005, p. 13.
4   17024/09, 2 December 2009, p. 50 (adopted 10/11 December 2009. See also COM (2010) 171, Action Plan Implementing the Stockholm Programme, pp. 3, 6, and 40–41.
5   On data compilation, see Council of the EU, 7984/10 ADD1, 30 March 2010, an instrument for compiling data and information on violent radicalisation processes.

Parallel to policy developments in the area of freedom, security and justice, a number of policy initiatives have been developed for youth that can be considered in relation to findings from this research study.

For example, the Council of the European Union has developed a set of aims for European cooperation in the youth field (2010-2018); including:

- **The social exclusion and poverty of young people and the transmission of such problems between generations should be prevented and mutual solidarity between society and young people strengthened. Equal opportunities for all should be promoted and all forms of discrimination combated.**

  - **Realise the full potential of youth work and youth centres as means of inclusion.**

  - **Adopt a cross-sectoral approach when working to improve community cohesion and solidarity and reduce the social exclusion of young people, addressing the inter linkages between e.g. young people's education and employment and their social inclusion.**

  - **Support the development of intercultural awareness and competences for all young people and combat prejudice.**

  - **Support information and education activities for young people about their rights.**

  - **Address the issues of homelessness, housing and financial exclusion.**

  - **Promote access to quality services – e.g. transport, e-inclusion, health, social services. Promote specific support for young families.**

  - **Engage young people and youth organisations in the planning, delivery and evaluation of [the] European Year of Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion (2010).**

- **Young people's participation in and contribution to global processes of policy-making, implementation and follow-up (concerning issues such as climate change, the UN Millennium Development Goals, human rights, etc.) and young people's cooperation with regions outside of Europe should be supported.**

Council of the EU, Resolution 15131/09, 6 November 2009

The importance of the participation in community life of young people was also highlighted in the 2001 European Commission White Paper 'A new impetus for European Youth', where it was identified as the first priority theme in the specific field of youth.

COM(2001) 681 final, 21 November 2001, eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0681en01.pdf

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> **Democratic participation is also one of four key elements identified by the Club de Madrid (a forum for former democratic Presidents and Prime Ministers, www. clubmadrid.org) in its vision for a shared society. They call on leaders to actively listen to the issues and strategic recommendations of young people before they respond, and to provide space for young people to be included in planning processes, activities and decision making.**
>
> *Club de Madrid, The Shared Societies Project – Democratic leadership for Dialogue, Diversity and Social Cohesion – Building a World Safe for Difference, www. thesharedsocietiesproject.clubmadrid.org/fileadmin/user_ upload/_temp_/SSP_Booklet.pdf*

Acts of injustice or exclusion towards Muslim youths, in particular, may cause alienation from wider society. This may lead some young people to develop sympathy or support for the use of violence. A recently published report on young people's engagement in radical behaviour shows that:

"[w]hen people experience injustice this can easily lead to anger against society, as a result of which intentions to and actually engaging in violent and rude behaviour can occur. This effect is particularly likely when people are predisposed to react in strong ways to experiences of personal *uncertainty* and when they experience that their own group is *threatened by other groups*."[6]

It is thought that by addressing the root of such problems, more might be done in Europe to prevent alienation and social marginalisation among Muslim youth.

> ### Participation of young people in public life
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> **In 1992 the Council of Europe 'Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe' adopted the 'European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life', which was revised in 2003. The Charter stresses that participation of young people in local and regional life must form part of any global policy of citizens' participation in public life, and that special attention should be paid to promoting the participation of young people from disadvantaged sectors of society and from minorities. Concerning a general anti-discrimination policy, the Charter urges local and regional authorities to ensure equal access for all citizens to all areas of life. According to article 35 of the Charter, "[s]uch access should be monitored and guaranteed by joint bodies comprising local government representatives and representatives of minorities and young people themselves."**
>
> *See: https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=39661&Site=Congress &BackColorInternet=e0cee1&BackColorIntranet=e0cee1&Back ColorLogged=FFC679*

In general, it has to be noted – on the basis of some research findings – that there is no definitive link between religiosity and sense of national identity, respect for democratic institutions, or acceptance of violence: A recent Gallup survey about the situation of Muslims in Europe conducted in Berlin, London and Paris indicates that for the majority of Muslims religion is an important part of their daily lives (68% to 88% of the Muslims living in the three cities, compared to 23% to 41% among the overall population in these countries).[7] But this does not imply that Muslims are less likely than the general population to say they identify strongly with their country. For example, in the United Kingdom 57% of Muslim respondents in London vs. 48% of the majority population in the UK indicated that they identify strongly with the UK[8]. Muslims in London also express a high degree of confidence in the country's democratic institutions (64%) compared with the overall population (36%).[9] As for the moral acceptability of using violence in the name of a noble cause, a clear majority of Muslims in Berlin, London and Paris (between 77% and 94%) chose a low rating of acceptability on a five-point scale. Yet, the Muslims in Berlin and London are less likely than the general public in the country overall to approve of such violence.[10] Another release published by Gallup in May 2009 confirms these results.[11]

However, aside from research with adults, little is known about young Muslims' experiences of alienation and social marginalisation, or their attitudes towards and experiences of violence. In addition, it is not known to what extent young Muslims' views and experiences across a range of social and political issues are different or similar to those of other young people from non-Muslim backgrounds.

6   K. van den Bos, A. Loseman, B. Doosje (2009) *Why Young People Engage in Radical Behavior and Sympathize With Terrorism: Injustice, Uncertainty, and Threatened Groups,* University Utrecht, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Amsterdam: WODC, available online at: english.wodc.nl/onderzoeksdatabase/jongeren-aan-het-woord-over-radicalisme-en-terrorisme.aspx?cp=45&cs=6796 (23.07.2010).

7   Nyiri, Z. (2007) *Muslims in Berlin, London, and Paris: Bridges and Gaps in Public Opinion*, Gallup World Poll 2007, available online at: media.gallup. com/WorldPoll/PDF/WPTFMuslimsinEuropeExecSumm.pdf (23.07.2010)

8   Question: 'How strongly do you identify with each of the following groups? ...Your country?', see Nyiri, Z. (2007) *European Muslims Show No Conflict Between Religious and National Identities*, Gallup World Poll 2007, available online at: www.gallup.com/poll/27325/European-Muslims-Show-Conflict-Between-Religious-National-Identities.aspx (23.07.2010).

9   Nyiri, Z. (2007) *Muslims in Europe: Basis for Greater Understanding Already Exists*, Gallup World Poll 2007, available online at: www.gallup. com/poll/27409/Muslims-Europe-Basis-Greater-Understanding-Already-Exists.aspx (23.07.2010).

10   Nyiri, Z. (2007) *Muslims in Europe: Basis for Greater Understanding Already Exists*, Gallup World Poll 2007, available online at: www.gallup. com/poll/27409/muslims-europe-basis-greater-understanding-already-exists.aspx (23.07.2010).

11   Gallup/The Coexist Foundation (2009) *The Gallup Coexist Index 2009: A Global Study of Interfaith Relations*, available online at: www. muslimwestfacts.com/mwf/118249/Gallup-Coexist-Index-2009.aspx (23.07.2010).

Studies on radicalisation

Several studies related to radicalisation have been carried out recently. The European Commission (Directorate General Justice, Freedom and Security) has commissioned a series of reports: *Studies into violent radicalisation: The beliefs, ideologies and narratives* (February 2008)[12], *Les facteurs de création ou de modification des processus de radicalisation violente, chez les jeunes en particulier* (undated)[13], *Study on the best practices in cooperation between authorities and civil society with a view to the prevention and response to violent radicalisation* (July 2008)[14], and *Recruitment and Mobilisation for the Islamist Militant Movement in Europe* (December 2007)[15]. These reports are based on more in-depth interviews with a small number of persons (around 30) and one of them using an ethnographic methodology. Comparison between these studies and this report is complicated also for other reasons, including location and age (adults) of interviewees. Some of the recommendations made in these studies, however, are pertinent also in the context of this report, such as: engaging and interacting with civil society leadership, including young people; ensure application of anti-discrimination legislation, including strong Equality Bodies; and provide socio-political preventive tools at the local level.

Other recent studies of relevance to this report includes, *Muslim Communities Perspectives on Radicalisation in Leicester, UK* (February 2010)[16], stressing the absence of causal links between degree of religious practice and violent radicalisation. The report also concludes that focusing on Muslims

identity and/or practice is leading to alienation, disengagement and senses of victimisation. *Youth and Islamist Radicalisation, Lille, France* (April 2010)[17], mentioning ideologisation based on, among other things, experiences of exclusion.

FRA research on Muslims: embarking on youth-centred research

The FRA, including its predecessor, the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), has engaged in research on discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity or religion in relation to several research projects and publications, with a number of reports having focused on Muslim communities in the European Union; namely: *Racism, Xenophobia and the Media: Towards respect and understanding of all religions and cultures*, that elaborated on the impact media have on these issues; *Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia*, which includes an analysis of available information and data on discrimination against Muslims in various settings; and *Perceptions of Discrimination and Islamophobia: Voices from members of Muslim communities in the European Union*, which presents results from qualitative research interviews with selected members of Muslim communities. In addition, the Agency's report *Community cohesion at the local level: Addressing the needs of Muslims Communities – Examples of local initiatives*, targets policy makers and practitioners with concrete examples of existing practices addressing cohesion in different European Union cities.[18]

In addition, one of the *Data in Focus Reports* from the Agency's EU-MIDIS survey on minorities' experiences of discrimination and criminal victimisation, in which 23,500 people from ethnic minority and immigrant groups throughout the EU27 were interviewed, published comparable results based on interviews conducted with Muslims respondents from the survey – totalling 9,500 Muslim Interviewees.[19]

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12 *Studies into violent radicalisation; Lot 2. The beliefs ideologies and narratives*, produced by the Change Institute for the European Commission (Directorate General Justice, Freedom and Security), available online at: ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ ec_radicalisation_study_on_ideology_and_narrative_en.pdf (23.07.2010).

13 *Les facteurs de création ou de modification des processus de radicalisation violente, chez les jeunes en particulier*, by Compagnie Européenne d'Intelligence Stratégique, CEIS, available online at: ec.europa. eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ec_radicalisation_study_ on_trigger_factors_fr.pdf (23.07.2010).

14 *Study on the best practices in cooperation between authorities and civil society with a view to the prevention and response to violent radicalisation*, by the Change Institute for the European Commission available online at: www.libforall.org/pdfs/eu_libforall_bestpractices_ casestudy_july08.pdf (23.07.2010).

15 *Recruitment and Mobilisation for the Islamist Militant Movement in Europe*, study was carried out by King's College London for the European Commission (Directorate General Justice, Freedom and Security), available online at: ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ ec_radicalisation_study_on_mobilisation_tactics_en.pdf (23.07.2010).

16 *Muslim Communities Perspectives on Radicalisation in Leicester, UK*, a study carried out by the Centre for Studies in Islamism and Radicalisation (CIR), Århus University, Denmark, available online at: www.ps.au.dk/ fileadmin/site_files/filer_statskundskab/subsites/cir/pdf-filer/Rapport4_ UK_rev_jgmFINAL.pdf (23.07.2010).

17 *Youth and Islamist Radicalisation Lille, France*, a study carried out by the Centre for Studies in Islamism and Radicalisation, (CIR), Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, Denmark, available online at: www.ps.au.dk/fileadmin/site_files/filer_statskundskab/subsites/cir/ SummaryFINAL_Eng_rapport5_.pdf (23.07.2010).

18 All reports are available from the FRA website at: www.fra.europa.eu/ fraWebsite/research/publications/publications_en.htm.

19 Other projects have also been of relevance: see, for example, *Opinion [of the FRA] on the Proposal for a Council Framework decision on the use of Passenger Name Record (PNR)* data for law enforcement purposes, E, paragraphs 34-46, available online at: www.fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/ research/publications/publications_en.htm.

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These reports underline the absence of research targeting young Muslims' experiences of integration, victimisation and discrimination;[20] the Agency's own EU-MIDIS survey sampled respondents aged 16 years and older, and only captured small numbers of young people within its random sampling framework. In particular, these reports note that the absence of evidence about the experience of young Muslims in EU Member States, particularly those with sizeable Muslim populations, is hampering the efforts of policy makers to develop initiatives to address issues around racism and social marginalisation, and in relation to (the prevention of) violent behaviour. In 2007, therefore, the FRA commissioned research aimed at collecting much needed quantitative data on racism and social marginalisation, to explore the experiences, attitudes and behaviours of Muslim and non-Muslim youths in three EU Member States which had been the target of Islamist inspired violence or violence triggered by experiences of discrimination among immigrants: namely, France, Spain and the United Kingdom.

The survey on which this report is based was undertaken by a consortium of three academic institutions experienced in the area of survey research with young people – including young people from minority backgrounds; these were the Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha (UCLM) (which was the lead university for the project);[21] Université de Bordeaux;[22] and the University of Edinburgh.[23] The final report was written by Susan McVie (University of Edinburgh) and Susan Wiltshire (University of Leeds).

The research team in each of the three countries conducted a survey of 1000 children between the ages of 12 and 18 in each Member State, ensuring that the sample equally represented males and females, and Muslim and non-Muslim youths. The research was informed by the following hypothesis:

Discrimination and social marginalisation are major stumbling blocks to integration and community cohesion. In particular, discrimination and racial abuse can lead to social marginalisation and alienation that, in turn, might be one set of factors leading some individuals to develop attitudes and even activities supporting the use of violence.

1.1.1. Aims of the research

The overarching aim of the research was to explore the relationship between young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation and their attitudes towards using violence and engagement in using actual violence towards others. It was not the intention of the research to identify any of the young people participating in the study as potential violent extremists or to suggest that the communities from which young people were sampled were areas that were at most risk of developing such violent activities. Equally, it was not the intention of the research to highlight specific problems of violence or social marginalisation solely among young Muslims.

> **Research aim**
>
> **To explore the relationship between young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation, and their attitudes towards and actual use of violence.**

This report explores the responses of both Muslim and non-Muslim young people across the three Member States in terms of:

*   their socio-economic, cultural and religious profile;
*   their experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation;
*   their attitudes towards violence and their experience of emotional and physical violence, both as victims and perpetrators;
*   their interest in national politics and global issues, trust in political institutions and potential for active citizenship; and
*   their peer group characteristics and leisure activities.

This is done in an attempt to better understand young people's attitudes towards violent behaviour and involvement in violence.

1.2. Context

This section presents a summary of literature describing the socio-economic and cultural profile of Muslim youth, and youth more generally, across the three Member States in order to contextualise the findings presented in the report. Before presenting the findings, it is important to recognise the very different demographic, economic, cultural and historical profiles of the three Member States studied, and the difficulties in drawing on accurate data detailing both the demographic and socio-cultural characteristics of ethnic and religious minority groups. This report should be read with this caveat in mind.

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20   See in particular *Annual Report 2006 – Inadequacy of data on racist crime for 2006* and *Muslims in the European Union: Discrimination and Islamophobia,* available at www.fra.europa.eu under 'Publications'.

21   Cristina Rechea- Alberola, Gloria Fernández-Pacheco, Raquel Bartolomé, Esther Fernández-Molina, Lourdes Rueda, Ana L. Cuervo, and Fabiola Ruiz.

22   Catherine Blaya, Eric Debarbieux, Jean-François Bruneaud, Françoise Lorcerie, Benjamin Denecheau, Tristana Pimor, and Aurélie Berguer.

23   Susan McVie, Susan Wiltshire, Eric Chen, Ashley Varghese, and Tufyal Choudhury.

Diversity of Muslim communities

It is important to stress the diversity of the Muslim communities in the three Member States included in this study. Behind the label 'Muslim' lie individuals belonging to a myriad of ethnicities, each having different cultural heritages and customs, a variety of religious denominations and traditions, speaking different languages and holding diverse political and philosophical views.

This diversity of Muslim communities is worth remembering, especially as there has been a tendency to treat Muslims as one uniform and monolithic group. The discourses that dominate media and politics tend to essentialise Islam, attributing it some fixed, unchangeable and undivided properties. At the same time, the religion – seen in this stereotypical and simplistic way – has started to conceal all other possible identities of Muslims, such as ethnicity or class. This is why it is crucial to keep in mind diversity and the rich cultures of European Muslims, when analysing their experiences.

One of the other important features that has an impact on the diversity of the Muslim communities in Europe is different migration histories. Factors such as period of migration, reasons for migration, settlement histories, ethnic and religious tensions experienced in relation to migration, as well as war and civil unrest in the country of origin, significantly shape communities and individuals.

When talking about Muslim communities in these three Member States, the different context of migration should be taken into consideration. The colonial history of the United Kingdom and France is crucial to understanding the history of migration to these countries and the power relationships between Muslim minorities from the former colonies and the state. In Spain, on the other hand, the centuries-long presence of Muslims and the impact that Islam had on the country's culture may influence the way Muslims feel in the country and are approached today.

1.2.1. Religion and ethnicity

Demographic and statistical information about Muslims in Europe is inconsistently recorded, often relying on unofficial data and proxy measures. This is compounded by legalities around such notions as citizenship, ethnicity and religion, particularly in France and to some extent in Spain. Unlike France and Spain, in the United Kingdom it is possible to collect a wealth of general statistics on demographic indicators, including religion and ethnicity, but this is also limited to some extent in terms of the range and scope of their applicability.

In 2007, the total population of the United Kingdom stood at around 61 million and it is estimated that Muslims comprise around 3% of the population, though the real figure is likely to exceed this in the forthcoming census (2011). Correspondingly, almost 8% of the

population, according to self report data, belongs to a minority ethnic group (White, 2002). The Muslim population in the United Kingdom overwhelmingly encompasses followers of Sunni Islam, the majority of these being of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian origin. According to the 2001 United Kingdom Census, the largest religious group, after Christianity in the United Kingdom, are Pakistani Muslims, and there are around 1,600 known mosques across Britain (Masood, 2006).

In the United Kingdom, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are generally connoted as specific ethnic groups, as sub-categories of Asian or Asian British. The 2001 Census shows that the majority of those who self-identified as Pakistanis and Bangladeshis also claimed to be Muslim: 92% and 92.5% respectively. Therefore, in any discussion about Muslims in Britain and the wider United Kingdom, the focus lies primarily around Pakistanis and Bangladeshis since they comprise the largest groups of Muslims.

By contrast, it is not possible to present an accurate picture of the number of Muslims in France or Spain, or to concisely map their ethnic identities. In keeping with the republican ideal that all citizens are equal, a census of Muslims in France remains problematic due to legal barriers, notably the French ban on holding data based on religious or ethnic characteristics of individuals, as illustrated below:

> *"It is prohibited to collect or process personal data based directly or indirectly on the racial, ethnic characteristics of individuals, their political, philosophical or religious beliefs, their trade unions activities or their health and sexual life."* (Law of the 6th of January 1978, art.8).

The debate on whether to change the law to allow ethnic statistics to be collated continues (see The Economist, March 2009); however, the current population of France is around 58.5 million, and existing estimates suggest that this includes between 3.5 and 5 million Muslims (Laurent and Vaïsse, 2005), at least two million of whom have French citizenship[24]. Three quarters of Muslims in France have their origins in North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia), and the remaining 25% come from more than 100 different countries. Their ethnic background is, thus, extremely wide: Maghrebi, Middle Eastern Arabs, Turks, Western and Eastern Africans, people from the Reunion Island, Malagasy, Mauritians, Asians, West Indians, and French converts, as well as people from former Soviet countries. The number of converts to Islam is estimated to be around 80,000; though this figure excludes children

24   In its recent report, *Mapping the Global Muslim Population*, published in October 2009, the PEW Forum on Religion & Public Life estimates that there are around 3.6 million Muslims living in France, corresponding to 6% of the total population. The report is available online at: pewforum.org/newassets/images/reports/Muslimpopulation/Muslimpopulation.pdf (23.07.2010).

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of converts, who might also be Muslim (Le Monde des Religions 2008). Although France is estimated to host the largest number of Muslims in Western Europe, it provides the lowest number of state funded and subsidised mosques in which to worship. However, it should be noted that not all Muslims worship, and among those who do, many do so in community or 'garage' mosques, which makes estimating mosque numbers problematic.

Spain has a high number of immigrants, including those who enter illegally. This makes measuring the precise number of Muslims particularly problematic. The only available demographic information in Spain pertains to the nationality of foreigners. The total population of Spain is currently around 47 million, and the 2008 Census recorded 11% of the population as foreign[25]. Most Muslims in Spain originate from Morocco, representing over 70% of the Muslim population, followed by citizens of Algeria, Pakistan, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Tunisia. Most of the Moroccans and Algerians were men who migrated to Spain in the last 20 years to work in agriculture and construction. There is also a Muslim community originating from the Middle East (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt), settling in Spain during the 1970s and 1980s after fleeing political or religious conflicts in their countries. They generally work in commerce or sanitation industries and many have obtained Spanish nationality by marriage. There is also a third group, which represents 2% of the Muslim community in Spain, who are converted Muslims living in small communities, mainly in Andalusia and Catalonia (Escobar, 2008).

1.2.2. Geographical location

Across Europe, Muslims tend to be concentrated in urban areas which results in clustering within particular cities and neighbourhoods. This can be associated with the failure of integration policies, as well as a complex range of socio-economic structural barriers to greater social inclusion. Moreover, migrants across Europe – including Muslims – tend to live in poorer quality and overcrowded housing conditions, in poorer neighbourhoods, and have difficulty accessing housing (CRS Report, 2005). The French Muslim population, for example, overwhelmingly resides in poorer city suburbs where access to housing is cheaper. Data from the Open Society Institute (2007) suggests that the largest Muslim populations are in the following *régions* (counties): the Paris metropolitan region of Île de-France (where Muslims comprise up to 35% of the population); in south eastern France, in the region of Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur, PACA (20%); the East of France in the region of Rhône-Alpes (15%) and the north of France in the region

of Nord-Pas-de-Calais (10%). The population in the region of Alsace in north eastern France has been estimated to be lower, at around 5% of Muslims (Reeber, 1996).

Spanish Muslim communities are concentrated in the districts of Madrid and Barcelona, as well as other cities and towns, especially in southern Spain. The largest Muslim populations are domiciled in the following regions: Andalusia in the south of Spain, Catalonia in north eastern Spain, Madrid in the centre of Spain, and Valencia in south eastern Spain. There are also Muslim communities in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla in northern Africa, which are under Spanish control (US Department of State, 2007).

Muslims in the United Kingdom tend to be similarly concentrated in particular geographical areas, notably large cities across England (in particular in the south, the Midlands and the north of England) and the west of Scotland. Among these cities, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, London and Birmingham feature the worst rates of child poverty in Britain, a finding which is not exclusively applicable to Muslim children, but is repeated across every ethnic grouping. The Muslim population of London is around 1 million, speaking around 50 languages between them, representing around 14% of the total population of the City. Indeed, London is home to around 48% of all ethnic minorities in Britain (White, 2002). In Scotland, the Muslim community is far smaller. According to the most recent Scottish Census (2001), most Muslims live in the city of Glasgow, and comprise around 3% of the city's population.

1.2.3. Age profile

Evidence suggests that across Europe as a whole, the Muslim population tends to be younger than that of the countries in which they have settled. In France, information about the age profile of Muslims is not available for the reasons stated above. Similarly, the picture is not clear for Spain, but the foreign population in Spain is thought to be younger than the Spanish population as a whole. The largest groups of Muslims come from Morocco, Algeria and Pakistan, with around 15% of these aged under 18 (Institute of National Statistics- INE, 2008).

In the United Kingdom as a whole, 33% of Muslims are aged below 15 years (the national average is 20%) and a further 18% are aged 16-24 (the national average is 11%). In Scotland, although Muslims represent a very small group of the population (less than 1%), Islam is the second largest religion and, therefore, boasts the youngest age group of followers, with many younger than sixteen. Indeed, the age structure across all minority ethnic groups in the United Kingdom, and also Europe, evinces a greater volume of younger age groups, which is illustrative of past immigration and fertility patterns (White, 2002).

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25   In the aforementioned report, the PEW Forum on Religion & Public Life estimates the number of Muslims in Spain to around 650.000, corresponding to around 1% of the total population. See online at: pewforum.org/newassets/images/reports/Muslimpopulation/Muslimpopulation.pdf (23.07.2010).

1.2.4. Youth socio-economic indicators

Socio-economic factors, such as educational background, employment status and health, for example, may have some bearing on negative feelings concerning State institutions or representatives (such as politicians), and may also influence feelings and experiences pertaining to alienation and social marginalisation. Indeed, a disproportionate number of Muslims in Europe suffer from similar indices of poverty and social disadvantage. We focus here on indices of education and employment, as questions on these factors were included in this survey.

1.2.4.1. Education
Educational statistics by religion or ethnicity are sparse, though some countries record statistics on the performance of migrants. However, international comparisons of school experience among youth from minority ethnic groups show great differences from one educational system to another. Some school systems provide pupils and students with a supportive environment irrespective of ethnic background, while others are far less sensitive to issues associated with ethnicity (Windle, 2008).

In the United Kingdom, Indian pupils gain more school qualifications than any other ethnic group, while Pakistani and Bangladeshi boys achieve the lowest level. Muslim girls perform slightly better than boys, although not as well as the other groups, except in comparison to 'Black' boys (White, 2002)[26]. There is also low educational attainment among children who are eligible for free school meals in the United Kingdom – a marker of low family income – including a large proportion of White children (MORI, 2006/2007). Indeed, differences in achievement between 11-year old pupils by eligibility for free school meals are greatest among White pupils, and one third of White British boys eligible for free school meals do not obtain 5 or more Standard Grade qualifications. This is a much higher proportion than for any other combination of gender, ethnic group and eligibility for free school meals (New Policy Institute, 2008).

Comparative studies show that the French education system is socially selective and that it tends to concentrate the placement of ethnic minority pupils within a few schools (Felouzis et al., 2005). Studies also show that there are much higher levels of pupils with foreign nationality in vocational schools (Payet, 2002). While some research suggests that discrimination is not apparent in overall levels of school achievement, others conclude that education levels are lowest among Muslims (CRS Report, 2005). However, when comparing pupils from low socio-economic background, average academic results at national level are similar for Muslims and non-Muslims. Children from more deprived backgrounds perform less well than others at both primary and secondary school level, although there is some evidence of improvement among Muslims after they make the transition to secondary school.

It is possible to construct an approximate picture of educational achievement in Spain. Data are not reported by religion but by country of origin. OECD educational data divides the population into Muslim, non-Muslim and an indeterminate category. These data indicate that at all levels of education, Muslims perform less well than their non-Muslim counterparts. In terms of youth generally, one in four young people leave school with less than upper secondary education – one of the highest drop-out rates among OECD countries. There are some partial studies about Moroccan pupils which confirm this tendency. A study by Pereda et al (2004) showed that almost all Moroccan pupils received formal education until the age of 16, with only 2% of Moroccan youths outside of the school system. Nevertheless, participation in education declines for Moroccan youth when they reach the legal school leaving age. This is especially marked among Moroccan girls, whose educational level is 14 points lower than that of Moroccan boys.

All three Member States show that pupils who perform less well at school come from poorer socio-economic backgrounds. This includes Muslims but is exclusive to neither ethnic nor religious group.

1.2.4.2. Employment
Research literature on the three Member States, as well as in many other nations[27], indicate that unemployment rates are highest among young people (UNECE Trends, 2005), and that ethnic minorities, including Muslims, tend to be among those minority groups that are disproportionately under-represented in employment. In Spain, for example, the unemployment rate for immigrants at the end of 2007 was 12%, compared to 8% for Spanish workers. During the first quarter of

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26   The results in White (2002) on pupils' school qualifications are based on data collected using the 1991 UK Census classification of ethnicity, which included nine categories: White, Black Caribbean, Black African, Black Other, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Other ethnic group. The 2001 UK Census introduced a more detailed classification of 16 groups: White (sub-categories: British, Irish, Other White), Mixed (sub-categories: White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Other Mixed), Asian or Asian British (sub-categories: Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Other Asian), Black or Black British (sub-categories: Black Caribbean, Black African, Other Black), Chinese or Other ethnic group (sub-categories: Chinese, Other ethnic group). The 2011 UK Census will again introduce a new classification with 18 categories: White (sub-categories: English/Welsh/Scottish/ Northern Irish/British, Irish, Gypsy or Irish Traveller, Other White), Mixed/ multiple ethnic groups (sub-categories: White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Any other Mixed/multiple ethnic), Asian/Asian British (sub-categories: Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Other Asian), Black/African/Caribbean/Black British (sub-categories: African, Caribbean, Any other Black/African/Caribbean), Other ethnic group (sub-categories: Arab, Any other ethnic group).

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27   See for example the report on the Situation of Young People in Sweden *FOKUS08*, published by the Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs. www.ungdomsstyrelsen.se//ad2/user_documents/Fokus_08_ENG.pdf (23.07.2010).

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2008, the unemployment rate for migrant workers rose to almost 15%, while the rate for Spanish workers rose only slightly to 9% (Spanish Labour Force Survey, 2007). Muslims in employment tend to work in the lower sectors of the economy, such as the service sector and manual industries. The unemployment rate of youths in Spain was almost 18% in 2006, which is more than 3% above the OECD average. In particular, young Spanish women have one of the highest unemployment rates.

The United Kingdom unemployment rate is also highest among young people. In 2008, the rate of unemployment was 15% for 16 to 24 year olds, increasing since 2004, and four times the rate for older workers. In 2004, Muslims aged 16 to 24 had the highest overall unemployment rates. However, regardless of religion and ethnicity, one in eight 16- to 19-year-olds was not in education, employment or training, which is slightly higher than a decade ago. Moreover, the proportion of White 16-year-olds who do not continue in full-time education is higher than that for any ethnic minority group, though many are undertaking some form of training, often as a means of entitlement to state benefits (Policy Institute 2008). In 2004, the Muslim population had the highest adult male unemployment rate at 13% and the highest adult female unemployment rate at 18% (Muslims in the European Union, 2006). In terms of ethnicity, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are two and a half times more likely than the White population to be unemployed, and three times more likely to be in low paid employment (Modood and Shiner, 2002). Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are also more likely to live in low income households than any other group in Britain (White, 2002). A third of Muslim households have no adults in employment (more than double the national average); and 73% of Bangladeshi and Pakistani children live in households below the poverty line (defined by the state as 60% of median income) which compares with 3% of children in all households (Department for Work and Pensions, 2001).

Research evidence from France also suggests that those from minority ethnic groups are more likely to be unemployed than the rest of the population. In 2002, the unemployment rate for immigrants was 16%, which is twice the rate for non-immigrants. Laurence and Vaïsse (2007) also found that young people from minority ethnic groups, primarily Maghrebians, were around twice as likely to be unemployed than French nationals. Where those from minority ethnic groups are in employment they occupy the least qualified positions and are over-represented in manual work. Women are concentrated in part-time and less secure types of employment. First generation Muslim women tend to stay at home longer, while the second generation is more likely to be unemployed but on a temporary basis, though their employment rate tends to be impacted by their ethnicity. However, children of immigrants face greater unemployment than the general population: their

unemployment rate is 30% as opposed to 20% for young people of French origin (Open Society Institute, 2007). The unemployment gap is not only due to differences in social background or education, since even when accounting for this, unemployment rates are still higher for minority ethnic groups. This varies, however, according to country of origin and country of destination (see forthcoming FRA report on *Migrants, Minorities and Employment*).

Evidence from across the three Member States demonstrates that unemployment rates are higher among youth generally, and ethnic minority groups and immigrants in particular, as well as for women. Employment for these groups tends to be unskilled and insecure, typifying the sometimes exploitative 'flexible' employment patterns of neo-liberal economies, and likely to worsen in times of recession. Indeed, in most EU Member States, Muslims tend to have low employment rates, which might suggest some element of employment discrimination (EUMC, 2006).

1.3. Research design and methodology

There has been much qualitative research in the area of racism and social marginalisation; however, there is a lack of quantitative data in this area. Therefore, the research design for this study involved a survey of 1,000 young people within each Member State, sampling approximately equal numbers of males and females between the ages of 12 and 18 from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds – 3,000 interviewees in total. Respondents filled out a standardised questionnaire, which was translated from English (which is appended) into French and Spanish. The researchers provided a child appropriate text and instructions for completing the questionnaire; based on their past experience of having successfully undertaken quantitative research work with children in a range of different settings. Questionnaires were filled out in classrooms under 'exam like' conditions to ensure that children could not influence each other when giving their responses. Children who encountered difficulties in filling out the questionnaire were offered assistance by one of the members of the research team.

It was not possible to conduct a survey using representative sampling techniques, for two main reasons. First, Muslim households make up a relatively low proportion of the population in each of the three Member States, so a representative sample would not have yielded sufficient numbers of Muslim respondents. Second, there is a strong tendency for Muslim households to live in close geographical clusters, which makes representative sampling problematic. Therefore, within each Member State, specific geographical locations which were known to have higher than average populations of Muslim families were selected as the sampling frames. This design was beneficial in providing a sufficient sample

of Muslim respondents; however, a key disadvantage of the approach is that the research participants cannot be said to be representative of the overall youth population within the three Member States.

Different sampling designs were necessary in the three Member States due to the differential availability of data on ethnicity which was required to target geographical areas with large numbers of Muslim households. In the United Kingdom, data from the 2001 Census was used to identify administrative areas with high concentrations of households containing dependent children that had a Pakistani or South Asian head of household. However, in Spain and France it was not possible to use census data to identify localities with high levels of minority ethnic groups because the Spanish and French censuses do not collect information on ethnicity. Therefore, sampling strategies in Spain and France relied much more on 'local knowledge' and intelligence gathered from local literature and experts. Within each Member State, two locations were selected in which to administer the surveys: firstly, because there was concern that there would not be sufficient numbers of Muslim youths in any one location to achieve the required number of respondents; and, secondly, the high level of geographical clustering meant that it was desirable to take samples from different locations so as to minimise any skewing of the results by the inclusion of respondents from one 'atypical' location. The locations selected for inclusion were Bordeaux and Paris in France, Madrid and Granada in Spain and Glasgow/Edinburgh and London in the United Kingdom. Further details of the sampling strategy are included in Appendix I.

The questionnaire for this study (appended) was developed using questions from a range of existing and verified research instruments, including questionnaires used by the International Self-Report Delinquency Study (Junger-Tas et al, 1998), the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime (Smith and McVie, 2005), the Young People's Social Attitudes Survey (Stafford and Thomson 2006), the Eurogang instrument (Weerman et al, 2009), the Gallup Poll of the Muslim World (2006) and the European Social Survey.[28] While these surveys were useful in developing components of the questionnaire, a lack of standardised quantitative measures in this area meant it was necessary to develop many new measures by drawing on broader sources of literature on the topics of youth violence, social marginalisation, political and religious affiliation and youth culture. Nevertheless, questions had to be very carefully drafted in order to avoid contravening ethical guidelines in the EU Member States; particularly in France which has stringent rules prohibiting questions indicative of cultural/ethnic background (see Chapter 1). (details

about the questionnaire, including piloting and survey administration, are included in Appendix I)

The six main themes included in the questionnaire that are covered in this report are:

- Socio-economic, cultural and religious background
- Experience of discrimination and social marginalisation
- Attitudes towards and experience of violence
- Values and active citizenship
- Trust in institutions
- Peer groups and social networks

Following appropriate ethical clearance and access negotiations, fieldwork for this research was carried out in schools, including some colleges and vocational schools, in order to target young people of the relevant age range (see Appendix I, for discussion of ethics and access, fieldwork and the research challenges encountered). The required sample for the study was 1000 young people in each of the three countries, with equal numbers of males and females between the ages of 12 and 18, from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds, in each Member State. A minimum sample size of 1000 was achieved in all three Member States; however, there was some differential bias across the samples in terms of the age, sex and religious profiles of the respondents. These biases were largely unavoidable because of the nature of the research design and the sampling frames used in the research (see Appendix I). After adjusting the data to account for bias, the sample sizes were 952 for France, 1009 for Spain and 1029 for the United Kingdom. Despite over-sampling in areas with large Muslim populations, it was not possible to achieve a high enough number of Muslim respondents to form 50% of the sample in any one Member State. Therefore, the final samples were weighted to reflect a split of 40% Muslim respondents and 60% non-Muslim respondents in each Member State.

It should be noted that the composition of non-Muslim respondents in each of the three Member States varied considerably and these differences, while reflective of the populations within the schools and colleges sampled, may have some impact on the comparability of results across the Member States. The French and Spanish samples over-represented females, whereas the United Kingdom sample over-represented males; therefore, the samples were weighted to reflect 50% of each sex. The age profiles for the three Member States were also somewhat different, with older respondents being over-represented in the French sample and under-represented in the United Kingdom and Spanish samples. The French sample also under-represented respondents aged 15 or under, whereas the United Kingdom sample over-represented the very youngest respondents (aged 12 or under). Again, the samples were weighted to reflect equal proportions of 12 to 18 year olds in each Member State.

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28   See www.europeansocialsurvey.org for further information on the scope, structure, design and questionnaire for the European Social Survey.

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1.4. Data analysis

The analyses presented in this report have been carried out using a standard social science statistical package (SPSS). The findings presented in subsequent chapters compare the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents within the three Member States. Where groups are said to be different from each other, or findings are described as being statistically significant, this means that statistical tests ascertained that there was less than 5% probability that the differences found between groups occurred simply by chance. Even so, because of the sample size in each Member State, it is possible that findings that appear statistically significant may not be different in an important substantive sense.

All analysis presented in this report is based on weighted data, to correct for differences in the age, sex and cultural background of the achieved samples and ensure that these reflect a selected sample of 1000 cases with equal proportions of males and females from age 12 to 18, of whom 40% are from Muslim backgrounds and 60% are from non-Muslim backgrounds, in each Member State.

1.5. Structure of the report

This report presents the findings from the research conducted by the Universities of Castilla- la-Mancha, Bordeaux and Edinburgh. Each chapter compares the results from the three Member States with findings presented separately for the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents. Chapter two presents a profile of the socio-economic, cultural and religious profile of the young people who participated in this survey. Chapter three explores their experiences of discrimination and their feelings of social marginalisation, while chapter four reviews their attitudes towards and their experiences of violence. The fifth chapter presents information on the young people's interest in political issues, their trust in political institutions and their own tendencies towards active citizenship, while chapter six looks at their peer group characteristics and leisure activities. Chapter seven amalgamates the data from the previous chapters and proposes some explanations for young people's attitudes towards and involvement in violent behaviour. Finally, chapter eight provides some concluding remarks and policy implications that emerge from the findings of the report.

2. Socio-economic, cultural and religious profile

The survey asked young people about issues such as the following:

- **In which country they were born**
- **Religious affiliation**
- **What language, other than the dominant one in the Member State, is spoken at home**
- **In which countries their parents were born**
- **If the parents have a job**
- **How they would describe their cultural identity**

2.1. Introduction

The geographical and historical origins of the immigrant populations, both Muslim and non-Muslim, residing in all three Member States vary considerably, which means that the demographic and cultural backgrounds are inevitably very different. Nevertheless, the research evidence suggests some shared characteristics among Muslim groups regardless of country of residence. First, Muslim families tend to be concentrated in particular geographical locations and these areas are often heavily urbanised and characterised by high levels of poverty and deprivation (EUMAP, 2005). Second, Muslims are often over-represented among the youngest members of the population (CRS Report, 2005). Third, Muslim youths tend to be disproportionately affected by social exclusion across a wide range of indices, including higher rates of unemployment, poorer health profiles and being placed in the worst social housing (EUMAP, 2005). Data from educational sources across Europe present some evidence of discrimination, with Muslim youths being over-represented in terms of educational subsidies (e. g. free school meals and financial bursaries). However, the findings are more mixed in terms of educational achievement (in France there is only some disadvantage, while evidence from the United Kingdom and Spain suggest that Muslim youths perform less well). All of these factors may have some bearing on feelings of grievance and distrust towards the state and other institutions of authority, as well as contributing to perceptions of alienation and social marginalisation.

This chapter is intended to provide contextual background for this report, by providing a description of the socio-economic background, based on parental employment status and entitlement to educational subsidies (reflecting low income), of those young people surveyed in each of the three Member States. Also included here is a review of the cultural identities of those young people participating in the survey and the nature and strength of their religious beliefs.

2.2. Socio-economic background

It was not possible within the scope of this survey to collect detailed information on the socio-economic

status of the respondents based on the occupational or educational background of their parents, as there are both practical difficulties and ethical sensitivities associated with trying to collect accurate information of this type from young people. Therefore, we rely here on a general question about the employment status of the young people's parents and on information about whether the child was eligible for special educational bursaries or entitlements which are indicative of low income. It is not, of course, possible to infer merely from parents' employment status what their level of income is.

2.2.1. Parental employment status

Young people in the sample were asked whether their father and mother had a job (either full or part time). If they were not living with their father or mother, they were asked to reply about their step-parent or other adult male or female carer, where applicable. The percentage of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in each Member State who reported that their parents or adult carers were in work is presented in Table 2.1.

The rate of employment among fathers or male carers was considerably higher than for mothers and female carers overall; although, the difference was more extreme for Muslim youths than for non-Muslim youths. Table 2.1 shows that the mothers and fathers of non-Muslim youths were more likely to be in employment than the parents of Muslim youths; the exception to this was the fathers or male carers of United Kingdom respondents. Less than one in ten young people from non-Muslim backgrounds said that their mother or father did not have a job; while young people from Muslim backgrounds were more likely to say they had a parent without a job, particularly as it related to mothers and female carers. Employment rates among mothers were significantly lower than for fathers for all young people, except the non-Muslims in France and the United Kingdom. However, mothers and female carers of Muslim youths were far more likely to be caring full-time for the family than the mothers of non-Muslim children. This finding supports existing literature showing that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women to be least likely to be formally employed in the United Kingdom (Dale et al, 2006).

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Table 2.1: Employment status of male and female parent/carer (%)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	Muslim	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**
Employment status of father/male carer						
In work	68	86	69	85	75	79
Not in work	18	4	7	5	5	5
Cares for the family	2	*	*	*	1	1
Other	12	10	24	10	20	15
Employment status of mother/female carer						
In work	54	83	34	72	23	74
Not in work	11	5	18	8	12	7
Cares for the family	29	9	43	16	61	14
Other	6	3	6	4	5	6

*Note: 'Other' includes retired, too ill to work or not living with parent/carer; * denotes less than 0.5%.*

Looking at the employment situation of both parents together, Figure 2.1 highlights the fact that most young people in this study had at least one working parent or adult carer in their household. However, non-Muslim respondents in all three Member States were more likely to have two working parents than those from Muslim backgrounds. In Spain and the United Kingdom, Muslims were about three times less likely to have two working parents than non-Muslims; although, in France the difference was less extreme. Correspondingly, the proportion of Muslim youths who had no parent in the household working is at least twice as high as for non-Muslim respondents.

Overall, the findings presented here indicate that the Muslim youths in this study may have been more financially disadvantaged than non-Muslim youths as a result of having parents who were not in employment, although this cannot be definitively proved. However, a major contributor to the non-working status of Muslim parents is the traditional caring role that Muslim mothers and female carers adopt within the household, which is far less common for non-Muslim women.

2.2.2. Educational subsidies

Forms of educational support can be used as proxy measures – or indicators – of socio-economic status, particularly in terms of whether or not children are eligible for some form of financial assistance while at school, and therefore should be kept in mind when comparing results both between groups within a Member State and across Member States.

In France and Spain, young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are entitled to a bursary to help with their school expenses. The proportion of Spanish respondents who reported receiving an educational bursary was 24% overall, only 1% lower than the national average (Spanish Ministry of Education, 2008), suggesting that the sample as a whole was not more deprived than average. However, bursaries were significantly more common among the Muslim respondents (37%) than those from non-Muslim backgrounds (15%). In France, 40% of respondents reported receiving an educational bursary, which is significantly higher than the national average of 24% (National Ministry for Education, 2007).

Figure 2.1: Employment status of parents/adult carers (%)
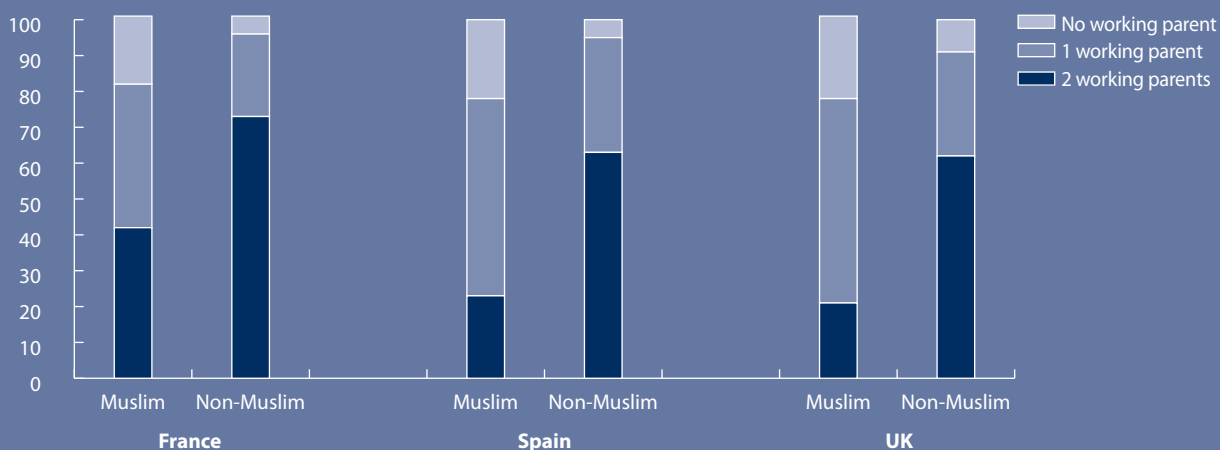
In addition, the Muslim respondents were significantly more likely (58%) to receive a bursary than the non-Muslim respondents (29%). In the United Kingdom, children from more deprived backgrounds are entitled to receive assistance in the form of free school meals. Among the sample as a whole, 26% stated that they were, or had been while at school, entitled to free school meals. This is also far greater than the national average in both of the United Kingdom sample locations, which stands at 16% in Scotland (Scottish Government 2007) and 21% in England (DCFS 2008). However, yet again, Muslim respondents were significantly more likely (33%) to receive free school meal entitlement than those from non-Muslim backgrounds (21%).

These study findings indicate that the French and United Kingdom samples contained a higher than average proportion of disadvantaged young people; although the Spanish sample was fairly representative of Spanish youths as a whole. Taken together with the findings on parental employment, this does suggest that the Muslim youths included in this survey may have been considerably more economically disadvantaged than the non-Muslim respondents.

2.3. Cultural background

This section of the report describes the cultural profile of the respondents involved in the survey, according to their own self-reports. A variety of questions were asked about cultural background, including: the country of birth of the respondent and their birth parents (whether or not they were living with them); what cultural identity the respondent ascribed to and how strongly they associated with this identity; and the use of different spoken languages at home.
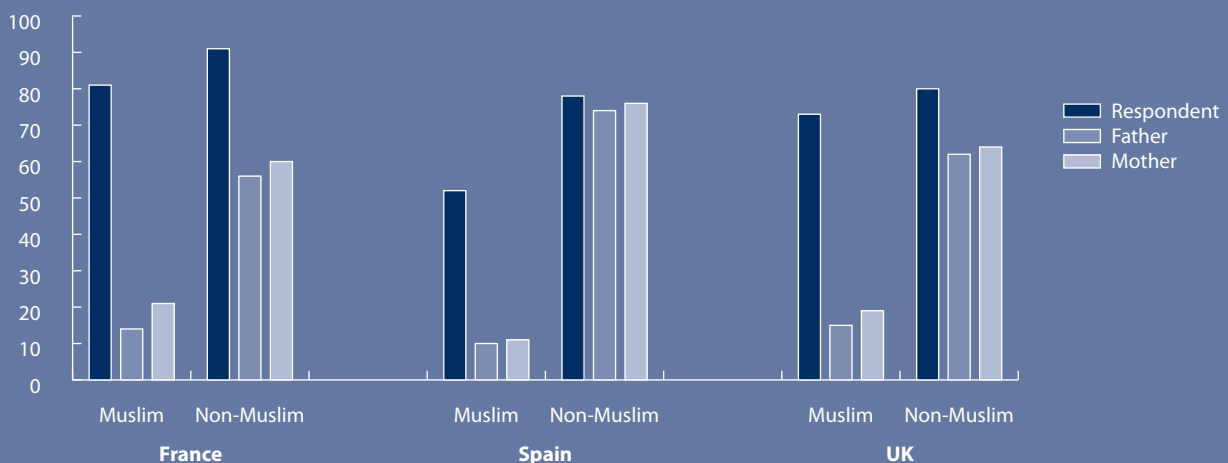
2.3.1. Country of origin

Most young people said that they were born in their country of residence, although this did vary between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents and across Member States. Figure 2.2 shows that non-Muslim respondents in all three jurisdictions were more likely to have been born in the country of residence than Muslim respondents. The difference between groups was most marked among young people in Spain, where more than three quarters of non-Muslims were born in Spain compared to only half of Muslims. Among the Muslim respondents, it was rarely reported that their mother or father was born in the country of residence. Mothers of Muslim youths were slightly more likely to have been born in the country of residence than fathers; however, between eighty and ninety percent of Muslim parents were born in another country. For non-Muslims in France and the United Kingdom, parents were also less likely than their children to have been born in a different country; however, the difference was not so marked as for Muslim youths. In Spain, there was no significant difference in the proportion of respondents and their parents born outside Spain.

These findings strongly indicate that a large proportion of the Muslim youths in each of the Member States were second generation immigrants; whereas, this applied to a far lower proportion of non-Muslim youths in this study.

2.3.2. Cultural identity

As there were legal restrictions regarding questions around ethnic belonging and national identity in France, the survey instrument was prohibited from the inclusion of direct questions on these themes. However, since one of the main interests of the survey was to record and measure national and ethnic identity and strength of belonging, the term 'cultural background' was used instead. In measuring this, respondents were offered a range of country specific national identities

Figure 2.2: Respondents and their parents born in the country of residence (%)

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and ethnicities to choose from, and were permitted to select up to three of these to allow for the importance of hybridised identities (Virdee et al, 2006). In this report, therefore, the concepts 'cultural background' and 'cultural identities' are used, since the survey questions were framed in this way. A list of the most common cultural identities for each Member State was provided and respondents were offered the opportunity to tick up to three answers allowing scope for multiple cultural expressions of identity. The results of this question are shown in Table 2.2 below. It is important to bear in mind when reviewing these results that the samples for this study were drawn from areas with higher than average concentrations of Muslim households; therefore they are not representative of the population. The responses to this question reveal a multicultural range of respondents in each locality, with many describing themselves as coming from more than one cultural background. Half of all respondents ticked at least two responses in France and the United Kingdom, and a quarter did so in Spain.

In each of the three Member States, respondents were most likely to describe themselves as belonging to the dominant cultural group within that Member State e.g. French in France and Spanish in Spain. In the United Kingdom, the research was conducted in two countries (England and Scotland), and respondents variously described themselves as English, Scottish or British. Many respondents described themselves as belonging to a different cultural group; although this varied between Member States. In the French sample, a relatively high proportion of young people described themselves as being Arabic, European (including 1% who said they were Eastern European) or African. In Spain, on the other hand, a third of respondents described themselves as Moroccan with far fewer saying they were European or African, and only a tiny proportion described themselves as Arabic. The most common alternative cultural identity mentioned in the United Kingdom sample was Pakistani, with far fewer describing themselves as African or Indian.

The diversity of the samples is further reflected in the proportion of young people who reported describing their cultural background as 'other', particularly in France and the United Kingdom. These varied widely among respondents, and included Bangladeshi, American, Caribbean, German, Jamaican, Polish, Turkish and many other nationalities.
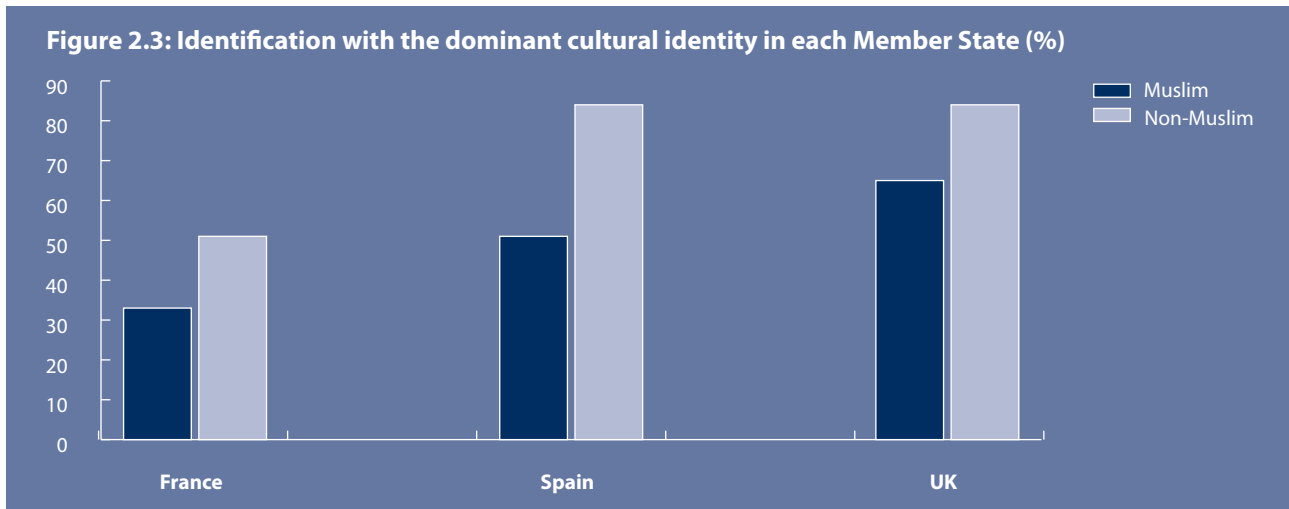
There were considerable differences in terms of how Muslim respondents described their cultural background compared to non-Muslim youths in each of the three Member States. Figure 2.3 shows that two thirds of Muslim youths in the United Kingdom identified themselves with the dominant cultural identity (i.e. Scottish, English or British), although only a half of Muslims in Spain said they were Spanish and a mere third of French Muslims described themselves as French.[29] It was significantly more common for non-Muslim respondents to associate themselves with the dominant cultural identity of the Member State; although in France, as shown in Figure 2.3, only half of the non-Muslim respondents described themselves as French which suggests that this sample may have been more culturally diverse from the population than those in Spain and the United Kingdom. A high proportion of French Muslim youths described themselves as Arabic (28%), African (14%) or North African (7%), while in Spain, the majority of Muslim respondents described themselves as Moroccan (71%). In the United Kingdom, one third (30%) of Muslim youths described themselves as Pakistani and a very small proportion (5%) said they were African.

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29 In the Gallup survey Muslims in Europe, which was carried out in Paris and London, among other locations, the adult respondents in Paris were as likely to say they identify strongly with France as the majority population interviewed nationwide – the adult Muslims in London were even more likely to identify with the UK than the majority population in the country.

Table 2.2: Description of the respondents' cultural background (%)

France (n=952)		Spain (n=1009)		United Kingdom (n=1029)	
French	77	Spanish	73	Scottish	42
Arabic	24	Moroccan	30	English	27
European	22	Latin American	9	British	35
African	17	Asian	4	Pakistani	23
North African	7	European	3	African	9
Asian	4	African	2	Indian	6
Turkish	4	Pakistani	1	Irish	4
Latin American	1	Romanian	1	Chinese	2
				Welsh	1
Other	18	Other	5	Other	25

Notes: More than one response permitted so columns do not total 100%.

Figure 2.3: Identification with the dominant cultural identity in each Member State (%)
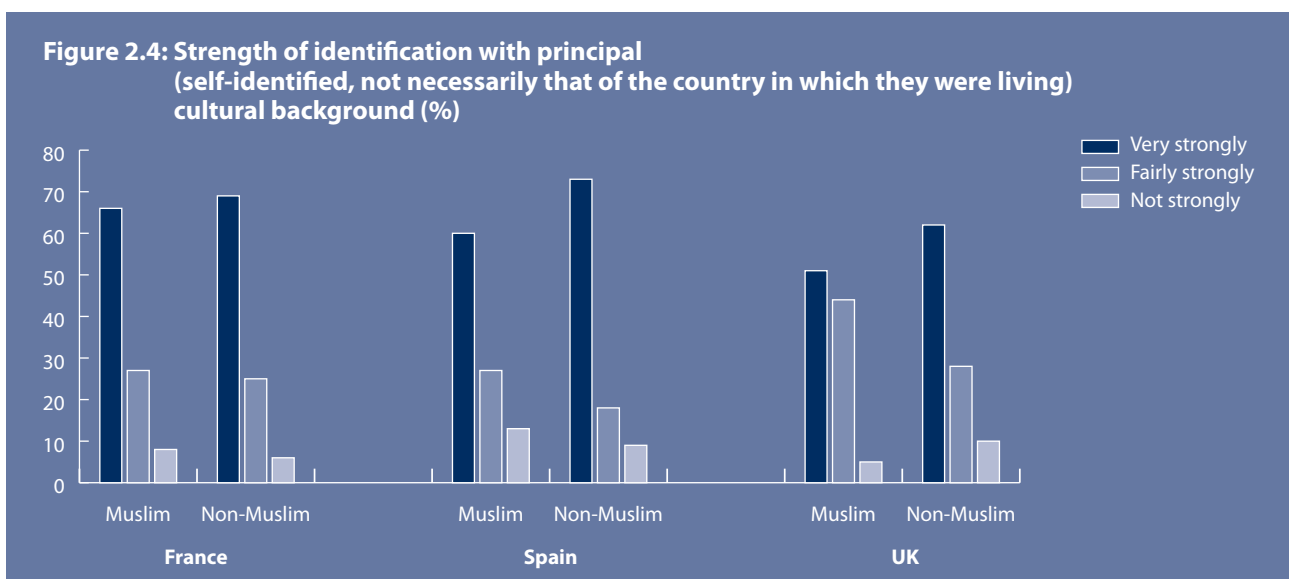

2.3.3. Strength of cultural identity

Respondents were given the opportunity to describe up to three cultural identities that they ascribed to, and for each they were asked how 'strongly' they identified with it. In all, 91% of respondents gave at least one response to this question, while 46% reported on two cultural descriptions and 15% reported on three. It is too complex in the context of this report to describe exactly how strongly respondents identified with each and every cultural group mentioned, because of the sheer variation in answers both within and between Member States. However, Figure 2.4 summarises how strongly respondents in each Member State said they associated themselves with their 'principal' cultural background (i.e. the one they identified with most strongly, not necessarily that of the country in which they were living), without indicating what background this was.

To contrast this figure with the previous ones, Figure 2.3 showed the extent of identification with the dominant culture of the Member State in question, for example

– French in France. Figure 2.4 captures the strength of identification with the cultural background that they associated with the most, which might have been, for example, Arabic in France (details of the options provided is given in Figure 2.2).

The majority of respondents reported that they identified either 'very' or 'fairly' strongly with their principal cultural background, which indicates that young people are aware of and influenced by their own cultural identities. The respondents in the United Kingdom identified slightly less strongly with their cultural background than those in France or Spain overall. Figure 2.4 shows that the non-Muslim respondents were slightly more likely to identify with their cultural background 'very strongly' than Muslim youths, particularly in Spain, while there was little difference between the groups in France. Muslim respondents in the United Kingdom were far more likely than those in Spain and France to say that they identified 'fairly strongly' with their cultural background. However, only a small proportion from any Member State did not strongly associate with any cultural identity at all.

Figure 2.4: Strength of identification with principal (self-identified, not necessarily that of the country in which they were living) cultural background (%)

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2.3.4. Other languages spoken at home

Another indication of multicultural identity is the use of more than one language; and a fairly sizeable proportion of the samples in each Member State said that they spoke a language other than their native mother tongue at home. Muslim respondents were significantly more likely to report using another language at home than non-Muslims in all three Member States. The difference was particularly great in Spain where Muslims (93%) were seven times more likely to speak another language at home than non-Muslims (13%). In the United Kingdom, Muslim youths were over three times more likely to speak another language at home than non-Muslims (89% and 24%, respectively); whereas, the French Muslims were only around 1.5 times more likely to do so than non-Muslims (76% compared with 48%). Concentrating on those who reported that they spoke their mother tongue at home, Figure 2.5 shows that there was considerable variation between Muslims and non-Muslims, and between Member States, in terms of the frequency with which the residence country's dominant language (i.e. French in France, Spanish in Spain , and English in the United Kingdom) was used. In the United Kingdom, a similar proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim youths spoke the dominant language (English) all or most of the time; but a higher proportion of Muslims spoke the dominant language and another language equally, compared to non-Muslims. In France, the non-Muslims were more likely to use the dominant language (French) all or most of the time; although, a high proportion of Muslims youths also did so. The most extreme difference between the samples was in Spain, where the majority of non-Muslims said they spoke the dominant language (Spanish) all or most of the time, while most of the Muslims said they spoke the dominant and another language about equally.

2.3.5. Cultural acceptance

The findings so far have indicated some fairly dramatic cultural differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in each Member State. However, difference in itself is not problematic if there is a wide degree of cultural acceptance. Young people were asked whether they thought that people who were not indigenous to their particular Member State needed to do more to 'fit in' to the culture of that country. Figure 2.6 indicates that a large proportion of respondents (ranging from 31% in France to 38% in Spain) stated that they did not know how to answer this question. Muslim respondents in Spain and the United Kingdom were particularly unsure. In France and the United Kingdom, views were very mixed towards this question. However, a fairly substantial proportion of both Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in both jurisdictions thought that non-indigenous people did enough to fit in with the dominant culture, while a smaller proportion said that they needed to do more. There was no significant difference between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in France and the United Kingdom. The Spanish youths were least likely overall to say that non-indigenous people did enough to fit into the dominant culture of Spain, and Muslim and non-Muslims did not differ significantly on that response. However, Muslim respondents were significantly more likely to say that they were not sure about this, whereas the non-Muslims were significantly more likely to say that non-indigenous people needed to do more to fit into Spanish culture.

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30   The 'dominant language' refers to French for France, Spanish for Spain and English for the United Kingdom.

Figure 2.5: Frequency of languages spoken at home among multilingual respondents[30] (%)
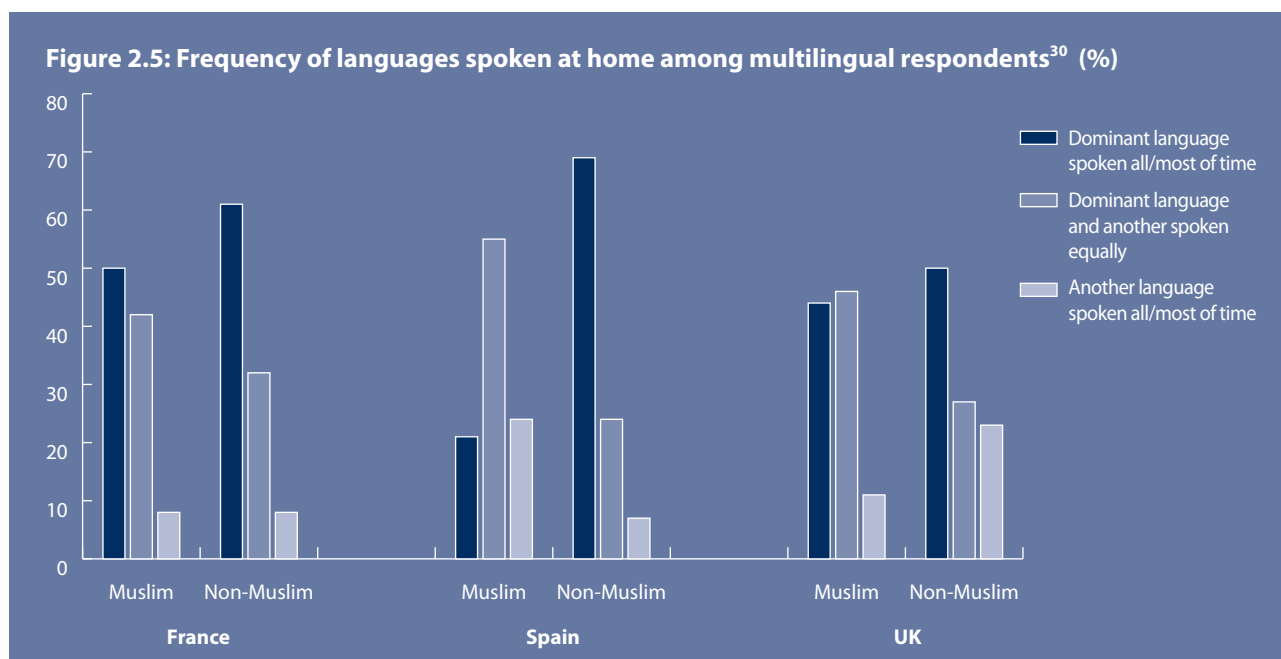
Multiple identities

The responses presented in this survey on questions of cultural backgrounds perhaps tell us more about the nature of identity than the actual ethnicity of respondents. Interestingly, many young people described themselves as coming from more than one cultural background, with a quarter of the respondents in Spain and over half in France and the United Kingdom.

Cultural identities are not mutually exclusive, but rather compatible and positively correlated. For the young people that participated in this survey, there is nothing extraordinary in feeling that they are, for example, French, Arabic and European at the same time. Such multiple identities should be seen as an enriching factor, as they reflect the fact that the diversity of today's Europe can be found not only between different communities and individuals, but also within individuals themselves.

This sense of belonging to different backgrounds can also be explained by the fact that many of the respondents are multilingual. Here again, the multiple identities appear as something positive, namely the capacity to communicate in different languages and between cultures.

Multiple identities present an alternative to the exclusive identity constructed in contrast to some 'other'. They can therefore be seen as an embracing platform on which diverse backgrounds meet and are negotiated. Multiple identities offer young people an opportunity to define themselves in a way that is not limiting and that does not force them into a single ethnic classification that supposedly characterises them as human beings. That is why the recognition of multiple identities is crucial for the inclusion of young people with immigrant background in general and young Muslims in particular.

Taken as a whole, these findings indicate that there is considerable diversity in the types of cultural identities held, the strength of association with these cultural identities and views about how well people from different cultural backgrounds integrate into society among the young people in this study. Significant differences exist between Muslims and non-Muslim youths, both within the three Member States and between them. These cultural identities cannot be said to be representative of the populations as a whole within these jurisdictions; however, they are likely to reflect historical patterns and trends in immigration and settlement in particular areas of these Member States. A large proportion of both Muslim and non-Muslim respondents to this survey ascribed themselves to identities that were distinct from the dominant cultural group. It is important to bear these cultural distinctions in mind when reflecting on the findings presented later in this report, as the results can only reliably be said to be applicable to young people living in areas with higher than average concentrations of Muslim households.

2.4. Religious beliefs

2.4.1. Religious affiliation

The young people in this survey were asked whether they belonged to a particular religion. Once again, French restrictions on the type of data that can be collected on religious beliefs, limited the range of questions that were able to be included in the survey. In accordance with the research design, the data presented here have been weighted to ensure that 40% of respondents in each of

Figure 2.6: Respondents views on how much non-indigenous people need to do to fit in (%)
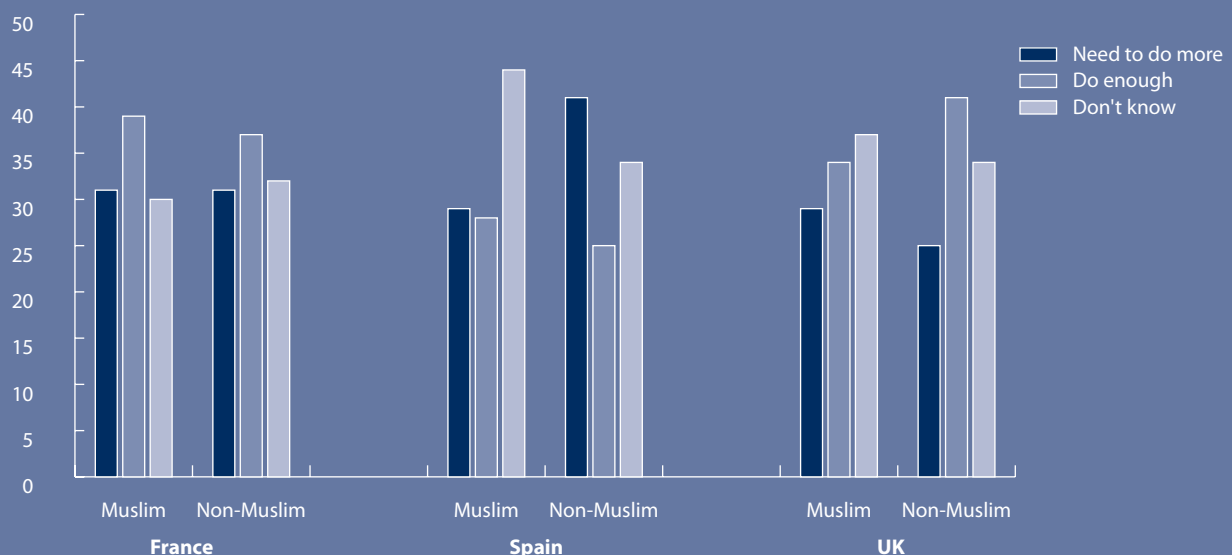
the three jurisdictions were followers of Islam.[31] Figure 2.7 shows, however, that the non-Muslim respondents had a considerably different profile in France, Spain and the United Kingdom. A significant proportion of those sampled in France and Spain said they were Roman Catholic (which reflects the countries respective religious histories), compared to only 5% in the United Kingdom; whereas, 18% of United Kingdom respondents said they were Protestant or another Christian religion, compared to only 10% of youths in France and 3% in Spain. It is important to note that a significant proportion of youths from all Member States, but particularly the United Kingdom, stated that they did not belong to any religion.

2.4.2. Strength of religious beliefs

Those respondents who said they belonged to a religion were asked how strong their religious beliefs were. Figure 2.8

compares the responses to this question for the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in each Member State. The results show that Muslim respondents were significantly more likely to have 'very' or 'fairly' strong religious beliefs compared to those belonging to non-Muslim faiths. Those belonging to other, non-Muslim, faiths were far more likely to say that their religious beliefs were 'not very' strong or that they had no religious beliefs compared to Muslim youths; especially in the Spanish sample.

These differences in the strength of religious beliefs have obvious implications for issues such as the frequency with which one might worship. Therefore, to reflect both the nature and strength of religious affiliation, the respondents were divided into three groups: 'Muslim believers' were those who described themselves as having very or fairly strong belief in the Muslim faith; 'non-Muslim believers' were those belonging to other faiths who said they had very or fairly strong beliefs; while 'non-believers' are those who said they did not belong to any religion or they did belong to a religion (Muslim or another faith) but had weak or no religious beliefs.

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31 A description of the data weighting process and the religious beliefs of the unweighted samples is presented in Appendix I (see table I.2)
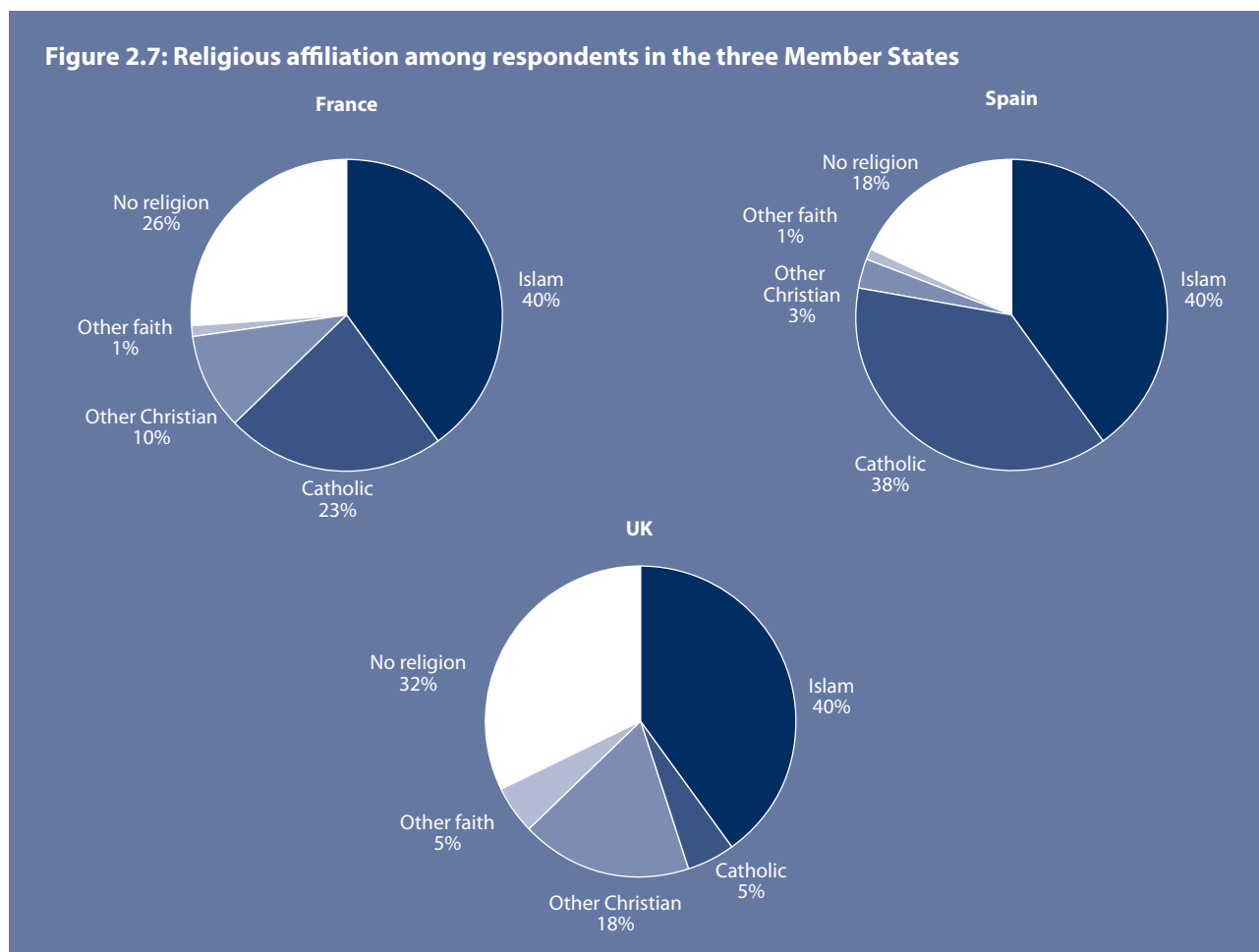

Figure 2.7: Religious affiliation among respondents in the three Member States

France

- No religion 26%
- Other faith 1%
- Other Christian 10%
- Catholic 23%
- Islam 40%

Spain

- No religion 18%
- Other faith 1%
- Other Christian 3%
- Catholic 38%
- Islam 40%

UK

- No religion 32%
- Other faith 5%
- Other Christian 18%
- Catholic 5%
- Islam 40%

Figure 2.8: Strength of religious beliefs among those who identified themselves as having a religion (%)
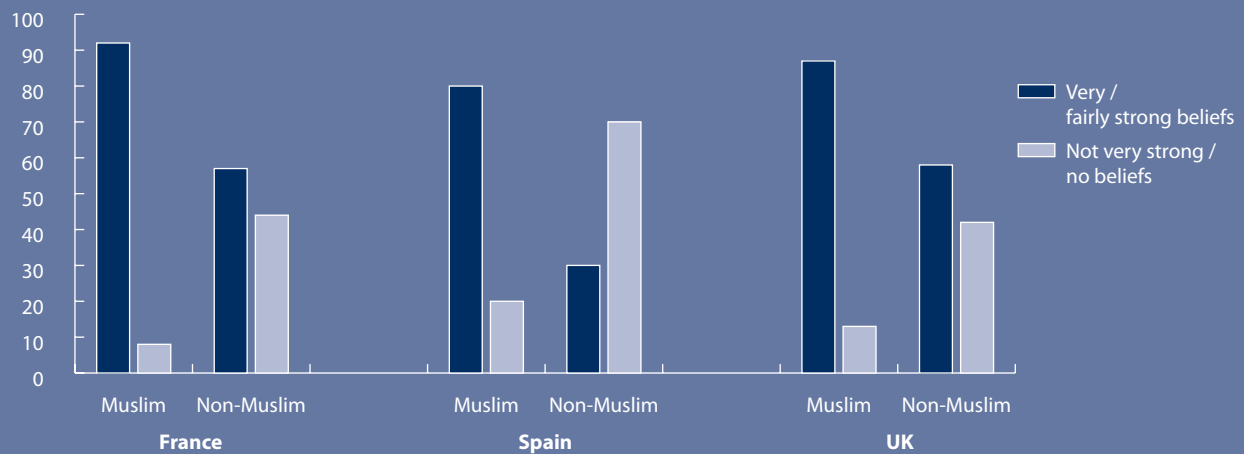
Strength of religious beliefs

The research shows that twice as many Muslim strong believers than other strong believers think that worship or having religion is an important thing in life. When analysing this finding, the status of different religions in the studied countries should be taken into consideration.

There is a substantial difference between following the dominant religion in a particular country and following a minority religion. Even in a secular state, there are numerous vestiges of the previously established religion in public life. One example is that public holidays tend to follow the Church calendar.

In such settings, for many of the followers of the dominant religion, religion is so strongly embedded in the way that their society functions, that it ceases to be noticeable. For the followers of minority religions, to be able to practice their religion is much more demanding and often means going against the flow.

At the same time, religion is a part of cultural identity. For minorities, this means that, for example, worship can be particularly important not so much as a religious act, but as a way of confirming cultural roots or minority status. This can be important for young people, as they are at a point in life where the search for an identity, as well as for distinctiveness, plays an important role.
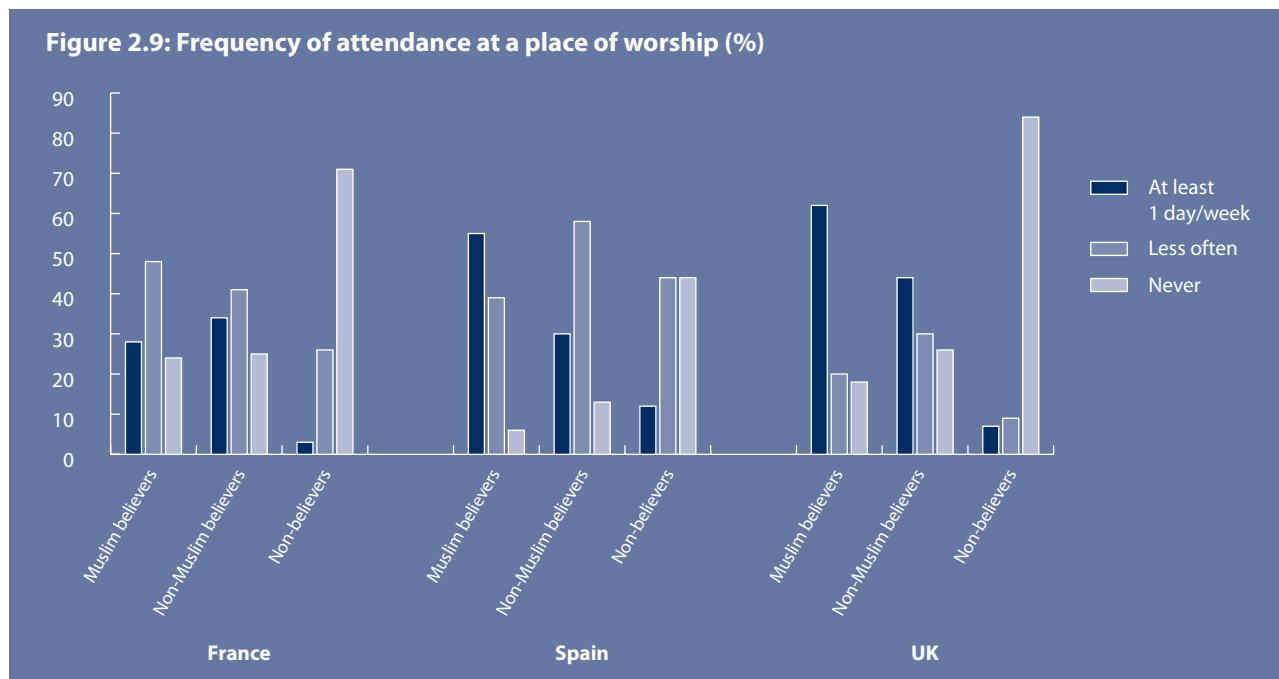
2.4.3. Frequency of worship

Strength of religious belief was related to frequency of attendance at a place of worship, and both Muslim and non-Muslim believers were significantly more likely than non-believers to regularly attend a church, mosque or other place of worship. Figure 2.9 shows, however, that there were some differences between Member States. In the United Kingdom, the majority of Muslim and non-Muslim believers attended a place of worship at least one day a week (with Muslim believers being most likely to attend on 4 days or more per week). In Spain, Muslim

believers were most likely to attend a place of worship at least once weekly; while non-Muslim believers were most likely to attend less than once a week. It was not common for the French youths who were very or fairly strong believers to attend a place of worship at least one day per week, regardless of whether they were Muslim or non-Muslim. Many of the Muslim believers (32% in the United Kingdom and 19% in Spain, although only 8% in France) reported attending a place of worship at least four days per week, although it is important to acknowledge that mosques often represent much more to Muslim communities than a place for religious activity. For example, they are commonly used as after-school clubs, meeting places and offer a range of cultural or language related activities, which may be less commonly the case for other places of worship. Not surprisingly, non-believers in each Member State were less likely than believers to attend a place of worship; although the Spanish non-believers were more likely than those in France and the United Kingdom to say that they did so occasionally.

2.4.4. Religious education

It is important to bear in mind that the way in which young people gain their knowledge about religion often reflects the approach to teaching religion and the status of their religion within the country in question, as well as individual choice. Young people receive information about religion from a range of different sources, and this varies across different cultures and nations. In this study, the young people were asked who taught them most about religion. In France, young people do not receive any religious education in schools; therefore, the most common source of teaching about religion reported by the French youths was family members. In Spain, religious education is taught in schools; however, like the French sample, most stated that they learned about religion from their family. Family members were less commonly a source of religious education in the United Kingdom, with teachers featuring more often than in Spain, perhaps not

Experience of discrimination, social marginalisation and violence : a comparative study of Muslim and non-Muslim youth in three EU Member States

Figure 2.9: Frequency of attendance at a place of worship (%)

surprising since the study of religion until the age of 14 is provided to all children in the United Kingdom.[32] There were substantial differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, however, as shown in Table 2.2.

Muslim youths in all three Member States were significantly more likely to refer to family members as the most common source of religious education than non-Muslims. In Spain and the United Kingdom, non-Muslims were more likely than Muslims to say that they were taught religion mainly at school. However, a significant minority of non-Muslim respondents in all three jurisdictions reported that nobody taught them religion. Some French and Spanish youths reported being taught religion by their friends, although this was rare in the United Kingdom. It is notable that in the United Kingdom, Muslim youths were twice as likely to be taught about religion by religious leaders compared to non-Muslims; although there was no significant difference between groups in France and Spain, where the role of religious leaders was less important in general. This may reflect the greater availability of mosques in the United Kingdom, which was noted in Chapter 1, and the fact that mosques provide routine after school care which includes a significant religious teaching element.

2.5. Key findings

- Based on information about their eligibility for educational bursaries or entitlements, the young people surveyed in France and the United Kingdom appeared to be more economically disadvantaged (based on parental employment and educational subsidies) than the national average, although this did not appear to be the case for the Spanish sample. However, respondents from Muslim backgrounds in all three Member States were significantly more economically disadvantaged than those from non-Muslim backgrounds.
- At least half of all Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in France, Spain and the United Kingdom said they associated themselves with more than one cultural background, which implies the ethnic diversity of the samples. Around two thirds of respondents in each Member State said they identified 'very strongly' with their principal cultural background. Muslim respondents were slightly less likely than non-Muslim respondents to identify 'very strongly' with their principal cultural background, however.
- Many young people were unsure whether non-indigenous people did enough to fit in with the dominant culture. However, most Muslims and non-Muslims who held a view in France and the United Kingdom felt that non-indigenous people did enough to fit in. Opinions were more divided among Muslims and non-Muslims in Spain, and Spanish non-Muslims were most likely overall to say that non-indigenous people needed to do more to fit into Spanish culture.
- In Spain and the United Kingdom, Muslim respondents who had very or fairly strong religious beliefs were

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32   However, parents have the right to withdraw their child from all or part of the religious education curricula. For further information, visit UK's Direct government website at: www.direct.gov.uk/en/Parents/ Schoolslearninganddevelopment.

Table 2.2: Most common source of teaching about religion (%)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	Muslim	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**
Family	72	41	81	32	67	20
Friends	7	10	4	16	2	2
Self-taught	9	2	2	3	4	9
Teachers	-	-	6	17	5	41
Religious leaders	6	5	4	6	20	9
Nobody	4	36	3	26	3	19

more likely to attend a place of worship, and to do so more frequently, than those of other religious faiths. Frequency of worship was highest among United Kingdom Muslim believers. In France, Muslims and non-Muslim religious believers were equally likely to attend a place of worship.

• French youths do not receive religious education in schools, unlike Spain and the United Kingdom, therefore most of their religious teaching comes from home. Muslim youths predominantly learn about religion at home, especially in France and Spain. A greater proportion of United Kingdom Muslims receive teaching from religious leaders than in Spain or France. A large proportion of non-Muslims do not receive religious teaching from anyone, although most receive some, mainly from family, friends or teachers.

3. Experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation

The survey asked young people about issues such as the following:

• If they are ever picked on for any reason (experiencing discrimination)
• Why they thought they were picked on
• Perceived need to adapt to dominant cultural identity of the Member State (i.e. that of the majority population)
• Size of peer groups – friends – and their cultural background
• Social exclusion experienced, contributions to social exclusion of others, and reasons for such exclusions

3.1. Introduction

The literature on discrimination and marginalisation evidences a range of discrimination indices which show that many Muslims across Europe, regardless of age, are experiencing social marginalization and alienation on a daily basis. This has been exacerbated by various wars in which Muslims are demonised (such the war with Afghanistan and the Iraq war), localised civil discontent (notably the Paris youth riots), as well as large scale terrorist attacks (including 9/11 in New York, the Madrid train bombings and attacks in the United Kingdom in both London and Glasgow), which have all contributed to rising feelings of distrust towards Muslim communities. Hostility and suspicion is further fuelled and supported by the rise of established right-wing racist groups, such as the National Front in France and the British National Party in the United Kingdom.

French commentators maintain that contemporary discrimination and prejudice in France is primarily directed towards Muslims (Bastenier, 2004), and Spain has a historical tradition of Islamophobia which has been used to legitimate negative attitudes towards Muslim immigration to Spain (Zapata Barrero, 2006). In the United Kingdom, racism and discriminatory practices were traditionally focused on Black African communities, and the Irish community (on the mainland), arguably until the publication of Rushdie's Satanic Verses in 1988, which was highly critical of Islam (Modood, 1992) and elicited condemnation and violent protests from Muslims on a global scale. Thereafter, public fears in the United Kingdom were redirected towards Muslim communities, in particular focusing on the threat of radicalised violence inspired by Islamic militancy. The US inspired global 'war on terror' has increased suspicion and discriminatory attitudes leading to tension, hostility and racist attacks against mosques, Muslim-owned shops, Muslim cemeteries and members of Muslim communities across Europe, and beyond.

Discrimination can manifest in a variety of ways and can be motivated by many aspects of individual intolerance, including towards religious beliefs, racial background, language and skin colour, but also less cultural issues such as age, sex and disability. It can be direct and indirect, and can include victimisation and harassment, which can all affect people's welfare and quality of life. Examples include economic and urban segregation, unequal access to resources, racist attitudes in employment and the public sphere, verbal and physical harassment, and generally being picked on or unfairly treated. There is a general lack of literature on experiences of discrimination among young people during their teenage years, particularly in terms of identifying distinctions and similarities between Muslim and non-Muslim youths. This chapter of the report aims to explore young people's experience of discrimination and social marginalisation, particularly with regards to perceptions of differential treatment due to racism or religion. Here we examine the respondents' reports of being discriminated against in general and, more specifically, by adults in the street, in shops and at school or college. We also look at self-reported feelings of happiness and social alienation and the extent to which young people have social support networks. We conclude the chapter by looking broadly at the relationship between experiences of discrimination and feelings of happiness and social marginalisation.

Muslim identity and discrimination

The results of the study show that there is a strong correlation between experiencing discrimination and the feeling of alienation. This suggests that the negative impact of discrimination and racist attacks on the identity of young Muslims should not be underestimated. As long as discrimination and racism exist, and are tolerated or remain neglected by states, national identities will be exclusive and inaccessible to those who are subjected to racist attacks and unequal treatment.

Pejorative stereotypes that are projected on young Muslim people often affect their identity. Racism and prejudice experienced by members of Muslim minorities can be critical in influencing young people's ability to consider themselves members of national communities, regardless of citizenship or whether they were born in the country in question.

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3.2. Experience of discrimination

3.2.1. General discrimination

In the introduction to the survey, young people were given a very general definition of discrimination as being 'picked on' or 'unfairly treated' by others. This 'applied' definition of discrimination was used rather than a legal one, given the need to make it as concrete and understandable as possible for the young persons involved. The particular questions had also been piloted and tested with good results that indicated young people's understanding of the terms in relation to what could be considered discrimination. During the survey, they were asked whether they had experienced such discrimination for any reason, for example, because of where they were from, the language they spoke, the colour of their skin or just for being different. Approximately one in four young people said this had ever happened to them. There was no significant difference across the three Member States in terms of the proportion of young people who said that they had been picked on for some reason (24% in France and the United Kingdom; 22% in Spain). However, there were some differences in experience of discrimination between Muslims and non-Muslims, and across the three Member States. Figure 3.1 shows that the proportion of Muslim respondents who

reported being unfairly picked on was significantly greater than that of non-Muslims in France and, especially, Spain; but there was no significant difference between the two groups in the United Kingdom.

The reasons for being discriminated against also varied between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents. Table 3.1 shows the reasons young people gave for their experiences of discrimination, separately for Muslim and non-Muslim youths in each Member State. It is evident that discriminatory practices against Muslim respondents in all three locations were centred mainly on issues relating to skin colour, religion, cultural background and language. Nevertheless, a high proportion of non-Muslim respondents also reported being discriminated against on the basis of skin colour, cultural background and, as could be expected, to a lesser extent, language; which reflects the fact that many non-Muslim respondents in the sample were not from a majority population background too (looking at respondents place of birth, 27% of Muslim respondents in the UK were born in another country compared with 19% of non-Muslims, while the respective percentages in France were 19% and 9%, and in Spain 48% and 21%). The main difference between the groups was that religion rarely featured as a reason for discrimination against non-Muslims, but was one of the most commonly cited reasons for discrimination among Muslims, particularly in Spain.

Table 3.1: Reasons given for being picked on (%)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Cultural background	46	38	41	40	36	18
Religion	31	8	64	5	44	6
Skin colour	26	28	11	19	45	22
Language	13	5	25	21	18	14
Age	8	3	5	9	6	5
Disability	6	3	1	0	0	4
Gender	5	5	4	4	2	3
Other reason	20	41	11	30	5	63

Note: More than one response permitted so columns do not total 100%.
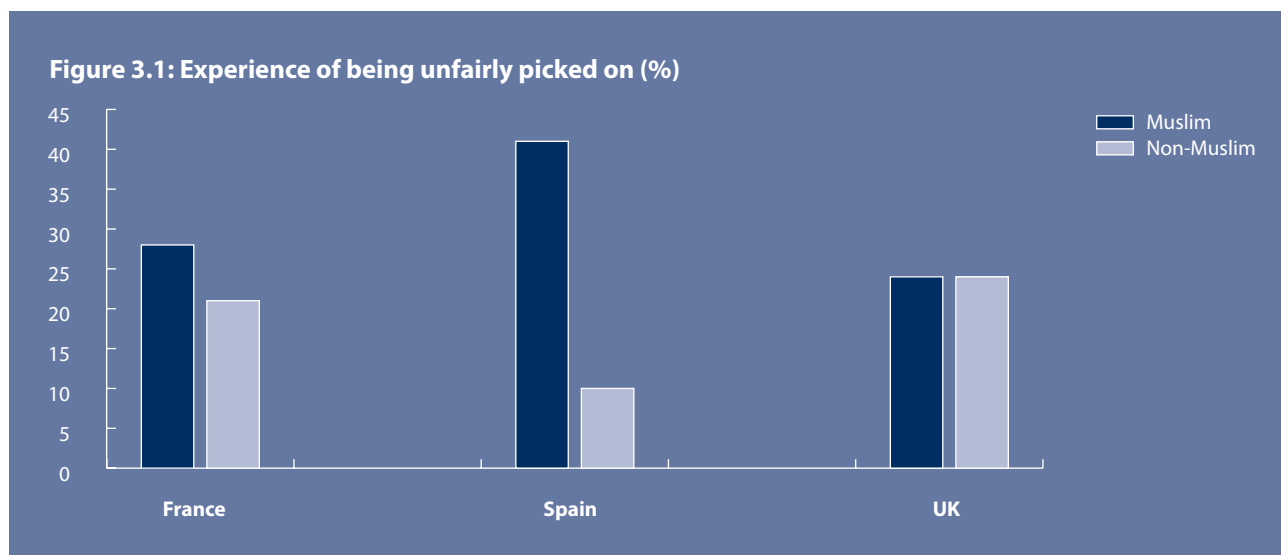
Figure 3.1: Experience of being unfairly picked on (%)

Discrimination on the basis of skin colour differed across the three Member States. In France, just over a quarter of respondents who said they were discriminated against thought this had occurred because of the colour of their skin, but there was no significant difference between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents. In Spain, only one in ten Muslims said they were picked on because of skin colour, but this applied to two in ten non-Muslims. In the United Kingdom, a similar proportion of non-Muslims to that in Spain were picked on because of skin colour; however, this was perceived to be a reason for discrimination among almost half of Muslims in the United Kingdom. There was no significant difference between groups in Spain in terms of the proportion who were picked on because of their cultural background; although, this was higher among Muslims compared to non-Muslims in France and the United Kingdom.

Disability, gender and age did not feature as common reasons for discrimination. However, many respondents gave other reasons for being discriminated against, particularly those from non-Muslim backgrounds. There were a wide variety of 'other' reasons; however, these mainly indicated that young people were picked on because they were 'different' to other young people in some way. For example, respondents stated that they were picked on because of their physical appearance, clothing, lifestyle, behaviour or sexuality. Some respondents also noted that they were picked on by individuals who lived in a different part of the city or who were affiliated with a rival group or what they perceived as a 'gang'.
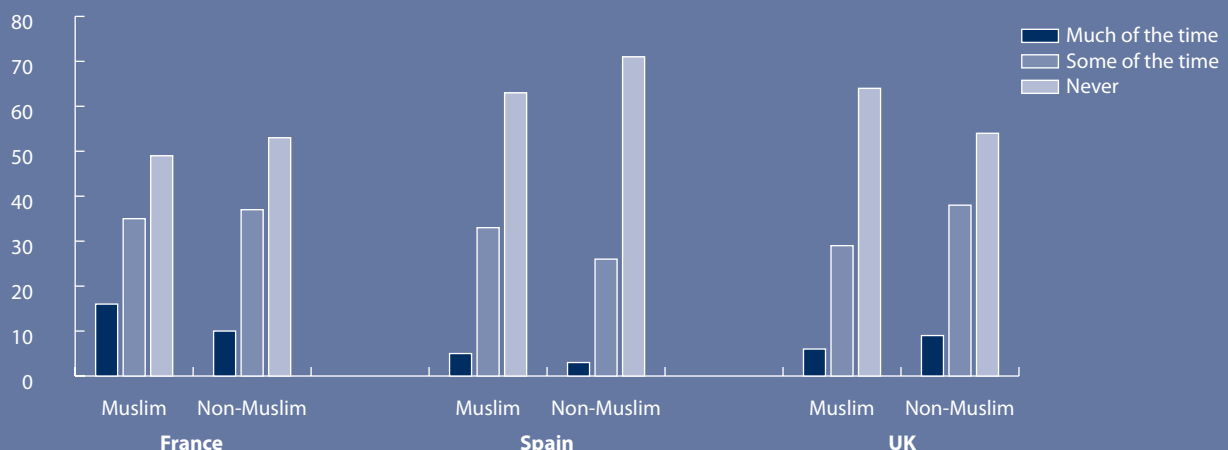
3.2.2. Discrimination by adults

There is very little literature about the extent to which young people feel discriminated against by adults. Therefore, this survey included three questions about whether the young people had ever been treated unfairly, picked on or treated differently to others by adults. Two of these questions were about being unfairly treated or picked on by adults when they were out with their friends (i.e. adult discrimination against youth groups, rather than individual young people). The first involved them walking past adults in the street with their group of friends, while the second involved being unfairly treated by adult staff when they were inside shops with their friends. The third question asked whether the respondents felt they were treated better, the same or worse by adults in their school (or college, for those who had left school) compared to other students.

Figure 3.2 compares the percentage of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents from each Member State who said they were discriminated against by adults in the street while out with friends. The key point to highlight is that most young people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, said they never experienced such discrimination; and only a very small proportion of young people said they were discriminated against in this way 'much of the time'. Overall, the Spanish youths were least likely to be discriminated against by adults in the street; while the French youths were most likely. There was no difference in discrimination experienced between the Muslims and non-Muslims in France; however, there were some differences between the two groups in Spain and the United Kingdom. Spanish Muslims were slightly more likely to have been discriminated against by adults in the street than non-Muslims; whereas this was less common among Muslims than non-Muslims in the United Kingdom.

The picture that emerged when considering the proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents who were discriminated against by adult shop attendants was practically identical to that of Figure 3.2. Again, the majority of young people said they had never experienced this type of discrimination, and only a small proportion

Figure 3.2: How often young people experience discrimination by adults when out with a group of friends in the street (%)

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reported that this happened to them 'much of the time'. As with adult discrimination in the streets, Muslim youths were more likely than non-Muslims to be discriminated against by adult shop staff in Spain, but less likely in the United Kingdom; whereas, there was no significant difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in France.

Turning to the question about being treated differently by adults at school or college, the overwhelming majority of respondents reported that they were treated the same as other students; although, the overall figure was somewhat lower in the United Kingdom (71%) than in France (81%) and Spain (85%). Figure 3.3 compares the percentage of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in the three Member States who said they were treated better, worse or the same as other students by adults at their school or college. The key point to note is that all of the groups have the same overall pattern, with the vast majority declaring equal treatment by adults at school or college. In fact, there is no significant difference in response to this question by the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in the United Kingdom and France. In Spain, however, Muslim respondents were around three times more likely than non-Muslims (17% compared with 5%, respectively) to say they were treated better than others by adults in their school.

The proportion of respondents who said they were treated worse than other students by adults in school or college is very small, which suggests that young people are not likely to experience discrimination in this context. This is supported by findings from an additional question on school exclusion, which shows that only around 1 in 10 young people said they had ever been excluded from school, with no differences between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents. However, reasons for being treated differently by adults in school did appear to vary somewhat between the Muslim and non-Muslim groups. In general, Muslim youths who felt they were treated worse by adults in school or college were more likely to say that this was due to their cultural background, religion or skin colour.

Whereas, non-Muslim youths were generally more likely to say they were treated badly for no particular reason that they could identify or because of their behaviour.

3.3. Experience of social marginalisation

One of the key areas of interest for this study was to determine how isolated or marginalised young people felt. To do this, three types of question were asked. First, they were asked a general question about how happy they were with their life at that moment in time. Secondly, they were given a short bank of questions from the Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire (Tellegen, 1982) which has been used in the Edinburgh Study of Youth Transitions and Crime to determine feelings of social alienation (Smith et al., 2001). And thirdly, they were asked about whether they had people in their life that they could share personal or private matters with, to assess the extent of their social networks.

3.3.1. General happiness with life

A common method of attaining a general gauge on the level of contentment among young people is to ask how happy they are with their lives as a whole at that moment in time. Figure 3.4 compares the results of this question for the samples across the three Member States. This shows that the vast majority of young people surveyed in our study felt either 'very' or 'quite' happy with their lives at that point in time. Only 15% in each Member State said they were neither happy nor unhappy; while less than one in ten felt either quite or very unhappy. Respondents in France and Spain were more likely than those in the United Kingdom to say they felt 'very happy', although a correspondingly higher proportion in the United Kingdom said they were 'quite happy'. There was no significant difference between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in Spain or the United Kingdom in response to this question. In France, the only difference between

Figure 3.3: Differential treatment by adults in school/college compared to other students (%)
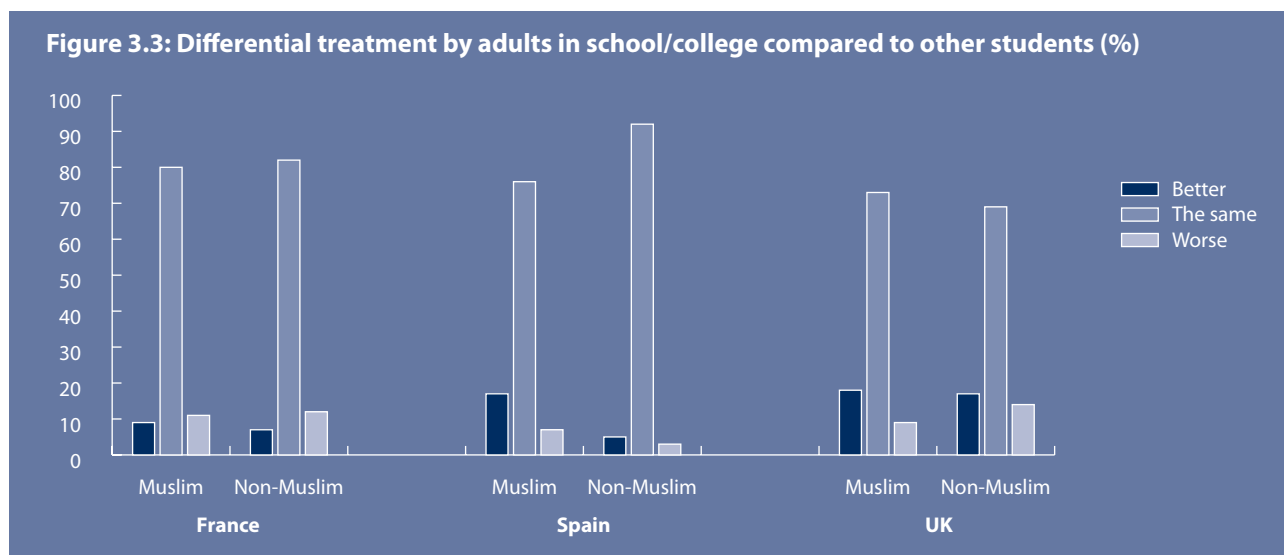
the groups was that Muslim respondents were more likely to report being 'very happy' and less likely to be 'quite happy' compared to the non-Muslims.

3.3.2. Feelings of alienation

A measure that has been used to tap into feelings of negative emotionality is the alienation scale of the Multidimensionality Personality Questionnaire (Tellegen, 1982). A shortened version of the alienation scale has been used in other research with young people and has been shown to be strongly related to victimisation and anxiety (Smith et al., 2001). This scale consists of six items, each of which tap into a separate aspect of alienation, social isolation and feelings of persecution (see question 8.2 in Appendix II). Respondents are asked to agree or disagree with each item, and given the option of neither agreeing nor disagreeing. By adding the scores from each of these items together and dividing by the highest possible score, a scale is determined which ranges from a score of 0 (representing very low feelings of alienation) to 1 (which indicates that the individual feels quite highly alienated).

Overall, the mean scores for this alienation scale were fairly close to 0, which indicates that most of the young people in these samples did not feel highly alienated. Looking at the mean scores for each sample, there was

no significant difference between the United Kingdom and France (both 0.21), although the average for the Spanish sample was significantly lower (0.15). There was no significant difference in average alienation scores between the Muslim and non-Muslim youths in any of the three Member States.
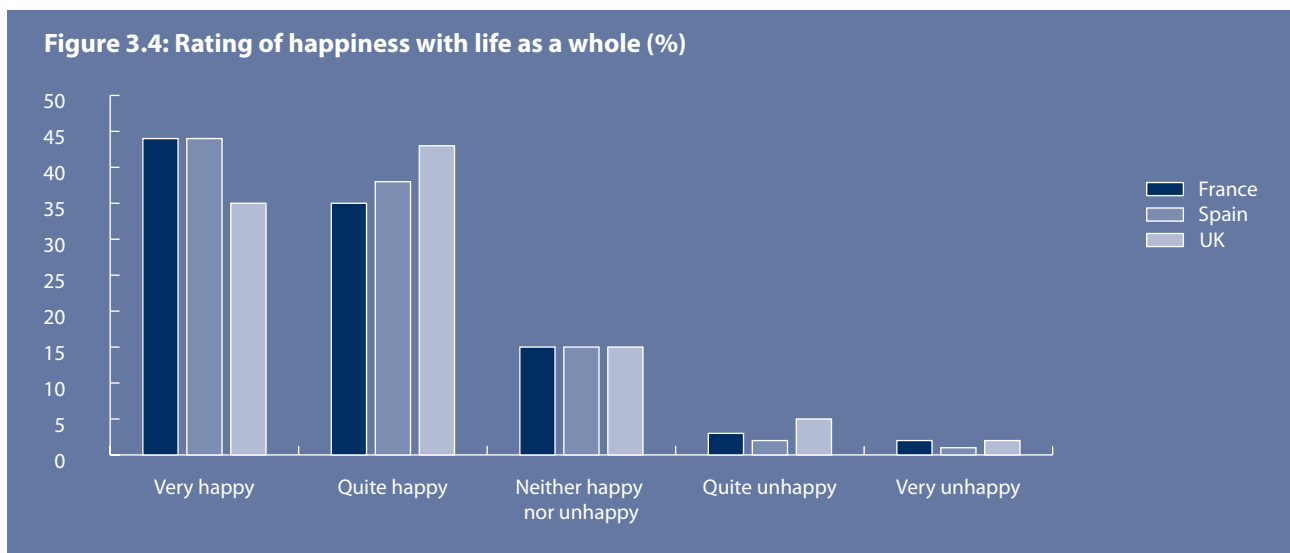
3.3.3. Social support networks

Another way of determining whether the respondents felt socially isolated was to ask them whether they had someone they could talk to about personal matters. Few of the young people surveyed said that they had nobody at all that they could talk to about personal matters, especially those in the United Kingdom (5%) and Spain (8%), although this was a little higher in France (13%). The majority of respondents said they had at least one source of support and, in fact, a large proportion (ranging from 59% in France to 65% in the United Kingdom) indicated that they had more than one source of support for discussing personal matters. Non-Muslim respondents were more likely than Muslims in each of the three Member States to report having more than one source of support.

Table 3.2 shows that most young people were likely to confide in a friend, a sibling or a parent if they had personal matters to discuss. Friends were the most common source of support, although non-Muslims

Table 3.2: People with whom the youths could discuss personal matters (%)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	Muslim	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**	**Muslim**	**Non-Muslim**
A friend	66	76	50	71	61	70
My brother/sister	36	35	37	33	41	38
My parents/carer	29	47	51	47	58	66
A boy/girlfriend	0	0	8	18	12	19
A religious leader	5	5	3	2	6	5
A teacher	3	5	5	3	12	16
Someone else	7	9	9	7	6	9
Nobody	15	12	12	5	5	5

Note: Columns total more than 100% as more than one response was permitted.

Figure 3.4: Rating of happiness with life as a whole (%)

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youths in all three Member States were more likely than Muslim respondents to confide in a friend. Siblings were also mentioned frequently, and there was no significant difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in the percentage who said they would discuss personal matters with a sibling in France, Spain or the United Kingdom. Non-Muslim youths were more likely to confide in a parent or carer than Muslim youths in France and in the United Kingdom, although there was no significant difference in Spain. However, non-related adults were rarely reported as someone the respondent could discuss personal matters with. Very few said they would confide in a teacher or religious leader, and this did not differ significantly between Muslims and non-Muslims. Muslim respondents in Spain were more likely to say they had nobody to talk to compared to non-Muslims; however, there was no significant difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in France or the United Kingdom.
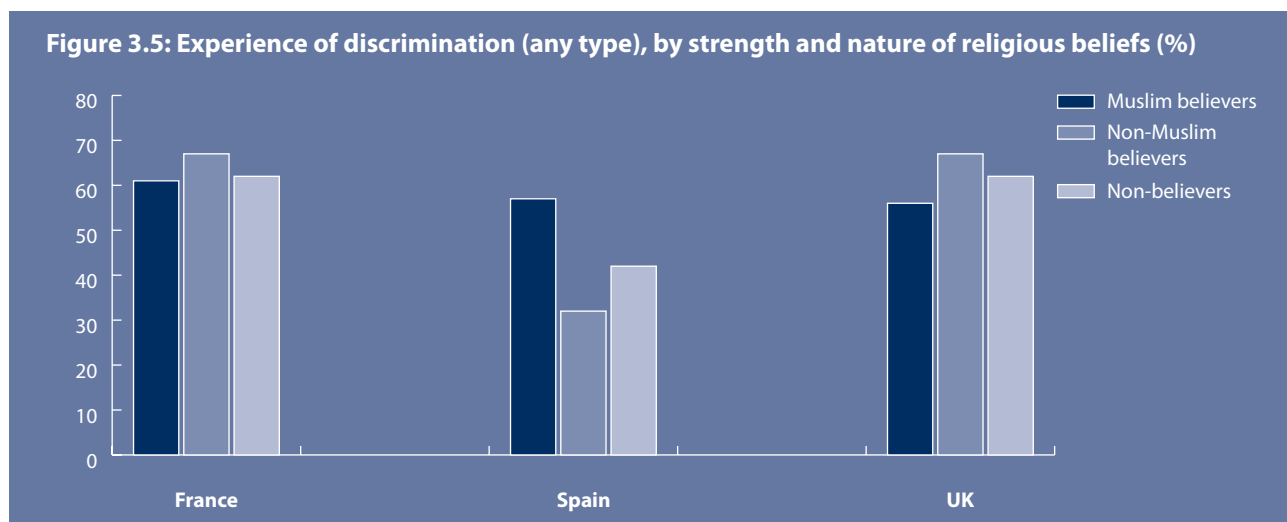
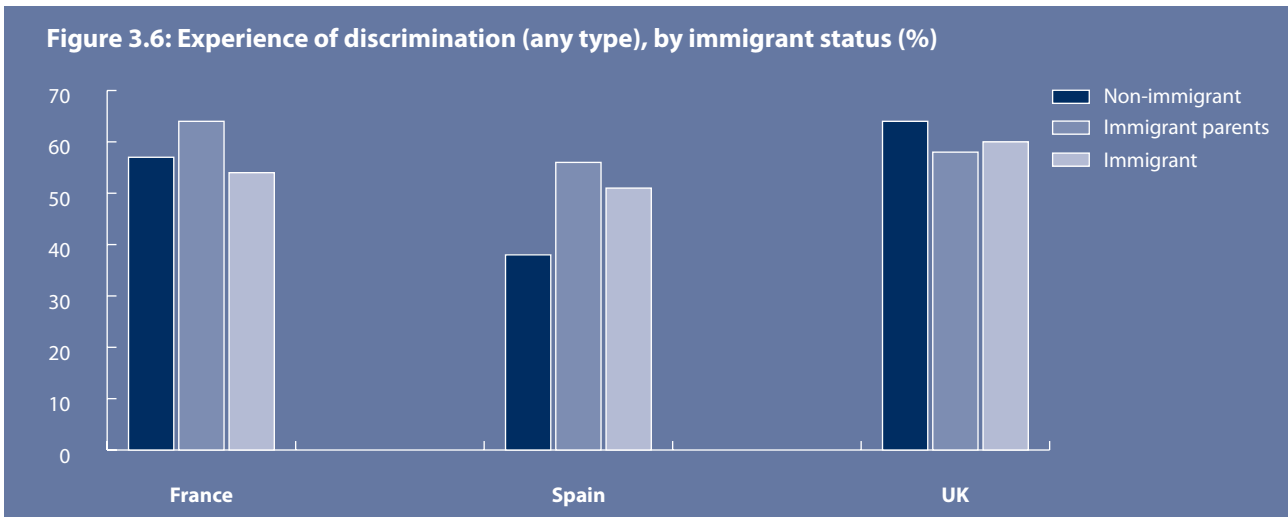## 3.4. Discrimination among different religious and cultural groups

Analysis was conducted in order to determine whether there were differences in experience of discrimination among young people from different religious and cultural backgrounds. The measure of discrimination used here is a composite variable that differentiates those who had experienced any of the forms of discrimination described earlier in this Chapter (general discrimination and adult discrimination) from those who said they had not experienced these. Overall, 46% of Spanish youths had experienced at least one form of discrimination, which was significantly lower than for the United Kingdom (61%) and France (60%).

In Chapter 2, the respondents to this survey were differentiated into three groups on the basis of their religious beliefs: Muslim believers, non-Muslim believers

and non-believers (i.e. those young people, either Muslim or non-Muslim, who had no strong religious beliefs). Figure 3.5 shows the percentage of each of these groups who had experienced some form of discrimination, and indicates that the relationship between faith and discrimination differs across Member States. In France, around 60% of each group had experienced discrimination and there was no significant difference between them. In Spain, experience of discrimination was less common than in France; however, the Muslim believers were significantly more likely than the non-Muslim believers and the non-believers to have experienced discrimination. While in the United Kingdom, the prevalence of discrimination was very similar to that of the French respondents, with the exception of the Muslim believers who were a little less likely to have experienced discrimination than the non-Muslim believers.

Respondents were also differentiated into immigrant groups in Chapter 2, which distinguished non-immigrants (young people and parents born in the country of residence) from those with immigrant parents (young people born in the country of residence, but at least one parent born elsewhere) and immigrants (young people and parents born outside the country of residence). Looking at the experience of discrimination among these different immigrant groups, it is evident from Figure 3.6 that this also varied widely across Member States. Among the French respondents, the most highly discriminated against group was young people born in France but who had at least one parent born elsewhere. There was little difference, however, between the French immigrants (born elsewhere) and the non-immigrants. In Spain, the non-immigrant respondents were significantly less likely to be discriminated against than the young people with immigrant parents or those who were immigrants themselves. There was no significant difference in likelihood of discrimination between any of the three groups in the United Kingdom.

Figure 3.5: Experience of discrimination (any type), by strength and nature of religious beliefs (%)

Figure 3.6: Experience of discrimination (any type), by immigrant status (%)
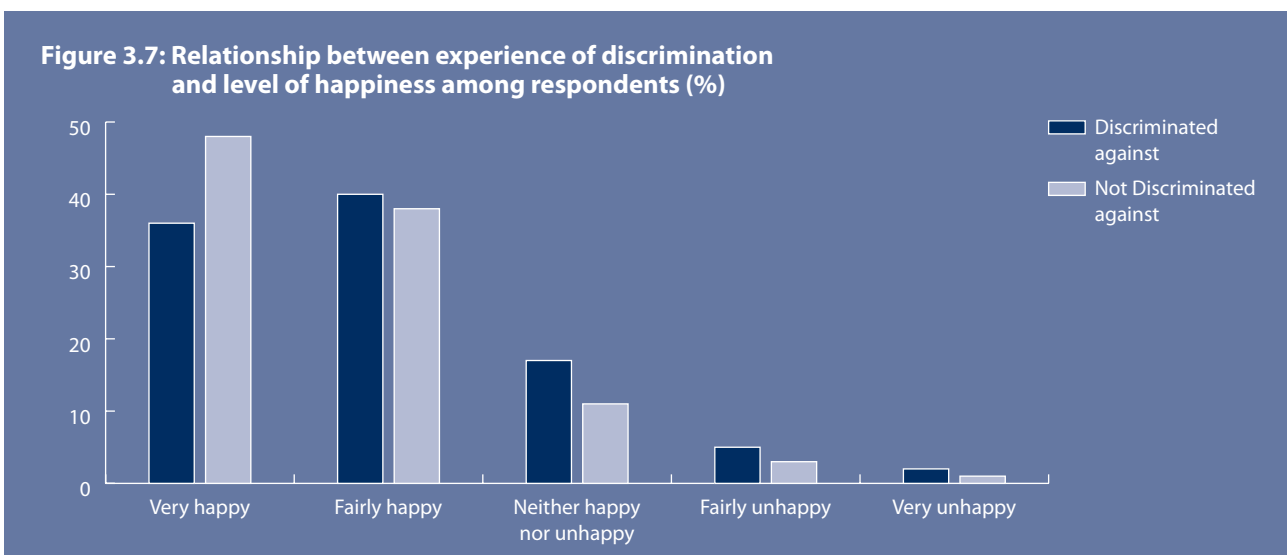

3.5. Relationship between discrimination and social marginalisation

Further analysis was conducted in order to determine whether those young people who had experienced any form of discrimination were more likely than others to feel unhappy or alienated. Even among those who had been discriminated against at least once, the majority of young people felt either very or quite happy with their lives, regardless of religious background or strength of belief in religion. Nevertheless, there was a strong relationship between experience of discrimination and level of happiness, which was very similar across the three Member States. Figure 3.7 shows that those who were discriminated against were significantly less likely to say that they were 'very happy' with their lives (but rather fairly happy), compared to those who had not been discriminated against. Respondents who had been discriminated against were more likely to be ambivalent (neither happy or unhappy) in their response to this question, although a slightly higher proportion said they were either 'fairly' or 'very' unhappy compared to those who

had not experienced discrimination. Still, only 7% of those discriminated against said they were 'fairly' or 'very' unhappy.

Figure 3.8 explores whether this relationship between happiness and experience of discrimination varies according to religious group and immigrant status. This chart shows that those respondents who were discriminated against were consistently less likely to say they felt 'very happy', regardless of their religious affiliation or their immigrant status. However, there were some groups for whom experience of discrimination appeared to have a stronger relationship to feelings of happiness than others.

The link between discrimination and feelings of happiness was far stronger among those who were religious believers than those who had no religious beliefs. Both the Muslim and the non-Muslim religious believers were considerably less likely to report being very happy if they had been discriminated against, compared to non-believers; whereas, discrimination appeared to make little difference to non-believers ratings of happiness.

Figure 3.7: Relationship between experience of discrimination and level of happiness among respondents (%)

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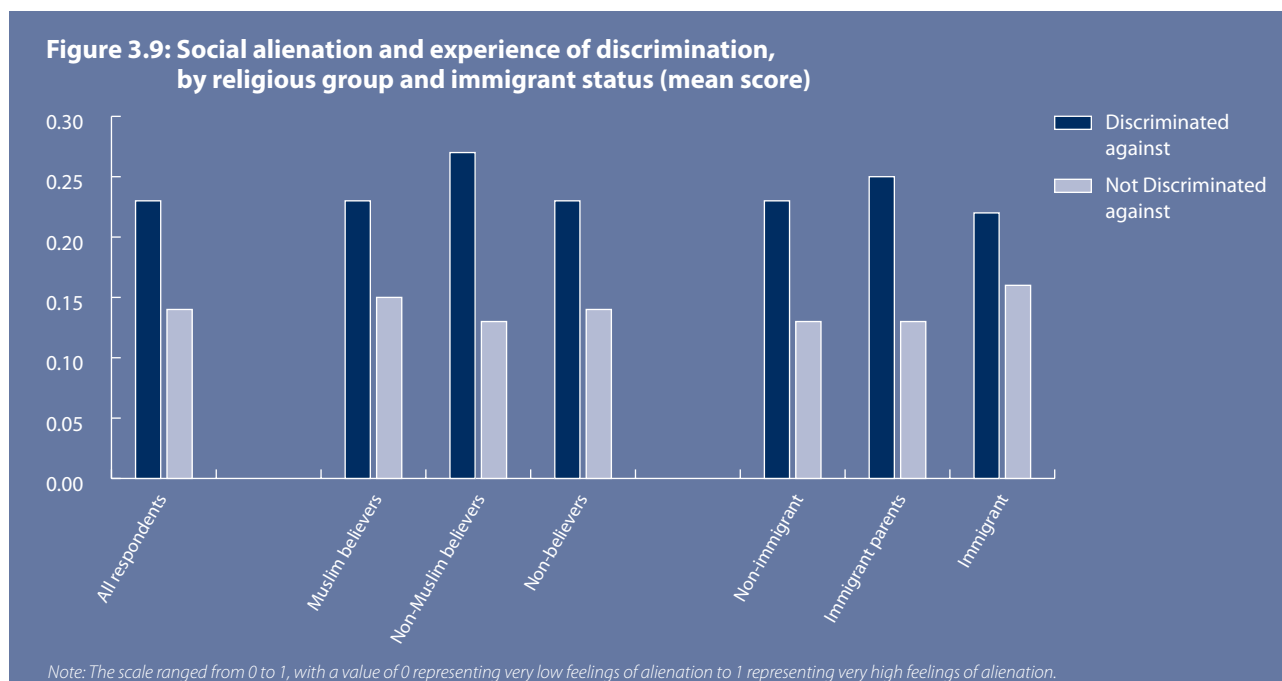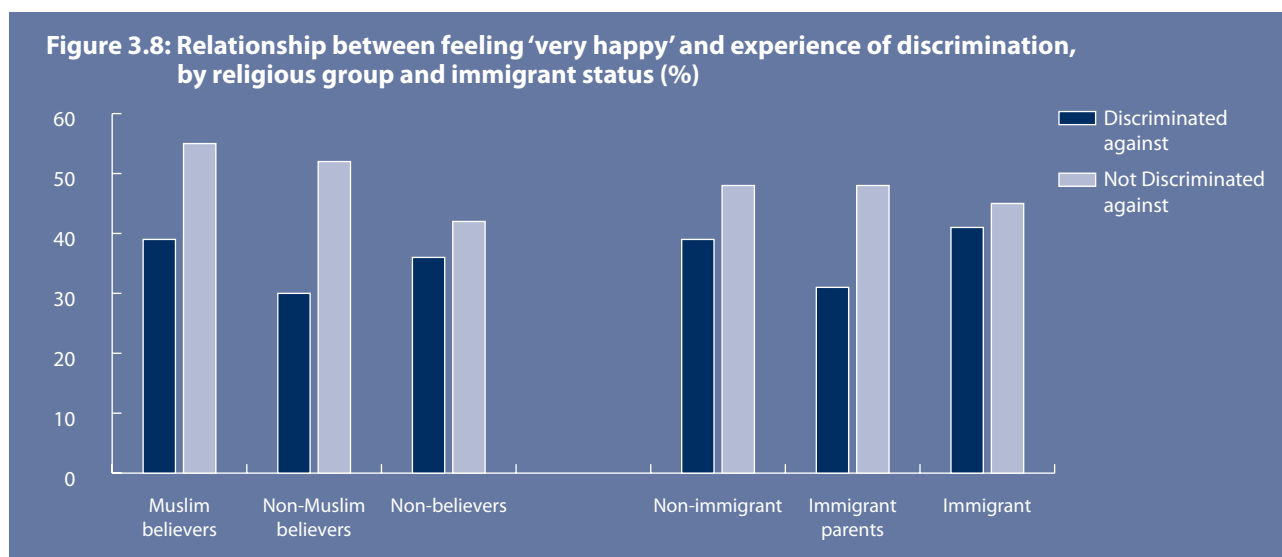
Differences also emerged according to immigrant status, although the extent of the difference was not as great as it was for religious beliefs. Young people who had parents born in another country were the least likely to say they felt 'very happy' if they had been discriminated against, and they were significantly less likely to do so than similar youths who were not discriminated against. Non-immigrants who were discriminated against were also less likely to report feeling very happy than those who did not experience discrimination. However, young people who were not born in the country of residence showed little difference in terms of the percentage who felt very happy among those who had and had not experienced discrimination. These findings were broadly similar across the three Member States.

Earlier in this Chapter, it was found that there was no significant difference between Muslim and non-Muslim youths in terms of their mean scores on a scale of social alienation. However, when this scale was re-analysed taking into account young people's experiences of discrimination and the strength of their religious beliefs[33] and immigrant status, considerable differences emerged between the groups of those who have not been discriminated against and those who have experienced discrimination.

Figure 3.9 shows that respondents who had experienced discrimination had significantly higher scores on the alienation scale compared to those who had not experienced such discrimination. This was true for both

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33   The respondents, irrespective of their religion, were asked to say, whether their religious beliefs are very strong, quite strong, not very strong or if they have no religious beliefs.

Figure 3.8: Relationship between feeling 'very happy' and experience of discrimination, by religious group and immigrant status (%)

Figure 3.9: Social alienation and experience of discrimination, by religious group and immigrant status (mean score)

Note: The scale ranged from 0 to 1, with a value of 0 representing very low feelings of alienation to 1 representing very high feelings of alienation.

Muslim and non-Muslim believers, and for those who had no religious beliefs, across all three Member States. It was also true for non-immigrant respondents and those whose parents were immigrants or who were immigrants themselves, although the difference within the latter group was less extreme. Again, these general patterns held constant across the three Member States.

> **Multiple discrimination**
>
> **The findings from this report show that many young Muslims, as well as non-Muslims, experience discrimination on the basis of religion, colour of skin, cultural background and language. Being an immigrant or having immigrant parents also increase their vulnerability to discrimination. In addition, all of these types of discrimination are combined with economic deprivation.**
>
> **This supports the idea of multiple discrimination, where different forms of prejudice are interrelated. Social and cultural categories such as ethnicity, religion, nationality and class interact on multiple levels to appear as inequality. It is necessary to keep in mind this intersection of multiple forms of discrimination in order to properly understand and address Islamophobia and other forms of religious discrimination.**

3.6. Key findings

- Around one in four young people in each Member State reported they had ever been unfairly treated or picked on (experiences of discrimination). Muslim youths were significantly more likely than non-Muslims to say that this had happened to them in France and Spain; although, there was no difference between them in the United Kingdom.
- Less than half of all young people said they were discriminated against at least sometimes by adults in

the street or in shops when they were out with friends. Adult discrimination was most common in France and least common in Spain. The experience of Muslim and non-Muslim youths varied across the Member States: compared to non-Muslims, Muslims youths were more likely to be discriminated against by adults in Spain and less likely to be discriminated against in the United Kingdom, while in France there was no difference.

- Most young people said they had at least one source of social support if they had personal matters to discuss, and many had more than one. Non-Muslim youths reported having a greater number of sources of support than Muslims, however. Friends, parents and siblings were the most common source of support. French youths were most likely to report having nobody to talk to.
- Experience of discrimination varied according to the nature and strength of religious beliefs in Spain and the United Kingdom, although not among the French respondents. In Spain, Muslim believers were more likely than non-Muslim believers to have experienced discrimination; whereas, in the United Kingdom, the reverse was true.
- Immigrant status was also related to discrimination, although this differed across Member States. In France and Spain, those respondents who were born in the country of residence but who had at least one parent born elsewhere were the most likely to be discriminated against. However, there was no significant difference in likelihood of discrimination between any of the three immigrant groups in the United Kingdom.
- Experience of discrimination was significantly related to feelings of happiness and alienation among young people. Respondents who had experienced discrimination were less likely to feel 'very happy' than those who had not. Similarly, mean scores on a scale of social alienation were significantly higher for those who had experienced discrimination.

4. Attitudes towards and experience of violence

The survey asked young people about issues such as the following:

• **Exposure to violence from others, and reasons why**
• **Extent of being violent against others, and reasons why**
• **Attitude towards using violence against others**

4.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses a key concern in current policy discussions and developments in consideration of young people and, in particular, young Muslims in European societies – namely, attitudes towards and experience of violence (as both perpetrators and victims).

While there is no direct link between attitudes supporting violence and actual engagement in violence, the research questionnaire set out to identify any significant patterns within groups and between groups in the three Member States with respect to support for and experience of violence. Looking specifically at attitudes supporting violence, the analysis developed a scale indicating the strength of young people's attitudes that are supportive of violence, which is based on their responses to a set of questions.

The results are generally reassuring in that they demonstrate that most young people are not supportive of violence and do not engage in violence – particular violence that is physical rather than emotional (teasing or threatening behaviour, for example). However, there are some notable differences both between and within Muslim and non-Muslim groups in the countries, which requires further research beyond the scope of this report, which is based on results that are specific to certain locations and certain groups in France, Spain and the United Kingdom.
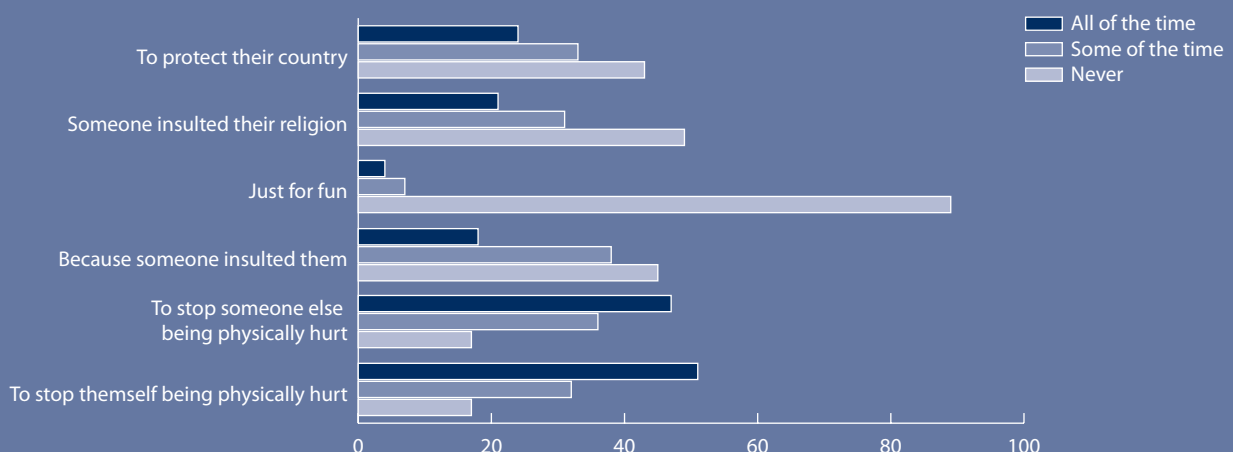
4.2. Attitudes towards violence

A key aim of this research was to explore young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation in the context of their attitudes towards and experiences of violence. This section of the report presents the findings on the attitudes towards violence of the young Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, and compares these attitudes across the three participant Member States. Respondents were asked eight specific questions in order to assess their attitudes towards violence. The first six were general questions asking whether the respondent thought it was acceptable for someone to use violence in a range of different circumstances. The last two questions were more specifically about extreme forms of violence, and asked whether young people agreed or disagreed that it is sometimes justified for people to use war or use terrorism to solve problems in the world.

Justifying the use of violence

Young people's acceptance of violence varied depending on what reason someone might have for using violence. For example, the vast majority of young people in this study did not think it was acceptable to use violence 'just for fun', as shown in Figure 4.1. On the other hand, around four out of five young people felt it was acceptable to use violence either all or some of the time in circumstances where they themselves might be physically hurt or to stop someone else being physically hurt. Around one in five

Figure 4.1: Attitudes towards justifying violence in different circumstances (%)

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young people thought it was always justified for someone to use violence in circumstances where they had been insulted or when someone had insulted their religion; whereas one in four said it was alright for someone to use violence to protect their country. There were some variations between Member States in terms of young people's attitudes towards the use of violence. Overall, the French respondents were most likely to support the use of violence 'all of the time' for each of these items. However, there was no difference between the three Member States in the proportion of young people who said it was acceptable to use violence 'just for fun'.

By combining the responses to these six questions, a 'scale' was created which indicated the strength of young people's attitudes towards violence. In order to make the scale easier to interpret, it was set as having a value between 0 (indicating no support of violence in any circumstances) and 1 (indicating strong support for violence in all circumstances).

Overall, the respondents in this survey had a score of 0.28, which indicates that acceptance of violence was reasonably low. Figure 4.2 shows the mean scores for Muslim and non-Muslim respondents across the three Member States. There was no significant difference in mean scores between Muslims and non-Muslims in the United Kingdom, although on the individual items Muslim respondents were more likely than non-Muslims to say that it was acceptable for someone to use violence if their religion was insulted. In France and Spain, the Muslim youths had a significantly higher mean score on the attitudes to violence scale than the non-Muslims, with the French Muslims being the most accepting of violence overall. The only circumstance in which Muslims and non-Muslims in France did not differ was in terms of using violence 'just for fun', which was considered acceptable by only a small minority of respondents. The Spanish Muslims and

non-Muslims differed significantly on all six questions, with the Muslim respondents being more likely to consider violence acceptable in five of the six questions; although Spanish Muslims were less likely to say it was justifiable to use violence to defend themselves from others. Muslim youths in all three Member States were less likely to say it was justifiable to use violence to stop someone else from being physically hurt.
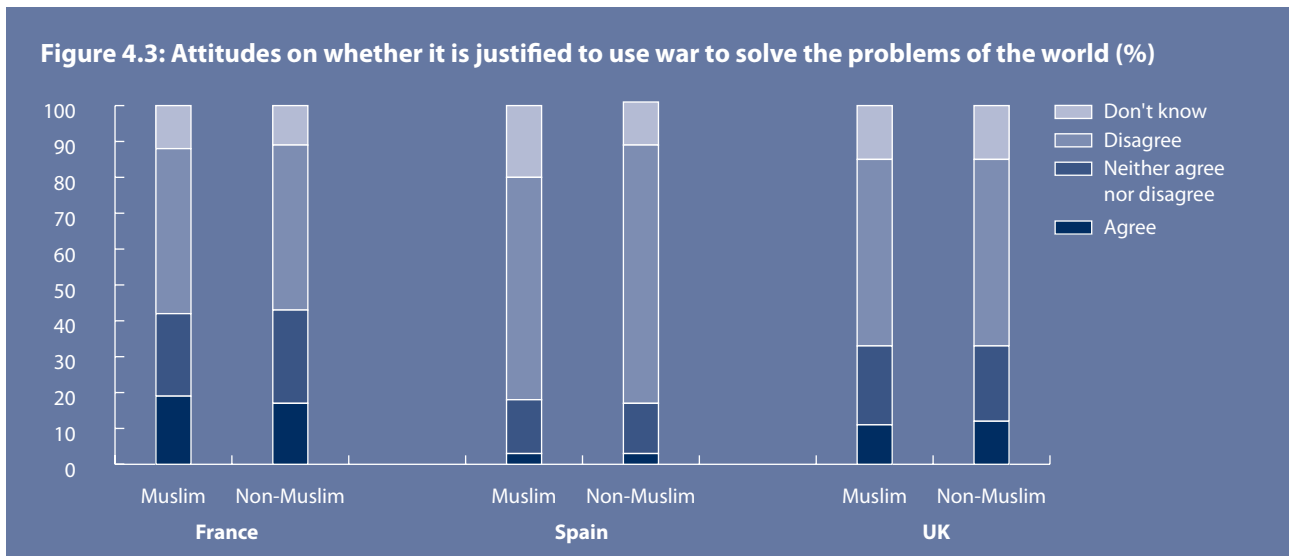
Justifying the use of war and terrorism

In order to determine young people's views about violence in a more global context, they were asked whether they agreed or disagreed that it was sometimes justified for people to use war and terrorism to solve the problems of the world. These are somewhat difficult questions for some young people to answer, so they were given the option of saying that they did not know. In the event, only around one in ten young people said they were not sure of how to respond to these questions, and most were able to offer some opinion. In the majority of cases young people said they disagreed that using war (56%) and, especially, terrorism (75%) to solve the world's problems was justified. However, there were some variations across the three Member States and between the Muslim and non-Muslim participants.

Figure 4.3 shows that a very small proportion of both Muslim and non-Muslim youths agreed that war was justified to solve the world's problems; whereas, most young people disagreed with this statement. The Spanish respondents were the least likely to agree, while young people in France were least likely to disagree. There were no significant differences in responses to this question between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in France or the United Kingdom. In Spain, Muslim youths were slightly less likely than non-Muslims to disagree that war was justified; however, this was largely because a larger proportion of Muslim respondents were unsure.
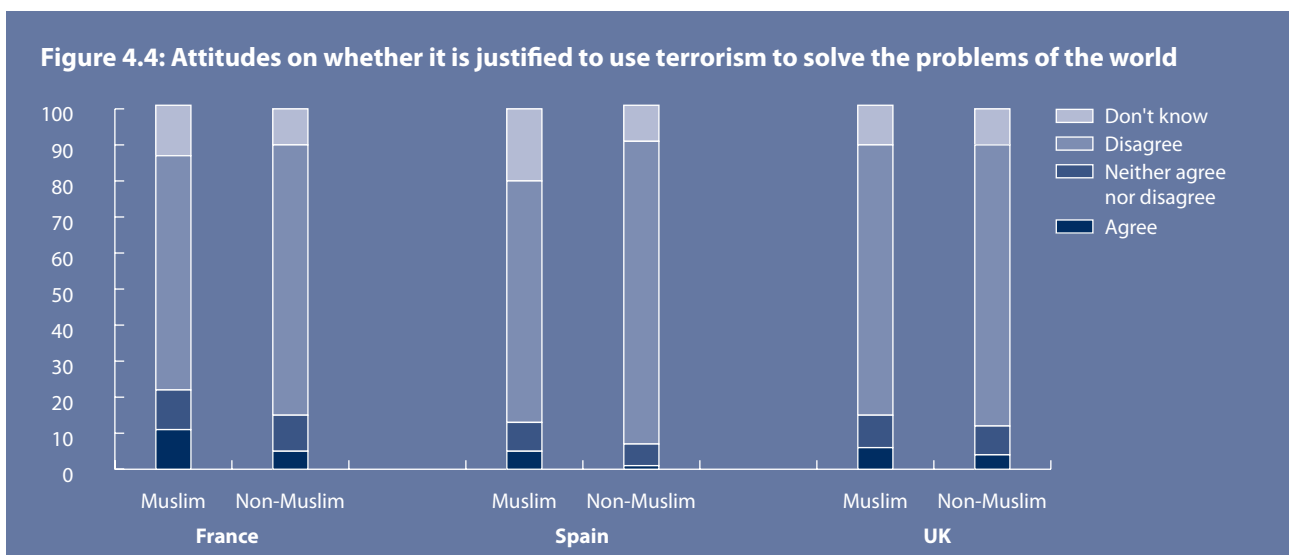

Figure 4.2: Mean scores on attitudes to violence scale

Note: The scale ranged from 0 to 1, with a value of 0 indicating no support of violence in any circumstances and 1 indicating strong support for violence in all circumstances.

Figure 4.3: Attitudes on whether it is justified to use war to solve the problems of the world (%)
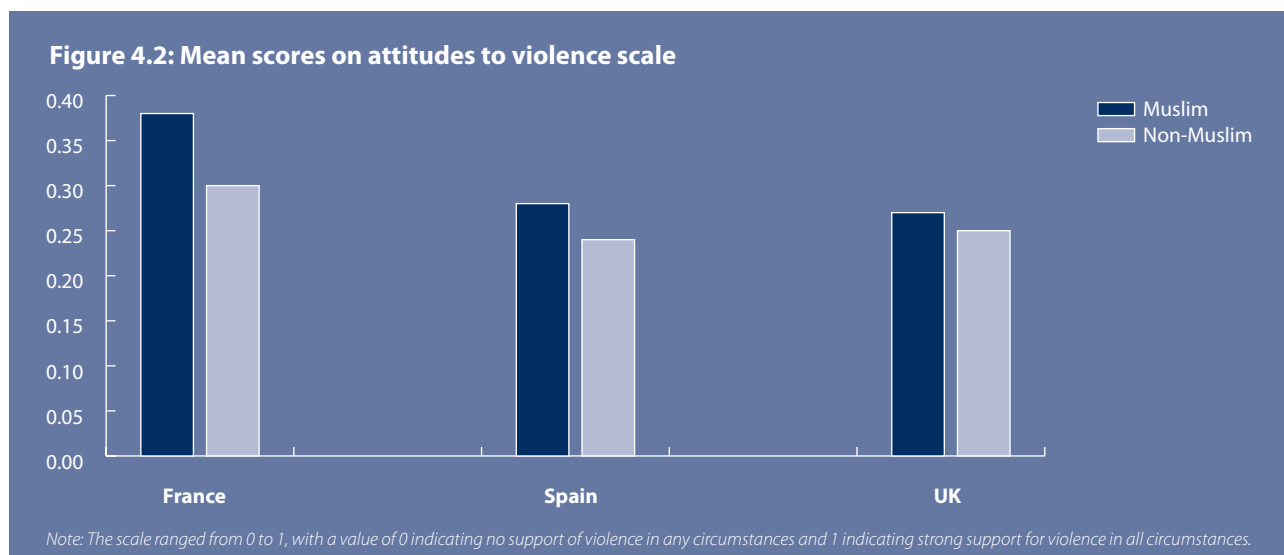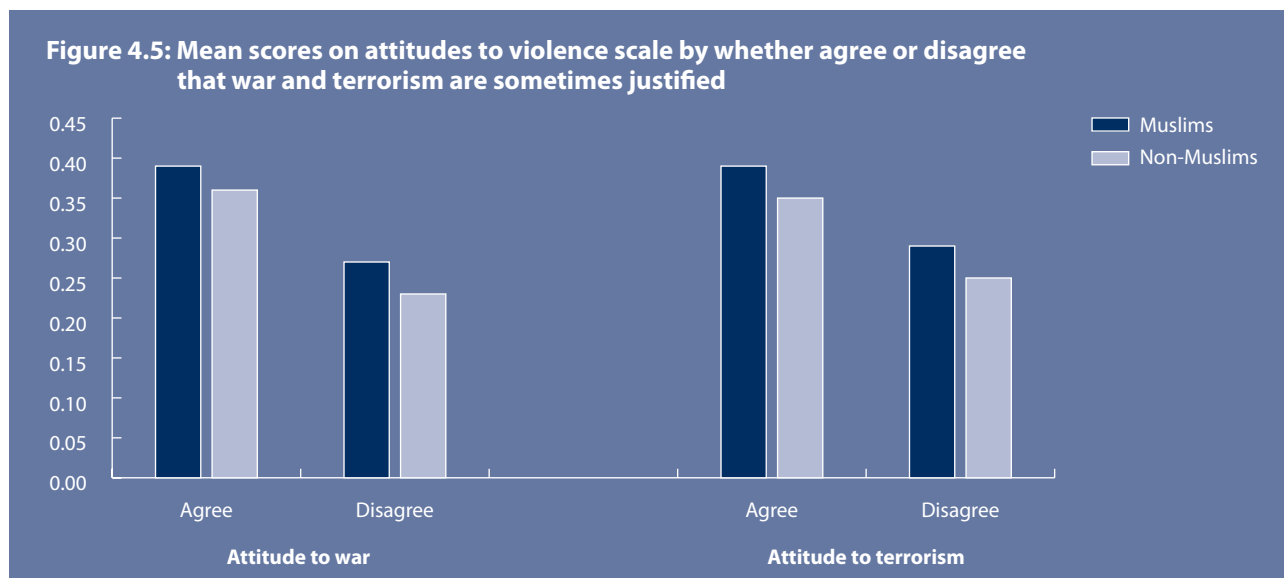

The responses to the question on whether terrorism was justified to solve the problems of the world produced very similar results across the three Member States, in the sense that the majority of young people disagreed with this statement, as shown in Figure 4.4. Comparing the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, those in the United Kingdom showed no significant difference in response to this question; although the Muslim respondents in France and Spain were slightly more likely than non-Muslims to agree that terrorism might sometimes be justified. However, it is important to note that this was very much a minority view among Muslim youths overall, with only one in ten French Muslims and one in twenty Spanish Muslims stating that they agreed with this statement.

When the results from these two questions were examined alongside the respondents' attitudes to violence more generally, some interesting findings emerged. Figure 4.5 shows that those who agreed that it was justifiable to use war and terrorism to solve the problems of the world had significantly higher scores on the attitudes to violence scale (composed of six questions, presented in Figure 4.1) than those who disagreed with these statements. In addition, the Muslim respondents in this survey were more likely than non-Muslims to have a higher score on the attitudes to violence scale, regardless of whether they agreed *or disagreed* that war and terrorism were sometimes justified. However, only the differences in the attitudes to violence scores between Muslims and non-Muslims who *disagree* with the use of terrorism or war are statistically significant, given the overall low number of respondents – both Muslims and non-Muslims – who agree with war and terrorism being sometimes justified. These findings indicate that more needs to be understood about the wider experience of young Muslim youths to find out why their attitudes to violence vary from those of non-Muslims. In turn, the explanation of these results may rest with other factors that cannot be isolated to those of religion.

Figure 4.4: Attitudes on whether it is justified to use terrorism to solve the problems of the world

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Figure 4.5: Mean scores on attitudes to violence scale by whether agree or disagree that war and terrorism are sometimes justified

4.3. Experience of violence as a victim

In order to measure young people's experiences of violence as victims, they were asked a number of questions about things that had happened to them. These are separated in this Chapter into 'emotional violence', which includes being excluded or left out by a group of friends; being called names, made fun of or teased; and being threatened with violence (see questions 5.1-3, Appendix II), and 'physical violence', which incorporates being hurt on purpose by being hit, kicked or punched; being hurt on purpose with a weapon; and having something stolen from them by force or threats (see questions 5.5-8, Appendix II). Rather than collect information about events that had 'ever' happened, the respondents were asked only to refer to incidents that happened during the last school year (i.e. from September 2007 to September 2008).

4.3.1. Victims of emotional violence

The most commonly reported type of emotional violence reported by respondents in each of the three Member States was being called names, made fun of or teased by someone. This was reported to have happened at least once in the last year among half or more of all young people in France and the United Kingdom, although only around a third of those in Spain. Being threatened and left out or excluded by a group of friends was less common, although a significant minority of young people had experienced these forms of emotional violence. Someone threatening to hurt the respondent was most common in France, where just over a third of young people said this had happened in the last year. Overall, experience of emotional violence was least common in Spain.

In the majority of cases, young people who had experienced these forms of emotional violence said that this had only happened to them on one or two occasions in the last year, although incidents of name calling were more frequently experienced. By combining the responses to these three questions together, an overall frequency measure of emotional violence was created. This measure showed that 46% of respondents over the whole survey had not experienced any of these

Figure 4.6: Experience of emotional violence as a victim in the last year (%)

three types of emotional violence as a victim. However, a quarter (25%) of respondents had experienced emotional violence between 1 and 4 times, while 21% had done so between 5 and 9 times. Around one in ten (9%) respondents across the whole survey had been victims of emotional violence on ten or more occasions in the last year. There were variations, though, between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, and across the three Member States.

Figure 4.7 illustrates that the Spanish youths were most likely to say they had not experienced emotional violence in the last year, and they were least likely to have experienced 10 or more incidents. There was little difference between the French and the United Kingdom samples overall, although the French Muslims were more likely than the United Kingdom Muslims to have experienced 10 or more incidents of emotional violence. Among the Spanish respondents, there was no difference in frequency of emotional violence between Muslims and non-Muslims. However, in both France and the United Kingdom, Muslims were more likely than non-Muslims to say they had never been

victims of emotional violence in the last year. The biggest difference between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents was found in the United Kingdom, where non-Muslims were more than twice as likely to have experienced ten or more incidents compared to Muslims. Although the French non-Muslims were more likely than Muslims to have been victims, they were only more likely to have been victims on between 1 and 4 occasions rather then more frequently.

4.3.2. Victims of physical violence

This section of the report describes the respondents' experiences of three different forms of physical victimization: being hurt on purpose by someone hitting, kicking or punching them; being hurt by someone using a weapon; using force or threats to steal or try to steal something from them. The percentage of young people who said they were victims of actual physical violence was much lower than for emotional violence. Overall, only a quarter (25%) of respondents said they were hurt on purpose by someone hitting, kicking or punching them, while fewer than one in ten were hurt by someone using

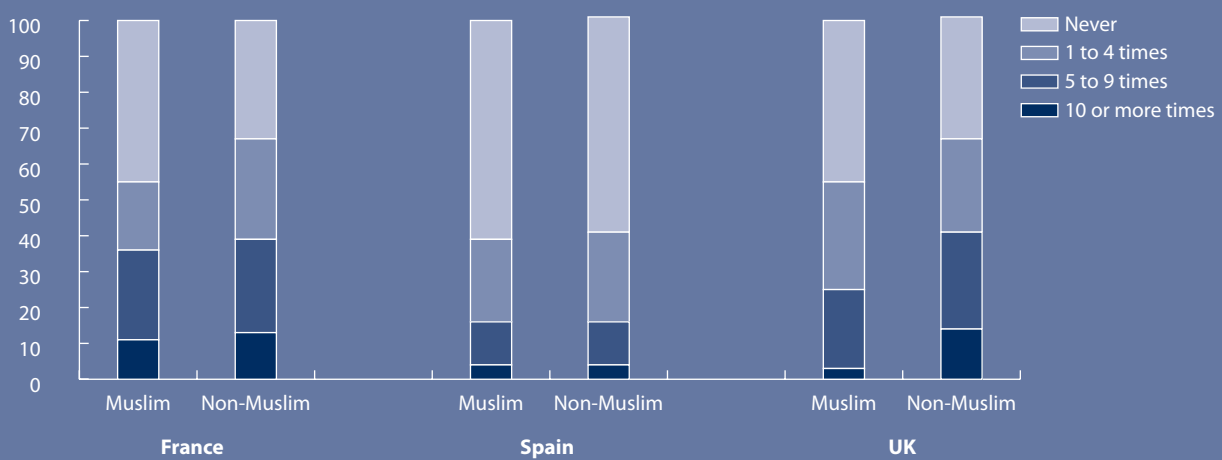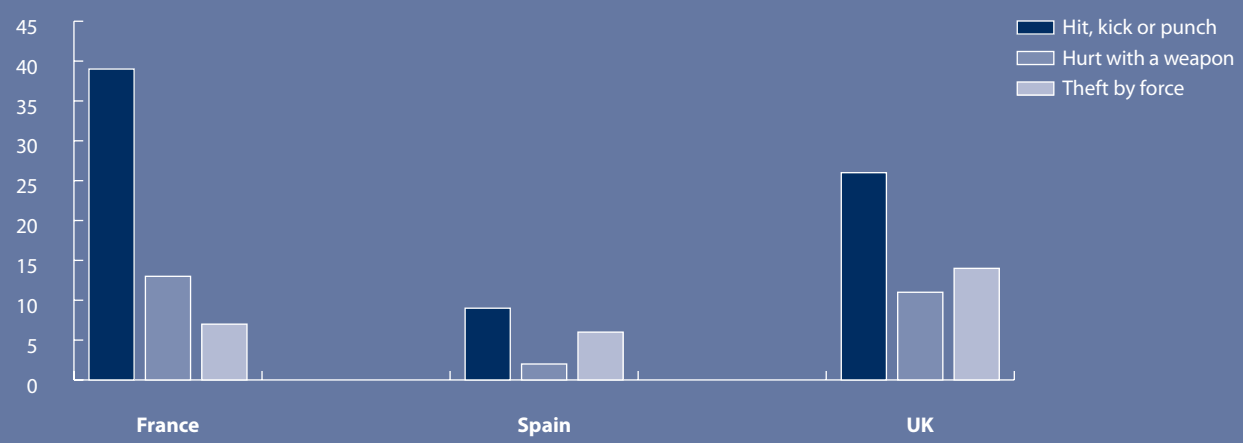**Figure 4.7: Frequency of emotional violence as a victim in the last year (%)**

Figure 4.8: Experience of physical violence as a victim in the last year (%)

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a weapon (9%) or had someone use force or threats to steal or try to steal something from them (9%). Figure 4.8 shows that French youths were the most likely to be victims of physical violence overall, predominantly in the form of hitting, kicking and punching. Spanish youths were least likely to be victims of all three types of physical violence. The United Kingdom respondents were more likely than those in the other Member States to have experienced theft by force or threats.

As with emotional violence, most young people who had experienced these forms of physical violence said that this had only happened to them on one or two occasions in the last year. When the responses to these three questions were combined, an overall frequency measure of physical violence was created. This measure showed that 70% of respondents over the whole survey had not experienced any of these three types of physical violence as a victim. However, one in five (20%) respondents had experienced physical violence between 1 and 4 times, while 8% had done so between 5 and 9 times and only 2% had been victims on ten or more occasions in the last year. Once again, variations emerged between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, and across the three Member States.
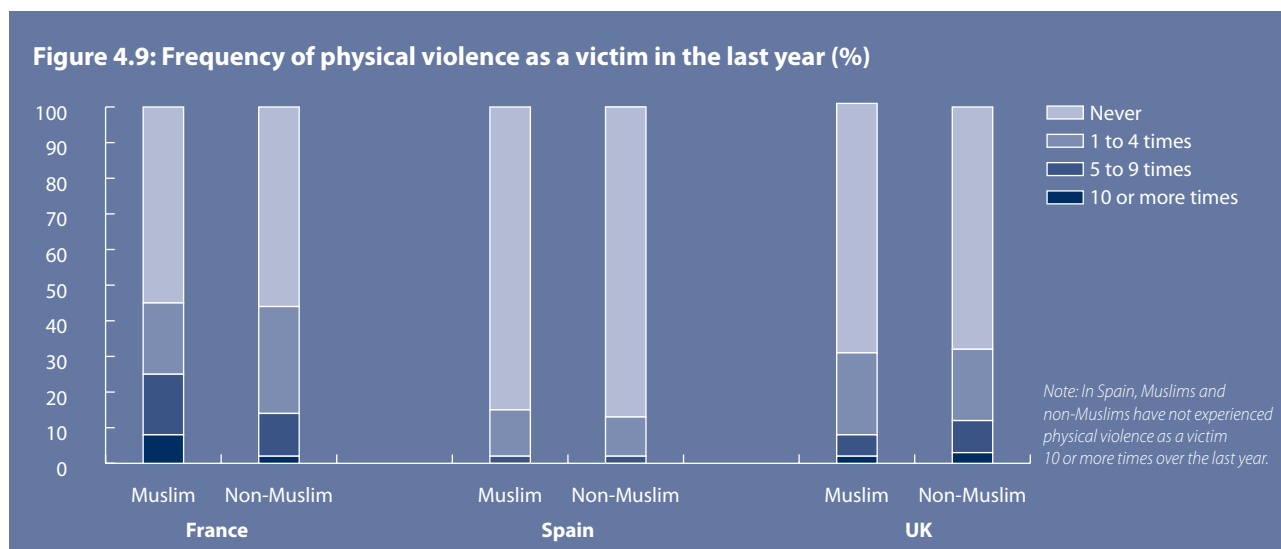
Figure 4.9 clearly shows that the respondents in Spain were by far the most likely to say they had not experienced physical violence in the last year, and in fact none of these respondents had experienced 10 or more incidents. The French respondents were most likely overall to say that they had been victims of physical violence, and the French Muslims were again the most likely group to have been victims on ten or more occasions. There were no significant differences between the Muslims and non-Muslims in frequency of physical violence in either Spain or the United Kingdom; however, the French Muslims were victimised on a more frequent basis than the non-Muslims.
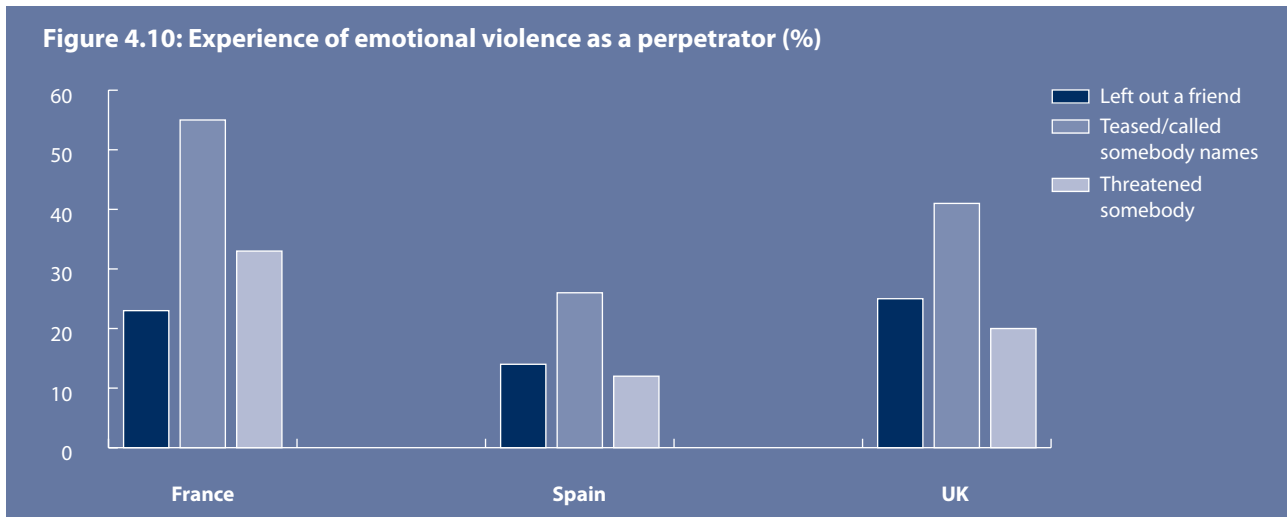
4.4. Involvement in acts of violence

In addition to measuring young people's experiences of violent victimisation, two sets of questions were asked about whether they themselves had committed acts of emotional or physical violence against other people. First, they were asked how often they had excluded someone or left them out of their group of friends; called someone names, made fun of or teased them; and threatened someone with violence (see questions 6.1-3, Appendix II). Second, they were asked whether they had hurt someone else on purpose by hitting, kicking or punching them; hurt someone on purpose with a weapon; and used force or threats to steal something from someone (see questions 6.5-8, Appendix II). As with the incidents of victimization, they were asked to only refer to incidents that happened during the last school year (i.e. from September 2007 to September 2008).

4.5. Perpetrators of emotional violence

The responses to the questions on perpetrating emotional violence against others produced very similar results to those about being a victim of emotional violence, reported in section 4.2, which suggests a close connection between victimisation and offending. Within the survey as a whole, 41% of young people said they had called someone names or teased them in the last year, while 20% said they had excluded someone from their group of friends and 22% had threatened to hurt someone. Figure 4.10 shows that name calling and teasing was the most commonly reported type of emotional violence in all three Member States. More than half of French respondents reported doing this to someone in the last year, compared with around two in five United Kingdom respondents and one in four Spanish youths. Excluding a friend from a social group and threatening another person were less commonly reported by respondents in all three jurisdictions

Figure 4.9: Frequency of physical violence as a victim in the last year (%)

Legend: Never; 1 to 4 times; 5 to 9 times; 10 or more times

France — Muslim, Non-Muslim
Spain — Muslim, Non-Muslim
UK — Muslim, Non-Muslim

Note: In Spain, Muslims and non-Muslims have not experienced physical violence as a victim 10 or more times over the last year.

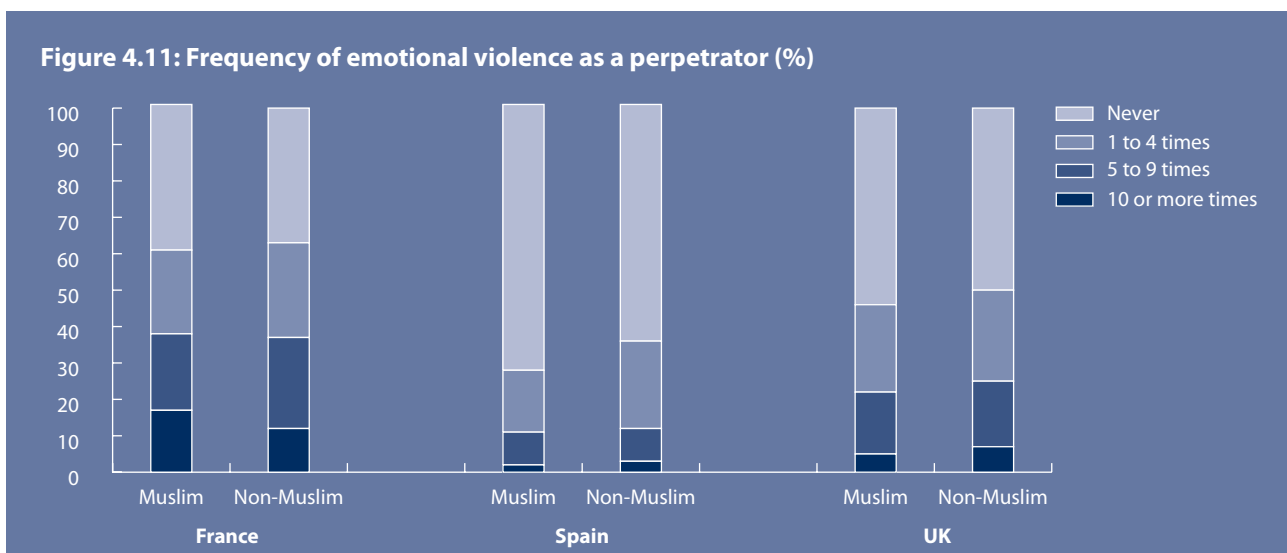**Figure 4.10: Experience of emotional violence as a perpetrator (%)**

although, as with victimisation, a significant minority of young people had perpetrated these forms of emotional violence. Youths in France were most likely to have threatened to hurt another person, while the Spanish respondents were least likely to have committed acts of emotional violence.

Most young people said they had only done these things once or twice in the last year, although it was not uncommon for youths to have called their friends names or teased them on five or more occasions. As for victimisation, the responses to these three questions were combined to produce an overall frequency measure of emotional violence. This measure showed that 53% of respondents over the whole survey had not committed any of these three types of emotional violence against someone else. However, just under a quarter (23%) of respondents had done so between 1 and 4 times, and 16% had done so between 5 and 9 times. Less than one in ten (8%) respondents across the whole survey said they had perpetrated an act of emotional violence on ten or more occasions in the last year.

Figure 4.11 illustrates the extent of variation in responses between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, across the three Member States. Overall, there was no significant difference in the frequency of committing acts of emotional violence against others between the Muslim and the non-Muslim respondents in France or the United Kingdom. It is clear from Figure 4.11, however, that the French respondents were more likely to have committed such acts with greater frequency than in the United Kingdom. The Spanish youths were least likely to have committed acts of emotional violence overall; however, the non-Muslims were slightly more likely to have done so than the Muslim respondents, albeit only in the 1 to 4 times category.

4.6. Perpetrators of physical violence

Finally, the respondent's were asked whether they had committed any of the following acts of physical victimization: hurting someone on purpose by hitting, kicking or punching them; hurting someone by using

Figure 4.11: Frequency of emotional violence as a perpetrator (%)

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a weapon; and using force or threats to steal or try to steal something from someone. As was the case with experience of victimisation, the percentage of young people who said they had committed acts of physical violence was far lower than for emotional violence. Overall, 27% of respondents said they had hurt someone on purpose by someone hitting, kicking or punching them, while a very small percentage had hurt someone using a weapon (7%) or used force or threats to steal or try to steal something from someone (4%). As well as being the most likely to be victims of physical violence, the French respondents were most likely to say they had hit, kicked or punched someone else in the last year. Figure 4.12 shows that prevalence of this type of violence was around twice as high as for the United Kingdom respondents, and around four times as high as the young people in Spain. Other forms of physical violence were rare in all three Member States, although the Spanish youths were least likely to have been physically violent overall.

Among those who had committed acts of physical violence against others, few people tended to do so more than once or twice, although a very small minority were more frequent offenders. Looking at the frequency of physical violence committed across the three types of act, 70% said they had not committed even one act in the last year, which is very similar to the proportion that said they had not been victims (72%). Overall, 17% of young people said they had committed between 1 and 4 acts of physical violence, while 9% had committed between 5 and 9 acts and only 2% had been offenders on 10 or more occasions. Again, these percentages are very similar to those for victims of physical violence (20%, 8% and 2%, respectively). Figure 4.13 confirms that the Spanish respondents were the least likely to physically victimise someone, while the French were the most likely. There was no significant difference in the frequency of physical violence between Muslims and non-Muslims in the United Kingdom; Muslims in both France and Spain reported being physically violent towards others more frequently than did the non-Muslims. However, it should be noted that fewer than one in ten Muslims in France, and only one percent in Spain, said they had committed 10 or more acts of physical violence in the last year.

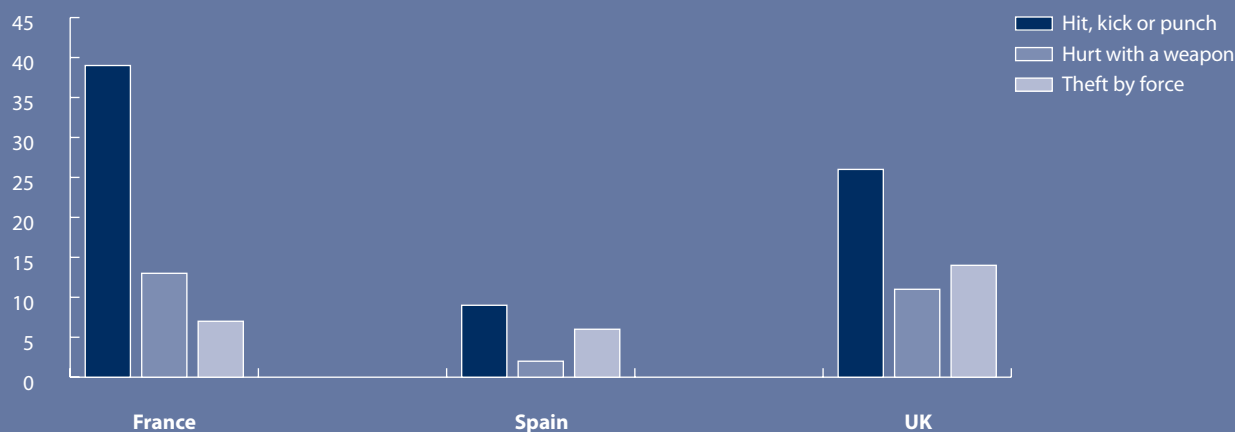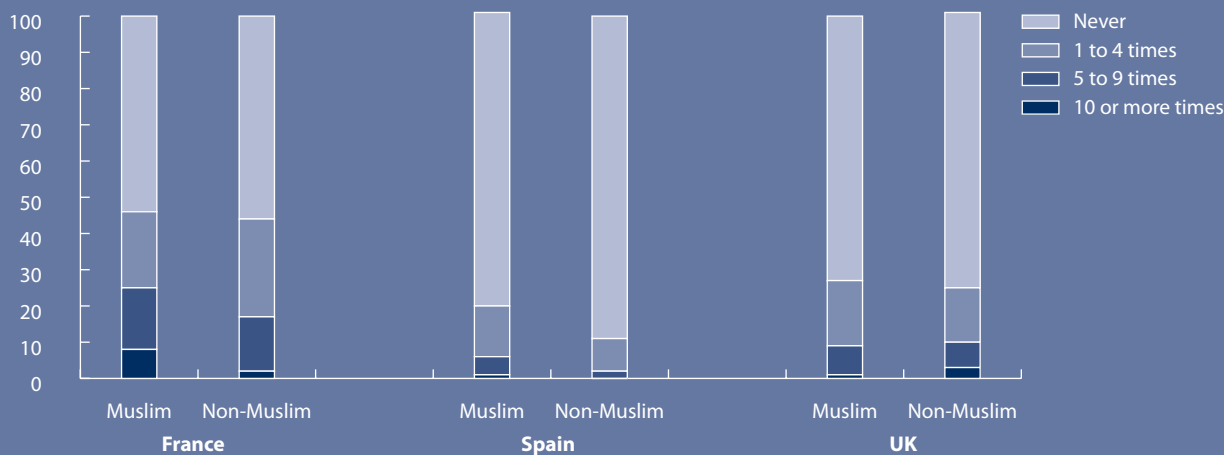Figure 4.12: Experience of physical violence as a perpetrator (%)

Figure 4.13: Frequency of physical violence as a perpetrator (%)

4.7. Reasons for involvement in emotional and physical violence

Those young people who reported that they had experienced any form of emotional or physical violence, either as a victim or as a perpetrator, were asked to think carefully about why these things had happened (see questions 5.4, 5.8, 6.4 and 6.8, Appendix II). A predefined list of possible reasons was presented (which included culture, gender, religion, skin colour language, age and disability), but they were also encouraged to add additional reasons if the given list did not apply. Interestingly, the pattern of responses given for victims and perpetrators of emotional violence was almost identical, similar to the pattern between victims and perpetrators of physical violence. For this reason, only the patterns of response for the victims and perpetrators of physical violence are illustrated in Figures 4.14 and 4.15.

Most of the young people who had been victims of emotional or physical violence gave some reason other than that in the predefined list of options; however, it is clear from Figure 4.14 that Muslim respondents were

more likely than non-Muslims to state that they were victimised for reasons of cultural background, religion, language and skin colour. Muslims were also more likely to say they were victimised because of their age, gender and disability; however, the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims on these measures was not nearly so great. Of the 'other' reasons that were mentioned for being victims, these tended to relate to the individual's appearance. For example, many young people said that they had been victims of both emotional and physical violence because of their weight, height, hair colour, skin complexion or clothes. However, some victims of emotional violence also stated that they felt it was a joke, 'a laugh' or not really serious. In contrast, fewer victims of physical violence thought that they had been victimised for 'a laugh'; however, many stated that the other person was a friend who had turned against them, a bully, or someone who often picked fights with people. In a substantial number of cases, the physical violence was said to be a result of a fight involving a larger group of people, and it was not uncommon for young people to say that alcohol had been the cause of the fight.

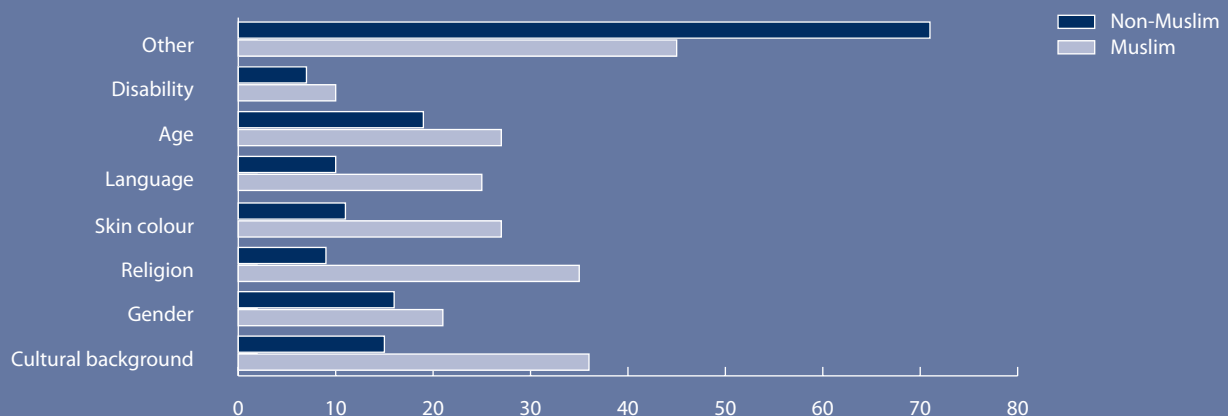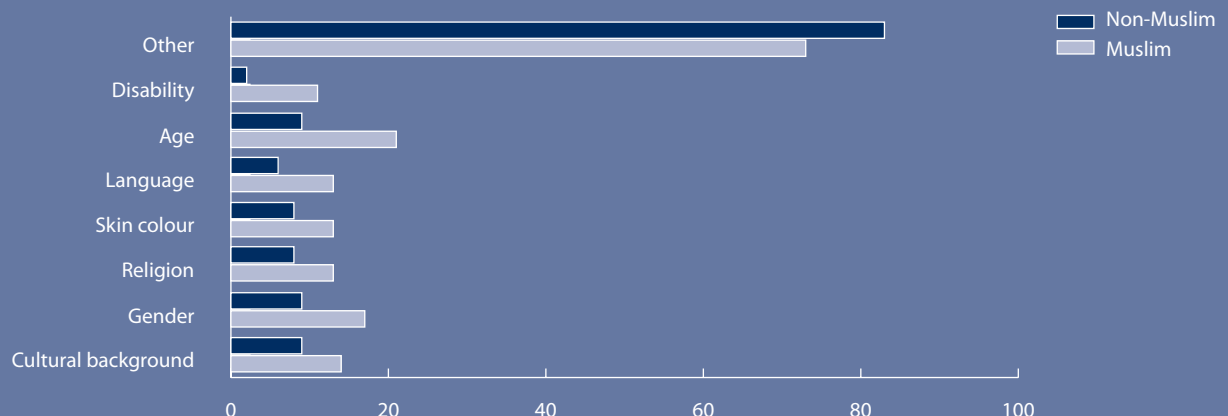Figure 4.14: Reasons given by victims of physical violence (%)

Figure 4.15: Reasons given by perpetrators of physical violence (%)

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The responses from the perpetrators of emotional and physical violence contrasted starkly with those of the victims, as shown in Figure 4.15. It is clear that young people who were perpetrators were far less likely to give the reasons included in the pre-defined list, and that a great many other reasons were behind their involvement in these forms of violence. Nevertheless, Muslim respondents were more likely than the non-Muslims to say that they had perpetrated acts of emotional or physical violence against others because of the other person's personal characteristics such as disability, age, language, gender etc. (Figure 4.15). Also, Muslim victims of physical violence tended to identify their personal characteristics far more often than non-Muslim victims as being reasons for victimisation (Figure 4.14).

The most common reasons given by perpetrators of emotional violence were that it was a joke or 'a laugh', that the other person was annoying or provoking, that they themselves had been called names, teased or threatened first and that it was just a silly argument that had escalated. Perpetrators of physical violence tended to give similar reasons, although it was more common for them to say that they had hit the other person as some form of retribution, because the other person had provoked it by annoying them and calling them names, or in self-defence because the other person had started the fight.

4.8. Relationship between violent offending and victimisation

Other research has shown a strong relationship between victimisation and offending (see Smith and Ecob 2007), and there is evidence from this study that those who had been perpetrators of emotional or physical violence were also likely to report that they had been victims. No causal assumptions can be made about this relationship; however, by asking

the questions on victimisation first it was anticipated that offenders would be less likely to report their victimisation as a means of mitigating their own behaviour. Figure 4.16 shows that the two forms of behaviour were strongly related among both the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in each of the three Member States.

Overall, the relationship between victimisation and offending for emotional violence was stronger among the French and the United Kingdom respondents than among the young people in the Spanish sample. Figure 4.16 shows a reasonably clear pattern in the data, which suggests that it was more common for perpetrators of emotional violence to be also victims than it was for victims to be also perpetrators – bearing in mind that the two groups may constitute different respondents in the survey. This was true of Muslim and non-Muslim youths in the United Kingdom and Spain, although only true of non-Muslim youths in France. The French Muslims who had been victims of emotional violence were more likely to be perpetrators than the perpetrators were to be victims.

Interestingly, however, the pattern was not quite so clear cut for physical violence. Figure 4.17 shows, once again, that the relationship between victimisation and offending for physical violence was stronger in France and the United Kingdom than it was for Spain. Although the pattern among the United Kingdom sample was similar, in that the perpetrators were more likely to be victims than the victims were to be perpetrators; there was no significant difference between these two groups among the French Muslims and non-Muslims. Moreover, the Spanish Muslim respondents showed a distinctly different relationship between victimisation and offending to the non-Muslims. These findings indicate that the relationship between victimisation and offending is extremely complex and is uniform neither across cultural groups nor Member States.

Figure 4.16: Relationship between victimisation and offending for emotional violence (%)
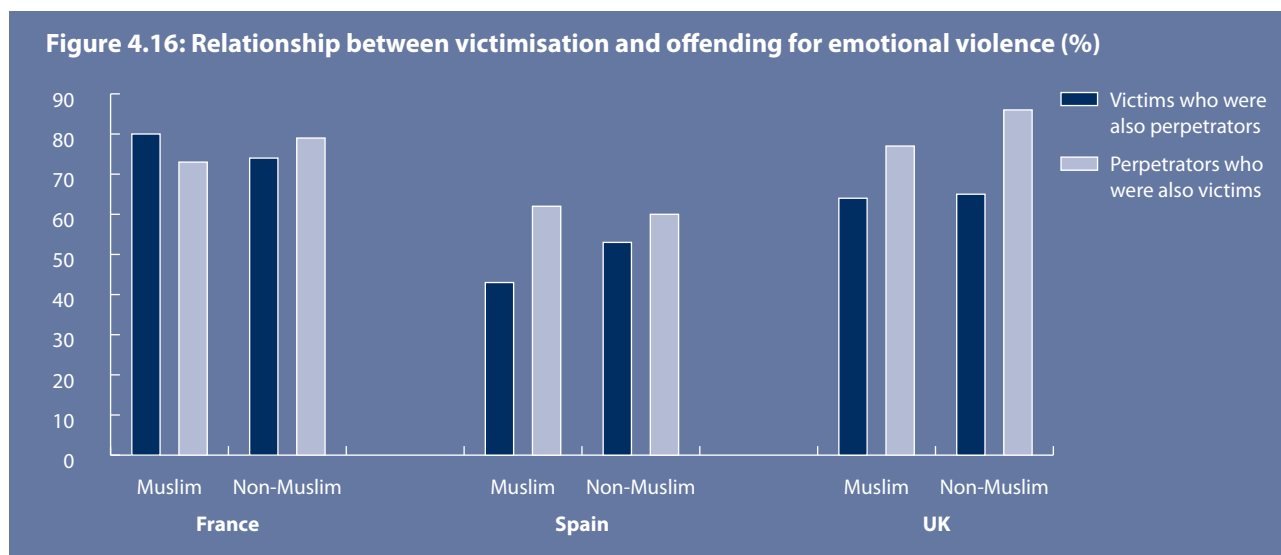
4.9. Key findings

- Young people rarely thought it was justifiable to use violence 'just for fun'; however, most felt it was acceptable to use violence either all or some of the time to defend themselves or prevent someone else from being physically hurt. Around one in five thought it was always acceptable for someone to use violence if their religion had been insulted, although Muslim youths in all three Member States were more likely than non-Muslims to agree that this was the case.

- Looking at an overall attitudes score, the level of support for violence was low in all three Member States, although young people in France were more likely than those in Spain and the United Kingdom to have more positive attitudes towards the use of violence. There was no difference between Muslim and non-Muslim youths in their general level of support for the use of violence among United Kingdom respondents; although Muslim youths in France and Spain displayed a higher level of support for violence.

- The majority of young people disagreed that using war and, especially, terrorism to solve the world's problems was justifiable. French respondents were most likely to agree that war or terrorism were justified, while Spanish respondents were least likely; however, the proportion of young people who agreed with these statements was very small, and there were marginal differences between Muslims and non-Muslims.

- Those who agreed that it was justifiable to use war and terrorism to solve the problems of the world had significantly higher scores on the attitudes to violence scale than those who disagreed with these statements. Muslim respondents were more likely than non-Muslims to have a higher score on the attitudes to violence scale, regardless of whether they agreed or disagreed that war and terrorism were sometimes justified.

- Overall, there was no significant difference in the frequency of committing acts of emotional violence against others between the Muslim and the non-Muslim respondents in France or the United Kingdom. The Spanish youths were least likely to have committed acts of emotional violence overall; however, the non-Muslims were slightly more likely to have done so than the Muslim respondents.

- The relationship between victimisation and offending was strong, for both physical and emotional violence. For emotional violence, it was far more common for perpetrators to be also victims than it was for victims to be also perpetrators. However, this was not so much the case for physical violence, and the findings suggested that the relationship between victimisation and offending was complex and was not uniform across cultural group or Member State.

Figure 4.17: Relationship between victimisation and offending for physical violence (%)

5. Political interest, trust and citizenship

The survey asked young people about issues such as the following:

• Concerns about the state of the world
• Trust in politicians and institutions
• Interest in politics
• Willingness to take civic action
• Membership of various organisations

5.1. Introduction

This chapter of the report explores the interest in and attitudes of young people towards political issues and institutions and their potential likelihood of involvement in local political issues. The literature on political interest among young people emphasises both their political apathy and a sense of political alienation. Recent research in the United Kingdom, for example, suggests that whilst young people support the idea of democratic processes, they are cynical about the structure and conduct of the British political system, and are at best indifferent towards politicians and political parties (Park, 2000; Kimberlee, 2002; Henn et al, 2005; Hopkins, 2007). In France, data also suggests that young people have little trust in political parties and that around two thirds distrust politicians (Paakkunainen et al, 2005). A similar picture is evident in Spain, where youths have reported feel uninformed about politics (Vidal, Valls and Creixam, 2006).

A recent European survey has indicated that more should be done to take account of young people's needs and interests, as well as their ideas and contributions, as an incentive to encourage greater participation in institutional systems of democracy (Analysis of Member States' Replies, 2003). There is evidence that young people's views differ according to their social class, educational history and gender; although interestingly Henn et al (2005) found that both
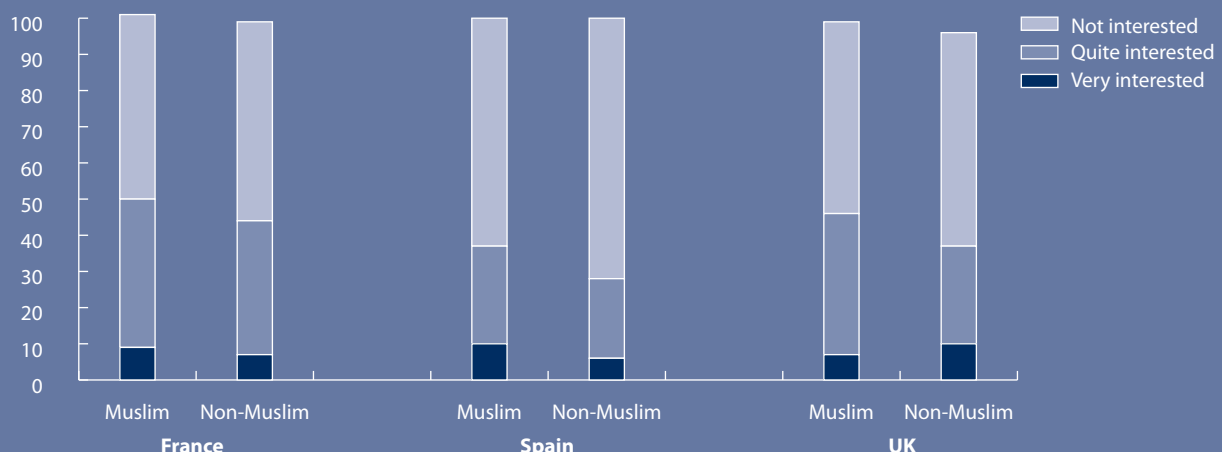
ethnicity and region of the country in which young people live had little influence in structuring political attitudes and behaviour.

This chapter examines young people's level of interest in politics at the national level, and contrasts this with their opinions of and attitudes towards a range of global social issues. The chapter also explores young people's level of trust in a variety of 'formal' individuals and institutions, including political leaders, and compares this with their level of trust in more proximal contacts such as parents and friends. Finally, it explores the notion of active citizenship and examines the types of action which young people indicate that they would take in response to a political issue that directly affected them in their local neighbourhood.

5.2. Interest in national politics

Respondents in this study were asked how interested they were in what was going on in politics in their country of residence. Figure 5.1 shows that interest in national politics among respondents was fairly low, with only ten percent or less of respondents in each Member State indicating that they were 'very interested' in national politics. At least half of the young people in each Member state reported that they were not interested in politics in their country. Overall, respondents in Spain were more likely than those in France or the United Kingdom to say that they were not

Figure 5.1: Level of interest in national politics (%)

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interested in politics; although, there was no significant difference between France and the United Kingdom on this measure. Muslims youths in the United Kingdom and Spain were slightly more likely than non-Muslims to say that they were interested in politics; however, the difference between Muslims and non-Muslims was not very great in any of the three Member States.

5.3. Concern about global social problems

Despite their stated lack of interest in national politics, the majority of respondents reported feeling 'very worried' or 'quite worried' about the state of the world today. The proportion of young people who reported being 'very worried' was highest in France (29%) and lower in Spain (24%) and the United Kingdom (21%). Overall, the pattern of results was similar across the three Member States, as shown in Figure 5.2, although there was some variation in terms of the differences between Muslim and non-Muslim youths. In Spain, the young people from Muslim backgrounds were significantly more likely than non-Muslims to say they were 'very worried' about the state of the world; while, in the United Kingdom, Muslim youths were more likely than non-Muslims to say they were 'quite worried'. There was no difference in the level of concern between Muslim and non-Muslim youths in France, however.
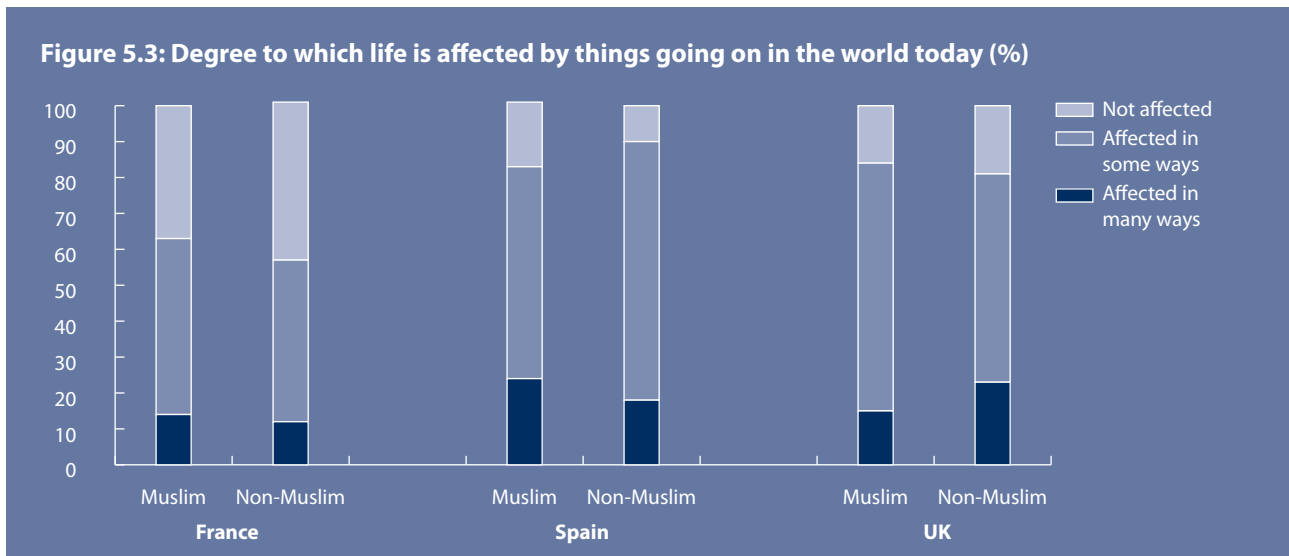
There is an apparent contradiction between the low level of interest shown by young people in national politics and yet the high level of concern about the state of the world today. These findings suggest that young people are not oblivious to the social and political problems occurring at a global level, although they appear not to engage with traditional political activity at the national level. This finding reflects other literature published about the attitudes of youth in Europe (Anduíza, 2001; Muxel, 2008; Spannring, 2008). One possible reason for this is that, although they have some level of concern for what

is happening in the world, they do not perceive politics as reflecting their concerns regarding global issues. Only a small proportion of respondents (20% in Spain and the United Kingdom, and 13% in France) thought their lives were affected 'in many ways' by what was going on in the world today. Many respondents did, however, think that their lives were affected 'in some ways' by global issues; particularly in Spain (67%) and the United Kingdom (63%), although to a lesser degree in France (46%).

Once again, Figure 5.3 indicates some variation between Member States in terms of the attitudes of Muslim and non-Muslim youths. In Spain, Muslim youths were slightly more likely than non-Muslims to say they were not affected by the problems of the world; although, there was no significant difference in this measure among the French or United Kingdom groups. Non-Muslims in the United Kingdom were more likely than Muslims to say that their lives were affected in many ways by global issues; although, France and Spain did not reflect this difference. Overall, there is no clear pattern in terms of difference between Muslim and non-Muslim youths.

To explore in more detail the types of social issues that young people might be concerned about in the world today, they were given a list of items and asked to identify the three that they worried most about (see question 9.2, Appendix II). The list of items included a number of contemporary issues that were related to religious discrimination, such as 'racism', 'conflict between different cultures', 'terrorist attacks' and 'immigration'. However, it also contained items that were unrelated, including 'global warming and climate change', 'poverty', 'disease and illness' and 'nuclear weapons'. Overall, the issue that most young people said they were concerned about was poverty (47%), followed by global warming and climate change (45%) and then racism (38%) and conflict between different cultures (38%). This did vary somewhat between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents across the three Member States, however, as shown in Table 5.1.

Figure 5.2: Level of concern about the state of the world today (%)

Figure 5.3: Degree to which life is affected by things going on in the world today (%)
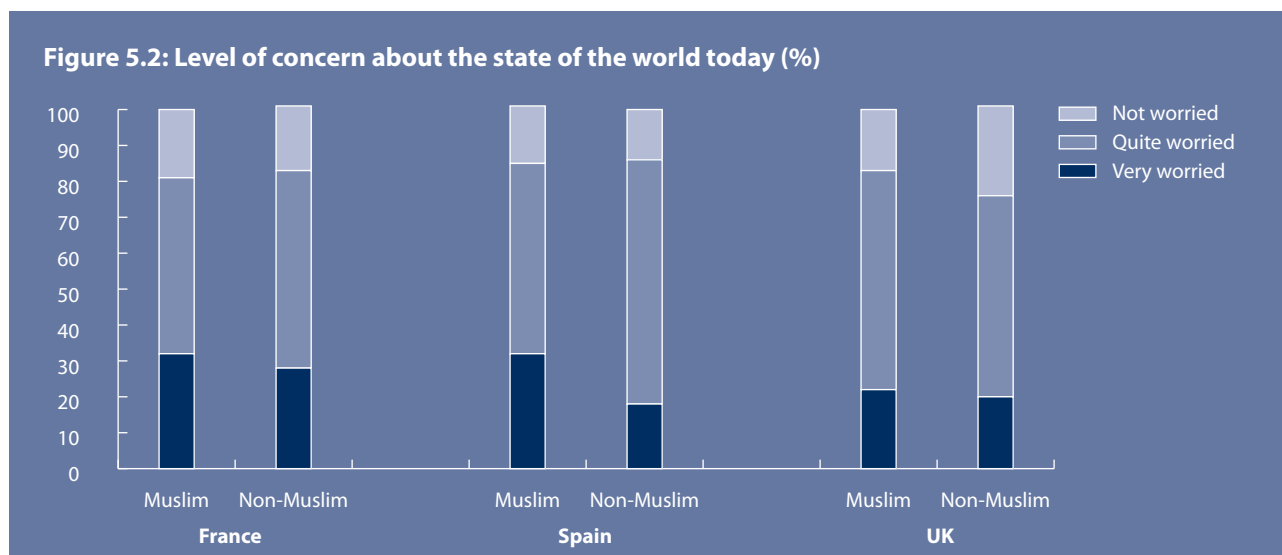
Muslim youths were consistently more likely than non-Muslims to identify racism as a social issue that concerned them. In addition, Muslims were more likely than non-Muslims to say they worried about conflict between different cultures in France and the United Kingdom, although the reverse was true for the Spanish sample. On the other hand, non-Muslims in all jurisdictions were more likely to say that they were worried about global warming and climate change. On some issues, Muslim and non-Muslim youths prioritised similar issues; for example, in France, poverty emerged as the major issue of concern for both Muslim and non-Muslim youth. Interestingly, there were marginal differences between the groups in terms of their concern about terrorist attacks and immigration, although Spanish Muslims were more concerned about immigration than any other group.
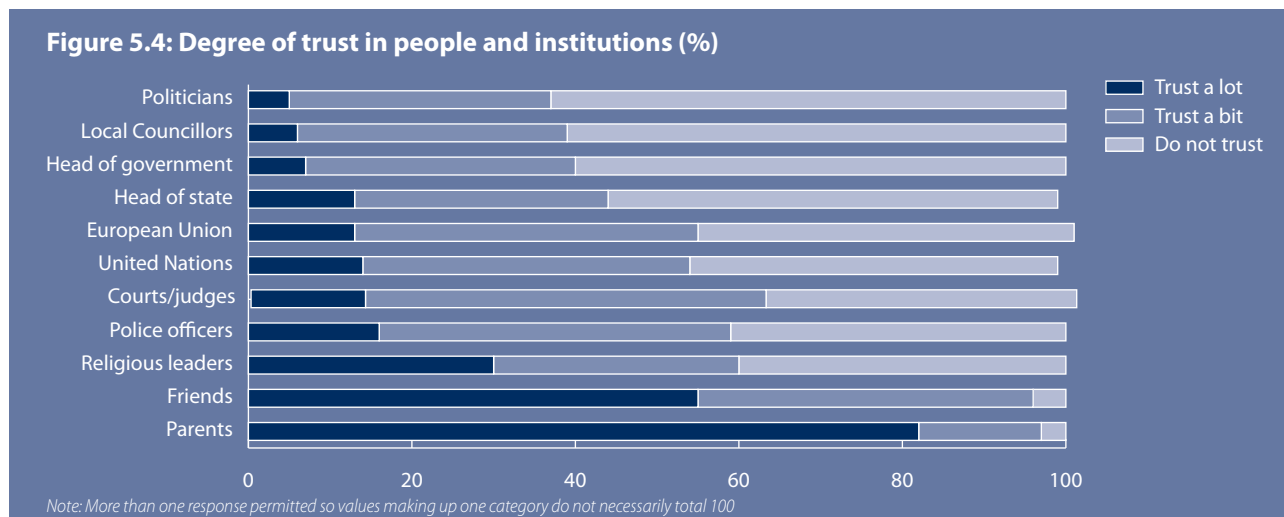
5.4. Trust in political institutions

The respondents were asked how much they felt they could trust a range of people and institutions, including politicians at both local and national level (see question 8.5 in Appendix II). The results of this question are reported in Figure 5.4, which combines the responses for all three Member States. Overall, there was a substantial

difference between the level of trust that young people place in proximal figures such as parents and, to a lesser extent, friends – compared with people and institutions that were more distantly or remotely related to their day to day lives. Young people showed a general lack of trust in figures of authority and formal local, national and international institutions. The most striking finding is the lack of trust in politicians and political representatives: more than half of all respondents (59%) stated that they did not trust politicians, including local councillors and heads of government. The findings are similar for heads of state (such as the King of Spain and the Queen of England). Levels of trust in religious leaders and in criminal justice authorities, such as the police and the courts, were higher than for politicians, but only marginally overall.

Levels of trust in people and institutions varied somewhat across the three Member States, although each jurisdiction mirrored the general pattern reflected in Figure 5.4. On the whole, however, levels of trust were lowest in France and highest among the United Kingdom respondents. There were some differences between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents which were very similar across Member States. For example, non-Muslim respondents were significantly more likely than Muslims to

Table 5.1: Global social issues that young people worry most about (%)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Poverty	59	50	55	48	36	37
Global warming/climate change	37	45	30	55	42	52
Racism	51	43	49	29	37	28
Conflict between different cultures	35	29	41	54	46	24
Terrorist attacks	24	22	24	29	44	45
Lack of respect between people	18	26	18	20	23	22
Disease and illness	10	13	14	16	24	29
Inequality between people	18	22	12	16	16	17
Immigration	23	21	37	15	4	8
Nuclear Weapons	7	9	8	11	17	18
Something else	3	4	6	9	5	12

Note: More than one response permitted so columns do not total 100%.

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Figure 5.4: Degree of trust in people and institutions (%)

Note: More than one response permitted so values making up one category do not necessarily total 100

trust their friends (61% compared with 47%, respectively), but they were far less likely to trust religious leaders (16% compared with 50%, respectively). This was the case in all three jurisdictions. However, there were also considerable differences across the Member States. With the exception of trust in the United Nations (which was lower among Muslims than non-Muslims), there were no other differences between groups in the United Kingdom sample. The French sample also showed few additional differences between Muslims and non-Muslims. French Muslims were slightly more likely to trust their parents than non-Muslims, and slightly less likely to trust the courts and judges. However, for the most part there were no significant differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim youths in France. The most differences were found in the Spanish sample, where the non-Muslim youths were significantly less likely to trust politicians of all types and yet more likely to trust courts and judges, the European Union and the United Nations compared to Muslims.

5.5. Active citizenship

Interest in national politics and trust in political institutions, both local and national, were found to be low among the young people in this survey; however, there was some evidence that they were relatively positively disposed towards active citizenship themselves. Potential involvement in some form of active citizenship was explored by asking the respondents to imagine that a favourite park or place where they hang out with their friends was being closed down so that houses could be built on the land (see question 9.8, Appendix II). They were then asked what they would be likely to do in response to this closure. When shown a list of possible forms of action (including writing a letter of complaint to the local authority, starting or signing a petition and getting involved in a protest or demonstration), 60% of all respondents said they would take some kind of action. This is in line with other European studies which have shown that political

participation of this type among young people is common (Anduiza, 2001; Spannring, 2008).

The most commonly reported form of active citizenship was to write a letter of complaint to the local authority (37%), closely followed by starting or signing a petition (34%), and then joining a protest or a demonstration (26%). These results are encouraging as they suggest that a large proportion of these young people would feel personally compelled to take action in the event of an undesirable event in their local area that would directly affect them. Reliance on adults to take action was less common. Around a quarter (23%) of all respondents stated that they would ask their parents to write a letter of complaint; however, reliance on other adults was uncommon, as only 9% said they would contact a Head Teacher and 4% a religious leader. It is salient to point out, however, that a quarter (26%) of young people said they did not know what they would do in these circumstances, and a fifth (22%) said they would do none of the things on the list to register their protest, which might denote either apathy or a sense of powerlessness.

There was some variation in the responses to these questions across Member States, as shown in Figure 5.5. The most noticeable difference is that the Spanish respondents were significantly more likely than those in France and the United Kingdom to intimate their likelihood of active citizenship through participating in these activities. In fact, 68% of the Spanish respondents indicated that they would take at least one form of action, compared with 60% of the United Kingdom and 51% of the French respondents.

There was little or no difference between respondents in France and the United Kingdom in terms of taking direct action (such as writing a letter, protesting or petitioning); however, the United Kingdom respondents were more likely than the French to say that they would take other forms of action, especially related to reliance on adults. Yet a high proportion in all three Member States said they were unsure what they would do.
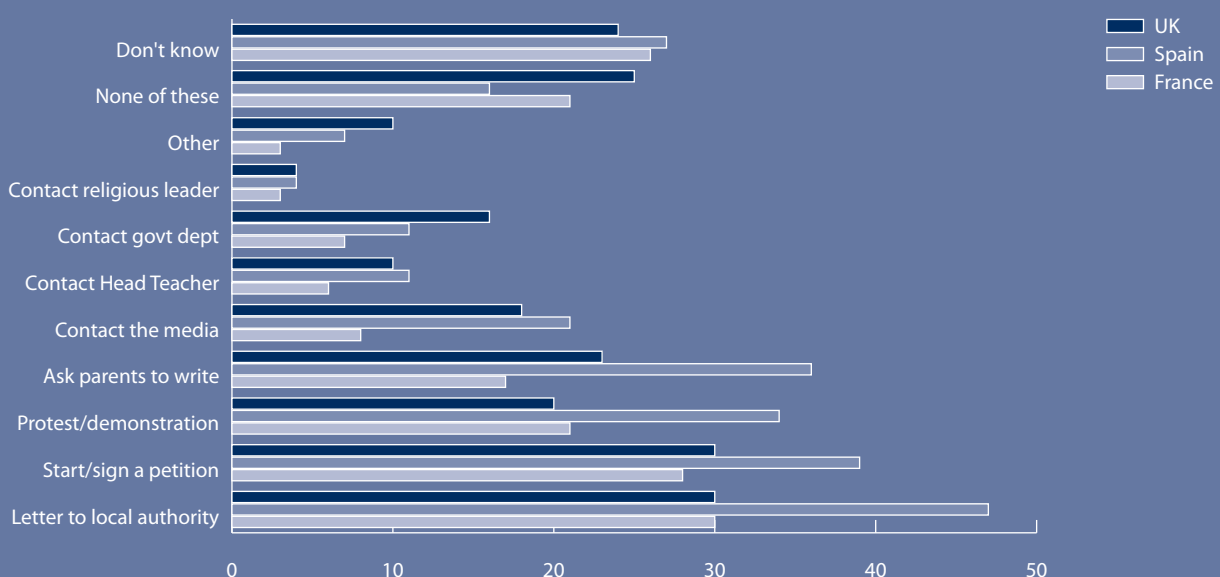
In all three Member States, non-Muslim youths were significantly more likely than Muslims to indicate that they would take at least one form of action. Nevertheless, the general pattern was the same, with active citizenship being higher in Spain (64% of Muslims and 71% of non-Muslims) than in the United Kingdom (55% of Muslims and 64% of non-Muslims) and France (47% of Muslims and 55% of non-Muslims). Comparing the Muslim and non-Muslim groups within Member States, the Spanish respondents demonstrated the greatest difference. Muslims in Spain were less likely to participate in almost all forms of civic participation compared to non-Muslims, with the exception of contacting a Head Teacher or a religious leader, which they were more likely to say they would do.

In contrast, there was little difference between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in France or the United Kingdom in terms of their levels of active participation. In these two Member States, the non-Muslims were slightly more likely to sign a petition or to join a protest than the Muslims, but only marginally. Non-Muslims in the United Kingdom were also more likely to contact the media than Muslims, but again this was not a commonly reported form of activism. Importantly, Muslim youths in Spain and the United Kingdom (33% and 30%, respectively) were significantly more likely than non-Muslims (22% and 20%, respectively) to say that they did not know what they would do in these circumstances; although this difference did not apply in France.

5.6. Key findings

- Despite showing little interest in national politics, the majority of respondents did report feeling very or fairly worried about the state of the world today. Concern about global issues was highest in France. Muslim youths in the United Kingdom and, particularly, in Spain were more concerned about the state of the world than non-Muslims; however, once again, there was no difference in the level of concern between Muslim and non-Muslim youths in France.

- The global issues that young people reported being most concerned about were poverty, global warming and climate change, racism and conflict between different cultures. Muslims were more likely than non-Muslims in all three Member States to identify racism as an issue that concerned them; and Muslims in France and the United Kingdom also more readily identified conflict between different cultures as a concern compared to non-Muslims, although the reverse was true among the Spanish sample. By contrast, non-Muslims in all Member States were more likely than Muslims to express concern about global warming and climate change.

- There was little or no difference in levels of concern between Muslim and non-Muslim youths around inequalities, lack of respect between people, disease and illness, and nuclear weapons. There were only marginal differences between the groups in terms of concern about terrorist attacks and immigration; with Spanish Muslims being most concerned about immigration.

Figure 5.5: Potential involvement in active citizenship, by Member State (%)

Note: More than one response permitted so values making up one category do not total 100.

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- Young people reported a general lack of trust in authority figures and formal local, national and international institutions. Levels of trust were highest for parents and friends, and lowest for politicians, both at local and national level. Levels of trust in different people and institutions varied across the three Member States; although, generally speaking, the French respondents were least trusting and the United Kingdom respondents most trusting.
- Although levels of active citizenship were high overall – given a scenario where they were asked what action they would take – a quarter said they did not know what they would do and a fifth said they would do nothing to register their protest. Spanish respondents were significantly more likely to intimate their likelihood of active citizenship through participating in various activities than those in France and the United Kingdom.
- In all three Member States, non-Muslim youths were significantly more likely than Muslims to indicate that they would take at least one form of action. However, there were only marginal differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in terms of the types of action that they were likely to take.

6. Peer groups and leisure activities

The survey asked young people about issues such as the following:

• Perception of their peer groups
• Membership in various informal groups or 'gangs'
• If these groups have political or religious agendas
• If these groups were involved in illegal activities
• Unfair treatment in and by such groups

6.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the characteristics of the peer networks of the young people in this survey. In particular, it explores the size of the peer groups that young people reported having, both in the context of school and their local neighbourhood. The cultural variation within these peer groups is also explored, in terms of how many of their friends were from a different religious or cultural background, spoke a different language or had different skin colour. The chapter also explores young people's membership of a specific group of friends, whether they considered this group a gang, and their reasons for joining this group. Finally, this chapter explores the amount of time young people said they spent with their peers on weekdays and at weekends, and examines the types of leisure activities that they reported participating in with friends. Among those who said they were part of a gang, the peer group's support for and participation in illegal activities is considered.
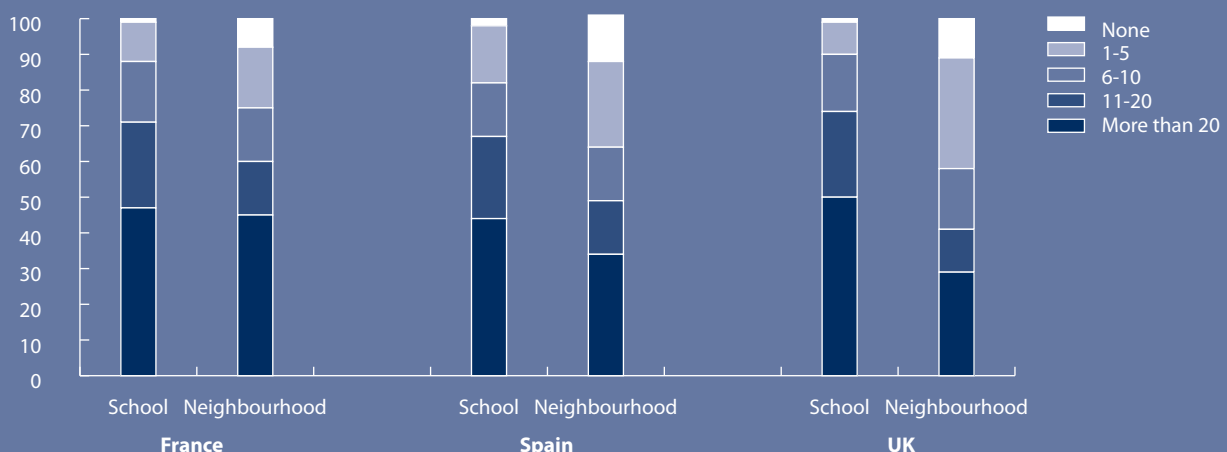
6.2. Peer group characteristics

6.2.3. Peer group size and location

Young people were asked how many friends they had at school, and separately in their local neighbourhood. The vast majority of young people across the three

Member States indicated that they had a large number of friends, with over half saying overall that they had more than 10 friends either at school or in their local neighbourhood, or both. Only a very small minority of young people said that they did not have any friends. Figure 6.1 shows the pattern of peer group size across the three Member States for both friends at school and in the local neighbourhood. This figure illustrates that at least a third of young people associated with peer groups consisting of more than twenty individuals at school or in their neighbourhood. Generally speaking, young people reported having more friends at school than in their local area, although the extent of the difference varied across the Member States. There was very little difference in peer group size at school across the three Member States; however, peer group size in the local neighbourhood did vary significantly, with French youths having most friends – considering actual numbers – in their local area.

Within the United Kingdom sample, there was no difference in peer group size between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, either in terms of the number of friends at school or in the local neighbourhood. Similarly, the Spanish Muslims reported no significant difference in the size of their peer group in the local neighbourhood compared to the non-Muslims; although they had slightly fewer friends at school than non-Muslims. The Muslim youths within the French sample, however, were significantly more likely to report having large peer

Figure 6.1: Size of peer group at school and in the local neighbourhood, by Member State (%)

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groups compared to the non-Muslims. For example, just over half of French Muslims said they had more than 20 friends at school (53%) and in the local neighbourhood (54%) compared to the non-Muslims (42% and 39%, respectively). On the whole, however, the patterns observed in Figure 6.1 were broadly mirrored for both Muslim and non-Muslim youths.

There was a high level of inconsistency among young people in terms of their peer group size at school and the neighbourhood. In only a third (36%) of all cases did young people have the same sized peer group in both contexts. Most (46%) young people had more friends at school compared to the neighbourhood; with only 18% having more friends in their local area compared to school. The United Kingdom respondents were most likely to say they had more friends at school than in the local neighbourhood (58% compared to 44% in Spain and 36% in France). Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in Spain and the United Kingdom did not differ significantly on this measure; however, French Muslims were significantly less likely to have more friends at school than in the local neighbourhood (28% compared to 41% of non-Muslims), but more likely to say they had the same number of friends in school and their local area (49% compared to 37% of non-Muslims).

6.2.2. Cultural variation within peer group

The cultural backgrounds of the respondents in this survey are wide and varied, as shown in chapter 2, which indicates that the samples were drawn from very multi-cultural locations. In order to determine how well young people socialised with others from different backgrounds, they were asked how many of their friends were different from them in terms of cultural background, religious affiliation, language spoken and skin colour. In fact, the vast majority of young people said that at least some of their friends were different from them in each of these ways. Overall, 84% had at least some friends who belonged to a

different religion, 87% had friends from a different cultural background, 83% had friends with a different skin colour and 71% had friends who spoke a different language.

Figure 6.2 highlights the strong degree of diversity among peer groups in terms of religious affiliation and cultural background across the three Member States, and shows that the general pattern is once again broadly replicated. The findings on skin colour and language are not presented here; however, they show the same general picture. Overall, young people in France were most likely to say that some or most of their friends were different to them in terms of religion, cultural background, skin colour and language than those from Spain and the United Kingdom.

There were some significant differences in responses to this question by Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, however. Within the Spanish and United Kingdom samples, Muslim youths were significantly more likely than non-Muslims to say that all or some of their friends were different from them on the basis of religion, cultural background, skin colour and language. For example, 89% of United Kingdom Muslims and 93% of Spanish Muslims reported that at least some of their friends were of a different cultural background, compared to 78% and 67% of non-Muslims, respectively. In France, there was no significant difference between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in the extent of variation on the basis of religion and cultural background, and only slight differences on the basis of skin colour and language. **Nevertheless, the overall picture among both Muslims and non-Muslims was one of multicultural diversity among peer groups.**

6.2.3. Membership of a group or 'gang'

In order to differentiate between friends generally and more specific friendship groups, the respondents were asked whether they had a certain group of friends that

Figure 6.2: Religious and cultural variation among peer groups, by Member State (%)
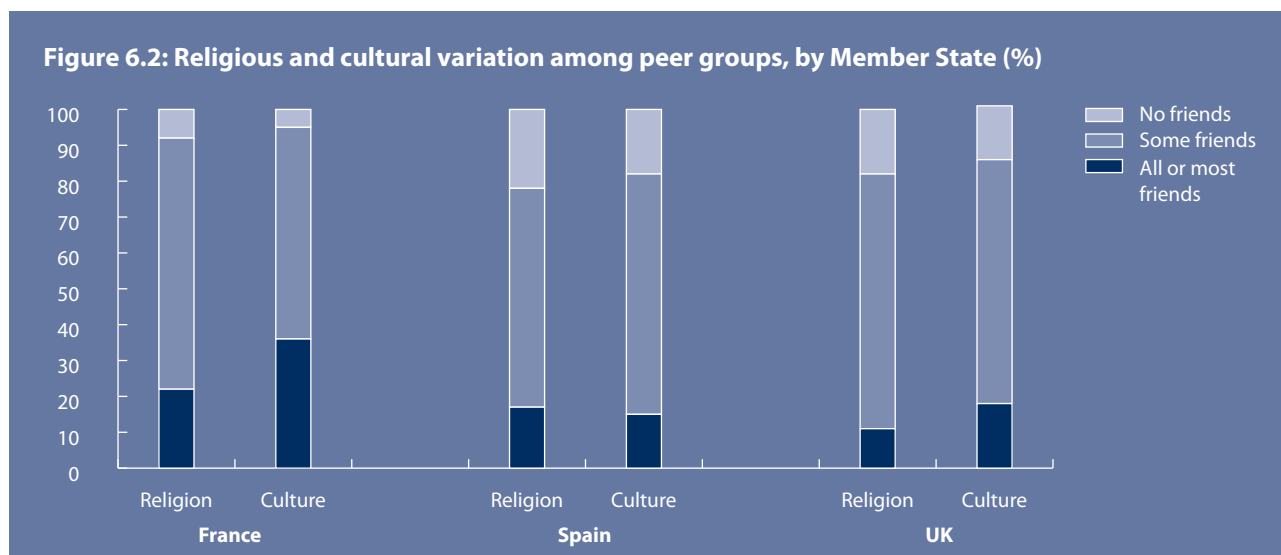
they spent time with, doing things together or just hanging about. Four out of five young people overall said that they belonged to such a group, although this was less common in France (71%) than in Spain (84%) and the United Kingdom (85%). In general, Muslim and non-Muslim respondents were almost equally likely to be part of a group of friends (83% and 86%, respectively); however, non-Muslim youths in Spain (91%) and France (74%) were significantly more likely to be part of a group than Muslim respondents (73% and 67%, respectively).

Only a fifth (22%) of respondents said that they would call their group of friends a 'gang', although the French respondents were more than twice as likely to report being part of a gang (35%) than either the United Kingdom (15%) or the Spanish (16%) youths.[34] Interestingly, the Muslim respondents in both the United Kingdom and Spain (21% in each Member State) were significantly more likely to report being part of a gang than the non-Muslims (11% and 14%, respectively). Muslim respondents in France were also slightly more likely to report being in a gang than the non-Muslims (38% and 33%, respectively), although the difference was not significant.

Even though due care was taken about how the questionnaire captured phrases like 'group' or 'gang' in the different language versions, diverging shades of the meaning between the three Member States and even between different groups cannot be excluded.
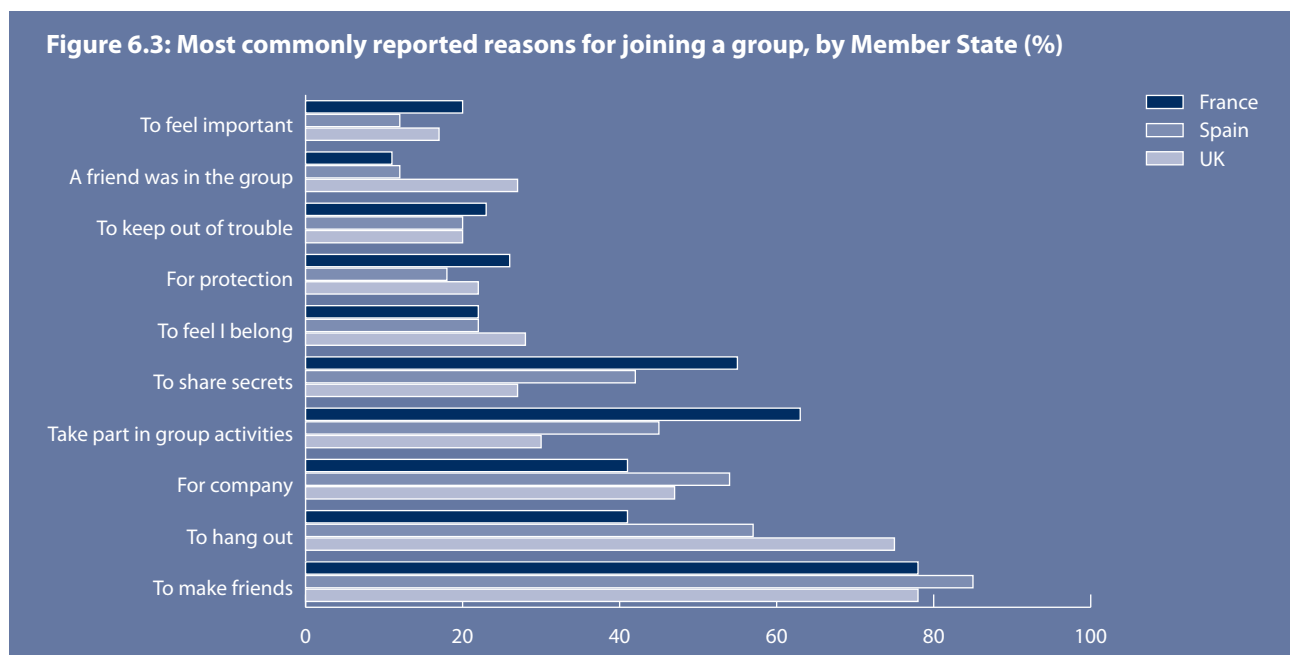
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34   The term 'gang' was translated to 'bande' in French and to 'banda juvenil' in Spanish. These terms might have slightly different positive and negative connotations in the respective language.

6.2.4. Reasons for joining the group

The respondents were shown a list of reasons for joining a group of friends and asked which of these were important for them (see question 4.12, appendix II). The ten most commonly reported reasons are shown in Figure 6.3. This clearly illustrates that young people joined groups predominantly to socialise with other people, since by far the most common reasons given were to make friends (81%), hang out together (58%), for company (47%), to participate in group activities (46%), and to share secrets with each other (41%). It was far less common for young people to join a group for protection (22%) or in order for them to keep out of trouble (21%). There were some differences between Member States, as shown in Figure 6.3. Whereas the United Kingdom respondents were more likely than those from France and Spain to join the group just to hang out, the French respondents were more likely than the others to join in order to participate in group activities or to share secrets and the Spanish respondents were more likely than those in the other two Member States to join for company or to make friends.

In all three Member States, there was little or no significant difference between the proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim respondents who said that they had joined their group for company, to take part in group activities, to share secrets with each other or because a friend was part of the group. Among the Spanish respondents, non-Muslims were a little more likely to say they joined the group to make friends (88% compared with 79%, respectively), although there was no difference between groups in France or the United Kingdom. In France, Muslim youths were more likely than non-Muslims to say that they joined the group just to hang out (47% compared with 37%, respectively); whereas it was the non-Muslims in Spain (62%) and the United Kingdom

Figure 6.3: Most commonly reported reasons for joining a group, by Member State (%)

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(79%) who were more likely to have joined the group to hang out than the Muslim youths (49% and 70%, respectively). Among the United Kingdom respondents, Muslim youths were far more likely to join the group for protection (31%) or to keep out of trouble (28%) compared to the non-Muslim respondents (17% and 15%, respectively); however, there was no such difference in France and only a slight difference on keeping out of trouble in Spain (25% of Muslims compared to 17% of non-Muslims). Only 10% overall said they joined the group to get away with illegal activities, and this did not differ significantly across Member States or between Muslim and non-Muslim respondents.

6.3. Peer group activities

6.3.1. Time spent socialising with peers

The survey asked respondents how many hours, on average, they would spend per day socialising with friends on weekdays (outside of school time) and on weekend days. Not surprisingly, young people in all three Member States spent more time socialising with peers at the weekend than on weekdays, as shown in Figure 6.4. Nevertheless, around a third of respondents in each Member State indicated that they would spend an average of more than four hours socialising with peers on weekdays, even when school time was excluded. Closer to a half said they spent more than four hours per day with friends at weekends, on average. In other words, it was common for young people to spend a lot of time socialising with friends in France, Spain and the United Kingdom.

By adding the answers from the questions on how much time the young people spent socialising with peers on weekdays and at weekends, it was estimated that they spent on average a minimum of 17.7 hours

with friends per week. This varied slightly across Member State, with the Spanish respondents reporting a lower number of hours spent with friends on average (16.9) compared with those in the United Kingdom (17.9) and France (18.3). There was no significant difference in the number of hours spent with friends between Muslim (16.5) and non-Muslims (17.1) in Spain; whereas, the average weekly number of hours spent socialising with friends for Muslims in France (17.6) and the United Kingdom (15.8) was lower than for non-Muslims (18.7 and 19.2, respectively). The difference was most marked among the United Kingdom respondents.

6.3.2. Leisure activities with friends

The respondents were given a list of common leisure time activities and asked what kinds of things they did with their friends (see question 10.7, Appendix II). As shown in Figure 6.5, a large proportion of young people reported participating in conventional leisure activities with friends, such as going shopping or out to eat with friends or socialising at their home or that of a friend. Hanging out in public places was the third most common activity. A relatively small minority of young people in each Member State said that they and their friends did illegal things together. French respondents were more likely than those in other Member States to go for walks or bike rides or chat about the news or world events; while Spanish respondents were more likely to hang out in public, chat about parents and school or do their homework with friends. The United Kingdom respondents were more likely than the French or Spanish youths to stay at home or go to a friend's home and to watch TV and films together.

There was least difference in response to this question between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents in France. French non-Muslims were, however, more likely to watch TV or films, hang about public places, play on the computer or internet and go for walks or bike rides, and

Figure 6.4: Number of hours spent socialising with friends during the week (outside school time) and at the weekends, by Member State (%)

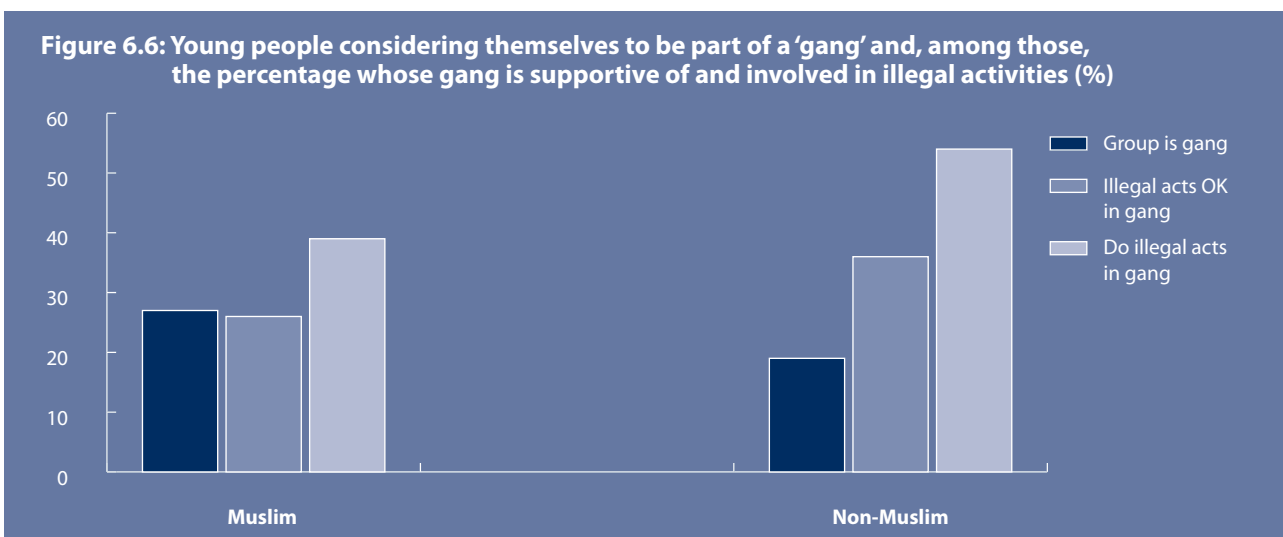**Figure 6.5: Activities with friends, by Member State (%)**
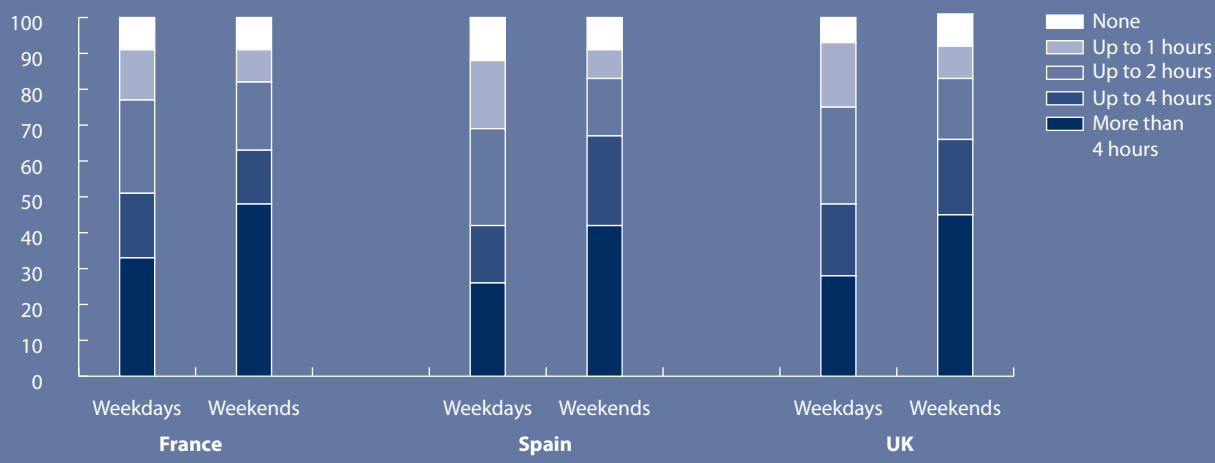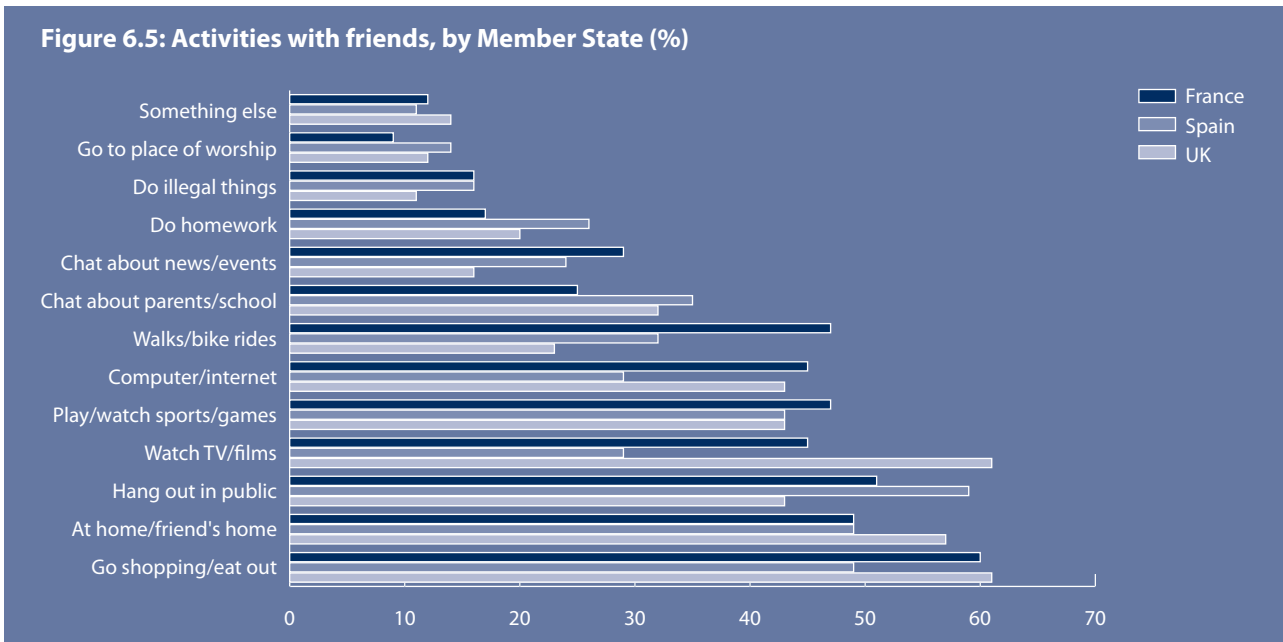
less likely to watch or play sports, compared to Muslims. Compared to Muslims, non-Muslims in Spain and the United Kingdom were more likely to hang about public places, do illegal things with friends, but also to stay at home or go to a friend's home, watch TV or films, go shopping or out to eat and chat about their parents or school. Muslims in all three Member States were more likely to worship together with their friends than non-Muslims, although this could be explained by the fact that they were more likely to worship overall.

6.3.3. Antisocial activities among the group or 'gang'

There has been a considerable amount of research across Europe on youth groups and gangs (see Decker and Weerman, 2005) and on the involvement of groups of friends in antisocial behaviour and delinquency (see Hindelang et al., 1981; Junger-Tas et al., 1994). The main findings from these research studies indicate that young

people often offend in groups, and that identifying themselves with a 'gang' increases the likelihood of their offending. No definition for the term 'gang' was given in this study; however, it was true that those who reported being in a gang were significantly more likely to say that their group thought it was acceptable to do illegal things (49%) and that they actually engaged in illegal acts (47%) compared to those who did not consider their group to be a gang (28% and 25%, respectively). However, this conceals an important difference between the Muslim and non-Muslim respondents, which is shown in Figure 6.6.

Despite being more likely to say that their group of friends was a gang, Muslim respondents who did so were significantly less likely to say that their group thought it acceptable to do illegal acts or that they actually took part in illegal acts compared with non-Muslims; a result that could indicate a different interpretation of the meaning of 'gang'. This was true in all three Member States, although

Figure 6.6: Young people considering themselves to be part of a 'gang' and, among those, the percentage whose gang is supportive of and involved in illegal activities (%)

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the French respondents who said they were part of a gang were significantly more likely to have friendship groups that thought it acceptable (58%) or participated in illegal activities (60%), compared to the United Kingdom respondents (46% and 47%, respectively) or, especially, the Spanish respondents (34% and 22%, respectively). This may indicate that there is a different understanding or usage of the term 'gang' between groups. This is in addition to the earlier caution that the translation of a term such as 'gang' is problematic.

6.4. Key findings

- As a reflection of the survey locations, there was strong cultural diversity among peer groups, with the vast majority of young people saying that at least some of their friends belonged to a different religion, had a different cultural background, had a different skin colour and spoke a different language.
- Four out of five young people belonged to a specific peer group, although this was less common in France. Muslim youths in France and Spain were less likely to be part of a group of friends than non-Muslims.

- Only a fifth of respondents said that they would call their group of friends a 'gang', although the French respondents were more than twice as likely to do so as in Spain or the United Kingdom. Considering their group a gang was more common for Muslims than non-Muslims.
- Most young people joined their peer group in order to socialise with other people; by making friends, hanging out together, having company and participating in group activities or sharing secrets. Few young people joined a group for protection or to keep out of trouble.
- Those who said their peer group was a 'gang' were more likely to say that their group considered it acceptable to do illegal things and that they actually engaged in illegal acts, compared to those who did not consider their group a gang.
- Muslim respondents were more likely to say that their group of friends was a 'gang' than non-Muslims, but Muslims who did consider themselves to be in a gang were less likely to be supportive of or to participate in illegal activities in the group than non-Muslims who called their group a gang, which may indicate a different understanding of the term 'gang'.

7. Explaining attitudes towards and involvement in violence

7.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to bring together the findings from the previous chapters in order to explore the overarching research question for this study: what is the relationship between young people's experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation and the identification of attitudes and activities that are supportive of violence? To do this, the chapter uses two measures of violent attitudes and two measures of violent behaviour (these are described in more detail in Chapter 4).

The attitudinal measures included in this analysis are:

- scoring above average on a scale of positive attitudes towards violence (based on a scale ranging from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates no support for violence and 1 indicates strong support for violence); and
- agreeing that war and/or terrorism are justified (a simple binary measure of yes or no).

The two measures of violent behaviour were binary measures that indicated whether the young person had been involved in emotional or physical violence (yes or no).

In an attempt to explain why some young people may be more strongly supportive of violent behaviour and more inclined to participate in violence, binary logistic regression analysis was used to determine whether there was a relationship between these measures and a range of possible explanatory variables, already described in earlier chapters. Logistic regression is a form of multiple regression that is used when the dependent variables (in this case support for and involvement in violence) consist of two discrete categories. This form of statistical modelling allows one to assess the relative importance of each factor or combination of factors in predicting young people's propensity to support violence and to be involved in violence, while simultaneously taking each of the other possible explanatory variables into account (see Field, 2004). The logistic regression modelling analysis, which was carried out separately for each Member State, looked at:

- whether young people had experienced discrimination;
- measures of social marginalisation (feelings of alienation, feeling unhappy with their lives and having no-one to talk to about private matters);
- experience of emotional or physical violence as a victim for reasons of cultural background, skin colour, spoken language or religion;
- concerns about general global issues (the state of the world today);

- concerns about specific global issues (racism, inequality between people, conflict between cultures, terrorism and immigration);
- lack of interest in politics and lack of trust in politicians;
- perceived ability to take action in the event of a threat to a local resource for young people (active citizenship);
- delinquent peer group activities (calling their group of friends a 'gang', participating in illegal activities with their group of friends and giving illegal activity as a reason for joining their group); and
- the young person's individual characteristics (age, gender and whether the young person was a Muslim or a non-Muslim).

The results of the analysis are presented as tables showing which factors emerged as statistically significant in terms of explaining why some individuals were likely to have more positive attitudes towards violence and were more likely to have been involved in emotionally or physically violent behaviour. For simplicity, the results are presented as showing whether the explanatory variable has a 'weak' effect (an odds ratio of between 1 and 1.4), a 'moderate' effect (an odds ratio of between 1.5 and 1.9), a 'strong' effect (an odds ratio between 2.0 and 4.9) or a 'very strong' effect (an odds ratio of 5.0 or more). Where the variable had a negative effect on attitudes towards violence or involvement in violent behaviour, this is also indicated.

7.2. Explaining attitudes towards violence

7.2.1. Attitudes supportive of individual violence

Table 7.1, below, presents the results of the logistic regression analysis to explore the possible explanatory factors for having an above average score on the scale of attitudes towards violence. A logistic regression model using the eleven explanatory factors listed in the first column of Table 7.1 was fitted separately to the data from each of the three countries. This table shows the factors that emerged as significant in terms of explaining why some individuals were more supportive of using violence in a variety of situations compared to those who had only average or below average scores.

Overall, there were three factors that the models for *all three* Member States shared:

- being male;
- being part of a group that the individual defined as a 'gang'; and
- being involved in illegal activities with that group.

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These three factors were all found to strongly or moderately explain having a more supportive attitude (than average) towards using violence in all three Member States. These findings suggest that anti-violence initiatives targeted at problematic male youth groups are likely to be equally beneficial in all three Member States.

There were also some country specific factors that emerged in terms of explaining involvement in violence, as Table 7.1 shows. Having a Muslim religious background emerged as strongly predictive of having positive attitudes towards violence only among the French sample, whereas there was no indication that religious background had any bearing on attitudes in Spain and the United Kingdom. In addition, French youths who had been victims of discrimination and those who were distrustful of politicians were also more likely to have stronger that average attitudes towards violence.

Experience of discrimination did not emerge as significant among the respondents in Spain and the United Kingdom, However, young people in these two samples who had greater scores on a measure of alienation or exclusion were highly likely to be supportive of violence, although this was not apparent in France.

Among the United Kingdom youths, those who reported being worried about immigration and conflict between cultures at a global level were more supportive of using violence at the individual level. While there was no indication that Muslims were more likely to support the use of violence than non-Muslims in the United Kingdom, young people who had experienced either emotional or physical victimisation for reasons of their cultural or religious background, their skin colour or for speaking a different language, were more likely to have stronger than average attitudes supporting the use of personal violence.

7.2.2. Attitudes supportive of global violence

There was no consistent pattern across the three Member States in terms of explaining young people's likelihood to agree that global violence (in the form of war and/or terrorism) was justifiable for dealing with the problems of the world – there was no consistent pattern across the three Member States. It is interesting to note from Table 7.2 that young people in France who were supportive of war or terrorism shared some characteristics with young people in Spain and some other characteristics with those in the United Kingdom; however, there was no overlap at all between Spain and the United Kingdom.

In France, young males and those from a Muslim background were at greater risk of supporting the use of war and/or terrorism when controlling for a range of other factors. Risk was also greater among those who felt highly alienated within their communities, and among those young people who were involved in youth groups who supported and engaged in illegal activities. This indicates that levels of support for global violence in France would be likely to be highest among young, alienated Muslim males who were members of delinquent gangs. In Spain, risk of support for war and/or terrorism was also greatest among young Muslims and those who experienced greater feelings of alienation. However, being male and part of a delinquent youth group did not emerge as significant risk factors. Those who were most worried about the state of the world were, however, at lower risk of supporting these forms of global violence, which is indicative of some form of moral indignation for such acts.

Among the UK respondents, religious background and experience of alienation did not explain young people's attitudes towards war and/or terrorism. However, like the French sample, young males and those who were involved in delinquent youth gangs were at greatest risk of harbouring these kinds of attitudes. This was particularly the case for the older teenagers in the UK, and, notably, among those who reported being 'happy' with their lives. In other words, these findings suggest that young males who show a proclivity towards group-based anti-social behaviour at the local level are also likely to favour (attitudinally) the use of violence to solve global problems, at least in France and the United Kingdom.

Table 7.1: Emerging explanatory factors for having stronger than average attitudes towards violence

Explanatory factor	France	Spain	United Kingdom
Being male	Strong	Strong	Strong
Being part of a group that is involved in illegal activities	Strong	Moderate	Moderate
Describing their group as a 'gang'	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
Having stronger feelings of alienation	-	Very strong	Strong
Getting involved in illegal activity as a reason for joining their group	Strong	-	-
Coming from a Muslim background	Strong	-	-
Being a victim of discrimination	Moderate	-	-
Having no trust in politicians	Weak	-	-
Being worried about immigration	-	-	Strong
Being worried about conflict between cultures	-	-	Moderate
Being a victim of violence for reasons of culture, religion, language or skin colour	-	-	Moderate

Table 7.2: Emerging explanatory factors for being supportive of war and/or terrorism to solve the problems of the world

Explanatory factor	France	Spain	United Kingdom
Having higher feelings of alienation	Strong	Very strong	-
Coming from a Muslim background	Moderate	Strong	-
Being male	Strong	-	Strong
Getting involved in illegal activity as a reason for joining their group	Moderate	-	Moderate
Being part of a group that is involved in illegal activities	Strong	-	-
Being very worried about the state of the world today	-	Negative	-
Describing their group as a 'gang'	-	-	Strong
Being an older teenager	-	-	Moderate
Feeling unhappy with life	-	-	Negative

7.2. Explaining involvement in violence

Expressing opinions that are in favour of using violence, either at an individual level or a global level, is not necessarily indicative of a tendency to use violence. However, some similar characteristics to those described above emerged among those who said they had used emotional and physical violence. Exactly the same group of explanatory variables was used in this analysis, with the exception that the two attitudinal variables in support of violence were included as potential explanatory factors for involvement in emotional and physical violence.

Table 7.3 shows that in all three Member States young people who felt highly alienated or excluded and those who had been a victim of either emotional or physical violence themselves because of their cultural or religious background, skin colour or language were highly likely to be involved in using emotional violence towards others. In addition, in France and the United Kingdom, young people who reported that they had been victims of discrimination were highly likely to be emotionally violent towards others. These findings demonstrate the widespread importance of addressing issues of social marginalisation and discriminatory behaviour towards those of different cultural origins among young people. Nevertheless, there was no indication that Muslim youths were more likely to engage in emotional violence than non-Muslims; in fact, the reverse was true among the Spanish respondents.

Among the United Kingdom respondents only, those who reported being worried about racism as a global social issue were less likely to engage in emotional violence than those who were not concerned about racism.

As with attitudes that were supportive of violence, the use of emotional violence was also explained to an extent by the tendency to associate with a delinquent peer group. In France, young people who said their group was a gang and those whose peer group engaged in illegal activities were likely to have used emotional violence towards others. Youths in the United Kingdom who were part of a delinquent youth group and Spanish youths who said they joined their peer group in order to engage in illegal acts were also engaged in emotional violence. Yet again, these findings demonstrate the importance of addressing the wider problems associated with troublesome youth groups. In Spain and the United Kingdom, younger teenagers and those who had stronger than average opinions in favour of using violence were more likely to use emotional violence towards others than older teenagers or those who did not support violence generally; although, this was not apparent among the French youths. Interestingly, being male emerged as an explanatory factor for emotional violence only among the United Kingdom respondents, and then only weakly in comparison to other variables. This suggests that emotional violence is as likely to be inflicted by females as males in France and Spain when controlling for these other factors.

Table 7.3: Emerging explanatory factors for being involved in emotional violence

Explanatory factor	France	Spain	United Kingdom
Having higher feelings of alienation	Strong	Very strong	Very strong
Being a victim of violence for reasons of culture, religion, language or skin colour	Strong	Moderate	Moderate
Being a victim of discrimination	Moderate	-	Moderate
Having no trust in politicians	Moderate	-	Weak
Being part of a group that is involved in illegal activities	Moderate	-	Moderate
Being an older teenager	-	Negative	Negative
Having stronger than average attitudes in support of violence	-	Moderate	Moderate
Describing their group as a 'gang'	Moderate	-	-
Getting involved in illegal activity as a reason for joining their group	-	Strong	-
Coming from a Muslim background	-	Negative	-
Being male	-	-	Weak
Being worried about racism	-	-	Negative

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There was some similarity in the explanatory factors that emerged from the regression modelling for emotional and physical violence, although there were also some distinct differences. Whereas involvement in emotional violence was only weakly related to being male in the United Kingdom, and not at all gendered in France or Spain, Table 7.4 shows that being male was strongly indicative of involvement in physical violence across the three Member States (this is predictable, but is a useful indicator that adds to the reliability of the study as a whole). In addition, being a member of a delinquent peer group and having stronger than average attitudes in support of using violence at an individual level were highly likely to lead to involvement in physical violence in France, Spain and the United Kingdom. Having attitudes that were supportive of war and/or terrorism at a more global level were moderately significant in explaining engagement in physical violence among the French respondents only.

These findings yet again demonstrate the cross-national importance of targeting male youth groups, particularly those who believe strongly that it is justifiable to use violent solutions to solve the everyday problems that they face. Nevertheless, to be effective any policy response would have to address the issues of discrimination and marginalisation among such youth groups. For example, in France and Spain, young people who stated that they had been victims of discrimination were far more likely to engage in physical violence than those who were not discriminated against. Furthermore, youths in Spain and the United Kingdom who reported feeling alienated and marginalised within their communities, and youths in the United Kingdom who were victimised on the basis of their cultural or religious origins, were highly likely to be physically violent towards others. Importantly, there is no evidence from this study that the religious background of the respondents is an indicator for engagement in physical violence once other aspects of discrimination and marginalisation have been accounted for.

There is some indication from Table 7.4 – although the findings are complex and require further exploration in relation to other factors – that involvement in physical violence was related to aspects of concern that young people faced, although this was not uniform across Member States. For example, Spanish youths who expressed concern about issues of inequality between people at a global level were more likely to engage in physical violence than those who were not concerned about this issue. Similarly, Spanish youths who were worried about terrorism were more likely to be violent towards others than those who were not worried about this issue; whereas French youths who were worried about immigration were less likely to be violent than those who were not worried. Concerns about global issues did not emerge as an explanatory factor for being involved in physical violence for respondents in the United Kingdom.

In both France and the United Kingdom, engagement in physical violence was more likely among younger than older teenagers.

It is apparent from these findings that there is a high degree of overlap between Member States in terms of the possible explanatory factors for both attitudes in support of violence and actual engagement in violent behaviour. This analysis shows that policies need to be targeted at young people who cause problems within their own communities, particularly in the form of youth groups that are predominantly male. However, such policies must also address the endemic problem of discrimination and social marginalisation among young people in order to have some impact on violent attitudes and behaviours. There is a strong indication that addressing attitudes that are supportive of violence would go some way towards tackling involvement in both emotional and physical violence, although this would need to be adopted as part of a wider package of measures. Nevertheless, a uniform policy approach to resolving issues of violence would not be appropriate as different factors emerged as being significant in explaining attitudes and behaviours across the three Member States. Policy makers need to be attuned to the cultural differences across Member States in order to properly understand the issues underlying youth violence. Importantly, this study has shown that

Table 7.4: Emerging explanatory factors for being involved in physical violence

Explanatory factor	France	Spain	United Kingdom
Being male	Strong	Strong	Strong
Describing their group as a 'gang'	Strong	Moderate	Strong
Having stronger than average attitudes in support of violence	Moderate	Strong	Strong
Being a victim of discrimination	Moderate	Strong	-
Being worried about inequality	Negative	Moderate	-
Being part of a group that is involved in illegal activities	Strong	-	Strong
Having no trust in politicians	Moderate	-	Strong
Being an older teenager	Negative	-	Negative
Getting involved in illegal activity as a reason for joining their group	-	Strong	Strong
Having higher feelings of alienation	-	Strong	Very strong
Having supportive attitudes towards war and/or terrorism to solve world's problems	Moderate	-	-
Being worried about immigration	Negative	-	-
Being worried about terrorism	-	Strong	-
Being a victim of violence for reasons of culture, religion, language or skin colour	-	Moderate	-

discrimination and marginalisation are not restricted to Muslim youths – although the reasons behind types of negative experience may be different between Muslim and non-Muslim youth.

7.4. Key findings

- Being more supportive than average in their attitudes towards using violence at an individual level (for example, for self-defence or because they were insulted) was at least partially explained in all three Member States by being male, being part of a group that the individual defined as a 'gang', and being involved in illegal activities with that group.
- Being from a Muslim background and being a victim of discrimination were predictive of having positive attitudes towards violence only for French youths. Whereas in Spain and the United Kingdom, young people who were more alienated or socially marginalised were likely to be supportive of violence.
- In France and Spain, Muslim youths and those who felt socially marginalised had high levels of support for war and / or terrorism to solve the problems of the world. In France and the United Kingdom, support for such global violence was greater among young males than females, and among those who were members of delinquent peer groups.
- In all Member States, young people who felt socially marginalised and those who had been a victim of violence because of their cultural or religious background, skin colour or language were more likely to use emotional violence towards others. In France and the United Kingdom, young people who had experienced general discrimination were also likely to be emotionally violent towards others.

- In Spain, respondents from a non-Muslim background were more likely to be involved in using emotional violence, whereas in France and the United Kingdom religious background had no impact on this type of violence.
- In France, Spain and the United Kingdom, the use of emotional and physical violence by young people was strongly related to their likelihood of associating with a delinquent peer group and engaging in illegal activities with that group.
- Emotional violence was as likely to be inflicted by females as males in France and Spain, and being male was only weakly predictive of involvement in emotional violence among the United Kingdom respondents. However, being male was strongly indicative of involvement in physical violence across the three Member States.
- The use of physical violence was associated with having stronger positive attitudes towards using violence at an individual level in all three Member States; although, supportive attitudes for global violence was moderately significant in explaining physical violence only among French respondents.
- In France and Spain, young people who had experienced discrimination were far more likely to engage in physical violence than those who were not discriminated against. Furthermore, youths in Spain and the United Kingdom who reported feeling alienated and marginalised within their communities, and youths in the United Kingdom who were victimised on the basis of their cultural or religious origins, were highly likely to be physically violent towards others.
- There is no evidence from this study that the religious background of the respondents is an indicator for engagement in physical violence once other aspects of discrimination and marginalisation had been accounted for.

8. Conclusions

Main conclusions

Both violent attitudes and behaviours were strongly predicted by being male and being part of a delinquent peer group that was disposed to engaging in illegal activities.

Young people who had experienced social marginalisation and discrimination were highly likely to support the use of violence and, more especially, to engage in emotional and physical violence themselves.

Involvement in emotional violence (such as being teased or made fun of, or threatened in some way) was increased among those who had said that they had experienced violence because of their cultural or religious backgrounds; however, this was not restricted to Muslim youths.

There was no indication that Muslim youths in any Member State were more likely than non-Muslims to be emotionally or physically violent towards others, once other aspects of discrimination and social marginalisation had been taken into account.

Some young people indicated that they would support the use of violence in the case of self-defence or to protect someone else, but most young people showed no support for engaging in violence 'just for fun' (mindless violence). Some Muslim respondents were more likely to indicate their support for violence than non-Muslims – particularly if their religion was insulted; however, there is no indication that these respondents would translate their thoughts into action.

Discrimination and marginalisation are not restricted to Muslim youths and religious affiliation is less important in determining young people's involvement in violent behaviour than their peer group characteristics and their broader attitudes and experiences.

It is important to bear in mind when interpreting the findings in this report that the survey – based on 3,000 interviews with young people, aged between 12 and 18 years, across the three Member States – cannot be said to be representative of all young people from France, Spain and the United Kingdom. This is so given the sampling strategy, which was designed to ensure a large enough sample of young Muslim people and which, therefore, was concentrated in particular geographical areas. Nevertheless, the findings provide important information about the experiences of young people from both Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds that can be used by policy makers to address some of the key issues facing young people in terms of their experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation, and how this relates to their attitudes towards the use of violence and their involvement in behaving violently towards others.

For most of the young people in this study, their religious and cultural backgrounds were important aspects of their individual identities and this was particularly the case for young people whose families had migrated to their country of residence. In particular, Muslim youths were more likely to attend a place of worship and to worship more frequently in Spain and the United Kingdom, although this was less so in France. There was some indication that the Muslim youths sampled in this survey may have been less affluent than young people from other backgrounds, on the basis of information collected on entitlement to educational subsidies, and more tenuously on parental employment, and on the basis that their parents were more likely to be recent immigrants; however, this is not certain as information on

household income could not be collected. Perhaps recent immigration is a factor which partly explains why young Muslims were less likely than non-Muslims to associate themselves with the dominant culture of their country of residence, particularly in France; although they were very strongly supportive of their own cultural background. These findings are important as they indicate that young people are sensitive to cultural and religious differences and so individual identity must be understood in the context of such differences.

It is a positive sign that this study found that most young people had not been discriminated against and, in fact, the vast majority were happy with their lives and did not appear to feel alienated or socially marginalised. Nevertheless, some young people had experienced discrimination and marginalisation, and there were differences between the experiences of Muslim and non-Muslim youths in each of the three Member States that deserve much greater attention. Around one in four young people in each Member State reported they had ever been unfairly treated or picked on (experiences of discrimination). Muslim youths were significantly more likely than non-Muslims to say that this had happened to them in France and Spain; although, there was no difference between them in the United Kingdom. Young people were picked on for a range of reasons, including their cultural background, religion, skin colour and language; with Muslims being particularly likely to experience religious discrimination. However, there were many other reasons why young people were unfairly treated that did not relate to cultural or religious background. Moreover, young people who experienced discrimination were significantly more likely to be socially

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marginalised and unhappy compared to others. A key factor in discriminatory behaviour (according to the victims) was that young people were merely identified by others as being 'different', which suggests a need to tackle issues of general intolerance as well as specific areas of targeted discrimination.

The findings on young people's attitudes towards violence did not suggest that there was large-scale support for using violence to resolve individual problems, and they were particularly unsupportive of violence just 'for fun'. Young people were more supportive of activities where violence might be needed for self-defence or to protect someone else than they were for other types of situation, such as in the case of their religion being insulted. Muslim youths in France and Spain were more likely to demonstrate support for violence than non-Muslims, particularly if their religion was insulted. While there were no differences in the responses between Muslims and non-Muslim youth in the UK on most items concerning support for violence, UK Muslim respondents, as well as Muslim respondents in France and Spain, were significantly more ready to accept the use of violence when their religion was insulted, compared with non-Muslim respondents. Support for more globalised forms of violence, including using war and terrorism to solve the problems of the world, was less common. Muslim respondents did not differ from non-Muslim respondents, overall (the data from the three countries combined), regarding their views on the use of war. The Muslims respondents overall were slightly more likely to be supportive of the use of terrorism than non-Muslims; however, it is important to note that being sympathetic towards the use of violence does not necessarily translate into violent behaviour.

Experience of violence among young people was not particularly common, particularly physical violence, although for a small minority it was a fairly regular occurrence. Nevertheless, patterns in experience of violence varied considerably across the three Member States. Around half of all young people had experienced at least one incident of emotional violence (such as being teased or made fun of, threatened or excluded by a group of friends), although it was less common to experience actual physical violence (such as being assaulted or hit with a weapon), and even rarer to have perpetrated emotional or physical violence against others. French youths were the most likely to be exposed to violence, both as victims and offenders, and French Muslim youths were the most likely to experience physical violence as a victim and a perpetrator. Experience of violence was least common in Spain, both for victims and offenders; although here, the non-Muslims were as likely to be victims of violence and more likely to be perpetrators than the Muslim youths. In the United Kingdom, non-Muslims were more likely than Muslims to experience emotional violence, but there was no difference in

exposure to physical violence or committing acts of emotional or physical violence. So while attitudes towards violence were more supportive among Muslim youths, there was no evidence that they were more extensively or consistently exposed to violence in Spain or the United Kingdom; although this was clearly not the case in France. In all three Member States, however, the reasons given by Muslims for being both a victim and a perpetrator of violence did tend to focus on issues relating to cultural or religious difference.

Young people's level of interest in institutional national politics was low overall; however, the majority did say that they were worried about the state of the world today and clearly evidenced political consciousness in their responses to global issues. Most young people thought their lives were affected to at least some extent by what was going on in the world around them, and there was little difference between Muslim and non-Muslims in this respect. However, Muslim youths were more likely to be concerned about global issues relating to religious and cultural identity, such as racism, compared to non-Muslims who were more likely to be concerned about more generic issues such as global warming and climate change. These findings indicate that young Muslims have a much greater level of concern about tolerance towards cultural identities both at a personal and a global level which is likely to have some impact on their understanding of the way in which such issues are dealt with politically. There was a general lack of trust in authority figures and social institutions, with politicians being rated as least trustworthy in society by both Muslims and non-Muslims. However, Muslim youths appeared less willing to participate in some form of protest or active citizenship than non-Muslims.

Peer groups are an important aspect of young people's lives and the majority of people in this study stated that they had a group of friends at school and/or in their local neighbourhood, many of which were very large peer groups. This study found strong cultural diversity among peer groups, which may be related to the sampling method which targeted areas with a large Muslim component. The vast majority of young people said that at least some of their friends belonged to a different religion, had a different cultural background, had a different skin colour and spoke a different language. Cultural diversity was greatest among the French respondents, regardless of whether respondents were Muslim or non-Muslim. Most young people said that they had a specific group of friends that they spent a lot of time with, although Muslims in France and Spain were less likely to be part of a group than non-Muslims. One in five respondents described their group of friends as a 'gang', with French respondents around twice as likely to do so those in Spain or the United Kingdom. Many young people participated in conventional leisure activities with friends, with few young people saying they did illegal

things together. However, those who said their peer group was a gang were more likely to say that their group considered it acceptable to do illegal things and that they actually engaged in illegal acts, compared to those who did not consider their group a gang. Interestingly, being part of a gang was more common for Muslims than non-Muslims; however, Muslims who did consider themselves to be in a gang were less likely to be supportive of or to participate in illegal activities in the group than non-Muslims who called their group a gang.

One of the main aims of this study was to understand the relationship between experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation and attitudes towards and involvement in violence, taking into account some of the other key characteristics of young people's lives. This study found consistent evidence that both violent attitudes and behaviours were strongly predicted in all three Member States by being male and being part of a delinquent peer group that was disposed to engaging in illegal activities, whether or not that peer group was described as a gang. In addition, there was evidence in all three Member States that young people who had experienced social marginalisation and discrimination were highly likely to support the use of violence and, more especially, to engage in emotional and physical violence themselves. Involvement in emotional violence was increased among those who had said that they had experienced violence because of their cultural or religious backgrounds; however, this was not restricted to Muslim youths. The findings indicated that young Muslims were more supportive than non-Muslims in their attitudes towards using violence in France and, to a lesser extent, Spain; however, there was no indication that Muslim youths in any Member State were more likely than non-Muslims to be emotionally or physically violent towards others, once other aspects of discrimination and social marginalisation had been taken into account. Nevertheless, the use of physical violence was associated with having stronger positive attitudes towards using violence at an individual level in all three Member States; although, supportive attitudes for global violence was moderately significant in explaining physical violence only among French respondents.

This study shows a high degree of overlap between Member States in terms of the factors that might contribute towards explaining attitudes in support of violence and actual engagement in violent behaviour among young people. The results indicate that to be effective, policies may need to be targeted at young people who cause problems within their own communities, particularly in the form of youth groups that are predominantly male. However, in order to have the most widespread impact on violent attitudes and behaviours such policies must also address the experiences of discrimination and social marginalisation among young people and seek to understand the

causes of such experiences. There is not a directly symmetrical relationship between attitudes that are supportive of violence and actual experience of violence, particularly among young Muslims who display a greater degree of verbal support than actual engagement in violence. However, there is some evidence to suggest that addressing attitudes that are supportive of violence would go some way towards tackling involvement in both emotional and physical violence, particularly if this were adopted as part of a wider package of measures.

Despite the fact that there were many similarities in the findings between Member States, it is also important to realise that the three countries included in this research had considerable differences in terms of young people's experiences. It was recognised in the introductory chapter to this report that the three samples varied somewhat due to their cultural and historical development, including the immigration histories, of each country, and that this was likely to have some impact on the findings. While this research cannot be said to be representative of all European Member States, as only three were included in the sample, the findings indicate that a uniform cross-European policy approach to addressing issues of discrimination, marginalisation and violence have to be adjusted to the local situation in order to be effective in tackling violence as different factors appeared to explain attitudes and behaviours within the three Member States. For this reason, policy makers need to be attuned to the cultural differences and issues of intolerance affecting young people's lives in each Member State in order to properly understand the underlying reasons for youth violence. Further research to understand these differences in other European Member States would be advisable before specific policies were developed.

Importantly, this study has shown that discrimination and marginalisation are not restricted to Muslim youths and that, crucially, religious affiliation is less important in determining young people's involvement in violent behaviour than their peer group characteristics and their broader attitudes and experiences. However, the reasons underlying young Muslim's experiences of discrimination, marginalisation and violence may be different to those of non-Muslims and this needs to be addressed in any policy response.

The scope of this report builds on several previous studies of the Agency. A further development in this area is the linkage with the indicators on the rights of the child, elaborated by the FRA. Future research by the Agency will draw on the methodology and findings of this report, where applicable, to advance the development of indicators by the Agency in the field of fundamental rights – including areas such as social marginalisation and violence as they relate to non-discrimination and integration.

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APPENDIX I: Technical details of study design and sample

Sampling strategies

France

In France, there are strict legislative restrictions on the collection of data (either through the official census or through research studies) on the ethnicity and religion of individuals residing in the country. Therefore, it was not possible to base the sampling strategy on official data about Muslim populations within specific geographic locations. Instead, local knowledge based on previous research was used to select areas with higher concentrations of minority ethnic residents. Bordeaux was selected because it contains several neighbourhoods with a particularly high concentration of Muslim households. Within Bordeaux, two specific areas were selected: one of which was a socially deprived neighbourhood with high concentration of ethnic minorities; the other was a satellite city with a vocational school where there were known to have been problems with racism during the previous academic year. The suburbs of Paris were chosen partly because of the high level of interest in the high profile clashes between minority ethnic groups and the police in recent years; however, the authorities have also become concerned there by the growing recruitment of young people into traditional fundamentalist Muslim groups. One particular area was selected because if its reputation for having social and educational challenges and a high concentration of minority ethnic youths. The vocational and upper secondary schools were selected on the basis of the social and ethnic composition of their intake.

Spain

In Spain, it was not possible to construct a sampling design that was based on known concentrations of Muslim households because census data and official statistics in Spain do not contain this information, either for individuals or collectively for administrative areas (Spanish Home Office 2006).[35] The only available information relates to the nationality of foreign residents. Demographic information on foreign residents in Madrid and Granada was drawn from three sources: a Granada Council study of ethnic minorities' perceptions; from official immigrant advisors in Granada and Madrid; and from TEIM at the Autonomous University of Madrid[36].

Neighbourhoods with high rates of minority ethnic groups from Muslim countries were identified and then schools located in these areas. Originally, it was intended to survey around 4 schools in each location. However, this figure had to be revised because the proportion of children from Muslim backgrounds attending schools was severely limited. This was partly due to the small numbers of Muslim households with school children of the relevant ages living in the communities, but also due to legislation introduced by the Spanish government to limit the intake of minority ethnic youths in Spanish schools to 20%. As a consequence, a much larger number of schools had to be sampled (21 in total) and fieldwork was widened out to include other organizations, such as centres for immigrant children, mosques and Arab language schools.

The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom Census questionnaire includes a question on individual religion; however, for reasons of confidentiality, this information is not routinely published and was not available to the research team. Therefore, information on 'ethnic group' was used as a proxy measure for religious affiliation. The ethnic group of the Head of the Household (or household reference person) is routinely published at administrative Ward level. Using the 2001 Census, the administrative Wards with the highest concentrations of households with dependent children that had a Head of Household belonging to Pakistani or South Asian origin were identified. Having identified the most important Wards, the next stage was to identify the school catchment areas overlapping these Census Wards in order to sample from schools within these areas. The aim was to sample a total of around eight schools and four colleges from in and around these areas, selecting those schools and colleges that were known to have a good mix of both Muslim and non-Muslim young people attending.

It was not possible simply to select those schools from within the identified wards, as these did not always reflect the population density of the local area. This was due to issues of parental choice, school admission policies and the proximity of schools within and across wards. In many areas of the United Kingdom, pupils do not attend their closest school but travel to other neighbouring areas for their education. In the selected location in London, this had led to significant problems of school segregation, making it very difficult to find schools with an 'even' balance of Muslim and non-Muslim youths. In Glasgow and Edinburgh, there were also some issues with parental choice (i. e. parents deciding to send their children to non-catchment schools). However, because

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35   The same sampling problem was encountered in a research study looking at public opinion of Muslim populations carried out by Metroscopia for the Spanish Home Office in 2006.

36   TEIM is a research group about social development and intervention in the Mediterranean land, and specifically about Arabic issues. It is an organization dependent on the Department of Arabic and Islamic studies of the Autonomous University of Madrid.

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the concentration of Muslim households is not nearly so great in Scottish cities, a bigger problem for sampling was finding schools with a high enough density of Muslim pupils. For this reason, advice was sought from the local education authorities in both England and Scotland as to the most appropriate schools to sample (the aim being purposive rather than random sampling).

Within each school, one class from each year group that covered the ages 12 to 18 was randomly sampled. In Scotland, this was first to sixth year of secondary school; whereas, in England this was years seven to twelve. In order to ensure a large enough sample of 18 year olds (who were severely under-represented in the school samples) 2 colleges in Scotland and 2 sixth form colleges in England were visited and young people meeting the criteria in terms of age, sex and religious background were randomly selected to participate.

Questionnaire administration

Questionnaire administration started with a comprehensive introduction to the survey. The young people were informed about the nature, aims, background and confidentiality of the study, and some time was spent explaining how to complete the questionnaire (e. g. reading instructions, following routing, etc). Participants were reassured that they would be completely anonymous, but given the opportunity to withdraw if they wished, even though their parents had consented. Thereafter, the survey was administered and the young people completed the questionnaires in exam type conditions. The average length of time for completion varied depending on the age, educational level and first language of the respondents, but response time ranged from 15 to 55 minutes. Researchers were available at all times to answer questions or assist respondents and, for those who had more difficulty completing the survey, one to one assistance was offered. Once questionnaires were completed, they were checked briefly (to ensure the minimum possible amount of missing data) and then gathered in by the researchers. Young people who completed the survey were given additional, fun tasks to complete during the course of fieldwork in order not to disturb or distract those who were still filling in their questionnaire. Immediately following fieldwork, the questionnaires were coded for identification purposes (i.e. given unique reference numbers and codes for location, school/college type and year group) and then the data were input into computer software for analysis.

Challenges of fieldwork

The research team faced a number of challenges in conducting this research. The nature of the research design is such that the findings cannot be said to be generalisable

to the whole population of the individual Member States, far less other Member States. However, it is hoped that the findings are reflective of the experiences, attitudes and behaviours of young people from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds living in areas of high ethnic diversity. During the course of the study, the research team faced some fairly difficult challenges which may have impacted in some ways on the findings presented in this report. The main challenges are summarised below:

In each of the three Member States, schools were sometimes reluctant to participate in the research because of the high demand for such research and the great burden placed on school staff and pupils by researchers.

The access and ethical requirements for this study are outlined above; however, it is worth restating here the importance to schools, parents and students of guaranteeing anonymity and confidentiality as this was raised many times during this survey.

One hour was requested to administer our survey, although it was not always possible to provide this amount of time. Therefore, there were problems with getting some young people to fully complete the questionnaire.

The concentration of Muslim youths within Member States is variable and it is often hard to pinpoint households with young people of the relevant ages, so finding schools with a high enough number of respondents was problematic. Educational policies that limit numbers of minority ethnic pupils (for example, in Spain) compound this problem.

The fieldwork for this study coincided with two periods of the Muslim holiday Eid, so it was necessary to make return visits to schools or colleges to ensure a high enough sample of Muslim youths was achieved.

Achieved samples and data weighting

The requirement of this study was to achieve a minimum sample of 1000 young people, with equal numbers of males and females, aged between 12 and 18, from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds. Despite all the challenges faced by the research team, the minimum achieved number of 1000 respondents was met in all three Member States. Table I.2. 1, below, presents a summary of the number of schools and other institutions that were visited for this study, and the number of young people that were surveyed during fieldwork. In France eight schools were visited, including 2 vocational schools. The United Kingdom research also involved eight schools, but fieldwork in four colleges was necessary to boost the number of 18 year olds. In Spain, significant over-sampling was required in order to achieve a large enough number of Muslim respondents.

Around three quarters of the fieldwork was conducted in schools, with the remaining work taking place in various centres, mosques and community groups in order to boost the number of Muslim respondents.

A minimum of 1000 respondents was surveyed in each member state, as shown in Table I.1. However, these figures had to be adjusted for two main reasons. Firstly, the over-sampling carried out in Spain and the United Kingdom caused significant imbalance in the achieved sample sizes. In order to ensure that each of the Member States had approximately 1000 cases for analysis, it was decided to exclude some respondents from non-Muslim backgrounds from the Spanish and United Kingdom samples by randomly selecting a proportion of cases. This resulted in an adjusted sample of 1010 for Spain and 1029 for the United Kingdom. Second, in order to meet the objectives of the research, it was also necessary to ensure that the samples were equally distributed with regards to religious profile, sex and age. Unfortunately, 52 cases from the French sample had to be excluded from analysis as there was no information about their cultural background. In addition, two French cases and one Spanish case had to be excluded because there was no information about the sex of the respondent. The final adjusted sample sizes were 952 for France, 1009 for Spain and 1029 for the United Kingdom.

Religious profile

Table I.2 shows the religious profile of the adjusted samples in each member state. Those who reported that their religion was 'Islam' form the Muslim sample, while those from any other religious or non-religious background form the non-Muslim sample. Despite over-sampling, it was not possible to achieve a high enough number of Muslim respondents to form 50% of the sample in any one member state. The highest was 40% in Spain, with slightly less (36%) in France and the United Kingdom. Since a principal aim of this study was to compare Muslim respondents against those who did not follow Islam, the subsequent analysis in this report is broken down only by these two categories. However, it is important to note that the composition of the non-Muslim respondents in each of the three Member States is somewhat different. For example, the proportion of Roman Catholic respondents in Spain (39%) and France (24%) is significantly higher than it is in the United Kingdom (5%). In addition, the proportion of those young people who declared that they did not belong to any religion was high in both the United Kingdom (34%) and France (28%) compared to Spain (16%). These differences, while reflective of the populations within the schools and colleges we sampled, may have some impact on the comparability of results across the Member States.

Sex and age profile

Ideally, each of the samples should have had 50% males and 50% females. However, Table I.3 shows that the French and Spanish samples contained more female students (54%) than males; whereas the United Kingdom sample included fewer females (44%) than males. This was merely a reflection of the school age populations in the sampled areas, and does not indicate any particular sampling bias. However, it was important to address this imbalance for the purposes of comparison.

Table A1: Achieved and adjusted samples in each Member State

	France	Spain	United Kingdom
Number of schools surveyed	8	21	8
Number of students surveyed in schools	1006	1072	1007
Number of colleges or other institutions surveyed	0	5	4
Number of students surveyed in colleges or other institutions	0	213	219
Total number of respondents surveyed	1006	1285	1226
Adjusted sample size	952	1009	1029

Note: Samples adjusted to balance sample sizes, and exclude cases with no information on age, sex or religious affiliation.

Table A2: Religious affiliation of the achieved samples in each Member State (unweighted)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	N (952)	%	N (1009)	%	N (1029)	%
Islam	345	36	406	40	375	36
Roman Catholic	233	25	389	39	48	5
Protestant	30	3	6	1	73	7
Other Christian	64	7	20	2	123	12
Buddhism	10	1	1	*	8	1
Jewish	2	*	0	0	2	*
Sikh	3	*	0	0	13	1
Hindu	2	*	0	0	12	1
Other religion	1	*	22	2	24	2
Do not belong to a religion	262	28	165	16	351	34

*Notes: N and percentages shown here are based on unweighted data. Percentage columns may not total 100% due to rounding; * denotes less than 0.5%.*

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Table A3: Sex of the achieved samples in each Member State (unweighted)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	N (952)	%	N (1009)	%	N (1029)	%
Male	443	47	466	46	580	56
Female	509	54	543	54	449	44

Notes: N and percentages shown here are based on unweighted data. Percentage columns may not total 100% due to rounding.

The age profiles for the three Member States are also somewhat different, as shown in Table I.4, largely due to differences in the school systems which prevented equal numbers of each age bracket being sampled, particularly in France and the United Kingdom. The earliest school grades sampled contained some pupils aged 11; while, in the highest grades (in France) and in colleges (in the United Kingdom) some of the students were aged over 18. However, the majority of respondents (84% in France, 92% in the United Kingdom and 100% in Spain) fell within the 12-18 year age range. Thus, the samples include some youths up to age 12 at the lower end and some youths over 18 at the upper end.

Ideally, each year of age should have been represented by approximately 14% of the sample within each Member State. Table I.4, however, shows that there is some degree of bias in the achieved samples, with the older respondents (aged 18 or over) being significantly over-represented in the French sample and under-represented in the United Kingdom and Spanish samples. This over-representation in France was caused by a larger proportion of students being achieved in the vocational schools, which had an older age range; whereas, the under-representation in Spain and the United Kingdom was due to difficulties in accessing young people who were either involved in final examinations at the time of the survey or who had already left secondary education. The French sample also under-represents those respondents aged 15 or less, largely as a consequence of the over-

representation of the older age groups. Whereas, the United Kingdom sample significantly over-represents the very youngest respondents (aged 12 or under), because these some of the schools sampled were only able to make available students in the lowest years. Overall, the average age of the respondents was very similar in the United Kingdom (14.5 years) and Spanish samples (14.7 years); however, the French sample was significantly older at 15.7 years on average.

Data weighting

The research design required a selected sample of 1000 respondents, with equal numbers of males and females from age 12 to 18, from Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds. The analysis described above shows that there were some differences in sample size (even after achieved samples had been adjusted) and there was some bias in terms of age, sex and religious background in all three Member States. Since the analysis presented in this report is intended to reflect the differences between the three Member States according to the selected samples, the data have been weighted to reflect equal sample sizes (of 1000) and an equal balance across sex and age groups. In order to prevent creating weights that are too large, the samples have been weighted to reflect 40% Muslim and 60% non-Muslim respondents in each member state. Since most of the analysis presented in this report provides a comparison of respondents within Muslim or non-Muslim groups, this does not present a problem for comparison.

Table A4: Age of the achieved samples in each Member State (unweighted)

	France		Spain		United Kingdom	
	N (952)	%	N (1009)	%	N (1029)	%
Up to 12	91	10	142	14	240	23
13	105	11	178	18	137	13
14	95	10	151	15	163	16
15	87	9	185	18	137	13
16	136	14	170	17	148	14
17	176	19	143	14	109	11
18 or over	262	28	40	4	95	9

Notes: N and percentages shown here are based on unweighted data. Percentage columns may not total 100% due to rounding.

APPENDIX II: Questionnaire (United Kingdom)

This questionnaire aims to find out about experiences of racism and discrimination faced by young people living in Europe today. The study will involve about 3000 young people from England, France, Scotland and Spain.

We are interested in getting to know more about your life, school, your friends and family, what you do in your free time, your beliefs and attitudes, and about different problems you might have faced.

The questions are about your personal experience and your opinions, but you are free to answer them or not. The questionnaire is anonymous, which means that you do not have to write your name on it and your parents and teachers will not see your answers.

The answers you give to this questionnaire will be grouped together with everybody else's answers and analysed by researchers from the University of Edinburgh.

If there are any questions you don't understand please ask the assistants who have come to your school to help you.

Don't think too much about answering the questions, just answer them as best you can.

1. About you and where you live

This section asks some questions about you and the place where you live.

1.1 How old are you? *Please write in your age*

I am _____ years old.

1.2 Are you male or female? *Tick ONE box only*[37]

☐ Male
☐ Female

1.3 In which country were you born? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ I was born in England
☐ I was born in another country (please write in which country)
☐ I was born in another country, but I don't know where
☐ I don't know

1.4 Do you speak any languages other than English at home? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Yes (please say what languages)
☐ No – Go to Q1.6

1.5 Which of the following describes the languages you speak at home? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ I speak English all or most of the time
☐ I speak English and another language about the same amount
☐ I speak another language all or most of the time

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37 Tick boxes have been removed to facilitate readability of the questionnaire

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2. Your family

This section asks about your family and other people you live with.

2.1. Which of these people do you live with most of the time? *Tick ALL that apply. Just tell us about the people who live in the house where you live most often*

☐ Birth mother ☐ Stepmother ☐ Father's girlfriend/partner
☐ Birth father ☐ Stepfather ☐ Mother's boyfriend/partner
☐ Brother → How many?
☐ Stepbrother → How many?
☐ Sister → How many?
☐ Stepsister → How many?
☐ Somebody else (foster parents, grandparents, other relatives, friends etc) (Please say who)
☐ I live alone

2.2 Do you sometimes live with other people?
Don't include people you just stay with for holidays
☐ Yes (please say who)
☐ No

2.3 In what country was your mother born?
Tick ONE box only. That means your birth mother, even if you don't live with her now
☐ She was born in England
☐ She was born in another country (please say what country)
☐ She was born in another country, but I don't know where
☐ I don't know

2.4 In what country was your father born?
Tick ONE box only. That means your birth father, even if you don't live with him now
☐ He was born in England
☐ He was born in another country (please say what country)
☐ He was born in another country, but I don't know where
☐ I don't know

1.6 Do you have anyone with whom you can discuss personal matters?
Tick ALL that apply
☐ No
☐ Yes, my parents or adult carer
☐ Yes, my brother/sister
☐ Yes, a teacher
☐ Yes, a boyfriend/girlfriend
☐ Yes, a friend
☐ Yes, a religious leader
☐ Yes, someone else (please *say who below*)

1.7 How often do you hang around the streets in your free time? *Tick ONE box on each line*. Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	Most days	Some days	Rarely
In the neighbourhood you live in	☐	☐	☐
In other places	☐	☐	☐

1.8 How would you describe the neighbourhood you live in? *Tick ONE box on each line*. Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
My neighbourhood is nice	☐	☐	☐
Safety is a problem in my neighbourhood	☐	☐	☐
My neighbourhood is very quiet	☐	☐	☐
People in my neighbourhood are willing to help each other	☐	☐	☐
People in my neighbourhood generally get along with each other	☐		☐
People in my neighbourhood can be trusted	☐		☐
There are many gangs in my neighbourhood	☐		☐
There are some problems in my neighbourhood	☐		☐

3. Your identity

This section is about your identity – that means your cultural background and how you would describe yourself.

3.1 How would you describe your cultural background? *Tick up to THREE only*

- ☐ English
- ☐ Scottish
- ☐ Irish
- ☐ Welsh
- ☐ British
- ☐ Pakistani
- ☐ Chinese
- ☐ Indian
- ☐ African
- ☐ Something else *(please say what)*

3.2 How strongly do you identify yourself with your cultural background(s)? *Tick ONE box for each cultural background you belong to, and write in which one e.g. English.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: very strongly/ quite strongly / not at all strongly

I identify myself as _____

I identify myself as _____

I identify myself as _____

3.3 Sometimes people are 'picked on' or bullied because of where they are from, the language they speak, the colour of their skin or just for being different. Are you ever picked on for any reason? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Yes (go to Q3.4)
- ☐ No (go to Q3.5)

3.4 Why do you think you are picked on? *Tick ALL that apply*

- ☐ My skin colour
- ☐ My religion
- ☐ My cultural background
- ☐ I speak a different language
- ☐ I am disabled
- ☐ My gender
- ☐ My age
- ☐ Other reason

2.5 Does your father have a job? *Tick ONE box only. If you don't live with your father, please answer about your step-father or mother's partner*

- ☐ Yes, he has a job
- ☐ No, he does not have a job just now
- ☐ No, he is retired or too unwell to work
- ☐ No, he looks after the family
- ☐ I don't live with my father, step-father or mother's partner

2.6 Does your mother have a job? *Tick ONE box only. If you don't live with your mother, please answer about your step-mother or father's partner*

- ☐ Yes, she has a job
- ☐ No, she does not have a job just now
- ☐ No, she is retired or too unwell to work
- ☐ No, she looks after the family
- ☐ I don't live with my mother, step-mother or father's partner

2.7 How much of your free time do you usually spend each day doing things with your parents (e.g. talking, eating, playing sports, worshipping or going out)? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	None	Up to 1 hour	Up to 2 hours	Up to 4 hours	More than 4 hours
on weekdays (Monday to Friday)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
at weekends (Saturday and Sunday)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.8 How much do you argue with your parents about the following things? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	Argue a lot	Argue a bit	Never argue
Your friends or the people you hang out with	☐	☐	☐
What you do or where you go in your spare time	☐	☐	☐
Your taste in clothes or music	☐	☐	☐
Your parents' religious or cultural beliefs	☐	☐	☐
Your parents' political beliefs	☐	☐	☐
Your homework or school work	☐	☐	☐

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3.5 Do you think people who are not English need to do more to fit into the culture in this country? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Yes, non-English people need to do more to fit in
- ☐ No, non-English people already do enough to fit in
- ☐ I do not know

4. Your friends

This section asks about your friends and what they are like.

4.1 How many friends do you have? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	None	1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 20	More than 20
Friends at school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends in your neighbourhood	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4.2 Are your friends all or mostly boys or girls? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ All or mostly boys
- ☐ About equal
- ☐ All or mostly girls

4.3 As far as you know, how many of your friends are different from you in the following ways? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	All or most of them	Some of them	None of them
They belong to a different religion from you?	☐	☐	☐
They have a different cultural background from you?	☐	☐	☐
They have a different skin colour from you?	☐	☐	☐
They speak other languages?	☐	☐	☐

4.4 How many of your friends do your parents know well? *Tick ONE box only.*

- ☐ All or most of them
- ☐ Some of them
- ☐ None of them

4.5 Do you think your parents would approve of you having friends who are different to you? *Tick ONE box on EACH line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	Yes	No	I don't know
Friends who are a different religion from you?	☐	☐	☐
Friends who have a different cultural background from you?	☐	☐	☐
Friends who have a different skin colour from you?	☐	☐	☐
Friends who speak a different language from you?	☐	☐	☐

4.6 Some people have a certain group of friends that they spend time with, doing things together or just hanging about. Do you have a group of friends like that? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Yes (go to Q4.7)
- ☐ No (go to Section 5)

4.7 Which of the following best describes the ages of people in your group? *Tick ALL that apply*

- ☐ Under 12
- ☐ 12-15
- ☐ 16-18
- ☐ 19-25
- ☐ 26 or older

4.8 Which of the following cultural backgrounds do the people in your group belong to? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers:

	All of them	Most of them	Some of them	None
English	☐	☐	☐	☐
Scottish	☐	☐	☐	☐
Irish	☐	☐	☐	☐
Welsh	☐	☐	☐	☐

☐ For company

☐ To meet members of the opposite ☐ Just to hang out

☐ Another reason (please say what)

4.13 Which of the following characteristics describe your group? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Yes / No

- ☐ ☐ The group has recognised leaders
- ☐ ☐ Boys and girls do different things
- ☐ ☐ The group has special values or codes
- ☐ ☐ You have to do special things to join the group
- ☐ ☐ Group members wear special clothes
- ☐ ☐ Group members have tattoos
- ☐ ☐ The group has a symbol or sign
- ☐ ☐ The group has regular meetings

4.14 Does your group promote or support a particular political or religious issue?

- ☐ Yes *(please say what issue)*
- ☐ No

4.15 Is doing illegal things (things that break the law) accepted by or OK for your group? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

4.16 Do people in your group actually do illegal things (break the law) together? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

4.17 Do you consider your special group of friends to be a 'gang'? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

☐ ☐ ☐ Pakistani
☐ ☐ ☐ Chinese
☐ ☐ ☐ Indian
☐ ☐ ☐ African
☐ ☐ ☐ Something else *(please say what)*

4.9 Does the group spend a lot of time together in public places, like the park, street, shopping areas or the neighbourhood? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

4.10 How long has this group existed? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ 3 months or less
- ☐ More than 3 months but less than 1 year
- ☐ Between 1 and 4 years
- ☐ Between 5 and 10 years
- ☐ Between 11 and 20 years
- ☐ More than 20 years

4.11 Does your group have a name?

- ☐ Yes *(please say what)*
- ☐ No

4.12 The following is a list of reasons that young people give for joining groups. Which of these were important reasons for you to join your group? *Tick ALL that apply*

- ☐ To make friends
- ☐ To prepare for the future
- ☐ For protection
- ☐ To feel like I belong to something
- ☐ To participate in group activities
- ☐ To get my parents respect
- ☐ Because a brother or sister was in the group
- ☐ Because another family member was in the group
- ☐ Because a friend was in the group
- ☐ To feel important
- ☐ To keep out of trouble
- ☐ To share secrets
- ☐ To get away with illegal activities
- ☐ To have a territory of your own
- ☐ To get money or other things

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5. Things that have happened to you

This section is about things that other people may have done to you in the last year only – that means the school year from September 2007 to September 2008.

Please don't tell us about things that your family members did to you.

5.1 In the last year, how many times have you been excluded or left out by a group of friends?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

5.2 In the last year, how many times has someone called you names, made fun of you or teased you?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

5.3 In the last year, how many times has someone threatened to hurt you?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

**If one or more of these things happened to you, go to Q5.4 now.
If you ticked 'never' to all 3 questions above, go to Q5.5 now.**

4.18 The next set of questions is about your group of friends. Do you agree or disagree with these statements? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Agree / Neither agree nor disagree / Disagree

Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	
☐	☐	☐	Being in my group makes me feel important
☐	☐	☐	My group provides support and loyalty for each other
☐	☐	☐	Being in my group makes me feel respected
☐	☐	☐	Being in my group makes me feel like a useful person
☐	☐	☐	Being in my group makes me feel like I belong somewhere
☐	☐	☐	I really enjoy being in my group
☐	☐	☐	My group is like a family to me

My group doesn't like people with a different cultural background, religion, skin colour or language

4.19 When you are with your group of friends in the street, how often do you feel unfairly treated or picked on by adults walking past you? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Much of the time
☐ Some of the time
☐ Never

4.20 And when you are with your group of friends in shops, how often do you feel unfairly treated or picked on by adults who work there? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Much of the time
☐ Some of the time
☐ Never

5.4 Please think carefully about all the times you were made fun of, excluded or threatened. Do you think these things happened for the following reasons? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Yes, all or most of the time / Yes, some of the time/ No, none of the time

	Yes, all or most of the time	Yes, some of the time	No, none of the time
Your cultural background	☐	☐	☐
Your gender	☐	☐	☐
Your religion	☐	☐	☐
The colour of your skin	☐	☐	☐
The language you speak	☐	☐	☐
Your age	☐	☐	☐
You have a disability	☐	☐	☐
Some other reason (Please say what)	☐	☐	☐

Remember – only tell us about things that other people did to you in the last school year, and don't include things your family members did to you.

5.5 In the last year, how many times have you been hurt on purpose by someone hitting, kicking or punching you?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

5.6 In the last year, how many times have you been hurt on purpose by someone using a weapon?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

5.7 In the last year, how many times has someone used force or threats to steal or try to steal something from you?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

**If one or more of these things happened to you, go to Q5.8 now.
If you ticked 'never' to all 3 questions above, go to Q6.1 now.**

5.8 Please think carefully about all the times you were hurt on purpose or had things stolen by force. Do you think these things happened for the following reasons? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Yes, all or most of the time / Yes, some of the time / No, none of the time

	Yes, all or most of the time	Yes, some of the time	No, none of the time
Your cultural background	☐	☐	☐
Your gender	☐	☐	☐
Your religion	☐	☐	☐
The colour of your skin	☐	☐	☐
The language you speak	☐	☐	☐
Your age	☐	☐	☐
You have a disability	☐	☐	☐
Some other reason (Please say what)	☐	☐	☐

6. Things you might have done

This section is about things that you might have done to other people in the last school year – from September 2007 to September 2008.

Please don't tell us about things that you did to your family members.

6.1 In the last year, how many times have you excluded or left out anyone from your group of friends?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

6.2 In the last year, how many times have you called someone names, made fun of them or teased them?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

6.3 In the last year, how many times have you threatened to hurt someone?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

**If one or more of these things happened to you, go to Q6.4 now.
If you ticked 'never' to all 3 questions above, go to Q6.5 now.**

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6.4 Please think carefully about all times you made fun of, excluded or threatened someone. Did you do these things for the following reasons? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Yes, all or most of the time / Yes, some of the time / No, none of the time

	Yes, all or most of the time	Yes, some of the time	No, none of the time
Your cultural background	☐	☐	☐
Your gender	☐	☐	☐
Your religion	☐	☐	☐
The colour of your skin	☐	☐	☐
The language you speak	☐	☐	☐
Your age	☐	☐	☐
You have a disability	☐	☐	☐
Some other reason (Please say what)	☐	☐	☐

Remember – only tell us about things that you did in the last school year, and don't include things you did to your family members.

6.5 In the last year, how many times have <u>you hurt</u> someone on purpose by <u>hitting, kicking or punching</u> them?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

6.6 In the last year, how many times have <u>you hurt</u> someone by using a <u>weapon</u>?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

6.7 In the last year, how many times have <u>you used force or threats</u> to steal or try to steal something from someone?

☐ Never ☐ Once ☐ 2 times
☐ 3 times ☐ 4 times ☐ 5 times or more

**If one or more of these things happened to you, go to Q6.8 now.
If you ticked 'never' to all 3 questions above, go to Q7.1 now.**

6.8 Please think carefully about all times you hurt someone on purpose or stole things using force. Did you do these things for the following reasons? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Yes, all or most of the time / Yes, some of the time / No, none of the time

	Yes, all or most of the time	Yes, some of the time	No, none of the time
Your cultural background	☐	☐	☐
Your gender	☐	☐	☐
Your religion	☐	☐	☐
The colour of your skin	☐	☐	☐
The language you speak	☐	☐	☐
Your age	☐	☐	☐
You have a disability	☐	☐	☐
Some other reason (Please say what)	☐	☐	☐

7. Religious beliefs

This section includes questions on religion and your beliefs.

7.1 What religion do you belong to? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Roman Catholic ☐ Protestant ☐ Other Christian
☐ Buddhism ☐ Jewish ☐ Islam
☐ Sikh ☐ Hindu ☐ Something else (please say what)
☐ I don't belong to any religion

7.2 How often do you attend a place of worship? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Four or more days per week ☐ At least one day per week
☐ Less than once a week ☐ Never

7.3 How strong are your religious beliefs? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Very strong ☐ Quite strong
☐ Not very strong ☐ I have no religious Beliefs

7.4 Who teaches you most about religion? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ My family
☐ My friends
☐ I learn it myself from books, Internet, TV, etc.
☐ Teachers at school
☐ A religious leader/organisation
☐ Nobody teaches me about religion

7.5 Many people are influenced by their religious beliefs. Do you think that? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ There is only one religion that tells the truth
☐ Truth can be found in many religions
☐ No religion tells the truth
☐ I don't know

8. Attitudes and opinions

This section includes some general questions on what you think about things.

8.1 How happy are you with your life as a whole at the moment? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Very happy   ☐ Quite happy   ☐ Neither happy nor unhappy
☐ Quite unhappy   ☐ Very unhappy

8.2 Do you agree or disagree with these statements about you? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Agree / Neither agree nor disagree/ Disagree

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Lots of people try to push me around	☐	☐	☐
Some people are against me for no good reason	☐	☐	☐
My friends often say or do things behind my back	☐	☐	☐
I would be more successful if people did not make things hard for me	☐	☐	☐
I know that people have spread lies about me on purpose	☐	☐	☐
Some people would like to take away what success I have	☐	☐	☐

8.3 Choose THREE things from the following list that you think are most important in life? *Tick THREE boxes only*

☐ To have fun
☐ To have a lot of money
☐ To have real friends
☐ To be environmentally friendly
☐ To be famous
☐ To worship or have religion
☐ To feel safe and secure
☐ To have peace in the world
☐ To help others

8.4 Do you think it is OK for someone to use violence in the following situations? *Tick one box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Yes, all of the time / Yes, some of the time / No, never

	Yes, all or most of the time	Yes, some of the time	No, none of the time
To stop themselves being physically hurt	☐	☐	☐
To stop someone else being physically hurt	☐	☐	☐
Because someone has insulted them	☐	☐	☐
Just for fun	☐	☐	☐
Because someone has insulted their religion	☐	☐	☐
To protect their country	☐	☐	☐

8.5 How much do you feel you can trust the following people or institutions? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Trust a lot / Trust a bit / Do not trust

	Trust a lot	Trust a bit	Do not trust
Your parents	☐	☐	☐
Your friends	☐	☐	☐
Your local councillors	☐	☐	☐
Religious or church leaders	☐	☐	☐
Police officers	☐	☐	☐
Courts and judges	☐	☐	☐
Politicians	☐	☐	☐
The Prime Minister	☐	☐	☐
The Queen	☐	☐	☐
The European Union	☐	☐	☐
The United Nations	☐	☐	☐

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9. The world today

This section asks you about some social issues in the world today.

9.1 How worried are you about the state of the world today? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Very worried
- ☐ Quite worried
- ☐ Not worried

9.2 Which THREE social issues worry you most about the state of the world today? *Tick THREE boxes only*

- ☐ Global warming and climate change
- ☐ Racism
- ☐ Lack of respect between people
- ☐ Poverty
- ☐ Inequality between people
- ☐ Conflict between different cultures e.g. Iraq War
- ☐ Terrorist attacks
- ☐ Nuclear weapons
- ☐ Something else *(please say what)*
- ☐ Disease and illness
- ☐ Immigration

9.3 In your view, do you think the world is safer, more dangerous or about the same as it used to be? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Safer
- ☐ More dangerous
- ☐ About the same
- ☐ I don't know

9.4 Do you agree or disagree that it is sometimes justified for people to use war to solve the problems of the world? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ I don't know

9.5 Do you agree or disagree that it is sometimes justified for people to use terrorism to solve the problems of the world? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ I don't know

9.6 How interested are you in what is going on in politics in England? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Very interested
- ☐ Quite interested
- ☐ Not interested

9.7 How much do you think your life is affected by things that are going on in the world today? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ Affected in many ways
- ☐ Affected in some ways
- ☐ Not affected

9.8 Suppose that a favourite park or place that you hang out with your friends was being closed so that houses could be built on the land. What would you do? *Tick ALL that apply*

- ☐ Write a letter of complaint to the Council
- ☐ Ask my parents to write a letter of complaint
- ☐ Contact my head teacher/other teachers at my school
- ☐ Start or sign a petition
- ☐ Contact radio, TV or a newspaper
- ☐ Contact a government department
- ☐ Contact a religious leader
- ☐ Go on a protest or demonstration
- ☐ None of these things
- ☐ I don't know
- ☐ Something else (please say what)

9.9 Which of the following, if any, groups or clubs are you involved in? *Tick ALL that apply*

- ☐ Sports club (e.g. football, netball, judo)
- ☐ Recreational group e.g. music, dancing
- ☐ Youth club   Young politics group
- ☐ After-school club
- ☐ Religious or faith group
- ☐ Community group
- ☐ None of these

10. About your free time

This section asks you about the things you do in your free time.

10.1 How much of your free time do you usually spend each day on the internet? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: None / Up to 1 hour / Up to 2 hours / Up to 4 hours / More than 4 hours

	None	Up to 1 hour	Up to 2 hours	Up to 4 hours	More than 4 hours
on weekdays (Monday to Friday)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
at weekends (Saturday and Sunday)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10.2 What kind of sites do you visit when you are on the internet? *Tick ALL that apply*

- ☐ Chatrooms
- ☐ Celebrity sites
- ☐ Job adverts
- ☐ Sports sites
- ☐ Jokes or e-cards
- ☐ Political sites
- ☐ Music sites
- ☐ Email
- ☐ News/weather
- ☐ Online games
- ☐ Bebo/Myspace/Facebook
- ☐ Other sites *(please say what)*
- ☐ Film/TV sites
- ☐ Download sites
- ☐ Religious sites
- ☐ Education/homework

10.3 What would you say are your <u>favourite</u> websites? *Please write in below*

_____

10.4 If you were setting up your own internet web-page, choose FIVE things from the following list that would you use to describe yourself? *(Tick FIVE boxes only)*

- ☐ Your parents
- ☐ Your friends
- ☐ Your cultural background
- ☐ Your religion
- ☐ The country you live in
- ☐ Your school
- ☐ Your skin colour
- ☐ The languages you speak
- ☐ Your age
- ☐ Your interests
- ☐ The area you live in
- ☐ Your gender
- ☐ Your brothers/sisters
- ☐ Your family background
- ☐ What you look like

10.5 Who do you spend most of your free time with outside school? *Tick ONE box only*

- ☐ On my own
- ☐ Brothers/sisters
- ☐ A boyfriend/girlfriend
- ☐ A religious leader
- ☐ My parents or adult carer
- ☐ My parents and brothers/sisters
- ☐ Friends
- ☐ Someone else (please say who below)

10.6 How much of your free time do you usually spend each day doing things with your friends (e.g. talking, eating, playing sports, worshipping or going out)? *Tick ONE box on each line* Respondents could choose between the following answers: None / Up to 1 hour / Up to 2 hours / Up to 4 hours / More than 4 hours

	None	Up to 1 hour	Up to 2 hours	Up to 4 hours	More than 4 hours
on weekdays (Monday to Friday)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
at weekends (Saturday and Sunday)?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10.7 What kinds of things do you do with your friends? *Tick ALL that apply*

- ☐ Watch TV/films together
- ☐ Go shopping/out for meals
- ☐ Hang about public places
- ☐ Play or watch sports/games
- ☐ Do illegal things together
- ☐ Go to a place of worship
- ☐ Spend a lot of time at your home or a friend's home
- ☐ Play computer games or go on the internet
- ☐ Chat about the news or world events
- ☐ Go for walks or bike rides
- ☐ Chat about parents or school
- ☐ Do homework
- ☐ Other things (please say what)

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11. About School

This section asks you a few questions about school.

11.1 Do you go to school or college/university?

☐ School – Go to Q11.2

☐ College/university – Go to Section 12

11.2 Do you agree or disagree with these statements about school? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Agree / Neither agree nor disagree/ Disagree

Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	
☐	☐	☐	I like my school
☐	☐	☐	If I had to move I would miss my school
☐	☐	☐	I often skip or skive classes on purpose
☐	☐	☐	Most teachers praise me when I do well
☐	☐	☐	I don't feel like I fit in at my school
☐	☐	☐	There are a lot of problems at my school
☐	☐	☐	My school offers lots of activities e.g. sports, clubs
☐	☐	☐	Doing well at school won't help me get a job

11.3 How well do you usually do in school compared to other pupils in your class? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Better
☐ The same
☐ Worse

11.4 Are you entitled to get free school meals? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Yes   ☐ No

11.5 Have you ever been excluded from school? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Yes → How many times?   ☐ No

11.6 Do you think you are treated better, the same or worse by adults in your school compared to other students? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Better   ☐ You are now finished the questionnaire
☐ The same   ☐ Worse – Go to Q11.7

11.7 Why do you think you are treated worse by adults in your school? *Tick up to THREE boxes*

☐ My cultural background   ☐ The language I speak
☐ My gender   ☐ Just for being young
☐ My religion   ☐ My behaviour
☐ My skin colour   ☐ I have a disability
☐ Who my brothers/sisters are   ☐ For no good reason
☐ Some other reason (please say what)

You are now finished with the survey, so please tell the researcher. Thank you for taking part in this important study.

12. About College/University

Only complete this section if you are attending College or University.

12.1 Do you agree or disagree with these statements about school? *Tick ONE box on each line.* Respondents could choose between the following answers: Agree / Neither agree nor disagree / Disagree

Agree   Neither   disagree
        agree nor
        disagree

☐ ☐ ☐ I liked my last school
☐ ☐ ☐ I missed school when I left
☐ ☐ ☐ I used to often skip or skive classes on purpose
☐ ☐ ☐ Most teachers praised me when I did well at school
☐ ☐ ☐ I did not feel like I fitted in at my last school
☐ ☐ ☐ There were a lot of problems at my school
☐ ☐ ☐ My school offered lots of activities e.g. sports, clubs
☐ ☐ ☐ Doing well at school has not helped me get a job

12.2 How well did you do in school compared to other students in your class? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Better
☐ The same
☐ Worse

12.3 When you were at school, were you ever excluded? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Yes → How many times? ☐ No

12.4 Were you entitled to free meals when you were at school? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Yes   ☐ No

12.5 How long is it since you left school?

☐ Less than 1 year
☐ 1-2 years
☐ More than 2 years

12.6 And how long have you been attending college/university?

☐ Less than 1 year
☐ 1-2 years
☐ More than 2 years

12.7 What subject(s) are you studying at college/university?

_____

12.8 Do you think you are treated better, the same or worse by adults at college/university compared to other students? *Tick ONE box only*

☐ Better
☐ You are now finished the questionnaire
☐ The same
☐ Worse – Go to Q11.7

12.9 Why do you think you are treated worse by adults at college/university? *Tick up to THREE boxes*

☐ My cultural background   ☐ The language I speak
☐ My gender   ☐ Just for being young
☐ My religion   ☐ My behaviour
☐ My skin colour   ☐ I have a disability
☐ Who my brothers/sisters are ☐ For no good reason
☐ Some other reason (please say what)

You are now finished with the survey, so please tell the researcher. Thank you for taking part in this important study.

**Europe Direct is a service to help you find answers
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Social marginalisation and discrimination have severe consequences for any society – both need to be addressed as a priority, as they are directly linked to violent behaviour in young people. This research shows a high degree of overlap between three EU Member States when considering explanatory factors to violent attitudes or acts of violence committed by young people. The main factors that can be associated with violent behaviour are being male, being part of a delinquent youth group/gang, being discriminated against, and being socially marginalised – when these aspects are taken into consideration, religious background and/or affiliation plays no part in explaining violent behaviour. Its findings are based on a survey, carried out by the FRA in 2008-2009, of 3,000 children aged 12-18 years in France, Spain and the United Kingdom – three Member States that have all experienced terrorist attacks associated with radical Islam or urban unrest related to immigrant youth with a predominantly Muslim background.