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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.

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.

The latest survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project was conducted among more than 17,000 people in 17 countries this spring and 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 survey also finds that in most majority-Muslim countries, 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.

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.

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. 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.

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 – is 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, there is 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, with the exception of 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 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 the Dutch and Germans have a majority or plurality with 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views of Christians, Jews and Muslims</th>
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<tr>
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<td>India</td>
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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.

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.

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<th>Confidence in Osama bin Laden*</th>
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<td>% A lot/</td>
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<td>May 2003</td>
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<td>Pakistan</td>
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<td>May 2003</td>
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<td>Indonesia</td>
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<td>May 2003</td>
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<td>Morocco</td>
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<td>May 2003</td>
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<td>Turkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 2003</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
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<td>May 2003</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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

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 younger and older 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.

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

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.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion of Religious Groups</th>
<th>Christians</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>Poland</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>83</td>
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<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>92</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>99</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>97</td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent who say they have "very" or "somewhat" favorable opinion of each group.

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 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 prone to violence 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%).

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

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 than others over Islamic extremism in their country. Opinion about the head scarf issue in India is unrelated to extremism concerns, however. People in non-Muslim countries who think the head scarf 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 U.S. Morocco is the lone exception; in Morocco, 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 United States in several countries. Generally, younger people and women express more positive views of the U.S. 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%). In Lebanon, where the percentage rating the U.S. favorably has increased from 27% to 42% since 2003, there is a similar generational gap. Jordan shows the same pattern but the differences by age are not statistically significant. In both Pakistan and Turkey, where overall views of America remain predominantly negative, there is a sizable generational difference, with younger people ten-to-twelve 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 very or somewhat favorable views of the United States 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,

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<tr>
<th>U.S. Viewed More Favorably by Young</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Percent</strong></td>
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<td>Morocco</td>
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<th>U.S. Image More Positive Among Women</th>
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<td><strong>Women</strong></td>
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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).
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 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 there as having at least a fairly strong sense of Islamic identity. Similarly, in India, with its substantial Muslim minority, 77% take this viewpoint.

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.
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.
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 73% who said so in the summer of 2002.

In Pakistan as well, those seeing substantial Islamic influence in political life have also declined in number – from 86% in 2002 – but remain in the majority (62%). Only in Turkey has the proportion of those seeing a large Islamic political influence risen substantially, from 41% in 2002 to 62% currently.
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%) attributes Islam’s larger role in politics to growing immorality in society, as do pluralities in Morocco and Turkey. Indonesians are divided over why Islam is playing a greater role in politics 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.
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 views Islamic extremism as a very great (60%) or fairly great (13%) threat to their 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.
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.
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 concerns about Islamic extremism are not especially linked to how people defined the term. But in Morocco, those who defined Islamic extremism in terms of the use of violence were more apt to see it as a threat to their country than those who associated it with strict Shari’ah (68% compared with 47%, respectively).

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.

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

* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What Causes Islamic Extremism in Your Country*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cited in…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. policies and influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty and lack of jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immorality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of education</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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.
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 it 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.

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 risen 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, only 25% take that view, also a 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) now regard acts of terrorism as often or sometimes justified, including 26% who see such acts as often justified. This is a sharp drop 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% saw such violence as even sometimes justified.

Only in Jordan does a majority (57%) 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 to find such actions justifiable.

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 Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. In Lebanon, only 2% report even some confidence in bin Laden 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.

In only in 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 only 36% of women.

In Jordan, support for the Al Qaeda leader has risen slightly over the last two years, 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 only 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.
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: 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, Beijingese, Cantonese, Sichuan, Hubei, Dongbei, Shanghaiese) | Fieldwork dates: May 21-31, 2005 | Sample size: 2191 | Margin of Error: 2% | Representative: Disproportionately urban |
| 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: 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: AC Nielsen 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

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)  
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)  

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western way</th>
<th>Can work here</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Turkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>Summer, 2002</td>
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<tr>
<td>1999¹</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11=100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>15=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>41=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>8=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>2=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1=100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>7=101</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>83</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>7=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6=100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Refused</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6/100</td>
<td>(N=965)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9/101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>6/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8/100</td>
<td>(N=1,203)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11/100</td>
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<td>1999</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27/100</td>
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<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4/100</td>
<td>(N=563)</td>
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<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4/100</td>
<td>(N=967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>*=100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1/99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11/100</td>
<td>(N=1,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 2003</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12/100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Both equally</th>
<th>Don’t know/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
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<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very large role</th>
<th>Fairly large role</th>
<th>Fairly small role</th>
<th>Very small role</th>
<th>Don’t know/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10/99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2/100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2/100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MQ.19 CONTINUED...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very large role</th>
<th>Fairly large role</th>
<th>Fairly small role</th>
<th>Very small role</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer, 2002</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2=100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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?

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

[BASED ON THOSE WHO RESPONDED “GREATER ROLE” IN MQ.20:]
MQ.21 In your opinion—is this good or bad for our country?

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

[BASED ON THOSE WHO RESPONDED “LESSER ROLE” IN MQ.20:]
MQ.21 In your opinion—is this good or bad for our country?

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

[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?

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very important</th>
<th>Somewhat important</th>
<th>Not too important</th>
<th>Not at all important</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>*=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>84</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1=100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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?

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

[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.

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

[ASK IF ISLAMIC EXTREMISM POSES A THREAT IN MQ.24:]
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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>It is violent</th>
<th>Have fewer freedoms</th>
<th>Divide country</th>
<th>Set back development</th>
<th>None (VOL)</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
<th>Refused</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>6=99</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14=100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12=101</td>
<td>(N=636)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next most</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45=100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1=102</td>
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MQ.26/Q.27 CONTINUED...

<table>
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<th>Violent freedoms</th>
<th>Divide country (VOL)</th>
<th>Set back development</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Next most</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan First</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*==100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next most</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco First</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>4=100</td>
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<td>7=99</td>
</tr>
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<td>3=100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Next most</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8=101</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government corruption</th>
<th>Immorality</th>
<th>U.S. policies and influence</th>
<th>Poverty and lack of jobs</th>
<th>Lack of education</th>
<th>Lawlessness</th>
<th>DK/Ref</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Often justified</th>
<th>Sometimes justified</th>
<th>Rarely justified</th>
<th>Never justified</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14=100</td>
<td>(N=484)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11=100</td>
<td>(N=736)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3=100</td>
<td>(N=272)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1=100</td>
<td>(N=489)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
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[ASK IF MUSLIM ONLY:]

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:

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<th>Rarely justified</th>
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[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:]

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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/

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h. Christians

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| **Canada**    | 83    | 40   | 43   | 9     | 3    | 6    | 8=100     |
| **Great Britain** | 85    | 37   | 48   | 6     | 1    | 5    | 9=100     |
| **March, 2004** | 84    | 36   | 48   | 6     | 1    | 5    | 9=99      |
| **France**    | 84    | 24   | 60   | 15    | 4    | 11   | 1=100     |
| **March, 2004** | 84    | 34   | 50   | 9     | 2    | 7    | 6=99      |
| **Germany**   | 83    | 21   | 62   | 13    | 1    | 12   | 4=100     |
| **March, 2004** | 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     |
| **March, 2004** | 93    | 44   | 49   | 3     | 1    | 2    | 4=100     |
| **Poland**    | 86    | 34   | 52   | 5     | 1    | 4    | 9=100     |

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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.”
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Q.5 CONTINUED…

--- FAVORABLE ---

--- UNFAVORABLE ---

i. Muslims

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Mid-July, 2003| 47    9    38   31    12    19    22=100
June, 2003   50    12   38   30    10    20    20=100
March, 2002  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
March, 2004  67    18   49   18    6    12    16=101
France        64    9    55   34    13    21    2=100
March, 2004  64    16   48   29    9    20    7=100
1991 (N. Africans) | 49 | 7   | 42   | 42                  |
Germany       40    4    36   47    11    36    13=100
March, 2004  41    5    36   46    11    35    13=100
1991 (Turks)  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
March, 2004  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
March, 2004  88    66   22   9     3    6    3=100
Pakistan      94    88   6    2    1    1    4=100
March, 2004  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
March, 2004  90    70   20   9    3    6    1=100
Indonesa      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?

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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

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<th>Bad thing</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
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</table>

b. From East European countries

<table>
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c. From former Soviet Bloc countries

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</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Some religions prone to violence</th>
<th>All religions about the same</th>
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<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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### Q.17 CONTINUED...

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<th>All religions about the same</th>
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<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
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</table>

[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?

<table>
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<tr>
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<td>France</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10=101 (N=542)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>5</td>
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</table>

### 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adopt our ways</th>
<th>Want to be distinct</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Don’t know/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[VOL.]</td>
<td>Refused</td>
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</table>
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?

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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?

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Very strong</th>
<th>Fairly strong</th>
<th>Not too strong</th>
<th>Not strong at all</th>
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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?

<table>
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<th>Yes</th>
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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?

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<th>Bad thing</th>
<th>Refused</th>
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[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.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Loss of freedoms</th>
<th>Prevent integration</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>(N=134)</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>3=100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Loss of freedoms</th>
<th>Prevent integration</th>
<th>No other worries (Vol.)</th>
<th>Don’t know/Refused</th>
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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?

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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?

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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.

<table>
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d. Osama bin Laden5

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...

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