INTEGRATION OF MUSLIMS AS A CHALLENGE TO THE INTEGRATION POLICY OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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Abstract

The article discusses the issue of the integration of Muslims as a challenge to European states' integration policies. The authors tried to present the most important problems related to followers of Islam coexisting with European communities. This analysis aims at identifying the sources of the failure of the integration process and actions taken to promote a dialogue between faiths. The data presented have been collected by international institutions studying the integration of Muslims. The article argues that due to the religious, cultural, language and national diversity of Muslims their integration is not an easy process, as they are not a homogeneous group.

1. Introduction

The social and political destabilization in Muslim states has triggered an increase in migration resulting in growing numbers of representatives of this religious and cultural circle in Europe. Their arrival has initiated a debate on immigration policy, including integration policy. The dominant topic of this discussion involved security. The relation between securitization and integration further intensified in the aftermath of September 11, 2001 and other terrorist attacks, as well as the establishment of the self-proclaimed Islamic State (2014). The media have reinforced the image of Muslims as being hesitant to integrate, making demands of host countries and committing acts of violence. The word 'Muslim' has ceased to be neutral and is increasingly used as a label carrying negative connotations. Such a perception has been transferred to Muslims in Europe regardless of their country of origin, place of residence, worldview or professional activity. This was directly related to the failure of the model of

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multiculturalism and the return to the concept of the nation-state, as well as the radicalization of attitudes in European societies.

This article examines the research issue of the process of Muslim integration into European host communities. It attempts to show the essential issues related to Muslims coexisting with European communities, to identify the sources for the failure of integration and to present the efforts to establish a dialogue between faiths. The article seeks answers to the following questions: What is the integration process and what elements have an impact on this process? What are the barriers to integration? What models of integration policies have been employed in various European countries? Does the diversity of Muslims in Europe influence their integration? What attempts have been made to establish a joint dialogue and integrate the newcomers? The article argues that, due to Muslims being diverse in terms of religion, culture, language and nationality, integration is a difficult process, because they do not form a homogeneous group.

This article covers the period after the 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon that brought about a change in attitudes to Muslims, which has translated both to their being perceived differently and stricter immigration policies (including integration policies) in European states. The article employs decision-making and comparative methods as well as content analysis.

2. Integration

The coexistence of host societies and Muslims is a complex matter. The issue of the integration of Muslim religious and cultural values into the axiological heritage of Europe is frequently addressed. The opponents of their influx draw the image of a conflict inspired by Samuel Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations, while advocates refer to Ryszard Kapuściński's concept of the world being 'a collage of cultures' [1].

Integration is the third option of immigrant inclusion into the host society, next to separation and adaptation. It is not so much a bilateral process, but rather an individual process that occurs over a longer period of time. It is voluntary, but can potentially involve some conflicts. Integration is a process of mutual adjustment which is influenced by multiple factors, such as demographics (age, sex, marital status, rural or urban origin, education, length of stay in a host state), culture and language (cultural norms, faith, native language, the level of command of the host country's language), socio-economic (immigrant's social status, links with the country of origin, spatial segregation, properties of the immigrant and host countries, activity in organizations, acquaintance with member state citizens, professional activity, level of income, and the absorption capacity of the host state economy) and legal and political factors (immigrant's legal status and the immigration policy of the host country, including the integration policy). If the discrepancies between the citizens of the host country and newcomers are significant (which means a limited potential for the two

parties understanding each other), immigrants usually close themselves off in their own world (based on the values and traditions they have brought from their homeland) and live parallel lives, rather than live with the citizens of the host country.

Integration can be analysed on four levels. The first, structural level involves immigrants having the same rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the host country. The next, social level is manifested by having friends, acquaintances and spouses among the citizens of the host country. The cultural level means that the elements of the immigrants' and host society's cultures penetrate one another. The final level of integration is the identity level - the most advanced dimension of the integration process, consisting of a strong sense of belonging to the society/nation and host country [2].

Integration of immigrants is the essential objective of the integration policy, which is part of the immigration policy. It is defined as "a set of measures applied by the authorities to provide conditions and solutions promoting the inclusion of immigrants in various areas of life of the host society" [3]. Integration policy is a sovereign domain of individual states which have developed various models of integration policy. The assimilation model (France) is among them. It is based on the exclusion of diversity and the existence of a homogeneous society, accepting the same, shared values. The integration process is founded on naturalization, which eventually ought to erase all differences between newcomers and the indigenous population. Another model of integration involves multiculturalism (the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Netherlands). Under this model, people from various cultures coexist (and acknowledge their mutual presence) within one community. It is based on the conviction that, unlike in the assimilation model, immigrants do not have to renounce their linguistic, cultural and religious distinctiveness, and can expect to enjoy equal rights in all aspects of social life while maintaining it [4]. The third model, that of exclusion (Germany), involves the absence of integration actions due to the immigrants staying only temporarily. Under this model, the nation exists as "a collection of ethnically similar individuals who ought to be connected primarily by their shared origin" [4, p. 77]. Immigrants with different cultures, languages and ethnicities are not part of the host nation. None of the above models has produced desirable outcomes of the integration process, but they provide a point of reference in the discussion of integration policy towards immigrants. In 2004, the European Council enhanced such policies with principles which provided a framework for integration that takes into account the legal, political, social and economic diversity of EU member states [5].

There are numerous barriers to integration processes, including economic obstacles. They are related to immigrants' low economic status, poor education, inadequate professional skills, limited mobility and professional flexibility. Integration is also encumbered by a high unemployment level among migrants and their discrimination as concerns promotion. A political and legal barrier is an outcome of immigration policy (which has become stricter), including state

integration and security policies. It is additionally related to the emergence of anti-immigration political parties and the issue of host state citizenship. The third barrier to integration processes is related to social matters. It originates in how the two parties view each other, or in negative stereotypes on either side. Other significant factors include growing nationalist sentiments, anti-Islamic attitudes and mutual ignorance of the cultures of the host state and of the immigrants. The social barrier results in treating the immigrants who are citizens of the host country as inferior, in immigrants and their descendants maintaining a low social status, and in social marginalization (and the emergence of residential ghettos). This is related to immigrant dependence on social welfare benefits, which results in their professional inactivity and isolating them from the majority. Social obstacles to integration can also be found in immigrant traditions of patriarchal behavioural patterns towards women, and the transfer of clan divisions and conflicts to the territory of the host country. All this adversely affects communication between immigrants, leading also to difficulties in contacts between Muslims and the authorities.

Obstacles to integration are also rooted in religion. They concern the very fact of being Muslim, and the association between Islam and extremism, as well as the demonstration of one's religiousness (for instance by dressing in Muslim clothes). This barrier is inseparably connected with observing the standards related to religion, including the inequality of sexes, consenting to marriages of minors and honour killings. A considerable obstacle to integration is posed by the ethnic factor related to Muslim identity being formed in a new environment (identity crisis), persisting sense of alienation, as well as immigrants' double origin and appearance, name or surname, which may all arouse distrust. Other integration barriers include language and education. They mainly stem from a poor command of the host country's language, which adversely affects immigrants' education. Immigrants have poorer results in schools than the host community representatives and end their education prematurely, which has an adverse impact on their professional and social activity. The final obstacle to integration is related to culture, or to immigrants refusing to accept (or having difficulties with accepting) the cultural standards of the host country, to the host society's ignorance of the culture of immigrants, as well as to failing to establish sufficient ties between immigrants and the host society.

3. Muslims in Europe

Islam has recently become part of the religious and cultural landscape of Europe. Followers of Islam constitute the second largest religious community on the Old Continent. The Pew Research Center estimated that in 2016 Muslims accounted for 4.9% of the EU population. The EU country in which Muslims make up the largest share of the population is Cyprus (25.4%, mostly Turkish Cypriots), followed by Bulgaria (11% which is related to the Turkish minority), France (8.8%), Sweden (8.1%), Belgium (7.6%), the Netherlands (7.1%), Austria (6.9%), the United Kingdom (6.3%), Germany and Switzerland (6.1%

each). The largest Muslim communities live in France (over 5.7 million), Germany (over 4.9 million) and the United Kingdom (over 4.1 million). The presence of Muslims in Europe is mainly associated with looking for jobs, obtaining education (2.5 million in 2010-2016), increased fertility rate (2.9 million), as well as seeking shelter (1.3 million people expected to receive or already having refugee status) [C. Hackett, *5 facts about the Muslim population in Europe*, 2017, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/11/29/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/, accessed 20.12.2019]. The arrival of Muslims in Europe has been associated with postcolonial, family, economic and political immigration.

The majority of Muslims in Europe are of the Sunni denomination, primarily those from Morocco, Turkey, Algeria and Pakistan. Sunnis prevail, for instance, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and France [6]. There is also the Shia denomination (Iran, Lebanon, Iraq, Azerbaijan), including Alawites, Druze and Ismailites. Muslims in Europe are therefore a diverse group, comprising people who differ from each other not only in terms of belonging to different currents of Islam, but also in terms of country of origin (and nationality), language, skin colour, customs, as well as the time when they migrated to Europe (or the generation of migrants), their level of religiousness and education, worldview, social class and clan membership. Their community is additionally divided by conflicts they have imported from the countries they have left. Apart from differences, they also share a number of features, such as being a part of a community (*umma*), having a generally lower average age than that of the host society, having many children, living in large urban agglomerations or in their suburbs, being a minority, being more poorly educated than the majority, experiencing discrimination, and belonging to two cultures - that of their homeland and of the host country.

Muslims in Europe can be divided into four groups. The first includes traditionalists, or religious Muslims referring to the *Quran* and *Sunnah*, who emphasize their belonging to the *umma* and practice their faith. The second group consists of progressive (liberal) Muslims who move with the times and interpret the sources of religion anew (European Islam). Then there are ethnic Muslims who do not practice religious rites and can be included in this group only because of their Muslim family origin; and, finally, cultural Muslims who do not refer to religious principles in their everyday lives, but who cultivate Muslim traditions.

A further distinction between Muslims can be related to when they arrived in Europe. On this basis, we can distinguish: (1) indigenous Muslims, i.e. the followers of Islam associated with Europe for centuries, including Tatars, Bulgarian Pomaks and Muslims living in the Balkans; (2) people who were born in Muslim countries and came to Europe seeking jobs in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, and then as part of family reunification campaigns; (3) people born in Europe to immigrant families from Muslim countries; (4) people born in Europe to non-Muslim families who have converted to Islam (converts); and (5) Muslims who came to European countries during the 2015 migration crisis.

Another division of Muslims is related to their attitude towards integration. There are 'open' Muslims, who pursue integration into the host society while maintaining their religious and cultural separateness, and 'closed' Muslims, who are against integration. The latter isolate themselves not only from host societies but also from open Muslims [7].

4. Dialogue between faiths

In spite of religious freedom, the awareness of Christian roots and heritage is pervasive in European countries. This makes it more difficult for Islam to enter the public space. Launching a dialogue between faiths marked the beginning of breaking the barriers and building understanding between the followers of different faiths. This was started by the 1964 encyclical *Ecclesiam suam* of Pope Paul VI, in which he urged societies to defend religious freedom and brotherhood between people [Paweł VI, *Encyklika Ecclesiam suam*, Rzym 6.08.1964, https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/pawel_vi/encykliki/ecclesiam_ suam_06081964.html, accessed on 5.01.2020]. The Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions *Nostra aetate* promulgated on October 28, 1965 by Paul VI [*Deklaracja o stosunku Kościoła do religii niechrześcijańskich 'Nostra aetate' z dnia 28 października 1965 roku Pawła VI*, http://ptm.rel.pl/czytelnia/dokumenty/dokumenty-soborowe/sobor-watykanski-ii /167-deklaracja-o-stosunku-kosciola-do-religii-niechrzescijanskich-nostra-aetat e.html, accessed on 5.01.2020] was another significant document. Item 3 of the declaration urged everyone to forget the past (which abounded in disputes and enmity between Christians and Muslims), work for mutual understanding and promote social justice, peace and freedom.

Pope John Paul II was an important figure in the Christian-Muslim dialogue, organizing prayers for representatives of various denominations in one place. The Pope went down in history as the first head of the Holy See who kissed the *Quran* as a sign of respect for Muslims [8]. He was also the first to enter a mosque, during a visit to Syria in 2001. In his speeches, John Paul II highlighted shared values, such as the defense of human life, human dignity, respect and love for one's neighbour [9; Jan Paweł II, *Spotkanie z muzułmańskimi zwierzchnikami religijnymi*, 22 marca – Abudża, http://www.rad awspolna.pl/index8a9b.html?option=com_content&task=view&id=28&Itemid= 15, accessed on 5.01.2020]. After his death, Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi (Grand Imam of al-Azhar mosque, a recognized authority in the world of Islam) stated that "[t]he death of the pope is a great loss for the Catholic Church and the Muslim world for this grand man defended the values of justice and peace" [10]. Pope Francis has continued the dialogue with Muslims on the religious and social levels. Like John Paul II, Pope Francis sees them as a community close to Catholics. Celebrating the mass of the Lord's Supper in the prison of Casal del Marmo, on March 28, 2013, he made the symbolic gesture of washing the feet of a convicted Muslim woman. In the same year, as the second pope after John Paul II, Francis personally signed the wishes for the end of Ramadan (*Id al-Fitr*)

[11], in which he urged for young people to be educated in the spirit of peace and respect for other religions, including their values and symbols. Pope Francis has repeatedly stressed the elements connecting Christians and Muslims, such as believing in one god, prayer, alms and fasting [11, p. 175].

Relations between the Catholic Church and Islam have been significantly influenced by the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, which in 1988 changed its name from the Secretariat for Non-Christian Affairs. The Council includes in its structure the Committee for Religious Relations with Muslims. The purpose of the Committee is, among other things, promoting mutual understanding, respect and cooperation between Catholics and followers of other faiths [*The Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue*, http://www.vatican. va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/interelg/documents/rc_pc_interelg_pro_200 51996_en.html, accessed on 5.01.2020]. In a message for the month of Ramadan in 2018, the Council urged Christians and Muslims to 'abandon competition for cooperation'. Members of the Council observed that competition did not improve mutual relations and led to mutual accusations and violence. It also deforms the image of religion and its followers [*Kardynał Jean-Louis Tauran, biskup Miguel Angel Ayuso Guixot, Przesłanie na miesiąc ramadan oraz Id al-Fitr 1439 H./2018 A.D.*, Watykan, 18.05.2018, http://www.radawspolna.pl/pol_ PRDM_2018.html, accessed on 10.01.2020]. *A Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together* promulgated by Pope Francis and the Grand Imam of the Al-Azhar mosque in Cairo (February 2019) was written in the same spirit [*A Document on Human Fraternity for World Peace and Living Together, Apostolic Journey of His Holiness Pope Francis to the United Arab Emirates*, 3-5 February 2019, http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/ travels/2019/outside/documents/papa-francesco_20190204_documento-fratellan za-umana.html, accessed on 10.01.2020]. It emphasizes religious pluralism and respect for cultural, linguistic, racial and gender diversity. According to the two priests, dialogue and acceptance of differences has the positive effect of reducing social, economic and political problems. Terrorism was described as deplorable and as having no roots in religion. The authors of the document promoted rejecting discrimination, the concept of full citizenship, and women's right to education, employment and political rights.

The Cardinal Van Thuân, from the International Observatory of the Social Doctrine of the Church, has also been committed to the dialogue between Christians and Muslims. Observatory Director, Stefano Fontana argues that Western countries have no shared vision of the integration of immigrants. The integration process is difficult on account of the "cultural void", the lack of identity, destroyed "under the pressure of laicism and nihilistic individualism" [W. Rędzioch, S. Fontana, *Chaos migracji*, https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/P/PS/ niedziela201717_migracja.html, accessed on 10.01.2020]. In 2018, the Observatory addressed the topic of integration in the 10th Report entitled *Political Islam*, which was a continuation of the theme from the 8th Report. The report states that we are witnessing a process of on-going adjustment to the requirements of Islam and accepting its demands, receiving nothing in return

[*Political Islam and the New Task of the Social Doctrine of the Church. Presentation of the X Report on the Social Doctrine of the Church in the world*, Cantagalli, Siena, 2018, https://www.vanthuanobservatory.org/eng/the-x-report-of-the-observatory-cardinal-van-thuan-dedicated-to-political-islam/, accessed on 15.01.2020].

An important event in Christian-Muslim relations involved the publication of a document entitled *A Common Word between Us and You* at the end of Ramadan on October 13, 2007 [12]. Its unique nature is confirmed by the fact that it is the outcome of an agreement reached by Muslim scholars (a total of 138 persons) representing all currents of Islam and all parts of the world. The document is addressed to all Christian leaders. Muslims call in this letter on Christians to be guided by love of their neighbour and belief in one god, and write: "As Muslims, we say to Christians that we are not against them and that Islam is not against them - so long as they do not wage war against Muslims on account of their religion, oppress them and drive them out of their homes" [12, p. 51]. They consider the dialogue between the followers of the two largest religions in the world to be the foundation of global peace. In the document, they call for differences between religions not to cause "hatred and conflicts" between their followers [12, p. 53] and for mutual respect, justice and living in mutual kindness.

Another institution pursuing dialogue and integration is the European Council for Fatwa and Research (ECFR), a specialized body of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe (FIOE). In 2007, the ECFR organized one of its meetings in Sarajevo and entitled it *Muslims Living in Europe: Citizenship and Integration*. The conclusions of the meetings say that Muslim integration does not defy religion as long as it is based on the principles of the *Quran* and *Sunnah* [*Al-bayan al-kheetami lildawra al-adiya as-sabiaa ashera lilmajlis al-eurobi lilifta wa al-buhuth*, Sarajevo, 2007, https://www.al-qaradawi.net/node/4985, accessed on 15.01.2020]. The authors of this document encourage 'positive integration', whereby Muslim identity can be retained without isolating oneself from the host society on the one hand, and on integration without assimilation, on the other.

Several principles of this 'positive integration' were suggested in the 2007 statement including: (1) defining integration in a way that distinguishes it from assimilation, and urging the ECFR to communicate with European organizations to reach an agreement regarding the concept of integration; (2) preserving Muslim distinctiveness i.e. creed, rituals, morality and Islamic rules, that are non-negotiable in the process of integration; (3) accomplishing integration, respecting the laws of European societies; (4) implementing integration on the basis of academic research, cultural, political and social dialogue, as well as Muslims taking advantage of the opportunities provided by host societies. The authors of the document set tasks for Muslims in relation to their integration, including learning the language and culture of the host country, compliance with public rights, contribution to social and public affairs, and being professionally active. Host societies were called on in the document to establish justice and

equality of all citizens with regard to their rights and obligations, including freedom of expression, religion, social rights (access to work and equal opportunities), combating racism and Islamophobia, especially in the media, and initiating projects aimed at promoting mutual religious and cultural knowledge.

The idea of 'positive integration' was also referred to in the *Muslims of Europe Charter* signed by organizations from 28 European states on January 10, 2008 [*Muslims of Europe Charter*, http://www.itstime.it/w/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/new_muslims_of_europe_charter.pdf, accessed on 15.12.2019].

Among other things, the Charter sets out the rights and obligations of the followers of Islam who live in Europe. It expresses the necessity to acknowledge the fact that Muslims are a religious community of Europe and that mutual acceptance has to be founded on dialogue. The document states that European Muslims should respect the law and authorities of their respective host countries. It also advocates the equality of all faiths, including freedom of expression and rituals in compliance with international and European standards. The Charter encourages Muslims to be active citizens involved in the political and economic life of their host countries.

5. Muslims between integration and exclusion

Islam is no longer a faith of immigrants but that of European citizens. This pertains to the second and third generations of migrants who, unlike their parents, enjoy full political rights and are aware of being full-fledged citizens. If these people are rejected, they may turn to religion and, to a larger extent than before, manifest their membership of a religious group that gives them a sense of understanding, inherence and dignity. Jerzy Zdanowski notes that 'self-Islamization' can be observed among the young generations, which are "strengthening the faith through practicing it" [13]. Importantly, barriers and antagonisms sprout not from Islam as such, but rather from various forms of its institutionalization and from ideologies. One of them includes mosques that are divided in terms of ethnicity/origin, thereby facilitating the integration of their respective environments. Studies conducted in sixteen mosques in Vienna confirmed that the prayers preached in them perpetuated a dichotomous division of the world, intolerance of other worldviews and aversion to the values professed by the host society. Anti-integration policies were promoted in six out of the sixteen mosques [14]. Constantin Schreiber, who attended Friday prayers in Germany, has arrived at similar conclusions [15].

Today, little is said about the success of immigrants in their new societies. The fear of Muslims and anxiety about the future of the state in the context of their presence prevail. Only a few refer to successful integration. An example of this could be the research conducted in 2017 by the Fundamental Rights Agency on a sample of 10,000 people from fifteen EU countries. The results show, for instance, that 54% of Europeans surveyed confirmed that the integration of immigrants in their area, city or country was successful [*Report Integration of immigrants in the European Union*, Special Eurobarometer 469, Fieldwork

October 2017, published in April 2018, p. 7]. However, this opinion varied from one country to another, accounting for 80% and 77% of respondents in Ireland and Portugal respectively, and only 24% in Bulgaria, where 40% were of the opposite opinion. Pessimistic views were expressed most often by Bulgarians, Italians, Estonians, Hungarians and Swedes [14, p. 62]. Most of the respondents perceived integration as a two-way process (69%). On the other hand, 20% of respondents were of the opinion that integration depends mostly on the immigrants themselves (supporters of this opinion come primarily from the Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Austria) [*Report Integration of immigrants in the European Union*, Special Eurobarometer 469, Fieldwork October 2017, published in April 2018, p. 140-141]. Europeans believed that the command of the language of the host country is key to successful integration (95%). According to the respondents, success also depended on immigrants contributing to the social security system by paying taxes (93%), acceptance of the values and norms of the host society (91%), the sense of being a member of the host society (88%), and immigrants having friends among the host country nationals (82%) [*Report Integration of immigrants in the European Union*, Special Eurobarometer 469, Fieldwork October 2017, published in April 2018, p. 84-86]. Research results also show that, as well as the immigrants themselves, educational institutions, and national and local authorities were important for successful integration [*Report Integration of immigrants in the European Union*, Special Eurobarometer 469, Fieldwork October 2017, published in April 2018, p. 144]. Members of the host society were not included among the success factors, although integration was seen as a bilateral process.

The Bertelsmann Foundation analysed the level of integration of the followers of Islam in selected European countries [6]. The Foundation compared the situation of Muslims who came to Germany, Switzerland, Austria, France and the United Kingdom before 2010. The report shows that Islam has not been an obstacle to integration. Muslims have mostly learned the language of their respective host countries and interacted with the followers of other faiths in their leisure time (from 70% in Austria to 88% in Switzerland) [6, p. 32]. On average, 63% of respondents in the five countries had friends professing a different faith [6, p. 38]. Interestingly, the majority of Muslims surveyed identified with their host countries. The highest identification ratio was achieved in Switzerland (98%), followed by Germany and France (96% each) as well as the United Kingdom (89%) and Austria (88%) [6, p. 33]. Although the ratio was high, some Muslims surveyed experienced discrimination, accounting on average for 44% of the respondents [6, p. 37]. Muslims living in Austria expressed the greatest sense of discrimination, which was correlated with their negative perception by the majority of society and the view expressed by Muslims that they were not treated fairly by the state. In addition, 50% of Muslims in Austria believed that they received less than they deserved, compared to 21% in the United Kingdom and 28% in Switzerland [16].

The Bertelsmann Foundation's research demonstrated that the different currents of Islam had no impact on the perception of democracy, which was important for the integration process. The assessment of the individual's economic and social situation played a decisive role in this respect [16, p. 46]. For example, in Germany, democracy as a good form of government was accepted to the same extent by Shiites, Sunnis, Alawites, and non-practicing Muslims (ranging from 91% to 94%). However, most Shiites (66%) and Sunnis (64%) were in favour of strong rule. In addition, 37% of Sunnis were for religious leaders having an influence on the political life in Germany (while 19% of Shiites and Alawites each were of this opinion) [16, p. 50]. For Muslims living in German cities and the agglomerations of ten other countries, the most important values included respect for the law (64%), respect for faith (51.6%), freedom of speech and expression (49.5%), and equal opportunities (41.3%) [5, p. 68]. However, the acceptance of democratic values was not a general trend among Muslims, as evidenced by the activities of Islamic parties, for example, in France (Equality and Justice Party, Democratic Union of French Muslims), the Netherlands (Denk), Denmark (Danish Muslim Party), Finland (Finnish Islamic Party), the United Kingdom (Islamic Party of Britain) and Belgium (Islam). Supporters of the latter, like other Islamic parties, advocated the introduction of sharia in their platforms. They demanded that the exclusive right of men to receive inheritance be accepted, that the death penalty be reinstated, Ramadan be recognized as a public holiday, women and men be separated in the public sphere, marriages of minors be reinstated and homosexuality be combated [M. Torfs, *Proposal to separate men and women on public transport sparks heavy criticism*, 2018, https://www.vrt.be/vrtnws/en/2018/04/07/proposal_to_separate menandwomenonpublictransportsparksheavycriti-1-3175260/, accessed on 20.12.2019].

6. Conclusions

It can be concluded on the basis of the above considerations that the presence of Muslims in Europe poses a challenge to the non-Muslim part of the community. Religious beliefs are not only private but also public. They affect day-to-day rituals, behaviour, appearance, food, and determine the identity of Muslim immigrants.

The 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon aroused a wave of anger towards Muslims, which was best expressed by Oriana Fallaci in her letter *The Rage and The Pride* published in many newspapers worldwide [O. Fallaci, *Wściekłość i duma*, Gazeta Wyborcza, 6-7.10.2001, http://www.niniwa22.cba.pl/fallaci_wscieklosc_i_duma.htm, accessed on 20.12.2019]. The attack has had an impact also on the perception of the faith itself, which began to be associated with violence and intolerance. Islam has become an indicator of otherness. It pointed to the border between 'us' and 'them', distanced Muslims from people of other denominations and increased the sense of alienation.

The article demonstrates the fact that the Muslim community in Europe is not homogeneous. This diversity plays a significant role in the integration process, as does the extent of their religiosity. Believers find it difficult to accept the rules of a democratic state, because for them Islam is not only a faith, but also determines politics, law and lifestyle. They find a state or a legal system permissible only when it does not defy the *Quran*. The state system they prefer is certainly not conducive to the development of civic attitudes and is far removed from individualism and a secular state. Fear of God (one of the most important divine attributes) prevents them from integrating into the host society and accepting its political and social system.

Next to religious Muslims in Europe, there are also other communities who are considerably less religious, which translates into their increased acceptance of European values and their integration. These people can form a natural bridge in a dialogue between the society and institutions of the host country and other Muslim communities. One has to bear in mind, however, that integration is not a collective process, but an individual one. It depends primarily on the characteristics of each individual, which have been shaped in the process of socialization.

The future coexistence of indigenous populations and Muslims in Europe will depend on the number of the latter, the geopolitical situation, the immigration policies (including integration policy) of the host countries and mutual perceptions. Forecasts for their numbers are not worrying because, according to a study conducted by the Pew Research Center, Muslims will not outnumber Christians in Europe. According to a scenario based on the 'zero migration' policy, the Muslim population may increase from 4.9% in 2016 to 7.4% in 2050 (35.8 million), which is primarily related to their fertility rate (which will become lower from generation to generation). In another scenario, which assumes that refugees from Muslim countries will no longer be granted admission, while the influx of workers and students professing Islam will continue, the number of Muslims would increase to 11.2% in 2050 (57.9 million). The last forecast estimates that the number of Muslims may reach 14% (75.6 million). This is a 'high migration' scenario projecting repeated record inflows of people seeking international protection, such as that in 2015-2016 (mostly from Muslim countries) [*Europe's Growing Muslim Population*, 29 November 2017, https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europes-growing-muslim-population/, accessed on 10.01.2020].

Forecasting the future, one may ponder what behavioural pattern will prevail among Muslims in Europe. Will they choose the path of acculturation, assimilation, integration or isolation? The first two scenarios are unlikely. It is almost impossible for Muslims to abandon their faith and its associated cultural patterns in favour of integrating with the host society or adopting its patterns. Thus, assimilation becomes difficult to accept. The path of integration based on cooperation and openness has been demonstrated in reality to be difficult to implement, but possible. Its success will certainly depend on the reform of the faith evolving towards Euro-Islam. The last of the paths is also feasible.

Negative attitudes towards Muslims in Europe may be conducive to isolating them and thus limiting contact with the culture and society of the host country.

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