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Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics
**ISLAMIC EXTREMISM: COMMON CONCERN FOR MUSLIM
AND WESTERN PUBLICS**

17-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey

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Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics

ISLAMIC EXTREMISM: COMMON CONCERN FOR MUSLIM AND WESTERN PUBLICS

Concerns over Islamic extremism, extensive in the West even before this month’s terrorist attacks in London, are shared to a considerable degree by the publics in several predominantly Muslim nations surveyed. Nearly three-quarters of Moroccans and roughly half of those in Pakistan, Turkey and Indonesia see Islamic extremism as a threat to their countries. At the same time, most Muslim publics are expressing less support for terrorism than in the past. Confidence in Osama bin Laden has declined markedly in some countries and fewer believe suicide bombings that target civilians are justified in the defense of Islam.

	Yes*	No	DK
	%	%	%
Morocco	73	18	9=100
Pakistan	52	27	21=100
Turkey	47	34	19=100
Indonesia	45	50	5=100
Lebanon	26	66	8=100
Christians	53	42	5=100
Muslims	4	85	11=100
Jordan	10	87	3=100

* 'Yes' is very or fairly great threat and 'No' is not too great or no threat at all.

Nonetheless, the polling also finds that while Muslim and non-Muslim publics share some common concerns, they have very different attitudes regarding the impact of Islam on their countries. Muslim publics worry about Islamic extremism, but the balance of opinion in predominantly Muslim countries is that Islam is playing a greater role in politics – and most welcome that development. Turkey is a clear exception; the public there is divided about whether a greater role for Islam in the political life of that country is desirable.

In non-Muslim countries, fears of Islamic extremism are closely associated with worries about Muslim minorities. Western publics believe that Muslims in their countries want to remain distinct from society, rather than adopt their nation’s customs and way of life. Moreover, there is a widespread perception in countries with significant Muslim minorities, including the U.S., that resident Muslims have a strong and growing sense of Islamic identity. For the most part, this development is viewed negatively, particularly in Western Europe. In France, Germany and the Netherlands, those who see a growing sense of Islamic identity among resident Muslims overwhelmingly say this is a bad thing.

	Want to remain distinct	Increasing sense of Islamic identity
	%	%
Germany	88	66
Russia	72	55
Spain	68	47
Netherlands	65	60
India	61	64
Great Britain	61	63
Canada	60	51
France	59	70
United States	49	50
Poland	42	20

The latest survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, conducted among more than 17,000 people in 17 countries this spring, finds that while many Muslims believe that radical Islam poses a threat, there are differing opinions as to its causes. Sizable minorities in most

predominantly Muslim countries point to poverty, joblessness and a lack of education, but pluralities in Jordan and Lebanon cite U.S. policies as the most important cause of Islamic extremism.

The polling also finds that in most majority-Muslim countries surveyed, support for suicide bombings and other acts of violence in defense of Islam has declined significantly. In Turkey, Morocco and Indonesia, 15% or fewer now say such actions are justifiable. In Pakistan, only one-in-four now take that view (25%), a sharp drop from 41% in March 2004. In Lebanon, 39% now regard acts of terrorism as often or sometimes justified, again a sharp drop from the 73% who shared that view in 2002. A notable exception to this trend is Jordan, where a majority (57%) now says suicide bombings and other violent actions are justifiable in defense of Islam.

Support for Suicide Bombing Declines				
<i>Violence against civilian targets justified</i>				
	Often/ Sometimes	Rarely	Never	DK
	%	%	%	%
Jordan	57	31	11	1=100
Summer 2002	43	22	26	8=99
Lebanon	39	19	33	10=101
Summer 2002	73	9	12	6=100
Pakistan	25	19	46	10=100
March 2004	41	8	35	17=101
Summer 2002	33	5	38	23=99
Indonesia	15	18	66	1=100
Summer 2002	27	16	54	3=100
Turkey	14	6	66	13=99
March 2004	15	9	67	9=100
Summer 2002	13	7	64	14=98
Morocco	13	5	79	3=100
March 2004	40	15	38	8=101

When it comes to suicide bombings in Iraq, however, Muslims in the surveyed countries are divided. Nearly half of Muslims in Lebanon and Jordan, and 56% in Morocco, say suicide bombings against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. However, substantial majorities in Turkey, Pakistan and Indonesia take the opposite view.

As in past Global Attitudes surveys, publics in predominantly Muslim countries believe that democracy can work in their countries. Large and growing majorities in Morocco (83%), Lebanon (83%), Jordan (80%) and Indonesia (77%) – as well as pluralities in Turkey (48%) and Pakistan (43%) – say democracy can work well and is not just for the West.

Beliefs About Governance		
	Democracy can work here	Islam plays large role in political life
	%	%
Turkey	48	62
Pakistan	43	62
Lebanon	83	54
Jordan	80	30
Morocco	83	75
Indonesia	77	85

Yet there is some ambivalence about the role of Islam in government. Majorities or pluralities in each of the predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, except for Jordan, say Islam is playing a greater role in politics than a few years ago. But those who see Islam playing a large role in political life are also somewhat more likely to say that Islamic extremism poses a threat to their countries.

Overall, the sense that Islamic extremism poses a major national threat is strongest in Morocco, the site of a devastating terrorist attack two years ago, where nearly three-quarters of the public (73%) hold that view. In Pakistan, 52% believe Islamic extremism presents a very or fairly great threat to the country, as do 47% in Turkey. In Lebanon, opinions are divided, with Christians much more likely to see Islamic extremism as a threat than Muslims. And just 10% of Jordanians view Islamic extremism as at least a fairly great threat.

Outside the Muslim world, the Pew survey finds that in countries such as India, Russia, Germany and the Netherlands, concerns about Islamic extremism – both within their own borders and around the world – are running high. Worries over Islamic extremism are nearly as high in France and Spain. Concerns about terrorism at home and around the world run parallel in only three countries, Russia, India and Spain. Before the London terrorist attacks, Americans and Britons expressed more concern about extremism around the world than they did at home.

	Concerned About Islamic Extremism			
	<i>In your country?</i>		<i>In the world?</i>	
	<u>Very</u> %	<u>Some- what</u> %	<u>Very</u> %	<u>Some- what</u> %
Russia	52	32	51	33
India	48	36	46	36
Spain	43	34	45	37
Germany	35	43	48	39
Great Britain	34	36	43	37
Netherlands	32	44	46	44
France	32	41	46	43
United States	31	39	42	37
Canada	22	34	41	38
Poland	7	30	23	39

There also is evidence that these concerns are associated with opposition to Turkey’s entry into the European Union. Overall, nearly two-thirds of French (66%) and Germans (65%) oppose Turkey’s EU bid, as do a majority of the Dutch (53%). Support for Turkey’s admittance to the EU is most extensive in Spain (68%) and Great Britain (57%).

An analysis of the polling finds that opposition to Turkey’s admission is also tied to growing concerns about national identity. Negative views about immigration – not only from the Middle East and Africa but from Eastern Europe as well – are even more strongly related to opposition to Turkey’s admission to the EU than are concerns over Islamic extremism.

Nonetheless, favorable views of Muslims outpace negative views in most countries of North America and Europe. Hostility toward Muslims is much lower in Great Britain, the United States and Canada than in other Western countries surveyed. And while worries about Islamic extremism are substantial in these three English speaking countries, the survey found somewhat less concern about rising Islamic identity among their resident Muslim populations.

Islam in Politics

A complex set of attitudes about the place of Islam in politics emerges from the findings. Most people surveyed in predominantly Muslim countries identify themselves first as Muslims, rather than as citizens of their country. Moreover, except in Jordan, there is considerable acknowledgement that Islam is playing a significant role in the political life of these countries.

Worries about extremism are often greater among those who believe Islam has a significant voice in the political life of their country. This is particularly the case in Turkey and Morocco. The polling finds that those in Turkey who self-identify primarily with their nationality worry more about Islamic extremism than do those who think of themselves first as Muslim.

However, Muslim publics who see Islam's influence in politics increasing say that this trend is good for their country, while those who see Islam's influence slipping overwhelmingly say it is bad. Turkey, whose EU candidacy is weakened by European worries about Islamic extremism, has the least clear cut opinions on this issue. An increasing role for Islam in politics in Turkey, a country that has been officially secular since 1923, is seen as a bad thing. Those in Turkey who see Islam's influence diminishing are divided over whether this is good (44%) or bad (47%).

Views of Religious Groups

Majorities in Great Britain, France, Canada, the U.S. and Russia, as well as pluralities in Spain and Poland, say they have a somewhat or very favorable view of Muslims. In the West, only among the Dutch and Germans does a majority or plurality hold unfavorable views of Muslims (51% and 47%, respectively).

For their part, people in predominantly Muslim countries have mixed views of Christians and strongly negative views of Jews. In Lebanon, which has a large Christian minority, 91% of the public thinks favorably of Christians. Smaller majorities in Jordan and Indonesia also have positive views of Christians.

However, in Turkey (63%), Morocco (61%) and Pakistan (58%), solid majorities express negative opinions of Christians.

	<i>-Christians-</i>		<i>-- Jews --</i>		<i>--Muslims--</i>	
	<i>Fav</i>	<i>Unfav</i>	<i>Fav</i>	<i>Unfav</i>	<i>Fav</i>	<i>Unfav</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
United States	87	6	77	7	57	22
Canada	83	9	78	11	60	26
Great Britain	85	6	78	6	72	14
France	84	15	82	16	64	34
Germany	83	13	67	21	40	47
Spain	80	10	58	20	46	37
Netherlands	83	15	85	11	45	51
Russia	92	3	63	26	55	36
Poland	86	5	54	27	46	30
Turkey	21	63	18	60	83	11
Pakistan	22	58	5	74	94	2
Indonesia	58	38	13	76	99	1
Lebanon	91	7	0	99	92	7
Jordan	58	41	0	100	99	1
Morocco	33	61	8	88	97	3
China	26	47	28	49	20	50
India	61	19	28	17	46	43

Anti-Jewish sentiment is endemic in the Muslim world. In Lebanon, all Muslims and 99% of Christians say they have a *very* unfavorable view of Jews. Similarly, 99% of Jordanians have a *very* unfavorable view of Jews. Large majorities of Moroccans, Indonesians, Pakistanis and six-in-ten Turks also view Jews unfavorably.

In the Asian countries surveyed, views of religious groups are generally more moderate. India, with its substantial Muslim minority, is closely divided with respect to views about Muslims; 46% hold a favorable view while 43% view them unfavorably. Opinions of Christians are considerably higher: 61% favorable compared with 19% unfavorable. Most Indians (56%) offer no opinion on Jews; those that do split 28% favorable to 17% unfavorable.

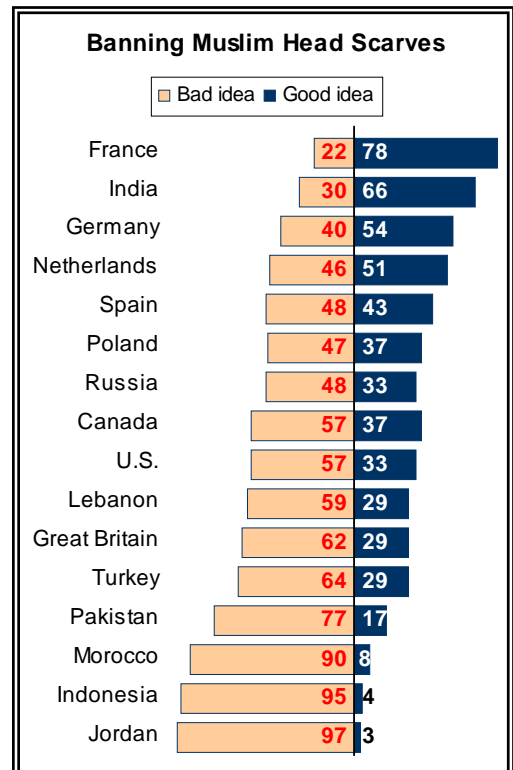
In China, half view Muslims unfavorably while only 20% hold a favorable opinion. Views about Christians are scarcely better: 47% unfavorable compared with 26% favorable. Chinese views of Jews are essentially the same as their attitudes toward Christians: 49% negative vs. 28% positive.

In most of Europe as well as North America, majorities or pluralities judge some religions as more prone to violence than others, and those that do mostly have Islam in mind. Similarly, in India, among the 39% who see some religions as more violent than others, nearly three-in-four (73%) point to Islam, while 17% designate Hinduism. In predominantly Muslim countries, many agree that some religions are more prone to violence than others, but those who think this mostly have Judaism in mind. In Turkey, a plurality sees Christianity as the most violent.

Ban Muslim Head Scarves?

On another controversial issue, the prohibition on wearing head scarves by Muslim women in public places including schools, attitudes are uniformly negative in the Muslim world but differ sharply among non-Muslim countries.

Majorities in the U.S., Canada and Great Britain, as well as pluralities in Spain, Russia and Poland, view such prohibitions as a bad idea. However, in France, where a ban on wearing head scarves and other “conspicuous” religious symbols in secular schools went into effect last year, a large majority (78%) favors such prohibitions. They are joined in this



view by smaller majorities in Germany (54%), the Netherlands (51%) and by nearly two-thirds of the Indian public (66%).

In Turkey, where a longstanding ban on head scarves in schools and public buildings has come under increasing attack from Muslim activists, 64% of the public calls such a ban a bad idea compared with 29% who view it as a good idea. Lebanon weighs in against head scarf bans by 59% opposed to 29% in favor, while even larger majorities in Jordan (97%), Indonesia (95%), Morocco (90%) and Pakistan (77%) call them a bad idea.

Views of bin Laden

While support for suicide bombings and other terrorist acts has fallen in most Muslim-majority nations surveyed, so too has confidence in Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. In Lebanon, just 2% report some or a lot of confidence in bin Laden, and in Turkey only 7% do so.

In Morocco, just 26% of the public now say they have a lot or some confidence in bin Laden, down sharply from 49% in May 2003. In Indonesia, the public is now about evenly split, with 35% saying they place at least some confidence in bin Laden and 37% saying they have little or none; that represents a major shift since 2003, when 58% expressed confidence in bin Laden.

Confidence in Osama bin Laden*				
	A lot/ <u>Some</u> %	Not too <u>much</u> %	<u>None</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Jordan	60	20	18	2=100
<i>May 2003</i>	55	26	18	1=100
Pakistan	51	11	12	26=100
<i>May 2003</i>	45	7	20	28=100
Indonesia	35	27	10	27=99
<i>May 2003</i>	58	26	10	7=100
Morocco	26	8	40	26=100
<i>May 2003</i>	49	7	29	15=100
Turkey	7	6	73	14=100
<i>May 2003</i>	15	7	67	11=100
Lebanon	2	9	78	10=99
<i>May 2003</i>	14	18	64	4=100

*Confidence in Osama bin Laden to do the right thing regarding world affairs.

In Pakistan, however, a narrow majority (51%) places some measure of confidence in bin Laden, a slight increase from 45% in 2003. And in Jordan, support for the Al Qaeda leader has risen over the last two years from 55% to a current 60%, including 25% who say they have a lot of confidence in him. Unsurprisingly, support for bin Laden in non-Muslim countries is measured in the small single digits.

Declining support for terror in a number of the Muslim countries surveyed tracks with previously reported dramatic increases in favorable views of the United States in Indonesia and Morocco. Favorable opinions of the U.S. surged most among younger people in Morocco, but were equally evident among both the young and old in Indonesia. The polling also found that in

most Muslim countries women were less likely to express an opinion of the U.S. than were men, but when they did, they held a somewhat more positive view.

Roadmap to the Report

The first section of the report analyzes how people in Western countries view people of the Muslim faith and how people in predominantly Muslim countries view people of the Christian and Jewish faiths. It also looks at attitudes toward the banning of Muslim head scarves in some countries and differing views of the U.S. among demographic groups in Muslim countries. Section II focuses on concerns in non-Muslim countries about growing Islamic identity and extremism as well as opinions about Turkey's bid to join the European Union. Section III deals with Muslims' perceptions of themselves and the role of Islam in the political life of their home country, and concerns about Islamic extremism within their own borders. A final section explores views in predominantly Muslim countries of Islam's role in the larger world and support for acts of terrorism in support of Islam both generally and specifically against the U.S. and its allies in Iraq. At the end of each section, excerpts from interviews conducted by the International Herald Tribune are included to illustrate some of the themes covered by the survey.

A description of the Pew Global Attitudes Project and a list of the countries surveyed immediately follows. A summary of the methodology can be found at the end of the report, along with complete results for all countries surveyed.

About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys encompassing a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Group LLC, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts. The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation provided a supplemental grant for the 2002 survey.

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* was originally conceived with two primary objectives: to gauge attitudes in every region toward globalization, trade and an increasingly connected world; and to measure changes in attitudes toward democracy and other key issues among some of the European populations surveyed in the 13-nation 1991 benchmark survey, the Pulse of Europe (also directed by Dr. Albright and Mr. Kohut). After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the scope of the project was broadened to measure attitudes about terrorism, the intersection between the Islamic faith and public policy in countries with significant Muslim populations, and to probe attitudes toward the United States more deeply in all countries. Recent *Global Attitudes* surveys have gauged worldwide opinion about international news developments, including the war in Iraq. Over time, the project has surveyed more than 90,000 people in 50 countries.

The inaugural effort of this project was a worldwide survey in 24 countries of 275 opinion leaders (influential people in politics, media, business, culture and government). The survey, entitled "America Admired, Yet its New Vulnerability Seen as Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders," was released December 19, 2001. The first multinational public opinion survey was conducted in the summer of 2002 in 44 nations. The first major report, "What the World Thinks in 2002," was released December 4, 2002. It focused on how people view their own lives, their countries and the world, as well as attitudes toward the United States. It was followed by a smaller release on the importance of religion worldwide (December 19, 2002) and a new nine-country survey on the eve of the Iraq war ("America's Image Further Erodes, Europeans Want Weaker Ties," March 18, 2003). The second major release of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, "Views of a Changing World, June 2003" focused on a changing world, specifically with respect to globalization, democratization, modernization and, in countries with significant Muslim populations, the role of Islam in public policy. It included a survey of 21 populations conducted in May 2003, as major hostilities ended in Iraq. In March 2004, at the one-year anniversary of the start of the war in Iraq, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* released a 9-nation survey entitled "Mistrust of America in Europe ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists." "*Islamic Extremism: Common Concern for Muslim and Western Publics; Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics*" is the tenth Global Attitudes survey report. This and the previous report

<u>Survey</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Summer 2002	44 Nations	38,263
November 2002	6 Nations	6,056
March 2003	9 Nations	5,520
May 2003	21 Publics*	15,948
March 2004	9 Nations	7,765
May 2005	17 Nations	17,766

* Includes Palestinian Authority

on the importance of religion worldwide (December 19, 2002) and a new nine-country survey on the eve of the Iraq war ("America's Image Further Erodes, Europeans Want Weaker Ties," March 18, 2003). The second major release of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, "Views of a Changing World, June 2003" focused on a changing world, specifically with respect to globalization, democratization, modernization and, in countries with significant Muslim populations, the role of Islam in public policy. It included a survey of 21 populations conducted in May 2003, as major hostilities ended in Iraq. In March 2004, at the one-year anniversary of the start of the war in Iraq, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* released a 9-nation survey entitled "Mistrust of America in Europe ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists." "*Islamic Extremism: Common Concern for Muslim and Western Publics; Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics*" is the tenth Global Attitudes survey report. This and the previous report

(“*U.S. Image Up Slightly, But Still Negative; American Character Gets Mixed Reviews*,” released June 23, 2005) are based on field work conducted in the spring of 2005.

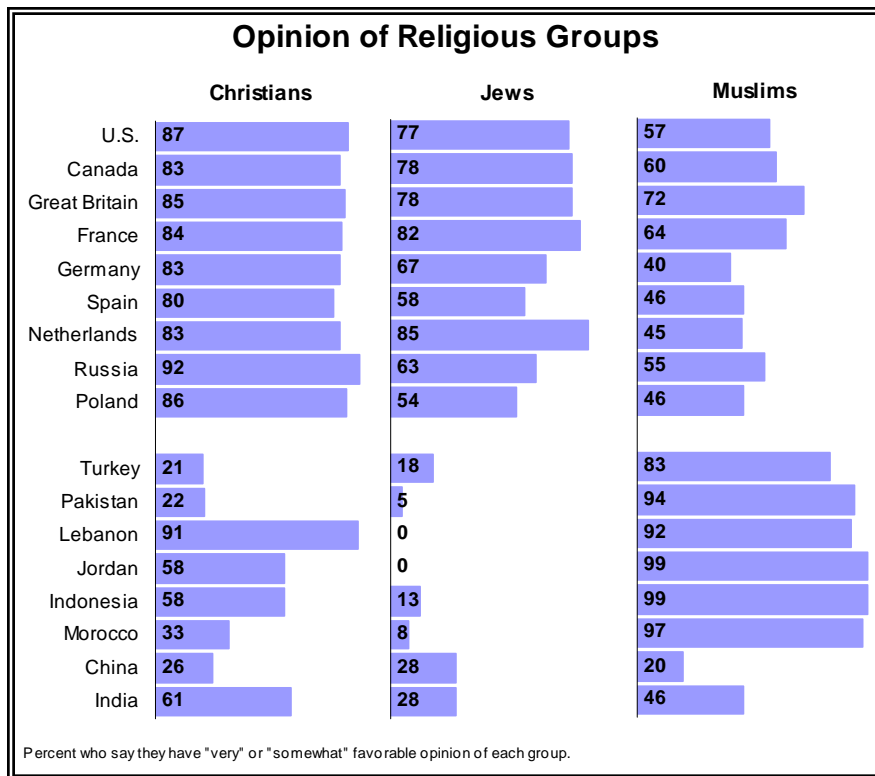
Other *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team members include Bruce Stokes, an international economics columnist at the National Journal; Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates International; Wendy Sherman, principal at The Albright Group LLC, and Jodie T. Allen, Nicole Speulda, Paul Taylor, Carroll Doherty, Carolyn Funk, Michael Dimock, Elizabeth Mueller Gross and others of the Pew Research Center. The *International Herald Tribune* is the international newspaper partner of the Global Attitudes Project. The IHT’s reporters conducted interviews with people in several countries covered by the survey; excerpts from those interviews are used in this report to illustrate some of the views expressed. Those interviewed were not respondents to the survey.

Secretary Albright and Senator Danforth co-chair the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* international advisory board, consisting of policy experts and business leaders. In addition, the Pew Global Attitudes Project team consulted with survey and policy experts, academic regional and economic experts, activists and policy-makers. Their expertise provided tremendous guidance in shaping the surveys.

Following each release, the data will be examined in greater detail for a series of in-depth discussions and publications of several of the varied topics covered in these surveys. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a unique, comprehensive, internationally comparable series of surveys that will be available to journalists, academics, policymakers and the public.

I. How Muslims and Westerners See Each Other

While there are concerns in Western countries about Islamic identity and extremism, these do not necessarily translate into unfavorable views of people of the Muslim faith. In Europe and North America, majorities in Great Britain, France, Canada, the U.S., and Russia, as well as pluralities in Spain and Poland, say they have somewhat or very favorable views of Muslims. Only in the Netherlands and Germany does opinion tilt toward an unfavorable view (51%-45% unfavorable in the Netherlands; 47%-40% unfavorable in Germany). While fewer hold positive opinions of Muslims relative to either Jews or Christians in every Western country surveyed, the differences are relatively modest compared to the gap between views of these groups among publics of most Muslim countries surveyed.



Predominantly Muslim countries have mixed views of Christians and strongly negative views of people of the Jewish faith. Majorities in Jordan (58%) and Indonesia (58%) have positive views of Christians. In Lebanon, with its large Christian minority, more than nine-in-ten (91%) think favorably of Christians; these overwhelming positive views hold among both Muslim (86% favorable) and Christian (100% favorable) Lebanese. However, in both Turkey and Pakistan, the majority view of Christians is unfavorable, by margins of 63% unfavorable to 21% favorable in Turkey and 58% unfavorable to 22% favorable in Pakistan.

Throughout the Muslim world, opinions of Jews are highly unfavorable. Dislike of Jews is universal in Jordan and Lebanon, with 99% of the publics in both countries saying they have a *very* unfavorable view of Jews (the remaining 1% in Jordan takes a “somewhat unfavorable” view, while in Lebanon 1% offer no response). Similarly, 76% of Indonesians, 74% of Pakistanis, and 60% of Turks have an unfavorable opinion of Jews.

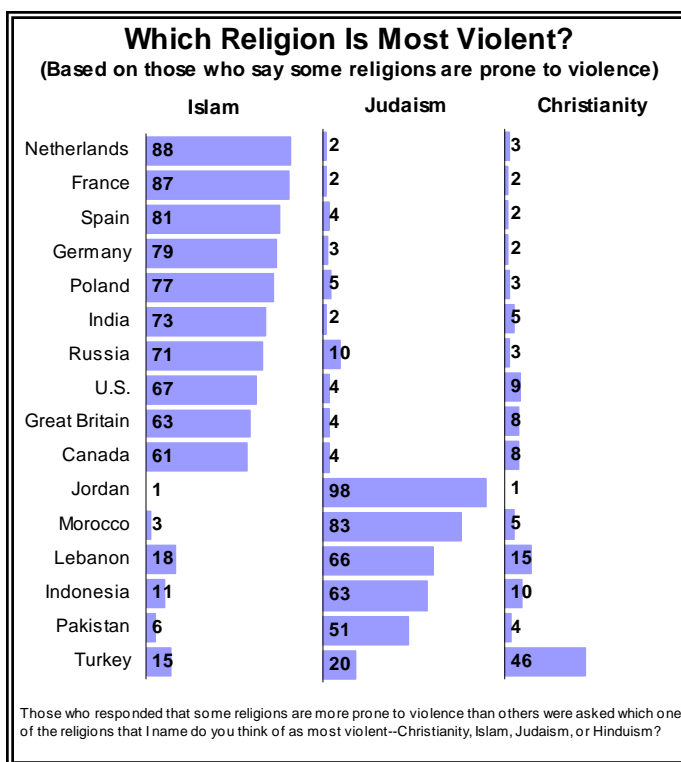
In India, with its Hindu majority and substantial Muslim population, the public tends to hold a favorable opinion of Christians, but is closely divided with respect to opinions of Muslims. About six-in-ten Indians (61%) hold a favorable view of Christians – a figure that holds among both Hindus and Muslims. Among the Hindu majority in India, views of Muslims are closely divided with 42% viewing them favorably and 44% unfavorably; for all Indians, the divide tilts favorable by 46% to 43%.

In China, however, majorities or pluralities hold negative views of Muslims, Christians and Jews. A 50% majority views Muslims unfavorably while only 20% have a favorable opinion. Similarly, 47% view Christians unfavorably while just 26% express a positive opinion. Chinese respondents express comparable opinions of Jews (49% favorable/28% unfavorable).

Religions and Violence

Majorities or pluralities in the U.S., Canada, and every European country, other than France, judge that some religions are more prone to violence than others. And when those taking this view are asked which religion they think of as more violent, Islam is designated by large majorities in each of these countries.

For the most part, people in predominantly Muslim countries are less likely to express the view that some religions are more prone to violence. Only in Jordan does a large majority (75%) say that some religions are more violence prone than others, with 98% of those holding this view pointing to Judaism as most violent. Similarly in Morocco, a 40% plurality views some religions as more violent than others, with most (83%) pointing to Judaism as most violent. In Pakistan, a 40%



plurality views some religions as more violent, but while half (51%) choose Judaism as most violent, 31% designate Hinduism.

Fewer than 20% of Lebanese and Indonesians deem some religions more prone to violence than others; among these respondents more than six-in-ten in both countries (66% and 63%) select Judaism as most violent, with the rest split about evenly between Christianity and Islam. In Turkey, however, about a quarter (26%) of the population subscribes to the view that some religions tend to violence more than others; a plurality (46%) points to Christianity as the most violent.

In India, a majority (52%) thinks all religions are about the same in terms of violence; among the 39% who see some as more violent than others, nearly three-in-four (73%) point to Islam, while 17% designate Hinduism.

Banning Head Scarves

The decision by some countries to ban the wearing of head scarves by Muslim women in public places – including schools – draws a uniformly negative reaction in the Muslim world. In non-Muslim countries, by contrast, there is a substantial division of opinion over this issue.

Majorities in the U.S., Canada and Great Britain, as well as pluralities in Spain, Russia and Poland, view such bans as a bad idea. However, in France, a large majority (78%) favors such prohibitions. They are joined in this view by smaller majorities in Germany (54%), the Netherlands (51%) and by two-thirds of the Indian public (66%).

<i>Banning Muslim head scarves is a good idea...</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<i>Extremism Concern in Our Country</i>		<u>Diff.</u>
		<u>Yes*</u> %	<u>No</u> %	
Germany	54	59	36	+23
Canada	37	45	27	+18
Netherlands	51	55	39	+16
Great Britain	29	33	20	+13
United States	33	36	24	+12
France	78	81	70	+11
Spain	43	45	35	+10
Poland	37	43	34	+9
Russia	33	34	30	+4
India	66	67	65	+2

* 'Yes' is very or somewhat concerned and 'No' is not too or not concerned at all.

In Turkey, 64% of the public calls such a ban a bad idea, as do large majorities in Jordan (97%), Indonesia (95%), Morocco (90%) and Pakistan (77%). In Lebanon, nearly all Lebanese Muslims (99%) disapprove of a ban on head scarves, but 71% of Lebanese Christians approve.

In most non-Muslim countries, opinions on policies that bar Muslim women from publicly wearing head scarves are related to perceptions of Islamic separatism and concerns about Islamic extremism. Across Western Europe and North America, those supportive of the ban register greater concern about Islamic extremism in their countries. Opinion about the head

scarf issue in India is unrelated to extremism concerns, however. People in non-Muslim countries who think a ban is a good idea also are more likely to perceive Muslims in their country as wanting to be distinct from the larger society; this is especially the case in the Netherlands.

Demographic Differences in U.S. Image

A previous Pew Global Attitudes report, released June 23, showed some improvement in the U.S. image in the Muslim world (“U.S. Image Up Slightly, But Still Negative: American Character Gets Mixed Reviews”). Yet majorities in five of six predominantly Muslim countries surveyed continue to express unfavorable opinions of the United States. Morocco is the lone exception; in that country, favorable views of the U.S. outnumber unfavorable opinions by 49%-44%.

The survey also finds modest, but noteworthy, demographic differences in opinions of the U.S. in several countries. In general, younger people and women express more positive views than do older people and men.

The United States is viewed more favorably by people under age 35 than by older people in Morocco, Lebanon, Pakistan and Turkey. As America’s image has improved in Morocco over the past year, more young people are giving the U.S. favorable marks (53%) than Moroccans ages 35 and older (45%). A similar generational gap is seen in Lebanon, where the percentage rating the U.S. favorably has increased from 27% to 42% since 2003. (The pattern recurs in Jordan, but the differences by age are not statistically significant.) A sizable generational difference is also seen in both Pakistan and Turkey, where overall views of America remain predominantly negative, with younger people 10-to-12 points more likely to give a favorable rating than their seniors.

The polling shows a modest gender gap in the U.S. image in most Muslim countries; women are less likely to offer an opinion of the U.S. than are men, but when they did, they held a somewhat more positive opinion. Women are more likely to have favorable views of the U.S. relative to men in Pakistan (28% of women compared with 17% of men) and in Lebanon (46% to 39%). The pattern also occurs in Turkey, Morocco, and Indonesia, but the differences are not statistically significant. No gender differences are observed in Jordan where opinions of the U.S. are highly negative (only about a fifth of either gender has a somewhat or very favorable view).

	Overall	----by Age----		
	Favorable Percent	18-34	35+	Diff.
	%	%	%	
Morocco	49	53	45	+8
Lebanon	42	46	39	+7
Indonesia	38	36	40	-4
Pakistan	23	28	18	+10
Turkey	23	29	17	+12
Jordan	21	22	18	+4

	Women	Men	Diff.
	%	%	
Morocco	52	47	+5
Lebanon	46	39	+7
Indonesia	40	37	+3
Pakistan	28	17	+11
Turkey	25	21	+4
Jordan	20	21	-1

Voices

Reporting by the *International Herald Tribune**

"I see more headscarves. I feel this is not a good thing. A part of the Muslim population keeps more apart than before. I thought it would only be a matter of time before the Turks would integrate. You hear more, too, about honor killings. They don't have to be like us. It starts to be difficult when everyone has their own laws. There is a sense of drifting apart as if splitting the society."

--- A 42-year-old piano teacher in Berlin

"Especially in this region and especially in this country, where: a) the majority of the population is Muslim and b) you have a resistance group (Hizbullah) to whom the people feel loyalty because of its ability to end Israeli occupation... the Christian/Muslim factor is natural. The Christians did not live the Israeli occupation in the same way the Muslims in south Lebanon did. So Muslims in this country have a certain loyalty to Hizbullah and its role as a resistance group."

--- A 27-year-old primary school teacher in Lebanon

"Muslims want to be recognized as "Muslims," not as "Arabs" or immigrants. In this sense, the way Islam reasserts itself has more to do with the Christian "born-again" than with a pristine Arabic culture. The sense of threat among French public opinion (which by the way is also directed towards cults like Scientology) comes from the fact that the French political culture is based on the rejection of religion from the public sphere, whatever the religion. Any religious assertiveness is seen as a threat."

--- A senior researcher at Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris

"How can our religion be a cause of danger? Islam teaches kindness and love for humanity. Islam is moderation, not extremists. Extremists are not real Muslims. They just give us a bad name."

--- A 48-year-old housewife from Rawalpindi, Pakistan

"The problem is expectations, not only in Germany but in other countries in Europe. There is the attitude that the more secular you become the more of a "good citizen" ... If society expects a Muslim not to be a Muslim, but a good citizen, we have a problem... The more secular a society becomes, say like Germany, you wonder how tolerant and understanding it is of religious identity. 9/11 changed a lot. Islam was seen as non-modern. If people go to a mosque, they are seen as non-modern. This is a danger."

--- A 39-year-old parliamentarian, born in Germany of Turkish parents

"The French ... have no problems with Dutch, German or British immigrants, but a different color and a different religion are still real barriers for most people. Such sentiment is bound to increase after the London attacks -- that's natural perhaps but I find it really sad."

--- Antique stall owner in a Paris flea market

*Interviews were conducted by Katrin Bennhold in France, Judy Dempsey in Germany, Salman Masood in Pakistan, Evelyn Rusli in Indonesia and Marlise Simons in the Netherlands, all of the *International Herald Tribune* and Maysam Zaaroura in Lebanon of *The Daily Star*.

II. How Non-Muslim Publics View Muslims

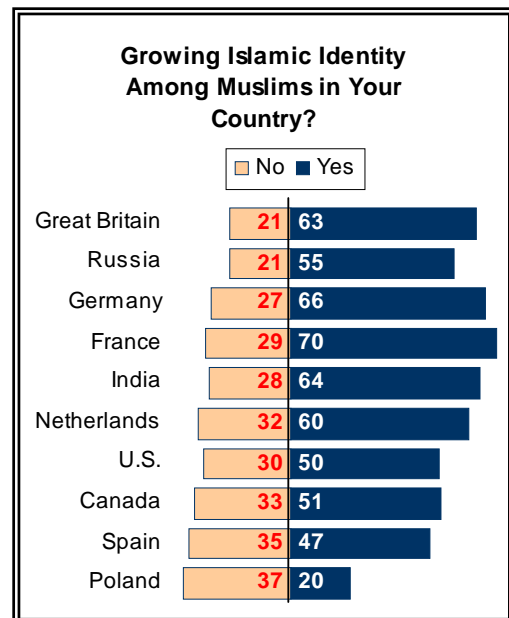
Public attitudes toward Muslims and concerns over Islamic extremism are remarkably consistent in Western Europe, the U.S., and other countries with sizeable Muslim minorities. Majorities in all Western European countries as well as Canada, India and Russia agree that Muslims coming to their countries want to be distinct from the larger country instead of adopting its customs and way of life.

In several of these countries, two-thirds or more take that view, with Germany leading the list (88% agree). In France, nearly six-in-ten (59%) see a desire for distinctness while 36% say that Muslims there want to adopt French customs. Americans are somewhat less likely to take this view; a 49% plurality thinks Muslims in the U.S. want to be distinct from the larger American society.

Large majorities in all of these countries, except Russia and Poland, feel that resident Muslims have at least a fairly strong sense of Islamic identity. About two-thirds in the United States (65%) and Canada (66%) view resident Muslims as having a very or fairly strong sense of Islamic identity. Even larger majorities take this view in Western Europe. The Dutch have the highest level of consensus on this point, with 86% seeing Muslims residing in the Netherlands as having at least a fairly strong sense of Islamic identity. Similarly, in India, with its substantial Muslim minority, 77% take this view.

Further, substantial majorities across Western Europe see resident Muslims' sense of identity as growing – and those who do see this as a negative development. Better than three-quarters of the publics in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain view the growing sense of identity among resident Muslims as a bad thing for their country. In Great Britain and Eastern Europe, smaller majorities agree. In North America, 50% in the U.S. and 51% in Canada perceive a growing sense of Islamic identity; on balance, both publics see this as a bad thing for their respective countries, though sizable minorities disagree.

The concerns people express over this growing sense of Islamic identity are more varied. Majorities in India, Russia and France, as well as pluralities in the U.S., Spain and Poland, cite the fear that it can lead to violence as their primary

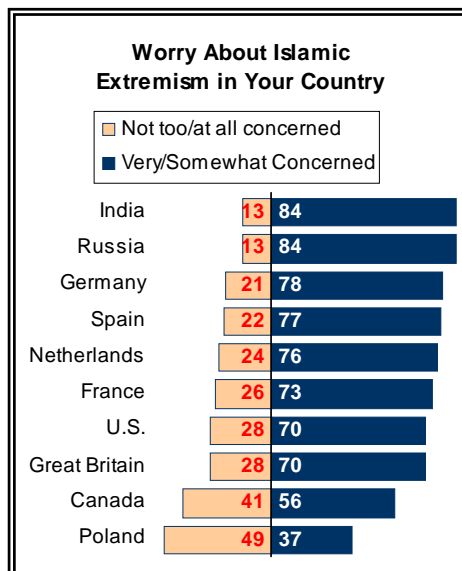


concern. In Great Britain, Canada, Germany and the Netherlands, the top worry was that greater Islamic identity would impede Muslim integration into the larger society (all surveys were conducted prior to the July terrorist attacks in London).

Concerns Over Islamic Extremism: Local and Global

The rise of Islamic extremism in their own countries is seen as worrisome by large majorities throughout Western Europe as well as the U.S., Canada, India and Russia. Most concerned are the publics in Russia and India, where 52% and 48%, respectively, say they are *very* concerned. In Canada, concern is somewhat less intense with 56% being at least somewhat concerned about extremism there, while in Poland just 37% are somewhat or very concerned about this.

Worry about the rise of Islamic extremism around the world is even more intense with substantial majorities in each of these non-Muslim countries expressing some measure of concern. Nine-in-ten in the Netherlands, and nearly as many elsewhere in Western Europe, are somewhat or very concerned about the global rise of Islamic extremism. A narrow majority in Russia (51%) and pluralities elsewhere in Europe are *very* concerned about this.



Opinion on Turkey Joining the EU

The concerns over Islamic extremism are reflected in European opinions about Turkey’s bid to join the European Union. However, attitudes toward immigration are even more strongly associated with views about Turkey’s admission to the EU.

The Turkish public strongly endorses membership (68%). An equally large majority in Spain (68%) also favors Turkey’s admission, as do 57% in Great Britain and 51% in Poland. Elsewhere in Europe, however, majorities oppose allowing Turkey to join the EU: 66% in France, including 30% who strongly oppose; 65% in Germany; and 53% in the Netherlands.

	Favor %	Oppose %	DK %
Turkey	68	27	5=100
Spain	68	21	11=100
Great Britain	57	29	14=100
Poland	51	22	27=100
Netherlands	44	53	2=99
France	33	66	1=100
Germany	32	65	3=100

Attitudes toward immigration are associated with these views. Those who consider immigration (from the Middle East and North Africa, or from Eastern Europe) to be a bad thing are more likely to oppose Turkey's membership into the European Union. This pattern is particularly strong in the Netherlands, France and Germany. Similarly, those who are more concerned about Islamic extremism in their homeland are more likely to oppose having Turkey join the E.U., especially in Germany, France, and the Netherlands, but less strongly elsewhere.

<i>Opposition to Turkish membership...</i>	<i>Mideast and North African Immigration</i>			<i>Eastern European Immigration</i>		
	<i>Good thing</i>	<i>Bad thing</i>	<i>Diff.</i>	<i>Good thing</i>	<i>Bad thing</i>	<i>Diff.</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>		<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
Netherlands	38	67	+29	40	67	+27
France	54	81	+27	55	79	+24
Germany	49	76	+27	52	74	+22
Great Britain	23	44	+21	23	46	+23
Spain	17	32	+15	20	26	+6
Poland	19	26	+7	NA	NA	

Voices

Reporting by the *International Herald Tribune**

"I'm not surprised at all that so many people are worried about rising extremism. We all saw what happened in London... What if Paris is next? Now when I take the metro I am actually a bit worried. I'm afraid, but I'm also annoyed because some of the Muslims in France are becoming very feisty. Like when they whistled and booed during the Marseillaise during a football match between France and Algeria last year. They're in our country because they don't want to be in their own, but they criticize France and more and more of the young ones are now parading their Muslim identity."

--- A 23-year-old newspaper vendor in Paris

"Who are the Muslims? In the economic sphere, they are integrated. I think a recognizable part of the Muslim people want to be distinct. The question is wrong because there are many different kinds of Muslims. My friend has married a Muslim from Syria. She can still wear a short skirt. And her mother-in-law does not wear a head scarf... As for the immigration issue, it depends who is coming. Many are not qualified. They think there is a better life here. They will be looked after. They have to be fed. The fear is not just that many Turks will come to Germany if Turkey joins the EU. It's something else as well. The liberals feel that their liberal values will be undermined."

--- A piano teacher in Berlin

"Certainly since Sept. 11 there is a growing emphasis among Muslims on faith, also among young people. There is a growing distance between them and the rest of Dutch society... The most orthodox Muslims tell their fellow believers: Either you are a good Muslim and keep your distance from the Dutch ways, or you integrate and corrupt your faith. There is a large group of Muslims that does not agree with this view... So people wonder if it is possible to be a Dutch Muslim. The most orthodox preachers and believers want a cohesive Muslim community which they can control."

--- A sociology professor in Amsterdam.

"Muslims in France are seen as people who want to impose their religion on others. It's true that their search for an identity seems to have become a lot more pronounced, especially in the younger generations. Sometimes it annoys me, too. When I go to Sri Lanka and visit a temple I have to put on a veil. Why don't they adapt to our culture here?"

--- A 34-year-old immigration researcher at a Paris institute

"You cannot separate the issue of Turkey from domestic politics. There is a very important trend emerging and we see this in the Netherlands. The liberal-thinking people... have a feeling that the Muslim identity combined with Turkish accession to the EU is putting into danger what the EU has achieved in the societies... that the sexual/gender issues, the honor killings, the head scarves, these could become the lifestyles if it continues like this."

--- A European Union Parliamentarian born in Germany of Turkish parents

*Interviews were conducted by Katrin Bennhold in France, Judy Dempsey in Germany, Salman Masood in Pakistan, Evelyn Rusli in Indonesia and Marlise Simons in the Netherlands, all of the *International Herald Tribune* and Maysam Zaaroura in Lebanon of *The Daily Star*.

III. How Muslims See Themselves and Islam's Role

The importance of Islam in the political life of many countries where it is the predominant religion is underscored by the large percentages in these countries saying that they think of themselves first as a Muslim, rather than as a citizen of their particular country.

Large majorities in Pakistan (79%), Morocco (70%) and Jordan (63%) say they self-identify first as Muslims, rather than as Pakistanis, Moroccans or Jordanians. Even in Turkey, with its more secular traditions, a 43% plurality among Muslims identify primarily with their religion rather than their nationality. Indonesians are closely split with 39% self-identifying as Muslims first, 35% as Indonesians and 26% saying both equally. In Lebanon, however, just 30% of Muslims (this question was not asked of Christians) say they view themselves primarily in terms of their faith, rather than as Lebanese.

Islam's Political Influence

Substantial majorities in all but one of the predominantly Muslim countries surveyed – including as many as 85% in Indonesia and 75% in Morocco – say that Islam plays a very large or fairly large role in the political life of their countries. The major exception is Jordan; just 30% of Jordanians now see Islam playing a large political role in that country, a sharp decline from the 50% who said so in the summer of 2002.*

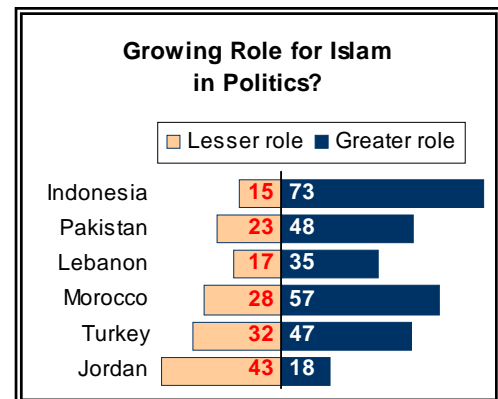
In Lebanon as well, those seeing substantial Islamic influence in political life have also declined in number – from 71% in 2002 – but remain in the majority (54%).* Only in Turkey has the proportion of those seeing a large Islamic political influence increased substantially, from 46% in 2002 to 62% currently.*

*Edited to reflect corrected figures as of 3-3-07.

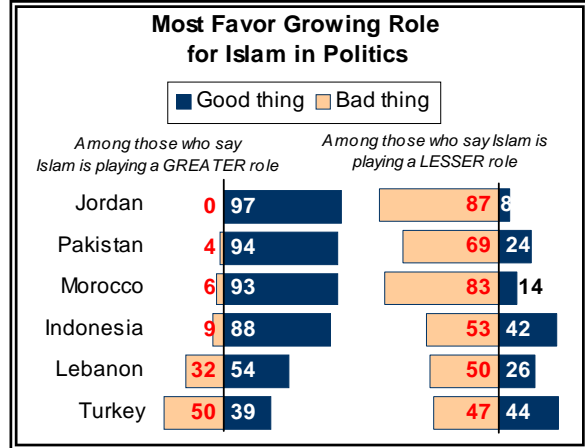


Islam plays a large role in politics*	2002 %	2005 %	Change
Turkey	46	62	+16
Lebanon	71	54	-17
Indonesia	86	85	-1
Pakistan	56	62	+6
Jordan	50	30	-20
Morocco	--	75	--

* Islam plays a very or fairly large role in political life of country.
2002 figures corrected 3-3-07.



Further, large majorities in most of these countries welcome the idea of Islam playing a greater role in political life. Here, the exceptions are Turkey, where half of those who see Islam playing a greater role say this as a bad thing; and Lebanon (32% bad thing). Lebanese Muslims and Christians divide on this issue; Muslims who believe Islam’s political role is increasing are unanimous in thinking this is a good thing, while Christians mostly view this as a negative development (71%).



At the same time, most of those who see Islam playing a lesser role in politics view this as bad for their countries. Turks, however, are narrowly split with 44% considering a reduced role good compared with 47% who call it bad.

Those who see Islam playing a greater role differ as to the reasons for this. In Jordan, a majority (58%) among this group attributes Islam’s larger role in politics to growing immorality in society, as do pluralities in Morocco and Turkey. Indonesians are divided, with a narrow plurality citing growing immorality. In Pakistan, a 37% plurality says that dissatisfaction with the current government is the most important reason for Islam’s larger role. In Lebanon, a 44% plurality (including 50% of Christian respondents) points to concerns about Western influence.

Because of...	Cited in...	Percentage
Growing immorality in our society	Jordan	58%
	Morocco	44%
	Turkey	35%
	Indonesia	35%
Concerns about Western influence in our country	Lebanon	44%
	Jordan	30%
	Indonesia	30%
Dissatisfaction with current government	Pakistan	37%
	Indonesia	31%
	Lebanon	30%

* Based on those who say Islam is playing a greater role in politics in their country these days.

However, even in some predominantly Muslim countries where support for a politically active Islam is strong, concerns about Islamic extremism are substantial. In Morocco, nearly three-quarters of the public view Islamic extremism as a very great (60%) or fairly great (13%) threat to that country. Those who see Islam playing a very large role in Morocco’s political life are also more likely to see a very great extremist threat – a pattern that is also seen in Pakistan, Indonesia and Turkey and to a lesser degree in Lebanon.

In Indonesia, where nearly half of the population sees Islamic extremism as a threat, household income is a factor in these opinions: 57% of the top income group considers the threat either very great or fairly great compared with 42% of those in the middle and lower-income ranges.

Slightly more than half of Pakistanis (52%) also express substantial concern about Islamic extremism. In Pakistan, gender and age are significant dividers: 59% of men, compared with 44% of women see a substantial extremist threat as do 57% of those under age 35 compared with 47% of those in older age groups.

In Turkey, where a 47% plurality sees Islamic extremism as a substantial threat in that country, there are sharp secular/religious differences not apparent in other countries surveyed. Those who self-identify as Turks rather than Muslims are far more likely to see Islamic extremism as a threat to that country. And Turks who say that religion is less important in their lives are far more likely to view Islamic extremism as a substantial threat (62%) than are those who say that religion is very important in their lives (40%).

In Lebanon, attitudes on this issue are highly polarized along religious lines. Overall, about a quarter of Lebanese (26%) see a substantial internal threat from Islamic extremism, but this includes 53% of Christians and only 4% of Muslims. In Jordan, a large majority (87%) see little or no threat from Islamic extremism.

Extremism Concerns Among Those Seeing Islam Playing Role in Political Life		
<i>Perceived extremism threat</i>	<i>Islam plays very large role in political life</i>	
	<i>Yes*</i> %	<i>No</i> %
Morocco		
Very great	67	52
Fairly great	9	20
Not too/no threat	16	21
Don't know	8	7
	100	100
Pakistan		
Very great	38	24
Fairly great	22	32
Not too/no threat	27	30
Don't know	13	14
	100	100
Turkey		
Very great	34	17
Fairly great	25	27
Not too/no threat	25	39
Don't know	15	17
	99	100
Indonesia		
Very great	26	10
Fairly great	23	35
Not too/no threat	47	50
Don't know	3	5
	99	100
Lebanon		
Very great	14	7
Fairly great	16	17
Not too/no threat	67	67
Don't know	3	9
	100	100
Jordan		
Very great	0	2
Fairly great	13	8
Not too/no threat	84	88
Don't know	3	2
	100	100

* 'Yes' is very large role for Islam in political life and 'No' is fairly large, fairly small or very small role.

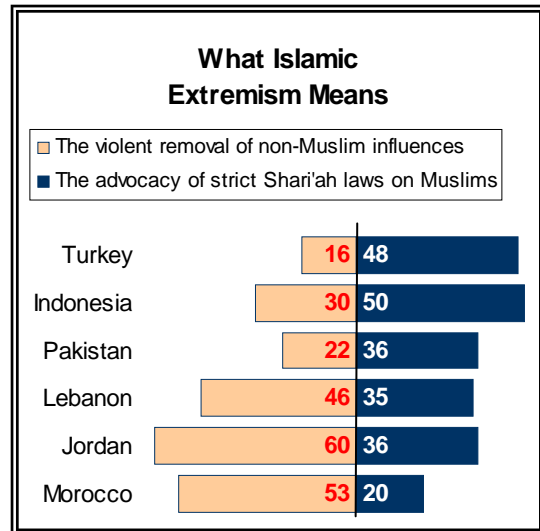
Defining Islamic Extremism

In part, these differences in perceived threat may arise from differing views about what constitutes Islamic extremism.

Six-in-ten Jordanians, and roughly half of those in Morocco (53%) and Lebanon (46%), believe that Islamic extremism means using violence to rid the country of non-Muslim influences.

In Indonesia and Turkey, roughly half say that advocating the legal imposition of strict Shari’ah on all Muslims comes closest to defining Islamic extremism. Relatively large percentages in every country except for Jordan – including 42% in Pakistan – declined to offer an opinion on this issue.

In Jordan, Pakistan and Turkey, men are more likely than women to associate Islamic extremism with the legal imposition of strict Shari’ah on all Muslims rather than on the use of violence to eliminate non-Muslim influences. However, in both Pakistan and Turkey (though not in Jordan), the gender differences may be accounted for by higher no-opinion rates among women rather than by a larger proportion selecting violence as the defining characteristic of Islamic extremism.



How Men and Women Define Islamic Extremism

	Violent removal of non-Muslim influences			Strict Shari'ah			DK		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Jordan									
Men	56	41	3=100						
Women	65	32	3=100						
Morocco									
Men	60	20	20=100						
Women	47	20	33=100						
Lebanon									
Men	45	36	19=100						
Women	47	35	19=101						
Indonesia									
Men	31	50	19=100						
Women	28	51	21=100						
Pakistan									
Men	22	45	33=100						
Women	21	26	53=100						
Turkey									
Men	16	53	30=99						
Women	15	43	42=100						

In Indonesia, Morocco and Turkey, age is also a significant determining factor, with those under age 35 considerably more likely to associate extremism with strict Shari’ah than are their elders.

In most countries, the polling finds that concerns about Islamic extremism are not especially linked to how people define the term. But in Morocco, those who define Islamic extremism in terms of the use of violence were more apt to see it as a threat to that country than those who associated it with strict Shari’ah (68% compared with 47%, respectively).

Concerns about Islamic Extremism*		
	<i>Cited by majorities in...</i>	
It is violent	Indonesia	60%
	Morocco	60%
Leads to fewer personal freedoms	Lebanon	55%
	Jordan	51%
Divides the country	Lebanon	59%
	Jordan	55%
	Morocco	53%
	Turkey	53%
Sets back economic development	Jordan	58%

* Based on those who say Islamic extremism poses a threat to their country. Respondents were asked which of the four items concerned them most, then next most. Values listed combine those citing each as the greatest and next greatest concerns.

Views were mixed as to the negative consequences of extremism. In Morocco and Indonesia, six-in-ten cite violence as the potential consequence of greatest concern to them; in Lebanon and Jordan, loss of freedom and division of the country are most frequently cited. A majority of Turks and Moroccans were also concerned about divisions in the country from extremism. Setback to economic development is one of the top concerns for 58% of Jordanians and 46% of Pakistanis.

Identifying the Causes

There is also little consensus among Muslim publics on the causes of Islamic extremism. In no country did a majority agree on a primary factor. Pluralities in the range between 34% and 40% point to U.S. policies and influence (Lebanon, Jordan); poverty and lack of jobs (Pakistan, Morocco); lack of education (Turkey); and immorality (Indonesia). In no country is either government corruption or lawlessness designated as a wellspring for extremism by more than a small percentage.

What Causes Islamic Extremism in Your Country?*		
	<i>Cited in...</i>	
U.S. policies and influence	Lebanon	40%
	Jordan	38%
Poverty and lack of jobs	Morocco	39%
	Pakistan	38%
Immorality	Indonesia	35%
Lack of education	Turkey	34%

*Most important cause of Islamic extremism of the following: government corruption, immorality, U.S. policies and influence, poverty and lack of jobs, lack of education, lawlessness.

Voices

Reporting by the *International Herald Tribune**

"Politicians have indulged in corruption. Islamic parties are comprised of pious people, who follow the word of Allah. It is a good thing. People would believe a person who follows Islam more than a corrupt politician."

---The 48-year-old housewife of a Pakistani businessman

"[I]t's not Islam which is playing a bigger role in politics. Political parties, which preach Islam, are gaining political power. They use the umbrella of Islam... I believe Islamic extremism is dangerous to the country not because of bombs or terror attacks, but because it prevents the advent of technology and modernism."

--- A primary school teacher in Lebanon

"Religion is playing a greater role in politics because of the globalization process. Globalization has made new values and new cultures that are starting to penetrate Indonesia. The changes are so quick and so drastic, that of course this creates problems. Many people cannot cope with this change, and to create certainty in their life they turn back to values they know, such as religious ones. It's a defense mechanism, that is not exclusive to Muslim culture."

--- The co-founder of a think tank in Jakarta

"Yes, a lot of people put religion in politics now, but I'm not sure why. I don't understand because I sell food and I don't care to learn about politics."

---A 55-year old vendor in Jakarta

"Extremism poses a danger to the communal sanity of Pakistan. I think we should let democracy rule and let everyone be happy. Where nobody pushes anyone around, no fundamentalists, no fanatics, whether religious or not."

--- A 29-year-old television marketing consultant in Islamabad, Pakistan

"When Pakistanis say they want a greater role for Islam they usually mean they want greater morality. There is no evidence that Pakistanis support the perspective of Islamist parties who managed to get only 11 percent of the popular vote in the 2002 parliamentary elections..."

--- A Pakistani professor and author now teaching in Boston

"There is no such thing as violence against civilians in defense of Islam. The wording is misleading. What is happening in Iraq, the UK, in the US is not violence against civilians in defense of Islam. It is resistance against occupation."

--- A 31-year-old bank employee in Lebanon

*Interviews were conducted by Katrin Bennhold in France, Judy Dempsey in Germany, Salman Masood in Pakistan, Evelyn Rusli in Indonesia and Marlise Simons in the Netherlands, all of the *International Herald Tribune* and Maysam Zaaroura in Lebanon of *The Daily Star*.

IV. How Muslims View Relations with the World

Large majorities of Muslims in most predominantly Muslim countries surveyed think that it is *very* important that Islam play a more important and influential role in the world than that religion now does. In Morocco, 84% of Muslims subscribe to this view, as do 73% in Jordan, 70% in Pakistan and 64% in Indonesia. Even in Lebanon and Turkey, where fewer among the Muslim population place high importance on a larger global role for Islam, pluralities in both countries do so.

	Very %	Some- what %	Not too/ Not at all %	DK %
Morocco	84	12	2	2=100
Jordan	73	26	1	*=100
Pakistan	70	14	4	12=100
Indonesia	64	31	4	1=100
Lebanon	47	46	2	5=100
Turkey	43	32	18	7=100

While many Muslims continue to see serious threats to Islam, in most predominantly Muslim countries surveyed those fears are declining. Concern remains very widespread in Jordan and Morocco where 82% and 72%, respectively, of the publics see Islam as facing serious threats. However, those levels are down significantly from the 97% and 79% levels recorded in May 2003. Similar declines in perceived threat since 2003 are found in Lebanon (down to 65% among Muslims from 73%), Pakistan (52% down from 64%) and Indonesia (46% down from 59%). Only in Turkey has concern among Muslims about threats to Islam increased since 2003, from 50% to 58% now.

Support for Islamic Terrorism

Support for acts of terrorism in defense of Islam has declined dramatically among Muslims in most predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, although support has risen in Jordan. And while support for suicide bombings against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq remains at higher levels, it too has declined substantially among Muslim publics in all four countries with trend comparisons available, including Jordan.

In Turkey support for suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets in order to defend Islam from its enemies was already low compared to other majority-Muslim publics and has remained stable with just 14% of the public saying such actions are often or sometimes justified. In Indonesia only 15% now see terrorism as justified at least sometimes, down from 27% in summer 2002. In Pakistan, 25% now take that view, also a substantial

	<i>Violence is often or sometimes justified</i>		
	2002	2004	2005
	%	%	%
Lebanon	73	--	39
Morocco	--	40	13
Pakistan	33	41	25
Indonesia	27	--	15
Turkey	13	15	14
Jordan	43	--	57

* Based on Muslim respondents only.

decline from the 41% level to which support had risen in March 2004, while in Morocco support has fallen dramatically, from 40% to 13% over the last year.

In Lebanon, nearly four-in-ten Muslims (Christians and other religious groups were not asked this question) still regard acts of terrorism as often or sometimes justified, including 26% who see such acts as often justified. However, this is a sharp decline from 2002 when 73% thought these acts were often or sometimes justified. Moreover, when asked about suicide bombing against civilian targets *in their own country*, only 25% of Lebanese Muslims saw such violence as even sometimes justified.

Only in Jordan does a majority (57%) now say that suicide bombings and other attacks on civilians are sometimes or often justified and, unlike in other Muslim countries, that support has increased from 43% in 2002. However, as in Lebanon (but no other country), support for terrorist acts plummets when the question is confined to violence *within Jordan itself*, with less than one percent of respondents saying such acts are often justified and only 30% saying they are sometimes justified.

Having declined to relatively low levels in most predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, support for suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets shows little demographic variation. In Jordan, where support for terrorist tactics remains relatively high, income is the only significant factor, with those in the top income levels less likely to say that such acts are often or sometimes justified (45% in the top third of incomes say so compared with 67% of those with middle incomes and 59% in the lowest income range).

Muslim publics are somewhat more inclined to support suicide bombings when carried out against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq, although here, too, the proportions considering such actions justifiable have declined over the last year.

Only in Morocco does a majority still find such bombings justifiable, although that percentage is down substantially from March 2004. In both Jordan and Lebanon, nearly half of Muslims support suicide bombings against Westerners in Iraq, but in Jordan such support has declined from 70% a year ago. In Turkey, Indonesia and Pakistan, fewer than three-in-ten now see such attacks as justifiable. In Morocco, Pakistan and Turkey, men are significantly more likely than women to find such actions justifiable.

**Declining Support for
Suicide Bombings
Against U.S. and
Allies in Iraq***

	<i>Suicide Attacks Justifiable</i>	
	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%
Morocco	66	56
Jordan	70	49
Lebanon	--	49
Pakistan	46	29
Indonesia	--	26
Turkey	31	24

* Based on Muslim respondents only.

As is the case with views of terrorist acts within their own country, higher-income people in Jordan are less likely to condone similar acts against Americans and their Western allies in Iraq, with only 41% in the highest bracket saying such suicide bombings are justifiable compared with 56% with middle incomes and 50% with the lowest incomes. And on this question, a nearly identical pattern is seen in Lebanon and in Turkey.

Osama bin Laden

The Muslim publics surveyed hold mixed views of Osama bin Laden. In Lebanon, only 2% report even some confidence in the Al Qaeda leader and in Turkey only 7% do so. In Morocco, just 26% now say they have a lot or some confidence in bin Laden, down from 49% two years ago.

In Indonesia, the public is now about evenly split with 35% saying they place at least some confidence in bin Laden and 37% saying they have little or none, a major loss of confidence from the 58% to 36% split recorded in May 2003. Among Indonesians, confidence in the Al Qaeda leader is lower among older citizens but is higher among the more affluent. Among those ages 18-34, 39% express a lot or some confidence in bin Laden compared with less than a third of those 35 and over. However, while only 32% of people in the bottom income tier have confidence in bin Laden, 37% of middle-income and 42% of higher-income people do so.

	<i>A lot or some</i>		<i>Diff.</i>
	<u>2003</u>	<u>2005</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
Jordan	55	60	+5
Pakistan	45	51	+6
Indonesia	58	35	-23
Morocco	49	26	-23
Turkey	15	7	-8
Lebanon	14	2	-12

In only two countries, Pakistan and Jordan, has support for the Al Qaeda leader increased. In Pakistan, slightly more than half now place a lot or some confidence in bin Laden, an increase from the 45% who said so in 2003. Among Pakistanis, gender is a significant dividing line with nearly two-in-three men (65%) reporting a lot or some confidence in bin Laden, compared with 36% of women.

In Jordan, support for bin Laden has risen slightly, although the percentage saying they have a lot of confidence in him has declined to 25% from 38% in May 2003. In Jordan, both age and income patterns are the reverse of those in Indonesia: Confidence in bin Laden rises among older age groups – 56% of those under age 35 trust bin Laden compared with 64% of their older countrymen – and falls (as does support for terrorism generally) among higher income groups – 67% of the lowest-income Jordanians have confidence in bin Laden, compared with 63% of those with middle incomes and 47% of the highest income group.

In Turkey and Lebanon, the numbers expressing any degree of confidence in bin Laden are too low to reveal any significant demographic variations.

Voices

Reporting by the *International Herald Tribune**

"I think people are starting to see the negative impacts of terrorism. People see that terrorism hurts our tourism industry and people will not come here if they are scared. People know we can't fight violence with violence and Islam does not teach violence."

--- A 35-year-old newspaper salesman in Indonesia

"The Lebanese are known for being sympathetic to 'jihad' or resistance -- not terrorism, there's a difference -- but with the series of bombings that has been happening in Lebanon, it has become more of a reality for people here. Innocent people are dying."

--- A Lebanese bank employee

"Pakistanis have experienced terrorism first hand in the last few years and that may have something to do with the decline in support for terrorism. Also, the state propaganda that eulogized militants fighting in Kashmir as freedom fighters has declined and the brutality of terrorism is now openly discussed in the Pakistani media. All this is clearly influencing Pakistani public opinion. [But] one must remember that public opinion changes. If people see excessive force being used against Muslim civilians in Iraq, Kashmir or Afghanistan, the pendulum may yet swing in the other direction."

--- A Pakistani professor and author now teaching in Boston

"People are less supportive of terrorist attacks because we know what terrorism does, we're afraid of attacks."

--- A 55-year-old food stand vendor in Jakarta

*Interviews were conducted by Katrin Bennhold in France, Judy Dempsey in Germany, Salman Masood in Pakistan, Evelyn Rusli in Indonesia and Marlise Simons in the Netherlands, all of the *International Herald Tribune* and Maysam Zaaroura in Lebanon of *The Daily Star*.

Methodological Appendix

ABOUT THE 2005 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. All surveys are based on national samples except in China, India, Morocco and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban.

The table below shows the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country. For results based on the full sample in a given country, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Country: **Britain**
 Company: NOP World
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: English
 Fieldwork dates: April 25-May 7, 2005
 Sample size: 750
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **France**
 Company: Taylor, Nelson & Sofres (TNS)
 Sample design: Quota
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: French
 Fieldwork dates: May 2-7, 2005
 Sample size: 751
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Canada**
 Company: Environics
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: English and French
 Fieldwork dates: May 6-11, 2005
 Sample size: 500
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Germany**
 Company: TNS EMNID
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: German
 Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 4, 2005
 Sample size: 750
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **China**
 Company: Horizon Market Research (Data were purchased from Horizon Market Research and based on their self-sponsored survey "Chinese People View the World")
 Sample design: Probability sample in six cities and surrounding rural areas – Shanghai (in east China), Beijing (north), Guangzhou (southeast), Chengdu (southwest), Wuhan (central) and Shenyang (northeast).
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 to 60
 Languages: Chinese (dialects: Mandarin, Beijingers, Cantonese, Sichuan, Hubei, Dongbei, Shanghaiese)
 Fieldwork dates: May 21-31, 2005
 Sample size: 2191
 Margin of Error: 2%
 Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **India**
 Company: TNS
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18-64
 Languages: Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Kannada, Bengali
 Fieldwork dates: May 1-29, 2005
 Sample size: 2042
 Margin of Error: 2%
 Representative: Urban only

Country: **Indonesia**
 Company: TNS Indonesia
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Bahasa Indonesia
 Fieldwork dates: April 30-May 16, 2005
 Sample size: 1022
 Margin of Error: 3%
 Representative: Eighteen provinces representing 87% of adult population

Country: **Jordan**
Company: MRO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: May 3-24, 2005
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Lebanon**
Company: MRO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: May 3-24, 2005
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Morocco**
Company: Pan Arab Research Center
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: French and Arabic
Fieldwork dates: June 6-16, 2005
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Netherlands**
Company: TNS NIPO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Dutch
Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 11, 2005
Sample size: 754
Margin of Error: 4%
Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Pakistan**
Company: ACNielsen Aftab
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Urdu
Fieldwork dates: May 2-24, 2005
Sample size: 1225
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Poland**
Company: Ipsos-Demoskop
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Polish
Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 29, 2005
Sample size: 1024
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Russia**
Company: Bashkirova & Partners
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian
Fieldwork dates: April 28-May 13, 2005
Sample size: 1002
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Spain**
Company: TNS-Demoscopia
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: April 20-28, 2005
Sample size: 751
Margin of Error: 4%
Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Turkey**
Company: PIAR-TNS
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Turkish
Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 14, 2005
Sample size: 1003
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **United States**
Company: Princeton Data Source
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: English
Fieldwork dates: May 18-22, 2005
Sample size: 1001
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Telephone households in continental US

Pew Global Attitudes Project

Spring 2005 17-Nation Survey

<p>United States – May 18 - May 22, 2005 (N=1,001) Canada – May 6 - 11, 2005 (N=500) Great Britain – April 25 - May 10, 2005 (N=750) France – May 2 - 7, 2005 (N=751) Germany – April 27- May 4, 2005 (N=750) Spain – April 20 – April 28, 2005 (N=751) Netherlands – April 27 – May 11, 2005 (N=754) Russia – April 28 – May 13, 2005 (N=1,002) Poland – April 27 – May 24, 2005 (N=1,024)</p>	<p>Turkey – April 27 – May 14, 2005 (N=1,003) Indonesia – April 30 – May 16, 2005 (N=1,022) India – May 1 – May 29, 2005 (N=2,042) Pakistan – May 2 - 24, 2005 (N=1,225) Lebanon – May 3 - 24, 2005 (N=1,000) Jordan – May 3 - 24, 2005 (N=1,000) Morocco – June 6 - 16, 2005 (N=1,000) China – May 21 - 31, 2005 (N=2,191)</p>
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NOTE: Data based on national samples except in China, India, Morocco and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban. See Methodological Appendix on page 31 for details.

PROCEDURAL NOTE: The following topline data is based on two questionnaires, one in the six predominantly Muslim countries (Turkey, Indonesia, Pakistan, Lebanon, Jordan and Morocco) and the other in the eleven countries where Muslims are not the majority population. For question ordering of both questionnaires, see the global attitudes website: www.pewglobal.org.

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.15 Some people in our country feel that democracy is a Western way of doing things that would not work here– others think that democracy is not just for the West and can work well here. Which comes closer to your opinion?

	<u>Western way</u>	<u>Can work here</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	38	48	14=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	37	50	14=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	43	43	14=100
<i>1999¹</i>	59	30	11=100
Pakistan	18	43	39=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	57	15=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	15	44	41=100
<i>1999</i>	13	39	49=101
Lebanon	9	83	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	71	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	23	75	2=100
Jordan	19	80	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	25	69	7=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	34	63	3=100
Morocco	12	83	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	64	9=100
Indonesia	16	77	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	53	41	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	25	64	11=100
<i>1999</i>	22	67	12=101

¹ 1999 trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State.

[ASK IF MUSLIM ONLY:]

MQ.17 In your opinion, are there any serious threats to Islam today?

BASED ON MUSLIM RESPONDENTS ONLY:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
Turkey	58	36	6=100	(N=965)
<i>May, 2003</i>	50	42	9=101	
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	35	59	6=100	
1999	33	56	11=100	
Pakistan	52	40	8=100	(N=1,203)
<i>May, 2003</i>	64	33	3=100	
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	28	61	11=100	
1999	30	43	27=100	
Lebanon	65	31	4=100	(N=563)
<i>May, 2003</i>	73	23	4=100	
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	74	24	2=100	
Jordan	82	14	4=100	(N=967)
<i>May, 2003</i>	97	3	*=100	
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	81	17	1=99	
Morocco	72	17	11=100	(N=1,000)
<i>May, 2003</i>	79	17	4=100	
Indonesia	46	51	3=100	(N=969)
<i>May, 2003</i>	59	39	2=100	
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	33	64	3=100	
1999	26	62	12=100	

[ASK IF MUSLIM ONLY:]

MQ.18 Do you think of yourself first as a (name of country's people, such as Jordanian, Moroccan or Indonesian) or first as a Muslim?

BASED ON MUSLIM RESPONDENTS ONLY:

	<u>(Country's people)</u>	<u>Muslim</u>	<u>Both equally (VOL)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	29	43	27	1=100
Pakistan	7	79	13	1=100
Lebanon	30	30	39	1=100
Jordan	23	63	13	*=99
Morocco	7	70	23	*=100
Indonesia	35	39	26	*=100

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.19 How much of a role do you think Islam plays in the political life of our country—a very large role, a fairly large role, a fairly small role, or a very small role? (2002 figures corrected 3-3-07)

	<u>Very large role</u>	<u>Fairly large role</u>	<u>Fairly small role</u>	<u>Very small role</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	30	32	16	14	8=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	25	19	24	11=100
Pakistan	38	24	12	9	17=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	35	21	11	16	17=100
Lebanon	22	32	35	5	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	33	38	15	8	6=100
Jordan	10	20	49	19	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	25	25	27	22	0=99

MQ.19 CONTINUED...	Very <u>large role</u>	Fairly <u>large role</u>	Fairly <u>small role</u>	Very <u>small role</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Morocco	57	18	9	9	7=100
Indonesia	33	52	11	2	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2=100</i>

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.20 In your opinion, is Islam playing a greater or lesser role in politics in this country compared to a few years ago?

	Greater <u>role</u>	Lesser <u>role</u>	No change <u>(VOL)</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	47	32	14	7=100
Pakistan	48	23	12	16=99
Lebanon	35	17	25	23=100
Jordan	18	43	38	1=100
Morocco	57	28	4	11=100
Indonesia	73	15	9	2=99

[BASED ON THOSE WHO RESPONDED "GREATER ROLE" IN MQ.20:]

MQ.21 In your opinion—is this good or bad for our country?

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	Neither <u>(VOL)</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	(N)
Turkey	39	50	7	3=99	(N=466)
Pakistan	94	4	1	1=100	(N=590)
Lebanon	54	32	13	1=100	(N=354)
Jordan	97	0	2	1=100	(N=179)
Morocco	93	6	1	*=100	(N=573)
Indonesia	88	9	3	*=100	(N=748)

[BASED ON THOSE WHO RESPONDED "LESSER ROLE" IN MQ.20:]

MQ.21 In your opinion—is this good or bad for our country?

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	Neither <u>(VOL)</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	(N)
Turkey	44	47	7	2=100	(N=318)
Pakistan	24	69	4	3=100	(N=286)
Lebanon	26	50	17	7=100	(N=173)
Jordan	8	87	2	3=100	(N=428)
Morocco	14	83	1	2=100	(N=283)
Indonesia	42	53	4	1=100	(N=154)

[ASK IF "GREATER ROLE" IN MQ.20:]

MQ.22 Which one of the following is the most important reason Islam is playing a greater role in politics these days? Because of dissatisfaction with the current government OR; Because of growing immorality in our society OR; Because of concerns about Western influence in our country?

	<u>Govt. dissatisfaction</u>	<u>Growing immorality</u>	<u>Western influence</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	(N)
Turkey	15	35	23	28=101	(N=466)
Pakistan	37	25	23	15=100	(N=590)
Lebanon	30	22	44	4=100	(N=354)
Jordan	8	58	30	4=100	(N=179)
Morocco	9	44	29	17=99	(N=573)
Indonesia	31	35	30	3=99	(N=748)

[ASK IF MUSLIM ONLY:]

MQ.23 How important to you is it that Islam plays a more important and influential role in the WORLD than it does now—very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

BASED ON MUSLIM RESPONDENTS ONLY:

	Very <u>Important</u>	Somewhat <u>Important</u>	Not too <u>Important</u>	Not at all <u>Important</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	43	32	14	4	7=100
Pakistan	70	14	3	1	12=100
Lebanon	47	46	2	0	5=100
Jordan	73	26	1	0	*=100
Morocco	84	12	2	*	2=100
Indonesia	64	31	4	*	1=100

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.24 How much of a threat, if any, does Islamic extremism pose to our country these days—very great, fairly great, not too great or not a threat at all?

	Very <u>great</u>	Fairly <u>great</u>	Not too <u>great</u>	Not a threat <u>at all</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	22	25	16	18	19=100
Pakistan	28	24	11	16	21=100
Lebanon	9	17	27	39	8=100
Jordan	2	8	34	53	3=100
Morocco	60	13	7	11	9=100
Indonesia	15	30	33	17	5=100

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.25 Which of the following comes closer to what Islamic extremism means to you even if neither is exactly right: Advocating the legal imposition of strict Shari'ah on all Muslims; Using violence to get rid of non-Muslim influences in our country.

	Advocate <u>Shari'ah</u>	Violent removal <u>of non-Muslim inf.</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	48	16	36=100
Pakistan	36	22	42=100
Lebanon	35	46	19=100
Jordan	36	60	4=100
Morocco	20	53	27=100
Indonesia	50	30	20=100

[ASK IF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM POSES ANY THREAT IN MQ.24 (1-3):]

MQ.26/Q.27 Which of the following concerns you most about Islamic extremism in our country today? It is violent; It will lead to people having fewer personal freedoms and choices; It will divide the country; It will set back economic development. Which of the following concerns you next most about Islamic extremism in our country today?

	It is <u>violent</u>	Have fewer <u>freedoms</u>	Divide <u>country</u>	Set back <u>development</u>	None <u>(VOL)</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
Turkey First	25	28	29	9	2	6=99	(N=634)
Next most	17	21	24	13	11	14=100	
Pakistan First	17	15	24	28	5	12=101	(N=636)
Next most	8	10	15	18	4	45=100	
Lebanon First	24	36	29	9	3	1=102	(N=529)

MQ.26/Q.27 CONTINUED...	It is violent	Have fewer freedoms	Divide country	Set back development	None (VOL)	Don't know/Refused	(N)
Next most	10	19	30	32	8	1=100	
Jordan First	21	37	26	15	1	*=100	(N=443)
Next most	11	14	29	43	1	2=100	
Morocco First	37	20	24	14	1	4=100	(N=803)
Next most	23	16	29	24	*	7=99	
Indonesia First	41	20	19	15	2	3=100	(N=794)
Next most	19	19	22	30	3	8=101	

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.28 Which one of the following do you think is the most important cause of Islamic extremism in our country? Is it due to: Government corruption; Immorality; U.S. policies and influence; Poverty and lack of jobs; Lack of education; Lawlessness?

	Government corruption	Immorality	U.S. policies and influence	Poverty and lack of jobs	Lack of education	Lawlessness	DK/Ref
Turkey	6	14	12	14	34	3	17=100
Pakistan	10	5	12	38	16	6	13=100
Lebanon	14	10	40	21	8	3	3=99
Jordan	8	17	38	25	7	5	1=101
Morocco	11	11	8	39	18	3	10=100
Indonesia	14	35	13	15	4	14	5=100

[ASK IF MUSLIM ONLY:]

[SPLIT FORM:]

MQ.29f1 Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets IN OUR COUNTRY are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

BASED ON MUSLIM RESPONDENTS ONLY:

	Often justified	Sometimes justified	Rarely justified	Never justified	Don't know/Refused	(N)
Turkey	3	9	11	63	14=100	(N=484)
Pakistan	13	12	18	46	11=100	(N=736)
Lebanon	4	21	35	37	3=100	(N=272)
Jordan	*	30	23	46	1=100	(N=489)
Morocco	4	5	4	83	4=100	(N=631)
Indonesia	2	12	16	68	2=100	(N=484)

[ASK IF MUSLIM ONLY:]

[SPLIT FORM:]

MQ.30f2 Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

BASED ON MUSLIM RESPONDENTS ONLY:

	Often <u>justified</u>	Sometimes <u>justified</u>	Rarely <u>justified</u>	Never <u>justified</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	(N)
Turkey	3	11	6	66	13=99	(N=481)
<i>March, 2004</i>	6	9	9	67	9=100	
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	9	7	64	14=98	
Pakistan	12	13	19	46	10=100	(N=468)
<i>March, 2004</i>	27	14	8	35	17=101	
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	19	14	5	38	23=99	
Lebanon	26	13	19	33	10=101	(N=291)
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	48	25	9	12	6=100	
Jordan	24	33	31	11	1=100	(N=478)
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	15	28	22	26	8=99	
Morocco	8	5	5	79	3=100	(N=369)
<i>March, 2004</i>	16	24	15	38	8=101	
Indonesia	2	13	18	66	1=100	(N=485)
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	22	16	54	3=100	

[ASK IF MUSLIM ONLY:]

MQ.31 What about suicide bombing carried out against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

[BASED ON MUSLIM RESPONDENTS ONLY:]

	<u>Justifiable</u>	Not <u>justifiable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	24	62	14=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	31	59	10=100
Pakistan	29	56	15=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	46	36	19=101
Lebanon	49	41	10=100
Jordan	49	43	8=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	70	24	6=100
Morocco	56	40	4=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	66	27	7=100
Indonesia	26	67	7=100

Q.5 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (insert)?

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	
g. Jews							
United States	77	37	40	7	2	5	16=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	77	36	41	8	2	6	15=100
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	72	20	52	9	3	6	19=100

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
<i>June, 2003</i>	79	25	54	8	2	6	13=100
<i>March, 2002</i>	74	18	56	9	2	7	17=100
<i>Mid-Nov., 2001</i>	75	24	51	7	2	5	18=100
<i>March, 2001</i>	72	16	56	10	2	8	18=100
<i>Sept., 2000 (RV's)</i>	77	27	50	8	3	5	15=100
<i>June, 1997</i>	82	26	56	9	2	7	9=100
Canada	78	31	47	11	2	9	10=99
Great Britain	78	24	54	6	2	4	15=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	76	23	53	9	3	6	15=100
France	82	18	64	16	3	13	2=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	81	28	53	11	3	8	8=100
<i>1991²</i>	72	14	58	14	3	11	14=100
Germany	67	11	56	21	5	16	12=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	63	10	53	20	4	16	17=100
<i>1991</i>	52	5	47	24	6	18	24=100
Spain	58	18	40	20	6	14	22=100
Netherlands	85	24	61	11	2	9	4=100
Russia	63	15	48	26	7	19	11=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	65	18	47	25	8	17	10=100
<i>1992</i>	65	11	54	22	7	15	13=100
<i>1991</i>	58	9	49	26	8	18	16=100
Poland	54	7	47	27	7	20	19=100
Turkey	18	4	14	60	44	16	23=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	27	6	21	49	32	17	23=99
Pakistan	5	*	5	74	64	10	21=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	3	1	2	80	73	7	17=100
India	28	6	22	17	7	10	56=101
Lebanon	0	0	0	99	99	0	1=100
Jordan	0	0	0	100	99	1	0=100
Morocco	8	2	6	88	78	10	4=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	6	1	5	92	81	11	2=100
Indonesia	13	2	11	76	36	40	12=101
China	28	2	26	49	14	35	23=100

h. Christians

United States	87	56	31	6	2	4	7=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	84	55	29	6	1	5	10=100
Canada	83	40	43	9	3	6	8=100
Great Britain	85	37	48	6	1	5	9=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	84	36	48	6	1	5	9=99
France	84	24	60	15	4	11	1=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	84	34	50	9	2	7	6=99
Germany	83	21	62	13	1	12	4=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	75	15	60	16	3	13	9=100
Spain	80	32	48	10	3	7	10=100
Netherlands	83	21	62	15	4	11	2=100
Russia	92	44	48	3	1	2	5=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	93	44	49	3	1	2	4=100
Poland	86	34	52	5	1	4	9=100

² Question introduction for France, Germany, and Russia was worded, respectively, "I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (Western Europe/Germany/Russia) according to how you feel about them."

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	21	5	16	63	46	17	16=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	31	6	25	52	33	19	17=100
Pakistan	22	2	20	58	41	17	20=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	24	4	20	62	45	17	15=101
India	61	20	41	19	8	11	20=100
Lebanon	91	63	28	7	2	5	2=100
Jordan	58	10	48	41	12	29	1=100
Morocco	33	6	27	61	37	24	6=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	23	2	21	73	42	31	4=100
Indonesia	58	17	41	38	9	29	4=100
China	26	2	24	47	12	35	26=99

i. Muslims

United States	57	18	39	22	8	14	21=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	48	13	35	32	14	18	20=100
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	47	9	38	31	12	19	22=100
<i>June, 2003</i>	50	12	38	30	10	20	20=100
<i>March, 2002</i>	47	7	40	29	11	18	24=100
Canada	60	16	44	26	7	19	13=99
Great Britain	72	18	54	14	5	9	14=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	67	18	49	18	6	12	16=101
France	64	9	55	34	13	21	2=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	64	16	48	29	9	20	7=100
<i>1991 (N. Africans)</i>	49	7	42	42	12	30	9=100
Germany	40	4	36	47	11	36	13=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	41	5	36	46	11	35	13=100
<i>1991(Turks)</i>	35	3	32	46	14	32	19=100
Spain	46	14	32	37	13	24	17=100
Netherlands	45	5	40	51	15	36	3=99
Russia	55	14	41	36	10	26	10=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	53	15	38	38	15	23	11=100
Poland	46	6	40	30	11	19	24=100
Turkey	83	61	22	11	5	6	5=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	88	66	22	9	3	6	3=100
Pakistan	94	88	6	2	1	1	4=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	97	87	10	2	1	1	1=100
India	46	15	31	43	25	18	12=101
Lebanon	92	61	31	7	1	6	*=99
Jordan	99	95	4	1	*	1	0=100
Morocco	97	84	13	3	1	2	*=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	90	70	20	9	3	6	1=100
Indonesia	99	85	14	1	*	1	*=100
China	20	2	18	50	15	35	30=100

Q.14 How do you feel about Turkey becoming a member of the EU? Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose Turkey becoming a member of the EU?

	Strongly <u>favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	Strongly <u>oppose</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Great Britain	11	46	20	9	14=100
France	5	28	36	30	1=100
Germany	2	30	42	23	3=100
Spain	11	57	17	4	11=100
Netherlands	2	42	39	14	2=99
Poland	10	41	17	5	27=100
Turkey	31	37	12	15	5=100

Q.15 Do you think it's a good or a bad thing that people (insert) come to live and work in this country?

a. From the Middle East and North Africa

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Great Britain	61	30	10=101
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>7=100</i>
France	53	45	2=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>3=100</i>
Germany	34	57	9=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>8=100</i>
Spain	67	26	7=100
Netherlands	46	49	5=100
Poland	47	43	10=100

b. From East European countries

Great Britain	62	28	10=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6=100</i>
France	52	47	1=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>3=100</i>
Germany	31	60	9=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>8=100</i>
Spain	72	22	6=100
Netherlands	50	47	3=100

c. From former Soviet Bloc countries

Poland	44	46	10=100
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Q.17 Which statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right? Some religions are more prone to violence than others; OR All religions are about the same when it comes to violence.

	<u>Some religions prone to violence</u>	<u>All religions about the same</u>	<u>Neither [VOL.]</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	52	39	3	6=100
Canada	56	37	3	4=100
Great Britain	47	45	4	4=100
France	46	53	1	*=100

Q.17 CONTINUED...	Some religions	All religions	Neither [VOL.]	Don't know/
	prone to violence	about the same		Refused
Germany	51	44	1	4=100
Spain	52	40	6	2=100
Netherlands	61	37	1	1=100
Russia	54	21	15	10=100
Poland	49	34	7	9=99
Turkey	26	33	22	19=100
Pakistan	40	13	18	29=100
India	39	52	5	5=101
Lebanon	17	44	29	10=100
Jordan	75	17	7	1=100
Morocco	40	27	16	18=101
Indonesia	16	62	16	6=100

[ASKED IF RESPONDED SOME RELIGIONS MORE PRONE TO VIOLENCE IN Q.17:]

Q.18 Which one of the religions that I name do you think of as most violent--Christianity, Islam, Judaism or Hinduism?

	Christianity	Islam	Judaism	Hinduism	None	Don't know/	(N)
	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Refused		
United States	9	67	4	5	2	13=100	(N=520)
Canada	8	61	4	6	3	18=100	(N=282)
Great Britain	8	63	4	3	4	18=100	(N=352)
France	2	87	2	2	4	2=99	(N=347)
Germany	2	79	3	4	2	10=100	(N=388)
Spain	2	81	4	2	2	8=99	(N=393)
Netherlands	3	88	2	1	2	5=101	(N=456)
Russia	3	71	10	4	3	10=101	(N=542)
Poland	3	77	5	4	2	11=102	(N=508)
Turkey	46	15	20	2	4	13=100	(N=261)
Pakistan	4	6	51	31	6	3=101	(N=492)
India	5	73	2	17	1	2=100	(N=788)
Lebanon	15	18	66	0	0	1=100	(N=167)
Jordan	1	1	98	0	0	0=100	(N=751)
Morocco	5	3	83	5	1	3=100	(N=405)
Indonesia	10	11	63	*	10	6=100	(N=166)

Q.19 Do you think most Muslims coming to our country today want to adopt (survey country) customs and way of life or do you think that they want to be distinct from the larger (survey country) society?

	Adopt	Want to be	Both	Don't know/
	our ways	distinct	[VOL.]	Refused
United States	32	49	6	13=100
Canada	27	60	5	9=101
Great Britain	19	61	12	9=101
France	36	59	4	1=100
Germany	9	88	1	2=100
Spain	20	68	8	4=100
Netherlands	31	65	2	2=100
Russia	12	72	9	8=101
Poland	34	42	6	18=100
India	28	61	5	6=100

Q.20 Some countries have decided to ban the wearing of head scarves by Muslim women in public places including schools. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?

	Good <u>idea</u>	Bad <u>idea</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	33	57	9=99
Canada	37	57	6=100
Great Britain	29	62	9=100
France	78	22	*=100
Germany	54	40	6=100
Spain	43	48	9=100
Netherlands	51	46	2=99
Russia	33	48	20=101
Poland	37	47	16=100
Turkey	29	64	7=100
Pakistan	17	77	6=100
India ³	66	30	4=100
Lebanon	29	59	12=100
Jordan	3	97	*=100
Morocco	8	90	2=100
Indonesia	4	95	1=100

Q.21 In your opinion, how strong a sense of Islamic identity do Muslims in our country have--very strong, fairly strong, not too strong, or not strong at all?

	Very <u>strong</u>	Fairly <u>strong</u>	Not too <u>strong</u>	Not strong <u>at all</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	20	45	17	5	13=100
Canada	20	46	18	6	10=100
Great Britain	29	51	8	2	10=100
France	19	63	13	4	1=100
Germany	33	41	14	4	7=99
Spain	30	44	12	2	12=100
Netherlands	32	54	8	2	3=99
Russia	10	35	31	5	20=101
Poland	6	27	30	9	28=100
India	38	39	13	3	7=100

Q.22 In your opinion, these days do you think there is a growing sense of Islamic identity among Muslims in our country or don't you think so?

	Yes	No	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	50	30	20=100
Canada	51	33	16=100
Great Britain	63	21	16=100
France	70	29	1=100
Germany	66	27	7=100
Spain	47	35	18=100
Netherlands	60	32	7=99
Russia	55	21	24=100
Poland	20	37	43=100
India	64	28	8=100

³ In India question worded slightly differently: "Some countries have decided to ban the wearing of 'Burqa' by Muslim women in public places including schools. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?"

[ASKED IF YES IN Q22:]

Q.23 Do you think this is a good thing or a bad thing for our country?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
United States	42	48	10=100	(N=503)
Canada	40	52	8=100	(N=257)
Great Britain	31	56	13=100	(N=471)
France	9	89	2=100	(N=525)
Germany	10	85	5=100	(N=510)
Spain	16	76	8=100	(N=354)
Netherlands	10	87	3=100	(N=455)
Russia	23	61	16=100	(N=549)
Poland	16	61	23=100	(N=200)
India	21	77	2=100	(N=1300)

[ASKED IF BAD THING IN Q23:]

Q.24 Which one of the following worries you most about Islamic identity in our country today? It can lead to violence; it can lead to a loss of personal freedoms; it will prevent Muslims from integrating into our society.

	<u>Lead to violence</u>	<u>Loss of freedoms</u>	<u>Prevent integration</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
United States	47	23	23	7=100	(N=251)
Canada	29	27	40	4=100	(N=134)
Great Britain	30	12	55	3=100	(N=262)
France	50	25	25	*=100	(N=470)
Germany	41	12	46	1=100	(N=426)
Spain	48	18	30	4=100	(N=269)
Netherlands	26	27	47	*=100	(N=401)
Russia	66	11	18	5=100	(N=334)
Poland	48	21	23	8=100	(N=126)
India	60	24	14	2=100	(N=1005)

[ASKED IF BAD THING IN Q23:]

Q.25 Which of the following worries you second most about Islamic identity in our country today? It can lead to violence; it can lead to a loss of personal freedoms; it will prevent Muslims from integrating into our society.

	<u>Lead to violence</u>	<u>Loss of freedoms</u>	<u>Prevent integration</u>	<u>No other worries (Vol.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	27	40	19	0	14=100
Canada	33	36	22	0	10=101
Great Britain	29	31	18	0	21=99
France	35	36	28	0	1=100
Germany	37	27	31	0	4=99
Spain	29	38	23	0	10=100
Netherlands	42	33	21	0	4=100
Russia	18	36	25	0	21=100
Poland	17	20	20	0	43=100
India	19	19	29	0	33=100

Q.26 How concerned, if at all, are you about the rise of Islamic extremism in our country these days? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism in our country these days?

	<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not concerned at all</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	31	39	19	9	3=101
Canada	22	34	27	14	3=100
Great Britain	34	36	22	6	2=100
France	32	41	18	8	*=99
Germany	35	43	14	7	1=100
Spain	43	34	15	7	1=100
Netherlands	32	44	22	2	*=100
Russia	52	32	9	4	3=100
Poland	7	30	26	23	15=101
India	48	36	9	4	3=100

Q.27 How concerned, if at all, are you about the rise of Islamic extremism around the WORLD these days? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned about the rise Islamic extremism around the world these days?

	<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not concerned at all</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	42	37	11	6	4=100
Canada	41	38	13	5	2=99
Great Britain	43	37	14	4	1=99
France	46	43	8	3	*=100
Germany	48	39	8	4	1=100
Spain	45	37	10	6	2=100
Netherlands	46	44	8	1	*=99
Russia	51	33	8	4	4=100
Poland	23	39	13	12	13=100
India	46	36	10	5	3=100

Q.28 Now I'm going to read a list of political leaders. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs-- a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all?⁴ **Item d not asked in the United States.**

	<u>A lot of confidence</u>	<u>Some confidence</u>	<u>Not too much confidence</u>	<u>No confidence</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
d. Osama bin Laden ⁵					
Canada	*	3	6	87	3=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>*</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>3=100</i>
Great Britain	1	1	4	92	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>2=100</i>
France	*	1	5	93	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>*=100</i>
Germany	1	*	6	91	3=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>2=99</i>
Spain	*	1	6	91	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>91</i>	<i>4=100</i>

⁴ In 2001 response categories were "A great deal, a fair amount, not too much or none at all."

⁵ Question not asked in the United States and China.

Q.28d CONTINUED...

	<u>A lot of confidence</u>	<u>Some confidence</u>	<u>Not too much confidence</u>	<u>No confidence</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Netherlands	0	1	4	94	1=100
Russia	1	2	11	69	16=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	*	3	5	71	21=100
Poland	*	1	8	82	9=100
Turkey	3	4	6	73	14=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	8	7	67	11=100
Pakistan	29	22	11	12	26=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	24	21	7	20	28=100
India	3	4	7	72	14=100
Lebanon	*	2	9	78	10=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	10	18	64	4=100
Jordan	25	35	20	18	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	38	17	26	18	1=100
Morocco	14	12	8	40	26=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	37	12	7	29	15=100
Indonesia	8	27	27	10	27=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	39	26	10	7=100