Islamophobia in Western Europe:
Opposing Muslims or the Muslim Headscarf?

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Abstract: This paper reveals that while Muslims have a surprisingly good reputation in Western Europe, the headscarf is opposed by a large majority. Several arguments are developed in this paper to investigate why people make a difference between Muslims as a group and their religious practices. While attitudes towards Muslims hardly vary across countries there is a lot of variation of resentment against the headscarf. It appears that the more state and church are separated in a country the more negative are attitudes towards new religious practices. At the individual level it will be tested to what extent general xenophobic attitudes, liberal values and religiosity help us understand why attitudes differ. It will be shown, among others, that religious people are opposed towards Muslims but not towards their religious practices. On other hand, people with liberal values are tolerant towards Muslims as a group but feel torn when it comes to religious practices such as wearing the headscarf that for some people stands for the illiberal values of Islam. Data from a survey in six Western European countries will be analyzed. Despite all the controversial political debates this is one of the first studies that analyzes attitudes towards Muslim immigrants across several countries, and for the first time attitudes towards Muslims as a group and the Muslim headscarf are compared.

Introduction[1]

In many West European countries Islam has become the third largest religion over the last decades (Pauly 2004; Fetzer and Soper 2005). Western societies must now deal with religious rules and customs—something that can be very difficult for parties that perceive such rules and customs as at odds with the norms of a secular liberal state. As Cesari (2010: 17) and many others have pointed out, Western European states tend to consider faith as misplaced and illegitimate in secular societies. The headscarf and burka affairs are probably the most prominent issues in this context, since it sparked heated political debates in various countries, and also led to academic debates on the limits of liberalism (Thomas 2006; Bowen 2007; Joppke 2007; 2009).

In the context of these developments social scientists have begun to describe and analyze a seemingly new social phenomenon—Islamophobia (for an overview see Helbling 2012). For Bleich (2011) Islamophobia can be considered as 'indiscriminate negative attitudes or emotions directed at Islam or Muslims'. He leaves it open to what extent these attitudes are directed at *Islam* or *Muslims*. Some people may have negative attitudes towards Islam but neutral or positive attitudes towards Muslims, for instance. Halliday (1999: 898), however, notes that current circumstances in Western Europe and North America suggest prejudices against Muslims, rather than fear of Islam. There is no fear of Islam in the narrow sense, he argues, since Islam is not threatening to win primary controlling influence in large segments of the Western world. For Halliday (1999: 898) 'the enemy is not a faith or a culture, but a people. Hence for him the more accurate term is not "Islamophobia" but "Anti-Muslimism"'.

Accordingly, it might be argued that Islamophobia is completely useless and even dangerous as there is no new social phenomenon, and thus no need for a new term to describe one. On the other hand, Meer and Modood (2009) show that negative attitudes towards Muslims has very little to do with xenophobia or in their case racism. For them the concepts of xenophobia and racism cannot be extended to Muslims as they constitute a religious and not an ethnic or racial minority. Moreover, in many Western societies people are much more at unease with religious than with ethnic minorities. One important question is thus whether negative attitudes towards Muslims is about them being a religious or an ethnic group. It might be that Muslims are opposed because they are perceived as a religious group and/or as a group that does not share Western liberal values. And if they are resented for being religious and illiberal then one might wonder whether people make a difference between the group of people that are from Muslim countries and those persons who are indeed religious and defend positions that are perceived as at odds with Western values.

The aim of this paper is twofold: I first like to investigate how widespread negative attitudes towards Muslims and the Muslim headscarf as a religious practice are. As we will see, overall, attitudes towards Muslims as a group are quite positive. Only a minority of people prefers not to have Muslims among their friends or has a problem if Turks move into their neighborhood. However, we get a completely different picture when it comes to the Muslim headscarf: A large majority disagrees with the idea that Muslim girls should be allowed to wear a headscarf in school.

In a second step I seek to explain these different patterns at the individual and the contextual level. My aim is not primarily to explain attitudes towards either Muslims

or the headscarf as others have already done (e.g. Strabac and Listhaug 2008, Saroglou 2009 and Van der Noll 2010). Rather, I seek to develop and test arguments why people's attitudes toward the headscarf are likely to differ from their attitudes toward Muslims in general. I argue that diverging positions can be explained by the fact that Muslims are seen as an immigration group and that the headscarf is considered a religious practice. For this reason I expect xenophobia, liberal values and religiosity to have diverging effects. If Muslims are seen as another immigration group attitudes will be highly influenced by the way immigrants more generally are perceived (xenophobia). These attitudes do however not necessarily shape ideas about the Muslim headscarf if it is seen as a religious symbol.

It might be that people with liberal values are tolerant towards Muslims as they are in general tolerant towards outgroups. They might however be equally opposed towards the headscarf as people with conservative values if they perceive it as the expression of gender inequality and an illiberal culture. Finally, (traditional) religiosity might have a negative impact on attitudes towards Muslims (as it might be highly correlated with conservative values) but a positive impact on attitudes towards the headscarf (as religious people might show solidarity with other religious groups). It might however also be that their faith obliges them to appreciate all human beings but that they consider other religious practices as a threat to their own faith.

Going beyond explanations at the individual level I will also look at country differences, the impact of state-church regimes as a discursive opportunity structure and the extent to which these regimes are reflected in people's minds. As the headscarf constitutes a religious symbol attitudes might be explained by the role traditional relig-

ions play in a society. State-church regimes are however not expected to provide an opportunity structure to take position towards Muslims if they are primarily seen as another immigration group.

To the best of my knowledge and despite ongoing controversial debates in different Western European countries this is one of the first studies that looks at attitudes towards Muslims or the headscarf across different countries (see however Strabac and Listhaug 2008 and Van der Noll 2010) and more specifically investigates attitudes towards both Muslims and the Muslim headscarf. While there is already a large literature on how the headscarf issue is debated in various countries (e.g. Thomas 2006; Bowen 2007; Joppke 2009; Berghahn and Rostock 2009; Henkes and Kneip 2010) there are hardly any studies that investigate individual attitudes towards the headscarf (see however Saroglou 2009; Van der Noll 2010). The scarcity of quantitative studies in this field can be explained by the fact that so far there have been hardly any international surveys that included questions on this topic. The Six Country Immigrant Integration Survey (SCIICS)—a telephone survey that was conducted in 2008 in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden—constitutes an exception in this regard and will be used to test my arguments.

Islamophobia and xenophobia

What is it people do not like about Muslims? Some would say that everything that is unfamiliar is resented. Immigration has always been opposed by a certain fraction of society. Why should Muslim immigrants be abandoned to a different faith nowadays than immigrants from Southern Europe in the 1950s and 1960s? And indeed, various studies have revealed that Islamophobia indicators are closely related to other prejudi-

cial indicators that tap xenophobia. These findings raise questions over the extent to which these concepts and indicators refer to and measure different social phenomena. For example, Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007: 56-58) found that measures for prejudice for different groups are very similar. Even if there is a hierarchy of acceptance those who dislike one minority group are systematically hostile to others. Similarly, Duckitt and Mphuthing (1992) as well as Ray and Lovejoy (1986) have shown that measures of prejudice against different groups are highly correlated.

Working in the US context, Kalkan et al. (2009) make a similar point. According to their work, it is incorrect to view Islamophobia as a mainstream Christian fear. They hold that the roots of hostility towards Muslims are much the same as those governing attitudes towards other out-groups. Accordingly, Muslims belong to what Kalkan et al. call the 'band of others'. Their 'band of others' indicators prove to be by far the most powerful factors related to Islamophobic attitudes—stronger than the perceived threat of terrorism, and other typical prejudice factors.

Using factor analyses Stolz (2006: 559-560) as well as Helbling (2010: 71) show that Islamophobia cannot be differentiated from xenophobia. Stolz (2006), Strabac and Listhaug (2008) and Helbling (2010:) also tested the impact of a series of widely used factors on both xenophobia and Islamophobia, to see whether or not similar patterns were present. They were unable to reveal any major differences. All of these results suggest that nowadays, xenophobic people are mainly Islamophobic, since Muslims constitute a very important immigration group. The question is then whether we observe the same pattern for religious practices. If the band of others argument holds

then everything that is different including religious practices are resented by xeno-phobic people.

Islamophobia and liberal values

In a second step the impact of liberal values on attitudes towards Muslims and the headscarf is tested. For Fetzer and Soper (2005: 150) liberal values emphasize individual autonomy, choice and tolerance (see also Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007: 104). I therefore expect people with liberal values to take tolerant positions towards Muslims in general. So far there have been only a few studies who investigated the impact of values on attitudes towards immigrants. Relying on Schwartz' (2003; Schwartz and Bilsky 1987) indicators to measure values Iser and Schmidt (2003) show that people who attribute importance to the values that belong to the 'self-transcendence' (universalism and benevolence) and the 'openness to change' poles (stimulation and self-direction) are much more tolerant towards both immigrants and Muslims than people with traditional and conservative values.

In a neighboring field Davis and Davenport (1999) found that post-materialists are significantly more trustful of black American, Hispanic Americans, Mexicans, Russians and Chinese. Flanagan and Lee (2003) also came to the conclusion that post-materialists are not only tolerant towards new and different lifestyles but also towards ethnic minorities. It seems obvious that these people are very tolerant towards people who have another nationality, as such collective categories are rather irrelevant for them. On the contrary, post-materialists are substantially more distrustful of virtually all social and political institutions and are not willing to make sacrifices to their na-tion (Flanagan and Lee 2003: 267).

If we agree that people with liberal values are more open towards outsiders, the question emerges how they perceive groups that might not share liberal values. It might be that such people reject Muslims as they often are ascribed values that fully contradict liberal values such as individualism and self-direction (Helbling 2010: 75-76). In particular, liberals might criticize the role of women and the general lack of self-determination in Muslim societies as Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007: 32-36) have shown. Or as Inglehart and Welzel (2005: 292) point out, it is not true that in a spirit of postmodern relativism everything is tolerated by post-materialists. The violation of individual rights in particular is not considered acceptable by them.

This question refers to one of the most crucial debates in the literature on liberalism. There, it is disputed whether liberalism is either a substantive way of life or a procedure for reconciling many ways of life (Gray 2000). In other words, being liberal might mean accepting either all ways of life that exist or only those that are liberal. In that regard, Joppke (2009) makes a difference between the French and British version of liberalism to explain why the wearing of the headscarf has been banned in France and not in Britain in both cases in the name of liberalism.

It might also be that these liberal persons have positive feelings towards Muslims as long as they do not pursue allegedly illiberal cultural practices. Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007) have shown for the Netherlands that many people have nothing against Muslims as a group of foreigners, but clearly condemn their attitudes towards women and how they raise their children. A survey by the Pew Research Centre has shown in 2010 that in some countries support for banning the full Islamic veil is simi-

lar across education and income groups and in some countries it is even higher among high income groups. It has also appeared that in some countries the large majority of supporters of both left and right-wing parties approve such bans.[2] It thus appears that people with liberal values who are tolerant towards immigrants in general have rather ambiguous attitudes towards religious practices of Muslims.

Islamophobia and religiosity

One's religiosity might also have diverging effects on attitudes towards Muslims and Muslim religious practices; especially when we account for traditional forms of religiosity by which I understand practicing Christians who regularly go to church. This form of religiosity needs to be distinguished from less institutionalized and more postmodern, spiritual forms of religiosity (Nicolet and Tresch 2010: 26-31).[3]

Religious people might be very tolerant towards immigrants in general, as their faith obliges them to appreciate all human beings. It might even be that their religious identity is stronger than the national one, and that, henceforth, nationalist categories are completely irrelevant for them (Helbling 2010: 74-75). On the other hand, traditional forms of religiosity are highly correlated with conservative values (Saroglou et al. 2004; Hunsberger and Jackson 2005). Contrary to modern forms of religiosity traditional religiosity might thus be expected to correlate with negative attitudes towards Muslims.

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[2] http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1658/widespread-support-for-banning-full-islamic-veil-western-europe-not-in-america (accessed October 10, 2012).
[3] I do no test the impact of postmodern, spiritual forms of religiosity as there were no question in the survey to tap this form of religiosity.

Moreover, religious Christians might be hostile towards Muslim religious practices as they are afraid of other religions or do not share their beliefs (Fetzer and Soper 2005: 133-137). They might consider Islam as incompatible with Christianity and are disturbed when Muslims claim religious rights. In other words, as they are part of the religious majority, they are opposed to the accommodation of new religious groups and especially to the attribution of religious rights such as wearing the headscarf.

The question is however, whether nowadays such religious conflicts still exist and are relevant. In their comparative study on Britain, France and Germany, Fetzer and Soper (2005: 133-137) found that the members of the religious majority are not significantly more hostile towards Muslims than members of minority religious groups such as Jews or Hindus. This might be explained by the fact that in modern societies the divide between religious and non-religious people becomes more important than the one between different faiths. As a consequence, it might be that autochtone religious groups support new ones and especially their efforts to practice their religion as they all constitute minorities in Western societies and have to fight for their rights. In other words, we do not observe struggles between religious groups, but 'between those who think religion has a place in secular public culture and those who think not' (Modood 1994: 72).

Islamophobia and state-church regimes

Attitudes towards Muslims and the Muslim headscarf might also be influenced by discursive opportunity structures that make the use of certain arguments and positions more likely (Koopmans and Statham 1999). In other words, particular circumstances or environments can increase the legitimacy of employing a specific type of argumen-

tation. The discursive-opportunity-structure approach was developed explicitly to create a bridge to the framing approach; it thus aims among others at explaining why some arguments are more successful than others.

So far, mainly the field-specific opportunity structures of citizenship regimes have been widely analyzed (Koopmans et al. 2005; Helbling 2012). Further studies have investigated the extent to which popular understandings of nationhood correspond to national citizenship regimes (Weldon 2006; Pehrson et al. 2009). These studies have analyzed individual national self-understandings and attitudes towards immigrants, working under the assumption that "[citizenship] policies can be seen as signifiers of how a certain *society* has come to view people living within and outside that society." (Hjerms 1998: 463; my emphasis). To put it simply, it is assumed that in countries with a restrictive ethnic citizenship models attitudes are more hostile towards cultural diversity than in countries with a multicultural citizenship model.

Since Islamophobia might potentially concern religious attitudes more than ethnic attitudes we should account for more specific opportunity structures rather than citizenship models. For this reason I will look at the effects of state-church regimes. Fetzer and Soper (2005) have shown that the state-church relationship influences the way how Muslims are accommodated. They show that Britain's established church, France's laicité and Germany's multiple religious establishment shape the politics of religious accommodation. They argue that the more traditional (Christian) churches are established the easier it is for new religious groups to get recognized. For this reason, in Britain Muslims have been encouraged to look for the state for public recognition of their religious rights whereas in France the state-church model of strict separa-

tion has prevented Muslims from pursuing such strategies. Dolezal et al. (2010) went a step further and looked more specifically at the degree of Islam's official recognition in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. They found that the degree of recognition influences public debates on Muslim immigrants to a great extent. A survey by the Pew Research Center has shown in 2006 that the support of the banning of the headscarf varies tremendously across countries and is most pronounced in France.[4]

Fetzer and Soper (2005) also wanted to know whether mass public attitudes toward state accommodation of Muslim religious practices (Muslim schools, wearing the hijab, instructions in Islam) reflect the respective policies. It appeared that attitudes towards state-church relationship only affects attitudes towards Muslim cultural practices in Great Britain, however not in France and Germany. Van der Noll (2010: 197) however found that state-church regimes have an impact on individual attitudes. Accordingly, she shows that attitudes are more negative in France than for example in Great Britain.

Hypotheses, operationalization and data

Based on the foregoing discussions I like to test the following arguments to see to what extent a difference between Muslims as a group and their religious practices is made. Since previous studies found a high correlation between Islamophobia and xenophobia I expect attitudes towards Muslims to be highly influenced by more general xenophobic attitudes. As of religious practices like wearing the headscarf it might on the other hand be that xenophobic attitudes have no impact. However, if the "band

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[4]   http://www.pewglobal.org/2006/11/20/europeans-debate-the-scarf-and-the-veil/ (accessed October 10, 2012).

of others" argument holds xenophobic people should resent everything that is different irrespective of whether it is an ethnic group or a religious practice.

People with liberal values are expected to have positive attitudes towards Muslims as a group but are more critical towards the Muslim headscarf that might be perceived as a sign of illiberal values. Religious people might be very tolerant towards Muslim immigrants, as their faith obliges them to appreciate all human beings but hostile towards Muslim religious practices as they are afraid of other religions or do not share their beliefs. On the other hand, religiosity might have a negative impact on attitudes towards Muslims as it is highly correlated with conservative values but positively related to attitudes towards the headscarf as religious people might show solidarity with other religious groups.

Finally, I also expect state-church regimes as a discursive opportunity structure to have an impact and to explain different degrees of resentments at the national level. The closer the relationship between the state and traditional churches the easier it is for new religious groups to be accepted by society and the more tolerant are attitudes towards them. State-church regimes should primarily affect attitudes towards religious practices. Whether they also influence how people position themselves towards Muslims more generally will depend on whether they are perceived as a religious or an ethnic group.

These arguments will be tested by means of the Six Country Immigrant Integration Survey (SCIICS) survey. This telephone survey (CATI) was fielded in 2008 in six Western European countries. It was conducted among people of Turkish descent in

France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Austria and people of Moroccan descent in the first four of these countries as the Moroccan community in Austria and Sweden is too small for a survey. In addition, in all countries a representative sample of around 500 natives have been interviewed that will be used for the analyses below. Because in Belgium integration policies are developed at the state level Flanders and Wallonia have been treated as separate entities and 300 natives have been interviewed in each part.[5] This country sample is particularly well suited to investigate the impact of state-church regimes as they represent the most important categories in the literature (see Minkenberg 2003: 122-123): While Sweden is considered the prototypical case of a fully regulated system (state-church), France is a well known case of strict separation. The other countries can be placed in between these cases.

To measure attitudes towards Muslims three questions will be used as dependent variables that asked, on the one hand, explicitly about "Muslims" and, on the other hand about "Turks" who are among the largest immigration groups in all countries under investigation. I am well aware of the fact that not all Turkish immigrants have a Muslim background nor are they necessarily religious. As a matter of fact however they arrive from a country with a primarily Muslim background and in public debates they are first and foremost seen as Muslims. For the Netherlands Dekker and Van der Noll (2012: 115) revealed for example that Muslims are almost always linked to the nationalities of the major Muslim groups in the Netherlands, i.e. Turks and also Moroccans. I therefore assume that Turkish immigrants are mostly perceived as Muslims and vice versa.

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[5] For more details on the study design see Ersanilli and Koopmans (forthcoming).

Respondents first indicated whether or not it poses a problem if Turks moved into their neighborhood—an indicator that has already been used in international studies (Strabac and Listhaug 2008) (for detailed question wording see Table A1 in Appendix). People have also been asked whether or not they prefer to have no Muslims among their friends. Moreover, I will also use an item that asked respondents to what extent it poses a problem when their children marry a person of Turkish descent. All questions allowed for two answer categories (agree/disagree) and thus require logistic regression analyses.[6]

The three items allow me to tap different degrees of social distance (see Bogardus 1926) and to measure the likelihood to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with Muslim immigrants. While some people might not see it as a problem if Turks move into their neighborhood they might prefer not to have them among their friends. More generally, to account for different ways people might be willing to interact with Muslims provides an opportunity to get a more detailed picture of how Western Europeans see Muslim immigrants. Since I am however mostly interested in the comparison between attitudes towards Muslims and the headscarf I also built a Muslim scale by combining all three Muslim items (Cronbach's alpha=0.73).

Attitudes towards Muslim religious practices have been measured by means of a fourth question that asked respondents whether or not they agree that schoolgirls

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[6] The neighborhood and wedding questions have also been asked for Moroccans; however only in four of the six cases as they constitute only small immigration groups in Austria and Sweden. As I do not have data for all countries I have excluded these two items from the analyses. Including them did however not change the results.

should be allowed to wear a headscarf in school. Unfortunately, the questionnaire included only one item about religious practices. However, this item taps a crucial aspect as over the last decade the headscarf has certainly provoked the most controversial debates about Muslim religious practices in Western European countries (Thomas 2006; Bowen 2007; Joppke 2009; Berghahn and Rostock 2009; Henkes and Kneip 2010).

Let us now turn to the explanatory variables: To measure attitudes towards immigration in general I created a 5-item xenophobia scale. Respondents have been asked whether or not they agree that immigration leads to more unemployment, enriches the culture of their country, is good for the national economy, leads to higher taxes and decreases the quality of school education. It appeared that the five items form a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha=0.66). As with the next two scales I also run the same models by including each item individually. This did however not lead to substantially different results.

To measure religiosity people have been asked to what extent they feel committed to Christians, see themselves as Christians, are proud of being Christians, see themselves rather as Christians than as citizens of their country and how often they go to church. On the basis of these questions a reliable 5-item scale has been created (Cronbach's alpha==0.84). The questions are particularly well suited to tap traditional forms of majority (Christian) religiosity that is of interest in the following analyses.

There are three items that allow me to single out persons with particularly liberal or conservative values and that tap individual autonomy, choice and tolerance: Respon-

dents have been asked whether or not they agree that it would be better if women with young children do not work, that in their country men and women interact in a too unreserved way and that they prefer not to have homosexuals among their friends. The correlations between the three items are rather low (Cronbach's alpha=0.41). The scale has been retained nonetheless as the three individual items lead to the same results when I include them individually in the models.

Besides the three scales a series of variables at the individual level is included that control for education, age, gender, marital and employment status and the design of the study (when and how respondents have been contacted). To account for the nested data structure dummy variables for each country have been included in all models.

To measure the country effects the mean predicted values of each dependent variable will be calculated per country and then correlated with two prominent indices that measure state-church regimes: The Government Regulation Index by Grim and Finke (2006) and the Government Involvement in Religion Index by Fox (2008). The two indices have been conceptualized differently but both allow to place countries on a continuous scale between complete deregulation/strict separation and complete regulation/state church. According to Traunmüller (2011) who assessed and compared various state-church indices the two indices we use in this study are the methodologically most sound ones.

Influence of xenophobia, religiosity and liberal values

In Graph 1 we first get an overall picture of the average positions Western Europeans take towards the headscarf and Muslim immigrants. By comparing the headscarf and

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Muslim scale (that includes the three Muslim items) indicators we notice that only about a quarter opposes Muslims but that nearly 60 percent of the respondents do not like the idea that schoolgirls wear a headscarf. This confirms the results by Sniderman and Hagendorn (2007: 21-23) who found for the Netherlands that a lot more people object Muslim cultural norms than Muslims themselves.

- Graph 1 about here -

By looking at the three items that make up the Muslim scale individually it becomes clear that it is not only necessary to differentiate between Muslims as a group and religious practices but also to account for different degrees of social distance as the different indicators lead to different results. While only a small minority opposes Turks as neighbors or Muslims as friends around half of the respondents do not like the idea that their children might marry a Turkish immigrant.

Let us now see how these indicators are related to our explanatory variables and whether we observe differences between the models. Graph 2 displays the marginal effects of the three main explanatory variables on attitudes towards the headscarf and Muslims (positive values stand for higher opposition towards Muslims and the headscarf; for the detailed regression analyses see Table A2 in the Appendix). We first see that the xenophobia scale has a strong and significant effect on both the headscarf and Muslim indicators which confirms the "band of others" argument. (In Models 2.1 to 2.3 in Table A2 we see that this also holds for the three individual Muslim items.) That xenophobic people also oppose more particular immigration groups from Turkey and Muslims in general does hardly come as a surprise and shows us that they are

simply seen as immigration groups. On the other hand, the significant effect on attitudes towards the headscarf lends particular support to the "band of others" argument as it appears that not only immigration but also religious practices of an outgroup are strongly opposed.

- Graph 2 about here -

For religiosity we get a different picture: In Graph 2 we see that religious people are significantly more opposed towards Muslims than non-religious respondents. They are however torn when it comes to the headscarf; they are neither more or less opposed towards Muslim religious practices than non-religious respondents. This lends support to the arguments that traditional religious people dislike outgroups but that some of them show solidarity with other religious practices. In other words while they are opposed to "other cultures", they accept "other religious practices" in a secular society in which all religious groups constitute minorities.

If we take a closer look at the individual Muslim items in Models 2.1 to 2.3 in Table A2 we see that the overall opposition towards Muslims is due to one item: While the effects on "Turks as neighbors" and "Muslims as friends" are not significant it appears that religious people are particularly opposed to the idea that their children might marry a Turkish immigrant. We thus see that for these people social distance plays an important role and that accepting migrants in their neighborhood does not mean that they like to have them in their family.

Let us finally look at people with liberal values that display yet another pattern: While people with liberal values are highly tolerant towards Muslims such values are not predictive of support for the headscarf.[7] This confirms my argument according to which people with liberal values are tolerant towards immigrants in general but feel torn when it comes to religious practices that are perceived by some people as reflecting illiberal values. As we see in Table A2 in Models 2.1 to 2.3, people with liberal values are particularly open towards Turks in their neighborhood and accept Muslims as friends. To my surprise however it appears that for these people social distance also plays an important role and that they do not necessarily like that their children marry a person of Turkish descent.

Influence of state-church regimes

Let us now look at cross-national variations of attitudes towards Muslim immigrants and the headscarf. The main question here is to what extent these attitudes are influenced by country characteristics and more particularly state-church regimes. In Graph 3 the mean predicted values per country are displayed for the two main dependant variables. We again see what we have already observed in Graph 1 (but now controlled for a series of other variables) namely that people are much more opposed to the Muslim headscarf than Muslims in general—besides Sweden the differences are significant in all countries. We also see that the standard errors (indicated by the small dots) are much larger for attitudes towards the headscarf than for the attitudes towards Muslims. It thus appears that the headscarf constitutes a much more controversial is-

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[7] It also appears that while the point estimates of xenophobic attitudes and religiosity are fairly precisely estimated the standard errors for liberal values are relatively large. This can be explained by the fact, as we have seen above, that the correlations between the three items that make up this scale are relatively low. More detailed analyses have however shown that including the items individually into the models leads to the same results.

sue than Muslims themselves. This hardly surprises given the ongoing headscarf and burka debates in various Western European countries.

- Graph 3 about here -

Attitudes towards Muslims in general are very similar in all countries under investigation. In Austria, Germany and Flanders they are more negative but the substantial effect is not very large. Since there is hardly any variation across space country level characteristics seem to play a negligible role to explain attitudes towards Muslim immigrants. In Table 1 the mean predicted values of each dependent variable was correlated with the two indices that measure state-church regimes. We see that the correlations are quite low for all Muslim items. More detailed analyses have shown that they are weakly correlated with indices that measure citizenship regimes (around r=0.50) (Koopmans et al. 2005; Howard 2009; Huddleston and Niessen 2011). This shows that if anything at all attitudes towards Muslims are rather seen as an immigration than an religious issue.

- Table 1 about here -

When we look at attitudes towards the headscarf in Graph 3 we get a completely different picture: We see that there is a large variation across countries and that positions are extremely restrictive in France where there is a likelihood of 86 percent that a French citizen opposes the headscarf. On the other extreme, in Sweden this likelihood is only 35 percent. (In Table A2, Model 2 with France as a reference category, we see that these differences are clearly significant). We thus see that France and Sweden

that are considered the prototypical cases with strictly separated and fully established churches also constitute the extreme cases when it comes to attitudes towards the headscarf.

- Graph 4 about here -

The role state-church regimes play when it comes to the Muslim headscarf can also be observed in Table 1 and Graph 4. We are mainly interested in the order of countries as displayed in Graph 3 and should not read too much into the correlations as we are comparing only seven cases. To make the results more robust the coefficients are correlated with two state-church regime indices. As we see in Graph 4 the two indices have been conceptualized differently. For example, while in the Fox study France gets a similar value as other countries in the Grim/Finke study it appears as an extreme case. Nonetheless, we see that there is clearly some relationship and correlations are clearly stronger than when it comes to attitudes towards Muslims. More detailed analyses have shown that the results are not driven by outliers or the extreme cases of France and Sweden (see Graph 4). If we remove either France or Sweden the results hardly change; only when we remove France in the comparison with the Grim/Finke index does the correlation drop to r=0.55. Finally, additional analyses have also shown that attitudes towards the headscarf hardly correlate with indices that measure citizenship regimes (between r=0.10 and r=0.22).

Conclusion

Overall, we can conclude that people in Western Europe make a difference between Muslims as a group and the Muslim headscarf. Opposing the idea that schoolgirls

should be allowed to wear the headscarf in school does not mean that one dislikes having Turks in the neighborhood or to close friendship with Muslims. It appeared that Muslims have a surprisingly good reputation, and that not Muslims as a group but much more their religious practices are resented. Although we cannot make a comparison with other immigration groups the findings seem to confirm what Bleich and Maxwell (2012) as well as Zapata-Barrero and Diez-Nicolas (2012) have already found for Great Britain and Spain, namely that Muslims are not necessarily placed at the bottom of the domestic minority hierarchy. On the other hand, we have also seen that they are only tolerated as long as they keep a certain distance. The opposition towards the idea that they marry one's own children is on average almost as high as opposition towards the headscarf.

One could argue that opposing the headscarf is just a hidden way to oppose Muslims in general—thus not a question of principle but of prejudice (Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007: 32-36). Opposing a religious practice that is perceived to be in conflict with Western liberal norms might be better tolerated as one could still argue that such an opinion does not necessarily imply that one resents the group as such. Right-wing populist parties often do not take position against Muslim immigrants. They rather declare that criminal Muslims should be deported as the radical right-wing National Democratic Party has done time and again in Germany. Or they successfully seek to ban the construction of minarets as the right-wing populist Swiss People's Party did in 2009 (Fetzer and Soper 2012) arguing that they not do oppose Muslims and respect the freedom of religion.

In both the German and the Swiss case it appeared that politicians sought to hide their true strategies behind a socially better accepted discourse about criminals and visible religious symbols. As people might give politically correct answers even in an anonymous survey Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007: 32-36) have conducted an experimental survey that sought to find out whether some people present themselves as more tolerant towards Muslims as they really are. Their results have shown that people really mean what they say when they take negative positions towards Muslim practices but indicate that they do not dislike Muslims. In other words, while some political parties pursue specific strategies to hide their true attitudes towards Muslims ordinary citizens clearly make a difference between Muslim immigrants and religious practices.

The question I asked in this article is why this is so. It is certainly true as Cesari (2010: 17) has pointed out that in Western European states more and more people tend to consider faith as misplaced and illegitimate in secular societies. As we have seen the less important the place of religion in a society is the more opposed are people towards new religious groups. In a country like France with a strict separation between the state and the church new religious groups hardly find any public recognition as Fetzer and Soper (2005) have shown. Accordingly, we saw in this article that their religious practices are much more opposed than in a country like Sweden where the traditional church plays an important role in society. Religious practices become even more opposed when they are perceived as illiberal. We have seen that people who are in general very tolerant towards outgroups have less positive attitudes towards the headscarf.

Having shown that people make a difference between Muslims and the headscarf we have also seen that attitudes are in both cases heavily shaped by xenophobic attitudes. If one opposes immigrants in general one also resents Muslims and is critical towards the headscarf. The band of others argument thus also found some evidence in this paper (Kalkan and Uslaner 2009). This leads us to the question about terminology and the use of concepts such as xenophobia and Islamophobia. In the introductory part we have already seen that the term Islamophobia and the use of it are highly disputed. For some it is completely useless and even dangerous as it pretends to describe a social reality that does not exist or that could be described by existing terms such as xenophobia.

Comparing attitudes towards Muslims and immigrants in general Helbling (2010) asked whether Islamophobia constitutes a new phenomenon or a new term for xenophobia. The findings of his study and many others suggest that Muslims are seen as another immigration group. Attitudes towards Muslims and other immigration groups are highly correlated and can be explained by similar factors. In this study we have seen that there is rather a gap between Muslim immigrants and their religious practices. The term Islamophobia might thus be a useful concept to describe resentments against Muslim religious practices.

Appendix

Table A1: Question wordings

Items	Wordings
Dependent variables	
Muslim headscarf	Schoolgirls should be allowed to wear a headscarf in school.
Turks as neighbors	It would be a strain on me if people of Turkish descent moved into my neighborhood.
Muslims as friends	I prefer not to have Muslims among my friends.
Marry a Turk	I have no problem if my child marries someone of Turkish descent.
Main independent variables	
Xenophobia scale	Immigration leads to more unemployment in [country].
	Cultural life in [country] is enriched by immigration.
	Immigration is good for the [country] economy.
	Immigration costs more taxes than it yields income.
	When too many children from immigrants are in school, the quality of teaching decreases.
Religiosity scale	To what extent do you feel committed to Christians?
	To what extent do you see yourself as a Christian?
	To what extent are you proud to be a Christian?
	Do you see yourself rather as a citizen of [country] or a Christian?
	How often do you go to church?
Value scale	It is better if women with young children do not work.
	In [country] men and women interact in a too unreserved way.
	I prefer not to have homosexuals among my friends.

Notes: For all independent variables and for all items of the value and the religiosity scales respondents indicated whether they agreed or disagreed with the respective statements. For the first three items of the religiosity scale people were asked to choose among five categories: "not at all", "hardly", "somewhat", "mostly", "totally". For the fourth item people were asked to either indicate their country or being Christian. For church attendance they were asked to choose among five categories: "never", "seldom/only for special events", "monthly", "weekly", "daily".

Table A2: Logistic regression analyses (standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 2.1	Model 2.2	Model 2.3
	Muslim headscarf	Muslim scale	Turks as neighbors	Muslims as friends	Marry a Turk
Xenophobia	1.893***	0.327***	2.714***	3.007***	2.059***
	(0.141)	(0.014)	(0.239)	(0.202)	(0.137)
Religiosity	0.066	0.015**	0.003	0.019	0.209***
	(0.046)	(0.005)	(0.077)	(0.065)	(0.046)
Liberal values	0.150	-0.115***	-1.200***	-1.113***	-0.312
	(0.163)	(0.017)	(0.240)	(0.204)	(0.160)
Education	-0.067	-0.006	-0.033	-0.474**	0.035
	(0.091)	(0.010)	(0.181)	(0.155)	(0.091)
Gender	0.282***	0.009	0.401**	0.193	-0.095
	(0.081)	(0.009)	(0.138)	(0.116)	(0.080)
Married	-0.073	-0.010*	0.022	-0.037	-0.121**
	(0.046)	(0.005)	(0.075)	(0.064)	(0.045)
Working	0.097	-0.005	-0.279	-0.042	-0.005
	(0.093)	(0.010)	(0.159)	(0.134)	(0.091)
Age	0.010***	0.002***	0.003	0.013**	0.014***
	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Mobile calls	0.111	-0.041*	-0.059	0.032	-0.514***
	(0.149)	(0.016)	(0.240)	(0.211)	(0.154)
Evening calls	0.005	0.009	-0.028	-0.021	0.092
	(0.091)	(0.010)	(0.153)	(0.130)	(0.090)
Weekend calls	-0.000	-0.001	-0.126	0.023	0.010
	(0.107)	(0.011)	(0.186)	(0.153)	(0.105)
Germany	-1.912***	0.049**	-0.039	0.333	0.569***
	(0.163)	(0.015)	(0.266)	(0.214)	(0.138)
Netherlands	-2.344***	0.013	0.098	0.125	0.159
	(0.160)	(0.015)	(0.255)	(0.218)	(0.134)
Wallonia	-1.336***	-0.019	-0.205	-0.015	-0.104
	(0.190)	(0.018)	(0.323)	(0.266)	(0.163)
Flanders	-1.847***	0.079***	0.697**	0.867***	0.541***
	(0.181)	(0.017)	(0.256)	(0.220)	(0.158)
Austria	-2.039***	0.064***	0.639**	0.426*	0.459**
	(0.170)	(0.016)	(0.235)	(0.207)	(0.145)
Sweden	-2.717***	0.032*	0.263	0.893***	0.037
	(0.164)	(0.015)	(0.271)	(0.216)	(0.138)
Constant	0.593	0.060	-3.493***	-3.644***	-1.878***
	(0.313)	(0.032)	(0.504)	(0.432)	(0.301)
N	3,285	3,350	3,314	3,267	3,186

Notes: p-values: *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05.

Table A3: Descriptive statistics

Variables	N	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
Muslim headscarf	3365	0.58	0.49	0	1
Muslim scale	3424	0.25	0.28	0	1
Turks as neighbors	3386	0.09	0.28	0	1
Muslims as friends	3335	0.14	0.35	0	1
Marry a Turk	3248	0.48	0.50	0	1
Xenophobia scale	3446	0.40	0.32	0	1
Religiosity scale	3381	2.48	0.92	1	5
Value scale	3443	0.73	0.29	0	1

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Graph 1: Negative attitudes towards Muslims and the headscarf (mean percentages)
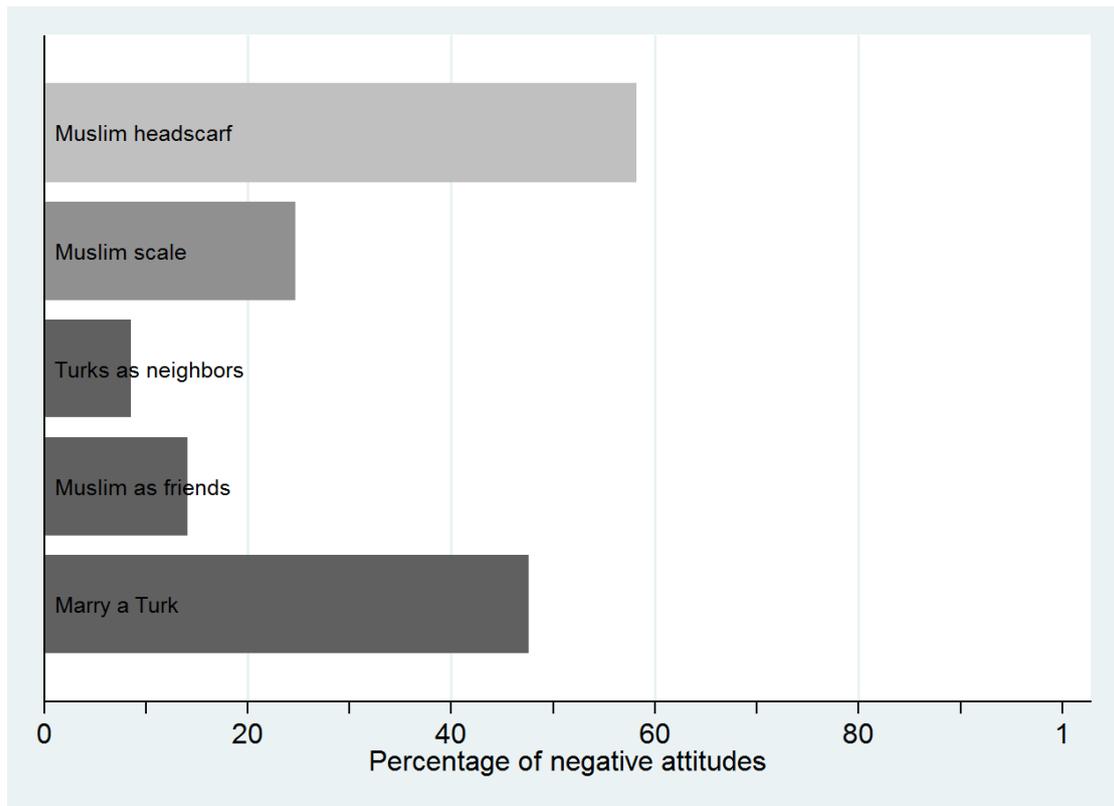

Graph 2: Marginal effects of xenophobia, religiosity and liberal values
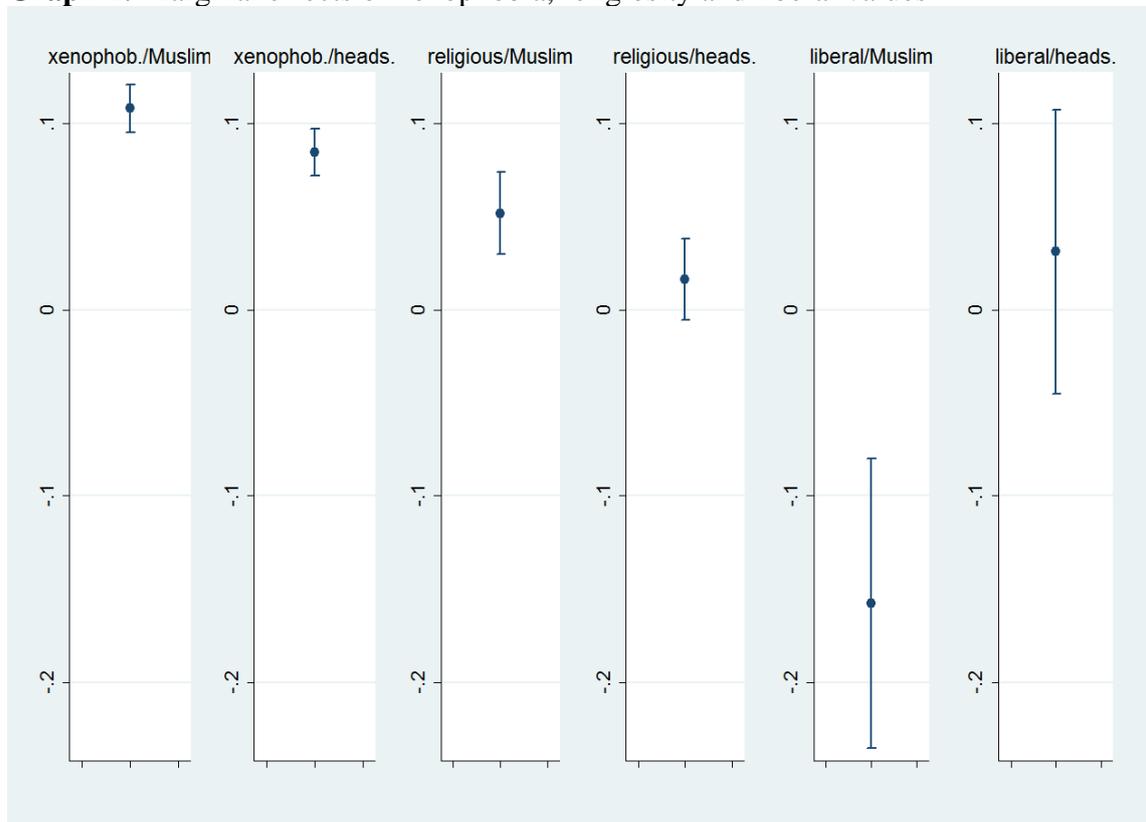
Notes: The graph displays the marginal effects of xenophobic attitudes (xenophob.), religiosity (religious) and liberal values (liberal) on attitudes towards Muslims and the Muslim headscarf (heads.). For the detailed regression analyses with all control variables see Table A2 in Appendix.

Graph 3: Country effects (predicted probabilities)
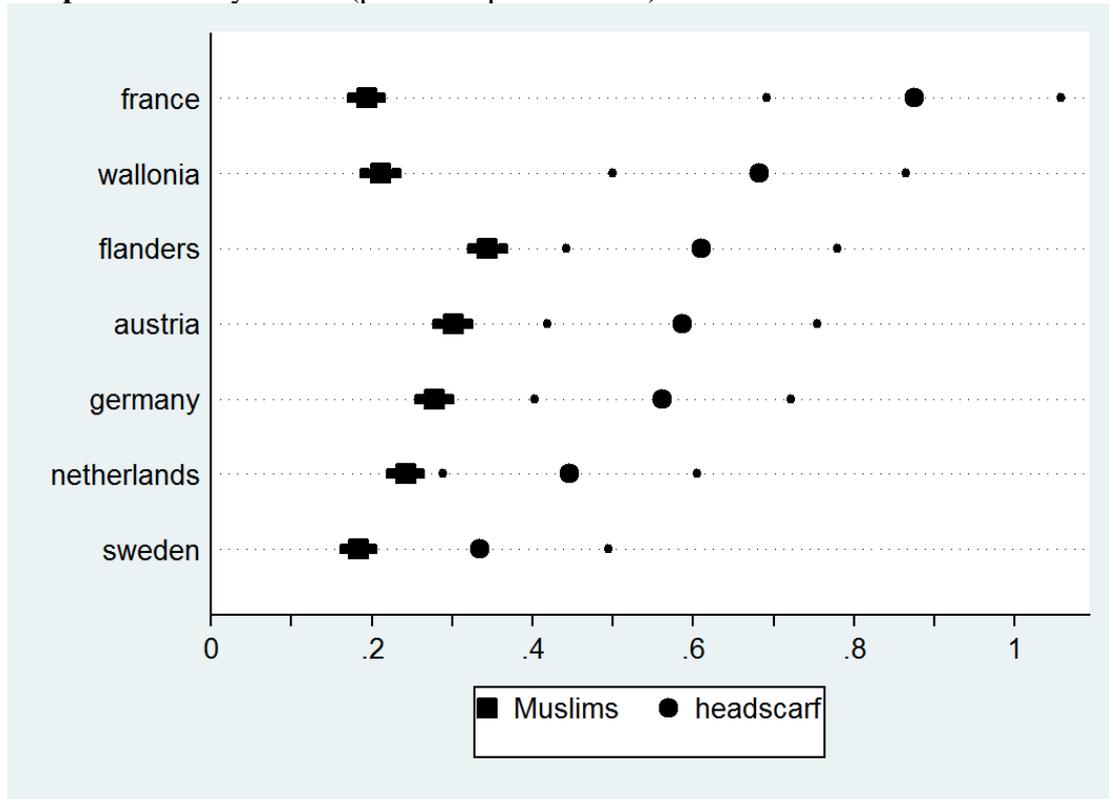
Notes: The small dotes indicate the standard errors of the predictions.

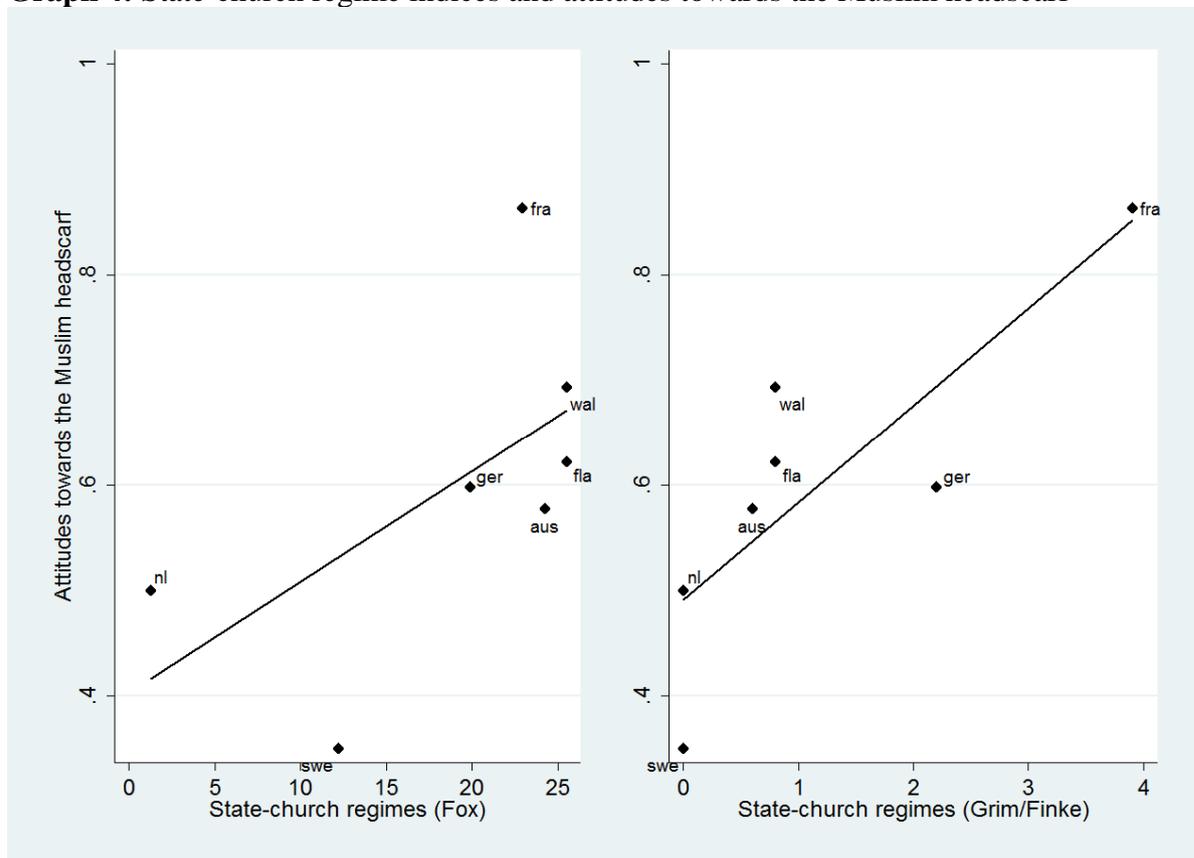**Graph 4:** State-church regime indices and attitudes towards the Muslim headscarf

Table 1: Correlations with state-church regime indices

	Muslim head-scarf	Turks as neighbors	Muslims as friends	Marry a Turk
Fox	0.60	0.36	0.32	0.26
Grimm/Finke	0.82	-0.20	-0.21	-0.12

Notes: The table displays correlations between the mean predicted values of the independent variables used in Graph 3 and two different indices that measure state-church regimes (N=7).