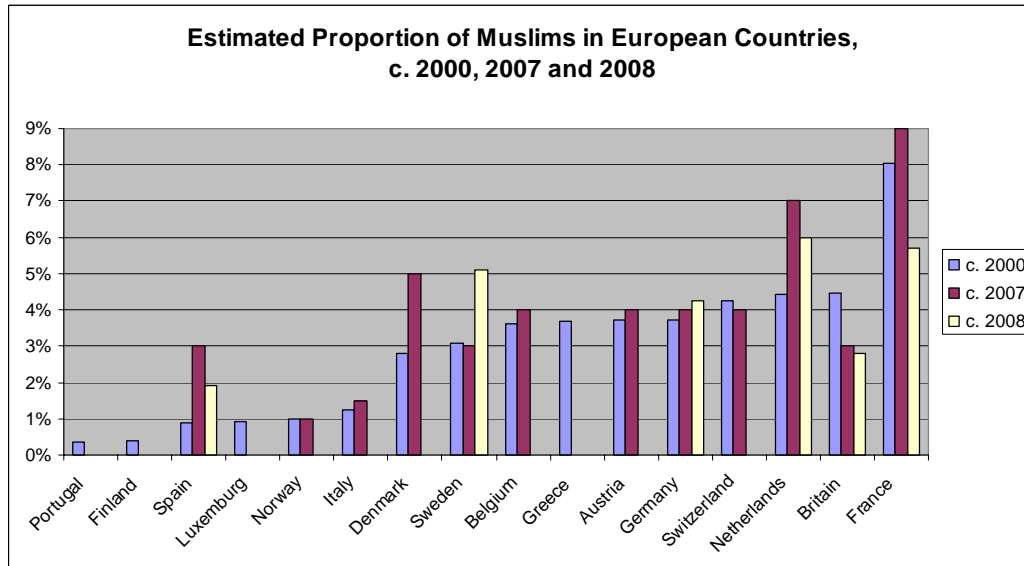


The Demography of Islam in Europe

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There are an estimated 15 million Muslims residing in western Europe. In most west European countries, Muslims comprise between 2 and 6 percent of the population. Our recent work has shown that previous estimates were occasionally too high, and in other cases too low - or have been overtaken by population change since 2000. (see figure 1 below)

Figure 1.



Source: (Maréchal 2002; Westoff and Frejka 2007; IIASA/Pew 2009, ongoing project)

Source countries and even source regions are especially important for understanding European Islam. Country networks structure migration and shape fertility rates, cultural outlooks and political orientations toward Islamism. Intermarriage across ethnic lines, i.e. Arab-Turk, Pakistani-Bangladeshi, is rare. For example, in Britain in 2001, just 25 of more than 8700 couples involving a Pakistani in the ONS Longitudinal Survey also involved a Bengali. In all, roughly the same number of Pakistanis were married to whites as to Asians. Just 19 of 4482 couples involving a Sikh included a Muslim. (Own calculations from ONS LS 2001) French Muslims are largely Maghrebin, with a significant (60%) Kabyle Berber element among the Algerians, the largest component of French Muslims. (Silverstein 2004) British Muslims are mainly South Asian. 43 percent are Pakistani, and of these, 70 percent come from the Mirpur district of Pakistani Kashmir. (Rai 2006: 72) Once again, the ethnic boundaries and specificity of the immigrant populations are important. These continue to structure links via arranged marriage, often to cousins. In Germany, Holland and the Benelux countries, most Muslims are Turkish or Moroccan. Norway and Sweden have a considerable Somali component to their Muslim populations. It is worth mentioning that there is limited representation in Europe from the most Salafi Islamist regions, i.e. Saudis and other Mideast Arabs, Pashto and Baluchis.

Relatively high Islamic birthrates remain an important factor in European Muslim population growth and power change even in the absence of immigration.

Take Austria, one of just four countries (along with Switzerland, UK and Slovakia) which ask a religion question on the census. The Muslim total fertility rate in Austria in 1981 was 3.09 children per woman as against a population average of 1.67. In 1991, the ratio was 2.77 to 1.51. In 2001 it stood at 2.34 to 1.32. Thus even as Muslim fertility declined, the continued plunge in the fertility rate of the dominant Austro-German ethnic group has maintained differentials. We should expect to hit the floor of native Austrian fertility soon, in which case Muslim fertility will begin to converge with that of other Austrians. This is what has happened in much of the rest of Europe because birthrates in Muslim home countries have been falling.

Though most Muslim countries have TFRs above 3.0 and slowing demographic transitions due to Islamist pressure, a number of important European source countries have relatively low fertility. This includes Iran, Turkey, Algeria and Tunisia (all near or below replacement) and Morocco (2.59), but excludes Pakistan (3.60) and Somalia (6.52). Home country demographic transitions affect those of the receiving country. In Germany, Turkish immigrant TFR declined from 4.4 births per woman in 1970 to 2.4 in 1996. In England and Wales, Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrant TFR dropped from 9.3 to 4.9 between 1971 and 1996; in Belgium, Moroccan-born TFR fell from 5.72 to 3.91 between 1981 and 1996. On the one hand, Muslim fertility is about three times as high as that of natives in Britain and Norway, largely due to the Pakistani and Somali nature of the source country flows. On the low side, Iranian immigrant fertility is close to that of natives in all countries, and Turkish nationals (includes immigrant and native born) in the Netherlands have fertility that is approaching that of the European-origin population. All indications are that Turkish fertility will approach that of natives in most European countries - certainly over 1-2 generations. (Frejka and Westoff 2007)

Still, it is worth noting that the TFR of immigrant populations of North African and Turkish descent is often *higher* in Europe than at home. This is especially true of Turks and Moroccans in Belgium. Complete convergence may never arrive, and even small fertility differences can lead to important shifts over generations. Why might convergence not occur? Religious women of all faiths are more fertile than the nonreligious. Among Muslims in Europe this is especially true: religious European Muslims are nearly 40 percent more likely to have two or more children than the least religious European Muslims even when controlling for age, marital status, income and education. Muslim women tend to be more religious than others, and hence will probably remain more fertile on average - though with less of an advantage than previously. (Courbage 2007; Frejka and Westoff 2007)

Secularization

Secularization can turn Muslims into secular Europeans. European minority surveys show that most immigrants are more religious than their west European hosts. (Van Tubergen 2006) Data from three UK studies from of ethnic minorities in the 1994-2003 period demonstrate strong Muslim religious retention in the second generation. We can see this in table 1, where those of Bangladeshi/Pakistani and Afro-Caribbean origin are many times more likely than the UK white population to express a religious affiliation, attend weekly or emphasize the importance of their faith in their lives. This is especially true of mainly Muslim ethnic groups like the Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, a finding confirmed for North Africans in a recent study of the Dutch case. (Van Tubergen 2007) This reflects widely reported trends such as the relative youth

and vitality of Muslim congregations in Britain and the fact that weekly Mosque attendance now exceeds weekly attendance for the Church of England.

Table 1. Religiosity by Ethnic Category and Birthplace, UK, 1994-2003

	Religious Affiliation		Attend Weekly		Religion Important		'Practice' Religion	
	2001	N	1994	N	1994	N	2003	N
UK-Born Bengali & Pakistani	97%	409	53%	118	92%	126	80%	290
Foreign-Born Bengali&Pakistani	97%	936	71%	703	97%	759	88%	847
UK Afro-Carib	73%	1071	24%	149	77%	151	43%	509
Foreign Afro-Carib	79%	580	44%	287	85%	292	73%	1170
UK White	78%	8893	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	23%	8304
Foreign White	80%	400	17%	2009	55%	2007	42%	442

Source: (Berthoud et al. 1997; Home Office 2003; Office for National Statistics and Home Office 2005)

The same dynamics operate in other west European countries, where the European Values Survey (2000) and European Social Survey (2004) show no difference in mosque attendance between the oldest and youngest generations. A recent Dutch study confirms these results: the proportion citing 'no religion' among second-generation Turkish (4.8% across 566 cases) and Moroccan (3.1% across 514 cases) Dutch respondents is far lower than the general population and differs little from the first generation, though attendance shows a modest decline. Multivariate analysis indicates that generation has no effect on the religious identity of respondents from these Muslim ethnic groups and only a modest impact on mosque attendance. (Phalet and Haker 2004: 17-22)

French Muslim Exceptionalism?

The great exception to these trends are French Muslims, specifically those of Algerian origin. This is important given the fact that those with origins in Muslims countries now number 5.7 percent of the French population, the largest of any west European country¹. In the 1999-2000 World Values Survey, Algeria had the lowest proportion of self-identified 'religious' (55%) respondents of any Muslim country, by far the lowest in the MENA region.² Kabyle Berbers in Algeria have an especially strong tradition of identifying themselves with privatised religion and the French language against the Arabo-Islamic ideology of the state - and some 60 percent of Franco-Algerians are of Kabyle origin. (Silverstein 2004) This probably explains why 60 percent of second-generation French with at least one Algerian parent claim to have no religion. (Amiriaux 2004)) This may also account for the lack of religious mobilization surrounding the *banlieue* riots of 2005, the limited degree of recent French homegrown terrorism, or the fact that a majority, albeit slim, of French Muslims supported the headscarf ban in state schools. Indeed, as Jonathan Paris points out in *Foreign Affairs* (citing Pew Forum evidence), 81 percent of British Muslims said they were Muslim first and British second, compared with only 46 percent of French Muslims saying they are Muslim first and French second. (Paris 2007)

The Role of Intermarriage

There is an organic link between intermarriage with the host population and secularization. Generally speaking, intermarriage with a secular partner is often the prelude to secularization. (Voas 2003) Looking across western Europe, intermarriage rates are lowest among Muslim ethnic groups, averaging just 8 percent (see table 2). Moreover, the second generation displays only a marginally higher level of intermarriage than the first, an increase from 6 to 10.5 percent. Only Algerian French men, half of whom married out in 1992, constitute a major exception to the rule. This can be compared with the West Indian intermarriage rate of 26 percent in the first generation and 53 percent in the second generation. (Lucassen and Laarman 2009) Religion appears to clearly pose a larger barrier than race to assimilation.

Table 2. Outmarriage in Europe, 1st and 2nd Generation (by % of Ethnic Group Intermarried)

	Male 1 st	Male 2 nd	Female 1 st	Female 2 nd	Average
West-Indians (UK, NL)	26	60	26	46	40
Italians, Greeks, Yugoslavians (Ger), Spanish, Portuguese (Fr.)	22	48	15	38	31
Moroccans, Turks (Ger, NL, Be) Algerians (F.)	11	16	5	8	10
Algerians, Moroccans (Fr.), British-Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis (UK), Indo-Surinamese (NL)	5	11	7	10	8

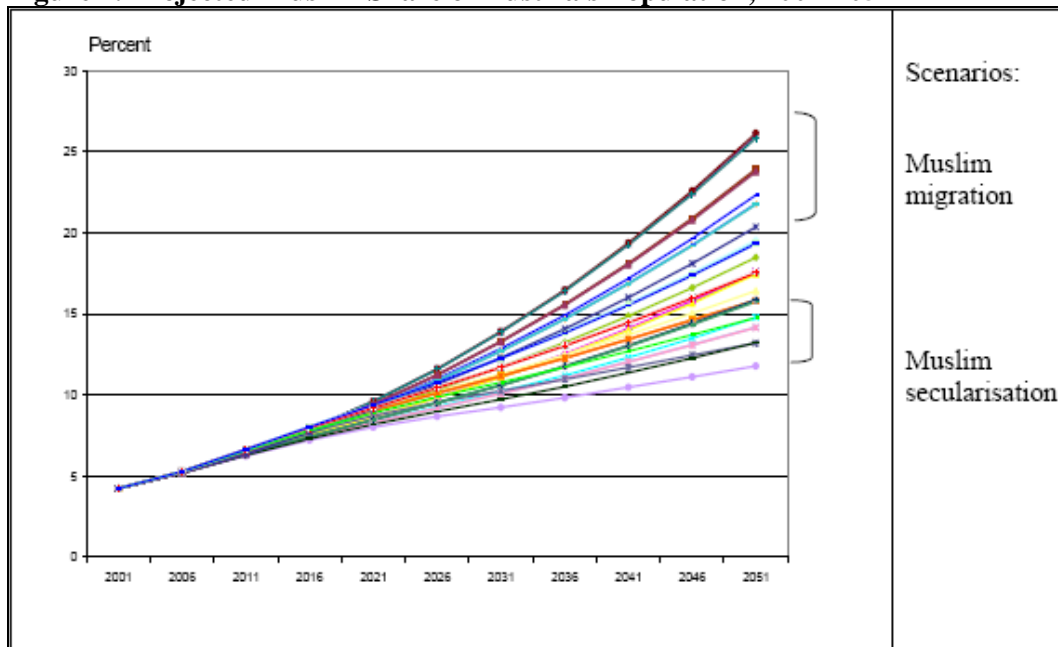
Source: Lucassen and Laarman 2009

The resistance to assimilation among Muslim ethnic groups gains strength because Turkish, Pakistani and Moroccan children, in particular, are pressured to marry spouses from the home country. In Holland, for 1988-2002, 71 percent of second-generation Turks and 59 percent of second-generation Moroccans chose a spouse from the home country. Trends appear to be similar in Belgium, the only other case where we have good data. Only France is an exception, with just 17 percent of second-generation Algerian-origin men (but fully 54 percent of second-generation Algerian origin women) opting to find a spouse in Algeria. Some suggest that restrictive immigration laws since the 1970s amplify the pressure on European Muslims to seek spouses abroad, especially for women – who may be more subject to traditional patriarchal moral restraints. (Lucassen and Laarman 2009)

Projected Muslim Populations

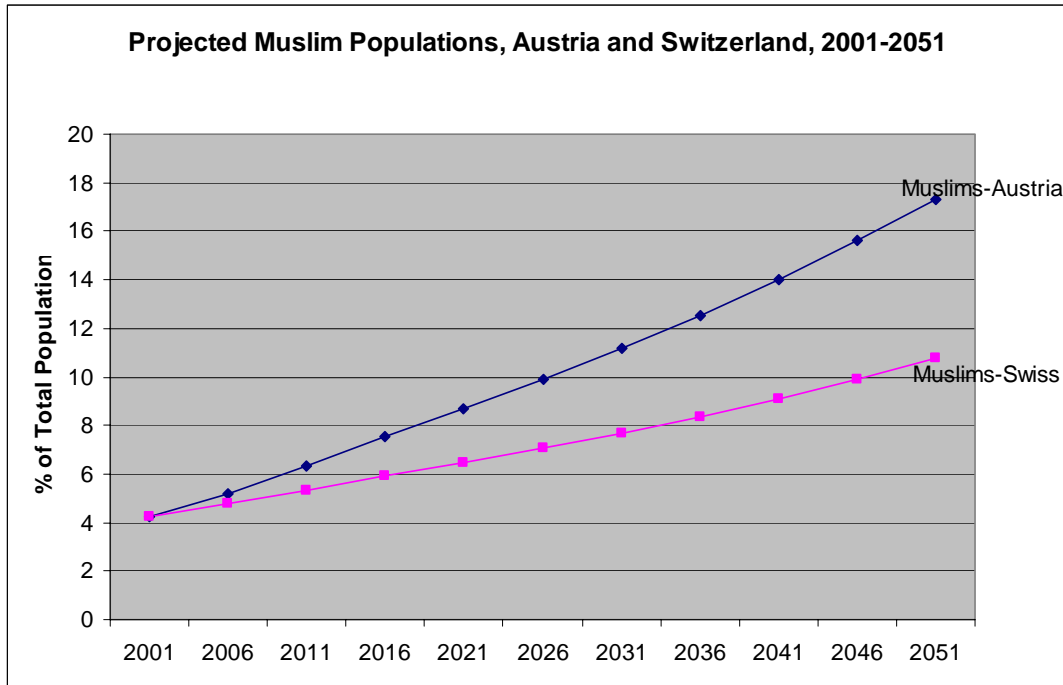
Even if fertility convergence should take place, the young age structure of the Muslim population will propel its growth: by 2050, Muslims will, on current trends, comprise at least 14 percent of the Austrian population, up from 4 percent today. If we allow for low Muslim secularisation or a high Muslim component to the immigration flow, the proportion could reach as high as 25 percent. (see figure 2) And this assumes net immigration does not rise outside its current range of 19,000-28,000 per year. (Goujon, Skirbekk, and Fliegenschnee 2007) However, the aging Austrian population could necessitate larger inflows of immigrants to cover rising pension costs and labour shortages, and this migrant stream may include a significant component of Muslims who will bring their higher immigrant fertility with them, forestalling fertility convergence and continuing to drive ethnic change. Therefore, 25 percent is certainly an attainable figure for Austria's Muslim minority in 2050. (Figure 2) In Switzerland, lower levels of immigration and slightly lower Muslim fertility (and older age structure) produce an expected Muslim proportion closer to 11 percent in 2051. (Figure 3) Immigration levels therefore will play a considerable role in determining population composition in 2050, despite the built-in Muslim advantage accruing to fertility and age structure. (Coleman 2006)

Figure 2. Projected Muslim Share of Austria's Population, 2001-2051



Source: Goujon et al. 2007

Figure 3. Projected (Expected) Muslim Share of Population, Austria and Switzerland, 2001-51



Source: Goujon et al. 2007, my own manipulation of their data.

What of the wider European ethnic panorama? British demographer David Coleman has attempted to summarise projections from national statistics agencies which examine the size of the population of ‘foreign’ ethnic origin (whether European or non-European) for seven major countries in northwestern Europe.³ This is an exceptionally tricky task since most European countries do not collect data on ethnicity and religion, only place of birth and parents’ place of birth. In addition, Coleman has taken care to provide cautious estimates due to the contentiousness of the subject matter. (Correspondence with David Coleman, September 2007) With these caveats in mind, Coleman finds that the proportion of non-European origin in the period 2000-2004 is largest in Britain and Holland (between 8 and 9 percent) and lowest in Norway (3.4 percent) and Austria (4 percent). In France, the non-European proportion is arguably the highest in Europe, at around 10 percent. (Coleman 2006) Muslims make up a majority of the non-European population of Europe, and will likely continue to do so since established networks are the most consistent driver of immigrant settlement patterns. (Pedersen, Pytlikova, and Smith 2006: 66)

Projecting ahead, Coleman reports that national agencies find the proportion of non-European origin in 2050 to range from a low of 5.1 percent in Austria (exposing the flaws in Austrian official projections!) to a high of 24.5 percent in Britain (the most reliable projections), with many west European countries in the 10-15 percent range. (Coleman 2006: 414) There are several reasons to treat the non-UK projections as highly conservative. Many of the projections cited by Coleman outside the UK assume that the third generation is no longer of foreign origin and has been absorbed by the ethnic majority, which greatly skews subsequent projections. These projections also assume no increase in immigration as a result of an aging population. In addition, recall that the study by Goujon et al. (2007) found that Muslims alone (i.e. excluding non-Europeans of other faiths such as Hindus) would comprise not less

than 14 percent of Austria's population in 2050, and may well reach 25 percent. Compare this figure with the 5 percent non-European figure cited by Coleman for Austria in 2050. The Goujon et al. study – unlike Coleman's summary – is an independent projection. It uses the most advanced demographic methodology and is based on official census and migration data. With this in mind, we will need to revise the official forecasts upward to place non-European ethnic populations in western Europe in 2050 closer to the 20-25 than the 10-15 percent range. Austria and Switzerland would therefore be relatively representative of western Europe, with some 10-15 percent of the population of western Europe being of Muslim provenance in 2050. Low intermarriage and secularization would help to ensure the integrity of Islam in Europe.

The sharp end of demographically-driven social change is first experienced in urban areas, which tend to receive most immigrants, especially in the primary schools and maternity wards of hospitals because new populations are often younger and more fertile than the aging native population. In Amsterdam in 2004, 49 percent of the city's 739,000 people were of non-Dutch ethnic origin (mainly of Antillean, Turkish and Moroccan descent), a majority among the under-25 population. This in a country with less than 9 percent of non-European origin. (Alexander 2007: 166) Often the urban effect is multiplied by the younger age structure of minority populations. For instance, 1 in 5 UK births is to a foreign-born mother, and in greater London, the proportion is 1 in 2. (Office of National Statistics 2006) Italy's foreign-born population stood at little over 5 percent in 2004, yet in Rome, a study by La Sapienza University in that year found that 15 percent of mothers giving birth were of wholly or partly foreign origin. In Turin the number was 25 percent.⁴ In Moscow, the Russian character of the city belies rapid ethnic change as the country's plunging working-age population combines with an oil-fueled demand for workers to change the makeup of the young population. In 2008, the city's statistical office released figures showing that 30 percent of newborns in the city were to mothers born outside Russia. This almost certainly underestimates the size of the young population since most illegal immigrants do not register their births. Most are from impoverished Muslim ex-Soviet republics in Central Asia. Caucasian Muslims are also prominent. (Goble 2008) Overall, despite the 10 million hits for the Youtube video 'Muslim Demographics', we will not experience 'Eurabia' in the next 50 years, except in the delivery rooms and public schools of the main immigration-gateway inner cities. This will be significant, but not culturally transformational. The big shift, if it takes place, will only occur during 2050-2100, a period by which much could change.

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¹ Based on unpublished work by IIASA colleagues for Pew Charitable Trust.

² The question reads 'are you a religious person?' 1-religious, 2-Not religious, 3-Athist.'

³ Cases analysed are Austria, England and Wales, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden.

⁴ See http://www.wantedinrome.com/news/news.php?id_n=2396. Also (Caldwell 2009): 18.