THE POLLS—TRENDS

ARAB AND MUSLIM AMERICANS AND ISLAM IN THE AFTERMATH OF 9/11

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Abstract The terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, fueled widespread concern and speculation about mounting Islamophobic sentiment among Americans in response to the events. To monitor developments in opinions about Muslims and Arabs (both living in the United States and abroad) and attitudes toward the Islamic faith, survey organizations began to assess more regularly Americans' attitudes on these topics. I analyze developments in public sentiment about Arab and Muslim Americans and Islam in the age of the war on terror using available public opinion data. The data analyses in this study suggest that Americans possess lingering resentment and reservations about Arab and Muslim Americans. The evidence also reveals low levels of awareness about basic elements of Islam but growing anxiety about Islam's (especially Islamic fundamentalism's) compatibility with Western values of tolerance, acceptance, and civility. Some of the sharpest movement in opinion dynamics we observe is in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, but opinion levels stabilize shortly thereafter. Monitoring these developments as the war on terror continues is crucial.

The terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, fueled widespread concern and speculation about mounting Islamophobic sentiment among Americans in response to the events. In an effort to avert such a reaction, U.S. president George W. Bush urged Americans to resist anti-Muslim impulses in his address to a grieving nation delivered to a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001. Bush declared, "The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends. It is not our many Arab friends No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith" (Bush 2001). In the aftermath of the

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attacks, evidence of backlash violence against Arabs and Muslims—and those perceived to be Arab or Muslim—grew considerably across the country. Arab and Muslim groups report more than two thousand September 11-related backlash incidents. A study released by Human Rights Watch in November 2002 noted that the Federal Bureau of Investigation reported a 17-fold increase in anti-Muslim crimes nationwide during 2001; in Los Angeles County and Chicago, officials reported 15 times the number of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim crimes in 2001 compared with the preceding year (Human Rights Watch 2002). To monitor developments in opinions about Muslims and Arabs (both living in the United States and abroad) and attitudes toward the Islamic faith, survey organizations began to assess more regularly Americans' attitudes on related topics. I analyze developments in public sentiment about Arab and Muslim Americans and Islam in the age of the war on terror using available public opinion data collected from the Roper Center's IPOLL database. The data reported below show that Americans were more informed about, tolerant of, and sensitive to Muslims and the religion of Islam directly after the September 11 attacks. Over time, though, as people became removed from the events, the data indicate that Americans appear less informed about and more cautious toward Arab and Muslim Americans. I find Americans expressed heightened sensitivity in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, but these attitudes are often not sustained in the long term.

The Muslim American Community

Imprints of 9/11 can be detected in many aspects of American society, yet the severe public backlash anticipated by many analysts and politicians in the immediate aftermath of the attacks does not appear to have materialized. Even as some evidence presented below suggests the public has reacted to 9/11 in meaningful ways, there is not much support for the notion that Americans overreacted. Indeed, public opinion data suggest the initial public response to 9/11 reflected considerations for fairness, tolerance, and restraint. Initial jolts to attitudes expressed in opinion surveys appear to have reverted, for the most part, to pre-9/11 levels, and in many cases, we observe little substantial change in attitudes.

Data presented in table 1 indicate that Americans' views of Muslim Americans strengthened in the wake of 9/11 but fell back to their pre-9/11 numbers only months later. The proportion of Americans who held "very favorable" feelings toward Muslim Americans in November 2001 more than doubled (to 15 percent) from the March 2001 level (7 percent). By February 2002, however, this number had declined to 8 percent, rising slightly to 10 percent in June 2003. Moreover, the percentage of Americans who possessed negative opinions about Muslim Americans remained relatively stable, even as the lowest unfavorable figures occurred in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. Data collected by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and presented in table 2, however,

indicate that favorable attitudes toward Muslims generally declined between 2002 and 2004. Mean thermometer scores used to measure Americans' favorability toward Muslims dropped a full 10 percentage points over this two-year period.

Opinion data about the level of prejudice directed toward Arab-Americans, Muslims, and immigrants from the Middle East also appear to have changed sharply around 9/11, but these sentiments have not been sustained. In the aftermath of September 11, most Americans felt it was "very likely" that people in the United States were singling out Arab-Americans, Muslims, and Middle Eastern immigrants unfairly. However, the proportion of Americans who felt this way dropped from 50 percent in September 2001, to 31 percent in January 2002, to 35 percent in September 2002. Feelings about the potential for prejudice against Muslims and Middle Eastern immigrants were most clearly heightened immediately following the attacks of 9/11 and had subsided by 2002 (table 3).

Views about post-9/11 Muslim leadership in the United States and moderate Muslim leadership in other countries remained stable between October and December 2001 (tables 4 and 5). In fact, the data reported in tables 4 and 5 reflect slight increases in the belief that Muslim leaders were doing enough to support the United States and to oppose terrorism since September 11, 2001. Also stable in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 is majority sentiment among Americans that Muslims in the United States have a special obligation to help authorities track down terrorists and defeat Osama bin Laden (table 6).

Islam

Many specialists speculated about a "clash of civilizations" or backlash toward Islam as a result of the tragic events of September 11, 2001. This section assesses Americans' awareness about the Islamic faith and how this may have changed in recent years. Generally speaking, the survey data concerning religion show what seems to be a hypocrisy in American sentiment: most respondents claim to know little about Islam, yet the largest bloc of respondents feels that Islam is very different from their own religion. The data reveal few shifts in understanding Islam among respondents in the months immediately following September 11, 2001.

In the late 1970s and in 1980s, decades before September 11, 2001, survey respondents expressed feelings that Islam was becoming a stronger force in the world. Pluralities of Americans agreed, in surveys conducted in 1979 and 1986, that the international strength of the "Moslem" religion had intensified (table 7).

Since 9/11, survey data indicate majorities of Americans consistently feel they do not understand the teachings of and beliefs within the religion of Islam (table 8). A similar item that probes Americans' knowledge about Islamic

practices indicates majorities of the American public report ignorance in this area (table 9). In fact, data reported in table 10 show that the percentage of Americans who claim to know "nothing at all" about Islamic practices grew from 24 percent in 2001 to 29 percent in 2003. Likewise, with regard to the Koran, the Islamic "Bible," most Americans express a lack of familiarity with the text (table 10). When asked to identify the Islam equivalent of the Bible in February 2002 and June 2003, most Americans didn't know or refused to answer. Table 11 shows that as many Americans do not know the name Muslims use to refer to God (Allah) as those who do.

Although most respondents consistently claim to know little about the Islamic religion, they simultaneously feel it is highly different from their own. When Princeton Survey Research Associates asked Americans if the Muslim religion had things in common with their own religions, a majority of Americans consistently said that their religion is "very different" from Islam (table 12). In fact, those who felt their religions were "very different" increased from 52 percent in November 2001 to 60 percent in June 2003.

Furthermore, data reported in table 13 show that about 40 percent of Americans feel that that the attacks on 9/11 do represent "the true teachings of Islam" "to a great degree" or "to some degree." In addition, opinion poll data between January 2002 and September 2003 show the percentage of respondents who believe that "mainstream Islam encourages violence against non-Muslims" grew from 14 percent to 34 percent. A March 2006 survey shows that 33 percent of respondents feel this way (table 14). Data collected by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (table 15) reveal that since 1994, over one-third of the American public has consistently perceived Islamic fundamentalism to be a "critical" threat to national security, with a sharp spike (to 61 percent) immediately after 9/11 in 2002.

Survey items that question Americans about whether they feel mainstream Islam teaches respect for the beliefs of non-Muslims show the public increasingly disagrees (table 16). The percentage of respondents who believe Islam to be a religion that does not teach tolerance for non-Muslim beliefs has more than doubled, from 22 percent to 45 percent, between 2002 and 2006. Moreover, Americans increasingly feel there are more violent extremists within Islam, compared with other religions. According to data presented in table 17, 58 percent of respondents indicated they agreed with this view in March 2006, compared with 38 percent who felt this way in January 2002. Favorable opinions of Islam generally appear to be on the decline. Evidence in table 18 reveals that a plurality of Americans in March and September 2006 held an unfavorable opinion of Islam. Earlier surveys evidenced more positive affect and more "don't know" responses. Even as Americans do not appear to possess a firm grasp on the basic elements of the Islamic faith, these data suggest the public is, at best, skeptical about how the Islamic faith's teachings relate to tolerance and respect for other viewpoints. Moreover, anxiety over Islamic fundamentalism appears to be on the mount.

Terrorism and the War on Terror

The events that ensued after the 9/11 attacks, and the two major military conflicts in the Middle East that followed, have attracted the attention of Americans and the world. This section explores changes in public attitudes about terrorism and its relationship to the Muslim world. Data displayed in table 19 show that majorities of Americans, in the year following the attacks, thought that the Muslim world considered itself at war with the United States. Though the proportion of respondents who felt this way decreased noticeably from 71 percent in March 2002 to 60 percent in September 2002, this sentiment remained strong. The data reported in table 20 indicate that majorities of Americans felt that fighting in Afghanistan was "very likely" or "somewhat likely" to spread to a larger war between Western and Muslim countries (no similar items are available about the situation in Iraq.) More specifically, those who felt this was "very likely" increased from 21 percent in December 2001 to 30 percent in May 2002. In what is perhaps a telling scenario, most Americans believed, in both 2002 and 2003, that U.S. military action against Iraq would hurt America's image among Muslim nations significantly (table 21).

In October 2001, in the immediate aftermath of September 11, a large majority (69 percent) of Americans felt that the United States was doing enough to win the support of Muslim people around the world for its antiterrorism campaign (table 22). By September 2002, however, that figure had dropped to 48 percent.

September 11, Terrorism, and Tolerance

Opinion studies have monitored developments in public attitudes toward Muslim Americans closely since the events of 9/11 and during the subsequent military actions. Still, data reported in table 23 suggest that the American public was apprehensive about treating Muslims differently with respect to monitoring their activities. Half of Americans believed in June 2002 that treating Muslims differently violates their rights, and that figure grew to 52 percent in June 2003. Still, sizable portions of the population (42 percent in 2002 and 39 percent in 2003) felt the government should have more power to monitor Muslims more closely than other groups.

Table 24 reveals that large but diminishing majorities of Americans feel that the U.S. government is working adequately to protect the rights of Arab-Americans and American Muslims. The percentage of respondents who believed that the government was "doing enough" to offer rights protections to Arab-Americans and American Muslims dropped substantially from 73 percent in November 2001 to 61 percent in September 2003. Data about protecting noncitizens from Arab or Muslim countries who are living in the United States, displayed in table 25, tell a similar story.

Despite some evidence that Americans are reluctant to support initiatives that target Arab and Muslim Americans, data presented in table 26 show that

large majorities of Americans feel that immigration laws should be tightened in order to restrict entry from Arab and Muslim countries. In September 2001 83 percent of Americans wanted to restrict immigration from these countries, while the percentage decreased to 76 percent in June 2002. Data in table 27 show that nearly one-third of Americans believed in September and November 2001 that the U.S. government should place Arabs and Arab-Americans in the United States under special surveillance.

Data presented in table 28 reveal that majorities of Americans believe that Arab-Americans are no more sympathetic to terrorists than other American citizens. Still, nearly one in three respondents expressed the opinion that Arab-Americans are in fact more sympathetic to terrorists, a figure that nearly doubled, from 18 percent in October 2001 to 33 percent in September 2002. After the attacks of September 11, 2001, Americans claimed less trust in Arabs living in the United States, as indicated in table 29.

Conclusion

In sum, the events of 9/11 and the war on terrorism have heightened researchers' interest in monitoring public attitudes toward Arab-Americans, Muslims, terrorism, and the Islamic faith in the United States. The public opinion data analyzed in this study suggest that Americans possess lingering resentment and reservations about Arab and Muslim Americans. The evidence also reveals low levels of awareness about basic elements of Islam but growing anxiety about Islam's (especially Islamic fundamentalism's) compatibility with Western values of tolerance, acceptance, and civility. Some of the sharpest movement in opinion dynamics we observe was in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, but opinion levels stabilized shortly thereafter. Unfortunately, earlier data on similar survey items is unavailable. Monitoring these developments as the war on terror continues is crucial.

Appendix

ABBREVIATIONS

ABC American Broadcasting Company

ABC/WP American Broadcasting Company/Washington Post

CBS Columbia Broadcasting Company

CBS/NYT Columbia Broadcasting Company/New York Times

CCFR Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

CLS Civil Liberties Survey/International Communications Research
CSRA Center for Survey Research and Analysis, University of Connecticut

FOX Fox News Organization
Gallup Gallup Organization

Gallup/CNN/USA Gallup Organization/CNN News/USA Today

HI Harris International

PSRA Princeton Survey Research Associates

PSRA/Newsweek Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek Magazine

Roper Roper Organization
WP Washington Post
WW Wirthlin Worldwide

MUSLIM AMERICANS

1. PSRA: Is your overall opinion of . . . Muslim Americans, very favorable, mostly favorable, unfavorable, or very unfavorable?^a

	$8/00^{b}$	$3/01^{b,c}$	11/01	$2/02^{b}$	$6/03^{b}$
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Very favorable	11	7	15	8	10
Mostly favorable	39	38	44	46	41
Mostly unfavorable	13	16	12	14	15
Very unfavorable	8	8	5	8	9
Never heard of ^d	2	4	1	2	1
Can't rate	27	27	23	22	24
N	2,799	2,041	1,500	2,002	2,002

^a Sometimes this question is prefaced differently: "Now thinking about some specific religious groups"; or "Now I'd like your views on some groups and organizations"; or "As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of what I name."

2. CCFR: Please rate your feelings toward some countries and peoples, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that country or those people. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country or those people leave the box blank and move on to the next question. The Muslim People.

								Not	
			100-76	75–51	50	49–31	<i>30–0</i>	Familiar/	
Year	Mean	Median	Degrees	Degrees	Degrees	Degrees	Degrees	Decline	N
2002									
(Internet)	49	51	15	21	24	6	26	8	703
2004									
(Internet)	39	45	8	12	22	9	35	13	1,195

^b Subpopulations were surveyed in four out of five of these polls, November 2001 being the exception.

^c An oversample was also taken in March 2001; results were weighted to be representative of the national adult population.

^d The "Never heard of" option was volunteered four out of five times, November 2001 being the exception, when it was included in the response categories as a choice.

PREJUDICE

3. How likely do you think it is now that Arab-Americans, Muslims, and immigrants from the Middle East are being singled out unfairly by people in this country—very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

	CBS/NYT	CBS/NYT	CBS	CBS/NYT
	9/13–14/01 ^a	9/20-23/01a	$1/02^{a}$	9/02
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Very likely	46	50	31	35
Somewhat likely	41	40	47	45
Not too likely	8	7	16	11
Not at all likely	3	2	3	6
Don't know/No answer	2	1	3	3
N	959	1,216	1,060	937

^a "How likely do you think it is that Arab-Americans, Muslims, and immigrants from the Middle East will be singled out unfairly by people in this country—very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?"

MUSLIM LEADERSHIP

4. PSRA: Next, please tell me whether or not you think each of the following has done enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism since the attacks (on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon) of September 11th (2001). What about . . . Muslim leaders in the United States? Have they done enough, or have they failed to do enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism since September 11th?

	10/01 ^a	12/01	
	(%)	(%)	
(Have) Done enough	40	44	
(Have) Failed (to do enough)	43	40	
Don't know/(Refused)	17	16	
N	1.002	1.002	

^a "Now I'm going to read you a list of groups and others and I'd like to know if you think they have done enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism since the attacks on (the World Trade Center and the Pentagon) September 11 (2001)? What about . . . Muslim leaders in the United States? Have they done enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism or have they failed to do enough?"

MODERATE MUSLIM LEADERSHIP

5. PSRA: (Next, please tell me whether or not you think each of the following has done enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism since the attacks [on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon] of September 11th [2001].) What about . . . moderate

Muslim leaders from other countries? Have they done enough, or have they failed to do enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism since September 11th?

	10/01 ^a	12/01
	(%)	(%)
(Have) Done enough	25	31
(Have) Failed (to do enough)	58	53
Don't know/(Refused)	17	16
N	1,002	1,002

a "(Now I'm going to read you a list of groups and others and I'd like to know if you think they have done enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism since the attacks on [the World Trade Center and the Pentagon] September 11 [2001]?) What about . . . moderate Muslim leaders from other countries? Have they done enough to support the United States and oppose terrorism or have they failed to do enough?"

OSAMA BIN LADEN

6. FOX: Do you agree or disagree: "People of the Muslim faith in the United States have a special obligation to help authorities track down terrorists and defeat Osama bin Laden?"

	10/01 ^a	11/01
	(%)	(%)
Agree	54	60
Disagree	32	32
Don't know/Not sure	14	8
N	900	900

^a "Do you agree or disagree: 'People of the Muslim faith who oppose terrorist activities have a special obligation to help defeat Osama bin Laden?'"

A CHANGING ISLAM

7. Roper: (Turning to the question of religion, here are some different kinds of groups. Would you read down that list and for each one tell me whether you think it is a stronger force in the world today than it was twenty years ago, about the same, or weaker force than it was twenty years ago?) . . . The Moslem or Islamic religion.

	9/79	9/86
	(%)	(%)
Stronger force	34	38
(About) the same	22	20
Weaker force	10	9
Don't know	35	33
N	2.009	1.997

BASIC RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING

8. Do you feel you do or do not have a good basic understanding of the teachings and beliefs of Islam, the Muslim religion?

	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC/WP	ABC
	10/01	1/02	10/02	9/03	3/06	9/06
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Yes/Do	34	31	25	33	40	40
No/Do not	65	61	73	64	59	58
No opinion	1	8	2	3	1	2
N	1,009	1,023	1,018	1,004	1,000	1,003

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

9. PSRA: How much would you say you know about the Muslim religion and its practices? . . . A great deal, some, not very much, nothing at all?

	11/01	2/02	6/03
	(%)	(%)	(%)
A great deal	6	5	4
Some	32	29	27
Not very much	37	37	39
Nothing at all	24	28	29
Don't know/Refused	1	1	1
N	1,500	2,002	2,002

ISLAM BIBLE

10. PSRA: Next, I would like to ask you some questions about the Muslim religion. Not everyone will know about them . . . Do you happen to know the name of the Islamic equivalent to the Bible?

	2/02	6/03
	(%)	(%)
Correct answer—Koran	43	42
Incorrect answer	8	4
Don't know/Refused	49	54
N	2,002	2,002

ISLAM GOD

11. PSRA: Next, I would like to ask you some questions about the Muslim religion. Not everyone will know about them . . . Do you happen to know what name Muslims use to refer to God?

	2/02	6/03
	(%)	(%)
Correct answer—Allah	47	45
Incorrect answer	11	9
Don't know/Refused	42	46
N	2,002	2,002

SIMILARITIES IN RELIGIONS

12. PSRA: From what you know, do you think that the Muslim religion and your own religion have a lot in common, or do you think that the Muslim religion and your religion are very different?

	11/01	2/02	6/03
	(%)	(%)	(%)
A lot in common	31	27	22
Very different	52	57	60
Don't know/Refused	17	16	18
N	1,500	2,002	2,002

ISLAM TEACHINGS AND 9/11

13. Thinking about the Muslim religion or Islam, to what degree do you believe the attacks on America (on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001) represent the true teachings of Islam? Would you say . . . to a great degree, to some degree, not very much, or not at all?

	WW	HI
	09/01	06/02
	(%)	(%)
To a great degree	14	21
To some degree	26	18
Not very much	20	17
Not at all	33	40
Not sure (Don't know)/Decline (Refuse)	8	4
N	1,003	3,262

VIOLENCE IN RELIGION

14. ABC: Do you think mainstream Islam encourages violence against non-Muslims, or is it a peaceful religion?

	1/02	10/02	9/03	3/06
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Encourages violence	14	23	34	33
Peaceful religion	57	53	46	54
No opinion	29	25	20	13
N	1,023	1,018	1,004	1,003

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

15. CCFR: Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all (N = 1,195).

Year	Critical %	Important But Not Critical %	Not Important %	Not Sure/Decline %	N
1994	33	36	14	17	1,492
1998	38	33	16	13	1,507
2002 (telephone)	61	24	8	7	1,121
2004 (telephone)	38	34	17	11	502
2004 (Internet)	38	43	16	3	1,195

RESPECT IN RELIGION

16. ABC: Every religion has mainstream beliefs, and also fringe elements or extremists. Thinking of mainstream Islam, do you think mainstream Islam teaches respect for the beliefs of non-Muslims, or not?

	1/02	10/02	9/03	3/06
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Yes	41	37	31	41
No	22	35	43	45
No opinion	38	28	26	14
N	1,023	1,018	1,004	1,003

VIOLENT EXTREMISM

17. ABC: Compared to other religions, do you think there are more violent extremists within Islam, fewer, or about the same as in other religions?

	1/02	3/06
	(%)	(%)
More	38	58
Same	41	34
Fewer	5	3
No opinion	17	5
N	1,023	1,003

OPINION OF ISLAM

18. Would you say you have a generally favorable or unfavorable opinion of Islam?

	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC	ABC/WP	ABC
	10/01	1/02	10/02	9/03	3/06	9/06
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Favorable	47	41	42	39	43	41
Unfavorable	39	24	33	38	46	45
No opinion	13	35	26	23	11	14
N	1,009	1,023	1,018	1,004	1,000	1,003

MUSLIMS AT WAR

19. Gallup: Do you think the Muslim world considers itself at war with the U.S. (United States), or not?

	03/02	09/02
	(%)	(%)
Yes, (is) at war	71	60
No, (is) not at war	26	33
No opinion	3	7
N	863	1,003

SPREADING WAR

20. How likely do you think it is that the fighting in Afghanistan will spread to a larger war between Western countries and Muslim countries—very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

	CBS/NYT	CBS	CBS	CBS	CBS
	12/01	1/02	2/02	4/02	5/02
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Very likely	21	19	25	34	30
Somewhat likely	48	48	46	43	42
Not too/very likely ^a	26	24	19	14	19
Not at all likely	3	6	5	3	5
Don't know/No answerb	2	3	5	6	4
N	1,052	1,060	861	616	647

^a In the February 2002 poll, the response category was "Not very likely."

U.S. IMAGE

21. PSRA: In your opinion, if the U.S. (United States) takes military action against Iraq, how much, if at all, will it hurt the image of the United States among Muslim nations? . . . A lot, a little, not much at all?

	10/02	2/03
	(%)	(%)
A lot	48	51
A little	29	23
Not much at all	17	19
Don't know/Refused	6	7
N	1,513	1,254

GLOBAL SUPPORT

22. In its antiterrorism campaign, do you think the United States is or is not doing enough to win the support of Muslim people around the world?

	ABC/WP	ABC/WP	ABC/WP	ABC
	10/01	3/02	4/02	9/02
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Yes	69	54	49	48
No	18	39	43	46
No opinion	13	8	9	6
N	506	1,008	1,207	1,011

^b In the January 2002 poll, "No answer" was not given as an option.

SURVEILLANCE VERSUS FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION

23. CSRA: In light of the government's war on terrorism in response to the (September 11, 2001) World Trade Center (terrorist) attacks, some people think that the government should have more power to monitor the activities of Muslims legally living in the United States than it has to monitor other religious groups. Others say that monitoring Muslims more closely than others would violate the Muslims' right to free exercise of their religion. Which of these comes closest to your own opinion?

	6/02	6/03
	(%)	(%)
Government should have more power to monitor Muslims than others	42	39
Treating Muslims differently violates their free exercise rights	50	52
Don't know/Refused	8	9
N	1,000	1,000

AMERICAN MUSLIM RIGHTS

24. As it conducts the war on terrorism, do you think the United States government is or is not doing enough to protect the rights of . . . Arab-Americans and American Muslims?

	ABC/WP 11/01 ^a (%)	ABC 12/01 ^a (%)	WP 09/3-6/02 ^a (%)	ABC 9/5–8/02 (%)	ABC 9/03 (%)
(Yes) Doing enough ^b	73	65	65	65	61
(No) Not doing enough ^b	19	29	27	26	28
Doing too much (vol.) ^c	N/A	N/A	N/A	2	1
No opinion	8	6	8	7	9
N	759	755	1,003	1,011	1,004

^a "As it conducts the war on terrorism, do you think the United States government is doing enough to protect the rights of . . . Arab-Americans and American Muslims, or not?"

NON-AMERICAN MUSLIM PROTECTION

25. As it conducts the war on terrorism, do you think the United States government is or is not doing enough to protect the rights of . . . noncitizens from Arab and Muslim countries who are living in the U.S. (United States)?

^b The response categories vary slightly; the September 2002, December 2001, and November 2001 polls offered "Yes," "No," and "No opinion" as options.

^c "Doing too much" was volunteered in September 2002 and 2003.

	ABC/WP	ABC	ABC
	$11/01^a$	9/02	9/03
	(%)	(%)	(%)
(Yes) Doing enough	69	63	58
(No) Not doing enough	22	31	28
Doing too much (vol.) ^b	N/A	3	2
No opinion	9	4	12
N	759	1,011	1,004

^a "As it conducts the war on terrorism, do you think the United States government is doing enough to protect the rights of . . . non-citizens from Arab and Muslim countries who are living in the US, or not?"

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

26. Based on the events of September 11th (2001, the date of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon), do you think the U.S. (United States) immigration laws should be tightened to restrict the number of immigrants from Arab or Muslim countries into the United States?

	WW	HI 6/02
	9/01 ^a	
	(%)	(%)
Yes	83	76
No	16	22
Not sure (Don't know)/Declined (Refused)	1	2
N	1,003	3,262

a "Based on the recent events (the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, September 11, 2001), do you think U.S. immigration laws should be tightened to restrict the number of immigrants from Arab or Muslim countries into the United States?"

SURVEILLANCE

27. PSRA/Newsweek: In response to the terrorist attacks (on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, September 11, 2001), do you think the United States should put Arabs and Arab-Americans in this country under special surveillance, or that it would be a mistake to target a nationality group, as was done with Japanese-Americans after Pearl Harbor?

	9/01	11/01
Should increase surveillance	27	30
Would be a mistake	68	62
Don't know	5	8
N	1.005	1.002

^b "Doing too much" was volunteered in September 2002 and 2003.

SYMPATHY WITH TERRORISTS

28. Compared with other American citizens, do you think Arab-Americans are more sympathetic to terrorists or not?

	CBS/NYT 9/01	CLS 10/01	CBS/NYT 12/01	CBS/NYT 9/02
More sympathetic	26	18	33	33
Not more sympathetic	62	77	58	57
Don't know/No answer	12	5	9	10
N	1,216	1,208	1,052	937

TRUST IN ARABS IN THE UNITED STATES

29. Gallup/CNN/USA: Would you say that you now have less trust in Arabs living in this country than you did before the terrorist attacks on (the World Trade Center and the Pentagon) September 11th (2001), or has your trust in Arabs living in this country not changed?

	$9/01^{a}$	$3/02^{b}$	9/02
Have less trust	35	37	44
Trust not changed	63	61	54
Don't know/No opinion	2	2	2
Refused	/	/	1
N	1,032	802	1,003

^a (I'd like to ask you a few questions about the events [terrorist attacks] that occurred this past Tuesday [September 11, 2001] in New York City and Washington, DC.... Would you say that you now have less trust in Arabs living in this country than you did before the terrorist attacks on Tuesday, or has your trust in Arabs living in this country not changed?

References

Bush, George W. 2001. "Address to Joint Session of Congress." September 20. Available online at http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/20/gen.bush.transcript (accessed June 22, 2006).
Human Rights Watch. 2002. "We Are Not the Enemy': Hate Crimes Against Arabs, Muslims, and Those Perceived to be Arab or Muslim after September 11." November.

^b (Thinking about the terrorist attacks [on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon] on September 11 [2001], which occurred six months ago)... Would you say that you now have less trust in Arabs living in this country than you did before the terrorist attacks on September 11th, or has your trust in Arabs living in this country not changed?