

UNDERSTANDING MUSLIM POPULATIONS: WHAT LEADERS NEED TO KNOW

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

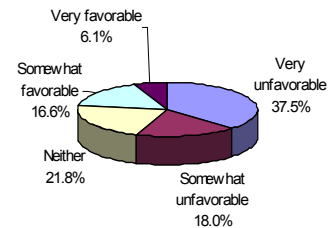
The majority of people across eight predominantly Muslim nations say they have a “very unfavorable” or “somewhat unfavorable” view of the United States. This negativity poses significant challenges for the U.S., creating opposition to its international initiatives and increasing support for terrorism. Leaders must understand and address these opinions, and the beliefs underlying them, in order to prevent tensions between Western and Muslim societies from escalating to even more dangerous degrees.

Using 2005 data from the Gallup World Poll, our analysis provides the foundation for engaging these beliefs with targeted, data-driven public diplomacy. Through an in-depth examination of factors that distinguish people who have favorable and unfavorable views of the U.S., we provide evidence of what is attractive to Muslims about the U.S. We also present recommendations to help leaders leverage these findings to improve the U.S.’ standing among Muslim populations. Together with Gallup, we provide policy-makers with the empirical evidence necessary to drive positive change.

We look at respondents’ views on a number of subjects to determine how negativity is affected by perspectives on U.S. and Western actions in the international arena (“what we do”) and how it is related to differences between cultures (“who we are”). We also examine how demographic and ethnic factors affect favorability.

Analyzing “what we do,” we find that strongly negative opinions about the international policies and actions of the U.S. and Western nations affect Muslims’ views of the U.S. However, the finding that some people who disagree with these actions still hold favorable views of the U.S. suggests there are additional factors at work.

**Favorability of the U.S.
 across 8 predominantly Muslim nations**



Analyzing whether negativity is related to “who we are” is a more complex task. To identify underlying factors, we look not only at views of the U.S., but also at what Muslims value and prioritize in their own lives and societies. Encouragingly, respondents’ views do not indicate that underlying values and principles are wholly incompatible. However, most people in Muslim nations perceive tension between Western and Muslim cultures, and almost all respondents show considerable concern about U.S. intentions in their region. Additionally, respondents have mixed opinions on the quality of Western legal systems, but they admire Western achievements in science and technology and in education.

Interestingly, demographic and ethnic factors only rarely relate to favorability. Few consistent relationships exist with gender, age, and education, and no patterns emerge between Arab and non-Arab nations.

Given these findings, we assess that the U.S. can improve its reputation among Muslim populations by emphasizing common values and principles, offering assistance and advice where Western and U.S. abilities are admired, and considering whether foreign policies can be more effectively implemented and communicated to people in Muslim nations. A detailed overview of findings and messages follows.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS & MESSAGES

Demographics: Few consistent relationships exist between favorability of the U.S. and demographic factors. In most nations, men and women are equally likely to be favorable toward the U.S. Exceptions occur in Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia, where women are more likely to be favorable. Across specific age groups, there are few large differences. However, in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Jordan, and Iran, younger people are more likely to be favorable, while in Morocco, older people are more likely to be more favorable. The relationship between education and favorability appears to be related to a nation's overall education level. In the relatively more educated nations of Jordan, Iran, and Lebanon, higher favorability is associated with having more formal education.

While targeting public diplomacy by gender may only be effective in Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia, younger people might be influenced more broadly, especially in the nations where they are already more likely to be favorable. Increasing education levels might also improve overall favorability.

Foreign policy substance and style: People in Muslim nations are overwhelmingly negative about both the substance of U.S. and Western foreign policies and the style of U.S. diplomatic relations. Large majorities believe that the U.S.-led war in Iraq is unjustifiable and that Western nations are unfair in their positions toward Palestine and Arab/Muslim nations more broadly. In addition, people are much more likely to associate negative traits with the U.S. than positive traits.

While favorability consistently correlates with more positive views about U.S. actions in Iraq and U.S. international relations, we do not believe these are viable levers for public diplomacy. Instead, we recommend that leaders recognize the widespread negativity that exists and work to counter commonly-held perceptions about the U.S.' diplomatic style.

- ◆ Recognize widespread negativity about U.S. and Western foreign policies in U.S. decision-making and public comments on policies that impact Muslim nations
- ◆ Demonstrate transparency, fairness, respect, and humility in diplomatic relations

Culture, values, and coexistence: Respondents perceive tension between Western and Muslim cultures and demonstrate only moderate concern for achieving a better coexistence. People on average perceive that Western nations do not respect their values, but nor do they perceive their own nations as very open to Western culture. They also tend to be pessimistic about prospects for a better understanding.

Correlations between favorability of the U.S. and respect for Arab/Islamic values suggest the U.S. should focus on demonstrating acceptance of these values, rather than promoting Western values. Leaders can also try to capitalize on the relationships between favorability and perception of Western concern for a better coexistence and optimism about near-term prospects for achieving it.

- ◆ Express respect for Arab/Islamic values, rather than promoting Western values
- ◆ Stress U.S. concern for a better coexistence in relevant policies and diplomatic relations
- ◆ Highlight advancements toward a better understanding whenever possible

Keys to progress: Respondents are divided about whether attachment to spiritual and moral values is *critical* to the progress of Muslim nations, but few agree that adopting Western values or increasing democracy will *help* progress. However, respondents on average believe expanding democracy will be more helpful than adopting Western values. Relative to other nations, people in Saudi Arabia place more importance on Islamic values in achieving progress, while people in Morocco and Lebanon place more importance on the role of democracy.

Given the diversity of opinions on what will drive progress in Muslim nations, the U.S. should avoid explicitly linking progress to Islamic values, democracy, and Western values and instead should aim to understand what Muslims think will drive progress in their own nations.

- ◆ Recognize that while respondents may not believe Islamic spiritual and moral values are *critical* to progress, these values are an important part of their personal lives
- ◆ Refrain from promoting the view that Muslim nations should adopt Western values to achieve progress
- ◆ Help strengthen existing democratic systems where appropriate and when invited

Religion: While people in Muslim nations view religion as an essential component of their personal lives, most see it as only one factor relevant to public life. Respondents in all nations consider personal religion "very important" to "essential," and people in Jordan, Morocco, and Pakistan also believe that religion should strongly influence law.

Although some religious beliefs consistently correlate with favorability, we recommend the U.S. focus its messages on respecting, rather than influencing, religious beliefs.

- ◆ Demonstrate respect for the personal practice of Islam to reduce the perception of a “War on Islam”
- ◆ Emphasize common belief in freedom of religion while recognizing that interpretations of this concept may differ
- ◆ Encourage research to uncover common values between shari’a and rights-based legislation and explore how the systems of law might be reconciled

Economics: People in Muslim nations see economic well-being as “very important” and expect it to improve. They express admiration for Western economic opportunities, but they do not indicate confidence in U.S. intentions in the region. People in Morocco, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia appear to have particularly strong views on economic issues.

The U.S. should build on respondents’ economic optimism and positive perceptions of the opportunities in the West to improve views of U.S. intentions in the region. Specifically, the U.S. should improve perceptions of its willingness to provide aid and assistance to Muslim nations.

- ◆ Promote economic well-being, but be mindful of its secondary importance to religion
- ◆ Build on economic optimism and admiration for Western opportunities
- ◆ Increase provision of U.S. aid and economic assistance to Muslim nations

Democracy and legal rights: Respondents’ opinions on democracy and legal rights reveal both good and bad news for the U.S. While people appear to value democracy and support legal freedoms, they do not tend to admire Western legal systems and are divided on whether systems in Western nations are better than those in Muslim nations. People in Lebanon and Morocco generally have more positive views of democracy and Western legal systems than other nations.

Rather than solely promoting democracy, the U.S. should aim to address the concerns of people in Muslim nations about U.S. intentions in the region and to improve perceptions of the equality and fairness of Western legal systems.

- ◆ Emphasize support for legal principles such as freedom of speech rather than promoting specific U.S. practices
- ◆ Emphasize U.S. concern for the equality of its own citizens, including gender and minority rights
- ◆ Demonstrate respect for political autonomy and diversity in Muslim nations and emphasize U.S. commitment to non-interference where credible
- ◆ Create opportunities for Islamic scholars to research how legal rights and freedoms relate to Islamic traditions

Terrorism and sacrifice: Most respondents consider the attacks of September 11, 2001 unjustifiable, but they consider those attacks relatively more justifiable than attacks on civilians in general. Respondents say they are generally accepting of those who do not share their opinions, but they hold more divergent views about whether it is justifiable to sacrifice one’s life for one’s beliefs.

The widespread disapproval of attacks on other civilians is a sentiment worth leveraging. The U.S. can and should emphasize the right of all civilians to live peacefully as a common value it shares with people in Muslim nations. Leaders should also recognize the relative permissibility of acts of sacrifice in certain nations.

- ◆ Reframe the Global War on Terrorism to emphasize the common value of the right of all civilians worldwide to live in peace
- ◆ Be mindful of greater support for acts of sacrifice in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Pakistan, and Lebanon

Success: People in Muslim nations tend to admire Western achievements in science and technology and in education, but not necessarily in films and music.

The U.S. should capitalize on Muslims’ admiration for Western success in building advanced scientific and technological capabilities and good educational systems.

- ◆ Increase efforts to share technical and scientific know-how with Muslim nations
- ◆ Support educational exchanges and offer assistance to nations seeking to learn from Western systems
- ◆ Establish American libraries in Muslim nations to demonstrate U.S. commitment to supporting education
- ◆ Maintain relationships with Muslim alumni of American schools and encourage them to share their experiences
- ◆ Use U.S. radio and television broadcasts to engage Muslims in debate on topics meaningful to them, rather than using them to promote Western films/music

U.S. quality of life: People in Muslim nations tend to consider the U.S. a violent and morally decadent society, and they generally do not perceive it to be an attractive tourist destination. Despite consistently negative perceptions of quality of life in the U.S., correlations suggest improving these views may increase favorability.

- ◆ Sponsor cultural exchange programs to increase the number of Muslims with real-life experiences in the U.S.
- ◆ Sponsor ambassador programs for Muslim-Americans to visit Muslim nations and share their experiences

★

THE GOAL: DATA-DRIVEN DIPLOMACY

Our goal is to provide recommendations for improving Muslim attitudes toward the U.S. We advocate a *pull*, rather than push, approach to public diplomacy, based on empirical evidence about what people in Muslim nations think about their own lives, the U.S., and the world.

U.S. Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes defines the mission of U.S. public diplomacy as seeking “to engage, inform, and help others understand our policies, actions, and values,” recognizing that “before we can seek to be understood, we must first work to understand.”¹ Our analysis seeks to help U.S. leaders achieve this understanding, providing the empirical evidence necessary to truly know Muslim nations and cultures.

In providing this evidence, we encourage leaders to move away from the type of one-way, one-size-fits-all public diplomacy that is generally perceived as self-serving propaganda and move toward efforts that convey a genuine attempt to foster mutual understanding.

To this end, we provide in-depth findings about the beliefs, priorities, and concerns of people in Muslim nations, taking particular care to recognize what distinguishes people in one nation from another.

We believe this information will help the U.S. maximize its soft power, which, according to Joseph S. Nye, primarily rests on “its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority).”² Understanding which aspects of U.S. soft power are valuable in which nations is critical for improving overall favorability.

Through an in-depth audit of public opinion data collected by the Gallup Organization, we aim to help leaders truly understand what is attractive to Muslim populations. Our ultimate goal is to enable the U.S. to make real progress in the battle for Muslim hearts and minds.

METHODOLOGY

To identify which factors are associated with more favorable views of the U.S., we analyze opinions across a variety of countries and issues. The eight predominantly Muslim nations at the heart of our analysis represent a variety of geographic, economic, political, religious, ethnic, and cultural contexts. Four nations are Arab (Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia), while four are non-Arab (Indonesia, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey). Four are outside the Middle East (Indonesia, Morocco, Pakistan, and Turkey), and four have Islamic Law (Iran, Jordan, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia). Together, populations in these nations comprise a significant number of the world’s Muslims.

Our selected questions of interest address a broad spectrum of political, personal, and cultural issues. We first examine percentages and averages as a broad gauge of what people think. We then examine how each question relates to one’s favorability of the U.S. on a 1-to-5 scale from “very unfavor-

able” to “very favorable” (Q26). Specifically, we consider whether the two factors are correlated, meaning they tend to move together. We report that a particular view correlates with favorability *only if* the relationship is statistically significant at the .05 level, and thus unlikely to result by chance. We underscore that when a particular view correlates with favorability, it does not mean that view *causes* favorability but rather that the two things tend to be associated with one another.

Understanding this, we analyze the correlations to identify views that leaders can use as “levers” for public diplomacy across several nations. To increase the number of people holding these views, we recommend messages for the daily and strategic communication that public diplomacy requires, in order to improve overall favorability of the U.S.

GALLUP SURVEY DESIGN & LIMITATIONS

Our analysis is made possible by the Gallup Organization’s Poll of the Muslim World conducted from August to October 2005 as part of the larger Gallup World Poll. In each country, Gallup conducted in-home face-to-face interviews, drawn from a randomly selected national sample of approximately 1,000 adults ages 18 and older. For results based on these samples, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum error attributable to sampling and other random effects is ± 3 percentage points.

Despite the statistical soundness of these data, we recognize that survey responses are not necessarily facts, and that respondents’ answers may be colored by any number of factors, including recent current events, question wording, misinterpretation of the question, varied translations, practical difficulties in conducting surveys, and response bias. We ask that policy-makers keep these issues in mind, recognizing both the complexity and the value of aggregating opinions straight from the people.

CONTEXT & BACKGROUND

The road to the current state of affairs between the West and the Muslim World is a long one, beginning with cross-cultural misunderstandings when Europeans colonized the Muslim communities of Africa and continuing with the large waves of Muslim immigration to Western Europe and North America.³ The relationship entered a new and difficult chapter after the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001, in which 19 hijackers killed more than 3,000 American civilians in the name of Islam.⁴ Since 2001, a series of events have heightened tensions between the Western and Muslim worlds.

U.S. detentions at Guantanamo Bay: While the U.S.-led campaign to topple the Taliban in Afghanistan was generally accepted without backlash by people in Muslim nations, some of the resulting consequences were not. During the Afghanistan campaign, the U.S. began to detain alleged terrorists at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and some of these suspects remain at the facility to this day.⁵ Since 2001, the U.S. has detained nearly 800 people at the prison, primarily Muslim men, and has released more than half without filing any charges.⁶ The long-term detentions at Guantanamo Bay and the U.S.' refusal to grant detainees the protections afforded by the Geneva Convention have angered Muslim populations and provided Islamic extremists with ammunition to bolster their claim that the U.S. is waging a war against Islam.⁷ In May 2005, a *Newsweek* report that American interrogators at the facility flushed a copy of the Qu'ran down a toilet, though later retracted, sparked anti-American riots in Afghanistan and Pakistan, killing 17 people and injuring dozens more.⁸

War in Iraq: The U.S.-led war in Iraq, launched in 2003 to protect the world from "an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder," has for four years created fodder for enemies of the United States.⁹ In April 2004, photos of Iraqi prisoners being tortured by American soldiers at Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad inspired many Islamic clerics to fill their sermons with anti-American rhetoric.¹⁰ In January 2005, President Bush admitted that actions by the administration "made public diplomacy in (the) Muslim world difficult."¹¹ Later that year, the Iraq Survey group, an independent commission the President appointed, undermined the administration's stated rationale for war when it confirmed that Saddam Hussein did not possess weapons of mass destruction or any program to produce them at the time the U.S. invaded Iraq.¹²

Indian Ocean Tsunami: The deadly tsunami which on December 26, 2004 devastated Indonesia afforded the U.S. a unique opportunity to improve its image in the world's most populous Muslim country as well as neighboring nations. While the U.S. was initially criticized for reacting too slowly, President Bush eventually tripled the U.S.' initial commitment to relief aid to \$950 million.¹³ Private donations from

American sources added another \$1.5 billion in aid.¹⁴ U.S. diplomats to the region later credited such efforts for improving opinions of the U.S. among people across South and East Asia.¹⁵

Events since 2005:

Our data does not account for events occurring after the polls were conducted in late 2005. Most notably, the situation in Iraq has deteriorated significantly, resulting in mounting casualties from deadly sectarian violence among Iraqi Sunnis and Shi'ites and increasing perceptions of U.S. mismanagement of the war. According to a National Intelligence Estimate on terrorism declassified in September 2006, "the Iraq conflict has become a cause célèbre for jihadists, breeding a deep resentment of U.S. involvement in the Muslim world, and cultivating supporters for the global jihadist movement."¹⁶ The report also concludes that terrorists "are increasing in both number and geographic dispersion."¹⁷

The U.S. also has been faulted for not responding appropriately to other conflicts in the Middle East. When in July 2006 Israel launched a deadly offensive against Hezbollah in Lebanon, the Arab media harshly criticized the U.S. for refusing to demand a cease-fire.¹⁸ One month later, a *New York Times* editorial called the conflict an "unnecessary war" with "many losers and no real winners," not only for Lebanon, Israel and their supporters, but also for Islamic and world public opinion.¹⁹

Events not directly related to the U.S. also have increased tensions. When in February 2006 a Danish newspaper published satirical cartoons of Islam's Prophet Muhammad, people in Muslim nations held violent protests.²⁰ Later in the same year, Pope Benedict XVI quoted a description of 14th century Islam as "evil and inhumane," sparking harsh criticism from Muslim leaders and fervent demands for an apology.²¹

These events highlight increasing misunderstandings and issues of contention between Muslim nations and the West, impeding progress toward improved relations and a peaceful coexistence.

MAJOR EVENTS CRITICAL TO U.S.-MUSLIM RELATIONS:
Attacks of September 11, 2001
U.S.-led war in Afghanistan
U.S. detentions at Guantanamo Bay
U.S.-led war in Iraq
Incidents of U.S. torture at Abu Ghraib Prison in Baghdad
U.S. relief efforts after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami
2006 Israel-Lebanon Conflict

WHAT AFFECTS FAVORABILITY?

ANALYZING “WHAT WE DO” & “WHO WE ARE”

To determine what factors distinguish those with favorable and unfavorable views of the U.S., our analysis focuses on two broad categories framed from the U.S. perspective as “what we do” and “who we are.” We set the stage by assessing the current state of the relationship by nation and across demographic categories. Given these findings, we focus the bulk of our analysis on examining viewpoints and beliefs.

“What we do:” Our analysis defines “what we do” as the substance and style of foreign policies that affect Muslim populations. Some questions relate to specific policies undertaken by the U.S., while others consider general positions and actions associated with Western nations as a whole. An additional series of questions considers a variety of attributes, both positive and negative, which might be associated with the U.S. Opinions on these attributes provide insight into respondents’ views about the style, rather than content, of U.S. diplomatic relations and international interactions.

Specifically, the “what we do” section considers views on:

- ◆ Foreign policy substance
- ◆ Foreign policy style

“Who we are:” Questions in this section examine the assumptions underlying the hypothesis that negativity toward the U.S. among Muslim populations stems from a “clash of cultures.” Rather than limiting our analysis to questions about the U.S., we also assess respondents’ views about their own nations and their own lives in order to identify sources of underlying conflict.

Specifically, the “who we are” section considers views on:

- ◆ Culture, values, and coexistence
- ◆ Keys to progress
- ◆ Religion
- ◆ Economics
- ◆ Democracy and legal rights
- ◆ Terrorism and sacrifice
- ◆ Success, including science and technology, education, and films and music
- ◆ U.S. quality of life

Together, these categories enable us to assess both political and personal factors that might affect favorability.



Source: University of Texas Libraries, http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/world_maps/muslim_distribution.jpg

SELECTED COUNTRIES FOR ANALYSIS

INDONESIA

Non-Arab

Region: Southeast Asia

Population: 245.5 million

% Muslim: 88%

Islamic Law? No

Type of Government: Republic; President & Vice President are elected for five-year terms by direct vote of the citizenry

GDP: \$935 billion

Ties to U.S.: Embassy & ambassador; no significant imports/exports



IRAN

Non-Arab

Region: Middle East

Population: 68.7 million

% Muslim: 89% Shi'a, 9% Sunni

Islamic Law? Yes

Type of Government: Theocratic Republic; Supreme Leader appointed for life by the Assembly of Experts; President elected by popular vote for a four-year term

GDP: \$610.4 billion

Ties to U.S.: No diplomatic representation; no significant imports/exports



JORDAN

Arab

Region: Middle East

Population: 5.9 million

% Muslim: 92% Sunni, <2% Shi'a

Islamic Law? Yes

Type of Government: Constitutional monarchy; the monarch is hereditary; Prime Minister appointed by the monarch

GDP: \$28.89 billion

Ties to U.S.: Embassy & ambassador; 26.2% of exports, 5.6% of imports



LEBANON

Arab

Region: Middle East

Population: 3.9 million

% Muslim: 59.7%

Islamic Law? No

Type of Government: Republic; President elected by the National Assembly for a six-year term

GDP: \$21.45 billion

Ties to U.S.: Embassy & ambassador; 5.3% of imports

MOROCCO

Arab

Region: North Africa

Population: 33.2 million

% Muslim: 98.7%

Islamic Law? Yes

Type of Government: Constitutional Monarchy; the hereditary monarch appoints the Prime Minister after legislative election

GDP: \$147 billion

Ties to U.S.: Embassy & ambassador; no significant imports/exports



PAKISTAN

Non-Arab

Region: South Asia

Population: 165.8 million

% Muslim: 77% Sunni, 20% Shi'a

Islamic Law? No, but some provisions to accommodate Pakistan's status as an Islamic state

Type of Government: Federal Republic; President elected by an electoral college from the national parliament and provincial assemblies for a five-year term

GDP: \$427.3 billion

Ties to U.S.: Embassy & ambassador; 24.8% of exports, 6% of imports



SAUDI ARABIA

Arab

Region: Middle East

Population: 27 million

% Muslim: 100%

Islamic Law? Yes

Type of Government: Monarchy; the monarch is hereditary

GDP: \$374 billion

Ties to U.S.: Embassy & ambassador; 16.8% of exports, 14.8% of imports



TURKEY

Non-Arab

Region: Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia

Population: 70.4 million

% Muslim: 99.8% (Primarily Sunni)

Islamic Law? No

Type of Government: Republican parliamentary democracy; President elected by the National Assembly for a single seven-year term.

GDP: \$627.2 billion

Ties to U.S.: Embassy & ambassador; 6.7% of exports, 4.6% of imports

Source: CIA World Factbook; <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>

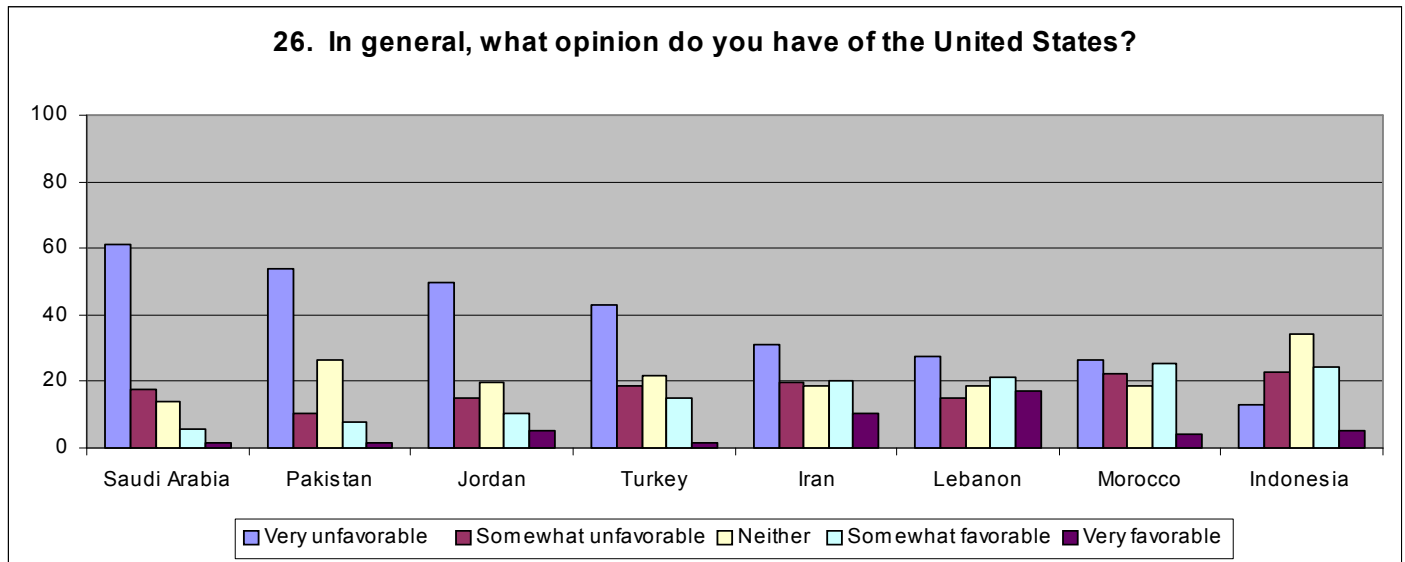
CURRENT STATE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

FAVORABILITY OF THE U.S.

While significant numbers of people in Muslim nations hold unfavorable views of the U.S., sizeable favorable and neutral populations do exist.

In the eight nations in this analysis, people with unfavorable views of the U.S. far outnumber those with favorable views (Q26). Anti-American sentiment is most prevalent in Saudi Arabia, where 61% of respondents say they are “very unfa-

There are also significant numbers of people who do not voice a strong opinion of the U.S. one way or the other; that is, they are “neither unfavorable nor favorable” toward the U.S. These populations are largest in Indonesia (34%) and Pakistan (26%). In Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Iran, and Morocco, this middle group makes up 18-20% of the population. In Saudi Arabia, this number is 14%.



avorable” toward the U.S., followed by Pakistan (54%), Jordan (50%) and Turkey (43%). Combining the “very unfavorable” and “somewhat unfavorable” categories, 79% of people in Saudi Arabia hold negative views of the United States, followed by 65% in Pakistan, 65% in Jordan and 62% in Turkey. Anti-Americanism is common, but less prevalent, in the other nations: the combined percentage of “very” and “somewhat unfavorable” is 51% in Iran, 49% in Lebanon, 42% in Morocco, and 36% in Indonesia.

In contrast to the large numbers of people who are unfavorable toward the U.S., only small percentages of people are favorable toward the U.S. Only in Lebanon and Iran does the percentage of people who say they are “very favorable” toward the U.S. reach double-digits, at 17% and 10% respectively. In Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey, less than 2% hold “very favorable” views of the U.S. Combining both “very favorable” and “somewhat favorable,” the percentages are somewhat more encouraging. 39% of people in Lebanon fall on the positive side of the spectrum, followed by 31% in Iran, 30% in Indonesia, and 30% in Morocco. However, it should be noted that favorability of the U.S. in Lebanon is likely to have since deteriorated as a result of the 2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict.

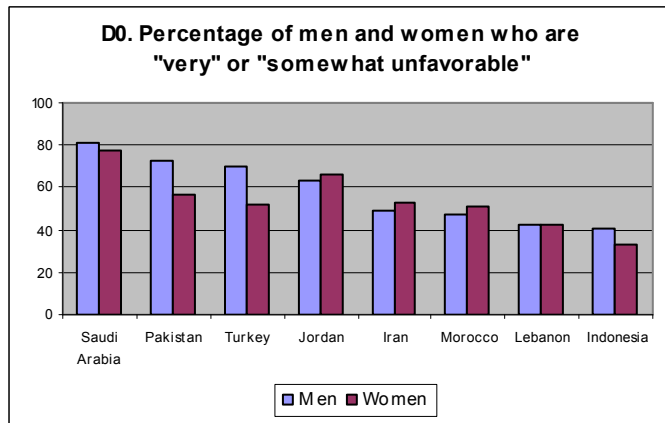
Overall, these numbers paint a bleak picture of the current state of the relationship between the U.S. and Muslim nations. Such negativity creates an environment ripe for recruiting support for Islamic extremism and terrorist activities aimed at U.S. interests, citizens, and allies, and it also impedes U.S. diplomatic efforts.

All hope, however, is not lost. The fact that some populations remain favorable or neutral toward the U.S. suggests potential for the U.S. to attract new friends and dissuade potential enemies. Although U.S. public diplomacy might not be sufficient to change the attitudes of those who are “very unfavorable” toward the U.S., it might effectively influence those who fall in the “somewhat unfavorable,” “neither,” or “somewhat favorable” categories. In five of eight nations, these groups make up more than half of the population, with 82% in Indonesia, 66% in Morocco, 59% in Iran, and 55% in both Lebanon and Turkey. They make up 45% of the population in Jordan and Pakistan and 37% of the population in Saudi Arabia. If the U.S. can successfully improve perceptions among these groups, it is likely to improve overall favorability.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Findings across demographic categories undermine the notion that those who dislike the U.S. are young, uneducated males. They also provide evidence for crafting public diplomacy messages based on people's views and beliefs.

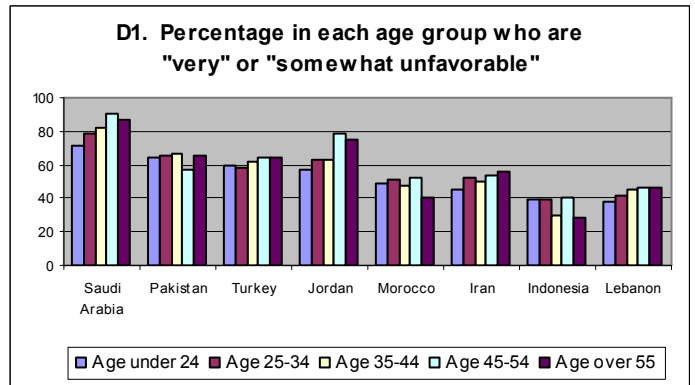
Gender: The common perception that men are more unfavorable toward the U.S. than women is the exception rather than the rule. In five of eight nations (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, Morocco, and Lebanon), the difference between the percentages of men and women who hold unfavorable views is very small and is within the statistical margin of error (3%) (QD0). However, in Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia, the percentage of men who are "very" or "somewhat unfavorable" toward the U.S. is greater than the corresponding percentage of women in that country.



The resulting correlations confirm that in most nations, men and women are equally likely to be favorable toward the U.S. However, as mentioned above, exceptions occur in Pakistan, Turkey, and Indonesia, where women are more likely to be favorable toward the U.S. This suggests that targeting public diplomacy messages by gender may be effective in these, but not all, nations.

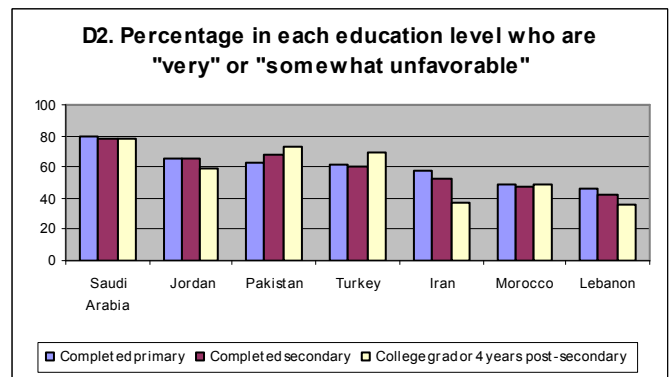
Age: Only small differences in favorability of the U.S. occur among age groups, though older people are often more unfavorable than younger people. In Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Jordan, Iran, and Lebanon, the percentages of people ages 45-to-54 and over age 55 who are "very" or "somewhat unfavorable" toward the U.S. are greater than the corresponding percentages in younger age groups (QD1). Further, respondents in these categories demonstrate similar views to each other, as differences between them fall within the margin of error. However, an exception occurs in Morocco, where those who are over age 55 have the lowest percentage of "very" or "somewhat unfavorable" responses.

Consistent correlations between favorability and age exist in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Jordan, and Iran, where younger people are more likely than older people to be favorable toward



the U.S. The opposite is true only in Morocco, where older people are more likely to be more favorable. These data indicate that the U.S. should consider targeting some messages to younger people, especially in nations where they are already more likely to be favorable.

Education: The relationship between education and favorability appears to relate to a nation's overall education level. People in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iran, and Lebanon report the highest levels of education, with more than 50% of respondents saying they have completed secondary school or more (QD2, n/a Indonesia). Education levels are much lower in Pakistan, Turkey, and Morocco, where less than 37% of respondents report completing secondary school or more. In the relatively more educated countries of Jordan, Iran, and Lebanon, those with less education tend to be more unfavorable. In the relatively less educated countries of Turkey and Pakistan, those who have completed college or more are the most unfavorable.



Correlations confirm that in Jordan, Iran, and Lebanon, higher favorability correlates with having more formal education. As these nations are among the relatively more educated countries, it is possible that increasing overall education levels might improve overall favorability.

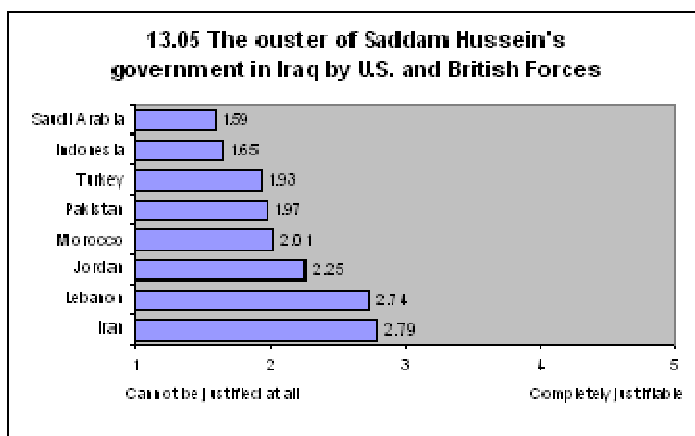
Although demographic factors relate to favorability in some nations, the lack of consistent relationships support the view that U.S. public diplomacy should appeal to people's views and beliefs.

FOREIGN POLICY SUBSTANCE & STYLE

FINDINGS

People in Muslim nations are overwhelmingly negative about both the substance of U.S. and Western foreign policies and the style of U.S. diplomatic relations.

The situation in Iraq: Across Muslim nations, sizeable majorities believe that the U.S.-led war in Iraq is unjustifiable. In all eight nations, respondents on average categorize “the ouster of Saddam Hussein’s government in Iraq by U.S. and British forces” as unjustifiable to some degree (Q13.05). In



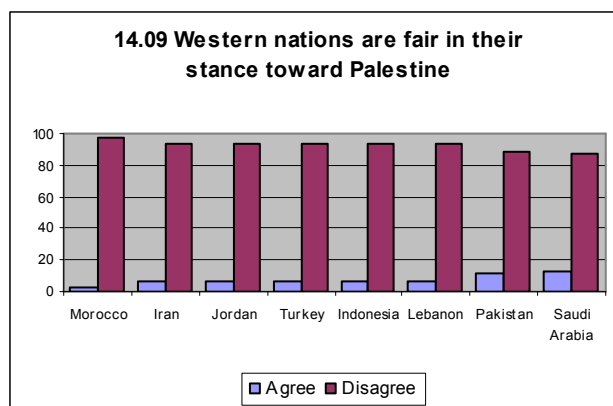
four nations, more than half of respondents indicate they agree with the most extreme option on the scale, that the ouster of Saddam Hussein’s government “cannot be justified at all.” That number is as high as 69% in Saudi Arabia, followed by 66% in Turkey, 53% in Pakistan, and 52% in Indonesia. Given the deterioration of the situation in Iraq since 2005, views probably have become even more negative.

When asked to judge the effects of the war as of 2005, more than two-thirds of respondents in six of seven nations say the conflict has “done more harm than good”(Q32 n/a Indonesia). The exception occurs in Iran, where 53% say the conflict has “done more harm than good,” 28% say it has “done more good than harm,” and 11% say things are “the same.” These more positive views may be related to that fact that Iran, a majority Shi’a nation, has been empowered by the emergence of a Shi’a-majority government in Iraq.

Additionally, people in Muslim nations are generally pessimistic or unsure about whether “the removal of former Iraqi regime by U.S. and British forces will weaken activities of Islamic fundamentalist organizations” (Q33.04 n/a Indonesia, Saudi Arabia). The number of people who disagree is substantial, from 42% in Turkey to 66% in Jordan. And interestingly, double-digit percentages (14%-36%) in all nations except Lebanon (8%), home to the terrorist group Hezbollah, say they “can’t say.”

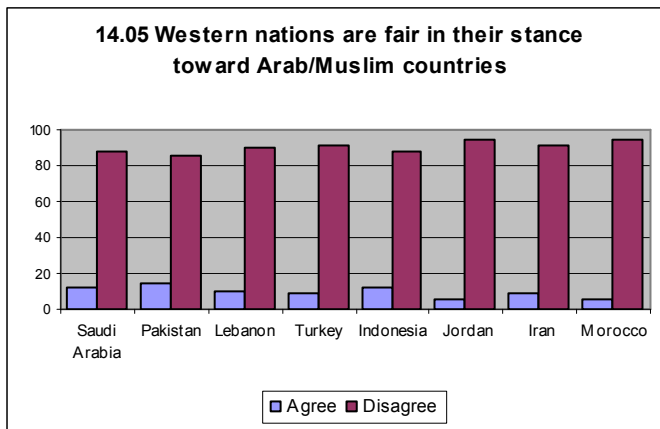
Consistent correlations between favorability and views about Iraq exist in certain countries but not others. In Iran, Lebanon, and Turkey, a more favorable view of the U.S. correlates with more positive views on all three questions on Iraq. Less consistent correlations exist in other nations. In Jordan and Indonesia, those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to consider Saddam’s ouster justifiable. In Jordan and Pakistan, higher favorability correlates with the belief in 2005 that the U.S. invasion of Iraq has done more good than harm, and in Morocco and Pakistan, higher favorability correlates with the belief that it would weaken Islamic fundamentalist organizations. While these correlations suggest that improving perceptions of the situation in Iraq might help increase favorability of the U.S., there are two key hesitations. First, either view might be causing the other; i.e. more positive views about Iraq might cause greater favorability of the U.S. or vice versa. Second, views on this topic tend to be strongly held and difficult to influence.

The situation in Palestine: Respondents overwhelmingly disagree that Western nations are fair in their stance toward Palestine, both in Middle Eastern and non-Middle Eastern nations alike. 87% or more of respondents in each nation say they do not believe that Western nations are fair in their stance toward Palestine (Q14.09). Morocco has the highest level of disagreement at 97%. People in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are the most positive about the situation, but their disagreement remains strong at 87% and 89% respectively. However, the lack of comparative questions with other specific policies makes it difficult to determine how this issue ranks as a priority.



Due to the overwhelming uniformity of opinion on this issue, few correlations exist with favorability of the U.S. Only in Lebanon and Pakistan does a more favorable view correlate with more agreement that Western nations are fair in their stance toward Palestine.

Positions toward Arab/Muslim nations: People also hold negative views of Western policies toward Arab/Muslim nations more broadly. In each nation, more than 85% of respondents disagree that Western nations are fair in their stance toward Arab/Muslim nations (Q14.05). People in Jordan and Morocco disagree most often (94%). Similarly, more than 85% of respondents in each nation disagree that Western nations take positions that support Arab causes in international organizations (Q14.07). People in Turkey, a non-Arab country, most often disagree (95%). For neither question do views appear to differ between Arab and non-Arab nations.



Few correlations exist between views of Western policies toward Arab/Muslim nations and favorability of the U.S. Only in Lebanon and Indonesia does a more favorable view of the U.S. correlate with more agreement that Western nations take a fair stance toward Arab/Muslim countries. Only in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Iran does a more favorable view of the U.S. correlate with more agreement that Western nations take positions that support Arab causes. Because Lebanon is 40% non-Muslim, some Lebanese respondents may feel less personally affected by policies “toward Arab/Muslim countries.”

Style of international relations: Across Muslim nations, people are much more likely to associate negative traits with the U.S. than positive traits (Q27). In each country, more than 50% of respondents say “ruthless,” “aggressive,” “arrogant,” and “conceited” are statements which apply to the U.S. The only exceptions are Turkey (34% say “aggressive” applies), Indonesia (46% say “ruthless” applies), and Pakistan (49% say “arrogant” applies). In contrast, respondents rarely apply positive attributes to the U.S. In each country, fewer than 20% say the U.S. “treats other countries respectfully,” fewer than 11% say it is “friendly” and fewer than 10% say it is “trustworthy.”

TRAITS MOST OFTEN APPLIED TO THE U.S.:

- Ruthless
- Conceited
- Aggressive
- Arrogant

TRAITS LEAST OFTEN APPLIED TO THE U.S.:

- Trustworthy
- Friendly
- Treats other countries respectfully

When looking across characteristics, some patterns emerge across nations. People in Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and Iran are more likely to cite negative characteristics as applying to the U.S., while people in Indonesia and Lebanon are more likely to cite positive characteristics.

Not surprisingly, those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are less likely to apply negative traits and more likely to apply positive traits. This relationship exists uniformly for “conceited,” “arrogant,” “ruthless,” “hypocritical” and “adopts biased policies in world affairs,” and in almost all cases for “aggressive,” “easily provoked,” “trustworthy,” and “friendly.” Interestingly, in Turkey, higher favorability correlates with being *more likely* to cite “aggressive.” While the correlations suggest levers for public diplomacy, it is possible that overall favorability causes one to associate positive attributes with the U.S. Even so, it is important for the U.S. to recognize how its style is perceived by Muslim populations and to incorporate this knowledge into its diplomatic approach.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

While favorability consistently correlates with more positive views about the situation in Iraq and the style of U.S. international relations, we underscore the overwhelming negativity that exists across these categories.

As views on foreign policies are difficult to influence without changing the substance of foreign policy, we do not recommend messages based on correlations between favorability and opinions on Iraq. Further, it is difficult to determine whether more favorable views lead to more positive assess-

ments or the other way around. While leaders might improve overall favorability by making changes to U.S. and Western foreign policies, we recognize they may be unwilling to do so.

However, we assess there is much to be gained by recognizing the widespread negativity that exists and working to counter commonly-held perceptions about the U.S.’ diplomatic style.

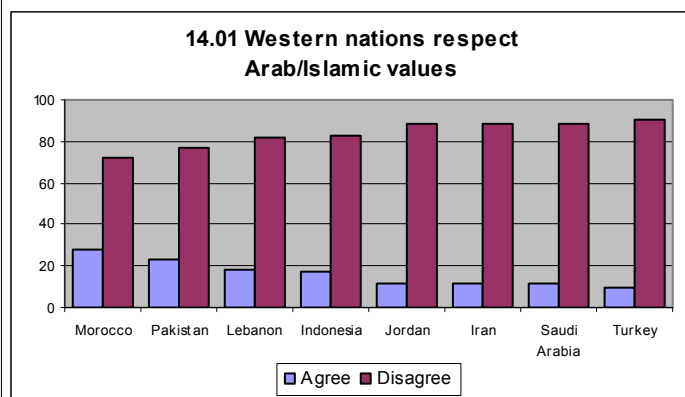
- ◆ **Recognize widespread negativity** about U.S. and Western foreign policies in U.S. decision-making and public comments on policies that impact Muslim nations
- ◆ **Demonstrate transparency, fairness, respect, and humility** in diplomatic relations

CULTURE, VALUES, & COEXISTENCE

FINDINGS

Respondents perceive tension between Western and Muslim cultures and demonstrate only moderate concern for achieving a better coexistence.

Culture and values: People in Muslim nations on average perceive that Western nations do not respect their values, but nor do they perceive their own nations as very open to Western culture. In each nation, the overwhelming majority of people disagree that Western nations “respect Arab/Islamic values” (Q14.01). People in Morocco are the most positive on this issue (28% agree), while people in Turkey are the most negative (10% agree).



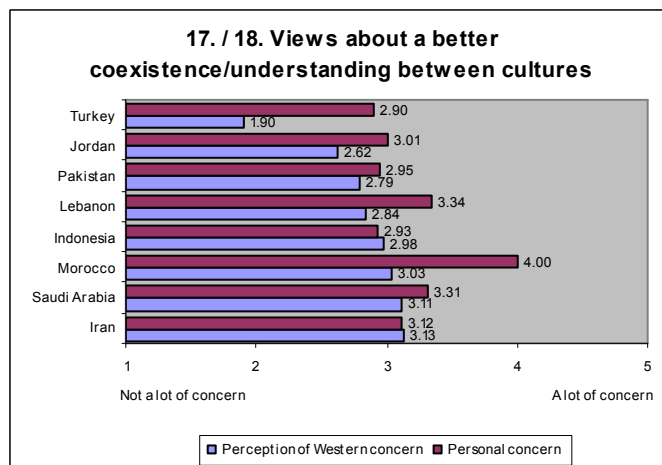
When asked about Muslim attitudes toward Western culture, respondents on average appear to perceive wariness. In each of the eight nations, only small percentages agree that Arab/Muslim nations are “not apprehensive about the influence of Western culture and lifestyle,” ranging from 13% in Indonesia to 29% in Lebanon (Q15.04). However, a similar question produces more varied results. When asked whether Arab/Muslim nations are “open-minded towards the Western culture,” 16% of people in Indonesia agree compared to 68% in Morocco (Q15.01). These findings suggest that most Muslim populations are concerned about the impact of Western culture on their society. These sentiments may be the result of factors ranging from internal close-mindedness to perceptions of cultural incompatibility and disrespect.

Encouragingly, the most viable lever for public diplomacy in this case is one which the U.S. might reasonably influence. In Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia, those who agree that Western nations respect Arab/Islamic values are more likely to be more favorable toward the U.S. However, few consistent correlations exist between favorability and respondents’ perceptions of Muslim attitudes toward Western culture. Only in Morocco and Saudi Arabia are those who perceive less apprehension among Muslim na-

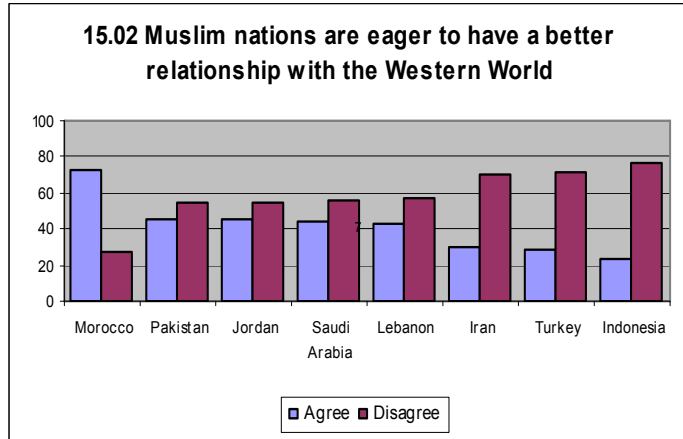
tions more favorable toward the U.S. Further, perceptions about whether Muslim nations are open-minded can work both ways. In Indonesia, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia, higher favorability correlates with more agreement, while in Lebanon and Iran, higher favorability correlates with less agreement. While U.S. leaders might improve favorability by improving perceptions of Western respect toward Arab/Islamic values, it is also possible that respondents’ *personal* views about the interaction of cultures may be the causal variable, rather their views of Muslim perceptions more broadly.

Concern for a better coexistence: Respondents perceive moderate concern among all parties for improving the relationship between Western and Muslim societies. People in each nation on average perceive Western nations as moderately concerned about creating a better coexistence between cultures (Q17). On a 1-to-5 scale from “do not show any concern” to “show a lot of concern,” responses average from 1.90 to 3.13, with people in Turkey perceiving the least concern and people in Iran perceiving the most concern. Looking at percentages by category, only in Turkey do large percentages express extreme views on the issue, with 45% saying that Western societies do not show any concern. In other nations, 21% or fewer say the same, with responses clustering around the middle of the scale.

In all nations except Indonesia and Iran, people on average say they are more personally concerned about improving the relationship than they perceive Western nations to be (Q18). Even so, the overall level of personal concern is relatively moderate, with average responses in all nations but Morocco ranging from 2.90 to 3.34. In Morocco, the average response is 4.00, suggesting a much higher level of personal concern than in other nations.

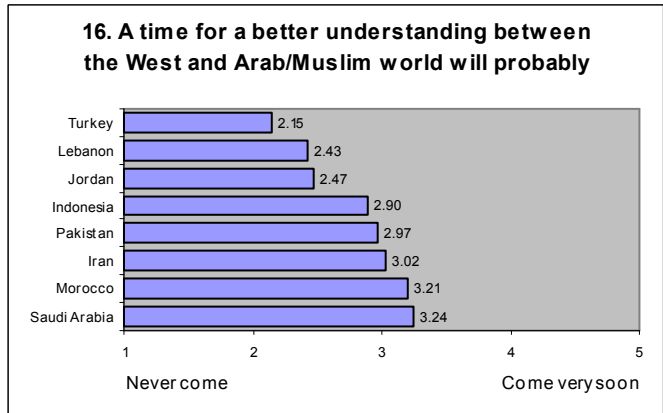


Respondents express divergent views about whether Muslim nations are eager for a better relationship with the Western world (Q15.02). In Morocco, 73% of people agree, while in Iran, Turkey, and Indonesia, approximately 30% of people hold this view. People in Pakistan, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon are more evenly divided, where 43%-46% agree.



Favorability consistently correlates with perceptions of Western concern for a better coexistence. In all nations except Iran, a more favorable view of the U.S. correlates with more agreement that Western nations show more concern, rather than less concern, for a better coexistence. In contrast, neither the perceived level of concern among Muslim nations nor one's personal level of concern consistently predicts favorability. Further, the few correlations which exist run in differing directions. In Saudi Arabia, those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to agree that Muslim nations are eager to improve the relationship, while in Pakistan those who are more favorable are less likely to agree. In Saudi Arabia and Jordan, those who are more favorable are more likely to show personal concern for a better coexistence, while in Indonesia those who are more favorable are less likely to show personal concern. These findings suggest leaders should prioritize improving perceptions of the level of concern Western nations show.

Views about the future: People in Muslim nations tend to be pessimistic about the prospects for a better understanding between the West and the Arab/Muslim world. When asked to rate on a scale from 1-to-5 whether a better understanding will probably “never come” to “come very soon,” average responses range from 2.15 in Turkey to 3.24 in Saudi Arabia (Q16). People in Turkey hold the most pessimistic views, with 38% saying a better understanding will never come. People in Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Iran hold the most optimistic views.



In all nations except Pakistan and Iran, those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to be optimistic about the prospects for a better coexistence. These findings suggest gains could be made by providing tangible evidence that the relationship is improving.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC INSIGHTS

People in Morocco tend to be the most positive and optimistic about the interaction of Western and Muslim cultures while people in Turkey tend to be the most negative and pessimistic. Interestingly, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, whose relationships with the U.S. have been extensively examined and debated since 9/11, tend to fall in the middle of the spectrum. The U.S. should recognize that people in these nations may not always agree with the official positions of their leaders.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

While people in Muslim nations perceive tension between Western and Muslim cultures, correlations suggest several areas in which leaders are well-positioned to influence favorability. First, the relationship between favorability of the U.S. and respect for Arab/Islamic values suggests the U.S. should focus on demonstrating acceptance of Muslim values, rather than promoting Western values, as the route to bringing the cultures closer together.

- ◆ Express respect for Arab/Islamic values, rather than promoting Western values
- ◆ Stress U.S. concern for a better coexistence in relevant policies and diplomatic relations
- ◆ Highlight advancements toward a better understanding whenever possible

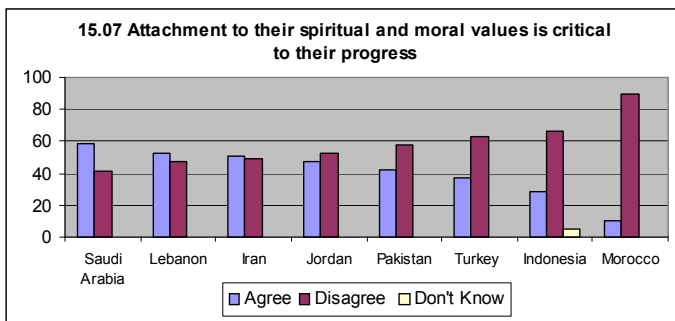
Second, leaders should attempt to capitalize on the consistent correlations between favorability and perception of Western concern for a better coexistence and optimism about the near-term prospects by emphasizing their high level of concern about this issue and providing evidence of progress toward a better understanding.

KEYS TO PROGRESS

FINDINGS

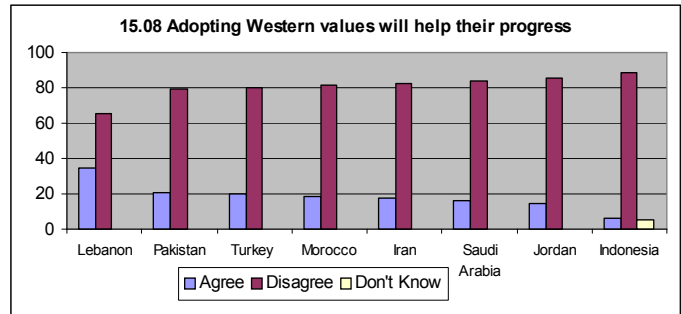
Respondents are divided on whether attachment to spiritual and moral values is *critical* to the progress of Muslim nations, but few agree that adopting Western values or increasing democracy will *help* progress.

Islam and progress: Respondents are divided on whether attachment to spiritual/moral values is critical to progress. In most nations, around 50% of respondents agree with this statement, including Lebanon (53%), Iran (51%), Jordan (47%), and Pakistan (42%) (Q15.07). More people agree in Saudi Arabia (59%), and fewer people agree in Turkey (37%), Indonesia (28%), and Morocco (10%). The question's inclusion of the high bar of criticality may explain the lack of agreement with this statement; respondents may have been more likely to agree with a statement asking whether these values would help or at least not prevent progress.



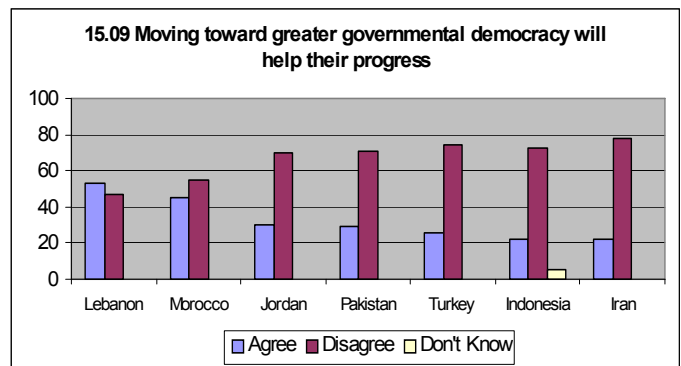
Correlations between views on Islamic values and progress and views of the U.S. exist in four nations. In Lebanon, Iran, Jordan, and Indonesia, those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are less likely to say that attachment to spiritual and moral values is critical to the progress of Muslim nations. This may indicate these people are relatively more secular than others in the country, and/or that they view things other than spiritual/moral values as critical to progress. However, policy-makers should be mindful of the high importance of religion in Muslims' personal lives, as will be discussed in the "religion" section.

Western values and progress: Despite mixed opinions on whether Islamic values are critical to progress, respondents consistently disagree that adopting Western values will help progress. When asked whether adopting Western values will help the progress of Muslim nations (note both the lower bar of "helping" rather than being "critical" and the lack of a definition of "Western values"), less than 35% of people in each country agree (Q15.08). Respondents in Lebanon are the most likely to agree with this statement (35%), while all other nations are below 21%. Respondents in Indonesia are least likely to agree (6%).



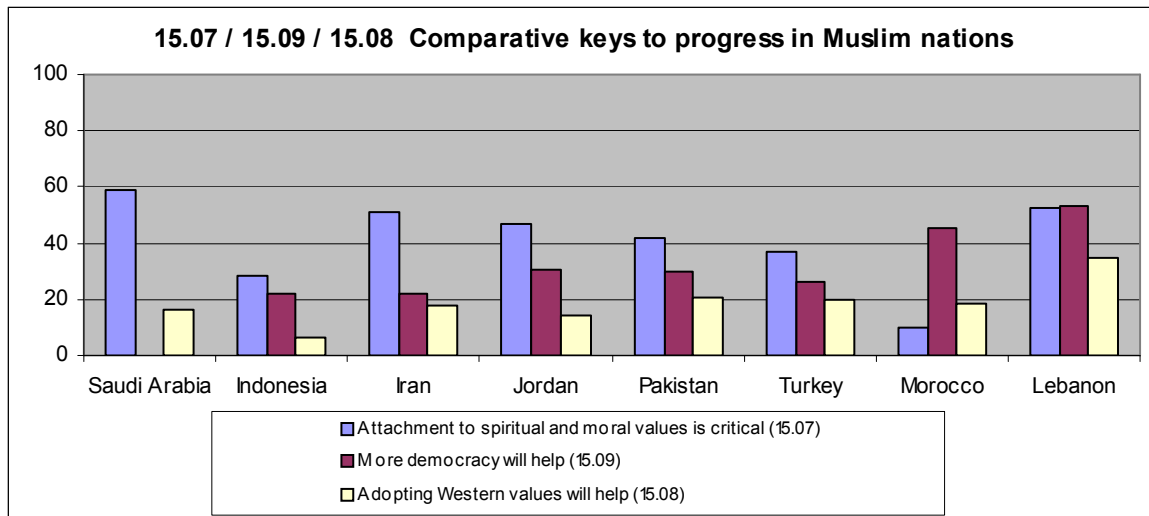
Correlations between views on Western values and favorability toward the U.S. exist in Lebanon, Iran, and Saudi Arabia: those with more positive views of the U.S. are more likely to agree that adopting Western values will help the progress of Muslim nations. When interpreted in light of the previous question on Islamic values, this may indicate that favorables in Lebanon and Iran see Western values as more helpful to progress than Islamic values, while those in Saudi Arabia may see both sets of values as helpful and therefore not incompatible.

Democracy and progress: Sizeable minorities of respondents in each nation believe that increasing democracy will help progress, and people in each nation believe democracy is more helpful than Western values. Respondents appear to distinguish "democracy" from "Western values," and in each nation, respondents are more likely to cite that greater governmental democracy will help progress more than Western values (Q15.09, n/a Saudi Arabia). Roughly a majority of people in Lebanon (53%) and Morocco (45%) associate democracy with progress, while 20-30% of respondents in all other nations agree that increasing democracy will help progress in Muslim nations.



Once again, correlations between favorability and views of progress exist in both Lebanon and Iran, where those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to believe that moving towards greater governmental democracy will help the progress of Muslim nations. These correlations are not wholly surprising, as both Lebanon and Iran already have some democratic elements of government, but they further indicate that people who are favorable toward the U.S. in Lebanon and Iran believe that Western values, including democracy, will be helpful to the progress of Muslim nations.

Given the lack of consensus on what will drive progress in Muslim nations, we recommend further research and polling on this subject. Additionally, in subsequent sections, we examine respondents' views in more specific areas including religion, economics, democracy and legal rights, success, and U.S. quality of life in order to gain more information on what respondents believe will benefit their societies.



LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

While the diversity of opinions on what will drive progress in Muslim nations provide few clear levers for public diplomacy, they reveal useful guidelines for messages to avoid.

Although higher favorability correlates with less support for the role of Muslim values in progress in a number of nations, we do not recommend that the U.S. use this as a public diplomacy lever for two reasons. First, overall opinions on this issue are far from uniform. Second, although respondents may not feel Islamic values are *critical* to progress, Muslims' strong attachment to religion indicates that Islamic values are probably relevant in some way, or at least they should not be forsaken in the name of progress. We therefore recommend the U.S. avoid explicitly linking or de-linking the concepts of Islamic values and progress in its policies and public comments.

We also recommend that the U.S. avoid promoting Western values and democracy as keys to progress. Although these may be appropriate levers in some nations, widespread opposition to these views indicates it would not increase overall favorability.

Although it should not explicitly link democracy and progress, the U.S. should consider what it can do to strengthen democratic systems in nations like Lebanon and Iran where views on democracy and Western values appear to be related to favorability. However, the U.S. must be careful to do this only when invited, in order to avoid the perception of imposing its will on other nations.

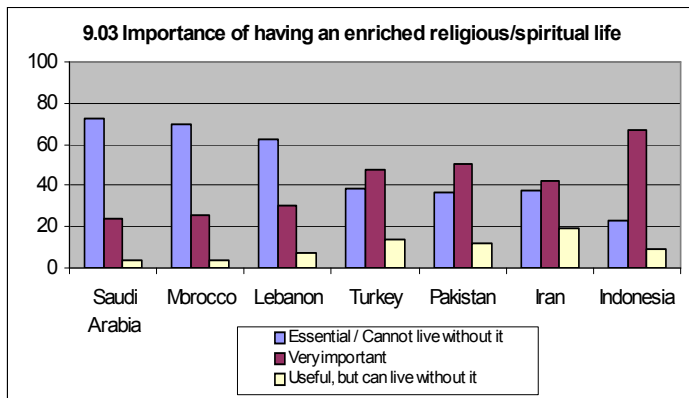
- ◆ **Recognize that while respondents may not believe Islamic spiritual and moral values are *critical* to progress, these values are an important part of their personal lives**
- ◆ **Refrain from promoting the view that Muslim nations should adopt Western values to achieve progress**
- ◆ **Help strengthen existing democratic systems where appropriate and when invited**

RELIGION

FINDINGS

While people in Muslim nations view religion as an essential component of their personal lives, most see it as only one factor relevant to public life.

Personal religion: Respondents on average say that personal commitment to religion is “very important” to “essential” and is expected to increase. Respondents in each nation view having an “enriched religious/spiritual life” as a “very important” to “essential” component of their personal lives (Q9.03*, n/a Jordan). Respondents in almost all nations rate religion as more essential than “having a comfortable economic life” and “having a democratically elected government.” The only exceptions occur in Morocco and Lebanon, where respondents rate economics higher than religion.



Looking comparatively across nations, respondents in Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and Lebanon place more importance on personal religion than respondents in other countries. In these three nations, a majority of respondents consider “having an enriched religious/spiritual life” as “essential/cannot live without it,” while people in Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, and Indonesia are more likely to cite it as “very important.”

Respondents in each nation also expect “commitment to one’s faith” to increase over the course of the next few years (Q10.04, n/a Saudi Arabia, Indonesia). However, the degree of expectation varies by country; higher percentages of respondents in Jordan, Morocco, and Pakistan expect their commitment to increase than in Lebanon, Turkey, and Iran.

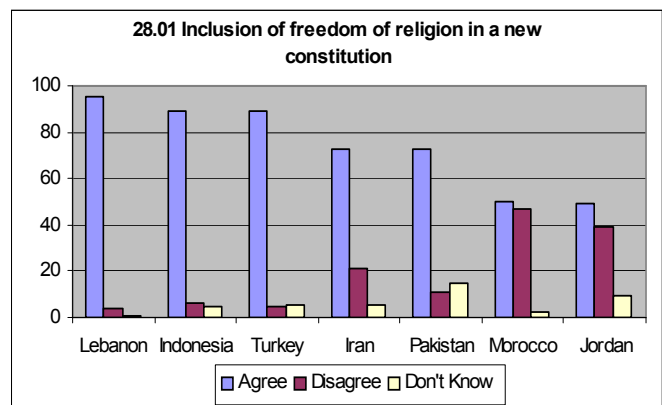
Correlations between favorability of the U.S. and views on personal religion exist, but are not consistent across nations. In Iran, higher favorability correlates with a less essential view of personal religion and the expectation that commitment to one’s faith will decrease in the near-term. This may indicate that less religious Iranians have better opinions of

the U.S. This may also be true in Lebanon, where higher favorability correlates with a less essential view of personal religion but not with future expectations. Higher favorability correlates with future expectations on religious commitment in Turkey and Jordan, though in different directions. In Turkey, higher favorability is associated with the belief that religious commitment will decline, while in Jordan it is associated with the belief that religious commitment will increase.

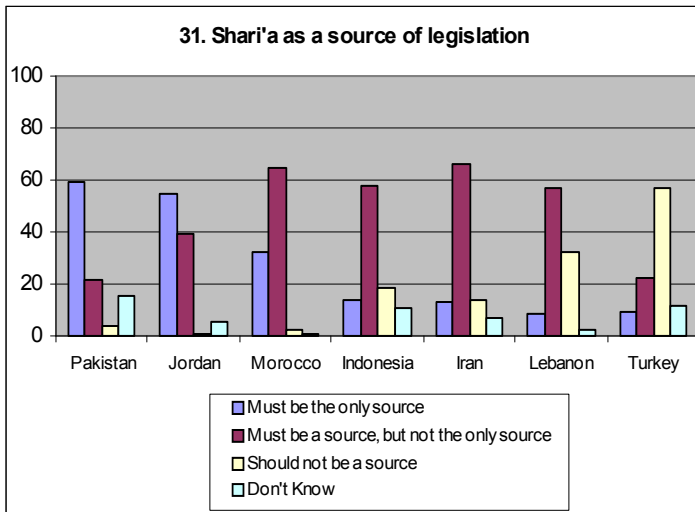
Religion and law: Respondents support freedom of religion, but most want shari’a to inform legislation. Despite relatively uniform support for freedom of religion, most respondents want religion to play some sort of role in legal structures. However, it should be emphasized that these questions were not asked in Saudi Arabia. Taking both questions into account, nations fall into three categories:

- **Support strong religious influence on law**
Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan
- **Support some religious influence on law**
Indonesia, Lebanon, Iran
- **Support separation of law and religion**
Turkey

When asked whether they would support including freedom of religion in a new constitution, a majority of respondents in each nation agree, but precise levels of support range from 50-95% (Q28.01, n/a Saudi Arabia). “Freedom of religion” was defined to respondents as “allowing all citizens to observe any religion of their choice and to practice its teachings and beliefs.” However, respondents may still interpret this differently based on their own nation’s laws, for example, on converting from one religion to another. Strongest support for freedom of religion occurs in Turkey (89%), Indonesia (89%), and Lebanon (95%). Nations with Islamic law or Islamic provisions in their legal systems show somewhat lower levels of support: Pakistan (72%), Iran (72%), Morocco (50%), and Jordan (50%).



Views on whether shari'a should be a source of legislation reflect beliefs similar to those on freedom of religion (Q31, n/a Saudi Arabia). In Pakistan and Jordan, both nations with strong religious influence on law, more than 50% of respondents support shari'a as the *only* source of legislation. In Morocco, 65% of respondents want shari'a to be one but not the sole source of law, and an additional 33% want it to be the sole source of law. Majorities in Iran, Indonesia, and Lebanon want shari'a to be a source (but not the only source) of legislation, while only in Turkey does a majority (57%) say shari'a should *not* be a source of legislation.



Views on shari'a correlate with favorability of the U.S. more consistently than views on freedom of religion. In each nation except Morocco, those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to believe that shari'a should not be a source of legislation. By contrast, correlations with views of freedom of religion exist only in Morocco, Iran, and Lebanon,

where people who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to agree with the inclusion of freedom of religion in a new constitution. These correlations may indicate that people in Muslim nations see the U.S. as pursuing anti-Islamic and anti-shari'a policies rather than as promoting freedom of religious practice. Combating this image may prove to be an important goal for public diplomacy.

Religious extremism in the U.S.: Respondents do not view religious extremism as common in the U.S. Although there are no religion questions directly comparing Western and Muslim nations, respondents do provide their opinions on whether the statement "religious extremism is common" applies to the U.S. (Q27.14). While the majority of people in each nation do not agree with this statement, slightly more than 40% of respondents in Saudi Arabia and Morocco agree that religious extremism is common in the U.S. In each of the other nations, between 17-23% of respondents agree, except Turkey where 7% agree.

In Saudi Arabia and Morocco, respondents' views on their own religion may be influencing their responses on this question. The strength of personal religious beliefs in these two nations (over 60% of people in each country rate religion as "essential") may lead to a greater perception of conflict between Muslims and the U.S.

In each nation except Pakistan, higher favorability of the U.S. correlates with being less likely to cite "religious extremism is common" as applying to the U.S. Although the direction of causality is unclear, this may indicate that negative feelings toward the U.S. are a reaction to perceived religious antagonism from Americans. The increasing influence of the Christian right in U.S. politics may be one factor contributing to this perception.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Although some religious beliefs consistently correlate with favorability, we recommend that the U.S. focus its messages on respecting, rather than influencing, religious beliefs.

Higher favorability of the U.S. consistently correlates with less agreement that shari'a should be a source of legislation. However, given widespread support for shari'a as a source of law and the high personal importance placed on religious values, public diplomacy rooted in these opinions is likely to

create, rather than prevent, negativity toward the U.S.

Public diplomacy messages instead should demonstrate respect for Islam while building on beliefs common to the U.S. and Muslim nations, such as support for freedom of religion. The U.S. may also be able to counter perceptions that religious extremism is common in the U.S. by avoiding political rhetoric that is religious in tone.

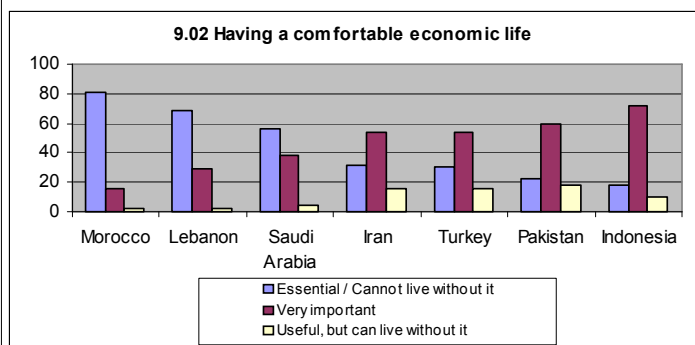
- ◆ **Demonstrate respect for the personal practice of Islam** to reduce the perception of a "War on Islam"
- ◆ **Emphasize common belief in freedom of religion** while recognizing that interpretations of this concept may differ
- ◆ **Encourage research to uncover common values between shari'a and rights-based legislation** and explore how the systems of law might be reconciled

ECONOMICS

FINDINGS

People in Muslim nations see economic well-being as “very important” and expect it to improve. They express admiration for Western economic opportunities, but they do not indicate confidence in U.S. intentions in the region.

Personal economics: Respondents see personal economic well-being as “very important.” Respondents in most countries rank having a comfortable economic life as “very important,” but secondary to having an enriched religious/spiritual life (Q9.02*, n/a Jordan). Exceptions occur in Morocco and Lebanon, where a majority of people indicate that personal economic well-being is “essential” and rank it as a higher priority than religion. The majority of people in Saudi Arabia also rank economics as “essential,” but they place it lower than religion. In each country, respondents rank both economics and religion higher than democracy.



Some surprising correlations exist between the importance of personal economic well-being and favorability toward the U.S. Given the U.S.’ pre-eminent economic standing, one would assume that higher favorability would correlate with a more essential view of economic well-being. However, this is true only in Lebanon. People in Turkey, Indonesia, and Morocco who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to rate personal economic well-being as less essential. This indicates that factors other than admiration of U.S. economic success may be driving favorability in these nations.

Economic optimism: Most respondents expect their personal and national economic status to improve. Respondents in all nations are optimistic, or at least believe the status quo will be maintained, when asked whether three economic factors will improve or decline in the next few years: family/personal economic level (Q10.01, n/a Indonesia), the national economy (Q10.08, n/a Indonesia), and integration with the world economy (Q10.05, n/a Indonesia, Saudi Arabia). People in Saudi Arabia and Morocco are the most optimistic about their personal and national financial futures. Respondents in Turkey and Lebanon are not optimistic, but

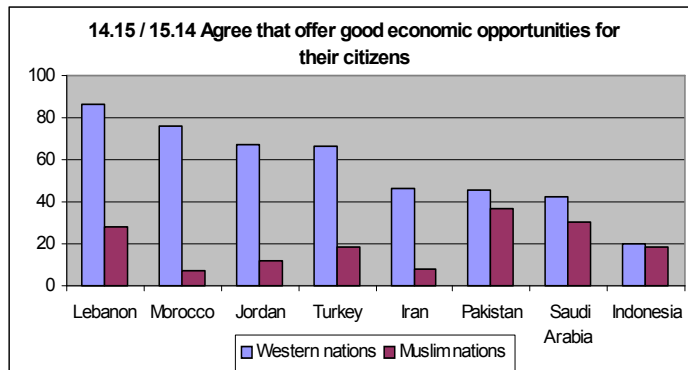
they indicate expectations that their respective economic situations will remain the same, rather than decline.

Measures of economic optimism correlate with favorability of the U.S. in different ways across nations. Only in Turkey do all three measures of optimism correlate with favorability: higher favorability correlates with more optimistic views of personal economic level, national economy, and integration with the world economy.

In other nations, favorability correlates only with national economic measures. In Lebanon, higher favorability correlates with more optimistic views of both the national economy and integration with the world economy. In Saudi Arabia and Morocco, higher favorability correlates only with a more optimistic view of the national economy. These correlations may indicate that these respondents believe that the U.S. economy has a positive impact on their national economic situation.

In Iran and Jordan, higher favorability correlates with pessimism about the national economy. In Iran, higher favorability is associated with more pessimistic views of the national economy and of world economic integration, while in Jordan it correlates only with a more pessimistic view of the national economy. These correlations may indicate the belief the U.S. economy has a negative impact on the Iranian and Jordanian national economies and/or that these respondents are unhappy with their own country’s management of the national economy while admiring the U.S. economy. U.S. and international sanctions on the Iranian economy may also be an influential factor.

Comparative opportunities: Respondents believe that Western nations offer better economic opportunities to citizens than Muslim nations. Respondents in each country except Indonesia are more likely to agree that Western nations offer good economic opportunities for their citizens than they are to agree that Muslim nations offer good



economic opportunities for their citizens (Q14.15, 15.14). People in Morocco, Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey, and Iran rate opportunities for Western citizens much better than those for Muslim citizens. Respondents in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan see slightly better opportunities in the West, and people in Indonesia rate the opportunities as largely the same.

Correlations exist with these comparative views in both Saudi Arabia and Iran, but with differing implications. Respondents in Saudi Arabia think *both* Western and Muslim nations offer good economic opportunities, and higher favorability toward the U.S. correlates with more favorable views of the economic opportunities in both nations. In contrast, respondents in Iran think that the West offers better economic opportunities than Muslim nations, and higher favorability toward the U.S. correlates with *more* favorable views of Western economic opportunities and *less* favorable views of economic opportunities in Muslim nations. This suggests that people in Saudi Arabia may think highly of Western and Muslim national economies, while people in Iran favor Western economies.

U.S. intentions: People believe that the U.S. is not serious about improving the economic lot of people in the region.

Despite strong admiration for the West's economic opportunities, few respondents agree that the U.S. is serious about improving the economic lot of people in their region (Q33.01, n/a Saudi Arabia). Fewer than 35% of respondents in each nation agree with this statement.

Higher favorability toward the U.S. correlates in each nation with a more positive view of U.S. intentions in the region. Responses to an additional question provide further evidence that perceptions of U.S. intentions and willingness to help other nations may influence favorability. A majority of respondents in all nations disagree that Western nations care about poorer nations (Q14.03). However, those who agree that Western nations care about poorer nations are more likely to be favorable toward the U.S. These findings suggest a relationship between higher favorability and more positive views of the U.S.' intentions and willingness to aid other nations.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC INSIGHTS

Saudi Arabia: Favorables believe economic opportunities are good in Western and Muslim nations, and they are more optimistic about their economic future. The U.S. should emphasize how further integration can benefit economies in Western and Muslim nations.

Iran: Favorables believe economic opportunities are good in the West but not in Muslim nations, and they are more pessimistic about their economic future. The U.S. should show concern for improving economic opportunities for Iranian citizens, despite tensions between governments.

Lebanon: Favorables believe economic opportunities are good in the West and are more optimistic about the national economy and integration with the world economy.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The U.S. should build on Muslims' economic optimism and positive perceptions of opportunities in the West to improve views of U.S. intentions in the region. Specifically, the U.S. should improve perceptions of its willingness to provide aid and assistance to Muslim nations.

While correlations between importance of personal economic well-being and U.S. favorability exist in some countries, messages encouraging a more essential view of economics may be seen as undercutting the role of religion. Further, messages de-emphasizing the role of economic well-being are likely to be seen as hypocritical coming from an economic power such as the U.S. Instead, messages addressing economic issues should promote the importance of the economic well-being of all citizens (especially in Morocco, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia), while being mindful of its secondary role to religion in most nations.

The U.S. should capitalize on the widespread economic optimism when crafting public diplomacy messages. This may

- ◆ **Promote economic well-being, but be mindful of its secondary importance to religion**
- ◆ **Build on economic optimism and admiration for Western opportunities**
- ◆ **Increase provision of U.S. aid and economic assistance to Muslim nations**

provide the most leverage in Turkey, where despite the overall view that economic factors will remain the same, people who are favorable toward the U.S. are optimistic about each of the economic measures (personal, national, and integration with the world economy). Additionally, the U.S. should build on the national economic optimism in Morocco, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia to try to improve its favorability. However, optimistic messages may backfire in Iran and Jordan, where higher favorability correlates with more pessimistic views.

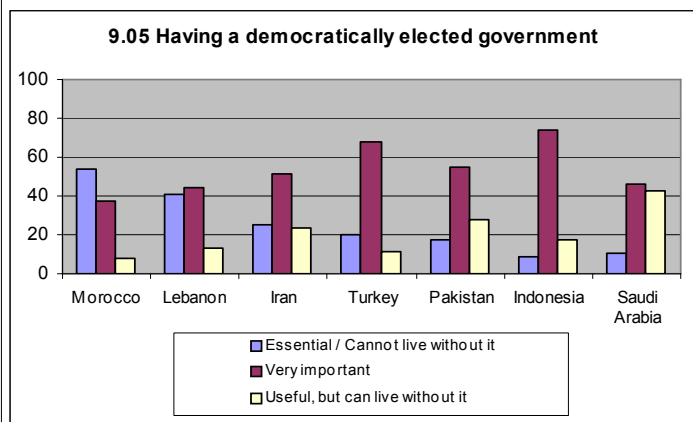
Although Muslims admire Western opportunities, the U.S. must be careful to avoid communicating economic messages that may be perceived as promoting U.S. economic dominance. Instead, the U.S. should use admiration of Western opportunities to improve the perception of U.S. economic intentions in the region by increasing the frequency and publicity of its provision of aid and economic assistance to Muslim countries.

DEMOCRACY & LEGAL RIGHTS

FINDINGS

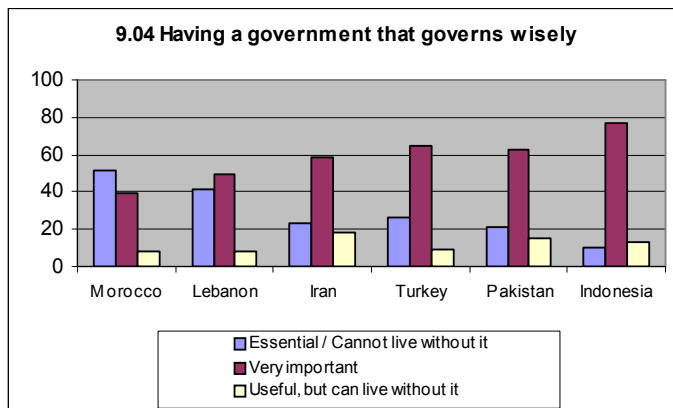
Respondents' opinions on democracy and legal rights reveal both good and bad news for the U.S. While people appear to value democracy and support legal freedoms, they do not tend to admire Western legal systems and they are divided about whether systems in Western nations are better than those in Muslim nations.

Importance of democracy: Most respondents believe democracy is “very important,” but they consider it a lower priority than religion and economics. When asked the importance of having a democratically elected government, respondents in almost all nations deem it “very important,” but they rank it as the third priority after religion and economics (Q9.05*, n/a Jordan). However, views of democracy in Morocco and Lebanon tend toward “essential,” and views in Saudi Arabia tend toward “useful.”

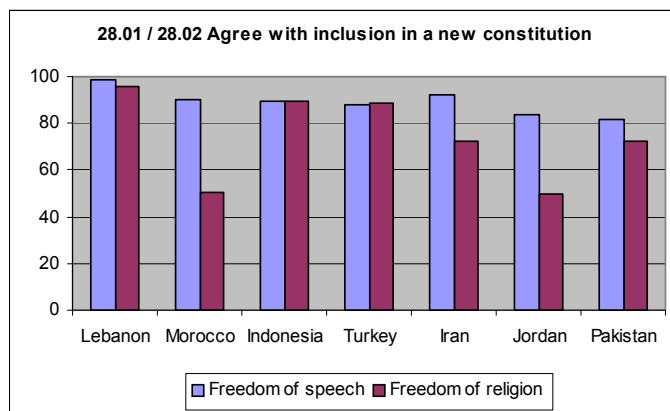


Correlations between favorability and views on the importance of democracy reveal some surprising relationships. In Saudi Arabia and Iran, higher favorability toward the U.S. correlates with a less essential view of democracy, but it correlates with a more essential view of democracy in Pakistan. This may indicate that positive views of the U.S. in Saudi Arabia and Iran are driven by factors other than democracy, while positive views in Pakistan are in part formed by respondents' admiration for U.S. democracy.

Respondents in some nations give similar ratings to a question on the importance of having a government that governs wisely (9.04, n/a Jordan, Saudi Arabia). In Morocco, Lebanon, and Indonesia, views on democracy and views on wise government are roughly the same. People in Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan appear to assign less importance to having a democratic government and more importance to having a government that governs wisely. However, even in these cases, the differential remains relatively small. These findings suggest that respondents in some nations may associate democracy with wise government, while others may not.



Legal freedoms: People in Muslim nations tend to support the inclusion of freedom of speech and freedom of religion in a new constitution. In each nation (except Saudi Arabia, where the question was not asked), roughly a majority of respondents or more agree with the inclusion of freedom of speech (defined as “allowing all citizens to express their opinion on the political, social, and economic issues of the day”) and freedom of religion (defined as “allowing all citizens to observe any religion of their choice and to practice its teachings and beliefs”) in a new constitution in a new country (Q28.01, 28.02, n/a Saudi Arabia).

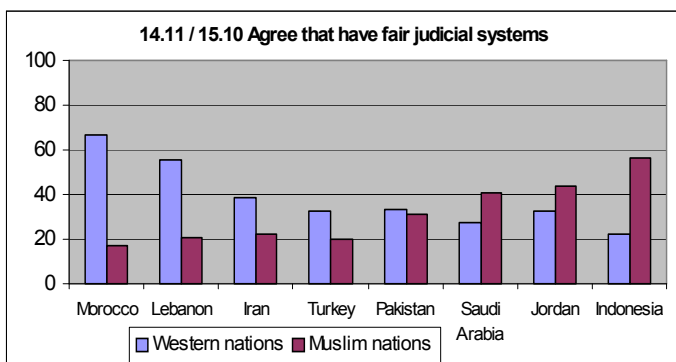


However, support for freedom of speech is stronger and more uniform across nations (agreement in each nation is greater than 80%) than support for freedom of religion (agreement ranges from 50-95%). This strong affinity for freedom of speech relative to freedom of religion contrasts to views in the U.S. where these freedoms are conventionally assumed to be equally important. Although these responses may indicate general support for these freedoms, they should not necessarily be interpreted as indicating a desire to implement these freedoms in their own nations,

as the question referred to including the provisions in “a new constitution in a new country.” However, these opinions appear to counter views that Muslims are unfavorable toward the U.S. because they hate U.S. freedoms.

Few consistent correlations exist between favorability of the U.S. and support for freedom of speech and religion. Higher favorability correlates with more support for both freedoms only in Morocco, though it also correlates with more support for freedom of religion (but not freedom of speech) in Lebanon and Iran. However, higher favorability correlates with less support for freedom of speech in Indonesia and Jordan. Despite these varying correlations, the high level of support for freedom of speech indicates a strongly held value that the U.S. and Muslim nations have in common. Freedom of religion also appears to be a common value, though policy-makers should be mindful that opinions in Morocco and Jordan diverge somewhat from this norm.

Comparative judicial systems: Respondents believe that both Muslim and Western judicial systems are unfair, and nations are roughly evenly split on which type of system is relatively more fair. Respondents’ opinions on whether Western and Muslim nations have fair judicial systems vary widely by country (Q14.11, 15.10). When asked whether Western nations have fair judicial systems, less than a majority agrees in all countries except Morocco (67%) and Lebanon (56%). Levels of agreement in other nations range from 39% in Iran to 22% in Indonesia. When asked whether Muslim nations have fair judicial systems, even fewer respondents agree. Less than 50% of respondents in each nation agree with this statement, except in Indonesia (56% agree).

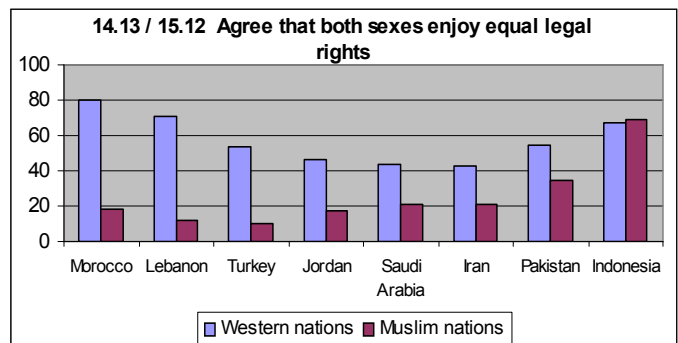


Comparing respondents’ answers to the two questions, nations are almost evenly split on whether Western or Muslim judicial systems are relatively more fair. Four nations think Western judicial systems are more fair, but the size of the differential varies by nation. Large percentage point gaps exist in Morocco (50) and Lebanon (35), while smaller gaps exist in Iran (16) and Turkey (13). Respondents in Pakistan rate the two systems similarly (2 percentage points higher agreement with Western nations having fair judicial systems). Respondents in the other three nations perceive Muslim systems as relatively more fair than Western systems, but to varying degrees. The gap is greatest in Indone-

sia (34 percentage points) and is smaller in Jordan (11 percentage points) and Saudi Arabia (14 percentage points).

Correlations between favorability toward the U.S. and both judicial questions exist in three nations. In Lebanon and Iran, higher favorability correlates with more agreement that Western nations have fair judicial systems and with less agreement that Muslim nations do. In contrast, higher favorability in Saudi Arabia correlates with more agreement that both Muslim and Western nations have fair judicial systems. This suggests that those who are favorable toward the U.S. in Lebanon and Iran are dissatisfied with their own judicial systems but believe Western ones are fair, while those who are favorable in Saudi Arabia think both sets of systems are fair. The attractiveness of Western judicial systems in these nations suggests that this might be an effective lever for public diplomacy.

Comparative gender rights: Respondents generally believe that Western nations have more equality between the sexes than Muslim nations. Although respondents in all nations except Indonesia are more likely to agree that the sexes enjoy equal legal rights in Western nations than in Muslim nations, the strength of agreement varies widely by country. Between 40-80% of respondents in each nation agree that the sexes enjoy equal legal rights in Western nations, while between 10-35% in each nation agree that the sexes enjoy equal legal rights in Muslim nations, with Indonesia as an outlier at 68%.



Consistent correlations between favorability of the U.S. and perceptions of equal legal rights for both sexes exist only in Morocco and Iran. In Morocco, higher favorability correlates with more agreement that the sexes have equal legal rights in Western nations and in Muslim nations. In Iran, it correlates with more agreement that the sexes have equal legal rights in Western nations and with less agreement that the sexes have equal legal rights in Muslim nations. Additionally, in Pakistan and Lebanon, higher favorability correlates with less agreement that the sexes have equal legal rights in Muslim nations. And in Saudi Arabia, higher favorability correlates with more agreement that the sexes have equal legal rights in Western nations.

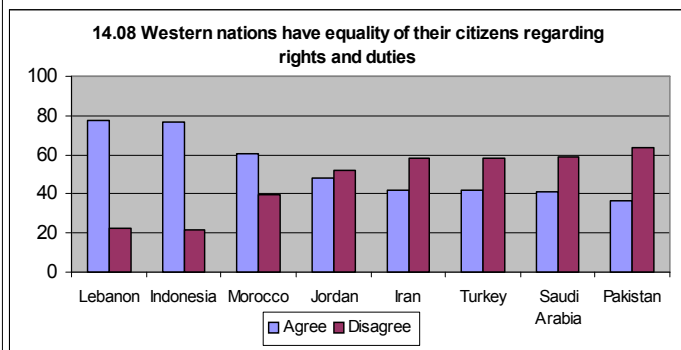
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DEMOCRACY & LEGAL RIGHTS

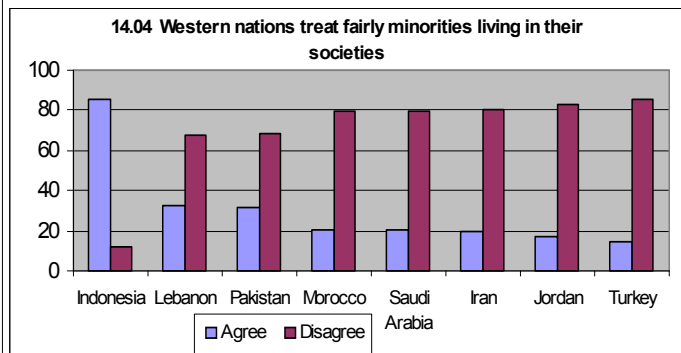
FINDINGS, CONTINUED

However, perceived differences in legal rights between the sexes cannot necessarily be interpreted as a desire to equalize these rights. Although majorities in each nation agree that women should have the same legal rights as men, sizeable minorities disagree with this statement in three nations with Islamic law: Jordan (38%), Saudi Arabia (36%), and Morocco (28%) (Q32.01). Although the U.S. may not share these views, it should be mindful of them when addressing gender issues in these nations.

Perceptions of equality in the West: Respondents are divided on whether Western citizens enjoy equal legal rights, and few believe Western nations treat minorities fairly. Respondents' perceptions of equality of rights and duties in Western nations reflects similar tendencies to views on gender equality: agreement rates range from 37% to 78% (Q14.08). People agree most often in Lebanon (78%), Indonesia (76%), and Morocco (60%), while all other nations are below 50%.

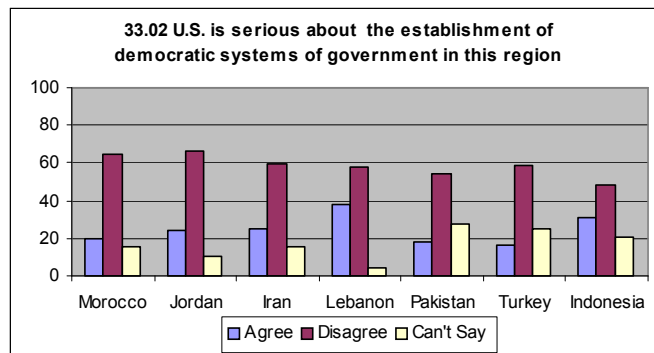


The majority of respondents in each nation except Indonesia disagree that Western nations treat fairly minorities living in their societies (Q14.04). In Indonesia, more than 80% agree that Western nations treat minorities fairly. Although respondents may have been thinking of different types of minorities in response to this question (e.g., African-Americans, European Muslim immigrants), the uniformity of opinion indicates that Muslims perceive minorities in the West are treated unfairly even if they have formal equality of rights and duties.

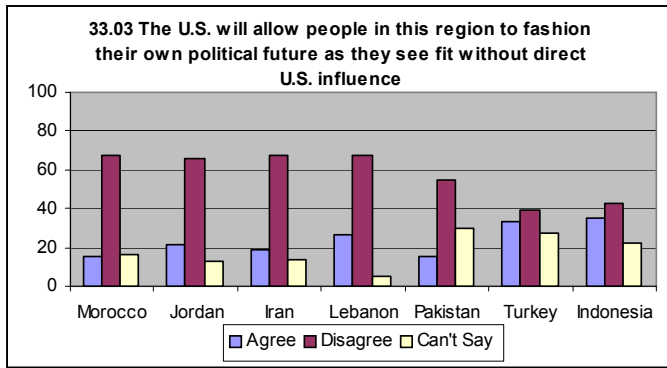


Perceptions of equality in the West consistently correlate with favorability in Lebanon, Morocco, and Jordan: those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to agree that citizens in Western nations have equality of rights and duties and that Western nations treat fairly minorities in their societies. Correlations between higher favorability and more agreement that Western citizens have equal rights exist in Iran and Saudi Arabia, while in Indonesia higher favorability correlates with more agreement that Western nations treat minorities fairly.

U.S. intentions in the region: People in Muslim nations believe that the U.S. is not serious about promoting democracy and will not allow for political autonomy in the region. Few respondents believe the U.S. has genuine and positive intentions in the region (Q33.02, n/a Saudi Arabia). When asked whether the U.S. is serious about "encouraging the establishment of democratic systems of government in this region," less than 40% of respondents in each nation agree, and in many cases this number is at or below 20%. These numbers may indicate the belief that the U.S. uses rhetoric about democracy promotion, but that it either does not intend to follow its words with action or that it has an underlying agenda. It should be noted that this question was not asked in Saudi Arabia.



Respondents show even less agreement when asked whether the U.S. "will allow people in this region to fashion their own political future as they see fit without direct U.S. influence" (Q33.03, n/a Saudi Arabia). Again, less than 40% of respondents in each nation agree, and most nations are at or less than 20%. In each nation except Turkey and Indonesia, fewer people agree that the U.S. will allow for political autonomy than that the U.S. is serious about encouraging democracy.



Taken together, these questions indicate deep mistrust of U.S. intentions toward governments in the region. Respondents do not believe that the U.S. will seriously encourage new democracies, but neither do they believe the U.S. will avoid directly influencing political futures in the region.

Responses to both questions about U.S. intentions consistently correlate with favorability toward the U.S. In each country except Iran, higher favorability of the U.S. is associated with more agreement that the U.S. is serious about establishing democratic systems in the region and that the U.S. will allow people in the region to determine their own political future without U.S. influence. In Iran, higher favorability correlates only with more agreement that the U.S. is serious about establishing democracy. Given the low level of agreement, but the high number of correlations, trying to improve perceptions of U.S. intentions toward regional politics may be a key lever for increasing overall favorability.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC INSIGHTS

Morocco: Respondents have the most essential view of democracy and generally give high ratings to Western legal systems and rights (except treatment of minorities and U.S. intentions) and low ratings to Muslim legal systems and rights. Higher favorability correlates consistently with more positive views of *both* Western and Muslim systems, with more support for freedoms of speech and religion, and with more positive views of U.S. intentions.

Lebanon: Similar to Morocco, respondents have a more essential view of democracy and generally give high ratings to Western legal systems and rights (except treatment of minorities and U.S. intentions) and low ratings to Muslim legal systems and rights. Higher favorability correlates consistently with more positive views of Western systems and more negative views of Muslim systems, with more support for freedom of religion, and with more positive views of U.S. intentions.

Iran: Though Iranians give lower ratings to democracy and Western legal systems and rights than Morocco and Lebanon, correlations are similar to those in Lebanon.

Saudi Arabia: Respondents tend to view democracy as closer to “useful” (the lowest option on the scale) than “essential” (the highest option), and most rate the legal systems and rights in Muslim nations more highly than those in Western nations. Higher favorability correlates with a less essential view of democracy, more positive views of Western systems and rights, and more positive views of Muslim judicial systems.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Rather than solely promoting democracy, the U.S. should aim to address Muslims' concerns about U.S. intentions in the region and to improve their perceptions of the equality and fairness of Western legal systems.

More favorable opinions of the U.S. correlate consistently with more positive views on U.S. intentions in the region and better perceptions of equality in Western nations. Other factors also frequently correlate with higher favorability, though with less consistency across nations, including more support for legal freedoms, more agreement that Western judicial

systems are fair, and more agreement that both genders have equal legal rights in Western nations.

These findings suggest that U.S. public diplomacy messages should focus on promoting underlying legal principles of freedom, legal rights, equality (though it must be careful on gender issues), and democracy. However, the U.S. should avoid advocating that nations should model themselves after the U.S. specifically. Additionally, improving perceptions of U.S. legal systems, rights, and equality might help to increase favorability toward the U.S.

- ◆ **Emphasize shared legal principles** rather than promoting specific U.S. practices
 - ◇ Build on existing support for legal freedoms and democracy without specifically referencing systems in the U.S.
 - ◇ Demonstrate concern for fair judicial systems in both Muslim and Western societies
- ◆ **Emphasize U.S. concern for the equality of its own citizens**, including gender and minority rights
- ◆ **Demonstrate respect for political autonomy and diversity in Muslim nations** and emphasize U.S. commitment to non-interference where credible
- ◆ **Create opportunities for Islamic scholars to research how legal rights and freedoms relate to Islamic traditions**

TERRORISM & SACRIFICE

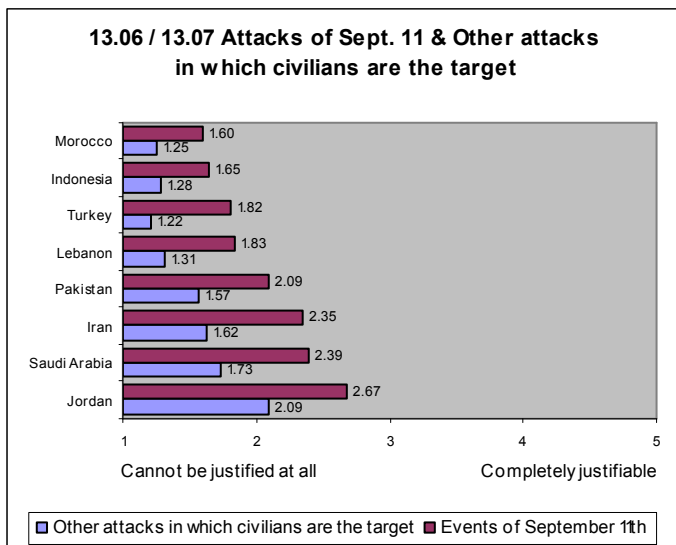
FINDINGS

People in Muslim nations on average disapprove of acts which might be defined as terrorism and say they are generally accepting of those who do not share their opinions. They offer more divergent views about whether it is justifiable to sacrifice one's life for one's beliefs.

Acts of terrorism: Most respondents consider the attacks of September 11, 2001 unjustifiable, but they consider those attacks relatively more justifiable than attacks on civilians in general. Large majorities of people in Muslim nations consider the events of September 11th unjustifiable to some degree (Q13.06). On a 1-to-5 scale from "cannot be justified at all" to "completely justifiable," average responses range from 1.60 in Morocco to 2.67 in Jordan. Large majorities in Morocco (67%), Lebanon (65%), Turkey (64%), and Indone-

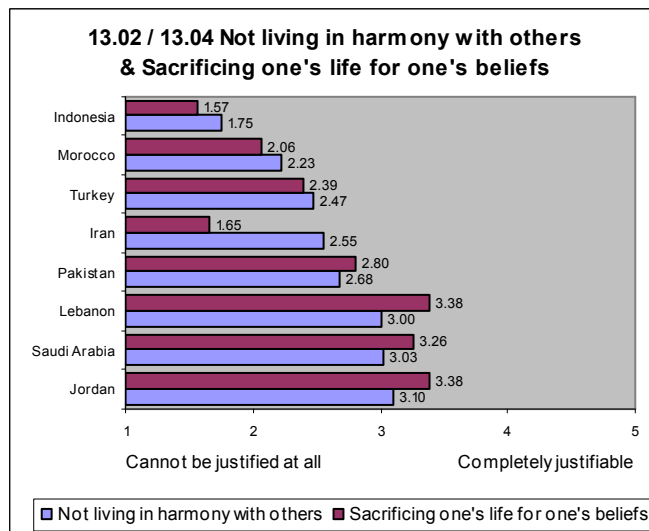
justifiable view of the September 11th attacks in all nations, though exceptions occur in Pakistan and Jordan. In Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Morocco, a more favorable view also correlates with a less justifiable view of attacks on other civilians. However, there are some puzzling exceptions to conventional wisdom. In Jordan, a more favorable view of the U.S. correlates with being *more likely* to find justifiable both the attacks of September 11th and attacks on other civilians. In Pakistan, the same counter-intuitive correlation exists for attacks on other civilians. While it is difficult to say what drives these views, they may be related to the large number of Palestinian refugees in Jordan and the historical tensions between Pakistan and India and thus greater personal experience with terrorism. In any case, views about September 11th and attacks on civilians are likely strongly held and difficult to influence.

Discord and sacrifice: People in Muslim nations on average say it is unjustifiable not to live in harmony with those of other opinions and values and to sacrifice one's life for one's beliefs. Still, people in Pakistan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan are relatively more supportive of both actions than people in other nations. On a 1-to-5 scale from "cannot be justified at all" to "completely justifiable," average responses about whether it is justifiable not to live in harmony with those who do not share your opinions and values range from 1.75 in Indonesia to 3.10 in Jordan (Q13.02). Average responses about whether it is justifiable to sacrifice one's life for one's beliefs range from 1.65 in Iran to 3.38 in Jordan (Q13.04). Looking at per-



sia (55%) say the attacks "cannot be justified at all." Smaller but sizeable groups say the same in Pakistan (49%), Saudi Arabia (40%), Iran (29%), and Jordan (29%). Even so, people in all nations on average rate the September 11th attacks as more justifiable than attacks on civilians more broadly (13.07). For the latter question, average responses range from 1.22 in Turkey to 2.09 in Jordan. In this case, the majority of people in all eight nations say attacks on civilians "cannot be justified at all," ranging from 50% in Jordan to 88% in Turkey. Across the board, people in Morocco, Turkey, Indonesia, and Lebanon are less likely to justify such acts than people in Pakistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan.

Consistent correlations exist between favorability and the attacks of September 11th and other attacks on civilians, but not always in the same direction. As one might expect, being more favorable toward the U.S. correlates with a less



centages across categories, nations tend to fall into two groups on these issues. People in Indonesia, Morocco, Turkey, and Iran find both acts relatively less justifiable

than people in other nations. In each of these four nations, more than 50% of respondents lean toward unjustifiable on the question of not living in harmony with others, ranging from 53% in Iran to 79% in Indonesia. In Pakistan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, fewer than 43% lean toward the unjustifiable end of the scale. There is a similar pattern on the question of sacrificing one's life. In the first group of nations (Iran, Indonesia, Turkey, and Iran), more than 50% of respondents lean toward unjustifiable, now ranging from 58% in Turkey to 85% in Iran. Fewer than 40% in the other four nations (Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and Jordan) do the same. In fact, 32% in Lebanon, 28% in Saudi Arabia, 24% in Jordan, and 21% in Pakistan consider sacrificing one's life "completely justifiable." Additionally it should be underscored that people in these four nations on average think it is *more* justifiable to sacrifice one's life than to not live in harmony with those of other beliefs. While it is possible respondents may have been thinking of sacrificing one's life in a military, patriotic or religious context, the consistent pattern with the more general question about not living in harmony with others suggests more overall support for martyrdom.

Views on these issues are not strong predictors of favorability of the U.S. Only in Lebanon does a more favorable view of the U.S. correlate with less justifiable views of not living in harmony with those of different opinions and values and of sacrificing one's life for one's beliefs. In Turkey and Saudi Arabia, this relationship exists only with views about sacrificing one's life. More puzzling are the findings in Iran and Jordan, where a more favorable view of the U.S. correlates with a *more* justifiable view of both actions. In Morocco, a more favorable view of the U.S. correlates with a *more* justifiable view about sacrificing one's life. The inconsistency of these correlations suggest that views on discord and sacrifice are not likely to be viable levers for public diplomacy.

While these views are difficult to influence, the patterns suggest different views across countries about whether acts of terrorism and sacrifice are justifiable means with which to address one's grievances. It should be underscored that such acts are relatively more acceptable in the three nations most unfavorable to the U.S. (Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Jordan). Despite significant negativity toward the U.S. in Turkey, support for terrorism and martyrdom in that country appears relatively low.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC INSIGHTS

Saudi Arabia: People in Saudi Arabia are both the most unfavorable toward the U.S. overall and are also among the most likely to justify acts of terrorism, not living in harmony with others, and sacrificing one's life for one's beliefs. This suggests little public remorse for the actions of the Saudi 9/11 hijackers and little public support for Saudi Arabia's declared allegiance to the U.S. in the Global War on Terrorism. While favorables are less likely to justify these acts, they are few in number.

Jordan: The consistent but counter-intuitive relationships between favorability of the U.S. and Jordanian views on terrorism and sacrifice suggest a unique dynamic in that nation. The relative justifiability of terrorist acts may be attributable to Jordan's large population of displaced Palestinians. However, it should be noted that these data were collected before the deadly bombings of three foreign-owned hotels in Amman – attacks in which Jordanian civilians were the victims. Jordanian outrage about these incidents may have since altered opinions.

A note on the word "jihad:" The literal translation of the word "jihad" is "struggle," which many Muslims use to refer to everyday challenges, rather than just political struggle. U.S. leaders should limit references to "jihad" in a political context unless quoting others.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

While views on terrorism and sacrifice provide few viable levers for public diplomacy, broad findings reveal common ground and useful insights about how different nations view such acts.

While those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are consistently more likely to disapprove of the attacks of September 11th, the U.S. should not expect to receive further sympathy as a result of that event. However, the widespread disapproval of attacks on other civilians in general is a sentiment worth leveraging. The U.S. can and should emphasize the right of all civilians to live peacefully as a common value

it shares with people in Muslim nations. Reframing the Global War on Terrorism in this way, rather than associating it with particular threats or enemies of the United States, may help to increase favorability.

Further, this is an area in which leaders should recognize the differences that exist across nations. The relative permissibility of acts of sacrifice in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Pakistan, and Lebanon must factor into the decision-making process for policies which affect those nations.

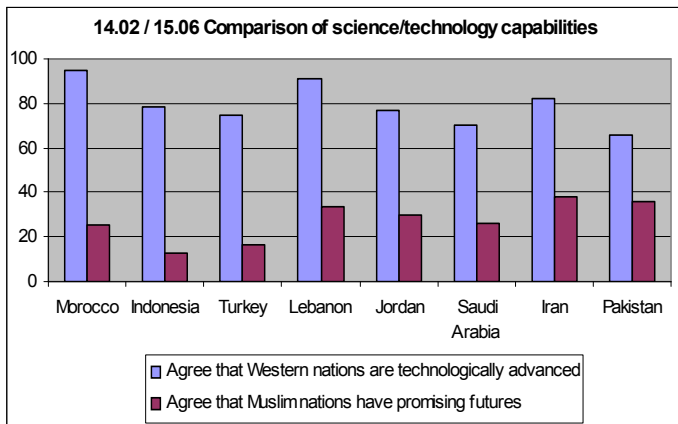
- **Reframe the Global War on Terrorism** to emphasize the common value of the right of all civilians worldwide to live in peace
- **Be mindful of greater support for acts of sacrifice** in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Pakistan, and Lebanon

SUCCESS

FINDINGS

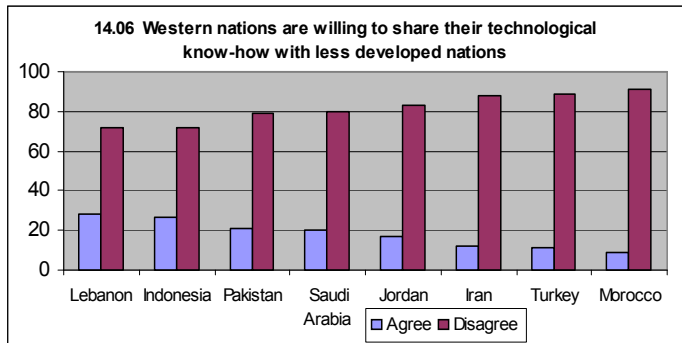
People in Muslim nations tend to admire Western achievements in science and technology and in education, but not necessarily in films and music.

Science and technology capabilities: Respondents believe Western nations are more technologically advanced than Muslim nations, but that they are not willing to share this know-how with poorer countries. People in each nation strongly agree that Western nations are technologically advanced, but they disagree (moderately to strongly) that Muslim nations have promising scientific and technological futures (Q14.02, 15.06). This suggests that respondents believe that Muslim nations are currently at a comparative disadvantage and that the gap between Muslim and Western nations will not shrink in the future.



At least 65% of respondents in each nation agree that Western nations are technologically advanced (with six of eight nations at or above 75%), but fewer than 40% in each nation agree that Muslim nations have a promising future in terms of science and technology (with both Turkey and Indonesia below 20% agreement). In all nations, the gap between perceptions of Western capabilities and Muslim possibilities is 44-69 percentage points. People in Morocco and Lebanon are the most likely to agree that Western nations are advanced (more than 90% agree in each). People in Iran and Pakistan, nations possessing or assumed to be pursuing nuclear capabilities, are the most likely to agree that Muslim nations have promising futures (35-38%).

Nonetheless, Western nations are not perceived as willing to share their technological know-how with less developed countries (Q14.06). Fewer than 30% of respondents in each nation agree, with five nations at or under 20%: Saudi Arabia (20%), Jordan (17%), Iran (12%), Turkey (11%), and Morocco (9%).

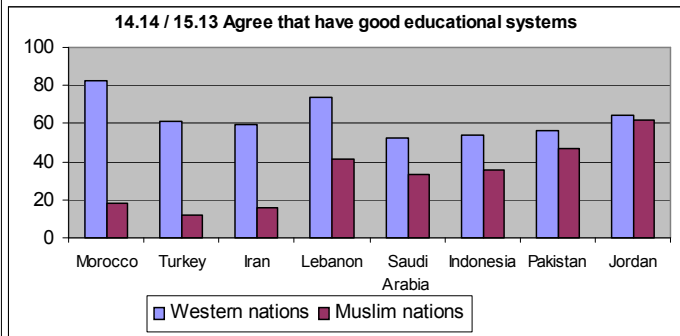


A more favorable view of the U.S. consistently correlates with perceptions of Western willingness to share know-how. In Lebanon, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Turkey, and Morocco (i.e., all nations except Pakistan and Iran), those who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to agree that Western nations are willing to share their technological know-how.

Correlations in individual nations provide additional insight into this area. In Lebanon, higher favorability correlates with more agreement that Western nations are technologically advanced, suggesting that perceptions of Western, rather than Muslim, abilities may be more influential in this nation. In Saudi Arabia, higher favorability correlates with more positive views about both Western abilities and Muslim future abilities, indicating that favorables in this nation have positive perceptions of abilities and futures in both societies. In Morocco, higher favorability correlates with more agreement that Muslim nations have promising futures. In Iran, higher favorability correlates with less agreement that Muslim nations have promising futures in Iran. This suggests that favorables in Morocco are optimistic about their technological future, while those in Iran are more pessimistic on the subject. Overall, these correlations suggest that improving perceptions of willingness to share know-how will be effective across nations, while emphasis on Western abilities relative to Muslim future capabilities should vary by nation.

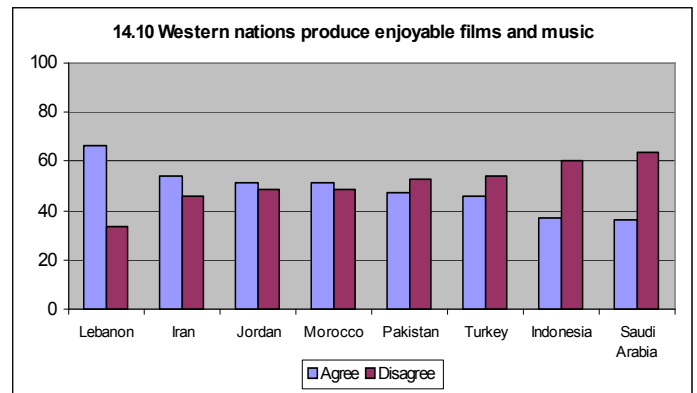
Educational systems: People believe educational systems in Western nations are better than those in Muslim nations. A majority of respondents in each nation agree that Western educational systems are good, while less than half of respondents in each nation except Jordan agree that Muslim educational systems are good (Q14.14, 15.13). The differential ratings of the systems varies by nation. Half of the nations show a large percentage point gap favoring Western systems: Morocco (65), Turkey (49), Iran (43), and Lebanon (32). Other gaps also favor Western systems but are less than 20 percentage points: Saudi

Arabia (18), Indonesia (18), Pakistan (9), and Jordan (2).



Favorability correlates with views on the quality of education systems in many nations, but the varying directions of the correlations indicate differences among nations. In Lebanon and Iran, higher favorability correlates with more agreement that Western systems are good and less agreement that Muslim systems are. This suggests that emphasizing how insights from Western education can improve education in Muslim nations may be effective in these nations. In Saudi Arabia, higher favorability correlates with more agreement that both Western and Muslim systems are good. This indicates that emphasizing the strength of education in both Western and Muslim nations may be effective in Saudi Arabia. In Morocco and Jordan, higher favorability is associated with more agreement that Muslim systems are good, while in Jordan and Pakistan, it correlates with *less* agreement that Muslim systems are good. Although the U.S. may not want to directly comment on its perceptions of the quality of education in Muslim nations, it should be mindful of these perceptions when considering related policies.

Films and music: Respondents are divided on whether Western nations produce enjoyable films and music. Contrary to conventional wisdom, respondents are split almost exactly down the middle as to whether Western nations produce enjoyable films and music (Q14.10). Agreement rates in most nations range from 46% to 54%. People are most likely to agree in Lebanon (67%), while people are least likely to agree in Indonesia (37%) and Saudi Arabia (36%). As the question asks about films and music together, it is not possible to test whether respondents have different perceptions of the two. However, conventional wisdom indicates that Muslims are less likely to object to Western music than Western films.



Western entertainment does not appear to be a strong lever for increasing favorability. Higher favorability correlates with more agreement that Western nations produce enjoyable films and music only in Lebanon and Iran.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

To improve its favorability in the Muslim world, the U.S. should attempt to capitalize on Muslims' admiration for the success of Western nations in building advanced scientific and technological capabilities and good educational systems. However, admiration of Western abilities is not enough; in order to translate these comparative advantages into increased favorability, the U.S. should demonstrate willingness to share its expertise with Muslim nations. Although this may not extend to all areas such as nuclear capabilities, the U.S. may be able to increase favorability by sharing scientific and technological expertise in order to improve public goods such as water and sanitation systems and the provi-

sion of public health and medications in Muslim nations. Additionally, the U.S. might share educational expertise by further funding and sponsoring educational exchanges and advisory services for Muslim educators.

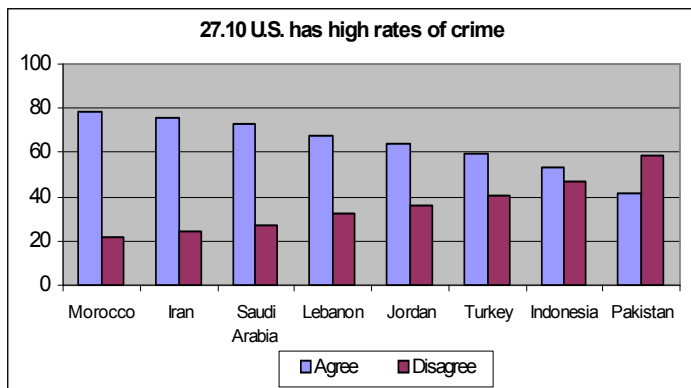
Given varying opinions on Western nations films and music, we do not recommend using entertainment as a lever for public diplomacy. However, it may be worthwhile to conduct further research into whether these views differ between films and music and whether they vary by age and gender in order to develop more targeted messages related to Western entertainment.

- ◆ **Increase efforts to share technical and scientific know-how** with Muslim nations
- ◆ **Support educational exchanges** and offer assistance to nations seeking to learn from Western systems
- ◆ **Establish American libraries in Muslim nations** to demonstrate U.S. commitment to supporting education
- ◆ **Maintain relationships with Muslim alumni of American schools** and encourage them to share their experiences
- ◆ **Use U.S. radio and television broadcasts to engage Muslims in debate** on topics meaningful to them, rather than using them to promote Western films and music

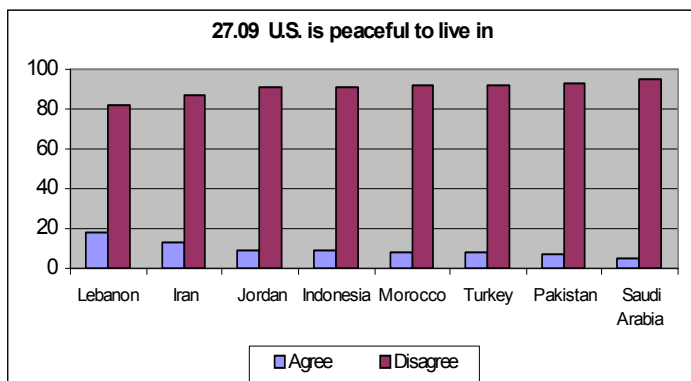
U.S. QUALITY OF LIFE FINDINGS

People in Muslim nations on average think poorly of the quality of the life in the U.S. They tend to consider the U.S. a violent and morally decadent society, and they generally do not perceive it to be an attractive tourist destination.

Violence: Respondents on average think that the U.S. has high rates of crime and that it is not peaceful to live in. In each nation except Pakistan, majorities believe that the U.S. has high rates of crime (Q27.01). Agreement is highest in Morocco (79%) and Iran (76%) and is lowest in Pakistan (42%).



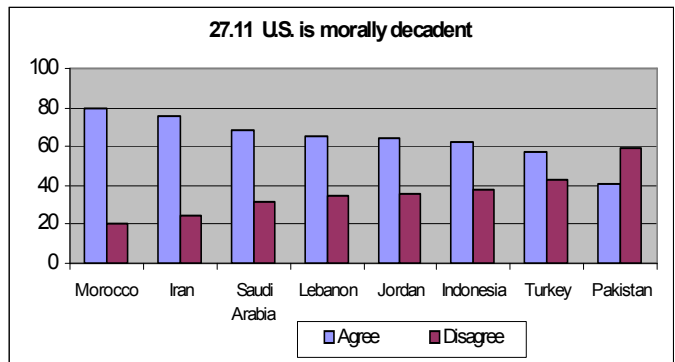
Further confirming this violent perception of U.S. society, fewer than 18% of respondents in each nation cite the U.S. as being peaceful to live in (Q27.09).



Higher favorability consistently correlates with perceptions of lower violence in the U.S. In each nation, people who are more favorable toward the U.S. are less likely to agree that the U.S. has high rates of crime. Additionally, in Iran, Jordan, Indonesia, Morocco, and Turkey, higher favorability correlates with a greater likelihood of agreeing that the U.S. is

peaceful to live in. Although the direction of causality is unclear, the consistent correlations across countries indicate that addressing perceptions of violence in the U.S. may be a helpful lever in public diplomacy.

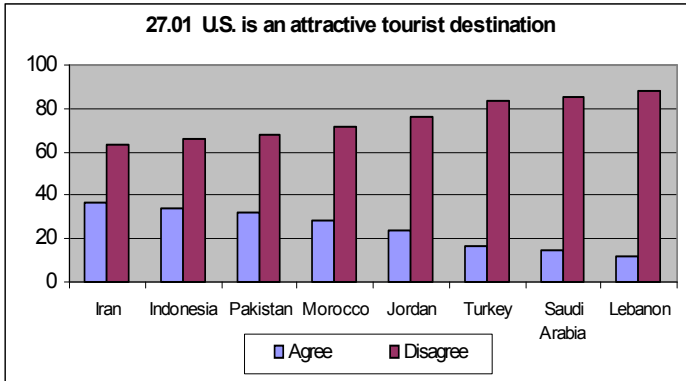
Morality: Most respondents call the U.S. morally decadent. Views on moral decadence in the U.S. are very similar to those on crime rates: in each nation except Pakistan, a majority of respondents agree that the term “morally decadent” applies the U.S. (Q27.11). Again, the highest levels of agreement are found in Morocco (79%) and Iran (76%), while the lowest are found in Pakistan (40%).



Favorability correlates with views on moral decadence in all eight nations: higher favorability is associated with a lower likelihood of agreeing that the U.S. is morally decadent. The similarity between responses to questions on moral decadence and high rates of crime may indicate that respondents believe there is a relationship between these characteristics (i.e., moral decadence leads to high crime rates) or that they are both caused by another underlying factor (i.e., favorability may cause these views rather than these views having a causal impact on favorability toward the U.S.).

Tourism: Few respondents consider the U.S. an attractive tourist destination. Fewer than 40% of respondents in each nation agree that the U.S. is an attractive tourist destination. Higher agreement rates occur in Iran (37%), Indonesia (33%), Pakistan (32%), and Morocco (28%), while all others are below 25%: Jordan (23%), Turkey (16%), Saudi Arabia (14%), and Lebanon (12%).

Higher favorability toward the U.S. correlates with more agreement that the U.S. is an attractive tourist destination in Iran, Indonesia, Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon. Interestingly, this list of nations is very similar to those where higher favorability correlates with more agreement that the U.S. is peaceful to live in, though Lebanon is included and Morocco is not.



These findings may suggest a relationship between favorability and views about whether the U.S. is an attractive tourist destination or it may indicate the presence of an underlying causal variable. One possible underlying factor may be Muslims' perceptions that minorities are not treated fairly in Western societies (as mentioned in the section on democracy and legal rights), which may indicate a fear that Muslims will not be treated fairly when visiting Western nations including the U.S.

COUNTRY SPECIFIC INSIGHTS

Pakistan: People in Pakistan are less likely to agree that the negative characteristics “high rates of crime” and “morally decadent” apply to the U.S. This is surprising, as respondents in Pakistan do not otherwise express higher opinions of the U.S. than people in other nations. These views may be affected by perceptions of crime and moral decadence in their own country or by increased exposure to U.S. society, as Pakistanis may be more likely to visit the U.S. than other Muslims.

Lebanon: Despite mostly positive views toward the U.S. and Western nations in other areas, people in Lebanon do not have positive views of U.S. quality of life. In fact, people in Lebanon are the most likely to disagree that the U.S. is an attractive place to visit. However, they are the most likely to agree that the U.S. is peaceful to live in, though less than 20% agree with this statement. These contrasting views are somewhat surprising, given the fairly large number of Lebanese-Americans.

Morocco: Similar to Lebanon, positive views toward the U.S. and Western nations in other areas do not appear to translate to positive views of U.S. quality of life. People in Morocco are the most likely to agree that the U.S. has high rates of crime and is morally decadent and less than 10% believe it is peaceful to live in. Additionally, only 28% consider it an attractive tourist destination.

LEVERS & MESSAGES FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Despite consistently negative perceptions of quality of life in the U.S., correlations suggest that improving these perceptions may increase favorability.

Respondents' views on quality of life in the U.S. consistently correlate with favorability in most nations: people who are more favorable toward the U.S. are more likely to think it is peaceful and an attractive place to visit, and they are less likely to think it has high rates of crime and is morally decadent. In interpreting these correlations, however, it must be noted that favorability levels may actually be driving these views, rather than the other way around (i.e., having a negative view of the U.S. may make a respondent more likely to

assign negative characteristics to the U.S. and less likely to assign positive ones). While public diplomacy might improve perceptions of U.S. quality of life, targeting these views may not be the most effective approach to increasing favorability.

Although it may be difficult for leaders to influence Muslims' perceptions of violence and morality in the U.S., they might try to promote the U.S. as an attractive tourist destination. In general, increasing the number of Muslims who have direct interactions with Americans may improve their views of U.S. quality of life.

- ◆ **Sponsor cultural exchange programs** to increase the number of Muslims with real-life experiences in the U.S.
- ◆ **Sponsor ambassador programs for Muslim-Americans to visit Muslim nations** and share their experiences

CONCLUSION

This analysis uncovers a variety of factors that affect how people in Muslim nations view the U.S., providing the foundation for data-driven public diplomacy.

While significant numbers of people in Muslim nations hold unfavorable views of the U.S., sizeable favorable and neutral populations do exist. People in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Jordan, and Turkey are the most likely to have strongly negative opinions of the U.S., while people in Iran, Lebanon, Morocco, and Indonesia hold more varied views. However, the finding that more than half of people in five nations are either favorable or neutral toward the U.S. indicates the U.S. has an opportunity to attract new friends and dissuade potential enemies.

In analyzing what affects favorability of the U.S., we find patterns both in terms of “what we do” and “who we are,” but we find few consistent relationships with demographic and ethnic factors. Although we find overwhelmingly negative opinions on U.S. foreign policy substance and style, we do not find an inherent conflict between Western and Muslim cultures. Our findings reveal shared values across cultures, from support for legal freedoms and equal rights to the right of all civilians to live in peace without the threat of terrorism. Additionally, respondents express admiration for U.S. achievements in science and technology and in education. However, people in Muslim nations express skepticism about U.S. intentions in the region and apprehension about the influence of Western culture on their societies.

U.S. leaders have much to gain by taking these findings into account. By understanding what is attractive to Muslims about the U.S., they can target public diplomacy messages in ways that might increase these perceptions in the overall population.

Our findings provide the empirical evidence needed to replace one-size-fits-all public diplomacy efforts with targeted strategies that are deliberately mindful of that which makes each nation unique. Our levers and messages for public diplomacy seek to bridge the gap from opinion to action by providing suggestions for improving the U.S.’ relationships with Muslim nations. Across all areas of analysis, we underscore the importance of demonstrating respect for cultural differences and diversity and of recognizing how the priorities of people in Muslim nations often differ from those in the U.S. Rather than attempting to align Muslim views with Western ones, leaders should demonstrate their willingness to allow Muslim populations to determine for themselves what is important to their societies and what will help their progress.

Recognizing what is at stake, we hope leaders will use this analysis to inform policy decisions that affect people in Muslim nations. Capitalizing on these insights is not only in the U.S. national interest, but is also significant for the entire international community. Improving U.S. favorability among Muslims is a critical step in moving toward a more peaceful coexistence among all cultures.

✱

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STATISTICAL NOTES

"n/a" denotes a question was not asked in that nation.

*For question 9, we emphasize that "useful, but can live without" is the lowest option on the scale.

For questions 14, 15, and 27, "disagree" refers to people who did not cite the statement.

APPENDIX 1: SELECTED QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

EXACT WORDING AS READ TO RESPONDENTS

Q 26. In general, what opinion do you have of the United States?

[1= Very unfavorable, 2= Somewhat unfavorable, 3= neither unfavorable nor favorable, 4= Somewhat favorable, 5= Very favorable]

Q 9. Here are some aspects of life some people say are important to them. Please look at them and categorize them into three separate categories: those that are essential and you cannot live without, those that are very important, and those that are useful but that you can live without.

[1= Essential/cannot live without, 2= Very important, 3= Useful, but can live without]

9.02 Having a comfortable economic life

9.03 Having an enriched religious/spiritual life

9.04 Having a government that governs wisely

9.05 Having a democratically elected government

9.07 Being well-informed about world events

Q 10. I am going to read you a list of items. For each one please tell me whether you think it is likely to improve or increase over the course of the next few years, to deteriorate or decline over the course of the next few years or to remain the same. Just your best estimate.

[1=Will improve or increase, 2=Will remain the same, 3=Will deteriorate or decline]

10.01. Family/Personal economic level

10.02 Opportunity to travel abroad to Europe and North America

10.04 Commitment to one's faith

10.05 Integration with the world's economy

10.06 Interaction with Western civilization/culture

10.07 Control over what you wish to do in life

10.08 The national economy

10.09 The situation in Palestine

10.10 The situation in Iraq

10.11 The status of Arab/Muslim world in world arenas

10.12 The number of Arab countries that have democratically elected governments

Q 13. There are some acts people do in life. I will read out to you a number of these acts. I would like you to indicate to which extent it can be morally justified?

[1=Cannot be justified at all, 5=Completely justifiable]

13.02 Not living in harmony with those who do not share your opinion or values

13.04 Sacrificing one's life for what one believes in

13.05 The ouster of Saddam Hussein's government in Iraq by U.S. and British forces

13.06 The events of September 11th in the USA, that is the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon

13.07 Other attacks in which civilians are the target

Q 14. Some people say different things about different cultures. I have here a number of statements. Which ones do you associate with Western nations?

[1= Agree, 2= Disagree, 3= Don't know, 4= Refused] [Multiple answers accepted]

14.01 Respect Arab/Islamic values

14.02 Technologically advanced

14.03 Care about poorer nations

14.04 Treat fairly minorities living in their societies

14.05 Fair in their stance towards Arab/Muslim countries

14.06 Willing to share their technological know how with less developed nations

14.07 Take positions that support Arab causes in international organizations

- 14.08 Equality of their citizens regarding rights and duties
- 14.09 Fair stance toward the situation in Palestine
- 14.10 Produce enjoyable films and music
- 14.11 Have fair judicial systems
- 14.12 Have high levels of corruption
- 14.13 Both sexes enjoy equal legal rights
- 14.14 Have good educational systems
- 14.15 Offer good economic opportunities for their citizens

Q 15. Which statements do you associate with Arab/Muslim nations?

[1= Agree, 2= Disagree, 3= Don't know, 4= Refused] [Multiple answers accepted]

- 15.01 Open minded towards the Western Culture
- 15.02 Eager to have better relationship with the Western World
- 15.03 Applies practical measures to improve the economic lot of their own people
- 15.04 Not apprehensive about the influence of Western culture and lifestyle
- 15.05 People are free in controlling their own lives and future
- 15.06 Technologically and scientifically their future is very promising
- 15.07 Attachment to their spiritual and moral values is critical to their progress
- 15.08 Adopting Western values will help their progress
- 15.09 Moving toward greater governmental democracy will help their progress
- 15.10 Have fair judicial systems
- 15.11 Have high levels of corruption
- 15.12 Both sexes enjoy equal legal rights
- 15.13 Have good educational systems
- 15.14 Offer good economic opportunities for their citizens

Q 16. The time for a better understanding between the West and the Arab/Muslim world will probably...

[1= Never come, 5= Come very soon]

Q 17. For a better co-existence between Western societies and the Arab/Muslim world, I think that the Western societies:

[1= Do not show any concern, 5= Show a lot of concern]

Q 18. With respect to a better understanding between the Western and Arab/Islamic cultures, it is an issue that:

[1= Doesn't concern me at all, 5= Concerns me a lot]

Q 27. People have different views about different countries. I will read a set of statements, and would you tell me the countries to which each statement applies. (Each statement could apply to one country, to several countries or to none.) (Country = U.S.)

[0= Does not apply, 1= Applies]

- 27.01 Attractive tourist destination
- 27.02 Aggressive
- 27.03 Conceited
- 27.04 Trustworthy
- 27.05 Friendly
- 27.06 Arrogant
- 27.07 Gets provoked easily
- 27.08 Ruthless
- 27.09 Peaceful to live in
- 27.10 High rates of crime
- 27.11 Morally decadent
- 27.12 Scientifically and technologically advanced

27.13 Adopts biased policies in world affairs

27.14 Religious extremism is common

27.15 Hypocritical

27.16 Own citizens enjoy many liberties

27.17 Care about human rights in other countries

27.18 Treats other countries respectfully

Q 28. Suppose that someday you were asked to help draft a new constitution for a new country. As I read you a list of possible provisions that might be included in a new constitution, would you tell me whether you would probably agree or not agree with the inclusion of each of these provisions?

[1= Agree, 2= Disagree, 3= Do not know, 4= Refused]

28.01 Freedom of speech – allowing all citizens to express their opinion on the political, social and economic issues of the day

28.02 Freedom of religion – allowing all citizens to observe any religion of their choice and to practice its teachings and beliefs

Q 31. In general, which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?

[1=Shari'a must be the only source of legislation, 2=Shari'a must be a source of legislation but not the only source, 3=Shari'a should not be a source of legislation]

Q 32. Some countries have also had discussions about the rights that a country's government should guarantee to women. Please tell me whether or not you generally agree with each of the following?

32.01 Women should have the same legal rights as men

Q 33. I will read out to you a set of statements, which you may or may not totally agree with. As I read them out, I would like you to indicate whether you agree or disagree with each.

[1= Disagree, 2= Agree, 3= Can't say]

33.01 The U.S. is serious about improving the economic lot of people in this region

33.02 The U.S. is serious about the establishment of democratic systems of government in this region

33.03 The U.S. will allow people in this region to fashion their own political future as they see fit without direct U.S. influence

33.04 The removal of the former Iraqi regime by U.S. and British forces will weaken the activities of Islamic fundamentalist organizations

Q 32. Taking everything into consideration, do you think the coalition invasion of Iraq has done more harm than good or more good than harm? [*Note question number repeated in Gallup questionnaire]

[1= More harm than good, 2= More good than harm, 3= The same, 4= Don't know, 5= Refused][3,4,5 not read as options]

[*Note: Scale recoded as: 1= More harm than good, 2= The Same, 3= More good than harm]

Q D0. Gender

[1=Female, 2=Male]

Q D1. Age: Please tell me your age.

[Open Ended]

Q D2. Education: What is the highest completed level of education?

[1=Completed primary school (maximum eight years of schooling), 2=Completed secondary school, and 3=Completed college or four years of post-secondary school]

*

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