Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs

Sharp ideological divides across EU on views about minorities, diversity and national identity

BY Richard Wike, Bruce Stokes and Katie Simmons

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Table of Contents

About Pew Research Center ...................................................................................................................... 1
Overview: Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs ......................... 3
  Negative attitudes toward minorities common in many nations .............................................................. 9
  Language, customs and tradition seen as central to national identity ................................................. 10
1. Europeans not convinced growing diversity is a good thing, divided on what determines national identity ....................................................................................................................................................... 12
  Language: A strong prerequisite of national identity .............................................................................. 15
  Cultural roots of nationality ...................................................................................................................... 17
  Birthright nationality ................................................................................................................................. 19
  Religion and national identity ................................................................................................................... 21
2. Negative views of minorities, refugees common in EU ..................................................................... 23
  Roma, Muslims viewed negatively ........................................................................................................... 23
  Muslims seen as distinct, but not necessarily extremist .......................................................................... 25
  Negative views on refugees and their impact on security, economy .................................................... 29
Acknowledgments .................................................................................................................................... 34
Methodology .............................................................................................................................................. 35
Appendix A ................................................................................................................................................. 36
Topline Questionnaire ............................................................................................................................... 38
Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs

Sharp ideological divides across EU on views about minorities, diversity and national identity

The recent surge of refugees into Europe has featured prominently in the anti-immigrant rhetoric of right-wing parties across the Continent and in the heated debate over the UK’s decision to exit the European Union. At the same time, attacks in Paris and Brussels have fueled public fears about terrorism. As a new Pew Research Center survey illustrates, the refugee crisis and the threat of terrorism are very much related to one another in the minds of many Europeans. In eight of the 10 European nations surveyed, half or more believe incoming refugees increase the likelihood of terrorism in their country.

Many Europeans concerned with security, economic repercussions of refugee crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top choice</th>
<th>Refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in our country</th>
<th>Refugees are a burden on our country because they take our jobs and social benefits</th>
<th>Refugees in our country are more to blame for crime than other groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Netherlands excluded on question about crime (Q51b) due to administrative error.


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But terrorism is not the only concern people have about refugees. Many are also worried that they will be an economic burden. Half or more in five nations say refugees will take away jobs and social benefits. Hungarians, Poles, Greeks, Italians and French identify this as their greatest concern. Sweden and Germany are the only countries where at least half say refugees make their nation stronger because of their work and talents. Fears linking refugees and crime are much less pervasive, although nearly half in Italy and Sweden say refugees are more to blame for crime than other groups.

### Views of Muslims more negative in eastern and southern Europe

*Unfavorable view of Muslims in our country*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In Poland, question was asked of a subsample of 686 respondents.


Most of the recent refugees to Europe are arriving from majority-Muslim nations, such as Syria and Iraq. Among Europeans, perceptions of refugees are influenced in part by negative attitudes toward Muslims already living in Europe. In Hungary, Italy, Poland and Greece, more than six-in-ten say they have an unfavorable opinion of the Muslims in their country – an opinion shared by at least one-in-four in each nation polled.
For some Europeans, negative attitudes toward Muslims are tied to a belief that Muslims do not wish to participate in the broader society. In every country polled, the dominant view is that Muslims want to be distinct from the rest of society rather than adopt the nation’s customs and way of life. Six-in-ten or more hold this view in Greece, Hungary, Spain, Italy and Germany. Notably, the percentage saying that Muslims want to remain distinct has actually declined since 2005 in four out of five countries where trend data are available. The biggest drop has been in Germany, where the share of the public expressing this view has declined from 88% to 61%.

While most Europeans think the recent surge of refugees could lead to more terrorism, there is less alarm that Muslims already living on the Continent might sympathize with extremists. The percentage of the public saying that most or many Muslims in their country support groups like ISIS is less than half in every nation polled. Still, 46% of Italians, 37% of Hungarians, 35% of Poles and 30% of Greeks think Muslims in their countries are favorably inclined toward such extremist groups. On these and other questions included on the poll, Greece, Hungary, Italy and Poland often stand out for expressing greater concern and more negative views about refugees and minority groups.

Across the EU nations surveyed, the refugee crisis has brought into sharp relief deep ideological divides over views of minorities and diversity. On nearly all of the questions analyzed in this report, people on the ideological right express more concerns about refugees, more negative attitudes toward minorities and less enthusiasm for a diverse society.

### Most Europeans say Muslims in their country want to be distinct

*Do you think most Muslims in our country today want to adopt our country’s customs and way of life or do you think they want to be distinct from the larger society?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Be distinct</th>
<th>Adopt customs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Volunteered category “Both” not shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q71.
For example, negative opinions about Muslims are much more common among respondents who place themselves on the right of the ideological spectrum. In Greece, 81% of those on the right express an unfavorable view of Muslims, compared with 50% of those on the left. Significant right-left gaps in attitudes toward Muslims are also found in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain, France and the United Kingdom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Right</th>
<th>Right-Left Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>+31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>+29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>+25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>+21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>+18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>+15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold**.
Similarly, supporters of far-right political parties hold much more negative attitudes toward refugees and Muslims and are much more skeptical about the benefits of a diverse society. For instance, fears that the surge of refugees will lead to more terrorism and harm the economy are considerably more widespread among supporters of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) in the UK and the National Front in France.

Ideology is not the only dividing line in European attitudes, however. On many questions, education and age also matter, with older people and less-educated individuals expressing more negative opinions about refugees and minorities.
These are among the key findings from a new survey by Pew Research Center, conducted in 10 European Union nations and the United States among 11,494 respondents from April 4 to May 12, 2016, before the Brexit referendum in the UK and terrorist attacks at the Istanbul Atatürk Airport, both of which took place in late June. The survey includes countries that account for 80% of the EU-28 population and 82% of the EU’s gross domestic product.

Along with worries about refugees and minorities, the survey finds mixed views regarding the overall value of cultural diversity. When asked whether having an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in their country makes their society a better place to live, a worse place or does not make much difference either way, over half of Greeks and Italians and about four-in-ten Hungarians and Poles say growing diversity makes things worse.

Relatively few Europeans believe diversity has a positive impact on their countries. At 36%, Sweden registers the highest percentage that believes an increasingly diverse society makes their country a better place to live. In many countries, the prevailing view is that diversity makes no difference in the quality of life.
Negative attitudes toward minorities common in many nations

Muslims are not the only minority group viewed unfavorably by substantial percentages of Europeans. In fact, overall, attitudes toward Roma are more negative than attitudes toward Muslims. Across the 10 nations polled, a median of 48% express an unfavorable opinion of Roma in their country. Fully 82% hold this view in Italy, while six-in-ten or more say the same in Greece, Hungary and France. Negative views of Roma have gone up since 2015 in Spain (+14 percentage points), the UK (+8) and Germany (+6). Greeks have also become increasingly unfavorable (+14 points) since 2014, the last time Greece was included in the survey.

Negative ratings for Muslims have also increased over the past 12 months in the UK (+9 percentage points), Spain (+8) and Italy (+8), and are up 12 points in Greece since 2014. In France – where coordinated terrorist attacks by ISIS at the Bataclan concert hall and elsewhere in Paris in November left 130 people dead – unfavorable opinions are up slightly since last year (+5 points).

Negative attitudes toward Jews are much less common. A median of only 16% have an unfavorable opinion of Jews in their country. Still, a majority of Greeks give Jews in their country a negative rating, and one-in-five or more express this view in Hungary, Poland, Italy and Spain. Unfavorable attitudes toward Jews have been relatively stable since 2015.

### Negative opinions about Roma, Muslims in several European nations

**Unfavorable view of __ in our country**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Roma*</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In UK, asked as “Gypsies or Roma.”


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Language, customs and tradition seen as central to national identity

Opinions vary about the key components of national identity, but European publics clearly agree that language is fundamental. Across the 10 EU countries surveyed, a median of 97% think that being able to speak the national language is important for truly being able to identify with their nationality. A median of 77% say this is very important. Majorities believe it is very important in every nation polled.

There is also a strong cultural component to national identity. A median of 86% believe sharing national customs and traditions is important, with 48% saying this is very important. Fully 68% in Hungary say sharing national customs and traditions is very important for being truly Hungarian, and 66% express similar sentiments in Greece. In contrast, fewer than four-in-ten consider sharing these traditions and customs very important in the Netherlands (37%), Germany (29%) and Sweden (26%).

There is less agreement about the need to be born in a given country. Still, a median of 58% say it is important for someone to be born in a country to be truly considered a national of that country; a third think this is very important. Religion is generally seen as less central to national identity. However, it is an essential factor to many in Greece, where 54% say it is very important to be Christian to be truly Greek.
To further explore this topic, we constructed an index based on the four questions we asked regarding national identity (importance of speaking the national language, sharing customs, being native born and being Christian). The results highlight the extent to which exclusionary views vary across the EU. By far, restrictive views are most common in Hungary, Greece, Poland and Italy; they are least common in Sweden, Germany and the Netherlands.

### Views about national identity vary across Europe

% of people above or below the EU median on a four-question scale*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Above EU median</th>
<th>Below EU median</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Attitudes are measured using an additive four-item index ranging from 4-16, with 16 representing the most exclusionary attitudes. The questions included in the index ask about the importance for national identity of being born in the country, being able to speak the national language, belonging to the dominant religious denomination of the country and sharing customs and traditions of that country. The EU median on the full scale is 12. (See Appendix A for more details.)

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q85a-d.
1. Europeans not convinced growing diversity is a good thing, divided on what determines national identity

Europe is increasingly a region marked by cultural diversity and foreign-born populations. Across the 10 EU nations surveyed, the median share of immigrants in the population is 12.2%, according to a recent Pew Research Center analysis. However, the proportion of immigrants in individual countries ranges from as high as 18.3% in Sweden to as low as 1.6% in Poland. The share of immigrants is rising in some countries, mostly due to the large number of asylum seekers entering Europe in the past year. In Sweden and Hungary, for example, the portion of the population that is foreign born grew by 1.5 percentage points and 1.3 percentage points respectively between 2015 and 2016. At the same time, the proportion of the population that is foreign born has not grown at all in Poland and has actually declined by 0.1 percentage points in Spain over the same period.

In this survey, publics were asked whether having an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in their society makes their country a better place to live, a worse place to live or doesn’t make much difference either way. In no nation does a majority say increasing diversity is a positive for their country. At most, roughly a third in Sweden (36%), the UK (33%) and Spain (31%) describe growing racial, ethnic and national diversity in favorable terms.

More common is the view that cultural diversity is neither a plus nor a minus in terms of quality of life. This is the prevailing attitude in France, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain, where pluralities say growing diversity makes little
difference in their quality of life. Meanwhile, the British public is split between those who see diversity as a positive, negative or non-factor for their country.

At the same time, more than half the public in Greece (63%) and Italy (53%) believe that growing diversity makes their country a worse place to live.

Views on the value of national diversity often divide along ideological lines. People who self-identify as being on the right of the ideological spectrum are significantly more likely than those on the left to say that growing diversity is detrimental to their country. The gap is greatest in Germany, where those on the right and left are 36 percentage points apart (50% on the right say diversity is bad for the nation, 14% on the left). In other countries, the ideological split is also substantial, including in Italy and the Netherlands (both 26 percentage points) and in Greece (20 points).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Right</th>
<th>Right-Left Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>+36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>+26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>+26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>+18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>+12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q44.

Party affiliation is also linked to views on cultural diversity. In the UK, for example, fully 64% of people who support the right-wing UK Independence Party (UKIP) say that a more racially, ethnically and nationally diverse society makes the UK a worse place to live. Only 32% of Conservative Party adherents and 19% of Labour Party supporters share that view. In France, 51% of those who feel closest to the anti-immigrant National Front say increasing diversity is bad for France. Just 34% of supporters of the Republicans and 11% of Socialist Party adherents agree. In Germany 62% of people who have a favorable opinion of the right-wing party Alternative for
Germany (AfD) believe Germany is worse off because of growing numbers of people with different racial, ethnic, and national identities. And in Sweden, 65% of the public that holds a favorable view of the anti-immigrant Swedish Democrats voices the opinion that more diversity is making Sweden a worse place to live.

Views on diversity also differ based on the educational level of the respondent. Less-educated people are more critical of diversity than more-educated members of the public. In the Netherlands, 43% of people with a secondary education or less say an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities makes their country a worse place to live. Just 22% of those with more than a secondary education agree, a 21-point differential. There is a similar 20-point education gap in views of diversity in the UK, a 14-point gap in Spain and a 13-point divide in Sweden.

In their views toward cultural diversity, Europeans look very different from Americans. In a March 2016 Pew Research Center poll, 58% of Americans said having more people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities makes the U.S. a better place to live. Only 7% said increasing diversity makes life worse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Less education</th>
<th>More education</th>
<th>Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN’s International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher category is postsecondary or above.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q44.

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Language: A strong prerequisite of national identity

The European Union has 24 official languages and a number of other regional and minority languages among its 28 member states. And language facility is considered an important component of nationality across Europe. More than nine-in-ten people in all of the nations surveyed say that to be a true national of their country it is important to speak the country’s national language. Such sentiment is not lightly held. Majorities in all of these countries say it is very important to be able to converse in the local tongue. This includes 84% of the Dutch and 81% of the British and Hungarians.

### Ability to speak the national language viewed as very important across Europe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Somewhat important</th>
<th>Not very important</th>
<th>Not at all important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: In France asked “French,” in Germany asked “German,” in Greece asked “Greek,” in Hungary asked “Hungarian,” in Italy asked “Italian,” in the Netherlands asked “Dutch,” in Poland asked “Polish,” in Spain asked “Spanish,” in Sweden asked “Swedish” and in the UK asked “English.” English is the most commonly spoken language in the UK, but there is no official national language.

Despite this overwhelming belief that language is a strong requisite of nationality, some differences in the intensity of such feelings exist along ideological and demographic lines.

People on the right of the ideological spectrum are more likely than those on the left to say national language facility is very important. This gap is greatest in France (22 percentage points), Sweden (20 points) and the UK (19 points).

In some countries, people ages 50 and older are more likely than those ages 18 to 34 to strongly believe that the ability to speak the official language is very important. This generation gap on language is 23 percentage points in Sweden, 18 points in the UK and 17 points in Spain.

Americans also see language facility as important to national identity. Roughly nine-in-ten people in the United States believe it is very important (70%) or somewhat important (22%) to speak English to be a true American.

### Ability to speak national language more important to those on right than on left

*Being able to speak our national language is very important for being truly (survey country nationality)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Left %</th>
<th>Center %</th>
<th>Right %</th>
<th>Right-left Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>+22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>+16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. In France asked “French,” in Germany asked “German,” in Greece asked “Greek,” in Spain asked “Spanish,” in Sweden asked “Swedish” and in the UK asked “English.” English is the most commonly spoken language in the UK, but there is no official national language.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q85b.
Cultural roots of nationality

Most Europeans believe that adhering to native customs and traditions is also important in defining national identity. Overwhelming majorities in all 10 EU countries express the view that sharing such aspects of culture is important to being a true German or Pole or Swede and so forth.

But there is less intensity to such sentiment than there is about speaking the national language. Half or more of respondents in only five countries say sharing customs and traditions is very important. This strong sentiment linking nationality and culture is most popular in Hungary (68%) and Greece (66%). Notably, 36% of Swedes and 26% of Germans express the view that it is not very important or not important at all to share native customs and traditions to be considered Swedish or German.

There is a relatively deep ideological divide over the relationship between adherence to local culture and true nationality. Those on the right are significantly more likely than those on the left to link the two issues in a number of countries. In the UK this right-left differential is 30 percentage points. In France the gap is 29 points and in Poland it is 21 points.
Cultural identity is also a partisan issue in a few countries. In France, sharing French customs and traditions is most important to those who feel closest to the National Front (66% say it is very important). But Socialists are far less likely to feel strongly about this (only 39% say it is very important). In the UK, 81% of those who identify with UKIP say adhering to British culture is very important to being British. Just 44% of Labour sympathizers agree.

People of different generations disagree on the importance of customs and traditions to national identity. In eight of 10 nations surveyed, those ages 50 and older are more likely than those ages 18 to 34 to say adhering to native culture is very important. This is the case in the UK (24 percentage points), France (23 points) and Greece (21 points).

Educational background also matters in a person’s views of the link between culture and national identity. People with less education are more likely than those with a higher level of education to believe that customs and tradition are very important to nationality. This educational differential is 20 points in France and Spain and 19 points in the UK.

More than eight-in-ten Americans also think that it is very important (45%) or somewhat important (39%) to share U.S. customs and traditions to be truly American.
Birthright nationality

No European country accords citizenship based simply on the fact that a person was born in the territory of that state. Nevertheless, in six of 10 EU nations, majorities say it is very or somewhat important to have been born within a country’s borders in order to be considered a true national of that society. The countries where such sentiment is strongest are Hungary (52% say place of birth is very important), Greece (50%), Poland (42%) and Italy (42%). Notably, in the Netherlands (16%), Germany (13%) and Sweden (8%), fewer than one-in-five believe birthplace is a very important component of national identity.

In some nations ideology plays a major role in such views. People on the right are much more likely than those on the left to say place of birth is very important in Greece (31 percentage points), the UK (24 points) and Italy (23 points).

There is also a partisan divide on birthright nationality in several countries. Notably, in the UK 57% of UKIP supporters, but only 24% of Labour backers, believe it is very important to be born in the UK to be considered truly British. In France 41% of National Front adherents, but just 21% of Socialists, say that to be French it is very important that one be born in France. And in Spain 49% of People’s Party backers and 42% of Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party supporters, but just 19% of anti-establishment Podemos adherents, voice the view that to be Spanish it is very important to be born in Spain.
Education also plays a role in public views on the relationship between being native born and national identity. In eight of the 10 EU countries, people with less education are significantly more likely than those with more education to believe that it is very important to have been born in their country to be considered a true national of that society. This educational differential is 24 percentage points in the UK, 23 points in Spain and 19 points in Poland.

By comparison, more than half of Americans believe it is very important (32%) or somewhat important (23%) to have been born in the U.S. to be truly American. This is almost identical to the EU medians (33% very important, 25% somewhat important).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Less education</th>
<th>More education</th>
<th>Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN’s International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). In every country but Poland, the lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher is postsecondary or above. In Poland, the lower education category is below secondary education and the higher category is secondary or above.

Religion and national identity

In Europe today, there are widely disparate views on the importance of religion to national identity.

In four of the 10 countries surveyed, strong majorities believe it is important to be Christian to be considered a true national. This includes 54% of Greeks who say religion is very important to Greek identity. In contrast, in the other six countries polled, most people think religion is not important to national identity, including about half or more in Spain (57%), Sweden (57%) and the Netherlands (52%) who say it is not at all important.

Views of the importance of religion to nationality often divide along generational lines. People ages 50 and older are significantly more likely than those ages 18 to 34 to say that being a member of the dominant religion in their country is very important to national identity. This generation gap is largest in Greece: 65% of older Greeks say it is important but only 39% of younger Greeks agree. The differential is 19 percentage points in the UK, 16 points in Germany and 15 points in Hungary.

Greeks say being Christian is very important to being considered truly Greek

*In Italy, Poland and Spain, asked "Catholic."

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q85c.
People on the right of the ideological spectrum are also often more likely than those on the left to voice the view that religion is very important to nationality. This right-left divide is particularly prominent in Greece (26 points) and Poland (21 points). The ideological left is quite secular in Germany (5% say religion is very important to nationality) and Spain (6%). By comparison, people on the left in Greece (40%), Hungary (26%), Italy (24%) and Poland (21%) say being a member of the dominant local religion is important to be truly Greek, Hungarian, Italian or Polish.

About half of Americans think it is very important (32%) or somewhat important (19%) to be Christian to be considered a true American. Notably, the proportion of Americans who say religion is very important to national identity is roughly double the EU median of 15%.

### To young Europeans, Christianity is less central to nationality

*Being a Christian* is very important for being truly (survey country nationality)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>18-34</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>50+</th>
<th>Youngest-oldest gap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In Italy, Poland and Spain, asked “Catholic.”

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q85c.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER
2. Negative views of minorities, refugees common in EU

Europe has long been a leading destination for the world’s migrants. In recent years, the number of people migrating to Europe has increased dramatically, owing especially to ongoing conflict in the Middle East. In 2015 alone, more than 1 million asylum seekers applied for refugee status in the European Union. The majority of these asylum seekers arrived from predominantly Muslim societies – namely, Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Against this backdrop, attitudes toward Muslims and refugees loom large in the European political debate, and this is reflected in current public opinion. Majorities in Greece, Hungary, Italy and Poland express negative attitudes toward both Muslims and refugees. Even in countries with more positive views, such as Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands, at least half believe Muslims do not want to integrate into the larger society and majorities express concerns that refugees increase the chance of domestic terrorist attacks.

In general, older people and less-educated individuals are more negative toward both Muslims and refugees. And in most countries, people on the right of the ideological spectrum are much more negative than those on the left.

Roma, Muslims viewed negatively

The survey asked respondents about their views of Muslims, Jews and Roma in their country. As has been the case in previous years, Roma receive the most negative ratings among the three groups asked about. In most countries, at least four-in-ten of the public say they have a very or somewhat unfavorable view of Roma. Negative attitudes are particularly widespread in Italy, Greece, Hungary and France.

At the same time, relatively few Europeans give Jews a negative rating. No more than a quarter express unfavorable views of Jews in most countries. The major exception is Greece, where a 55% majority holds a negative opinion of Jews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unfavorable view of ___ in our country</th>
<th>Roma*</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In UK, asked as “Gypsies or Roma.”

Opinions of Muslims vary considerably across Europe. Half or more in Hungary, Italy, Poland, Greece and Spain have a very or somewhat unfavorable view of Muslims. And in Italy (36%), Hungary (35%) and Greece (32%), roughly a third hold very unfavorable opinions. Majorities in the other nations surveyed express positive attitudes about Muslims. Nonetheless, at least a quarter in each country have negative views of Muslims.

In the past year, unfavorable opinions of Muslims have increased in the UK (+9 percentage points), Spain (+8) and Italy (+8). In Greece, negative views of Muslims are up 12 points since 2014, the last time the question was asked.

In many countries, older people and those with less education are more negative toward Muslims. For example, 75% of those ages 50 and older in Greece have an unfavorable view of Muslims, compared with 53% of 18- to 34-year-olds. The age gaps are also large in Sweden (20 points), France (13 points), Italy (12 points), Spain (10 points) and the UK (8 points).

In Spain, 54% of people with a secondary education or less rate Muslims negatively, while fewer of those with a postsecondary education (40%) do the same. Significant differences by level of education are also present in Sweden (23 points), the UK (17 points), the Netherlands (15 points), Greece (12 points) and France (11 points).

The biggest divide in each country, however, tends to be political. In Greece, 81% of people who place themselves on the right of the ideological scale have a negative opinion of Muslims, while 50% of people on the left say the same. There are also double-digit right-left divides in Germany (30 points), Italy (29 points), the Netherlands (25 points), Sweden (21 points), Spain (19 points), France (18 points) and the UK (15 points).

This ideological divide translates to large partisan divides as well. In France, supporters of the anti-immigrant National Front (57%) are 32 percentage points more negative toward Muslims than those who identify with the Socialist Party (25%). A similar gap exists in the UK between supporters of the right-wing UK

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**Those on ideological right more negative toward Muslims**

Unfavorable view of Muslims in our country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Center</th>
<th>Right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Right-left Diff | +31 | +30 | +29 | +25 | +21 | +19 | +18 | +15 |

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.


PEW RESEARCH CENTER
Independence Party (54% unfavorable) and Labour (22%) adherents. In both countries, supporters of the center-right parties hold views more similar to center-left partisans than to far-right partisans. Roughly three-in-ten supporters of the Republicans in France (31%) and Conservative Party backers in the UK (27%) say they have an unfavorable view of Muslims.

In Sweden, 75% of those who are favorable toward the anti-immigrant Swedish Democrats are negative toward Muslims. Similarly, in Germany, 59% of people who express a favorable view of the anti-immigrant AfD hold a negative view of Muslims.

**Muslims seen as distinct, but not necessarily extremist**

At least half of the public in nine of the 10 countries surveyed say that most Muslims in their country want to be distinct from the larger society. This includes roughly two-thirds or more in Greece, Hungary and Spain.

In general, older people and less-educated individuals are more likely to say Muslims want to be distinct. In addition, many people who are religiously affiliated are more skeptical about Muslims’ desire to integrate than those who do not identify with a particular religion. In France, 60% of Catholics say Muslims in their country want to be distinct, compared with 48% among those who are unaffiliated. There are also double-digit gaps on this question between those affiliated with the dominant religious groups in their country and the unaffiliated in the UK (19 percentage points), the Netherlands (15 points) and Germany (11 points).

### Most Europeans say Muslims in their country want to be distinct

*Do you think most Muslims in our country today want to adopt our country’s customs and way of life or do you think they want to be distinct from the larger society?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Be distinct</th>
<th>Adopt customs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Volunteered category “Both” not shown.
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q71.

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1 Catholics and Protestants in Germany and the UK; Catholics in the Netherlands.
People on the right of the ideological spectrum are much more skeptical that Muslims want to integrate into the larger society than those on the left. Nearly two-thirds of right-leaning Britons (65%) say Muslims want to be distinct, compared with just 32% of those on the left. There are also double-digit ideological divides in Germany (33 points), France (28 points), the Netherlands (23 points), Sweden (23 points), Spain (14 points) and Italy (14 points).

In terms of partisan differences, 80% of UKIP supporters say Muslims want to be separate from the larger society in the UK, while just 40% of Labour identifiers agree. In France, 76% of National Front partisans say Muslims want to be distinct compared with 42% of Socialist Party supporters.

**Those on ideological right more convinced Muslims do not want to integrate**

*Most Muslims in our country want to be distinct from the larger society*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>LEFT</th>
<th>CENTER</th>
<th>RIGHT</th>
<th>RIGHT-LEFT DIFF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>+33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>+33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>+28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>+23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>+23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>+14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.
Views on the integration of Muslims have changed over time in some of the countries polled. Since 2005, when the question was first asked, the percentage saying Muslims want to adopt national customs has increased by 23 percentage points in Germany, 12 points in the UK, 11 points in the Netherlands and 7 points in France.

In Germany and the UK, the change over time is driven mostly by people on the left of the ideological divide. Since 2011, the overall percentage of Germans saying Muslims want to adopt their country’s customs increased by 9 percentage points. Among left-leaning Germans, the rise was 23 percentage points, from 28% in 2011 to 51% today. In the UK, the overall change since 2011 was small (+3 percentage points saying adopt customs). Among people on the left, however, the percentage saying Muslims want to integrate with the larger society increased from 33% in 2011 to 53% in the current survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideological left driving change in attitudes on Muslims in UK, Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Most Muslims want to adopt our country’s customs and way of life</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ideology</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Ideology not asked in 2005.

When asked specifically about support among Muslims for extremist groups like ISIS, few among the European publics surveyed think such sympathies are widespread.

Nonetheless, in no country does a majority say “very few” Muslims support ISIS. And in five countries, a quarter or more say many or most Muslims do so. This includes 46% in Italy, 37% in Hungary, 35% in Poland, 30% in Greece and 25% in Spain. Large percentages of Poles (28%) and Hungarians (20%) do not express an opinion on this question.

In countries such as France and the UK where fewer people believe that most or many Muslims in their nation support extremists groups, the political divisions are stark. A third of National Front supporters in France think a significant portion of Muslims in their country sympathize with groups like ISIS, compared with 15% of Socialist Party identifiers. About four-in-ten UKIP partisans (41%) express the same concern about Muslims versus just 10% of Labour supporters.
Negative views on refugees and their impact on security, economy

Overall, Europeans are sharply divided on whether refugees leaving countries such as Iraq and Syria are a major threat to their country. Majorities in Poland, Greece, Hungary and Italy express this view as do 52% in the UK. Elsewhere, concern is much lower.

It is important to note that worries about refugees are not necessarily related to the number of migrants coming to the country. Poland, where 73% say refugees are a major threat, has had several thousand asylum applications in the past year. Germany, meanwhile, has had several hundreds of thousands of applications. Just 31% of Germans are concerned about refugees. (For more on international threats, see our recent report “Europeans Face the World Divided.”)

Nonetheless, it is clear that attitudes toward Muslims and refugees are closely linked in public opinion. In all 10 countries surveyed, people who have a more negative view of Muslims are also much more concerned about the threat of refugees. For example, in Sweden, 50% of those who have an unfavorable opinion of Muslims say refugees are a major threat to their country. Only 10% of Swedes who have a positive view of Muslims say the same. In the UK, where immigration was a key issue in the debate around the vote to leave the European Union, 80% of those who have negative opinions of Muslims express concern about refugees compared with 40% among those who are favorable toward Muslims. Elsewhere, the attitudinal gap is at least 20 points.

When it comes to defining the specific threat from refugees, Europeans perceive the possibility of domestic terrorism and a negative economic impact as bigger concerns than crime. At least half of the public in eight of the 10 countries surveyed say they believe that refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in their country. Concern about terrorist attacks is highest in Hungary and Poland, though clear majorities say the same in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Sweden and Greece. In the UK, 52% worry about the possibility of more acts of terrorism.

Perceived refugee threat higher among those with negative view of Muslims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Favorable %</th>
<th>Unfavorable %</th>
<th>Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>+40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>+40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>+39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>+35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>+34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>+34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>+30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>+24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>+24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22g.

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The French and Spanish are the only two publics where concern about terrorism is somewhat lower, with at least half of these publics taking the opposite view that refugees will not increase the chance of domestic terrorist attacks. This is especially notable in the case of France, which experienced two high-profile attacks in January and November of 2015, for which ISIS claimed responsibility.

People on the right of the ideological spectrum are particularly concerned about refugees and terrorism. Double-digit gaps between people on the right and the left of the ideological scale are present on this question in all countries except Poland. The right-left gap is largest in the UK (35 percentage points), France (34 points), Italy (32 points) and Spain (32 points).

Similarly, the partisan divide on worries about terrorism is wide. For example, 87% of UKIP supporters believe refugees increase the likelihood of domestic terrorist attacks, compared with 39% of Labour partisans. In France, 85% of National Front identifiers are worried about a possible link between refugees and terrorism, while just 31% of Socialist Party supporters say the same.

### Many Europeans concerned refugees will increase domestic terrorism

*Refugees will ___ in our country*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Increase the likelihood of terrorism</th>
<th>Not increase the likelihood of terrorism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q51c.
Broad majorities in Hungary, Poland, Greece and Italy say refugees are a burden on the country because they take people’s jobs and social benefits. Roughly half in France agree.

The British and Dutch are split over the economic threat posed by refugees. Nearly equal percentages say refugees are a burden as say their work and talents make the nation stronger.

Swedes and Germans, meanwhile, are much more positive on the economic impact of refugees. Roughly six-in-ten in Sweden (62%) and Germany (59%) believe that refugees’ economic contributions make their country stronger. The Spanish also lean more positive than negative on this question.

Lower-educated people are much more concerned about the economic impact of refugees. In the UK, 56% of those with a secondary education or less say refugees will be an economic burden, compared with 23% of more highly educated Britons. The educational divide is also large in the Netherlands (28 points), Spain (26 points), France (19 points), Sweden (16 points), Greece (15 points), Italy (11 points) and Germany (11 points).

Ideological gaps are wide on this topic as well, with right-leaning individuals more likely to have a negative view of refugees with respect to the economy. The difference between those on the right versus the left is 20 points or more in most countries. The political chasm is particularly deep in France, where 71% of people on the right say refugees are an economic burden compared with just 34% of those on the left.

The partisan gap on this issue is also very large. In France, fully 90% of National Front supporters are worried about the economic impact of refugees, while just 36% of Socialist Party identifiers express concern. In the UK, 84% of UKIP supporters say the same, compared with 35% of Labour partisans.

Many say refugees will have a negative economic impact

Refugees ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Are a burden because they take our jobs and social benefits</th>
<th>Make our country stronger because of their work &amp; talents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q51a.

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Finally, the threat of crime ranks much lower in Europeans’ concerns about refugees. Majorities or pluralities in most countries believe that refugees are no more to blame than other groups for crime in their nation.

The exceptions are Sweden and Hungary, where the publics are divided, as well as Italy, where the prevailing view is that refugees are responsible for more crime than other people. As with other questions, the ideological and partisan divides are wide on this issue.

### Few blame refugees for crime

Refugees in our country today are...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>More to blame for crime than other groups</th>
<th>No more to blame for crime than other groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIAN*</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Median of nine countries. Results for Netherlands excluded due to administrative error.

Across all three threats – terrorism, the economy, and crime – people who hold unfavorable views of Muslims are much more worried about refugees’ impact on their country. For example, in the UK, 84% of people who give Muslims a negative rating also say that refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in their country. Just 39% of Britons with a favorable view of Muslims say the same. On the issue of refugees and terrorism, the gulf between people with positive and negative views of Muslims is wide in all 10 European countries surveyed. This pattern holds in nearly all countries for concerns about refugees’ economic impact and their effect on crime as well.

### Across Europe, concern about refugees tied to views of Muslims

Among those with a ___ view of Muslims in our country, % saying refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in our country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Favorable %</th>
<th>Unfavorable %</th>
<th>Diff</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>+45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>+41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>+36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>+34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>+32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>+31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>+31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>+31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>+29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>+15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey, Q51c.
Acknowledgments

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals.

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Bridget Parker, Research Assistant
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Hani Zainulbhai, Research Analyst
Methodology

About the Pew Research Center’s Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International and TNS BMRB. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available on our website.

For more detailed information on survey methods for this report, see here: http://www.pewglobal.org/international-survey-methodology/?year_select=2016

For more general information on international survey research, see here: http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/international-survey-research/
Appendix A

National Identity Index

To further explore national identity across the countries surveyed, we developed an additive index. The index combines responses for the four survey questions that ask about national identity. Specifically, these questions ask how important each of the following items is to being truly of a particular country’s nationality: speaking the national language, sharing customs and traditions, being born in the survey country, and being a Christian. The internal consistency of the index was evaluated using a principal components analysis and Cronbach’s alpha reliability coefficient.

Responses for each of the four questions range between 1 and 4, where 1 indicates the least exclusionary sentiment and 4 represents the most exclusionary sentiment. For instance, those who say it is very important to have been born in the survey country in order to be truly that country’s nationality are coded as a 4 while those who say that this is not at all important are coded as a 1. The responses for the four questions are added together for an index that ranges from 4 to 16, where 4 represents the least exclusionary sentiment and 16 represents the most exclusionary.

Index scores are only calculated for respondents who gave substantive answers to all four questions, comprising a large sub-sample (n=10,239) out of the total sample (n=10,491). Those who replied “Don’t know/Refused” to any question were not included in the index.

We report the mean score for each country here. On a scale of 4 to 16, index scores range between 9.85 in Sweden and 13.72 in Greece. The overall EU median for all valid responses is 12.

---

2 In Italy, Poland and Spain, asked as ‘Catholic’.
In addition, we also recoded the scale into a dichotomous variable, where 1 indicates respondents who are at or above the EU median on the full scale and 0 indicates respondents below the median.
Topline Questionnaire
Pew Research Center
Spring 2016 Survey
July 11, 2016 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our international survey methods database.

- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.

- Since 2007, the Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes Surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.

- Not all questions included in the Spring 2016 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.
Q22g. I’d like your opinion about some possible international concerns. Do you think that ____ is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Major threat</th>
<th>Minor threat</th>
<th>Not a threat</th>
<th>DK/Refused</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q36a. I’d like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Very favorable</th>
<th>Mostly favorable</th>
<th>Mostly unfavorable</th>
<th>Very unfavorable</th>
<th>DK/Refused</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2015</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2014</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2015</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2015</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2014</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2015</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2014</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spring, 2016</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Q36b. I’d like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable.

**b. Roma**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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In United Kingdom, asked as ‘Gypsies or Roma.’

### Q36c. I’d like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable.

**c. Muslims**

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Q44. Overall, do you think having an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in (survey country) makes this country a better place to live, a worse place to live or doesn’t make much difference either way?

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Q51a. Does statement #1 or statement #2 come closer to your own views: a. refugees make our country stronger because of their work and talents OR refugees are a burden on our country because they take our jobs and social benefits?

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Q51b. Does statement #1 or statement #2 come closer to your own views: b. refugees in our country today are more to blame for crime than other groups OR refugees in our country today are no more to blame for crime than other groups?

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Results for the Netherlands not included due to administrative error.
Q51c. Does statement #1 or statement #2 come closer to your own views:
c. refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in our country OR refugees will not
increase the likelihood of terrorism in our country

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<td>5</td>
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</table>

Q71. Do you think most Muslims in our country today want to adopt
(survey country)'s customs and way of life or do you think that they want to be
distinct from the larger (SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY) society?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adopt customs</th>
<th>Want to be distinct</th>
<th>Both (VOL)</th>
<th>DK/Refused</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>27</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Spring 2006 and Spring 2005, question asked 'most Muslims coming to our country today.'
Q72. In your opinion, how many Muslims in our country support extremist groups like the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as ISIS: Would you say most, many, just some or very few?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
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<td>Hungary</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Spring 2006, question asked 'In your opinion, how many Muslims in our country support Islamic extremists like al Qaeda?'

Q85a. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly (SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY). Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is? a. to have been born in (survey country)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q85b. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly (SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY). Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is? b. to be able to speak (NATIONAL LANGUAGE)

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Spain</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In France asked 'French'; in Germany asked 'German'; in Greece asked 'Greek'; in Hungary asked 'Hungarian'; in Italy asked 'Italian'; in the Netherlands asked 'Dutch'; in Poland asked 'Polish'; in Spain asked 'Spanish'; in Sweden asked 'Swedish'; in the UK and the U.S. asked 'English.' English is the most commonly spoken language in the UK and the U.S. but neither country has an official national language.
Q85c. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly (SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY). Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is? c. to be a (DOMINANT DENOMINATION)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Somewhat Important</th>
<th>Not very Important</th>
<th>Not at all important</th>
<th>DK/Refused</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>19</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Netherlands, Sweden, the UK and the U.S. asked 'Christian'; in Italy, Poland and Spain asked 'Catholic.'

Q85d. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly (SURVEY COUNTRY NATIONALITY). Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is? d. to share (NATIONALITY) customs and traditions

<table>
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<th>Survey Country</th>
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