## ZOGBY INTERNATIONAL

# MUSLIMS IN THE AMERICAN PUBLIC SQUARE: Shifting Political Winds <br> \& <br> <br> Fallout from 9/11, Afghanistan, and Iraq 

 <br> <br> Fallout from 9/11, Afghanistan, and Iraq}

Submitted to:
Dr. Zahid Bukhari

Submitted by:
John Zogby, President and CEO
John Bruce, Vice President and Systems Administrator
Rebecca Wittman, Vice President and Managing Editor

Christian W. Peck, Writer

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## I. Methodology and Sample Characteristics

Zogby International conducted interviews of 1,846 Muslim Americans chosen at random nationwide. All calls were made from Zogby International headquarters in Utica, N.Y., from Thursday, August 5 to Wednesday, September 15, 2004. The margin of error is +/- 2.3 percentage points. A slight weight was added to ethnicity to more accurately reflect the Muslim population. Margins of error are higher in sub-groups.

Sample Characteristics (continued)

| Sample Characteristics | Frequency | Valid Percent* |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sample size | 1846 | 100 |
| Region |  |  |
| East | 672 | 36 |
| South | 423 | 23 |
| Central/Great Lakes | 482 | 26 |
| West | 269 | 15 |
| Voter Registration |  |  |
| Registered to vote | 1521 | 82 |
| Not registered to vote | 320 | 17 |
| Not sure if registered | 5 | 0 |
| Voter Likelihood |  |  |
| Very likely to vote | 1338 | 88 |
| Somewhat likely to vote | 107 | 7 |
| Not likely to vote | 55 | 4 |
| Not sure of voting likelihood | 20 | 1 |
| Party Identification |  |  |
| Democrat | 721 | 50 |
| Republican | 171 | 12 |
| Independent/Minor party | 445 | 31 |
| Libertarian | 12 | 1 |
| Not sure of party | 97 | 7 |
| Ideology |  |  |
| Progressive/very liberal | 204 | 11 |
| Liberal | 340 | 19 |
| Moderate | 729 | 40 |
| Conservative | 287 | 16 |
| Very conservative | 37 | 2 |
| Libertarian | 37 | 2 |
| Not sure of ideology | 192 | 11 |
| Did not answer ideology | 21 | -- |


| Ethnicity |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Afghan | 37 | 2 |
| African | 137 | 7 |
| African American | 371 | 20 |
| Albanian | 4 | 0 |
| Arab | 485 | 26 |
| Bangladeshi | 76 | 4 |
| Bosnian | 6 | 0 |
| Hispanic | 10 | 1 |
| Indian | 128 | 7 |
| Iranian | 31 | 2 |
| Malaysian | 4 | 0 |
| Pakistani | 347 | 19 |
| Turkish | 10 | 1 |
| Other ethnicity | 71 | 4 |
| Not sure of ethnicity | 18 | 1 |
| Born in U.S. | 665 | 36 |
| Not born in U.S. | 1177 | 64 |
| Not sure if born in U.S. | 4 | 0 |
| Age Group |  |  |
| 18-29 | 382 | 21 |
| 30-49 | 759 | 42 |
| 50-64 | 496 | 28 |
| 65+ | 153 | 9 |
| 18-24 | 225 | 13 |
| 25-34 | 305 | 17 |
| 35-54 | 821 | 46 |
| 55-69 | 364 | 20 |
| 70+ | 76 | 4 |
| Did not answer age | 56 | -- |
| Education Level |  |  |
| Less than high school | 89 | 5 |
| High school graduate | 236 | 13 |
| Some college | 424 | 23 |
| College graduate+ | 1081 | 59 |
| Did not answer education | 16 | -- |
| Profession |  |  |
| Managerial | 184 | 10 |
| Medical | 165 | 9 |
| Professional/Technical | 419 | 23 |


| Sales | 90 | 5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Clerical | 30 | 2 |
| Service | 74 | 4 |
| Blue-Collar/Production | 53 | 3 |
| Student | 155 | 8 |
| Homemaker | 187 | 10 |
| Teacher/education | 158 | 9 |
| Retired | 115 | 6 |
| Other occupation | 191 | 10 |
| Not sure of occupation | 13 | 1 |
| Did not answer occupation | 12 | -- |
| Marital Status |  |  |
| Married | 1283 | 70 |
| Single, never married | 337 | 18 |
| Divorced/widowed/separated | 205 | 11 |
| Civil union/domestic partnership | 5 | 0 |
| Spouse is Muslim | 1137 | 89 |
| Spouse not Muslim | 132 | 10 |
| Not sure if spouse is Muslim | -- | -- |
| Household Size |  |  |
| 1 in household | 179 | 10 |
| 2 in household | 336 | 19 |
| 3 in household | 301 | 17 |
| 4 in household | 392 | 22 |
| 5 in household | 328 | 18 |
| 6 in household | 150 | 8 |
| 7+ in household | 133 | 7 |
| Did not answer household | 27 | -- |
| Number of Adults in Household |  |  |
| 1 adult | 226 | 12 |
| 2 adults | 912 | 50 |
| 3 adults | 331 | 18 |
| 4 adults | 191 | 11 |
| 5 adults | 82 | 5 |
| 6+ adults | 38 | 2 |
| Not sure of adults | 34 | 2 |
| Did not answer adults | 32 | -- |
| Number of Children in Household |  |  |
| 1 child | 303 | 17 |
| 2 children | 338 | 19 |


| 3 children | 233 | 13 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 children | 73 | 4 |
| 5 children | 34 | 2 |
| 6+ children | 19 | 1 |
| Not sure of children | 32 | 2 |
| Did not answer children | 50 | -- |
| Stock Ownership |  |  |
| Own stock personally | 505 | 21 |
| Own stock through 401 (k) | 505 | 21 |
| Other pension plan | 327 | 14 |
| No stocks | 999 | 41 |
| Not sure of stocks | 81 | 3 |
| Did not answer stocks |  | -- |
| Stocks in Islamic financial institutions | 73 | 4 |
| No stocks in Islamic financial institutions | 1710 | 94 |
| Not sure of stocks in Islamic financial institutions | 44 | 2 |
| Did not answer stocks in Islamic financial institutions | 19 | -- |
| Investor class | 394 | 22 |
| Not investor class | 1356 | 74 |
| Not sure if investor class | 76 | 4 |
| Did not answer investor class | 20 | -- |
| Income Level |  |  |
| Less than \$15,000 | 172 | 11 |
| \$15,000-\$24,999 | 147 | 9 |
| \$25,000-\$34,999 | 160 | 10 |
| \$35,000-\$49,999 | 276 | 17 |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | 308 | 19 |
| \$75,000 or more | 529 | 33 |
| Did not answer income | 255 | -- |
| Gender |  |  |
| Male | 1074 | 58 |
| Female | 772 | 42 |

*Numbers have been rounded to the nearest percent and might not equal 100.

## II. Executive Summary

American Muslims are at a political and social crossroads at the end of 2004. In a few short years, they have undergone massive political shifts, and have become a relevant part of the political landscape. If one looks at American Muslims ca. 2000, and then ca. 2004, without an understanding of the events that have occurred in that four-year span, such a sea change has occurred for this group that any political observer would be stunned.

Zogby International recommends considering all results of this report in conjunction with the results of the Project MAPS/Zogby study conducted in 2001, immediately following the September 11 attacks.

To begin this executive summary, consider who American Muslims are: For this study, Zogby International interviewed Americans of Arab, African-American, African, South Asian, and Iranian ancestry. Due to sample size, no reliable data can be obtained on Iranians, though the small sample in this study differs substantially from other Muslims, politically and otherwise-suggesting a more detailed study of a larger sample group would yield similar conclusions.

Muslims are a politically active group. A high proportion of registered Muslim voters (95\%) plan to vote in national elections, and of that group, $88 \%$ are very likely to vote. In light of that, political horserace questions are particularly interesting, especially when one views the dramatic shift away from the Republican Party and President Bush versus the 2000 election.

Comparison with the 2001 Project MAPS/Zogby poll shows a migration away from the Republican Party by Muslim voters. In 2001, 23\% of Muslims identified themselves as Republicans while $40 \%$ called themselves Democrats and 28\% independents. Now, only $12 \%$ call themselves Republicans while 50\% of Muslims are Democrats and 31\% are independents. It also shows a huge movement away from President Bush’s re-election effort, favoring Senator Kerry over President Bush by a lopsided $76 \%$ to $7 \%$ margin. The overwhelming support for the Kerry/Edwards team and the near lack of support for the Bush/Cheney team is mirrored across all demographic strata. Even among Republicans, Kerry/Edwards lead by a near two-to-one margin, $50 \%$ to $28 \%$. But this is not absolutely a realignment with the Democrats: the addition of independent Ralph Nader, who is of Arab descent, to the question saps away a substantial part of Muslim support for Mr. Kerry. While Mr. Kerry manages 76\% support in a hypothetical two-way match-up, he only receives $68 \%$ support when Mr. Nader is added. Mr. Bush maintains his 7\% support.

In the post-9/11 world, Muslim identity is key in voting decisions. Nearly seven-in-ten Muslim voters say being a Muslim is important in their voting decision. Yet Muslims are not yet fully engaged, politically. By a three-to-one margin ( $73 \%$ versus 24\%), Muslims do not consider themselves an active member of their political party. This is less pronounced among Democrats, where the margin drops to two-to-one (65\%
versus 33\%). Republicans mirror the overall trend, while among self-described independents, the margin is $80 \%$ to $17 \%$. Additionally, Muslims are more likely to have volunteered time for a political candidate than to be active party members.

And Muslims clearly intend to be a part of the political system long-term: 86\% say it is important for them to participate in politics-seven times as many as who say it is not important. This holds across all geographic regions. By similar numbers, Muslims say it is important to them for their children to participate in politics. And Muslims are a generally well-informed group: nearly two-thirds (64\%) say they follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time. This varies little on geographic or partisan lines, though those who call themselves progressive are more likely than other groups ( $81 \%$ versus a range of $59 \%$ to $67 \%$ ) to say they do so most of the time.

Add to this desire to be a part of the political system the fact that three-in-five American Muslims are dissatisfied with the way things are going in American society today, and Muslims become a clearly-potent political entity. And, despite their negative view of the direction of the country, a majority of American Muslims say this is a good time to be a Muslim in America.

But that does not mean they support the actions of their government. Muslim Americans are more likely to support the war in Afghanistan than the war in Iraq, with $35 \%$ supporting the former and $13 \%$ supporting the latter. In both cases, opposition outweighs support, perhaps largely due to a distrust of the government's goals in both regions: two-in-five (39\%) American Muslims say the U.S. went to war in Iraq to control Mideastern oil. One-in-six (16\%) say the war was launched by a U.S. desire to dominate the Mideast, while another one-in-six (16\%) believe the war was an effort by the U.S. to protect Israel, and $5 \%$ say it was an effort to weaken the Muslim world.

American Muslims overwhelmingly say they would fight the war on terror by changing U.S. policy in the Mideast (76\%). There is widespread support for the U.S. backing a Palestinian state, with eight-in-nine (87\%) agreeing with that premise. Arabs are more likely to support a policy that encourages a Palestinian state than other ethnic groups ( $94 \%$ ). A reduction in U.S. support for Israel is supported by four-in-five American Muslims (80\%). Muslims also overwhelmingly support the notion that the U.S. must deal with social, economic and political inequalities around the world to defeat terrorism (87\%). This does not translate into tolerance for undemocratic Arab regimes, however: two-thirds (66\%) of American Muslims agree that the U.S. should reduce its support of undemocratic regimes in the Muslim world.

Despite these differences with the government, Muslims have a favorable outlook on life in America, and wish to be a part of the mainstream. For example, Muslims do not confine their charity and goodwill to fellow Muslims and Muslim organizations. American Muslims say with near-universality that Muslims should donate to non-Muslim service programs like aid for the homeless (97\%). Nearly all American Muslims agree that Muslims should participate in the political process (95\%). Nine-in-ten (90\%) American Muslims say Muslims should participate in interfaith activities. Eight-in-nine
(87\%) American Muslims agree Muslims should support worthy non-Muslim political candidates. Eighty-five percent of American Muslims say that the influence of religion and spiritual values in American life should increase.

Muslims also are active in their communities. Three-quarters (75\%) of American Muslims say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer, of an organization to help the poor, sick, elderly or homeless. Seven-in-ten (71\%) say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer of their mosque. A majority (63\%) of American Muslims are active in school or youth programs. More Muslims (53\%) say they have not donated money or time, or served as an officer, of a community or civil group than say they have. Forty-five percent of American Muslims say they have contributed to the running of a professional organization. Muslim Americans are more likely to donate money than time to arts or cultural organizations ( $17 \%$ versus $10 \%$ ). More than one-inthree (35\%) say they have been active an ethnic organization. Three-in-ten (30\%) say they have helped in the running of a Muslim political action committee or public affairs organization. A quarter (25\%) say they have been actively involved in a veteran's or military service organization. The vast majority (83\%) of Muslims have not actively contributed to running a labor union.

Muslims have a strong desire for political unity within their religion. Eight-in-ten American Muslims agree with following the agenda of the American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections (AMT), a US-wide coalition of the ten largest Muslim organizations. A majority of American Muslims say that American Muslims should vote as a bloc for president this year. Seven-in-ten American Muslims say the endorsement of a presidential candidate by the AMT would be important.

The survey also finds mixed news on American Muslims' relations with other Americans. Slightly more than a third of Muslims say that in their own experience, Americans have been respectful of Muslims, but that American society overall is disrespectful and intolerant of their culture. Another third take the unqualified position that Americans have been tolerant and respectful of Muslims. A majority of Muslims say a friend or family member has suffered discrimination since the September 11 attacks.

The 2004 Project MAPS/Zogby shows a group gaining political self-identity and flexing political muscles, and stands in stark contrast with some of the results in the 2001 survey.

## III. Narrative Analysis

2. Are you registered to vote in the United States?

| Yes | $82 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| No | 17 |
| Not sure | -- |

990. Why are you not registered to vote?

| Not a citizen | $59 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Not interested/never thought about |  |
| $\quad$ it/never got around to it | 13 |
| Too difficult to register | 3 |
| My vote doesn't make a difference | 1 |
| Considers it un-Islamic | 2 |
| *Other | 17 |
| Not sure | 6 |

*Other: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Eligibility (16); disillusioned with politics (6); too busy (5); in process of registering (1).
3. Do you intend to register to vote?

| Yes | $72 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| No | 21 |
| Not sure | 8 |

Nearly three-quarters (72\%) of American Muslims who are not currently registered to vote say they plan to do so, while one-in-five (21\%) does not.

A high proportion of South Asians are both not registered to vote and intend to become registered.

## (Asked only of registered voters)

4. How likely are you to vote in national elections?

| Very likely | $88 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Somewhat likely | 7 |
| Not likely | 4 |
| Not sure | 1 |

A high proportion of registered voters (95\%) plan to vote in national elections, and of that group, $88 \%$ are very likely to vote.

The likelihood of voting is uniform across all party identifiers, and varies no more than 5\% along ideological lines.
991. Why are you not likely to vote in national elections?

| Never enough time | $5 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Generally not interested | 20 |
| Usually don't like the choice of candidates | 20 |
| My vote doesn't make a difference | 7 |
| Other | 29 |
| Not sure | 19 |

*Other: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Too busy (4); in disillusioned with politics (2); health reasons (2); deciding (1).

The Election, Parties, and President Bush
5. In the 2000 presidential election, the candidates were Democrat Al Gore, Republican George W. Bush, Reform Party's Pat Buchanan, and the Green Party's Ralph Nader. For whom did you vote?

| Gore | $38 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Bush | 27 |
| Buchanan | -- |
| Nader | 11 |
| Someone else | 1 |
| Did not vote | 18 |
| Not sure | 5 |

Note: While these numbers are useful for identifying that a drift has occurred among voters, Zogby International recommends using the results of the 2001 Project MAPS/Zogby poll to determine more accurate representation of 2000 candidate support.
6. In which party are you either registered to vote or do you consider yourself to be a member of - Democrat, Republican, Independent/minor party, or Libertarian?

| Democrat | $50 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Republican | 12 |
| Independent/minor party | 31 |
| Libertarian | .9 |
| Not sure | 7 |

Comparison with the 2001 Project MAPS/Zogby poll shows a migration away from the Republican Party by Muslim voters. In 2001, 23\% of Muslims identified themselves as Republicans while 40\% called themselves Democrats and 28\%
independents. Now, only 12\% call themselves Republicans while 50\% of Muslims are Democrats and 31\% are independents.
7. If the election for president and vice president were held today and the candidates were Republicans George W. Bush and Dick Cheney, and Democrats John Kerry and John Edwards, for whom would you vote?

| Bush/Cheney | $7 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Kerry/Edwards | 76 |
| Someone else | 5 |
| Not sure | 12 |

The overwhelming support for Kerry/Edwards and the near lack of support for Bush/Cheney is mirrored across all demographic strata. Even among Republicans, Kerry/Edwards lead by a near two-to-one margin, $50 \%$ to $28 \%$. Support for Bush/Cheney is strongest among very conservative Muslims, at $27 \%$ versus $52 \%$ for Kerry/Edwards, and drops as voters move to the left politically. Among moderates, Bush/Cheney only garner 5\% of the vote versus 77\% for Kerry/Edwards, and among liberals and progressives, they net $4 \%$ of the vote versus $83 \%$ for Kerry/Edwards.

Support for Kerry/Edwards is stronger among African-Americans, at 82\% versus 5\% for Bush/Cheney.

Kerry/Edwards also performs very well among converts to Islam, where all converts support them at a rate ranging from $80 \%$ to $87 \%$. Bush/Cheney never get above $9 \%$ with this group, and only break $10 \%$ among Muslim immigrants who came to the United States in the 1990s.
8. If the election for president were held today and the candidates were Republican George W. Bush, Democrat John Kerry, Independent Ralph Nader, Libertarian Michael Badnarik, and Constitution Party's Michael Peroutka, for whom would you vote?

| Bush | $7 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Kerry | 68 |
| Nader | 11 |
| Badnarik | -- |
| Peroutka | -- |
| Someone else | 1 |
| Not sure | 12 |

The addition of independent Ralph Nader saps away a substantial part of Muslim support for Mr. Kerry. While Mr. Kerry manages 76\% support in a hypothetical two-way match-up, he only receives $68 \%$ support when Mr. Nader is added. Mr. Bush maintains his $7 \%$ support.

Mr. Bush fares no better among conservative voters in this scenario, but Mr. Kerry's support fades among liberals and progressives. Mr. Kerry drops 10\% from the previous question among independents, 7\% among Democrats, and 6\% among Republicans, when voters are given other choices.

## 9. Why are you voting for Bush?

*Question was open-ended: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.)
Agree with his policies/views/agenda (32);
Like him as a man (14);
Best choice/leadership qualities (14);
Always votes Republican (9); Bush should finish what he started (9); dislikes Kerry (5); truthful (3); lesser of two evils (2).

## 10. Why are you voting for Kerry?

*Question was open-ended: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Opposed to George Bush, his policies/agenda/views/decisions (296); Support Kerry, his policies/agenda/views/decisions (249); Always votes Democratic (92); better choice (70); time for a change (66); War in Iraq (44); disappointed with Bush (43); return fairness/legitimacy to government (24); commitment to civil liberties/civil rights (20); lesser of two evils (18).

## 11. Why are you voting for Nader?

*Question was open-ended: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Agrees with his policies/agenda/views (3); dislikes other candidates (3); his commitment to the Constitution (1).

## 12. Why are you voting for that candidate (Badnarik or Peroutka)?

*Question was open-ended: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Supports his policies/agenda/views (72); Opposed to Democrats/Republicans/Need third party (39);
Trust (12); best choice (9); time for a change (8); ethnicity (7); commitment to civil liberties (7); Israeli/Palestinian conflict (6); return fairness/legitimacy to government (4).
13. How important is being Muslim in your decision for whom to vote?

Very important 51\%
Somewhat important 18
Not important 29
Not sure 2

Nearly seven-in-ten Muslim voters say being a Muslim is important in their voting decision. This sentiment is higher among Democrats, at $72 \%$, and independents, at $69 \%$, than it is among Republicans, who say it is important at a rate of $57 \%$.

African-Americans are the racial demographic most likely to say being a Muslim is important in their voting decision, at a rate of $83 \%$.

The higher a Muslim's education level, the less importance they place on being a Muslim when they vote.

Among the various occupations, homemakers and people in service professions are more likely to rate being a Muslim as very important in their voting decision, while

Other groups are generally uniform on this question.
14. Which of the following is the most important factor when deciding your vote?

| Domestic policy | $44 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Foreign policy | 34 |
| Other | 14 |
| None/Not sure | 8 |

All geographic areas are similar to the overall numbers except for the Western U.S., where foreign policy bests domestic policy as the most important factor for Muslim voters by a $42 \%$ to $36 \%$ margin.

Republicans are more likely than Democrats (40\% versus 34\%) to select foreign policy as the most important factor when they vote, although both groups select domestic policy with equal frequency ( $44 \%$ versus $44 \%$ ). This does not reflect along ideological lines, however, where all groups are within the margin of error.

African-Americans are much more likely than other racial groups to select domestic policy ( $63 \%$ versus a range of $35 \%$ to $44 \%$ ). They are also less likely than other races to select foreign policy ( $19 \%$ versus a range of $34 \%$ to $39 \%$ ).

Single Muslims are more likely than married Muslims to select foreign policy ( $42 \%$ versus $34 \%$ ), though the two groups are equally likely to select domestic policy (41\% versus 43\%).

Women are only slightly more likely than men ( $46 \%$ versus $42 \%$ ) to select domestic policy, and slightly less likely than men ( $42 \%$ versus $35 \%$ ) to select foreign policy.

Domestic policy resonates more heavily with immigrants who arrived during the 1980s (45\%) and less-so the longer an immigrant has been in-country. Conversely, foreign policy resonates more heavily with those immigrants who arrived before 1970, and generally is of less concern to more-recent immigrants, although those who have immigrated since 1990 defy both trends, and split fairly evenly on the choice ( $35 \%$ say domestic policy and $39 \%$ say foreign policy).
906. Which description best represents your political ideology?

| Moderate | $40 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Liberal | 19 |
| Conservative | 16 |
| Progressive/very liberal | 11 |
| Very conservative | 2 |
| Libertarian | 2 |
| Not sure | 11 |

The greatest strength for conservatives is seen in the West, where $20 \%$ of Muslims apply that label to themselves. A slightly higher percentage of residents of the South and Great Lakes region call themselves moderates (42\% for both) than do residents of the East and West (37\% and 39\%).

The oldest respondents, those aged 65+, are the most likely to call themselves liberals or progressives (31\%), while they are also slightly more likely than other groups to call themselves conservative or very conservative (20\%).

As education level increases, so does the percentage of respondents calling themselves moderate, from $22 \%$ of those with less than a high school diploma to $44 \%$ of those who have graduated from college.

Ideology does not vary much by gender, nor is there a large amount of variation based on year of immigration or conversion.

Teachers and educators are more likely than other groups to call themselves liberal or progressive (36\%) while managers and students are more likely to call themselves conservative or very conservative ( $23 \%$ of managers and $22 \%$ of students).

## Political Involvement of Muslims

## 15-20. Questions pertaining to political activity

Table 1. Political Activities by American Muslims

|  | Yes | No | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Called or written the media or <br> politician on a given issue, or have <br> you signed a petition | 54 | 45 | 1 |
| Attended a rally in support of a <br> politician or a cause | 46 | 54 | -- |
| Visited a political website | 41 | 59 | 1 |
| Participated in a boycott of a <br> product or a business | 36 | 63 | 1 |
| Given a contribution or <br> volunteered your time or services <br> to a political candidate | 35 | 64 | 1 |
| Consider yourself to be an active <br> member in your political party | 24 | 73 | 3 |

By a three-to-one margin (73\% versus 24\%), Muslims do not consider themselves an active member of their political party. This is less pronounced among Democrats, where the margin drops to two-to-one ( $65 \%$ versus $33 \%$ ). Republicans mirror the overall trend, while among self-described independents, the margin is $80 \%$ to $17 \%$. Africans and African-Americans are more active in their parties (37\% and 31\%) while South Asians are less active (18\%) than other races. Members of the investor class are more likely than non-investors to be involved in their party ( $30 \%$ versus $23 \%$ ). Retirees and members of the medical profession are more likely to be involved as well.

Muslims are more likely to have volunteered time for a political candidate than to be active party members. More than one-in-three Muslims (35\% say they have volunteered time for a political candidate, while nearly two-thirds (64\%) have not. Those living in the West are more likely to volunteer time for a candidate ( $42 \%$ versus a range of $32 \%$ to $38 \%$ elsewhere). Half of Republicans (52\%) say they have volunteered time for a candidate, while two-fifths (41\%) of Democrats say they have. More than one-inthree independents ( $36 \%$ ) say they have volunteered time for a candidate as well. The likelihood of volunteering for a candidate increases with both age and education, as well as time in-country for immigrants. More than half of those in the investor class (53\%) say they have volunteered politically. Retirees, teachers and professional/technical workers are more likely ( $47 \%, 44 \%$ and $43 \%$ ) to volunteer time for a candidate, while people in the service industry and homemakers are less likely (12\% and 20\%).

Two-in-five Muslims (41\%) say they have visited a political website, while the remaining three-fifths (59\%) say they have not. Those living in the West are more likely to have done so (47\%) while those living in the East are less likely (35\%). Progressives
are more likely (57\%) than conservative and very conservative Muslims (39\% and 36\%) to say they have done so. The youngest Muslims (18-29 year-olds) are more likely to view political websites (53\%) while the eldest Muslims (age 65+) are less likely (29\%). Men are more likely than women to view political websites ( $44 \%$ versus $37 \%$ ). Half (51\%) of professional/technical workers say they have visited political websites, while $80 \%$ of retirees and $77 \%$ of blue-collar workers say they have not. The response to this question is even across party lines.

A majority of Muslims (54\%) have written the media or a politician on a given issue. This is true among all political parties and ideologies. Those in the West are more likely ( $60 \%$ ) while those in the South are less likely (51\%). African-Americans are more likely than other races, with $73 \%$ saying they have written such a letter, while Africans are less likely, with $31 \%$ saying the same. Members of the investor class are more likely than non-investors ( $67 \%$ versus $50 \%$ ) to have written the media or a politician.

21-22. How important is it for you... for your children... to participate in politics?
Table 2. Muslims Seek a Seat at the Political Table

|  | Very <br> important | Somewhat <br> important | Not <br> important | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| For you | 53 | 33 | 13 | 1 |
| For your children | 58 | 24 | 10 | 7 |

Eighty-six percent of Muslims say it is important for them to participate in politics. This is nearly seven times as many as who say it is not important. This holds across all geographic regions.

Men are more likely than women to rate this very important (57\% versus 48\%) though both groups rate it as important in roughly equal percentages.

Democrats are more intense on this issue, with $59 \%$ saying that it is very important, while $49 \%$ of Republicans said the same. A higher number of Republicans are lukewarm on this issue, with $40 \%$ saying it is somewhat important, versus $29 \%$ of Democrats who say the same. On ideological grounds, progressive are far more likely than other groups to say it is very important ( $72 \%$ versus a range of $51 \%$ to $59 \%$ ).

Africans are more likely to say this is very important (63\%) and South Asians are less likely (49\%). As both education and age increase, respondents are more likely to say this is very important.

By similar numbers, Muslims say it is important to them for their children to participate in politics. This is important for $82 \%$ of Muslims, and not important for one-in-ten (10\%).

Muslims in the Eastern U.S. are the least intense on this question, with 55\% saying it is very important, while all other regions are at $59 \%$ to $60 \%$.

A smaller gender gap exists on this question than the previous one, with $56 \%$ of women and $60 \%$ of men rating this very important. A marriage gap is present, however, as $85 \%$ of married Muslims call it important, versus $75 \%$ of single Muslims.

Republicans are a bit more likely than Democrats to say it is important for their children to participate in politics: $87 \%$ of Republicans say it is important, versus $83 \%$ of Democrats. This is reflected on ideological lines, where those who call themselves very conservative are as likely as progressives ( $70 \%$ and $69 \%$, respectively) to say it is very important.

As in the previous question, the number calling this very important increases with both age and education.

## 23. How often do you discuss politics with family and friends?

| Always | $42 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Sometimes | 48 |
| Hardly ever | 8 |
| Never | 3 |
| Not sure |  |

Few demographic areas differ substantially with the overall numbers in this question.

The more extreme the ideological viewpoint of a Muslim, the more likely they are to discuss politics with family and friends-those who call themselves very conservative or progressive are much more likely than moderates, liberals and conservatives to say they always discuss politics.

Teachers and professionals are more likely to always discuss politics with family and friends ( $55 \%$ and $51 \%$, respectively) while students and homemakers are more likely to only do so sometimes ( $63 \%$ and $59 \%$, respectively).
24. How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?

Most of the time 64\%
Some of the time 26
Only now and then 7
Hardly at all 3
Not sure 1

Nearly two-thirds (64\%) of Muslims say they follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time. This varies little on geographic or partisan lines, though those who call themselves progressive are more likely than other groups ( $81 \%$ versus a range of $59 \%$ to $67 \%$ ) to say they do so most of the time.

Men are more likely than women to say they follow government and public affairs most of the time ( $67 \%$ versus $59 \%$ ), though a higher percentage of women than men are likely to say they follow this some of the time.

African Americans are more likely (71\%) and Africans are less likely (45\%) to say they follow what's going on most of the time.

As their age and education increase, more Muslims say they follow government and public affairs. The same is generally true of income and the amount of time an immigrant has been in the United States.

Teachers, professionals/technical workers, and managerial workers are more likely than other groups of workers to say they follow government's happenings most of the time ( $71 \%, 70 \%$, and $73 \%$, respectively).

## The Impact of the American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections

The American Muslim Taskforce on Civil Rights and Elections (AMT) is a US-wide coalition of the ten largest Muslim organizations. The AMT has identified "A Civil Rights Plus Agenda" pertaining to the Presidential Election. This agenda consists of Civil and human rights for all, Domestic issues of public good and general welfare, Global peace with justice, prevention of war, and US relations with the Muslim world.
881. How strongly do you agree in following this agenda during the presidential elections?

| Strongly agree | $57 \%$ |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Somewhat agree | 24 | Agree | $81 \%$ |
| Somewhat disagree | 3 |  |  |
| Strongly disagree | 3 | Disagree | 6 |
| Not sure | 14 |  |  |

Eight-in-ten (81\%) American Muslims agree with following the agenda of the American Muslim Taskforce, while only 6\% disagree. Of those in agreement, a solid majority of respondents strongly agree with following the AMT's agenda.

The support for the AMT agenda fluctuates somewhat by geographic region. Muslims in the South and West are more likely to strongly agree ( $61 \%$ and $60 \%$, respectively) than those in the East and Central/Great Lakes (54\% each).

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to support the agenda of the AMT85\% of Democrats support it, versus 76\% of Republicans. Democrats are also more intense in their support, with $62 \%$ saying they strongly support the AMT's agenda, versus $53 \%$ of Republicans.

Support for the AMT agenda does not clearly follow ideological lines, though a majority of all ideological persuasions say they support it. Progressives are the most likely to strongly agree, with $70 \%$ saying they do.
882. Do you agree or disagree that US Muslims should vote in a bloc for one of the presidential candidates in 2004?

| Agree | $53 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Disagree | 36 |
| Not sure | 11 |

A majority (53\%) of American Muslims say that American Muslims should vote as a bloc for president this year. Slightly more than one-in-three (36\%) disagree.

Support for this idea is strongest in the South and East, where 54\% and 55\%, respectively, agree.

While Democrats back voting as a bloc by a margin of 55\% to 36\%, Republicans are much more divided, with 47\% agreeing that Muslims should vote as a bloc, and 43\% disagreeing-just outside the poll's margin of error. Independents agree by margins similar to the Democrats. Ideologically, however, progressive, liberal, conservative and very conservative Muslims all agree with voting as a bloc, with a range of $56 \%$ to $58 \%$ saying they agree.

Men are a bit more likely than women to agree with voting as a bloc, by a $56 \%$ to 50\% margin. A majority of all ethnicities, however, say they agree.

Support for group voting also is stronger among the youngest American Muslims (56\% of 18-29 year-olds say they agree with voting as a bloc) but declines steadily, receiving the support of $46 \%$ of those aged 65+. Likewise, American Muslim immigrants who have been in the country longer are less likely to agree than those whose arrival is more recent.

A majority of most professions say they agree with voting in a bloc, however, homemakers and those in sales are less likely ( $41 \%$ and $48 \%$, respectively) than others to say they agree.
883. If the American Muslim Taskforce (AMT) endorses one of the Presidential candidates, how important would it be in your decision for whom to vote?

| Very important | $40 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Somewhat important | 29 |
| Not important | 26 |
| Not sure | 5 |

For seven-in-ten (69\%) American Muslims, the endorsement of a candidate by the AMT would be important. For a quarter of American Muslims (26\%), this would not be important.

Muslims in the South are more likely than elsewhere to say this is important (73\%) while Muslims in the East are less likely (67\%).

Men and women call an AMT endorsement important in similar numbers. African-Americans are more likely (49\%) than other ethnic groups to call an AMT endorsement very important, while South Asians are less likely (39\%). South Asians are also more likely to call it not important (27\%).

Recent immigrants and those who converted the longest ago are more likely than others in their groups to say an AMT endorsement is very important to them.

Muslims, Society, and the Community
25. What do you consider to be the most important issue facing American society today?

| Jobs/economy | $24 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| War on Terror/Iraq | 19 |
| Constitutional issues | 13 |
| Morality | 6 |

*Question was open-ended: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Politics/government (98); racism/discrimination/bias (90); education (56); healthcare (51); drugs/crime/violence (12)
26. What do you consider to be the most important issue facing the Muslim American community today?

| Constitutional issues | $28 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Bias/racism | 24 |
| Becoming mainstream | 11 |
| Foreign policy | 8 |

*Question was open-ended: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.)

Unity (96); domestic issues (85); security/safety (60); Israeli-Palestinian conflict (29); politics/government (24); morality (17).

27 - 36. I am now going to read a list of community activities, please tell me if you have ever donated time, money or been an officer of any.

Table 3. Muslim Involvement in the Community: Time, Money, and Leadership

|  | Donated <br> time | Donated <br> money | Served <br> as an <br> officer | A <br> combination <br> of these | Total \% | None of <br> these | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Any organization to help the <br> poor, sick, elderly or homeless | 13 | 30 | 1 | 31 | 75 | 24 | 1 |
| Any mosque or other religious <br> organizations | 11 | 18 | 1 | 41 | 71 | 28 | 1 |
| School or youth programs | 22 | 9 | 1 | 31 | 63 | 35 | 1 |
| Any neighborhood, civic or <br> community group | 22 | 6 | 1 | 18 | 47 | 53 | 1 |
| Any professional organization | 12 | 11 | 2 | 21 | 46 | 53 | 2 |
| Any arts or cultural organization | 10 | 17 | 1 | 14 | 42 | 57 | 1 |
| Any ethnic organizations | 8 | 8 | -- | 19 | 35 | 64 | 1 |
| Any Muslim political action or <br> public affairs organization | 7 | 8 | -- | 14 | 29 | 69 | 1 |
| Any veteran's or military service <br> organizations | 4 | 13 | 1 | 7 | 25 | 75 | 1 |
| Any trade or labor unions | 4 | 5 | -- | 8 | 17 | 83 | 1 |

Three-quarters (75\%) of American Muslims say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer, of an organization to help the poor, sick, elderly or homeless. One-in-four (24\%) say they have not. Those in the South are more likely than elsewhere to do a combination of these things (35\%) or donate time (18\%) while those in the East and West are more likely to donate money ( $33 \%$ and $32 \%$, respectively. Those in the South are less likely to donate money (23\%). Women are more likely than men to contribute to charitable organizations ( $79 \%$ versus $72 \%$ ). African Americans are more likely to contribute (83\%) while Africans are less likely (57\%).

Seven-in-ten (71\%) say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer of their mosque. Those in the South and Central/Great Lakes regions are more likely (43\%) to do a combination of those things; those in the West are more likely to donate money (20\%). Democrats are more likely than Republicans to donate time ( $11 \%$ versus $7 \%$ ) while Republicans are more likely than Democrats to donate money ( $23 \%$ versus 18\%). One-in-three (32\%) Republicans are likely to not be involved at all in the running of their mosque, higher than the $28 \%$ of Democrats who do not donate time, money or leadership. African Americans are more likely to be involved in one of those ways (85\%) while Africans are less likely (63\%).

A majority (63\%) of American Muslims are active in school or youth programs. Of these, $22 \%$ say they have donated time, $9 \%$ say they have donated money, $1 \%$ say they have served as an officer, and three-in-ten (31\%) say they have performed a combination. A third (35\%) say they have done none of these things. Women are more likely than men ( $24 \%$ to $21 \%$ ) to donate time, but men are more likely to donate money ( $10 \%$ to $8 \%$ ). Recent converts (1990-present) are more likely to donate time ( $36 \%$ versus a range of $16 \%$ to $22 \%$ ), while those who converted the longest ago (pre-1970) are more likely to donate money ( $14 \%$ versus a range of $2 \%$ to $6 \%$ ).

More Muslims (53\%) say they have not donated money or time, or served as an officer, of a community or civil group than say they have. One-in-five (22\%) have donated time, $6 \%$ have donated money, $1 \%$ have served as an officer, and another one-infive ( $18 \%$ ) say they have done a combination of those things. Men are slightly more likely than women ( $49 \%$ versus $43 \%$ ) to involve themselves in a community or civic group. African Americans are more likely (65\%) to have involved themselves in a civic or community group, while South Asians are less likely (41\%).

Forty-five percent of American Muslims say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer of a professional organization. This is fairly uniform across geographic regions. Those with the strongest ideological beliefs, progressive and very conservative Muslims, are more likely to contribute to a professional organization, 57\% and $58 \%$, respectively. Men are slightly more likely than women ( $47 \%$ versus $42 \%$ ). African Americans (67\%) are more likely to do so, while Africans are less likely to do so (31\%).

Muslim Americans are more likely to donate money than time to arts or cultural organizations ( $17 \%$ versus $10 \%$ ). Those in the West are more likely to donate money (21\%) while those in the South are less likely to donate money (15\%). Democrats are more likely to donate money than time ( $19 \%$ versus $10 \%$ ) while Republicans pick money over time by a smaller $15 \%$ to $12 \%$ margin. African-Americans are more likely to donate money (22\%) and time (11\%) while Africans are less likely to donate money (10\%) and Arabs and Africans are less likely to donate time (8\% each). Homemakers are less likely to donate time (5\%) while students are less likely to donate money (9\%).

More than one-in-three (35\%) say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer of an ethnic organization. For those living in the West and Central/Great Lakes region, this climbs to $39 \%$, while it drops to $31 \%$ in the East. African Americans are more likely to do so (58\%) while Africans are less likely to do so (18\%).

Three-in-ten (30\%) say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer of a Muslim political action committee or public affairs organization. Those in the West are more likely to do so (36\%) while those in the South are less likely to do so (26\%). Democrats are more likely than Republicans to do so (32\% versus 28\%). Progressives are the ideology most likely to do so (46\%) while conservatives and liberals are less likely to do so ( $25 \%$ and $23 \%$, respectively). African Americans are more likely to do so (46\%) while Africans are less likely to do so (12\%).

A quarter (25\%) say they have donated time or money, or served as an officer of a veteran's or military service organization. This climbs to $29 \%$ in the South and shrinks to $21 \%$ in the West. African Americans are more likely to do so (36\%) while Africans and Arabs are less likely to do so ( $16 \%$ and $19 \%$, respectively). Seniors (those over the age of 65) are more likely to do so (39\%) while the youngest demographic (18-29 year-olds) are less likely to do so (15\%).

The vast majority (83\%) of Muslims have not donated time or money, or served as an officer of a labor union. Those living in the Central/Great Lakes region are a bit more likely to have done so than their contemporaries elsewhere in the country. Democrats are more likely to do so than Republicans (19\% versus 13\%). Progressives are more likely to do so (23\%) than other ideologies. Men are more likely than women to do so ( $18 \%$ versus $13 \%$ ). African Americans are more likely to do so (36\%) and Africans are less likely to do so (6\%). Those over the age of 65 are more likely to say they have done so.

37 - 41. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements?

Table 4. Muslim Values in a Secular Society

|  | Agree* | Disagree* | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Muslims should donate to non-Muslim social <br> service programs like aid for the homeless | 97 | 2 | 1 |
| Muslims should participate in the political process | 95 | 3 | 2 |
| Muslims should participate in interfaith activities | 90 | 4 | 5 |
| Muslims should financially support worthy non- <br> Muslim political candidates | 87 | 9 | 4 |
| The influence of religion and moral values in <br> American public life should increase | 85 | 12 | 4 |

(*Agree and disagree each combines strongly and somewhat.)
American Muslims say with near-universality that Muslims should donate to nonMuslim service programs like aid for the homeless (97\%). Those living in the West are a bit less intense in their support of this notion than elsewhere, with $80 \%$ strongly agreeing, versus a range of $84 \%$ to $86 \%$ in other regions. Democrats agree by a slightly larger percentage than Republicans. Men are slightly more intense, but women agree overall by a slightly higher percentage. Agreement also declines slightly with age.

With near-unanimity, American Muslims agree that Muslims should participate in the political process (95\%). Agreement with this notion is weakest in the West, where it drops to $92 \%$, and strong disagreement jumps to 4\%-the highest of any region. Democrats and Republicans agree in similar percentages, but Democrats are more intense
in their agreement. Moderates are more likely to agree than those at the ideological extremes. Men and women agree in similar percentages, but men are more intense on this than women.

Nine-in-ten (90\%) American Muslims say Muslims should participate in interfaith activities. This holds across all geographic regions, but intensity is lower in the West. Democrats are a bit more likely to agree than Republicans ( $92 \%$ versus $87 \%$ ). Intensity of agreement increases with age.

Eight-in-nine (87\%) American Muslims agree Muslims should support worthy non-Muslim political candidates. Agreement is most intense in the South, where 71\% of Muslims strongly agree, and least intense in the West, where $60 \%$ of Muslims strongly agree. Democrats are slightly more likely than Republicans ( $89 \%$ versus $86 \%$ ) to agree. Men and women agree in equal numbers, but men are more intense in their agreement. Africans are more likely to disagree (14\%) while Arabs are less likely to disagree (5\%).

Eighty-five percent of American Muslims say that the influence of religion and spiritual values in American life should increase. As ideological viewpoint shifts to the right, support for this notion increases; $76 \%$ of progressives agree, while $91 \%$ of conservatives do as well. Among immigrants, those most-recently arrived agree in a higher percent than do those who have been here longer.

## The Nation's Direction, the War on Terror, and Foreign Policy

42. How satisfied are you overall with the way things are going in American society today?

| Very satisfied | $7 \%$ |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| Somewhat satisfied | 28 | Satisfied | $35 \%$ |
| Somewhat dissatisfied | 31 |  |  |
| Very dissatisfied | 32 | Dissatisfied | 63 |
| Not sure | 2 |  |  |

Three-in-five (63\%) American Muslims are dissatisfied with the way things are going in American society today. A third are satisfied with the way things are going.

These percentages hold, generally, across geographic lines, though those in the West have a more negative outlook (67\% dissatisfied).

Republicans are more satisfied than Democrats, with 48\% saying they are satisfied versus 32\% of Democrats.

Along ideological lines, progressives are far more likely to be dissatisfied, with $77 \%$ responding that way. This contrasts with liberals, who are more likely to be satisfied, with $42 \%$ responding positively.

Women are slightly more negative than men, with $66 \%$ of women saying they are dissatisfied versus $62 \%$ of men.

African Americans are more likely to be dissatisfied (82\%) while South Asians are less likely (54\%).

## 43. Do you feel the U.S. is fighting a war on terrorism or a war against Islam?

Terrorism 33\%
Islam 38
Not sure 29
A plurality of American Muslims say the U.S. is fighting a war on Islam (38\%) rather than terror (33\%). However, one-in-three (29\%)is not sure. The end result is a fairly even split.

Geographic lines impact response. All regions reflect the overall numbers except the South, where $38 \%$ of Muslims say the U.S. is fighting a war on terror, versus 32\% who say the war is on Islam. Westerners are more likely to say the U.S. is fighting a war on Islam, with $43 \%$ taking that position.

Party impacts response as well. Democrats say "war on Islam" over "war on terror" by a $41 \%$ to $31 \%$ margin. Republicans, conversely, say the U.S. is fighting a war on terror, and not on Islam, by a $47 \%$ to $31 \%$ margin. Independents say "war on Islam" by a $39 \%$ to $33 \%$ margin.

Progressives and conservatives say the U.S. is fighting a war on Islam ( $46 \%$ and $40 \%$, respectively), while moderates and liberals split evenly.

Men choose "war on terror" over "war on Islam" by a $38 \%$ to $36 \%$ margin, while women say "war on Islam" over "war on terror" by a 42\% to 27\% margin. The oldest respondents (65+) say the U.S. is fighting a war on terror by a margin of $44 \%$ to $38 \%$, while middle-aged respondents (30-64) see a war on Islam.
44. Is this a good time or a bad time to be Muslim in America?

Good time 51\%
Bad time 36
Not sure 13
A majority (51\%) of American Muslims say this is a good time to be a Muslim in America. Slightly more than a third (36\%) say it is a bad time.

This holds across all geographic regions, although "good time" wins out by a plurality (47\%) in the South, where a higher percentage of Muslims than elsewhere call it a bad time to be a Muslim (39\%).

This opinion does not vary greatly by party, though slightly more Republicans say it is a bad time to be a Muslim than do Democrats (40\% versus 37\%). Independents are more positive than partisans on this issue, with $51 \%$ saying it is a good time, and $35 \%$ saying it is a bad time. As political ideology shifts left, there is a greater likelihood the respondent will say it is a bad time to be a Muslim, and among progressives more say it is a bad time than good ( $46 \%$ versus $41 \%$ ).

Arabs are more likely than other ethnicities to say it is a bad time, with $40 \%$ selecting that option. African Americans are more likely to say it is a good time, with $57 \%$ taking that position.

46-47. . Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the U.S. military action against Afghanistan... the war in Iraq?

Table 5. Muslims on Post-9/11 U.S. Military Action

|  | Support* $^{*}$ | Oppose* | Not sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| U.S. military action <br> against Afghanistan | 35 | 53 | 11 |
| War in Iraq | 13 | 81 | 6 |

(*Support and oppose each combines strongly and somewhat.)
Muslim Americans are more likely to support the war in Afghanistan than the war in Iraq, with $35 \%$ supporting the former and $13 \%$ supporting the latter. In both cases, opposition outweighs support.

On Afghanistan, support is fairly uniform across geographic regions. Opposition is heaviest in the West, where $57 \%$ oppose the military actions against the Taliban.

In all categories, Muslims have strong convictions-more Muslims strongly oppose the war in Afghanistan than somewhat oppose it, and more Muslims strongly support the war than somewhat support it. Men are much more likely to support the war than women, $43 \%$ versus $24 \%$, while women are more likely to oppose the war than men, $60 \%$ versus $48 \%$. African Americans are more likely than other ethnic groups to oppose the war (71\%) while Africans are less likely to oppose it (35\%) - the only ethnic group where support outweighs opposition (43\% versus 35\%).

The war in Iraq is less popular still. Four-in-five (81\%) Muslim Americans oppose that conflict, while one-in-eight (13\%) supports it. The most intense opposition is in the West, where $86 \%$ are opposed. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to support the war ( $28 \%$ versus $9 \%$ ). Every ethnic group is opposed to the war by lopsided
numbers, though Africans and South Asians are split 73\% to $14 \%$ and $74 \%$ to $15 \%$, making them the least anti-war ethnic groups.
48. Thinking about the current status of the war in Iraq, do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree that it has been worth it?

| Strongly agree | $8 \%$ |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| Somewhat agree | 7 | Agree | $15 \%$ |
| Somewhat disagree | 10 |  |  |
| Strongly disagree | 69 | Disagree | 79 |
| Not sure | 6 |  |  |

The results to this question mirror those of the previous question, where respondents indicate they oppose the war in Iraq by an overwhelming margin. Here, four-in-five American Muslims (79\%) say they disagree that the war has been worth its costs, versus the $15 \%$ who say it was worth it. Also, those who say the war was not worth the cost are more intense than those who say it was worth it.

As in the previous question, Republicans are more likely to say the war was worth its costs than Democrats, $26 \%$ versus $12 \%$. Independents track with Democrats on this question. This question also tracks on ideological lines: the further left the respondent, the most likely they are to say the war has not been worth the costs.

Men are more likely than women to rate the war worth its costs, with $18 \%$ agreeing it has been worth it versus $12 \%$ of women.

African Americans are more likely to say the war has not been worth its costs, with $84 \%$ responding this way; Africans are more likely than other groups to say it has been worth the costs, with $20 \%$ agreeing.

No clear pattern emerges along occupational lines.
49. Which of the following do you think was the most important reason why the U.S. went to war with Iraq?

| Controlling oil | $39 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Desire to dominate the region | 16 |
| Protecting Israel | 16 |
| Freeing the Iraqi people of oppression | 5 |
| Weakening the Muslim world | 5 |
| Promoting peace and stability in the Middle East | 4 |
| Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction | 3 |
| Spreading democracy | 2 |
| None/Not sure | 10 |

Two-in-five (39\%) American Muslims say the U.S. went to war in Iraq to control Mideastern oil. One-in-six (16\%) say the war was launched by a U.S. desire to dominate the Mideast, while another one-in-six (16\%) believe the war was an effort by the U.S. to protect Israel, and $5 \%$ say it was an effort to weaken the Muslim world. Only one-intwenty (5\%) believe the primary aim of the war was to liberate the Iraqi people, $4 \%$ say it was to promote peace and stability in the Mideast, and $3 \%$ say it was to prevent the spread of WMD.

The belief that oil drove the war is strongest in the South (43\%) and weakest in the Central/Great Lakes region (34\%). Those in the West are more likely than others to say the aim of the Iraq war was to dominate the region (20\%), and those in the West and Central/Great Lakes regions are more likely than others to credit a desire to protect Israel (18\% each).

Ideologically, similar percentages of respondents say that oil drove the Iraq war. However, as ideology shifts to the left, there is a greater likelihood a respondent will say the war was driven by a U.S. desire to dominate the region-only $12 \%$ of conservatives choose this option, while $23 \%$ of progressives do. Progressives are also the ideological group most likely to support the argument that the war was launched to prevent the spread of WMD (5\%).

All ethnicities are most likely to say oil was the driving force behind the Iraq war. A majority of African Americans (54\%) say the war was an effort by the U.S. to control oil, while Africans are less likely to support this position than any other ethnic group (27\%). Arabs are more likely than other groups to say the war was driven by a desire to protect Israel (25\%).
50. Do you agree or disagree that the military effort in Iraq could lead to more terrorism aimed at the U.S.?

| Agree | $78 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Disagree | 12 |
| Not sure | 10 |

Nearly four-in-five (78\%) American Muslims believe that the war in Iraq could lead to more terrorism aimed at the United States. One-in-eight (12\%) disagree.

These numbers hold steady across geographic regions.
Republicans are more likely than Democrats to disagree with this idea (17\% versus $8 \%$ ) while independents fall between the two parties. The response is generally consistent with the overall numbers for the ideological demographic.

Men are slightly more likely than women to disagree with this statement: $14 \%$ of men and $10 \%$ of women disagree.

Investors are more likely to agree than non-investors (85\% versus 77\%).
Arabs are more likely than other ethnicities to agree with the statement (82\%) while Africans are less likely (65\%).

51 - 52. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree that the war in Iraq could lead to more instability in the Middle East and across the Muslim world... that the war in Iraq will result in more Democracy in the Arab world?

Table 6. Muslims on Possible Outcomes of the War in Iraq

| The war in Iraq... | Agree* | Disagree* | Not sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Could lead to more instability in the <br> Middle East and across the Muslim world | 82 | 12 | 7 |
| Will result in more Democracy in the <br> Arab world | 28 | 63 | 9 |

(*Agree and disagree each combines strongly and somewhat.)
American Muslims overwhelmingly believe that the Iraq war could lead to more instability in the Mideast ( $82 \%$ versus $12 \%$ who disagree). But three-in-ten ( $28 \%$ ) also believe the war could lead to more democracy in the Arab world.

On the first question, responses are consistent with the overall response geographically. Democrats are somewhat more likely to agree with the notion than Republicans (85\% versus 80\%), and independents mirrored Democrats. Gender has minimal impact on response. On racial lines, however, Arabs are more likely—and with higher intensity - to agree with the premise (86\%) than are other racial groups. Africans are less likely (71\%) than others to agree.

On the second question, responses varied somewhat geographically. Westerners are less likely than others (22\%) to believe more democracy in the Arab world will result from the Iraq war, while those in the Central/Great Lakes region are more optimistic in their assessment: $31 \%$ say greater democracy in the Arab world will result. Republicans are more likely to agree with the premise than Democrats, $34 \%$ versus $26 \%$. Men are more likely than women to agree (30\% versus 26\%). Africans are more likely than other ethnicities to say the war will lead to democracy (37\%), while Arabs are less likely ( $25 \%$ ). Blue collar/production workers are more likely than other professions to believe the war will lead to democracy in the Arab world (43\%), while professional/technical workers, homemakers, and retirees are less likely ( $24 \%$ each).
53. If you had to choose ONE of the following ways to wage the war against terrorism, which would you choose?

| Changing America's Middle East policy | $76 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Using U.S. Military Covert/Special Forces | 2 |
|  |  |
| Use of strategic nuclear weapons | 1 |
| Attacking Iran | 1 |
| Contracting with mercenaries | 1 |
| U.S. Air Force bombing | 1 |
| Biological warfare | 1 |
| None of the above/Other | 11 |
| Not sure | 8 |

Respondents overwhelmingly say they would fight the war on terror by changing U.S. policy in the Mideast (76\%). No other answer gained more than 2\%, and most were less than $1 \%$.

These numbers remain generally consistent across all demographics, although some cross-sections have a higher number selecting none of the above and not sure.

531, 54 - 56. Do you agree or disagree that...?
Table 7. Muslims on U.S. Foreign Policy in the Mideast

|  | Agree | Disagree | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The U.S. should support a Palestinian state | 87 | 5 | 7 |
| One of the most effective ways to fight terrorism is to <br> deal with the social, economic, and political inequalities <br> that affect the majority of people in the world | 87 | 7 | 6 |
| The U.S. should reduce financial support to Israel | 80 | 9 | 11 |
| The U.S. should reduce its support of undemocratic <br> regimes in the Muslim world | 66 | 20 | 14 |

There is widespread support for the U.S. backing a Palestinian state, with eight-in-nine (87\%) agreeing with that premise. Support mirrors the overall number in all geographic regions. There is slightly higher support for the U.S. backing a Palestinian state among political independents ( $92 \%$ versus $90 \%$ of Republicans and $88 \%$ of Democrats). Moderates and progressives are more likely to back this policy ( $92 \%$ and $90 \%$, respectively), while support is lower among conservatives ( $86 \%$ ). Men agree in a slightly higher percentage than women ( $89 \%$ versus $85 \%$ ) with more women undecided. Arabs are more likely to agree than other ethnic groups (94\%) while Africans are less likely (78\%).

Muslims also overwhelmingly support the notion that the U.S. must deal with social, economic and political inequalities around the world to defeat terrorism (87\%), though $7 \%$ disagree. Support for this stance rises to $90 \%$ in the South. Independents are more likely than either party to agree as well, with $91 \%$ agreeing versus $88 \%$ of Democrats and $84 \%$ of Republicans. Moderates and progressives are more likely to agree than other ideologies ( $90 \%$ and $93 \%$, respectively). The response is fairly consistent across ethnic lines.

A reduction in U.S. support for Israel is supported by four-in-five American Muslims (80\%). Support for this stance is strongest in the South, at 82\%, while it is weaker in the East, at $78 \%$. Democrats agree with this approach more than Republicans, $83 \%$ to $75 \%$, but independents are even more likely to agree ( $87 \%$ ). Response is consistent regardless of gender. Arabs are more likely than other ethnicities to support this position (87\%) and Africans are less likely (67\%).

Two-thirds (66\%) of American Muslims agree that the U.S. should reduce its support of undemocratic regimes in the Muslim world. One-in-five (20\%) disagree, and $14 \%$ are unsure. This idea resonates more strongly in the West, where support climbs to $72 \%$, and less in the East, where it drops to $63 \%$. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to support this policy, 70\% versus 65\% of Democrats (and 69\% of independents). Men are more likely to agree than women, $70 \%$ versus $61 \%$. Those age 30-49 are more likely than other age groups to agree (73\%) while the youngest Muslims (18-29 year-olds) are less likely to agree (55\%). Investors are more likely to agree than non-investors, $74 \%$ versus $65 \%$. Arabs are more likely than other ethnic groups to agree (76\%), while African Americans are less likely (51\%). Blue collar/production workers are less likely than other professions to agree (45\%) and more likely to disagree (30\%). Students hold similar numbers.
57. Secretary of State Colin Powell has described the Kashmir issue as the central issue between India and Pakistan. Do you agree or disagree with this assessment?

| Agree | $64 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Disagree | 18 |
| Not sure | 17 |

Two-thirds (64\%) of Muslims agree with Secretary Powell: Kashmir is the central issue between India and Pakistan. One-in-five (18\%) disagree, and one-in-six (17\%) are not sure.

Agreement is strongest in the South, where 70\% of Muslims agree.
Independents agree in a higher percentage than Democrats or Republicans (72\% versus $68 \%$ of Republicans and $63 \%$ of Democrats). This dovetails with the ideological response, where moderates are more likely to agree than those with stronger ideological
identities: 70\% of moderates agree, versus a range of $62 \%$ to $65 \%$ among other ideologies.

Men are far more likely than women to agree with Secretary Powell's assessment, $71 \%$ versus $55 \%$.

South Asians are more likely than other ethnic groups to agree, with $82 \%$ taking that position. African Americans are less likely to agree (45\%).

## Muslims in the Community at Large: Discrimination, Prejudice, and Respect

58. I will now read you several statements about American's attitudes toward Muslims that you have experienced in your own personal experience and the attitudes of Americans toward Muslims overall - in the society as a whole. Please tell me which statement best reflects Americans' attitudes toward Muslims since the September 11 attacks:

Table 8. Muslims Contrast Their Neighbors \& American Society

|  | \% |
| :--- | :---: |
| B: In my experience, Americans have been respectful <br> and tolerant of Muslims, but American society overall is <br> disrespectful and intolerant of Muslims | 35 |
| A: In my experience and overall, Americans have been <br> respectful and tolerant of Muslims | 32 |
| D: In my experience, Americans have been disrespectful <br> and intolerant of Muslims, but American society overall <br> is respectful and tolerant of Muslims | 16 |
| C: In my experience and overall, Americans have been <br> disrespectful and intolerant of Muslims | 12 |
| Not sure | 5 |

Slightly more than a third of Muslims (35\%) say that in their own experience, Americans have been respectful of Muslims, but that American society overall is disrespectful and intolerant of their culture. Another third (32\%) take the unqualified position that Americans have been tolerant and respectful of Muslims. One-in-six (16\%) say they have encountered Americans who are disrespectful and intolerant of Muslims, but that American society, overall, has been respectful and tolerant. One-in-eight (12\%) say that in both their personal experience and the overall context, Americans have been disrespectful and intolerant of Muslims.

Republicans are more likely than other partisans to say that in both their experience and overall, Americans have been respectful and tolerant (37\%). This is the most popular position among Republicans. Democrats, meanwhile, are more likely to say that in their personal experience, Americans have been tolerant and respectful, but that American society is not (37\%). Independents split evenly between these options.

Men are more likely than women to say that Americans are respectful and tolerant ( $36 \%$ versus $27 \%$ ). Women are more likely than men to say that, in their experience, Americans are tolerant and respectful, but that, overall, American society is no (40\% versus $31 \%$ ).

Africans and South Asians are more likely to take the unqualified position that Americans have been respectful and tolerant (39\% and 40\%, respectively). African Americans and Arabs are more likely to say that in their own experiences, they've found Americans tolerant and respectful, but that American society is neither ( $34 \%$ and $37 \%$, respectively). African Americans are also far more likely than other ethnicities to select the blanket statement that Americans are disrespectful and intolerant (28\%).

59 - 60. Have you... your friends or family... personally experienced anti-Muslim discrimination since the September 11 attacks?

Table 9. Muslims on Discrimination Post-9/11

|  | Yes | No | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| You | 40 | 59 | 1 |
| Your friends or family | 57 | 41 | 2 |

While a majority (59\%) of Muslims have not directly experienced anti-Muslim discrimination since the 9/11 attacks, most (57\%) know someone who has.

More Democrats than Republicans say they have personally experienced antiMuslim discrimination ( $43 \%$ versus $39 \%$, and $38 \%$ of independents). The number is also higher on the edges of the ideological spectrum, and lower for moderates. The younger the respondent, the more likely they are to say they have experienced such discrimination-while a quarter (23\%) of seniors (age 65+) say they have, half (50\%) of 18-29 year-olds say the same. African Americans are more likely than other groups to say they have been discriminated against, with $46 \%$ saying they have. South Asians are less likely than other ethnicities to say they have experienced anti-Muslim discrimination (37\%).

Slightly more Westerners say their friends or family have experienced antiMuslim discrimination than those from other geographic regions ( $60 \%$, versus a range of $56 \%$ to $57 \%$ elsewhere). Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say someone they know has been the victim of post-9/11 anti-Muslim discrimination, by a $60 \%$ to $53 \%$ margin. Women are far more likely than men to say their friends or family have experienced anti-Muslim discrimination, by a $64 \%$ to $52 \%$ margin. Members of the investor class are more likely than non-investors to say the same, $63 \%$ versus $56 \%$. The young are far more likely than the elderly to say their friends or relatives have been discriminated against: $70 \%$ of $18-29$ year-olds say they know someone who has been the victim of anti-Muslim discrimination, while half as many seniors, $35 \%$, say the same.

Arabs and African Americans are more likely than other racial groups to respond in the affirmative to this question (58\% each).
61. Where have you, your family, or your friends experienced such discrimination?
(Choose all that apply)

| At work | $32 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| With friends, acquaintances, neighbors | 27 |
| At school | 21 |
| Other | 19 |
| Not sure | 2 |

A third (32\%) of American Muslims who have either experienced discrimination, or know someone who has, say the discrimination occurred in the workplace. Slightly more than a quarter (27\%) say the discrimination occurred among friends, acquaintances, and neighbors. One-in-five (21\%) say the discrimination occurred at school.
62. Have you been a victim of profiling since the September 11 attacks?

| Yes | $26 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| No | 70 |
| Not sure | 4 |

Seven-in-ten (70\%) American Muslims say they have not been victims of profiling since $9 / 11$. A quarter (26\%) say they have.

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say they have been profiled, 25\% versus $20 \%$. Among independents, however, that percentage jumps to $31 \%$-nearly a third. There is also a clear increase in those who say they were profiled as their ideological identity shifts to the left.

Men are more likely than women to say they have been a victim of profiling ( $28 \%$ versus $23 \%$ ). Investors are more likely than non-investors, as well, $31 \%$ versus $24 \%$. The younger the respondent, the more likely they are to say they have been profiled, with $30 \%$ of the youngest demographic saying they have, versus $12 \%$ of the oldest.

African Americans are much more likely than other groups to say they have been profiled (36\%) while Africans are less likely (20\%).
63. Which of the following describes anti-Muslim discrimination you have experienced personally or that has been experienced in your community? (Choose all that apply.)

| I am not aware of any discrimination | $20 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Verbal abuse | 25 |
| Racial profiling by police resulting |  |
| $\quad$ in a stop, search or arrest | 14 |
| Destruction of property | 10 |
| Denial of employment | 10 |
| Physical abuse or assault | 7 |
| Boycott of Muslim- or Arab-operated businesses | 6 |
| *Other | 5 |
| Not sure | 3 |

*Other: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Hostility/distrust (41); racial profiling at airport (32); government/legal harassment (16); cultural/religious profiling (6); denial of goods/services (5); civil rights violations (5); immigration issues (3); denial of housing (2).

## Muslims Rank the Nation's Priorities

$64-88$. Now I am going to read you a list of issues that are being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose each issue.

Table 10. Muslims on Law, Priorities, and Use of the Public Treasury

|  | Favor* | Oppose* | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Providing universal health care for citizens | 96 | 3 | 1 |
| Eliminating all forms of racial discrimination | 95 | 4 | 2 |
| Increase in funding for after school programs | 94 | 4 | 2 |
| Stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment | 94 | 5 | 2 |
| Providing more generous government assistance to the poor | 92 | 6 | 2 |
| Debt relief for poorer countries | 88 | 8 | 4 |
| Increasing foreign aid for poorer countries | 88 | 9 | 3 |
| Making it more difficult for people to buy guns | 81 | 17 | 2 |
| Banning the public sale and display of pornography | 76 | 21 | 3 |
| Allowing religious institutions to apply for government <br> funding to provide social services | 70 | 25 | 6 |
| Stronger laws to fight terrorism | 69 | 24 | 7 |
| Providing vouchers to families for tuition in private schools, <br> including religious schools | 66 | 28 | 6 |
| More cuts in the income tax | 65 | 29 | 6 |
| The death penalty for persons convicted of murder | 61 | 35 | 4 |
| Allowing more research using stem cells | 60 | 25 | 15 |
| Making abortions more difficult to obtain | 55 | 38 | 8 |


| Forcing every American Citizen to speak English fluently | 52 | 46 | 2 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Allowing public schools to display the 10 Commandments | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| Allowing non-denominational prayers to be read in the <br> classroom | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| Eliminating affirmative action programs that give some <br> consideration to minorities in hiring and entrance into college | 37 | 56 | 7 |
| Making the exchange of non-prescription drugs legal | 33 | 42 | 25 |
| Making it legal for doctors to give terminally ill patients the <br> means to end their lives | 31 | 61 | 8 |
| Allowing research related to human cloning | 28 | 62 | 10 |
| Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally | 15 | 79 | 6 |
| Sending more United States troops to Iraq | 11 | 83 | 6 |

(*Favor and oppose each combines strongly and somewhat.)
Nineteen-out-of-twenty American Muslims favor providing universal healthcare for citizens. Support for this policy is stronger among Democrats than Republicans, by a $98 \%$ to $90 \%$ margin, and Democrats are much more intensely in favor. Support drops steadily as a Muslim's ideology shifts to the right, going from 99\% among progressives to $95 \%$ among conservatives, who are also less intense on this issue. While fluctuations occur elsewhere, nearly every other demographic is at $95 \%$ support.

By a near-unanimous 95\%, American Muslims favor eliminating all forms of racial discrimination. This holds across all demographic lines, although support drops to $91 \%$ in the Western states.

Ninety-four percent of American Muslims favor increasing funding for afterschool programs. This support cuts across all geographic lines, though it is more intense in the Eastern and Western states. Democrats are far more likely than Republicans to strongly support this, by a $81 \%$ to $69 \%$ margin, though their overall favorabilities are similar. Support—and especially intense support—for after-school programs increases the further left the respondent is ideologically. This issue is similarly popular with both genders. African Americans are more supportive of increasing this funding than any other race, with 98\% favoring an increase. Younger Muslims are also more intense in their support than older Muslims.

Muslims overwhelmingly support stricter environmental laws (94\% in favor, versus 5\% opposed). Support is stronger among Democrats than Republicans (97\% of Democrats favor stricter laws; 92\% of Republicans favor stricter laws). While support is near-universal, support is more intense among progressives and liberals than among conservatives and moderates. Given the high support for stricter laws, there is little discernible difference among other demographic criteria.

American Muslims strongly favor increasing government assistance to the poor, by a $92 \%$ to $6 \%$ margin. Support is higher among Democrats than Republicans, by a $95 \%$ to $83 \%$ margin. Support increases the further left a respondent is ideologically, and
the lower a respondent's income. Younger Muslims are more likely than their elders to favor increasing government aid to the poor.

Debt relief for poorer countries is a policy favored by eight-in-nine (88\%) Muslims. Support is higher in the East and lower in the Western states. Democrats are more likely than Republicans to strongly favor this approach, $65 \%$ to $55 \%$, though the groups support it overall in similar percentages. Independents are even more likely to favor this stance. Debt relief is favored by all ethnic groups, but more intensely by Africans, where $71 \%$ strongly favor it. Men are more likely than women to favor debt relief, $90 \%$ versus $86 \%$, and they do so with greater intensity.

Increasing foreign aid for poorer countries is favored by 88\% of Muslim Americans, and opposed by one-in-eleven (9\%). Democrats favor this more than Republicans, by a $89 \%$ to $81 \%$ margin, and Democrats are more intense in their support. Men and women are at parity on this issue. Africans are more likely than other ethnic groups to support an increase in foreign aid (96\%).

Four-fifths (81\%) of Muslims favor making it more difficult for people to buy guns. A much smaller one-in-six (17\%) oppose more restrictions on gun ownership. Support is slightly higher in the Central/Great Lakes region (82\%) and lower in the Western states (79\%). Democrats are more likely than Republicans to favor gun restrictions, $86 \%$ versus $76 \%$, with independents falling between the parties. Support increases somewhat as the respondent's ideology shifts left. Women are more likely than men to favor gun restrictions, by a $85 \%$ to $78 \%$ margin. African Americans are less likely to support this stance than other ethnicities (74\%).

Three-quarters (76\%) of Muslims favor banning the public sale and display of pornography. A fifth (21\%) oppose this policy. Support for a ban is slightly weaker in the Western states, at $72 \%$. Republicans are slightly more likely to favor a ban than Democrats, $78 \%$ versus $75 \%$. Women are more likely than men to favor a ban, by a $79 \%$ to $74 \%$ margin. Married Muslims are more likely to favor banning pornography than single Muslims, by a margin of $77 \%$ to $69 \%$. Support for a ban increases somewhat with age, as well.

Seven-in-ten (70\%) Muslims support allowing religious institutions to apply for government money to provide social services. Support is uniform across all geographic regions, although it is more intense in the South. Support does not vary significantly based on party identity or gender. African Americans are more likely than other groups to support this policy (80\%). Support for this policy decreases as age increases.

Seven-in-ten (69\%) Muslims favor stronger anti-terror laws, while $24 \%$ are opposed. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to support this, by a $78 \%$ to $69 \%$ margin. Men are more likely to favor stronger anti-terror laws than women, by a margin of $71 \%$ to $66 \%$. Married Muslims are also somewhat more in favor of stronger laws to fight terrorism, by a $71 \%$ to $65 \%$ margin. African Americans are much less likely than
other groups to support stronger anti-terror laws (48\% versus a range of $74 \%$ to $86 \%$ for other ethnicities).

Vouchers to attend private schools are supported by two-thirds (66\%) of Muslims, and opposed by one-in-three (28\%). These levels hold across geographic lines, as well as party - though a slightly higher percentage of independents oppose vouchers than do either Democrats or Republicans. The vouchers gain support as a respondent's ideology shifts to the right. Vouchers are also more heavily supported by younger Muslims, and support steadily decreases with age, as well as income. Women are somewhat more intense in their support than are men, with $49 \%$ of women strongly favoring the vouchers versus $43 \%$ of men. Support is higher among African Americans than other ethnicities (80\%).

A majority (65\%) of Muslim Americans favor more income tax cuts, while three-in-ten (29\%) are opposed. Support is slightly higher in the West (67\%). Republicans are more likely than Democrats to favor this, $74 \%$ versus $63 \%$. Income tax cuts resonate more with Arabs than other ethnicities ( $73 \%$ in favor). No ready correlation can be made to income level.

Three-fifths (61\%) of Muslims favor the death penalty for convicted murderers. Support is weakest in the East, where $58 \%$ of Muslims support the death penalty, and more uniform elsewhere. Republicans are far more likely to support the death penalty than Democrats, $72 \%$ versus $54 \%$. Independents fall between the two parties. Support increases as a respondent's ideology shifts to the right. Men are more likely than women to support the death penalty, by a $66 \%$ to $54 \%$ margin. Support is higher among Arabs than other ethnicities, at $68 \%$, and lower among African Americans, at $41 \%$. A majority (54\%) of this latter group opposes the death penalty.

Three-in-five (60\%) Muslims favor allowing more stem-cell research. Men are more likely than women to favor stem-cell research, $63 \%$ versus $55 \%$. Support is stronger among South Asians (65\%) than other ethnic groups. Support generally increases with income levels. Muslims in the medical profession are far more likely than other classifications of workers to favor increasing stem-cell research (76\%).

A majority (55\%) of Muslims favor making it more difficult to obtain an abortion, while $38 \%$ oppose this. The strongest support for this position is found in the Central/Great Lakes region, where support increases to $58 \%$, and weakest in the East, where support is at $53 \%$. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to favor abortion restrictions, $62 \%$ versus $53 \%$. Independents are less likely to favor this, at $51 \%$ in favor. As respondents shift to the political right, they are more likely to be in favor of this. Men are more likely than women to favor abortion restrictions, by a $57 \%$ to $53 \%$ margin. Arabs are more likely than other groups to support this position as well (58\%) though Africans are more intensely in favor of this issue.

Half (52\%) of American Muslims favor forcing every American citizen to speak English, while 46\% oppose this stance. Easterners are more likely (57\%) than those
living elsewhere in the country to favor this. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to favor mandatory English, by a 69\% to 51\% margin. Support generally increases as a respondent's political ideology shifts to the right, and as their age increases. Men are somewhat more likely than women to favor mandatory English, 53\% versus $51 \%$, though men are much more intense on this issue. South Asians are more likely to favor this (61\%) while African Americans are more likely to be opposed (30\%).

American Muslims are divided on allowing public schools to display the Ten Commandments. A slight majority, $51 \%$ are in favor, and $41 \%$ are opposed. Support for the Ten Commandments is strongest in the Central/Great Lakes area, where $54 \%$ are in favor. This issue gains support as a respondent's ideological identity shifts to the right. Women are slightly more likely than men to support displaying the Commandments, 54\% versus $49 \%$. Africans and Arabs are more likely than other racial groups to support the display of the Commandments ( $57 \%$ and $55 \%$, respectively). Support for displaying the commandments grows, and grows in intensity, the lower a Muslim's income.

A slight plurality (48\%) of Muslims favor allowing non-denominational prayers to be read in the classroom, while nearly as many are opposed (44\%). Half (50\%) of Republicans support the prayer, while $47 \%$ of Democrats and $49 \%$ of independents do so. Support is higher and more intense among Muslims who call themselves conservative or very conservative, and weakest among progressives, who are split, $45 \%$ in favor and $49 \%$ opposed. Men and women support school prayer in roughly equal percentages. African Americans are more likely than other ethnicities to support school prayer (53\%). Support increases with age, but decreases as income level increases.

More Muslims oppose eliminating affirmative action than support curtailing the programs that give consideration to minorities entering college or applying for jobs (56\% opposed versus $37 \%$ in favor). Republicans are more likely than Democrats to favor eliminating affirmative action, by a $44 \%$ to $34 \%$ margin. Progressives are much more likely to oppose eliminating affirmative action than other groups (70\%). Men and women have rough parity on this issue. African Americans are more likely than other groups to oppose the elimination of affirmative action (73\% opposed), while Arabs are more likely to favor eliminating affirmative action than others, with $44 \%$ in favor.

A third (33\%) of Muslims favor making the exchange of non-prescription drugs legal. A plurality, $42 \%$, oppose this. In the Southern states, the numbers achieve nearparity, with $36 \%$ supporting legalization and $39 \%$ opposing it. While Democrats and Republicans support legalization in somewhat equal numbers, Democrats oppose it by higher percentages than Republicans, $43 \%$ versus $35 \%$. Independents are slightly more likely than either party to support legalization. Africans and South Asians are more likely than other groups to favor legalization ( $37 \%$ and $36 \%$, respectively).

A majority of American Muslims oppose legalizing physician-assisted suicide (61\%). Those in the Eastern and Western states are more likely to favor allowing doctors to help their terminally-ill patients end their lives, $33 \%$ and $34 \%$, respectively, than are Muslims living elsewhere. Republicans are more likely to support giving doctors this
ability than Democrats or independents, by a margin of $36 \%$ to $33 \%$ to $32 \%$. Africans are more likely than other ethnic groups, and with more intensity, to support this (35\%). While the overall level of support for physician-assisted suicide is fairly level across all age groups, intensity increases among the oldest respondents. Muslims in the medical profession are slightly more likely than other work demographics to support this.

More than three-fifths (62\%) of Muslims oppose research into human cloning, and they do so with high intensity. A quarter (27\%) favor further cloning research. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to favor cloning research, $32 \%$ versus $26 \%$, and support grows to $34 \%$ among independents. Men are more likely than women to support cloning research, $34 \%$ versus $21 \%$. South Asians are more likely than other ethnic groups to support this research (36\%) while African Americans are far more likely to oppose it (84\%).

American Muslims strongly oppose gay marriage. Eight-in-ten (79\%) Muslims are opposed, and of that group, the vast majority are strongly opposed. Support for gay marriage is higher among Westerners, where $23 \%$ favor it. Support is low across party lines, though the strongest support, ideologically, is among progressives, with 32\% favoring allowing gays and lesbians to marry. Support remains consistent across gender lines as well. Young Muslims are a bit more likely to support gay marriage than their elders.

A solid majority (83\%) of American Muslims oppose sending more troops to Iraq, while one-in-nine (11\%) favor it. This holds across all geographic regions. Republicans are more likely than Democrats or independents to favor sending more troops to Iraq ( $23 \%$ versus $6 \%$ of Democrats and $9 \%$ of independents). This does not reflect as strongly in ideology. Women are slightly more likely than men ( $82 \%$ versus $79 \%$ ) to oppose sending more troops. African Americans are more likely than other ethnicities to oppose deploying more troops (91\%).

## Religion and the Mosque

Finally, I am going to ask you some questions about religion and how it impacts your daily life.
89. On average, how often do you attend the mosque for salah and Jum'ah Prayer

| More than once a week | $29 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Once a week for Jum'ah | 25 |
| A few times a year especially for the Eid | 16 |
| Once or twice a month | 10 |
| Never | 10 |
| Seldom | 9 |
| Not sure | 1 |

Three-in-ten (29\%) Muslims attend mosque for salah and Jum'ah prayer more than once a week, and another quarter (25\%) attend once a week. The remaining $56 \%$ are less devout.

Mosque attendance is stronger in the South, where one-in-three (32\%) Muslims attend mosque more than once a week, and a quarter ( $24 \%$ ) attend weekly; attendance is weaker in the Central/Great Lakes region, where a quarter (26\%) attend more than once a week, and $27 \%$ attend weekly.

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to attend mosque at least weekly, with $54 \%$ of Democrats doing so versus $41 \%$ of Republicans. More independents attend at least weekly than either party (58\%).

Men are more likely than women to attend at least once a week, $63 \%$ versus $42 \%$. Women are most likely to attend a few times a year, especially for the Eid (23\%).

African Americans are more likely to attend at least weekly than other ethnicities, with $72 \%$ doing so. Arabs are less likely than others to attend at least weekly (41\%).

## (Asked of those who attend seldom or never)

90. Why do you not attend mosque more often?
*Question was open-ended: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Too busy/no time (110); religion allows prayer at home (74); not practicing (68); disagrees with agenda/views of mosque (51); gender restrictions (32); security reason post-9/11 (12); fanaticism (5); does not trust leadership (3); agnostic (3).
91. Which one of the following statements is true about the participants of the mosque you generally attend?

There is no clear-cut majority; participants
belong to several ethnic groups 49\%
The majority of the participants belong
to two or three ethnic groups
21
The majority of the participants belong to one ethnic group

19
Not sure 10

Half (49\%) of American Muslims attend a mosque with a multi-ethnic makeup and no clearly-dominant group. Another one-in-five (21\%) attend a mosque where the majority of the participants belong to two or three ethnic groups, and another fifth (19\%) attend a mosque where the majority or worshippers belong to one ethnic group.

Progressives are more likely than other political ideologies to belong to a oneethnicity mosque (25\%) while conservatives are more likely to belong to a multi-ethnic mosque (52\%).

Among ethnic groups, African Americans are more likely than others to attend a one-ethnic-group mosque (44\%), while Africans are more likely to belong to a multiethnic mosque (69\%).
92. How would you rate the Muslim religious leadership in your mosque?

| Excellent | $32 \%$ |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| Good | 29 | Positive | $61 \%$ |
| Fair | 20 |  |  |
| Poor | 7 | Negative | 27 |
| Not sure | 12 |  |  |

Three-fifths of Muslims rate the religious leadership of their mosque positively, and a third (32\%) rate it excellent. Slightly more than a quarter (27\%) rate the religious leadership of their mosque negatively.

The most positive assessment of religious leadership comes from the Central/Great Lakes region ( $66 \%$ positive). Those in the Western states are less likely to rate their religious leadership positively (57\%) than others elsewhere.

Democrats are more likely to rate their religious leadership positively than are Republicans and independents, 65\% versus 55\% for Republicans and 57\% for Democrats. (Here, Republicans and independents are virtually identical.) This does not immediately translate on ideological lines, however, as conservatives rate their religious leadership more highly than other ideological groups (66\%).

Women are more likely than men ( $66 \%$ versus $58 \%$ ) to rate their religious leadership positively.

African Americans are more likely than other ethnicities to rate their religious leadership positively (76\%), and with higher intensity.
93. Excluding salah and Jum'ah prayer, how involved are you in the activities at the mosque. Would you say that you are...?

Very involved 18\%
Somewhat involved 25
Not very involved 24
Not at all involved 31
Involved
43\%

Not sure 3

More Muslims say they are not involved in the activities of their mosque than are, 55\% to 43\%.

Republicans are less likely to be involved in their mosque than are Democrats: $34 \%$ of Republicans and $45 \%$ of Democrats say they are involved. Two-fifths (40\%) of Republicans are not at all involved in running their mosque.

Men and women are involved in running their mosques in roughly equivalent numbers.

More African Americans than other ethnic groups are involved in the running of their mosques (74\%). Arabs are less involved than other groups (31\%).

## (Asked of those who are very, somewhat, or not very involved)

94. Which of the following describes how you have volunteered for your mosque?
(Choose all that apply)

| Charity work | $27 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Fund raising efforts | 24 |
| Sunday school activities | 18 |
| Prayer arrangements | 14 |
| Other | 11 |
| Not sure | 6 |

*Other: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Programs/activities (33); financial (23); operations (14); donated services (12); donated facilities (11); public relations (9); donated time/support (7); provided food service (4).
95. Did you happen to attend a mosque for Jum'ah prayers or salah in the last seven days?

| Yes | $50 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| No | 49 |
| Not sure | 1 |

Muslims split evenly on recent mosque attendance, with half (50\%) saying they attended mosque for Jum'ah prayers and salah, and half (49\%) not having done so.

Muslims in the South are more likely to say they attended (55\%) than elsewhere.
Democrats are more likely to say they attended than Republicans, $51 \%$ versus 39\%.

Men are more likely to say they attended than women, $59 \%$ versus $37 \%$.

African Americans are more likely to say they attended than other groups, 74\% versus a range from $35 \%$ to $63 \%$ for other ethnicities.

People in sales, service, and blue collar occupations are more likely to say they attended in the last week ( $60 \%, 62 \%$, and $60 \%$, respectively); homemakers are less likely than other professions to say they attended in the last week (34\%).
96. Concerning daily salah or prayer, do you in general, pray all five salah daily, make some of the five salah daily, occasionally make salah, only make Eid Prayers, or do you never pray?

| Pray all five salah daily | $49 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Make some of the five salah daily | 22 |
| Occasionally make salah | 15 |
| Only make Eid Prayers | 5 |
| Never pray | 7 |
| Not sure | 3 |

Half (49\%) of American Muslims pray all five salah daily, while another fifth (22\%) make some of the salah daily. Only 7\% say they never pray.

Westerners are less likely than those in other geographic regions to pray all five salah (41\%); they are also more likely to say they only occasionally pray the salah than those in other regions (19\%).

As a Muslim's political identity shifts to the right, they are more likely to pray all five salah daily; among progressives, $43 \%$ choose this response, but among conservatives, it is $53 \%$.

Women are more likely than men to say they pray all five salah daily, $54 \%$ versus $45 \%$. Men are more likely than women to only occasionally make salah ( $16 \%$ to $13 \%$ ), only make Eid prayers ( $6 \%$ versus $4 \%$ ) or never pray ( $9 \%$ versus $6 \%$ ).

Africans are more likely than other ethnic groups to pray all five salah daily (63\%). South Asians are more likely to say they only pray some of the five salah ( $29 \%$ ). Arabs are more likely to say they never pray (13\%).

The younger a respondent, the more likely they are to say they pray all five salah daily; the older a respondent, the more likely they are to say they never pray.
97. How important is religion or spirituality in your daily life? Is it very important, somewhat important or not very important?
98. Would you say the role of Islam in your life is very important, somewhat important, or not very important?

Table 11. The Role of Religion and Islam in Daily Life

|  | Very <br> important | Somewhat <br> important | Not very <br> important | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Religion or spirituality in your daily life | 82 | 14 | 4 | -- |
| The role of Islam in your life | 82 | 14 | 4 | -- |

By equal percentages, American Muslims rank both the role of religion, and of Islam itself, as very important in their lives: $82 \%$ say each is very important, $14 \%$ say somewhat important, and $4 \%$ say not very important.

Those living in the West are less likely to rate either very important (77\% for religion, 79\% for Islam).

As a respondent's political ideology shifts right, so does the likelihood they consider both religion/spirituality and Islam very important; as it shifts left, there is an increasing likelihood they will select somewhat important.

Women are more likely than men to rank religion and Islam as very important ( $87 \%$ versus $78 \%$ for religion, $85 \%$ versus $79 \%$ for Islam).

Arabs are less likely than other ethnicities to rate either religion or Islam as very important (77\% for each category).
99. Were you raised as a Muslim or did you convert?

Raised 79\%
Convert 20
Not sure 1
Four-fifths (79\%) of American Muslims were raised Muslim, but one-fifth (20\%) are converts.

More Central/Great Lakes residents say they were raised Muslim (84\%) than elsewhere. More Easterners say they are converts (23\%).

No obvious correlation occurs with political ideology. However, Republicans are more likely than either Democrats or independents to have been raised Muslim, 87\% versus $74 \%$ of Democrats and $76 \%$ of independents.

More women than men are converts ( $25 \%$ versus $17 \%$ ).

A higher proportion of married Muslims are converts than are single Muslims (18\% versus 11\%). Among those divorced/widowed/separated, the proportion jumps to half (49\%).

African Americans are distinct from other ethnicities on this question. While all other ethnicities are nearly unanimous as Muslim-raised, among African Americans, 68\% are converts.
100. What was the main reason you converted to Islam?

| Read about the religion and was inspired to convert | $38 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: |
| Was influenced by a fellow Muslim | 32 |
| Married someone who was a Muslim | 12 |
| *Other | 14 |
| Not sure | 4 |

*Other: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Spiritual indoctrination (8); philosophical influence (5); answer to personal quest (4); community outreach (3); organizational influence (3); Divine intervention (3); spiritual/intellectual/social inspiration (2); parental/family influence (2); mainstream religious hypocrisy (1).

The two prime causes of conversion are reading about Islam and being inspired to convert, or being influenced by a fellow Muslim. In most geographic regions, reading about Islam is the top reason for conversion, except in the Central/Great Lakes region, where a plurality, $39 \%$, were influenced to convert by a fellow Muslim.

For liberals and progressives, being influenced by a fellow Muslim is the main reason for conversion. For conservatives and moderates, reading about the religion and being inspired to convert is the more common cause of conversion.

Among African Americans, the largest convert community, 39\% became Muslims after being influenced by a fellow Muslim, $34 \%$ converted after reading about Islam and being inspired, and $7 \%$ converted due to marriage.
500. If you were not raised a Muslim, what year did you convert?
101. In your opinion, should mosques keep out of political matters or should they express their views on day-to-day social and political questions?

| Should keep out of politics | $37 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Should express their views | 57 |
| Not sure | 6 |

A majority (57\%) of American Muslims say mosques should express their views on social and political questions. More than a third (37\%) say mosques should keep out of politics.

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say mosques should keep out of politics, $44 \%$ to $37 \%$, while independents overwhelmingly say they should express their views (62\%).

Men and women see nearly eye-to-eye on this question. However, single and divorced/widowed/separated Muslims are much more likely than married Muslims to say mosques should express their views ( $69 \%$ and $67 \%$, respectively, versus $53 \%$ of married Muslims).

African Americans are more likely than other ethnic groups to say mosques should express their views (84\%). Half (50\%) of South Asians say mosques should stay out of politics, more than other ethnic groups.
102. Do you think it is right for khatibs to discuss political candidates or issues in the khutbah?

Yes 39\%
No 51
Not sure 10

Half (51\%) of Muslims say it is not right for khatibs to discuss political candidates or issues while delivering their khutbah. Two-in-five (39\%) say it is appropriate.

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say this is inappropriate, by a $61 \%$ to 49\% margin.

Men are slightly more likely than women to say this is appropriate behavior, by a $40 \%$ to $38 \%$ margin. A higher percentage of women are unsure than men.

African Americans are more likely to say this is acceptable than other ethnicities ( $57 \%$ versus a range of $30 \%$ to $41 \%$ ).

## Muslims and the Media

103. Which of the following best describes how you get most of your information about international affairs or foreign policy?

| Television | $53 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Online | 17 |
| Newspaper | 13 |
| Radio | 5 |
| Family and friends | 2 |
| Books | 1 |
| Magazines | 1 |
| School | - |
| *Other | 5 |
| Not sure | 2 |

*Other: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Verbal/written media (59); travel-related (2); organizational outreach (1); life experience (1).

More than half (53\%) of Muslims turn to television for their international affairs and foreign policy news. Of the remainder, one-in-six (17\%) turn to the internet, and one-in-eight (13\%) get their news from a newspaper.

Among progressives, the number getting their news online jumps to $24 \%$, significantly higher than any other ideological subgroup.

As respondent age decreases, or education increases, the likelihood of them using the internet for their news steadily increases.

Women are more likely than men to get their news from television, by a $55 \%$ to $52 \%$ margin. Men are more likely to get their news from the internet than women, by a $18 \%$ to $14 \%$ margin.

Africans are more likely to use television for their news (63\%) than other ethnic groups. African Americans are more likely to use newspapers than other groups (18\%). One-in-five (20\%) South Asians get their news online.
104. Which of the following best describes how often you watch, read or listen to information about international affairs?

| Daily | $72 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| A few times a week | 22 |
| Rarely | 3 |
| Once a month | 2 |
| Never | 1 |

Not sure 1

Seven-in-ten (72\%) Muslims follows international news on a daily basis. Two-infive (22\%) get international news a few times a week.

Southerners are more likely than others to get their international news daily (74\%). Those in the Central/Great Lakes region are less likely than others to do this on a daily basis (69\%).

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to follow international news on a daily basis, by a $80 \%$ to $76 \%$ margin.

Men are more likely than women to get their news on a daily basis, $76 \%$ versus $66 \%$. Women are more likely than men to get their international news a few times per week, $25 \%$ versus $20 \%$.

Arabs and African Americans are more likely than other ethnic groups to get their news on a daily basis ( $76 \%$ and $75 \%$, respectively). Africans are less likely than others to do so (51\%).

As age increases, so does the likelihood of obtaining international news on a daily basis: $57 \%$ of $18-29$ year-olds do so, but $86 \%$ of those above the age of 65 do so.
105. When watching television for information about international affairs, which of the following stations do you turn to most often?

| CNN | $38 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| ABC News | 14 |
| Local news | 6 |
| NBC News | 5 |
| CBS News | 4 |
| Fox News | 4 |
| C-Span | 4 |
| MSNBC | 4 |
| *Other | 15 |
| Do not watch TV/Not sure | 5 |

*Other: (Number in parentheses denotes frequency of similar response.) Domestic news channels (98); ethnic/Arab satellite television (69); international stations (69); internet (4).

CNN is the choice of nearly four-in-ten (38\%) American Muslims. ABC places second, at $14 \%$. Viewership of other channels is much lower.

CNN is more popular among Muslims in the South, where $46 \%$ choose it over its competition. ABC is less popular in this same region than elsewhere.

CNN is less popular among African Americans than among other groups (31\%) and is more popular among Africans (49\%).
106. Do you regularly watch any media targeted towards specific ethnic groups?

| Yes | $25 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| No | 74 |
| Not sure | 2 |

A quarter (25\%) of Muslims watch media targeted to ethnic groups, which threequarters (74\%) do not.

African Americans are more likely to watch media targeted to ethnicity than other ethnic groups (40\%). Africans are less likely to do so (12\%).

Muslim converts are more likely to watch ethnically-targeted media, and do so more frequently as the length of time since conversion increases.

107 - 108. Do you think the mainstream American media... Hollywood... is fair in its portrayal of Muslims and Islam?

Table 12. The Portrayal of Muslims On-Screen

|  | Yes | No | Not <br> sure |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| The mainstream American media | 17 | 76 | 7 |
| Hollywood | 10 | 77 | 12 |

American Muslims overwhelmingly say both mainstream American media and Hollywood are not fair in their portrayal of Muslims.

The responses to these questions vary little based on political party or ideology.
African Americans are more likely than other ethnicities to say both mainstream media and Hollywood are not fair to Muslims (88\% on media, and 91\% on Hollywood).

